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Theology, Religion and Society

“Once They Touch, They Get Connected”

(Re)mediating the Past Through Narratives and Performances on the
Pilgrimage Road, in the City of David (East Jerusalem)

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Abstract

This study asks *how* the past is remembered and (re)mediated in the City of David heritage park in Silwan, East Jerusalem. Addressing the *how* of heritage design is an understudied aspect of the City of David heritage park. The research material is a 34-minute-long video depicting a guided tour through one of the latest editions to the heritage park's portfolio – the Pilgrimage Road. The multimedia nature of the material also requests addressing another neglected area of research: the online (re)mediation of heritage.

To address the *how* of heritage design, this study applies the theories of two Germans, Siegfried Schmidt and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht. While Schmidt addresses the constructivist aspects of memory and remembrance, Gumbrecht establishes a language to address the *presencing effects* of a heritage site. In combination, their theories help to understand that narratives and performances are central to the video material and entire heritage park. However, by including recent research about the visitors' role in authenticating heritage sites, this study also shows that the City of David is dependent on a constant stream of visitors, otherwise losing its quality as a functioning mnemotope.

Lastly, as the video tour on the Pilgrimage Road also purposefully employs religious imagery and metaphors, this study is obliged to ask if the video material itself functions as an online religious ritual. Here, the result is ambiguous by design. Although the ancient Pilgrimage Road tour can be seen as an eschatologically informed culmination of narratives and performances, it still passes as an online commercial. However, the conspicuous absence of differing narratives, historical layers, or representations will speak most clearly to a religiously receptive audience, understanding the foreshadowed implications of performing pilgrimage on the ancient Jewish Pilgrimage Road.

*This is Disney World, but this is real.
This is biblical Disney World. It is actually real.
You can touch the stones. You can touch the texts.
And you can see the people in front of you.
King David walks with you through this tour.*

(Doron Spielman, quoted in Pullan et al. 2013, 85)

Table of contents

1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	2020: Plagues and E-Pilgrimages	1
1.2	Scope of the Thesis and Research Question	2
1.3	Thesis Structure and Procedure	4
2	Ascending to the Temple Mount: The Video Material.....	6
2.1	Video Storyline and Narrative	7
2.1.1	From the Entrance to The Giv’ati Excavation Pit.....	7
2.1.2	In the Excavation Pit.....	8
2.1.3	In the Drainage Channel	9
2.1.4	At the “Underground Kotel”	12
2.2	The Video Facts	13
3	The City of David and the Pilgrimage Road.....	15
3.1	Introduction.....	15
3.2	Archaeology, Settlers and Heritage Development.....	17
3.2.1	The History of the City of David	17
3.2.2	The Ir David Foundation.....	19
3.2.3	The City of David Heritage Park	21
3.2.4	The Pilgrimage Road	22
3.2.5	The City of David Online Media Presence	26
3.3	Stand der Forschung: City of David	27
3.3.1	The Research on the City of David.....	28
3.3.2	Recurring Themes.....	29
3.3.2.1	The Ethics of Archaeology	29
3.3.2.2	The Exclusionary Narrative of El’Ad Heritage Design.....	30

3.3.2.3	The Disneyfication of Heritage Tourism	32
3.3.2.4	The Religious Performative Character of El’Ad’s City of David.....	33
3.3.3	Summary and Placing This Study	34
4	(Re)mediating the “Really Real”: Pilgrimage, Authenticity, and Online Religion	36
4.1	Introduction.....	36
4.2	(Re)mediating Jerusalem: Jewish Pilgrimage, Zionist Pilgrimage, and Jerusalem of the Imagination	37
4.2.1	The Three Mandatory Pilgrimages in Judaism	38
4.2.2	Aliyah and the Religious Roots of Zionism.....	40
4.2.3	Jerusalem in the Imagination	41
4.3	The Mediatisation and Mediation of Religion in the Digital Age	43
4.4	The Heritage Site – Hot Authentication and the Construction of the “Really Real”.....	46
4.5	Summary	48
5	Memory between Social Construction and Presence.....	50
5.1	Introduction.....	50
5.2	Siegfried Schmidt - Memory and Remembrance as Social Construction.....	51
5.3	Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht – The Production of Presence.....	53
5.4	Summary	57
6	The Multimodality of Communication: Methodological Underpinnings.....	59
6.1	Multimodal Analysis.....	59
6.1.1	What is Multimodal Analysis?.....	59
6.1.2	Multimodal Analysis according to Baldry and Thibault.....	60
6.2	Practical Implementation of the Multimodal Approach	61
6.2.1	The Transcription Framework	61
6.2.2	Abbreviations.....	63
6.2.3	The Subjectivity of the Transcription Process	64
6.3	Procedural Method of this Study – Finding Material, Method and Theory.....	64

6.4	Validity of the Methodology.....	65
7	Video Analysis and Discussion	67
7.1	Video Genre and Place of Distribution.....	67
7.1.1	Video Genre.....	67
7.1.2	The YouTube Platform	69
7.2	Analysis.....	71
7.2.1	Promotional Theme.....	71
7.2.2	Theme of Belonging and Identity	74
7.2.3	Being Present – Feeling, Touching, Connecting, Revealing	76
7.2.4	Religious Themes, Narratives, and Performances	79
7.2.5	Experts and Explorers: Archaeology as Adventure	84
7.2.6	Innocence and Positivity.....	87
7.2.7	The (Non-) Communication of Difference	88
7.3	Discussion.....	90
7.3.1	(Re)mediation through Narratives	92
7.3.1.1	The Reciprocal Process, Production, and Performance of Memory: Heritage as Self-fulfilling Prophecy	92
7.3.1.2	Gegenbegrifflichkeit: We, Us, and Ours.....	94
7.3.1.3	Operative Fiktionen: The Place Where Everything Began.....	94
7.3.2	(Re)mediation through Presence.....	95
7.3.3	Narrative and Presence: The powerful In-between of Pilgrimage.....	97
7.3.4	(Re)mediating Religion – “We are Part of the Prophecy!”.....	99
8	Conclusion	103
9	List of References	107
10	Attachments	114
10.1	NSD Approval Letter.....	114
10.2	Video Transcription	116

1 Introduction

1.1 2020: Plagues and E-Pilgrimages

On July 17th, 2020, around 80 million people worldwide took part in what was deemed the first e-pilgrimage to the Catholic shrine of Lourdes. The event, dubbed “Lourdes United”, consisted of fifteen hours of broadcasting video material and two hours of live pilgrimage, translated into ten languages and distributed through a livestream on YouTube.

This e-pilgrimage was not caused by a sudden *Zeitgeist* of experimentality or a Catholic digital revolution but by the existential threat of lacking eight million Euros in the annual budget, leading to a combination of online pilgrimage with online fundraising (Lourdes Sanctuaire 2020). In 2020, strict lockdown rules due to Covid-19 prohibited pilgrims from traveling to Lourdes in person. The livestream combined the traditional stations of the physical pilgrimage in Lourdes, such as communion, candle lighting, and a visit to the Grotto. However, according to Olivier Ribadeau-Dumas, rector of the Lourdes Sanctuary, “even virtually, there is a real communion between pilgrims” (AFP 2020). The Covid-19 crisis, apart from being a life-threatening event that tested people, governments, and health services around the world, also challenged and expanded our capabilities to connect, work, play and pray through the means of digital technologies. Furthermore, 2020 saw a dramatic increase in digitalisation and has become a catalyst for raising essential questions for studying heritage, cultural memory, religion, and their mediation both on- and offline.

This study is predominantly interested in *how* the past is *remembered* and *mediated* through a video tour of the City of David heritage park in Silwan, East-Jerusalem. As at the Shrine of Lourdes, Covid -19 lockdown mandates prohibited visitors from entering the City of David heritage park. In similar response, both sites adapted its live program for an online audience. Of the many YouTube videos produced during the lockdown, the by far most popular is a guided online tour on the Pilgrimage Road, an ancient street that led from the Siloam Pool up to the Temple Mount. Although archaeologists knew about this road for more than a hundred years, only recently was it cleared and prepared for a public audience to walk on. However, today, the ascent happens through an underground tunnel system that is only accessible for visitors who

purchase a ticket in the City of David heritage park. The YouTube tour, however, is free of charge and vice presidents of the City of David, Oriya Dasberg and Doron Spielman guide and entertain their online audience by mixing anecdotal storytelling with the revelation of archaeological sites and artefacts and a performance that has some striking parallels to the e-pilgrimage at the shrine of Lourdes.

1.2 Scope of the Thesis and Research Question

Research related to the City of David falls under two foci. One group, mainly consisting of archaeologists and biblical scholars, discusses the heritage site according to its role and relevance for our knowledge about ancient Jerusalem and in relationship to the Bible.¹ The other group instead takes a meta-approach to the archaeological findings presented in the City of David heritage site and criticises predominantly the way it depicts and misuses archaeology. Most of them critique specifically the role that El'Ad, the organisation behind the City of David heritage park, plays in Jerusalem's archaeology. According to the research, El'Ad's involvement in illegal religious Zionist settlements in East Jerusalem presents a real problem for the Palestinian population of Silwan (City of David heritage park location) and every scholar that gets directly or indirectly involved with El'Ad.²

Although the City of David has been researched consistently for many decades, this study fills a research gap that not only picks up earlier threads but starts an entirely new discussion. So far, scholars have neither sufficiently looked at the *how* of heritage design in the City of David, nor have they considered the role that online (re)mediation plays for the heritage site. Moreover, the narratives and performances depicted in the online tour insinuate a ritual performance of a

¹ One example of a scholarly debate about archaeological findings in the City of David is the discussion about Eilat Mazar's proposition of having found King David's palace in the City of David. The dating of monumental structures to Iron Age I or the Iron Age IIA was met with staunch criticism by other scholars. For more on the discussion, see Mazar's (2020) original article in the *Biblical Archaeological Review* and both Ronny Reich's (2011, 265-268) and Israel Finkelstein's (2011) critical assessment of her findings. Finkelstein's conclusion also points to the larger argument of the maximalist versus minimalist debate that divides the archaeological scholarship on Jerusalem between those who understand archaeology in Israel/Palestine as confirmation of biblical records and those who propose a less coherent picture of the ancient texts and what the archaeological data can ultimately prove. Finkelstein states: "Based on solid archaeological arguments alone, that is, without relying on the biblical text, no seasoned archaeologist would have associated the remains in question with monumental architecture of the 10th century BC" (9).

² For a detailed discussion of the Stand der Forschung, see Chapter 3.3. However, the following selection gives a helpful introduction of the discussion: (Pullan et al. 2013, 76-101; Greenberg 2009; Galor 2017; Paz 2014; Kletter 2020)

pilgrimage and evoke strongly eschatological imagery. That is why this study asks if the video tour depicts not only a heritage site but has also a religious function (for a more detailed discussion of the unique placement of this thesis, see Chapter 3.3.3).

Hence, the primary research question of this thesis is: *How is the past remembered and (re)mediated through the video tour on the Pilgrimage Road, and does the YouTube video (re)mediate a religious ritual?*

This study is within the cross-disciplinary field of heritage studies, cultural memory studies, and studying the online mediation and mediatisation of heritage and religion. This study will present a cross-disciplinary methodological and theoretical framework to discuss the research question, combining multimodal analysis with a constructivist approach to memory culture. Furthermore, this study will ask what role the presentification of the past plays at the heritage site. This framework will help analyse the role of narratives and performance in the heritage design and address the unique role of pilgrimage in the City of David and the mediation of both heritage and religion via an online tour. However, as this study looks at the archaeological heritage park and its online mediation predominantly through the lens of cultural memory studies, it seems necessary to briefly discuss mediation and how it relates to cultural memory? According to specialists of memory studies, Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney is

the very concept of cultural memory [...] premised on the idea that memory can only become collective as part of a continuous process whereby memories are shared with the help of symbolic artefacts that mediate between individuals and, in the process, create communality across both space and time. (2009, 1)

In other words, there is no cultural memory without mediation. Furthermore, Erll and Rigney argue that media is not a passive entity but play an active role in “shaping our understanding of the past, in ‘mediating’ between us (as readers, viewers, listeners) and past experiences, and hence in setting the agenda for future acts of remembrance within society” (3). Moreover, Erll and Rigney also show that the concept of mediation is complex and self-referential. While there is no cultural memory without mediation, in today’s media culture, there is also no mediation without remediation, as “all mediations are remediations, in that mediation of the real is always

a mediation of another mediation” (4).³ This original quote by Richard Grusin introduces already two-thirds of Erll and Rigney’s “key components of the formation of cultural memory”, the third one being the “performance in the public arena” (5).

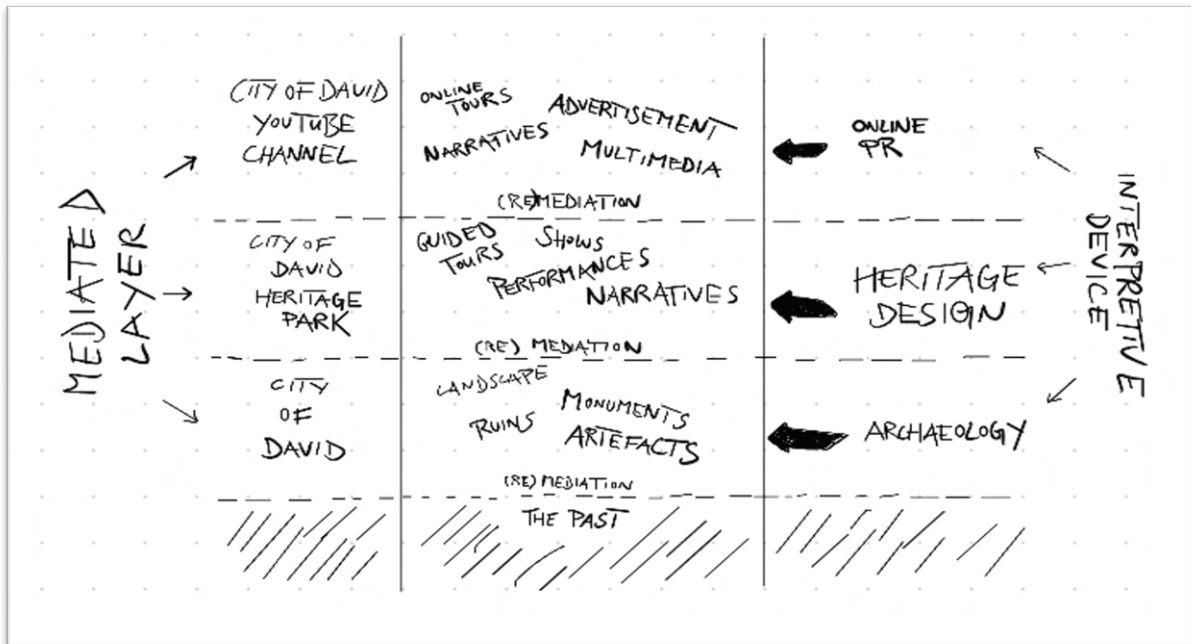


Figure 1.1 Layers of (re)mediation and interpretation

Mediation, remediation and public performance are essential to our understanding of the City of David heritage park and its online (re)mediation through a YouTube video. (for the different layers of (re)mediation and their predominant interpretive devices, see fig. 1.1). However, as Erll and Rigney rightfully state, there is no “clear-cut distinction between the three components; it is rather through their constant interplay that cultural memory is continuously being produced” (5-6).

1.3 Thesis Structure and Procedure

The primary resource for this study is the 33:52 minutes of video material, as posted on the YouTube channel of the City of David heritage park on May 26th, 2020. The video is titled *Underground Journey from the City of David to the Foundation Stones of the Temple*

³ That is why the term *(re)mediation* is purposefully used throughout this study. The *(re)* reflects the constant process of mediation, remediation and public performance.

Mount. This study will introduce its basic storyline and the video facts in Chapter Two as this video is the central source material of this study.

Chapter Three describes the history and context of the City of David, including the archaeological history of the Pilgrimage Road and the relatively recent period of an actively pursued heritage design. Moreover, this study will discuss the political and religious ambitions of El'Ad, the organisation behind the City of David and the current portfolio of attractions that the heritage park offers to its visitors. Finally, Chapter Three will also look at the media presence of the heritage park, and after presenting the relevant aspects of the *Stand der Forschung*, placing this thesis in regard to its further research contribution.

In Chapter Four, the topic of mediation comes into the foreground. First, by asking how Jerusalem has been mediated both through pilgrimage and through religious concepts addressing the imagination before presenting theories that discuss the mediatisation of religion and the visitors' role in the authentication of heritage sites. Chapter Five introduces the two main pillars of the theoretical framework: Siegfried Schmidt's theory of memory and remembrance as a social construction in discussion with Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's approach of the production of presence. Although both theories represent different ends of approaching the research question, this study proposes a both/and approach. Chapter Six will discuss the process of selecting both video material and theoretical framework before introducing the methodology of multimodal analysis. Furthermore, it presents the relevant terminology and practical implementation of the framework and discusses the validity of the used methodology.

Chapter Seven consists of the analysis and discussion of the video material. The analysis is firmly based on the multimodal methodology and summarises the video under seven headlines, building the subsequent discussion's foundation. The discussion section first and foremost follows the essential questions arising from Schmidt's and Gumbrecht's theories before bringing the analytical results into further contact with the essential insights from Chapters Three and Four. Chapter Eight summarises the quintessential findings of the thesis before addressing questions of validity and pointing out perspectives for future studies. The appendix in Chapter 10.2 presents the detailed dataset of the video material in a multimodal analysis. The transcription framework also includes notes and comments made during the analysis of the video.

2 Ascending to the Temple Mount: The Video Material

The central material for this study is a 34-minute-long YouTube video tour depicting the final section of the underground ascent to the Temple Mount foundation stones that the City of David heritage park advertises as *The Temple Mount Ascent Tour*. Chapter Two serves as a picture description, introducing the video's content, atmosphere, and imagery. However, the video description will also highlight specific themes, phrases, and movements of the two video protagonists essential for the later analysis in Chapter Seven. A detailed multimodal transcription can be found in the Appendix in Chapter 10.2.

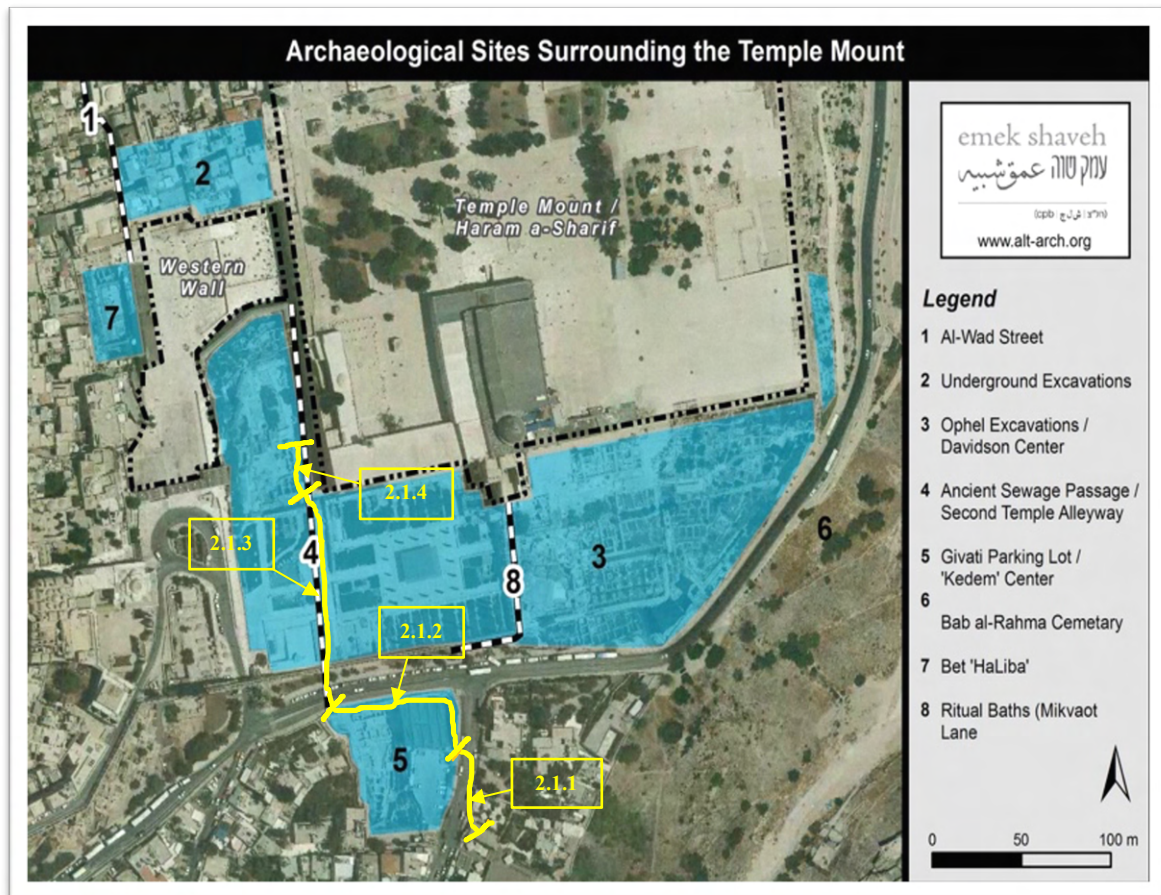


Figure 2.1 Approximate route of the video tour in yellow (added by me), with reference to thesis sub-chapters (Map source: Emek Shaveh 2015)

2.1 Video Storyline and Narrative

The following chart lists all 27 chapters, including information on duration, title, and filming location. For orientation, the video scenes are subdivided and placed in parentheses in the narrative description. For more information about the exact methodology behind the division of the scenes, see Chapter 6.2.

Chapter	Time (min:sec)	Title	Location
01	00:00 – 01:16	<i>Introduction at the City of David Visitor's Centre</i>	City of David
02	01:16 – 02:54	<i>Walk from the Visitor's Centre to the Giv'ati Parking lot</i>	Street
03	02:54 – 03:34	<i>Entering the Giv'ati Parking Lot excavation site</i>	Giv'ati Parking Lot
04	03:34 – 03:54	<i>Walking around the Giv'ati excavation pit</i>	Giv'ati
05	03:54 – 05:38	<i>Nadine and the gold coins</i>	Giv'ati
06	05:38 – 06:52	<i>Excavation pit walkaround continues</i>	Giv'ati
07	06:52 – 08:07	<i>Queen Helena from Adiabene</i>	Giv'ati
08	08:07 – 09:47	<i>Oriya's vision</i>	Giv'ati
09	09:47 – 10:48	<i>Earrings from the gift shop</i>	Giv'ati
10	10:48 – 12:27	<i>The Nathan-melech bulla</i>	Giv'ati
11	12:27 – 13:32	<i>The Pilgrimage Road map</i>	Giv'ati
12	13:32 – 14:22	<i>Descending into the Drainage Channel</i>	Giv'ati / Drainage Channel (DC)
13	14:22 – 15:32	<i>In the "pilgrimage channel"</i>	DC
14	15:32 – 16:46	<i>The 4am call</i>	DC
15	16:46 – 17:40	<i>Crossing the City wall underneath</i>	DC
16	17:40 – 18:28	<i>The last 2,000 Jews</i>	DC
17	18:28 – 19:37	<i>"His pick went into open air"</i>	DC
18	19:37 – 21:32	<i>Continuing the tunnel walk</i>	DC
19	21:32 – 22:43	<i>"It's this": Touching the Temple Mount</i>	DC
20	22:43 – 23:42	<i>In the cistern</i>	DC
21	23:42 – 26:03	<i>Charles Warren's stone</i>	DC
22	26:03 – 26:45	<i>Standing on a book</i>	DC
23	26:45 – 28:07	<i>The discovery of the "underground Kotel"</i>	"Underground Kotel" (UK)
24	28:07 – 29:37	<i>The "private Kotel"</i>	UK
25	29:37 – 30:59	<i>The bedrock of Mt Moriah and the priestly bell</i>	UK
26	30:59 – 31:37	<i>Ascending to the Pilgrimage Road/Western Wall</i>	UK / Pilgrimage Road
27	31:37 – 33:52	<i>"We're [sic] part of the prophecy": Singing and dancing on the Pilgrimage Road</i>	Pilgrimage Road

2.1.1 From the Entrance to The Giv'ati Excavation Pit

(01) The video begins outside the main entrance to the City of David heritage park, where Doron Spielman introduces both himself and his colleague Oriya Dasberg, also referencing the popularity and countless feedback on the antedated video delivering the first part of the online tour on the Pilgrimage Road. The weather is sunny, both the park and streets are quiet - due to the Covid-19 lockdown. There are colourful flowers, an iconic Davidian harp symbol, and countless Israeli flags visible in the background (for a map of the video tour's approximate route, see *fig. 2.1*).

(02) While walking to the Giv'ati parking lot excavation site, about 100m from the City of David main entrance, Dasberg and Spielman set the stage for the next half hour. They express their excitement about the intended endpoint of the tour, the Temple Mount foundation stones and emphasise some of the upcoming highlights of their tour on the Pilgrimage Road. Before entering the heavily secured gate to the excavation site, Spielman turns around and points out the proximity of the City of David to the Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif.

2.1.2 In the Excavation Pit

(03) As Spielman and Dasberg open the gate, the expansive size of the excavation pit becomes visible, creating an inevitable moment of surprise, as the concealed view from the street level gives way to the archaeological site. Once the two protagonists have entered the parking lot, they begin walking around the pit on an elevated, mounted platform surrounding the excavation site. Here, Dasberg mentions the eleven different civilisations represented in the pit. However, during the rest of the tour, they will only consider findings connected to the ancient Jewish people of the Biblical periods, most prominently King David and King Herod and to rituals related to the Jewish Temple.

(04) While Dasberg and Spielman circle the excavation pit, they once in a while stop, and Spielman recounts both stories of discoveries made by employees and archaeologists in the City of David. Furthermore, he adds personal stories of discovering tunnels and, most prominently, the underground foundation stones of the Temple Mount. As an additional visualisation source, Dasberg and Spielman use a picture-book that portrays many of the artefacts discovered in the City of David. (05) The storytelling opens by mentioning Nadine, a British volunteer who discovered 264 gold coins in the pit (06) before Spielman and Dasberg continue by revelling in the significance of getting involved in these excavations and in the purpose of touching the ground with your own hands. In the words of Dasberg: "Once they touch the ground, they touch the stones, they reveal themselves, through revealing Jerusalem". Dasberg and Spielman's conversations are collegial, emphatic, and responsive in a manner representative of a conversation between friends.

(07) Continuing alongside the excavation pit, Dasberg and Spielman begin telling the following story while revealing a pair of earrings found in the excavation site, supposedly belonging to Queen Helena of Adiabene. As part of the story, Queen Helena is introduced as a God-fearing

person of wealth who used her money to help the oppressed Jews. (09) A few minutes later, a City of David volunteer hands Dasberg a pair of replica earrings that she puts on, jokingly considering herself to be a “queen for a day”, also referencing the City of David gift shop, where these earrings are for sale. (08) In between the presentation of Queen Helena and the earring replicas, Dasberg provides her vision for the City of David heritage park and its grand plan of opening the Kedem visitor centre, a seven-story high building that will serve both as a new entrance to the City of David heritage park and as a permanent roof above the excavation pit. In addition to the construction plans, Dasberg also offers her vision for a place that will make people connect with archaeology by becoming excavators themselves. Spielman comments: “They’ll put on a hat. They will be the Indiana Jones”. To which Dasberg replies: “This is what the people want to feel. Once they touch, they get connected.”

(11) During their last stop beside the excavation pit, where Dasberg explains the trip on the Pilgrimage Road via a simplified map that bridges the temporal gap between the Second Temple and 2020 by using a stylised painting, (10) Spielman recounts a relatively recent find in the Giv’ati lot that gets both of them very excited. According to him, the Nathan-Melech bulla refers to a servant of King Josiah, mentioned in the second book of Kings, chapters 22 and 23. This little clay seal, allegedly proofing the presence of the Davidian dynasty in the City of David, is, according to Dasberg, “the thing” which makes you “really feel connected and makes you really understand what’s going on here”. For a second time (and not the last time), Spielman puts this narrative in the context of the upcoming Jewish holiday of Shavuot, one of the three traditional Jewish feasts that included a pilgrimage to Jerusalem’s Temple. Dasberg concludes, “When we find a bulla saying the name written in the Bible: It’s us. It’s ours. We’re connected. It’s part of me. It really is part of me.”

2.1.3 In the Drainage Channel

(12) Now, the two protagonists descend via a staircase at the north-eastern corner of the Giv’ati pit into the drainage channel. According to another stylised painting mounted in the tunnel, the drainage channel runs underneath the Pilgrimage Road. While descending the staircase, Spielman points out that going down into the ground implies they are going “back in time”. On their way down, Spielman activates a camera, mounted on a stick, that will record their journey through the tunnel.

(13) Once they have arrived in the narrow but well-lit and preserved channel, Spielman mentions that the channel was built by King Herod and goes all the way down to the Siloam Pool. Before he points out visible remains of the road running above them, he refers to the channel as “pilgrimage channel”. As they pass the painting mentioned above, Spielman addresses the Pilgrimage Road again, as the place where “the Jews celebrated on, as they went up to the Temple Mount”.

(14) After Spielman recalls the first time he was crawling through the tunnel after he got a call at 4 am, (15) he and Dasberg mark their crossing underneath the Old City Wall by referring to the “Jerusalem of up there and [...] Jerusalem of down. Yerushlayim shel (*) maala Yerushalayim shel (*) mata”, referencing the Jerusalem of Heaven and the Jerusalem on Earth. (16) As they further continue their tour through the tunnel, Spielman explains that this tunnel was the place mentioned by Josephus, where the last 2,000 Jews of the resistance against the Romans hid before they were found and executed. Spielman points to the tragedy of this place (17) and recalls happy times in the tunnel, remembering the story of discovering the tunnel by their team. He not only recounts the moment when the worker’s “pick went into open air”, as he was surprisingly discovering a new arm of the tunnel, but also the scary experience of crawling through the tunnel, not knowing where it ends. Dasberg, who mainly follows Spielman’s lead at this point of the tour, gets into a mood of marvelling at these privileged opportunities of making such grand discoveries, jokingly uttering her envy of those who were first in the tunnel.

(18) Continuing the underground tour, Spielman explains the function of the ancient tunnel, as delivering fresh water to the entire city, as he walks fast-paced through the narrow-confined space. (19) He stops, turns around to Dasberg, points to the curving tunnel behind them (see *fig. 2.2*), and while sounding a bit graver, he begins recalling another story, touching the wall beside him. He remembers how at the time of the discovery, archaeologist Eli Shukron to everyone's surprise, asserted that behind this wall is the Temple Mount. Now, Dasberg and Spielman, with even more reverent voices, marvel at the fact that they are standing right next

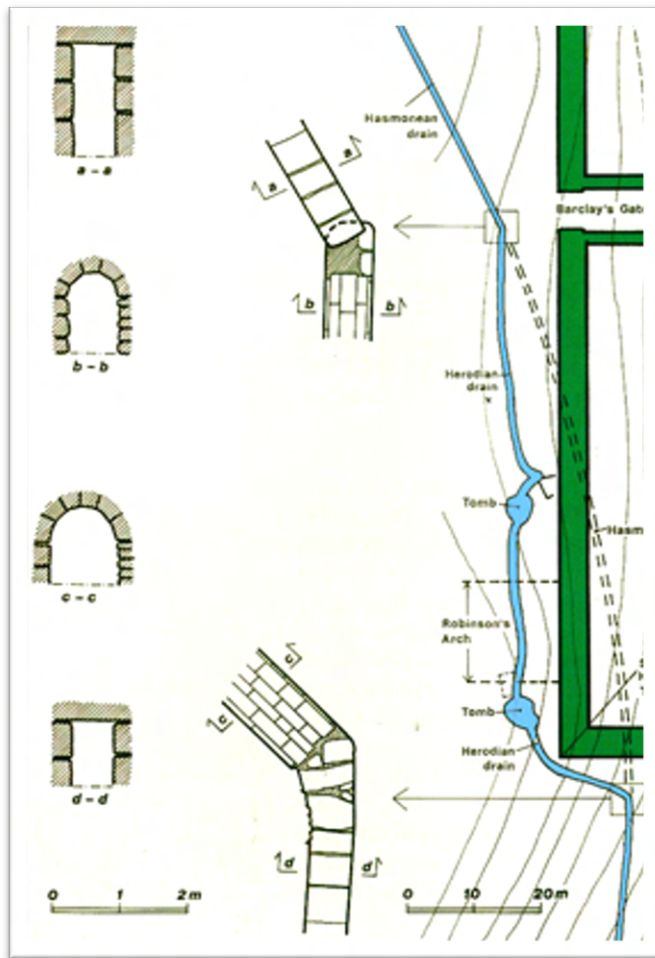


Figure 2.2 Drainage Channel (in blue) coming from Giv'ati site in the south, turning left before the Temple Mount platform (in green) (Source: Ritmeyer 2006, 234)

to the Temple Mount. Here, Dasberg describes her guiding practice of stopping and being silent for a while once she reaches this point during her regular tour with visitors. According to her, right here, “this is the time and place” the guided group is usually invited to “be quiet for a second and connect to the meaning, connect to the stone and connect to ourselves [sic]”.

(20) The tour continues with a brief stop in an underground cistern. (21) On the other side of the cistern, Spielman and Dasberg refer to the first expedition of Charles Warren, who discovered a large stone blocking part of the ancient tunnel. Again, Spielman recalls how Eli Shukron immediately could point out the stone he knew from a drawing by Warren as they entered the space for the

first time. (22) Dasberg and Spielman stress the number of fascinating stories that they can recall, walking through the City of David before Spielman concludes that these tours are “like reading a book [...] which we’re walking in”.

2.1.4 At the “Underground Kotel”

(23) Beginning the last part of the tour, Dasberg and Spielman enter an underground room via a short staircase that makes them stop again and get in a solemn mood. Here, Spielman asks Dasberg what the wall in front of her is. Dasberg, while repeatedly touching the wall, reveals that this is the “Western Wall, but it’s underneath the ground”. Spielman recalls the first discovery of the “underground Kotel”, a moment when he couldn’t believe that they were actually standing in front of it. However, he remembers how back then, David Be’eri, the founder of El’Ad, immediately knew what was before them. (24) Continuing their guiding performance, Spielman asks what this place means to Dasberg personally. He also refers to her brave military service risking her life for the state of Israel. Dasberg replies that this is “kind of a small Kotel which is just mine and it’s for me and the group that is coming here ... This is like a small, private Kotel”. She recalls moments of prayer and coming alone to this place where “everything [...] began and where is my connection to God, where is my connection to the Bible, where is my connection to Jerusalem.”

(25) Before both of them begin their ascend to above ground, Spielman tells two other stories, beginning by pointing out that once you look to the lowest point of the “underground Kotel”, you can see the “bedrock of Mount Moriah, where according to the Kabbalah, the world began”. Then, he and Dasberg open the picture book again and show a picture of a little golden ball into the camera that, according to Spielman, is a “priestly bell” that was attached to the garments of the High Priest of the Temple. Spielman imagines how the High Priest must have walked the road above during the pilgrim’s feast of Shavuot. (26) After a short walk, they exit the tunnel through another staircase at the Southeast corner of the Temple Mount complex, close to the Davidson Centre and Robinson’s Arch.

(27) Outside, Spielman hands over the camera to the crew and explains that they are back on the Pilgrimage Road, the same road that begins down at the Siloam Pool. Here, Spielman emphasises the “powerful story” of being “in the destruction, climbing through the sewer” and now being “back on the top, at the time of celebration”. He acknowledges the music in the background and imagines a Bar Mitzvah that is celebrated at this moment before he begins to make several references to biblical prophecy. Again, Spielman mentions the tradition of bringing the first fruits to the Temple during the pilgrimages, and he imagines how people were changing money and selling food in these “original storefronts” 2,000 years ago. Spielman

continues and quotes the prophet Zakaria who, according to him, prophesied that “one day the elderly and the children will come back to Jerusalem and sing and play in the streets”. Both Dasberg and Spielman agree they live this prophecy today, just like “the matriarchs and patriarchs who came before us”. According to Spielman, “they lived for this. They died for this and we’re back here once again to be proof”. To which Dasberg replies: “To be part of it.”

2.2 The Video Facts

Video Series		Two-part series on the Temple Mount Ascent Tour featuring the Pilgrimage Road	
Video Title		<i>Underground Journey from the City of David to the Temple Mount Foundation Stones</i>	
Protagonists	Oriya Dasberg	Vice president of the City of David, in charge of excavations and marketing development in the City of David	
	Doron Spielman	Vice president of the City of David, director of global communications	
Shot Locations		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. City of David / Wadi Hilweh, Silwan, East-Jerusalem 2. Giv’ati excavation site, Tyropoeon Valley 3. Drainage Channel from Giv’ati to Temple Mount, Tyropoeon Valley to Old City 4. “Underground Kotel”, Old City 5. Pilgrimage Road at the Southwestern Corner of the Temple Mount, Old City 	
Production	Producer	Asaf Peri	
	Team	Camera team of two (not named)	
	Audio-Equipment	External Microphones attached to Dasberg and Spielman	
	Video-Equipment	Two Cameras: One Handheld Camera on a stick used by a cameraman, one camera used by Spielman as “Selfie-camera” in the confined tunnel space	
Publication	Place of Distribution	YouTube	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FdhvksoXGvI&t=103s
	Date of Publication	May 26, 2020	
	Language	English	
	Video Length	33:52 minutes	
	Video Format	HD with English subtitles (automatically generated subtitles)	

Video Statistics⁴	Views ⁵	601,952
	Likes	12,491
	Dislikes	541
	Number of Comments	279
City of David YouTube channel⁶	Subscribers	44,200
	Number of Videos	440
	Number of Views	5,597,799
	Date of Entry	October 24, 2010

⁴ Video statistics as of May 11th, 2021. Statistics for February 14th, 2021: Views: 428,527; Likes: 9,336; Dislikes: 392; Comments: 284. Statistics for November 24th, 2020: Views: 337,054; Likes: 7,623; Dislikes: 308; Comments: 283. Statistics September 15th, 2020: Views: 259,512 (likes, dislikes, and comments not recorded for this date).

⁵ The number of views includes every single time the YouTube video has been clicked. It neither represents the number of people who have seen the video nor how long they have watched it. The number also includes every single time the author of this study has clicked on the online video. However, as YouTube offers subscribers a download function, I have downloaded the video and watched it offline, without further contributing to the count.

⁶ YouTube statistics as of May 11th, 2021.

3 The City of David and the Pilgrimage Road

3.1 Introduction

City of David refers to a geographical area in East Jerusalem and an expanding heritage site located in roughly the same area.⁷ El'Ad, the organisation that operates the City of David heritage park, markets it as the place “where everything began”, turning both historic and ongoing archaeological excavations into a visitor-friendly and storified experience of Biblical Jerusalem. One of its most recent developments is the Pilgrimage Road tour, the video material's central subject, running underneath the ground in a tunnel system that leads from the Siloam Pool to the Western Wall.

To get a better understanding of El'Ad's background as a settler organisation and get familiar with the park's most prominent tourist attractions, Chapter Three begins with looking at the City of David's contested history. However, as the video material predominantly deals with the Pilgrimage Road, this section will concentrate on the road's history of excavations and its current state of archaeological research and spare a more detailed description of the heritage park's other archaeological sites. Furthermore, as Social Media and YouTube play an increasing role in El'Ad's depiction of heritage, this chapter will also discuss their online media presence. Lastly, Chapter Three ends with a summary of previous studies about the City of David heritage park and places this thesis within the broader academic discussion.

⁷ Naming places is political - especially in a place like Jerusalem. However, for readability and when referring to the historic site of several archaeological excavations on the steep hill leading down south from the Dung Gate into the Kidron Valley, this study will use the name *City of David* without quotation marks. So far, none of the archaeological finds can directly prove the existence of the historic King David in this area – therefore, its promoted name can be misleading. However, it is dominant in publications by scholars and the media and virtually everywhere in the public debate. Furthermore, in this study, *City of David* also refers to the Giv'ati parking lot dig and the connected underground tunnels leading to the Western Wall, although they are technically located on the western slope of the Tyropoeon Valley and lead into the Old City. When referring to the concrete heritage site depicted in the video material, this study will use the term *City of David heritage park*. On the one hand, City of David heritage park refers to its declaration as a national park in 1974. However, its location beyond the Green Line in East Jerusalem makes its official status as a national park a political issue. Repeatedly El'Ad and the Israeli government have claimed that this official status allows them to intervene in Palestinian lands. On the other hand, this study intentionally uses City of David heritage park according to its character as an archaeological amusement park (For more on this, see Chapter 3.3.2 and 4.3).

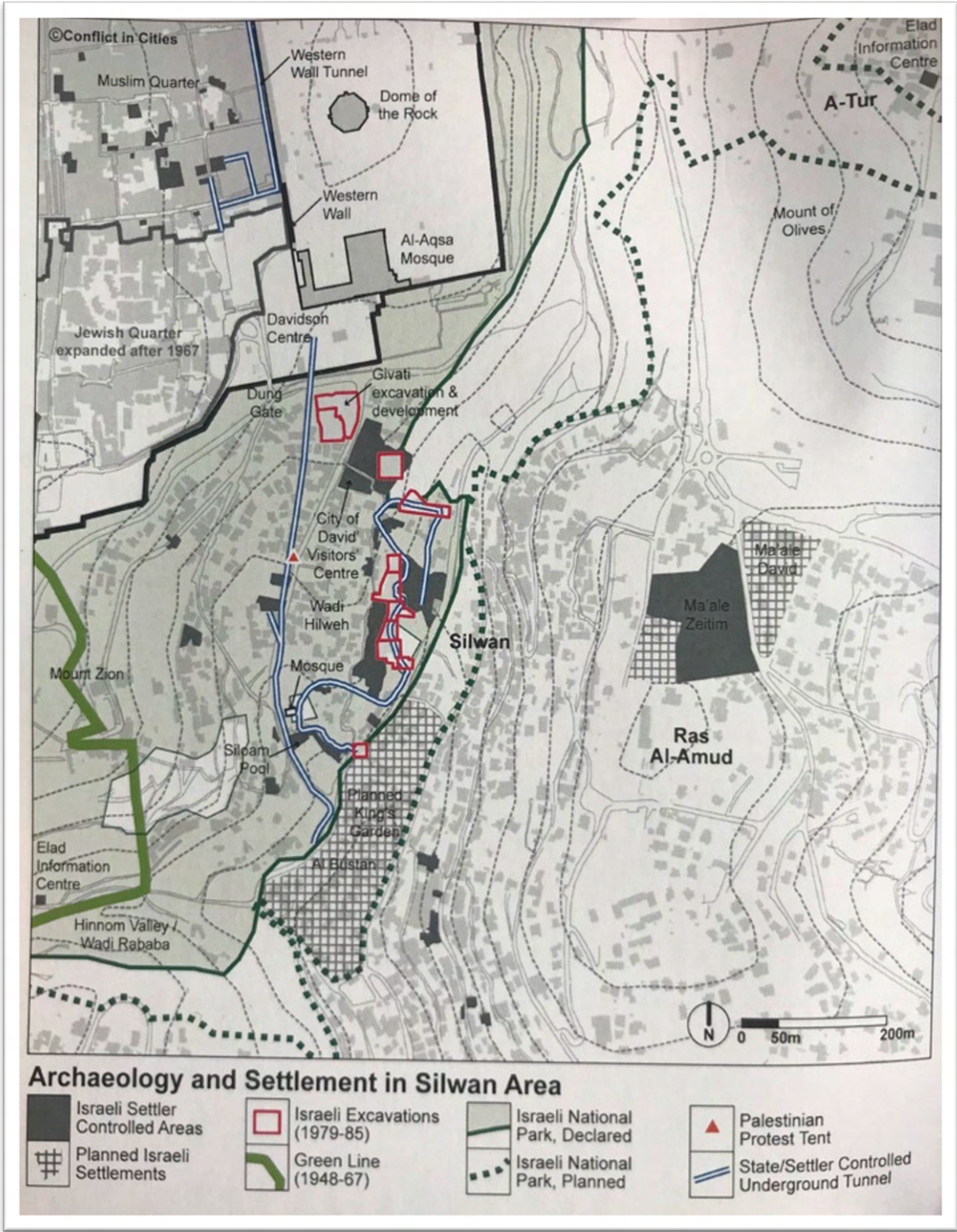


Figure 3.1 Locations of archaeological digs, heritage park buildings, and settlements in the City of David (Source: Pullan et al. 2013, Plate 16)

3.2 *Archaeology, Settlers and Heritage Development*

3.2.1 **The History of the City of David**

Historically, the City of David is one of the most heavily excavated sites in Israel/Palestine and has been subject to archaeological exploration for more than 150 years. One of the few things that archaeologists unanimously agree about is that the City of David has a continuous history of settlements for at least 4,000 years. According to archaeologist Ronny Reich (2011), some of the material findings, such as flint tools, date back even further, as far as 5,000 BCE. So far, no other excavated area in Jerusalem matches this historical record, which indicates that the south-eastern slope leading down from the Dung Gate to the Kidron Valley is the location of Jerusalem's first settlements. The beginning of archaeological excavations in Silwan reaches back to Charles Warren's discovery of Jerusalem's ancient water system in 1867. However, because of its location and the role that archaeology has played in the modern nation-state of Israel's quest for national identity, this small hill has become one of the most excavated areas in Israel/Palestine. Its history of digs can be divided into four different eras.⁸ It begins with (1) the excavations under Ottoman Rule (1865-1919), followed by (2) the excavations carried out under the British Mandate (1920-1948) and (3) the excavations during the period of the divided city (1948-1967). The last period (4) includes all excavations after the reunification of Jerusalem (1967-today). Today, three active digs are carried out in the City of David by the Israel Antiques Authority (IAA), all of them sponsored by the Ir David Foundation/El'Ad. However, the development and integration of various archaeological sites into one publicly accessible tourist destination, now marketed as "City of David – Where it all began", has only been carried out for about 20 years.

According to Professor of Architecture and Urban Studies Wendy Pullan and her co-contributors (2013), today, the City of David heritage park is one of the most visited national historic parks in Israel. Annually, more than 500,000 visitors from all over the world visit the site, and it has become one of the most popular tourist attractions in Jerusalem. The visitors are invited to touch and discover the material remains and to walk in the footsteps of David, Hezekiah and the ancient Jewish pilgrims on their *aliyah* (literally, going up) to the Temple.

⁸ Here, this study follows Ronny Reich's chronological summary of excavations in the City of David (2011, 17-276).

The current heritage site includes a visitor centre, ongoing digs at the Giv’ati parking lot and on the Pilgrimage Road (Area S), and famous remnants of earlier excavations, such as the Siloam Pool, Warren’s Shaft, and Hezekiah’s Tunnel. However, before the City of David reached its current state as a well preserved and successfully marketed tourist attraction, it was mainly known only to archaeologists under this name.⁹ It was not until Eilat Mazar’s excavations of the Large Stone Structure in 2005 and her determination to have found King David’s Palace took that the description of this whole area as the place “where everything began” took hold in public.¹⁰ Simultaneously, the local Palestinian population of Silwan, which has inhabited the City of David for several generations, refers to it as the *Wadi Hilweh* neighbourhood. After 1967, many Palestinian had to flee their former homes in West Jerusalem and resettled in Silwan, turning it into one of the most densely populated areas in all of Jerusalem. The dispossession and resettlement process led to the construction of many simple houses in Wadi Hilweh, dating from the period shortly after the Six-Day War.

The occupational history of today’s Silwan leads directly into the ongoing and intense debate about today’s ownership of the City of David. It is not only a debate about who was first and whose right it is to dig, develop and manage its archaeological sites, but it also includes the international outcry over the ongoing Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem.¹¹ The increasing number of Jewish settlements is directly connected to El’Ad’s presence in Silwan and their development of the City of David’s heritage site. Moreover, while scholars usually refrain from using violence to settle their debates, it is their interpretation of archaeological records that play a decisive role in local, citywide and even global politics. As Pullan et al. poignantly observe, the City of David’s actors are in a “battle over hearts and minds in Israel and internationally” (2013, 76).

⁹ It was French archaeologist Raymond Weill (1920), who first introduced the term to the archaeological community in his book under the title *La Cité de David*.

¹⁰ Eilat Mazar's dating of the structures to Iron Age I or the Iron Age IIA was met with staunch criticism by other prominent scholars such as Israel Finkelstein and Ronny Reich, who refuse Mazar's conclusions that her findings can ultimately prove the existence of King David’s palace in the City of David. For more on the argument, see footnote three in Chapter One.

¹¹ Here, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 from December 2016 is the most prominent example of directly addressing the practice of installing Jewish settlements on occupied Palestinian territory (UNSC 2016). Although the resolution was met with harsh criticism and diplomatic actions on the site of Israel's government, it only restates article 47 and 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention that forbids the annexation of occupied territory and the transfer of the own population into occupied territory (ICRC 1950).

3.2.2 The Ir David Foundation

Since 1997, the City of David has been developed and managed by the Ir David Foundation, a private NGO, also known under the Hebrew acronym El'Ad. In 1984, David Be'eri (sometimes also called Davideleh), a well-connected former military official, religious Zionist, and controversial figure in Jerusalem's political spheres, founded El'Ad and continues to be its visionary leader. Ideologically, Pullan et al. (2013) associate El'Ad with the Gush Emunim movement (literally *bloc of the faithful*), an eschatologically minded political movement believing that "the establishment of the State of Israel constitutes the 'Beginning of the Redemption' which will lead to the ultimate complete Redemption by settling the entire area west of the Jordan" (Shiloah and Newman 2007, 143). Although technically, Gush Emunim is no longer an active movement, El'Ad's ideology seems to be directly influenced by the earlier religious-Zionist settler movements.¹²

El'Ad's involvement in the City of David changed the local Silwan population's situation and altered the structure, responsibilities, and political role of archaeology in Jerusalem. After a rather difficult start with the IAA, today, these two organisations work closely together and El'Ad funds and manages all the ongoing IAA excavations in the City of David and at the southern section of the Western Wall. Furthermore, the IAA fully supports all of El'Ad's future development plans for the City of David heritage park.¹³ Besides, the National Parks Authority transferred the official responsibilities to running the City of David excavation sites to El'Ad (see Mizrahi 2011, 44-46). Local actors and international observers alike have heavily critiqued handing over the management and development of formerly publicly accessible archaeological sites and park areas to a private organisation.

Additionally, El'Ad is promoted and supported by the highest political office in Israel (CODYC 2019) and well connected with American government officials, mainly through their close

¹² For a good summary of El'Ad's and Be'eri's ideological background, see Beinin (2013). In his article, historian Joel Beinin shows how in the past Be'eri and El'Ad have openly communicated that their actions in Silwan follow an ideologically motivated agenda.

¹³ In his detailed report about the changing relationship between the IAA and El'Ad, Raphael Greenberg (2014) shows how El'Ad eventually received the freedom and power to decide when, where and how to excavate in the City of David. According to documents of internal communication that Greenberg obtained, ultimately, the IAA has become a sub-contractor of El'Ad.

partnership with Christians United For Israel (CUFI).¹⁴ Although El Ad's donors' names are often kept private, just recently, several leaked documents brought to light that Russian oligarch Roman Abramovitch donated more than a hundred million dollars to El'Ad. According to journalist Uri Blau (2020), El'Ad invested Abramovitch's money in building infrastructure, buying land, and developing settlements in East Jerusalem.

Archaeology in Israel/Palestine has a long-standing history of being appropriated by politically and religiously motivated actors and governments. Today, it is especially El'Ad's active involvement in Jewish settlements in Silwan that is under criticism. However, El'Ad is not secretive about its underlying intentions. On the expansive City of David homepage, the Ir David Foundation states that they are "committed to continuing King David's legacy as well as revealing and connecting people to Ancient Jerusalem's glorious past through four key initiatives: archaeological excavation, tourism development, educational programming and residential revitalization" (CODHP n.d.-a). Today, it is virtually impossible to differentiate between the City of David heritage park and the El'Ad organization. Furthermore, El'Ad's many ties to political office and departments also make them an influential party in developing future tourist sites. According to journalist Nic Hasson (2015), El'Ad's further development plans include constructing the Kedem visitor centre above the Giv'ati parking lot excavation site, also connecting the City of David with the prospective and highly controversial Jerusalem cable car.

In the past two decades, several neighbourhood initiatives and NGOs began to oppose El'Ad's presence and practices in Silwan. Most prominent amongst them is the work of Emek Shaveh, an organisation that organises alternative archaeological tours in the City of David and publishes academic and investigative work about El'Ad. Emek Shaveh, proposes a more integral approach to archaeology in Silwan. An approach that does not exclude or threaten the current Palestinian population and features a more diverse presentation of archaeological remains in the neighbourhood. As Chapter 3.3 will reveal, Emek Shaveh has been very

¹⁴ The City of David was repeatedly featured in CUFI's TV production "The Watchmen with Erick Stakelbeck". Stakelbeck sells El'Ad's narrative to CUFI's conservative Christian audience in the U.S. During CUFI's annual conferences, the City of David was promoted by high political officials, such as former Vice President Mike Pence, and their work was introduced as an important voice against the Palestinian lies regarding the history of Jerusalem.

successful in influencing and informing international scholarship about the City of David. Virtually no academic discussion takes place without being based on their findings and meticulous documentation.

3.2.3 The City of David Heritage Park

The City of David heritage park is best described as a biblically themed tourist attraction that fills otherwise meaningless archaeological remains with spectacular storytelling and interactive heritage design. The heritage park includes a visitor centre, a 3D cinema, a gift shop and a patchwork of past and present excavations, delivering the proposed scientific background to the themed tours. The main tour is a guided three-hour walk, promoted online as the “Biblical City of David Tour” covering “Dr Mazar’s Palace Excavation”, the “Royal Acropolis (Area G)”, “the underground water system from the time of Abraham” and “Hezekiah’s Tunnel” (CODHP n.d.-a). This general tour is accompanied by two more recent additions to the heritage park's portfolio. “The Hallelujah Night Show” and “The Temple Mount Ascent” also marketed as the Pilgrimage Road tour. The Hallelujah Night Show is marketed as “a thrilling, outdoor cinematic experience projected onto the ancient ruins in the actual site where this story unfolded” (CODHP n.d.-a). Its multimedia installation depicts Nehemiah’s “return to rebuild ancient Jerusalem” (CODHP n.d.-a). The Temple Mount Ascent tour on the Pilgrimage Road is one of the video tour’s central subjects and will be introduced now in more detail.

3.2.4 The Pilgrimage Road

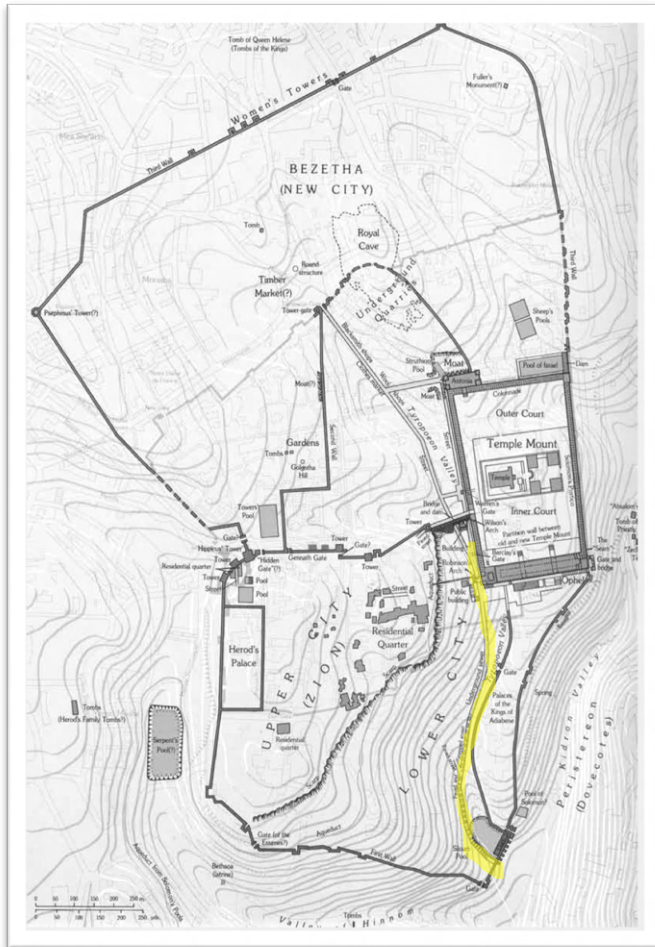


Figure 3.2 Jerusalem in the Roman Period with the approximate location of the Stepped Stone structure (marked in yellow by me) (Map source: Bahat and Rubinstein 1990)

The so-called Pilgrimage Road is a central attraction in the City of David heritage park. The park's operators suggest that it initially led from the Siloam Pool to the Temple Mount and that pilgrims used it on their way up to the Temple. This narrative is supported by colourful paintings that are mounted in the tunnels, depicting pilgrims on their way up to the Temple (for more on this, see Chapter 7.2.4). The Stepped Street winds its way up from the Siloam Pool through the Tyropoeon Valley, continuing alongside the Western Wall next to the Temple Mount Platform. Several scholars have pointed to its original high standard and impressive structure (Reich 2011, 241; Szanton et al. 2019, 147; Geva 2019, 19). However, since Jerusalem's siege (70 CE), the

original street has been buried under a thick layer of debris. Today, the once open road is located underground in its entirety, and above ground, the houses of modern-day Wadi Hilweh cover the mountain range.

The Pilgrimage Road has a long history of excavations.¹⁵ The street was first discovered by Charles Warren (1867-1870), who, like many others after him, proposed that it was built under the reign of King Herod the Great (37 - 4 BCE). However, since the 1990s, new finds suggested a later construction period, either aligning it more generally with the Herodian dynasty or Herod Agrippa II (53-66 CE). As a result of these attributions, the street was named Herodian Road. However, more recent scholarship predominantly refers to the Herodian Road as the “Stepped Street”, emphasising its massive stairway structure. This more neutral description is also an indicator of the change in the dating of its construction period. In their latest report, the IAA archaeologists Szanton et al. (2019, 148 and 163) give a relatively narrow date of construction, arguing that it was completed after 30/1or 31/32 CE, but not later as 41/2 CE, basing their theory mainly on numismatic finds alongside the Stepped Street structure. Instead of Herod, the authors suggest that Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator who is most famously known for his interrogation of Jesus, is the street’s actual sponsor (162-163). However, this relatively narrow construction period suggests that the massive road was only in use for more or less 30 years.

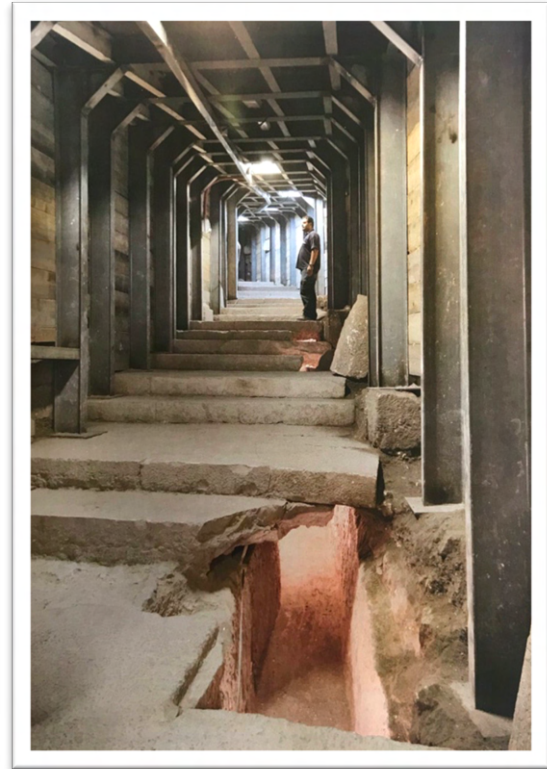


Figure 3.3 Stepped Street with Drainage Channel underneath, as excavated by Reich and Shukron north of the Siloam Pool (Source: Reich 2011, 239)

While many of the earlier excavators only laid bare a few steps of the street and small portions of the drainage channel running beneath it, the approach to excavating it changed during Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron’s excavation in 2004. Under their auspice, the road and adjacent tunnel were excavated horizontally, and they installed heavy metal and wooden supports underground. As a result, for the first time since 70 CE, it was possible to walk on portions of the historic

¹⁵ For a complete documentation of historical and current excavations on the Stepped Street and in its vicinity, see Szanton et al. (2019, 148-159).

street and through the drainage channel. Although Reich admits that “the marginal contribution of every additional meter diminishes”, he emphasises the importance of the “monument” for

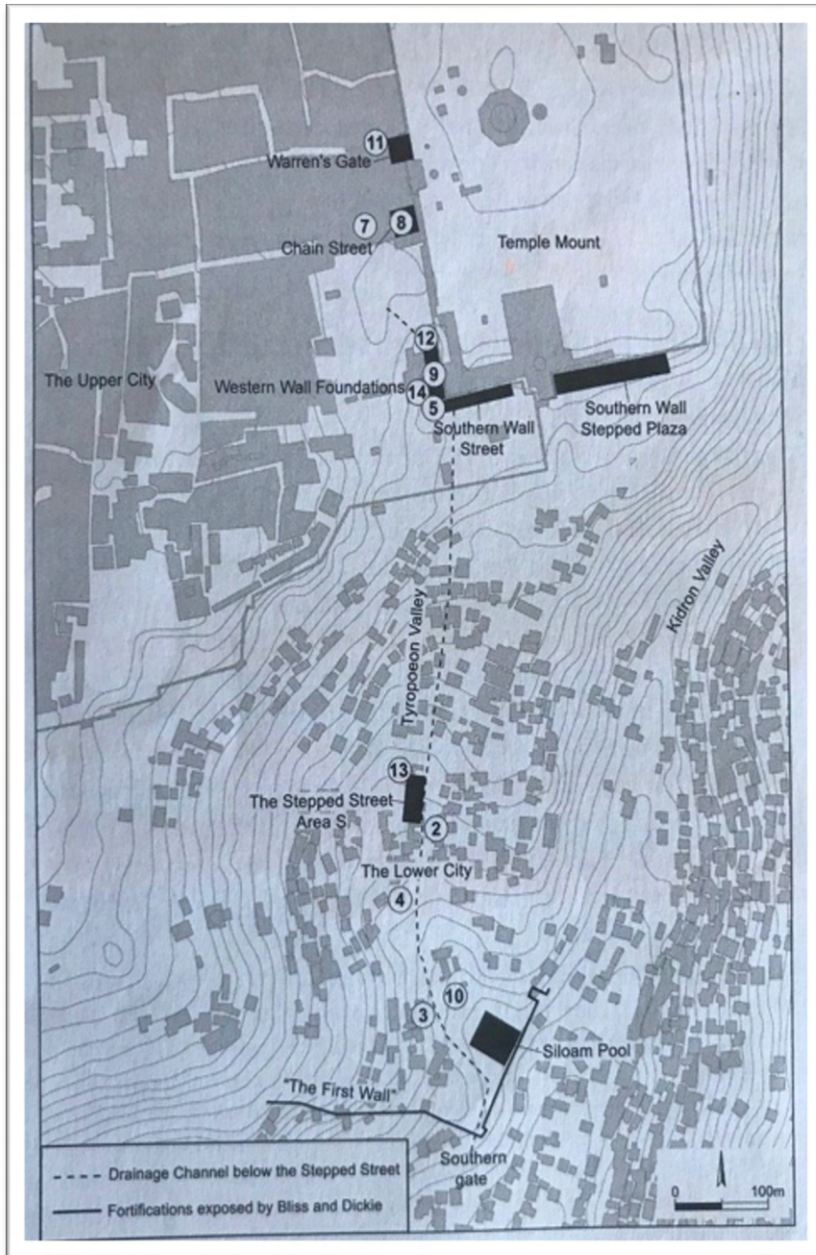


Figure 3.4 Locations of the fourteen historical archaeological digs on the Stepped Street structure (Source: Szanton et al. 2019, 149)

the “tourist experience” (2011, 233). In his anecdotal description of the dig, Reich points specifically to the drainage channel's “dramatic” usage as a hiding place during the Jewish revolt, quoting passages from Josephus depicting Jerusalem’s siege (241-243). However, due to court orders, Shukron and Reich’s excavations had to stop several times, as Palestinian residents were complaining that the digging produced cracks in their homes (McGirk 2010; Reich 2011, 248). Since then, similar allegations have led to additional court orders. However, none of them terminated the horizontal excavations underneath the private

residences for good. The clearing of the drainage channel and the Stepped Street’s horizontal excavation, including the installation of heavy framing, became a common practice in the excavations after Reich and Shukron. As the latest addition to the underground Pilgrimage Road, the recently excavated Area S has been made available for touristic usage (for location

of Area S, see *fig. 3.4*, number 13). This general change in archaeological method roughly aligns with El'Ad's rise to power and increasing influence over the City of David's excavations.

As aforementioned, on their homepage, the City of David advertises the Pilgrimage Road tour under a different name as the Temple Mount Ascent tour. Since its initial opening in 2011, "one can now walk the streets of Second Temple Jerusalem and be amazed by its splendour". While "[t]he monumental foundation stones of the Western Wall at the foot of the Temple Mount" are marketed as the eventual highlight of this tour (CODHP n.d.-a), its outlook has been changed several times due to further progress in the ongoing excavations.¹⁶ In the bottom section, north of the Siloam Pool and in Area S, the street is open for touristic usage. It is entirely covered by heavy steel framing, and the expensive construction allows for a smooth walk up the Stepped Street. However, in between Area S (360 meters south of the Western Wall) and the Davidson Centre, the street has not yet been reconstructed. Here, the Temple Mount Ascent tour happens in the drainage channel, as demonstrated by Dasberg and Spielman in the video material.

Several archaeologists have criticised the excavation of the Stepped Street structure for the outdated practice of horizontal tunnelling, the lack of relevant findings that support any new knowledge about Jerusalem during the Roman period, and the personal and political implications for Silwan's residents (See Chapter 3.3.2.1). Moreover, archaeologist Katherine Galor (2015) points to the significant problem of treating King Herod the Great, the street's supposed builder, as "a national hero". According to her, this posthumous praise completely contradicts the initial negative depictions of his character through his contemporaries (65). Moreover, she suggests that "[T]he Herodian Street and Tunnel, rather than presenting a valid scientific endeavor, can be viewed as part of a larger project of the Israeli government to lay cultural and territorial claims on their internationally contested ownership of East Jerusalem" (73). Similarly to Galor, tour guide Anna Veeder and archaeologist Yonathan Mizrachi (2014) of Emek Shaveh point to the misleading presentation of archaeological data, wherein both street and drainage channel are presented as part of the same construction. Furthermore, Veeder and Mizrachi note that the

¹⁶ New sections of the Pilgrimage Road have been opened in the past two years, each time accompanied by heavy publicity. While in 2019, The US ambassador to Israel, David Friedman, symbolically hammered through a made-up wall to open a new section, in 2020, the unveiling of the latest part was published first on YouTube.

ancient sewage system [...] is higher than the street level, leading one to conclude that the two were built during different periods. [...] Despite this, the Antiquities Authority and the City of David site present both the street segment and the sewage system as part of the street constructed during the Second Temple Period. (146)

This confusing narrative is also criticised by Galor, who observes that the drainage channel runs ten meters above the Stepped Street at a certain point (2015, 72).

At no point in the video material do the two protagonists identify the road as the Stepped Street. However, in the first part of the two-part video series, one of the IAA archaeologists, Joe Uziel, explains the recent findings that lead to a new theory regarding the origin and dating of the street (CODYC 2020b). Nevertheless, the video's protagonists continue to refer to the street as Pilgrimage Road, primarily highlighting its function during the three annual pilgrimage festivals.

3.2.5 The City of David Online Media Presence

The City of David heritage site maintains a vast internet presence, including a professional homepage, active social media channels on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, and a continuously updated YouTube channel. Through these different outlets, they not only give their virtual visitors insight into recent archaeological digs and spectacular findings, but they also advertise events, sell replicas of archaeological findings, such as the earrings mentioned in the video and use these platforms for their international marketing and fundraising. One tab on their homepage specifically advertises “virtual travel” to the City of David, including an interactive Jerusalem panoramic view, an interactive ancient Jerusalem map, an interactive Jerusalem virtual tour, a City of David timeline, and a snippet of the 3D movie that is also an integral part of the presentation in the City of David heritage park (CODHP n.d.-b). Like the heritage park, the City of David's online presence is run entirely by the El'Ad organisation.

The YouTube channel's predominant languages are English and Hebrew. The channel offers recurring segments, such as a video series subtitled *City of David: Bringing the Bible to Life*. As of today, this series offers twenty short videos that individually have up to 13,000 clicks. In the videos, director of international affairs Ze'ev Orenstein introduces a “special” find from the excavations, often standing in the location where it was initially found and puts the find into a biblical context. Orenstein quotes verses from the Hebrew Bible that he carries with him in

every episode and sometimes his brief interpretations are accompanied by professional graphics and animations.

Furthermore, the YouTube channel advertises special events ahead of their screening and promises exclusive inside looks into the ongoing excavations in the City of David. The creativity varies from segment to segment. While a fictional story of an American student who, in her ostentatious naivety, is awestruck by the wisdom and professionalism of an actual City of David's archaeologist represents a more storified approach (CODYC 2020a), other segments present a more scholarly perspective on the City of David (CODYC 2020c). The videos almost exclusively present and interpret archaeological findings tied to biblical periods and the two Temples. Their recurring motif is the City of David's significance as the place "where everything began" and how archaeology connects modern Israel to its 3,000-year-old roots of David and Solomon, the prophets, and Herod – who, according to Galor, "has evolved from a villain to a hero of the Judeo-Christian-identifying public" (Galor 2015, 77).

3.3 Stand der Forschung: City of David

The City of David has been a topic in academic discussion since the first explorers and archaeologists came to Jerusalem to dig on the south-eastern slope outside of the Old City. However, with the emergence of El'Ad, the City of David has also become an enigmatic case for archaeology's political and religious ties in Israel. Furthermore, scholars have revealed the intricate connection of tourism and heritage management and ethical questions regarding the privatisation of archaeology and the mediation of heritage. As a result, the academic discourse about the City of David appears as a twofold discussion. On the one hand, a steady stream of archaeological reports is published, and archaeological finds are discussed according to their relevance for the knowledge about Jerusalem's history. On the other hand, archaeological finds in the City of David are subject to a larger meta-discussion about power, politics, and ethics in archaeology and heritage design.

As the main scope of this thesis is the past's mediation through the video material, the Stand der Forschung sub-chapter will summarise the previous academic studies and group them under the four headlines essential to answering the research question. Lastly, this thesis will be placed within the broader academic discussion, and its unique angle and contribution will be presented.

3.3.1 The Research on the City of David

Scholars from different fields of study have researched the City of David; however, most of them have a background in archaeology. Predominantly, archaeologists discuss the one-sided narrative and mediation of heritage in the City of David and ask for a different approach that to a greater degree includes the local population in the excavation and presentation of archaeology. Moreover, they discuss the increasing role of private NGO's, such as El'Ad, in Jerusalem's archaeology and the way both their access to international donations and connection to political power changes the landscape of archaeology.

Scholars with such diverse backgrounds as media studies, sociology, linguist anthropology, Old Testament studies, and architecture focus mainly on the different texts and signs that are part of the City of David experience, such as signposts, maps, narratives of tour guides and the architectural style of El'Ad's heritage park and settlements. Furthermore, they discuss El'Ad's exclusive take on the City of David's history, often combining participatory fieldwork with a further analysis of texts. A few of those scholars also discuss the City of David, focusing on what is not depicted in the heritage park and who is left out by the one-sided narratives.

After one initial study by Jeffrey Yas (2000), it took another ten years before the academic interest in the City of David substantially increased. On the one hand, this can be explained through the incremental increase of influence the El'Ad foundation has on archaeology and heritage design in Jerusalem – they simply could not be overlooked anymore. On the other hand, the critical work of groups, such as Emek Shaveh, has shed light on the situation of Silwan's local population. Both Greenberg and Mizrachi of Emek Shaveh have a background in archaeology, and they know the political landscape of Jerusalem well.

Beginning with Pullan et al. (2013), the academic literature about the City of David becomes more complex, as it increasingly tries to combine a critical look at the history of archaeology in Silwan with an analysis of the political implications of El'Ad's heritage design and how that relates to the situation in all of Israel/Palestine. Here, especially Galor's and Kletter's more recent monographs demonstrate how the power shift in Jerusalem's archaeological world directly results from El'Ad's increasing influence on local and global politics.

3.3.2 Recurring Themes

The scholarly discussion about the City of David is overwhelmingly critical of the involved archaeologists, El'Ad, and the role of governmental organisations.¹⁷ This section discusses the City of David under four interconnected headlines: (1) The ethics of archaeology. (2) The exclusionary narrative of El'Ad's heritage design. (3) The Disneyfication of heritage tourism. (4) The religious performative character of the City of David heritage park.

3.3.2.1 The Ethics of Archaeology

There are several critiques concerning the practice of archaeology in the City of David and its ethical standards. First, various scholars question the professional standards of the involved archaeologists (Yas 2000, 23; Meyers 2012, 212; Feige 2015) and their methods. Here, they point especially to the long-abandoned practice of tunnel excavations that has been revived for the unearthing of the Pilgrimage Road (Veeder and Mizrachi 2014, 146; Thelle 2015, 17), as it is “relinquishing its disciplinary credibility” (Greenberg 2019, 374). According to archaeologist Raz Kletter, tunnelling does not resemble “an archaeological dig as it is a work of construction. It includes breaching, digging horizontally and building a massive support system: steel pillars, steel sheets, welding, filling with construction, pouring grout (a liquid type of cement)” (2020, 62). Furthermore, scholars address the active role of archaeologists in El'Ad's religious-nationalistic storytelling and identify the contradiction between a genuine professional practice and an ideological demand (Greenberg 2019, 374; Kletter 2020, 58). By referring to “two senior IAA archaeologists [...] (who themselves) see tunnelling as a destructive, unethical way of digging, which no serious archaeologist supports” (2020, 167), Kletter also reveals that the archaeologists who work with El'Ad are fully aware of their unethical practice. The expensive, outdated and unethical practice of tunnelling seems even more redundant, considering the overall assessment of the archaeological data. Galor summarises the archaeological findings in the recently carved out tunnels as contributing “nothing that was not known prior nor did they

¹⁷ There is one study that tries to shed a different light on the situation in Silwan. Middle Eastern Studies scholar Shaul Bartal (2012) argues that the Jewish people have a much longer history in Silwan, and Palestinians unrightfully deny both Jewish history and access to the Jewish roots in Silwan. However, Bartal does not discuss any relevant academic sources but bases most of his study on Israeli news outlets. Moreover, he dismisses most of the other scholarly work as being politically motivated. His article *Fabricating Palestinian History: The Battle over Silwan* was published by the *Middle East Quarterly* - the outlet of the American based ultra-conservative Middle East Forum.

promise to provide any useful data or enhance the knowledge regarding the chronology, function, or topography of the area” (2017, 130).

Secondly, in combination with the outdated practice of horizontal tunnelling, some archaeologists criticise the privatisation of archaeology and the increasing role that private funding plays in archaeological digs. According to them, the privatisation puts Jerusalem’s archaeology entirely in the hands of radical organisations, such as El’Ad (Greenberg 2019, 373-374; Meyers 2012, 212). As biblical scholar Rannfrid Thelle (2015) looks back at the practice of biblical archaeology before the rise of El’Ad, she detects a lower level of scientific research, today. Thelle summarises:

Even under various colonial and neo-colonial paradigms, as well as nationalist agendas of various sorts, high scientific standards were maintained, and much of what was excavated and conclusions that were drawn from the material were subject to stringent scholarly debate and inquiry. (15)

Thirdly, when discussing the ethics of archaeology in the City of David, scholars repeatedly point to the necessity of a community-based approach to archaeology. However, this approach is based on the understanding that archaeologists are not “enlightenment-based expert practitioners of the scientific method” (de Vries 2012, 161) and “that conflicting narratives can coexist” (Greenberg 2009, 48). As aforementioned, this discussion of alternatives is led predominantly by activists and scholars of Emek Shaveh. While Veeder and Mizrachi call “for a balance between the preservation and protection of cultural heritage, including antiquities sites, economic development (tourism), the needs of local residents and environmental considerations” (2014, 146), professor of media and communication Chaim Noy describes, how the case of Silwan led him to consider the possibilities of combining activism and critical scholarship (2012, 39; 2013, 215). Raphael Greenberg concludes that archaeology “cannot promote chauvinism and conflict based on imagined histories. Ethical practice in archaeology must lie within an emancipated and emancipating archaeology” (2015, 27).

3.3.2.2 The Exclusionary Narrative of El’Ad Heritage Design

The second scope of critical scholarship about El’Ad is concerned with their mediation of archaeology through narratives and the neo-colonialism of their heritage design that neglects

the complex layers of history and aims to eradicate the Palestinian presence in Silwan. This critique is based predominantly on executing ethnographic work in the City of David.

First, scholars point to the critical role of street signs, maps and architecture, manifesting exclusory visual imagery in the City of David and its neighbourhood of Wadi El-Hilweh. According to Noy, the images convey “not an archaeologically informed figure of an ancient city, but a *purist fantasy of a homogenized ethno-national (Jewish) life* [emphasis in original]” (2012, 34). De Vries observes: “All the words and symbols are unwelcoming except to those who revere the majestic sacredness of David, the poet king of ancient Israel. The local community is not welcomed” (2012, 172). Pullan et al. assert that throughout the park, visitors are either left alone with only marginal explanations of the archaeological remains, or they are fully immersed in the tour guides’ “glorious tale of David’s conquest of Jerusalem, [and] the establishment of the city as a unique religious and political centre of a united monarchy and large empire” (2013, 83). Moreover, the authors describe the pompous neo-biblical style of architecture and compare it to the simple houses of Palestinian residents. However, even though the park's operators do everything to convey a clean, friendly and positive attitude, visitors are greeted by an omnipresence of fences, heavily armed security guards and surveillance cameras (87-89). In his travelogue of Silwan, Kletter (2020) notices both the posters on the Giv’ati fence that depict the heritage park’s modern-day vision and the naïve art scattered throughout the exhibition, depicting the idealised history of the Jewish people. He concludes: “Unintentionally, El-Ad has portrayed the changing fate of the State of Israel. Moving from the Givati fence to the Shiloam Pool art, one moves away from a modern democracy to a fundamentalist state” (8).

Secondly, scholars are concerned with the overall nationalist and religious storytelling that completely excludes the current residents of Silwan. Part of this approach is the othering between *us*, referring to the Jewish people and *them*, referring to an often undefined other (Pullan et al. 2013, 84; Noy 2012, 35). According to peace and development researcher Johanna Mannergren Selimovic and political scientist Lisa Strömbom, El’Ad’s goal is to “create continuity between the ancient past and the legitimacy of a nation-state for the Jewish people in the present state of Israel” (2015, 197). Moreover, in his description of the live tour, de Vries portrays the storytelling as counter-evident to the academic discussion and points to its exclusion of any stratigraphic data that does not support “the sacred nationalist agenda of El’ad” (2012, 173). Referring to Sandra Scham’s concept of a “desired past” as a motivator behind the

manipulation of history and archaeology, de Vries detects a “required past” in the presentation of the City of David (178-179).

Most of the researchers agree that El’Ad’s exclusionary approach has direct consequences for the inhabitants of Silwan and has in parts already lead to their displacement. In the words of Pullan et al., “El’Ad [...] treats the real places of Palestinian life surrounding their settlement as temporary glitch or illusion in the face of the exclusive religious-national content of the site” (Pullan et al. 2013, 85). According to sociologist David Landy, El’Ad aims for two goals: “[F]irstly, object-related authenticity – to describe this confusing archaeology dig as the genuine City of David. Secondly, existential authenticity – to allow tourists to have a meaningful bodily experience of the genuine city of David” (2017, 315). Landy’s analysis of the two types of authenticity leads directly to the third recurring theme: The Disneyfication of heritage tourism.

3.3.2.3 The Disneyfication of Heritage Tourism

Several times, scholars discuss El’Ad’s approach to exhibiting archaeological remains as an example for the Disneyfication of heritage (Yas 2000, 22; Pullan et al. 2013, 84). This does not come as a surprise, as Spielman himself ties their vision for heritage design to Disney World (Doron Spielman, as quoted in Pullan et al. 2013, 85). Disneyfication in the City of David is specified as (1) creating an “authentic” tactile experience of history (Landy 2017, 318), and (2) a form of mythological practice that is narrated and contextualised by expert guides and through multimedia presentations (Greenberg 2015, 26; Paz 2014, 135-136). Furthermore, de Vries reframes El’Ad’s storytelling as invoking a “Holy Landscape” [that] does not exist in the geographic sense as a place of material substance (as in the term landscape archaeology) but rather as a mythic, iconic, idol-like representation, a landscape of the mind” (2012, 181). Galor also detects a combination of place, performance, and religion. According to her, are the tunnel tours a method of “physically reenacting the adventurism of the city's past and present explorers and experiencing the mysteries of the biblical and historical narratives set in Jerusalem” (2017, 130).

Referring to a tour for school children in which he participated in, Jeffrey Yas already described in his article from 2000 that “the effect of historical adventure had clearly taken hold on these young hearts more than any trip to Disney World ever could” (2000, 22). Moreover, the author

is realizing “the potential narrative power of such a viscerally exhilarating tourist itinerary” (22). Yas’s analysis shows that El’Ad’s concept has not changed much over the years. Narrative, embodiment, emotions and performance play an essential role from the beginning.

3.3.2.4 The Religious Performative Character of El’Ad’s City of David

Central to the design of El’Ad’s heritage is the religious performative character of the exhibition. Although this aspect is often only dealt with in one or two sentences, most scholars perceive the religious character of El’Ad’s multisensory approach. According to Greenberg, El’Ad aims for their visitors to have a “numinous experience” through manufacturing “a crude amalgam of history, nationalism, and quasi-religious pilgrimage” (2009, 43). Moreover, he asserts that El’Ad’s heritage design is trying to achieve “a mystical union of the Jewish visitor with the native soil” (44). The concept of pilgrimage is also discussed by Meyers, who comments:

The invocation to the numinous and the mystical in this context offers the visitor an opportunity to relive the past in a unique fashion and provides the tourist with a religious sense of authority of what they conceive to be the past. This kind of archaeological or “pilgrim” tourism is not only selective and non-inclusive but also is designed to strengthen all sorts of contested national and religious claims. (2012, 213)

Noy quotes one of the tourist guides, who points out that “we (the current group of visitors) are the best proof of that (i.e., the Israeli people cannot be destroyed): walking these paths, again, after two thousand years [...] and so I see us as kind of pilgrims of Jerusalem being thirdly built.” Paz’s article, titled *Guiding Settler Jerusalem: Voice and the Transpositions of History in Religious Zionist Pilgrimage* reveals the different roles of guides and visitors in the pilgrimage. According to him, “visitors are constituted as pilgrims and assert a claim to the landscape, (while) [...] the guide is granted place-making authority as ‘native’ and professional” (2014, 130). The tour guide's role is also in the centre of Paz’s account of senior guide Rabby Maly’s criteria for a successful guiding performance. Noy quotes Maly, saying:

Rather than having the visitors feel that they ‘belong’ to the site, that it is ‘theirs’, he would want them to sense that ‘It’s connected to me, it’s something that speaks to me, it’s something that I am connected to [mexubar elav]. It is something that I connect to [mitxaber elav], in fact, via all kinds of capillaries and arteries and veins,’ et cetera, et cetera.’ He thus established the criterion by which guides are meant to evaluate their effectiveness: did the audience feel a connection? (135-136)

Describing the importance of archaeology for the settlers of Silwan, Feige detects an

everyday exhilaration of living in the shadow of the Temple Mount, being able to touch the very stones that, according to their belief, King David once touched and humbly serving their nation along the ancient pilgrimage route to the Temple, which they are certain will soon be rebuilt. (2015, 252)

Here, Feige observes the unique character of excavating the ancient pilgrimage route to the Temple, for according to him, the volunteers and archaeologists in the City of David work with an eschatological mindset of soon rebuilding the Temple. Kletter detects a similar notion of a significant and purpose-driven excitement in archaeologist Eli Shukron's account of re-opening the Pilgrimage Road's drainage channel.

I am now ascending the first step on my way to the Temple, [...] From here they began to ascend to the Temple, very slowly. One doesn't run to the Temple, one walks very slowly. I feel a great deal of excitement because this is the first time I can actually touch the destruction. (Eli Shukron, as quoted in Kletter 2020, 58)

Lastly, in her study, Galor critically summarises the tunnel excavations related to the Herodian Street as one of El'Ad's most recent attempts to

strengthen the Jewish narrative of pilgrimage to the Holy City, as well as to create both a tangible and ideological link between the First and Second Temple periods, between the City of David and the Temple Mount, and finally between the Israelite and Jewish past and the Israeli present. (2017, 130)

3.3.3 Summary and Placing This Study

First, the current Stand der Forschung shows that political and ethical questions regarding the City of David's archaeology and heritage approach are widely discussed. Furthermore, scholars acknowledge the threat it poses for the local population and the broader peace process in Israel/Palestine. Secondly, the Stand der Forschung shows to a troubling degree that El'Ad has already reached a state of hegemonic power over archaeology in the City of David and essential parts of the Old City that by now seems irreversible. Thirdly, one of this thesis's peculiar findings is that El'Ad's specific branding of the heritage park as a place for touching history and connecting it with the ancient Israelite and Jewish roots has been successfully communicated to the public. The City of David's staff (Meyers 2012, 213; Paz 2014, 135-136), the archaeologists (Kletter 2020, 58), and even the former mayor of Jerusalem (Shilo and Collins-Kreiner 2019, 536) repeat the same narrative over and over again. This shows the success of El'Ad's strategy of maintaining a strong narrative and combining it with tangible archaeological "facts". Fourthly, throughout their publications, researchers more or less

regularly acknowledge the intentional religious performative character of El'Ad's heritage design. However, except for Paz (2014) and Landy (2017), none of the authors spends more time discussing the performative religious aspects in detail. Lastly, although a few studies briefly comment on the expansive and unapologetically ideological internet presence of the City of David heritage park (Meyers 2012, 213; Pullan et al. 2013, 84; Thelle 2015, 16), none of the above discusses El'Ad's internet presence as an essential tool for mediating religious and nationalist heritage to a worldwide audience.

As a result, this study can be placed within the current Stand der Forschung as pursuing and combining loose ends that have not yet been adequately researched and of opening the new investigation of *how* heritage is (re)mediated in the City of David. This will be done,

1. By discussing how El'Ad's performative approach to heritage design is rooted in an eschatologically driven understanding of Jerusalem.
2. By elaborating how the online tour on the Pilgrimage Road is a vivid example of El'Ad's essential combination of narrative and performance.
3. By showing how YouTube, not only in times of a worldwide pandemic, plays an essential role for the mediation of religious heritage in the City of David.
4. By discussing if the video material could be ultimately fulfilling the role of a digital religious ritual

4 (Re)mediating the “Really Real”: Pilgrimage, Authenticity, and Online Religion

4.1 Introduction

This study is predominantly interested in *how* the past is remembered and mediated in the video tour to the foundation stones of the Temple Mount. However, as already established in Chapter One, speaking of cultural memory seems impossible without sufficiently addressing the role that (re)mediation plays when remembering the past. That is why Erll and Rigney assert that cultural memory is constantly produced through the interplay of mediation, remediation, and public performance (for the different layers of mediation regarding the City of David, see also *fig. 1.1*).

While the subsequent chapter (Chapter Five) will introduce a theoretical framework to discuss *how* the past is remembered, this chapter considers theoretical and practical aspects of the *(re)mediation* of the past in the City of David heritage park. Therefore, this section will look specifically at how the topics of pilgrimage, authenticity and online religion are related. What connects these somewhat insulated topics is the question of “reality” and how real things are both for the heritage park’s visitors and the viewers of its online (re)mediation. In order to address these questions, this section begins by introducing one of the core themes that Dasberg and Spielman repeatedly address: the theme of Jewish pilgrimage. The recent opening of the “authentic” Pilgrimage Road allows visitors to walk the ancient path of the pilgrims on their way to the Temple. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, this embodied tradition also correlates to the themes of Zionist pilgrimage (Chapter 4.2.2) and Jerusalem’s role in the imagination of the Jewish people (Chapter 4.2.3). Following this discussion, Chapter 4.3 and Chapter 4.4 will address theoretical aspects of (re)mediating the past by focusing (1) on the role that visitors play in the authentication of heritage parks and (2) by discussing the potency of an online (re)mediation of a religious ritual through a video tour. Both in the online and offline worlds, the visitor/viewer plays an essential role in the orchestration of authentic experiences and the (re)mediation of the past. This reciprocal relationship between content producers and consumers raises further questions about the “really real” of an archaeological heritage park.

However, as this study uses such nebulous terms as *Jewish*, *Jews* and *Judaism*, the somewhat complicated issue of Jewish identity and memory culture has to be addressed right away. Sociologist Calvin Goldscheider asserts that Jewish communities around the globe are diverse, and “when the context changes, Judaism changes; when contexts vary, Jewishness and Judaism vary as well” (2015, 304). Therefore, this study neither assumes a uniform Jewish audience nor a homogeneous Jewish identity when discussing the video material and the (re)mediated Jewish past of the City of David. Moreover, as sociologist Debra Kaufman determines:

Prior to a postmodern turn in intellectual inquiry, most discussions of Jewish identity assumed the existence of an ‘essential Jewish self.’ More recently, feminist and postmodern critiques have forced us to make explicit the political uses of linear and essentialist constructs, especially when doing identity research. (Kaufman 2011)

Essentialist claims about what “the Jews” think or how “the Jews” identify should be avoided when discussing both historical and contemporary Jewish communities. A nuanced approach to these terms is also imperative for discussing the video material. However, as Dasberg and Spielman constantly make identity claims, this study ought to ask whom they might refer to when speaking of *we*, *us*, and *ours* (see Chapter 7.2.2, 7.2.7, and 7.3.1.2).

4.2 (Re)mediating Jerusalem: Jewish Pilgrimage, Zionist Pilgrimage, and Jerusalem of the Imagination

According to scholar of religion Alex Norman, *pilgrimage* can be widely defined as “a subset of tourism; a tradition of travel, either formally or informally described by a social group. Most often this will be a religious tradition, but it also includes secular and civil religious traditions such as battlefield memorial travel” (Norman 2016, 488).

Jerusalem has been a central location for religious pilgrimage for more than 3,000 years, beginning with the Jewish Shalosh Regalim, Jerusalem’s three annual harvest pilgrimage festivals, before later also becoming the holiest pilgrimage site for Christians and the third most revered place in Islam. Moreover, the imagery and performance of pilgrimage also play an essential role in the rise of Zionist nationalism in the late nineteenth century. Therefore, this study will also consider the role of secular pilgrimage in modern-day Israel.¹⁸ However, one

¹⁸ This chapter predominantly relies on the work of David M. Gitlitz and Linda Kay Davidson’s book, *Pilgrimage and the Jews* (Gitlitz and Davidson 2006). The authors establish a firm basis for the relationship of

can argue that pilgrimage to Jerusalem results from the constant mediation of this unique city both as a religious centre and nationalist symbol. That is why the next two sub-chapters deal with religious and Zionist pilgrimage, while Chapter 4.2.3 tries to shed light on how Jerusalem has been mediated for the religious imagination – a theme that will also play a role when discussing the religious character of the video material in Chapter 7.3.4.

4.2.1 The Three Mandatory Pilgrimages in Judaism

In Exodus 23: 14-17 God directs every male Israelite to partake in three annual pilgrimages to the Temple in Jerusalem.

Three times in the year you shall keep a feast to me. 15 You shall keep the Feast of Unleavened Bread. As I commanded you, you shall eat unleavened bread for seven days at the appointed time in the month of Abib, for in it you came out of Egypt. None shall appear before me empty-handed. 16 You shall keep the Feast of Harvest, of the firstfruits of your labor, of what you sow in the field. You shall keep the Feast of Ingathering at the end of the year, when you gather in from the field the fruit of your labor. 17 Three times in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord God. (English Standard Version - ESV)

According to Gitlitz and Davidson, the Shalosh Regalim were already “well-established by at least the time of Jeremiah (628-586 BCE)” (2006, 25). Moreover, through biblical command, Jerusalem became the number one pilgrimage destination for the ancient Israelites, as all other local shrines were destroyed and worshipping there was forbidden. In Chapter 16:15, the book of Deuteronomy specifies the three festivals of pilgrimage as the festivals of Passover, Shavuot and Sukkot. All three festivals included specific rites and worship at the Temple, including singing, recitations from the Psalms and personal and corporate prayers. People wore white clothing, as ritual purity was an essential aspect of entering the Temple courts. According to Gitlitz and Davidson, “(o)ne went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim because one was required to go. One’s sense of Jewish identity was bolstered by fulfilling the commandment in the company of one’s peers.” (35). Similarly, Egyptologist Jan Assmann also acknowledges the identity-creating character of the Shalosh Regalim and therefore calls them “[f]estivals of collective remembrance” (2011, 198), wherein the pilgrimages served as one of many “collective mnemotechniques” that are imposed in the book of Deuteronomy (196). Jerusalem’s central

the Jewish people with the topic of pilgrimage and show the complexity and variety of Jewish pilgrimage. Moreover, throughout their book, Gitlitz and Davidson relate the ancient mandatory pilgrimages of the Israelites to modern-day pilgrimages.

role is also reflected by countless Psalms and prophetic texts in the Hebrew Bible, such as the prophecy of Ezekiel, who states in Chapter 5: “Thus says the Lord God: ‘This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the center of the nations, with countries all around her’” (ESV).

In the video material, Dasberg and Spielman repeatedly refer to Shavuot (“Feast of Weeks”), also known as *Yom ha-Bikkurim* (“The Day of the First-fruits”). During the Temple periods, the feast included a procession led by an ox with golden painted horns. The pilgrims assembled in nearby towns the night before Shavuot. In the morning they ascended to the Temple, where two loaves of bread were offered. According to Gitlitz and Davidson, Shavuot “came to recall the forty-year period of wandering in the desert” (2006, 26), transforming the pilgrimages into “rites of nationhood” (21-22). However, theologian Louis Jacobs (2007) asserts that in rabbinic times, the meaning of Shavuot was further altered from initially being an ancient agricultural fest to commemorating a “significant historical event in the life of the people” (422). Now the giving of the Torah at Sinai was the main event of remembrance, a connection, that according to Lewis, was first made by Rabbi Eleazar in the third century (422). At one point in the video material, Spielman refers both to Shavuot and the biblical book of Ruth (see Scene 10.4). The reading of the Book of Ruth is central to the celebration of Shavuot in the synagogue. Jacobs further explains that

[a]mong the reasons given are that the events recorded in Ruth took place at harvest time (Ruth 2:23); that Ruth was the ancestor of David (Ruth 4:17) who, traditionally, died on Shavuot; that Ruth's ‘conversion’ to Judaism is appropriate reading for the festival which commemorates the giving of the Torah; and that Ruth's loyalty is symbolic of Israel's loyalty to the Torah. (2007, 423)

According to Gitlitz and Davidson (2006), the Shalosh Regalim are best documented during the Roman Empire, and several independent accounts show the extent of pilgrimage to Jerusalem during those three holidays (26-27). These reports also show that towards the end of the Second Temple period, roughly aligning with the Pilgrimage Road’s brief period of active usage, the practice of pilgrimage peaked (27-28). It is important to acknowledge that with the destruction of the Temple (70 CE), the Shalosh Regalim could no longer be performed. However, the practice of Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem stayed alive, although in a less joyous form, as Safrai, Glikson, and Hyman summarise:

Previously, the Jews went up to Jerusalem along well-kept roads, the trees forming a covering over their heads, and under the protection of a government committed to God. Now

they went through thorny hedges, exposed to the sun, and under the sovereignty of oppressive governments. (2007, 155)

Moreover, as Yaron Z. Eliav (2005) explains, after the Temple's destruction in 70 CE, many Rabbinic sages replace the prominence of the Temple in the Jewish experience with a canon of elaborate rituals and practices that serve to remind the Jewish people of the Temple. Instead of *aliyah* to the Temple, pilgrimage to the Western Wall seems to have become the central commemoration ritual (189-203). Until today, the Halakha forbids entering the Temple Mount. That is why geographer Noga Collins-Kreiner and Israel studies scholar Nimrod Luz argue that

Jerusalem and its temple were transformed from ideas that symbolized the Jewish presence in Eretz Israel into spiritual and metaphysical symbols and the very essence of Jewish existence. From Late Antiquity (the fourth to sixth centuries CE) Jewish pilgrims were no longer engaged with the canonical *Aliyya Laregel* but rather performed rituals which are better translated (and resemble) more the Latin term *peregrinatio* or 'pilgrimage' in English. (2015, 137)

After the Six-Day War, more than ever, these performed rituals included the visit of the Western Wall, continuing to be the foremost destination for Jewish pilgrims. Jewish studies professor Sarina Chen argues that although the prohibition of entering the Temple Mount has been verified and reinstated by the Chief Rabbinate Council after the conquest of Jerusalem, on June 7, 1967, there are fringe groups, amongst them "key activists of the Gush Emunim settlement movement" that have proposed the importance of accessing the Temple Mount (Chen 2013, 3-4).¹⁹

4.2.2 Aliyah and the Religious Roots of Zionism

Gitlitz and Davidson (2006) assert that long before became the common term for the Zionist migration to Palestine, it was situated in the context of pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem (190). That is why Chen argues that the "Zionist Movement secularized and gave new meaning to the term *aliyah*, [...] synonymous with moving to a new place – Eretz Yisrael/Palestine" (2013, 10). Furthermore, as the historical purpose of Jewish pilgrimage - to draw people together and focus them on Jerusalem, was also helping to fulfil the nationalist goals of the

¹⁹ According to the Halakah, the entering of the Temple area is only permitted for people who can be considered wholly pure. The rabbinic ruling acts on the assumption that virtually every Jew came in contact with a corpse without a possibility to regain purity after the Second Temple's destruction. According to the Thora, ritual impurity from contact with a corpse can only be regained with the burnt ashes of a perfect red heifer. For more on this, see (Hayes 2007, 756; Gruber, Sperling, and Strikovsky 2007, 156-157).

Zionist movements, Gitlitz and Davidson underscore that “the lines between religious and secular goals, strategies, and rituals were deliberately blurred” (2006, 191). Instead of a religious pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem, the Zionists now promoted *aliyah* to Palestine as part of their nation-making project. However, even though religious holidays were accompanied by secular nationalist holidays, such as Independence Day or Holocaust Day and religious pilgrimages were accompanied by new Zionist pilgrimage destinations, such as Masada, up until today, Jerusalem is still a central point of reference for the Zionist pilgrims.

Today, the Kotel stands out as the most revered pilgrimage destination, serving both the fulfilment of religious and nationalist ideals. According to Gitlitz and Davidson (2006), large crowds gather there both during the Shalosh Regalim festivals and on national holidays, commemorating the reunification of Israel. However, “almost everyone who comes to the Wall – pilgrims, tourists, and the local observant community – is demonstrating a commitment to the fusion of historical, religious, and political currents that flow together there” (200).

4.2.3 Jerusalem in the Imagination

The previous sub-sections have introduced the complexity of pilgrimage in the history of the Jewish people. They reveal that “Jerusalem holds a unique place in Jewish imagination, and its pre-eminence in the heart of the Jewish people cannot be overestimated”, as professor of religion, Motti Inbari affirms (2016, 14). Both for religious Jews and Zionists, Jerusalem continues to be a crucial destination for pilgrimage. However, Jerusalem’s role as a pilgrimage destination extends both its spatial and temporal limitations. According to political scientists Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, one of Jerusalem’s most distinct characteristics is the “spiritual image of the city as preserved and nurtured in the visitors’ minds and hearts” (2015, 6). This spiritual image has made Jerusalem a global pilgrimage destination for more than three millennia, predetermined by religious expectations. Although travellers to Jerusalem represent a diverse community today, many of them come with religious expectations fuelled and elevated by pre-held beliefs.²⁰

²⁰ There has been an ongoing debate about the definition of pilgrimage, religious tourism and specifically about the soft border between tourism and pilgrimage. However, it is still a subject of discussion where tourism ends and pilgrimage begins, and vice versa. As Collins-Kreiner states: “(M)any different types of tourists, and not religiously motivated visitors alone, are motivated to travel to conventionally religious/ spiritual destinations for the purpose of seeking spiritual wellbeing, enlightenment, knowledge, and social bonds” (2020, 18).

According to Abramsky et al. (2007), Jewish scriptures are full of references to Jerusalem as the place where God dwells, the centre of both Erez Israel and the world, and the naval of the earth, where Adam was created (212-213). However, there is also a clear eschatological perspective on Jerusalem in Judaism found widely both in haggadic and apocalyptic texts. In the video material, Dasberg and Spielman refer to the haggadic idea of *Yerushalayim shel maala* and *Yerushalayim shel maata*, the heavenly and earthly Jerusalem (see Scene 15.3.). Here, Ambramsky et al. explain that the “Jerusalem of the future is connected with the heavenly Jerusalem. The widespread concept of the heavenly Temple, which owes its origin to Isaiah’s vision (Isa. 6)” (2007, 213). However, the authors also assert that it is primarily the apocalyptic texts that emphasise the contrast between the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem (see I Enoch 90:28–29; IV Ezra 7:26, 10:54), a concept of difference that is also famously proposed by the Apostle Paul (Gal. 4:26) and made his entrance into Christian eschatology (213-214).

Nevertheless, Jerusalem of the imagination is not mediated as a fixed image and place, but it dynamically changed over the centuries. Historian Liv Ingeborg Lied’s study on the apocalyptic text of Second Baruch supports this notion. Lied argues that after the Temple’s destruction, “the Jerusalem ‘of dust and stone’ continued to be the Land for many. In this manner, the notion of the Land became a broad redemptive category, lending its authority to other places and groups, to ritual experiences, and to future hope” (Lied 2008, 317). Lied bases her findings on Edward Soja and Henri Lefebvre’s theory that space is always a human construct, fuelled by “lived experience and social praxis” (Lied 2008, 14).

Although not directly rooted in a Jewish context, there are plenty of examples of how Jerusalem has been mediated for the imagination in Christianity.²¹ In the Middle Ages, pilgrimage writing, such as Felix Fabri’s *Sionpilger* (1491 CE), allowed contemplating Jerusalem’s pre-eminent image and role through travel reports. In Fabri’s case, historian Kathryn Beebe (2014) notes how his account resulted from popular demand. The Dominican sisters of Medingen and

²¹ For the entire thesis, and specifically in Chapter Four, this study focuses on how the video’s protagonists connect themes, tropes, and narratives to their Jewish identity. Of course, the video appears not only to address themes relevant for a particular Jewish audience but also perfectly translates into the formation of Christian identity. Both the colonial history of the City of David and the park’s popularity with Christian visitors and media outlets seem to support this notion further. However, as El’Ad has an explicit background in religious Zionist circles, emphasising a Jewish eschatological worldview, this study is first and foremost interested in how their ideology informs narratives and performances in the park. That is why this study only briefly discusses Christian (re)mediations of Jerusalem when comparing medieval virtual travels with the YouTube tour.

Medlingen asked Fabri for “directions for a spiritual pilgrimage so that, despite their enclosure, they too might make a journey to the Holy Land, as a contemplative, devotional exercise” (178). A slightly more contemporary version of mediating Jerusalem for devout audiences is found in P. P. Waldenström’s Pilgrim Travelogue *Til Österland* (Waldenström 1896). According to the historian of literature Magnus Bremmer, Waldenström illustrated his texts with the help of photography, thereby “staging a kind of photographic revelation before the reader’s eyes” (2021, 431). These are only two examples of a rich canon of mediating Jerusalem through texts and imagery, something this study comes back to when addressing the nature and potential of the video for the (re)mediation of religious rituals, such as online pilgrimage (see Chapter 7.3.4).²²

4.3 *The Mediatisation and Mediation of Religion in the Digital Age*

In 2016, the USI UNESCO Chair²³ organized a conference and released proceedings titled *Pilgrims in the Digital Age: A Research Manifesto* (deAscaniis and Cantoni 2016). In the manifesto, several respected scholars, with such diverse backgrounds as tourism studies, religious studies and computer science recognize the immense role that information and communication technology (ICT) plays in religious tourism, also expressed through the recent development of studying “online pilgrimage as a substitute or supplement to en-route pilgrimage” (3). In other words, the possibilities of the digital age change the focus towards the mediation and mediatisation of religion and online pilgrimage is a recent example that the amalgamation of on- and offline religion is already in full swing.

In his seminal book about *The Mediatization of Culture and Society* (2013), Stig Hjarvard addresses the mediatisation of religion. He argues that modern media has not only been re-enchanted by religion but has become “society’s main purveyor of enchanted experiences” (93). Moreover, according to him, “the media [...] are a well of fantasy and emotional experiences” (93). They have become the “prominent producers of various religious imaginations” (94).

²² For an extensive collection of articles about the many ways Jerusalem has been visualised and mediated, see also Kühnel, Noga-Banai, and Vorholt (2014). This collection also entails several articles about the use of visualisations for virtual pilgrimage.

²³ The full title of the organisation behind the manifesto is UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Chair in ICT to Develop and Promote Sustainable Tourism in World Heritage Sites USI – Università Della Svizzera Italiana Lugano (Switzerland).

Although Hjarvard acknowledges that religion has always been mediated and mediated, for example, through the printing of books, the media of the twenty-first century “mold[s] religious imagination in accordance with the genres of popular culture” and has “partly taken over many of the social functions of the institutionalized religions, providing both moral and spiritual guidance, and a sense of community” (102). According to Hjarvard, the rise of non-traditional (*banal*) religious representations makes “religion visible in the *cultural* [emphasis by author] public sphere” (34). Although banal religion often relies on spectacular phenomena and epiphanies, it “does not necessarily entail any elaborate propositions about religious doctrines or moral statements about the meaning of life” (36).

Focusing on the dynamic qualities of the material practice of religion, scholar of religion David Morgan approaches belief as an “embodied epistemology” (2010a, 8). However, he proposes not only to consider the objects and their place, but also the role of practice, reception and the dynamic changes of the matter of religion (2010b, 68). According to Morgan, “material culture consists of the things, the practices of using things, and the forms directing their uses on which we build and maintain the worlds about us, and thereby encounter and value ourselves and others” (73). As a result, the boundaries between things and our system of value are much more permeable as articles of faith can express. Building on Morgan’s three dimensions of “things, uses, and paradigms”, Tim Hutchings (2017) argues that approaching the material culture of religion should no longer exclude digital media. Instead, online mediations of religion should also be considered in their materiality. Referring to Christine Hine’s work on virtual ethnography, he questions whether today the digital can be still seen as an antithesis to embodiment and materiality when online communities appear as “embedded, embodied, and everyday” as their offline counterpart (96). According to Hutchings, “memory objects can also be constructed or maintained entirely online. A YouTube video, for example, can be created to commemorate a life, place or event” (96).

While Morgan and Hutchings approach online religion from the perspective of material culture, sociologist Christopher Helland (2013) addresses online religion focusing on rituals. Although the “authenticity” of online rituals has been questioned, Helland remarks that “people are doing the rituals online and the participants are testifying to their efficacy” (37). Addressing specifically the ritual of online pilgrimage, Helland acknowledges that “there is a symbolic substitution occurring online where virtual space simulates the representation of sacred space”

(33). Furthermore, Helland puts these online experiences into the context of “metaphorical” pilgrimages, such as the Stations of the Cross, that rather deal with the spiritual than the physical aspect of pilgrimage (32). Here, Helland names two examples of online pilgrimage: The online presence of the Shrine of Lourdes and the 24/7 livestream of the Western Wall of Jerusalem, which both allow for submitting prayer requests online. At the Kotel, those requests will even be printed and placed in the brickwork (33). Discussing the potency of online rituals, sociologist Melanie Reddig (2018) notes that most religious institutions continue to be sceptical to online rituals. Moreover, addressing the importance of bodily presence in rituals, Reddig asserts:

Die körperliche (Ko)Präsenz ist in der Ritualpraxis wichtig, weil religiöse Rituale zum großen Teil in und für die Gemeinschaft praktiziert werden. Eine spirituelle Kraft entfalten die religiösen Rituale für die Praktizierenden vor allem dann, wenn die Anwesenheit der anderen auch körperlich spürbar ist. (127-128)

In their study about *Place, Action and Community in Internet Rituals* (2011), historian Marga Altena and anthropologists Catrien Notermans and Thomas Widlok discuss different rituals and their potency for online participation. In the case of the Lourdes shrine, the authors argue that the original place has been replicated many times worldwide, and rituals are successfully performed in all these places. However, as the internet presence of the Lourdes shrine represents a highly edited, controlled, and mostly one-way communication, it does not offer the same potential for ritual practices as the offline site(s) (146). Nevertheless, the authors argue that the potential of online rituals is not based on the role of place alone but the actions and transactions happening online. They conclude:

While the Lourdes Web site offers limited public access to a digital shrine, making space for virtual pilgrims, the site ultimately reinforces the hierarchical, directive character of the institutional church. However, for individual authors, such as those creating or using Weblogs to reflect on mortality, the Internet provides an alternative to traditional modes of conducting, expressing, and participating in ritual. (157)

Having considered the mediatisation of religion, its material character, and the relationship between on- and offline rituals, it seems entirely possible to discuss the video material as a (re)mediation of a religious ritual. However, questions arise around the role that materiality and embodiment play in the heritage park and if and how the YouTube mediation can channel its tangible character. The following discussion of the authenticity of heritage sites and the role that visitors play in their authentication will accentuate these questions further.

4.4 *The Heritage Site – Hot Authentication and the Construction of the “Really Real”*

On the one hand, the City of David heritage park offers a carefully constructed narrative based on the interpretation of archaeological evidence. On the other hand, it provides the performative qualities of pilgrimage to a national and religious heritage site. The following discussion will briefly look at the complex relationship of historical facts, authenticity, and visitor performance in constructing a heritage site.

Several scholars have already pointed to the Disneyfication of heritage in the City of David heritage park (see Chapter 3.3.2.3), focusing primarily on the role of El’Ad in constructing both narratives and imagery. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the construction of a heritage site, such as in the City of David, also substantially depends on its visitors and their continuing performance of authentication. The concept of authentication, the perception of a heritage site as “really real”, and a focus on visitor performance have all been part of the recent discussion in the academic study of heritage.²⁴ As scholar of religion David Chidester summarises, “heritage is always constructed – invented, assembled, staged and performed – and yet always, in a myriad of ways, consequential in the real world and often experienced as really real” (2018, 291).

Further accentuating the role of the visitors’ experience, scholars of heritage management and tourism, Jane Lovell and Chris Bull (2018) present a framework that describes different levels of authenticity and inauthenticity in heritage design. The framework reveals the ambiguity of heritage design. It seems that an authentic visitor experience (*the really real*) depends as much on the accuracy of the place and the genuine quality of the historic data, as the visitors’ sensations and emotions influence it. Furthermore, Lovell and Bull point to several studies, showing that it seems possible to have “an authentic experience in an artificial place, if authentication is superheated by belief” (13). Lovell and Bull’s framework further distinguishes between a wide range of different states for the visitors’ experience, focusing both on the

²⁴ In *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, John Urry and Jonas Larsen acknowledge a general performance turn in tourism studies reflected by the increasing interest in the performance of the tourist and “highlight[ing] how tourists experience places in multi-sensuous ways that involve bodily sensations and affect” (2011, 190). For more on the discussion of the performative turn in tourism studies, also confer Harwood and El-Manstrly (2012), who summarise five different usages of terms like performance and performativity in tourism studies.

visitors' sensations and the qualities of the place. The authors list and qualify the following states: Real-real, fake-real, real-fake, fake-fake, magically real, unreal, and hyperreal (8). According to the framework, the City of David theme park can either be classified as presenting a "real-real state" or a "real-fake state" of heritage experience, depending on the researcher's perspective. A "real-real" heritage experience is best described by sensations, such as "heating, existential, elevated, embodied, contemplative, inhabiting the past, sublime, performative [and] psychoheritage." These sensations are dependent on the qualities of a place as "entropic, original, ruined, gritty, [and] slow." A "real-fake state" of heritage experience shows qualities, such as "obvious copies, pastiche, postmodern references, re-enactments, recreations of historic or fictional places, second-order simulacra" and leads to sensations that the authors describe with terms such as "warming, enjoyment of performance, nostalgia, pretence, re-enactment [and] irony" (7-8). The City of David theme park shows many "real-fake" qualities of heritage production, such as re-enactments, postmodern references and recreations. However, Dasberg and Spielman seem entirely convinced by the "real-real" state of heritage experience in the City of David.

In their seminal study on authentication, scholars of tourism studies Erik Cohen and Scott A. Cohen (2012) distinguish between *hot* and *cold* authentication. According to them, cold authentication describes an act where an official institution authenticates a place. In contrast, hot authentication describes a process, that is "emotionally loaded, based on belief, rather than proof, and is therefore largely immune to external criticism" (1300). Furthermore, the authors constitute hot authentication as an "affective self-reinforcing process in which the sacredness, sublimity, or genuineness of sites, objects or events is constantly perpetuated, confirmed (and augmented) by public practice, rather than by some declaration" (1301).

Scholar of heritage and museum studies Laurajane Smith (2020) confirms the essential role of the visitors' performance at heritage sites. She constitutes that heritage as much depends on those who construct it, as it is performed by those who visit heritage sites. An essential aspect of this performance is the affirmative character of reinforcing the individual visitor's identity through emotional attachment (49-53). Consequently, Smith determines that we have to speak of "affective heritage practices" as "the affective qualities of performative practice influence the ways in which knowledge and identity are re/created and transmitted. Cognitions and reason can no longer be separated from emotion" (56). However, conflict researcher Steven J. Mock

asserts that “contradictions are inherent to the concept of heritage, [...]. Objects of a given heritage will therefore be felt authentic to the extent that they are able to comfortably embody and potentially resolve this system of contradictions” (2018, 383-384). In other words, heritage objects and sites will be only considered authentic when they can unify and reaffirm the identity of a group through shared emotions and narratives.

In conclusion, recent scholarship shows that the successful construction of heritage sites depends on the site’s design and the authentication through its visitors. Hence, authentication is always a reciprocal activity that needs the performative and reassuring actions of the visitors, as much as the site has to present a cohesive narrative that resolves contradictions and affirms the identity of the visitors’ majority. As Lovell and Bull suggest, the authenticity of a heritage site is not solely dependent on scientific proof, as long as the experience feels “really real”.

4.5 Summary

As this chapter shows, Jerusalem has been subject to countless mediations, (re)mediations, and public performances. As a result, until today it plays an essential role both for the religious and nationalistic Jewish consciousness and imagination. For 3,000 years, Jerusalem has offered both a tangible religious experience and fuelled people’s imagination and expectations. While rabbinic Judaism offers the image of “Jerusalem of Heaven” as the ideal eschatological place of the third Temple, the travelogues of Christian pilgrims made it possible to travel to Jerusalem in the imagination. In modern times, the ancient Shalosh Regalim were adapted by the Zionist project of nation-building through immigration. In today’s Israeli society, the complex relationship of tourism and nationalist and religious pilgrimage is most vividly embodied by the different visitor performances at the Western Wall.

The City of David heritage park has perfectly adapted its offerings to the ambiguity of this place. If visitors come to experience and perform a simulacrum of the ancient Shalosh Regalim, they can do it via the underground tour. If visitors strive for a less religiously charged experience, they can connect to the redemptive aspects of the nationalistic narratives. If they are searching for a fun activity for the whole family, they can experience the authentic and tangible character of the ancient ruins. It might be impossible to discern the real motives behind the construction of the City of David heritage park; however, Luz and Kreiner (2015) point to

the recent development of a heightened purpose in the activities amongst religious Zionist circles. They state:

Aliya interpreted as a movement towards the land of Israel has acquired a new meaning among religious Zionists circles. It is used as an umbrella term for various activities which aim at reconstructing the ruined temple and performing pilgrimage there (Chen). The number of pilgrims has continually increased, and new platforms are being used to increase public knowledge and awareness about this burgeoning practice. Social media, internet forums, websites of specific sites and for general information are becoming widespread. This indicates not only the proliferation and rise in the number of pilgrimage sites but also the more general religious resurgence throughout Israel. (142)

In this context, the message of the heritage park and its performative approach to heritage in “the place where everything began” seems less ambiguous. Suddenly, the re-opening of the ancient Pilgrimage Road, as part of an archaeological heritage park, fuels the imagination of one day performing the Shalosh Regalim in their entirety. However, as the research shows, the authentic experience depends on those who construct the City of David heritage park and a constant stream of visitors, who in a reciprocal activity of performance and affirmation of their pre-held beliefs contribute to the “really real” on display. The visitor’s role in authenticating a heritage site is just one reason why more research needs to address the *how* of heritage design in the City of David.

Lastly, the excursus into the online (re)mediation of religion shows that the video material itself can be seen as evidence for a religious ritual. However, addressing the (re)mediation of rituals online, the role of the body in rituals needs to be further considered. This chapter has developed essential aspects of mediation, represented in the video material. Chapter Seven comes back to these themes and will include them in the discussion of the video material.

5 Memory between Social Construction and Presence

5.1 Introduction

With the help of Erll and Rigney's theory of (re)mediation, Chapter One has already introduced a framework addressing the relationship between cultural memory and mediation. Moreover, Chapter Four addresses several concrete aspects of mediating the "really real" essential to our understanding of the video material. However, this study still lacks a theoretical construct that allows to ask *how* the past is remembered in the tour to the Temple Mount's foundation stones.

In his seminal study *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (2011), theorist of cultural memory, Jan Assmann, accentuates that

[a]nyone who during today fixes his eyes on tomorrow must preserve yesterday from oblivion by grasping it through memory. This is *how* [emphasis by me] the past is reconstructed, and this is the sense in which we can say that *the past comes into being* [emphasis by me] when we refer to it. (17)

Here, Assmann addresses two foundational aspects of memory: (1) how it selectively reconstructs the past and (2) how it has a *presencing* effect on the past. By emphasising these two aspects of memory and remembrance, Assmann elevates the understanding of *how* heritage is mediated in the City of David. As a result, this chapter looks at the video through two particular lenses.

It begins by introducing Siegfried Schmidt's theory of memory and remembrance as a social construction. Schmidt, a representative of socio-cultural constructivism, addresses fundamental aspects of the production of history, amongst them cognitive processes, emotional agency and memory as a social construct. As Schmidt (and Assmann) would define it, social constructivism assumes that memory and remembrance are products of personal and societal construction, following an inner logic of being congruent with the dominant culture and the individual's pre-held beliefs, emotions and cognitions. However, as Schmidt neither discusses the *presencing* effect of "touching history" nor the agency of objects, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's presence-based approach to history offers a needed complementary theory. Gumbrecht not only provides a language for discussing both the tangible and experiential character of the heritage park, but he also represents a group of theorists that advocates for the reintroduction of a presence-based

approach to the study of material objects. In the words of Assmann, Gumbrecht enquires how exactly the past comes into being through *presencing* effects.

Nevertheless, it needs to be acknowledged that Schmidt's social constructivism and Gumbrecht's presence-focus look at the past from two entirely different angles that could be easily defined in opposition to each other. Nonetheless, this study argues that combining both offers the bifocal theoretical paradigm needed to address the *presencing* effect and the social construction of a heritage site. However, this project's limited scope only allows for an introductory discussion of these theories. However, a deeper understanding of the concurring effects between Gumbrecht and Schmidt seems like an attractive and promising endeavour.

5.2 *Siegfried Schmidt - Memory and Remembrance as Social Construction*

Philosopher and Media and Communication scholar Siegfried (2008) presents a constructivist approach of memory and remembrance, rooted in neurobiology and cognition theory. These theories indicate that “memory cannot be modeled as a storage site which is located at a specific place in the brain, but must instead be seen as the establishing of relevant and enduring structures which serve to constitute order in the brain and synthesize human behavior” (192). However, Schmidt departs from this radical constructivism and further develops his theory to include both the socio-cultural dimension and to recognise the affective component of constructivism (2017, 23-24). He argues that remembrance is both: highly subjective and “influenced by various factors such as context, relation to other people, motives and occasions for remembering and its relevance, and emotional intensity” (2008, 192-193).

The subjective process of remembrance is deeply entwined with narratives we tell ourselves (self-observations and self-descriptions) and others (self-performances) to construct our identity. According to Schmidt, that is why “narrations aim at constructing coherent stories which are accepted by the audience” (2008, 193). Remembering is an interplay of (1) cognitive *processes* that involve “an irreducibly complementary of cognition, emotion and moral evaluation”, (2) specific *productions* of histories and discourses, “steered by cognitions, emotions, and moral orientations”, and (3) *performances* of narrating remembrances through “modes of socially acceptable productions, using metaphors and pictures and [...] optical symbolizations such as stereotypes and schematizations” (194). Performances (*Handlungen*) are moreover, deeply embedded in the reflexivity of personal histories and societal discourses,

as according to Schmidt, there is “kein Handeln ohne Wissen. Kein Wissen ohne Handeln. Handeln führt zum Kennen, Kennen zum Können, das sich in Anschlusshandlungen verkörpert“ (2017, 65).

Schmidt puts the individual's role in remembrance into society's larger context by introducing the *world model*. The world model represents a form of socialisation based on the individual's assumption that everyone in society follows a “Reflexivitätsmodus kollektiver Erwartung kollektiver Erwartungen”, something Schmidt calls *operative Fiktion*. (2017, 33). However, it is only through the effective usage of *operative Fiktionen*, that they develop their societal relevance. Therefore, Schmidt's theory can be considered as being both highly reflexive and process-oriented. Moreover, as societies only function if a reference culture exists, *Kulturprogramme*, or “socially obligatory semantic instantiations of world models”, provide continuity and bind individuals together as a collective (2008, 195). As Schmidt puts it:

Culture as a program realizes itself in concrete actions, as performed by agents in the form of offers of options and schematizations of options for purposes of reference to the model of reality valid for all the agents of a society who make use of precisely these functions and expect all other agents to proceed *grosso modo* [emphasis in original] likewise. (2010, 8)

In other words, reference culture results from a reflexive process of individual performance to assure oneself that “everybody thinks about the past in that and no other way” (2008, 196). However, the imagined congruency of collective memory needs places of remembrance that support “social identity processes operat[ing] upon the basic difference of we/the others” (197). In essence, “[n]arrations of the past are deeply influenced by negation and differences. This becomes evident when we regard the negative concepts (*Gegenbegrifflichkeit*) we use or presuppose in our own discourse, especially when it is a discourse directed against someone” (197).

Three of Schmidt's propositions stand out as being most helpful to understand better the video tour in the heritage park and how it constructs the past (1) According to Schmidt, the brain is not a particular storage place for memory but concerned with creating order and constructing reality. Things need to make sense to us and steer our emotions by delivering a clear distinction between right and wrong. (2) Remembering is an interplay of cognitive *processes*, specific *productions* of histories and discourses, and *performances* of narrating remembrances that

include the individual's cognition, emotion, and performance. (3) Collective memory is a result of both *operative Fiktionen* and *Kulturprogramme*. However, according to Schmidt, we confirm our identity by enacting what our brain has decided society and the individual considers to be essential to remember and forget. In other words, memory and remembrance are products of both performing concrete actions and constructing narratives that reciprocally influence and confirm what we already believe to be *us*. That is why our narrations of the past depend on the *Gegenbegrifflichkeit* between *us* and the *other*, right and wrong, remembering and forgetting.

With the help of Schmidt's approach to social constructivism, this study will address the following questions: (1) How do the heritage park and its video mediation construct memory through cognitive and emotional processes, productions and performances? (2) In what way are *Gegenbegrifflichkeiten* and *operative Fiktionen* part of this construction? (3) How do the heritage site and the video serve as tools to negotiate and assure oneself of a common identity and of being part of the *us*, *we*, and *ours*.

5.3 Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht – *The Production of Presence*

In the *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (2004), professor of literature Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht develops a concept of presence that makes it possible to speak of objects and the human relationship to them without the hermeneutical imperative to determine their meaning. As one of the core principles of this concept, Gumbrecht emphasises the dichotomy between what he calls *meaning culture* and *presence culture*, two concepts that, according to him, “should be understood as *Idealtypen* [emphasis in original], in the tradition of Max Weber's sociology” (79). Although Gumbrecht takes a strong stand for the importance of reintroducing a concept of presence into the academic world, he clarifies that he has no intentions of getting rid of the one culture (of meaning-making) over the other (of presence). According to him, “presence and meaning always appear together, [...] and are always in tension” (105). However, Gumbrecht discusses these two different cultures by the means of comparison. In that way, he discloses the qualities of the *presencing* experience and “react[s]

to some consequences that the *exclusive* [emphasis in original] dominance of the Cartesian worldview has produced” (142).²⁵

Gumbrecht interprets Heidegger’s philosophy as criticising Descartes’ emphasis on thought and redefining the concept of truth through an emphasis on *Sein*. The human existence (*Dasein*) is an *In-der-Welt-sein*, as a “human existence that is always already in - both spatial and functional – contact with the world” (71). According to Gumbrecht, *Dasein* no longer conceives of itself as eccentric (to the world), as ontologically separated from things or their material dimension (2006, 326).

In total, Gumbrecht defines ten antipodes between presence- and meaning cultures. Three of them seem most relevant to the discussion. (1) While the mind is the “dominant human self-reference” in meaning-based cultures, the body is dominant in presence-based cultures (2004, 80). This distinction also leads to a different understanding of the subject as being either in the centre or as being embodied as a part of the surrounding world. (2) In a meaning-based culture, knowledge is produced by a subject as a hermeneutic “act of world-interpretation”. Presence-based cultures receive their knowledge typically from “god(s) or by different varieties of what one might describe as “events of self-unconcealment of the world” (80-81). As a result, Gumbrecht repeatedly criticises an overly hermeneutical approach to the things of the world, as it also brings forth an unhealthy distinction between matter and spirit. (3) “In a meaning culture, the “purely material” signifier ceases to be an object of attention as soon as its “underlying” meaning has been identified” (81). Gumbrecht proposes instead an approach where the “purely spiritual and the purely material [...] is brought together in the sign”, best exemplified by the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist (81).²⁶

²⁵ It is necessary to offer a brief clarification of Gumbrecht's terminology. While *presence* mainly refers “to a spatial relationship to the world and its objects” and thereby speaks of objects that are in the tangible vicinity of the subject, *production* is understood “according to the meaning of its etymological root (i.e., Latin *producere*), referring to the act of ‘bringing forth’ an object in space” (xiii). Hence, the *production of presence* describes the relationship between spatially present objects and their constituting or amplifying effect on the human body. According to Gumbrecht, spatially present objects might also be called the “things of the world” (xiii). Lastly, Gumbrecht introduces the concept of *metaphysics* as describing “both an everyday attitude and an academic perspective, that gives a higher value to the meaning of phenomena than to their material presence” (xiv). According to the author, metaphysics is not referring to concepts of religion or transcendence. Instead, it stands in opposition to the realm of presence, production and the things of the world.

²⁶ Here, Gumbrecht refers to the Aristotelian concept of the sign that, according to him, is embodied by the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist. Gumbrecht repeatedly refers to the Catholic Eucharist as an example of

In practice, Gumbrecht's theory has far-reaching consequences for the teaching and understanding of history. Here, his concepts of epiphany and presentification seem most significant. Gumbrecht is especially interested in "the presentification of past worlds – that is, techniques that produce the impression (or, rather, the illusion) that worlds of the past can become tangible again" (2004, 94). Moreover, Gumbrecht emphasises the moment of an aesthetic experience (*ästhetisches Erleben*) as providing an intense feeling that precedes the acts of world interpretation (99-100). According to him, *ästhetisches Erleben* is marked by epiphanies that always lead to a loss of control and have the imaginative character of what could be. Gumbrecht also calls this the "desire for full presence [...] (a desire without the possibility of fulfilment...)" (2006, 320-321). This desire for moments of *self-unconcealment* is also reflected by the current trend of a presentification of the past. However, even though the "possibility of 'speaking' to the dead or 'touching' the objects of their worlds" is a reference to this desire (2004, 123), Gumbrecht denies that the spatial contact with historic objects or places will help to "understand" the past (2006, 323). Still, particular objects, such as manuscripts or papyri, will produce presence effects, as it is through them, language becomes tangible. Moreover, Gumbrecht advocates to let the "conjuring of the past" happen instead of prescribing a meaning onto "historical objects". According to him, a "desire for presence makes us imagine how we would have related, intellectually and with our bodies, to certain objects if we had encountered them in our historical everyday worlds" (2004, 124). Although Gumbrecht seems aware that eventually, it is impossible not to give meaning to historical objects, he proposes to "let ourselves be caught by an oscillation where presence effects permeate the meaning effects" (126).

Gumbrecht's theory has been questioned mainly along two lines. On the one hand, his emphasis on presence over meaning is impugned as introducing an unnecessary dichotomy between language and experience (Grethlein 2010; Kramer 2009; Froeyman 2015). However, historian

a presence-based understanding of the world. The Eucharist brings together substance and form, introducing "God's real presence on earth among humans" (Gumbrecht 2004, 28). In contrast, the Protestant distinction between spirit and material and object and subject cause a different theology of representation, wherein Christ's body and blood are only present in their meaning (Gumbrecht 2004, 29). This understanding, according to Gumbrecht, is also reflected in the way humans approach the world from the Renaissance on. No longer are they present to this world and the rhythms of its cosmology, but they are the transformers and improvers of this world (Gumbrecht 2004, 82). This substantial change of approaching the world leads to a dominance of time over space, a transformation of violence into power and an increased value of innovation over routine.

Lloyd Kramer acknowledges that Gumbrecht's dichotomy between meaning and presence might be helpful to "redirect humanists to the arts, the importance of "thingness," and the experiential intensity of sensory encounters with the material world" (2009, 97). On the other hand, scholars raise questions concerning past practices of presentification, both by the German National Socialists and the Italian Fascists (Peters 2006; Willner, Koch, and Samida 2016). According to philosopher of history Rik Peters, the Italian Fascists spread their ideology by using presentification techniques to "bring people in touch with the people, things, events, and feelings that made their identity" (2006, 372). According to him, rhetorical devices were accompanied by acts of actualising history through experience, two essential pillars of the Italian Fascist cultural awakening (364). Alongside Gumbrecht, historians Stefanie Samida, Sarah Willner, and Georg Koch point out that *presencing* techniques follow a "Sehnsucht nach Unmittelbarkeit, Intensität und Greifbarkeit – kurz: nach Präsenz – in unserer *breiten* Gegenwart" (2016, 2). The fulfilment of this yearning for intensity, however, is criticised by Kramer for its "(unintended) risk of merging with a wider popular skepticism about the work of intellectuals" that goes hand in hand with a constant experience-oriented culture of "an endless stream of visual effects, advertising, and political sound bites" (2009, 96).

Gumbrecht's contribution to this study can be summarised under three main threads. (1) According to Gumbrecht, the things of the world have a concrete influence on the perception of the body through their presence. The body senses the presence of things as real and more than the essence of the meaning we prescribe upon them. We are in contact with the world, without having to conform to an essentialist view of the world. (2) The past's presentification provides a feeling of intensity and *ästhetisches Erleben* that can lead to epiphanies and a loss of control. These experiences of *self-unconcealment*, through simple Dasein and touching objects, are based on the human desire for experience and will create a deep but unfulfillable yearning for more. (3) Gumbrecht proposes that if presence-effects are included in the way we teach history, they create complexity in our understanding of things beyond their culturally and scholarly prescribed meaning. According to him, presence should take precedence over meaning.

As will become apparent in the later analysis and discussion of the video material, past and presence are constantly merged in the City of David heritage park. With the help of Gumbrecht's theory, this study is able to discuss several questions regarding El'Ad's approach:

(1) How does the emphasis on the touch, the experiences of *self-unconcealment*, and the embodied practice of pilgrimage relate to Gumbrecht's *presencing* approach to history? (2) How do the *past-presencing* experience and moments of intensity in the City of David heritage park influence the display of complex archaeological records and the long history of occupation in the City of David? (3) What is the relationship between language and presence in the heritage park?

5.4 Summary

Neither Schmidt nor Gumbrecht presents a mutually exclusive approach for addressing the complexity of remembrance, mediating history, and the cultural constitution of mediating history. While Schmidt focuses on the *prozessspezifische Wirklichkeit* of objects (2017, 95) and how their prescribed meaning is constructed by the reciprocal activity of both the individual and society, Gumbrecht is more interested in the *Dasein* and spatial interaction with objects. Hence, material things, such as archaeological artefacts and monuments can either be addressed as social constructs of endless personal and societal reflexive processes or by emphasising their potential for a genuine personal experience. Schmidt's theory of social constructivism offers a helpful lens for disseminating the heritage park's cohesive and self-affirming narrative. According to him, memory consists of what both individual and society agreed upon in their reciprocal process of constructing identity. However, the tangible and embodied character of mediating history through touching or pilgrimage goes beyond what Schmidt's constructivism manages to describe. Here, Gumbrecht's presence-based approach and his focus on *ästhetisches Erleben* offer a language to describe a heritage site's tangible experience.

Gumbrecht and Schmidt offer a descriptive approach that helps to address the *how* of mediating history and avoids a judgemental tendency that quickly takes over when only the teleological *why* is the subject of discussion. If we believe that the creators of the City of David heritage site are fatuous religious radicals that cynically calculate their political moves through instrumentalising heritage design, we might have addressed the omnipresent power issue. However, we are far from a better understanding of *how* the heritage park operates and how it

became what it is today - a successfully operated *mnemotope*²⁷ that offers both self-affirming narratives and elusive moments of epiphany.

Of course, by only addressing the *how* of heritage design, this study could be critiqued as being overly a-political in a contested conflict that creates facts both underground and on the ground. However, this study argues that the *how* has to be fully addressed and understood before the *why* can be sufficiently discussed.

In conclusion, balancing a constructivist and presence-based theoretical framework offers the possibility to describe both the embodied experience and the histories and discourses that continuously and reciprocally influence memory and remembrance in the heritage park. As Kramer, Grethlein and Froeyman argue, language and narrative matter and are deeply entwined with our *Erleben* and influence our approach to history.

²⁷ Mnemotope is a term that I borrow from Jan Assmann, who emphasises the landscape's essential character as the spatial setting of memory. As an example for a mnemotope, Assmann specifically points to "a landscape such as Palestine that is so rich in memories and meaning" (2011, 45).

6 The Multimodality of Communication: Methodological Underpinnings

This chapter introduces the methodological framework of multimodal analysis, following Baldry and Thibault, by disclosing the method's key terminology and theoretical underpinnings. Subsequently, it will present the transcription framework and how it has been adapted and applied to the video material in practice. Lastly, this section reveals the procedural method of this study and discusses the validity of the methodology.

6.1 *Multimodal Analysis*

For the analysis of the YouTube video, this study adapts the methodological framework of multimodality by Baldry and Thibault. Before presenting their specific approach, the following section will briefly introduce multimodal analysis's theoretical underpinnings and terminology.

6.1.1 What is Multimodal Analysis?

The multimodal analysis offers a methodology to analyse the complex structures and interconnectedness of communication and representation through various modes. Amongst others, the different modes include image, language, music, text, gaze and posture. In her introduction to multimodality, professor of education Carey Jewitt (2014) offers four theoretical assumptions that lay the foundation for multimodal analysis. Firstly, “multimodality [...] proceeds on the assumption that representation and communication always draw on a multiplicity of modes, all of which have the potential to contribute equally to meaning” (15). Multimodality recognises that language is not the only mode by which people communicate but employ a whole range of “semiotic resources, functions and systems of multiple modes” involved in meaning-making (17). The second principle of multimodality assumes “that each mode in a multimodal ensemble is understood as realising different communicative work” (16). In other words, looking at the whole range of affordable modes will give a thorough understanding of the intended communication. Thirdly, multimodal analysis is constructionist as it presumes “that people orchestrate meaning through selection and configuration of modes” (16). Lastly, Jewitt states that all modes are “shaped by the norms and rules operating at the moment of sign-making, influenced by the motivations and interests of sign-maker in a specific

social context” (17). According to scholars of education and language, Rosie Flewitt et al., multimodal analysis “pushes textual boundaries to incorporate features and manipulation of the process of production, as well as material outcomes” (2014, 46). Furthermore, the authors emphasise the embodiment of language and the multimodal forms of communication that include sensory activity and “the materiality of any objects involved” (47). In summary, the multimodal analysis considers the context and experiences of the people who make meaning with text, as much as the genre and materiality of everything involved in the communication.

6.1.2 Multimodal Analysis according to Baldry and Thibault

In *Multimodal Transcription and Text Analysis: A Multimedia Toolkit and Coursebook* (2006), English linguistics professors Anthony Baldry and Paul Thibault present a practical guide to the transcription and analysis of multimodal texts. Their framework serves specifically as a tool for the analysis of texts that are “in some way inscribed on, or projected onto, a technologically prepared surface such as the printed page, the computer monitor or the television screen” (xvi). However, according to the authors, is [t]ranscription [...] itself a form of analysis: it is a textual record of the attempts we make to systematize and unpack the co-deployment of the semiotic resources and their unfolding in time as the text develops” (xvi).

Building on the ground-breaking methodology of Michael Halliday²⁸, Baldry and Thibault argue that one of the core concepts of multimodal analysis is that text is a functional and “meaning-making event” (2006, 4). The event is constituted through the context and the combination of “individual semiotic resources” (7). However, according to the authors, semiotic resources are not “the mere sum of its separate parts”, but together they build a “complex whole which cannot be reduced” (18). Baldry and Thibault call this the *resource integration principle*, which stands in contrast to monomodal analysis that the authors criticise as abstract and simplistic.

²⁸ According to Jewitt (2014), one key influence on multimodal analysis is Michael Halliday’s turn to the social aspect of language and its realisation through three metafunctions. Halliday was interested in the way how people use language to achieve meaning-making. The metafunctions are building on each other, beginning with (1) the way people experience the world (experiential meaning) and (2) how they depict social relations between people and things (interpersonal resources). Moreover, experiential meaning and interpersonal resources are organised through (3) textual resources. The three metafunctions of experience, social and textual resources build the backbone of multimodal analysis (25).

Furthermore, Baldry and Thibault apply the concept of sub-phases, phases, and macro-phases to structure the film text. According to the authors, “phases are the basic strategic meaning-making units in a film text” (49). They are “characterised by a high level of metafunctional consistency or homogeneity among the selections from the various semiotic systems that comprise the particular phase in the text” (47). Moreover, a key challenge of multimodal analysis is the marking and initiation of transitions. Here, Baldry and Thibault note that transitions between phases are often gradual, and boundaries between them are not clear cut. According to the authors, “both the *content* and the *expression planes*”, such as “a change, a break, or a pause in the rhythm of music, speech, body movement, or cutting between shots coincides, generally speaking, with the transition to a new phase or subphase” (185). Other signals for a transition between phases could be indicated through a change of tempo, camera movement, kinesic action, or general shift in themes and content.

6.2 *Practical Implementation of the Multimodal Approach*

6.2.1 *The Transcription Framework*

In their article on multimodal data and transcription, Professor of Early Childhood Communication Rosie Flewitt and her co-contributors (2014) argue that the type of text and the purpose of research defines the design, units of analysis, and focus of the transcription (49-51). The implementation of the transcription framework also reflects the highly adaptable and text-based approach to analysing given source material.

In the transcription of the video tour (see Chapter 10.2), Baldry and Thibault’s concept of subphases, phases, and transitions are echoed by the material’s partition into sub-scenes and scenes and by signifying transitions through horizontal lines between the individual sub-scenes. On the macro level, the transcription identifies 27 separate scenes, each titled with an informal heading. Selected due to their role in the mean-making process, each scene is subdivided by a varying number of sub-scenes. New sub-scenes are either initiated when a new sub-narrative is introduced or when the expression planes of one or several modes indicate the beginning of a new sub-scene. On the macro level, new scenes are either initiated by a turn in the storyline or by the protagonists’ movement to the following location. This more content-centred approach slightly deviates from Baldry and Thibault’s micro approach to transcription, wherein they

divide sub-phases strictly by the second. However, the length of the video tour requests a coarser approach.

I have primarily followed Baldry and Thibault's transcription style for a TV advert that consists of six different vertical columns (2006, Appendix I, I-XII). However, as sub-phases are not simply divided by the second, I added a seventh column that depicts the numeration of the sub-scene. The (1) *Time column* and (2) *Numeration* help orientate within the scene and film. Hence, sub-scenes are referred to by their number (For example, 1.8.; 7.6.; 26.12.).

The (3) *Visual Frame* column adds video stills to the transcription representing the themes and imagery of individual scenes and the film. Stills are included if they depict gestures, places, or images that add further context and understanding to the various transcription modes. Three different modes of the text follow the three first columns.

The (4) *Soundtrack* column notes what is said by the protagonists and also transcribes background noises, pauses and speech patterns, such as speech tempo and volume or level of emphasis. Moreover, the soundtrack depicts who talks, initiates and responds in the conversation, whether people talk simultaneously, and where the person talking is located (on or off-camera). Furthermore, the few times audible cuts are noticeable, they are marked by a (!).

In the (5) *Kinesic Action* column, all body movements and body expressions, such as gesture, visual focus, or smile, are noted, and if necessary, their direct relation to the soundtrack column is indicated. Moreover, the kinesic action column offers timestamps for the on- and off-frame placement of the protagonists.

The (6) *Visual Image* column notes movements of the camera, camera shots, camera angles and the distance between filmed object and camera. It offers a brief account of what is depicted in each sub-scene. Besides, it describes objects, people and media, such as the recurring picture-book, according to their appearance.

Lastly, the (7) *Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation* column is describing the metafunctional salience of one or more modalities in a sub-scene, its relationship to the rest of the video, the context of archaeological objects, people or specific phrases and serves as a notepad for a further investigation of a scene.

In multimodal analysis, none of the modes stands out as being more substantial than the others. Nonetheless, in many instances, the narrative of the video tour is driven by the storytelling or the movements of its protagonists. However, on rare occasions, where there is a visible cut, or when the camera work seems to take a leading position in the development of the film, it may also instantiate a new scene or sub-scene.

6.2.2 Abbreviations

The abbreviations are oriented after Baldry and Thibault and used as follows:²⁹

Soundtrack			
Speaker	DS:	Doron Spielman	
	OD:	Oriya Dasberg	
	()	Text in () as direct response/echo to what is said before, often with a cumulative effect	
Editorial actions	(±)	source of spoken voice is off-screen, (±) used at the beginning and end of the sequence	
	(!)	Cut	
Tempo of speech	(SL)	slow	
	(M)	medium	
	(F)	fast	
Emphasis	(*)	strong	
	(**)	very strong	
Dyadic relations among auditory voices	(R)	responding	
	(I)	initiating	
	(S)	simultaneous	
Pause	(#)	pausing	
	(#3sec)	approx. length of pause	
Loudness of voice	(pp)	very soft	
	(p)	soft	
	(n)	normal	
	(f)	loud	
	(ff)	very loud	

Visual Image			
Shot range	VCS	Very close shot (less than head and shoulders)	
	CL	Close shot (head and shoulders)	
	MCS	Medium close shot (human figure cut off above waistline)	
	MLS	Medium long shot (Full length of the human figure)	
	LS	Long shot (human figure occupies approx. half the height of the image)	
	VLS	Very long shot (the distance is even greater)	
Editorial Action	(!)	Cut	

²⁹ For more details about the soundtrack transcription, confer Baldry and Thibault (2006, 209-222). For the abbreviation of the visual image column, see (197).

6.2.3 The Subjectivity of the Transcription Process

Transcribing a film text is a highly interpretative and subjective undertaking. The detailed transcription of the online video tour took several weeks and was redacted and refined several times. Each time, new questions arose regarding specific speech patterns, voice modulation, noise levels, body movement, and the most reasonable way to divide between scenes and sub-scenes. Baldry and Thibault discuss the etic position of the analyst, looking at the material from the outside. They conclude “that meaning is always relative to an observer or participant - an agent - it follows, of course, that the meaning-making patterns in the text can be construed in different ways by different participant-observers” (2006, 183). However, having considered the subjectivity of the transcription process, I am confident to present a coherent transcription framework.

6.3 *Procedural Method of this Study – Finding Material, Method and Theory*

I followed El’Ad and their role in Jerusalem’s archaeology since autumn 2019 when I wrote a paper about the Temple Mount Sifting Project – another Jerusalem-based organisation involved in archaeology with historical ties to El’Ad. However, in the spring of 2020, I noticed a significant increase in social media postings and YouTube productions by the City of David heritage park, coinciding with the Covid-19 crisis and subsequent lockdown of tourist sites in Jerusalem. Being currently located in Oslo, Norway, I saw this rapid output of videos as a chance to have a closer look at the mediation of a religious heritage site through the means of digital media.

Amongst their many productions, one video immediately stuck out, being advertised as a tour on the Pilgrimage Road leading to the foundation stones of the Temple Mount. At the beginning of the video, the two tour guides acknowledge the extreme popularity of the first of the two videos they have filmed on the Pilgrimage Road. However, only a few weeks later, the second video of the tour, this study’s central empiric material, became the most clicked video on their YouTube channel to this day. It is a combination of the video’s popularity, its commercial and visionary character, the embodied type of storytelling and an intimate behind the scenes approach that made the video a fascinating case for studying the City of David heritage park and its strikingly performative approach to the presentation of archaeology. However, throughout working with the video, it became clear that I will also have to situate it in the emerging field of digital religion, as its content reflects religious themes and rituals. Though

this video was carefully selected from the City of David's online media archive, we are looking at a single example of heritage mediation through digital media. This limits the study to a one-case study.

To transcribe and analyse the video material, I chose the methodology of multimodal analysis, as it offers a helpful set of tools to simultaneously look at all different modes of meaning-making represented in a video. As this study is interested in the narratives and the emotional, embodied, and performative aspects of heritage mediation, finding a method that allows the transcription of multiple modes of communication, such as gestures, mimic, and movements, seemed imperative.

However, as the multimodal approach predominantly helps to analyse the video as a multimodal text, for the subsequent analysis, I searched for a theoretical framework that addresses both the storytelling and *presencing* effects of a heritage park. The selection of Schmidt's and Gumbrecht's theories happened in the video transcription process, as it became more apparent how effective the combination of narrative and presence in the City of David heritage park is.

Lastly, the analysis of the video material led to a closer focus on the theme of (re)mediation. This aspect is reflected mainly by the topics that I discuss in Chapter Four. A better understanding of Jewish pilgrimage, the mediation of Jerusalem for the imagination, and the authentication of heritage sites helped to understand essential aspects of the video material. Moreover, while looking at these different aspects of mediation, I also decided to address whether the video material itself is perceivable as a (re)mediation of a religious ritual. Therefore, as a last procedural step, I have selected theories that discuss essential aspects of the mediation and mediatisation of an online religious ritual.

6.4 *Validity of the Methodology*

Three aspects of the multimodal methodology seem to contribute most to this study:

1. The ability to integrate different communicative modes in the transcription framework, such as touch gestures, gazes, and voice modulations, helps to depict the video text as a complex meaning-making event.
2. The emphasis on the context as part of the meaning-making event allows to consider the broader discourses and themes the video is embedded in. This includes

archaeological data, national and religious themes, tropes and imagery, and the academic discussion about the City of David.

3. Baldry and Thibault's focus on the structure of a video text and their precise definition of expression planes that signal the division in scenes and sub-scenes create a functional framework for the analysis of a 34-minute-long YouTube video.

However, there are also limiting factors to the procedure and methodology of this study. Multimodal analysis has a strong tendency for details which limits the amount of material we can study. Hence, we are studying only one case of online heritage mediation, and therefore, any broad generalisations must be avoided. Moreover, while multimodal analysis focuses on the context, it also reveals the contextual gap between the places of video production, distribution, and consumption. Although Chapters Three and Four give extensive background information about the heritage park and the Pilgrimage Road, we are methodologically bound to the video. At this point, it seems necessary to emphasise that I have never visited the City of David heritage park. However, this contextual gap is also an asset to this study, as it puts me in the same situation as many others who have watched the video tour but who have never visited the live City of David. Lastly, Baldry and Thibault acknowledge that “transcription and textual notation are never *theory neutral* [emphasis in original]” but “make assumptions both about the meaning of the text and about which meanings and their modes of expression to foreground” (2006, 222). Therefore, we have to consider that even the most intricate methodological framework will still result in a highly subjective analysis of a video text, especially in its combination with further theoretical frameworks. However, as this study specifies its theoretical lenses (Chapter Five), the topics that seem most relevant to understand the video mediation (Chapter Four), and the methodology (Chapter Six), it is as forthright as possible about the applied angles.

7 Video Analysis and Discussion

In the video analysis and discussion, different threads from the preceding chapters are brought together. While Baldry and Thibault's multimodal analysis serves as the fundamental basis for the video analysis, the theoretical lenses of constructivism (Schmidt) and presence (Gumbrecht) will guide the discussion of the most significant finds of the analysis. The discussion will also come back to the questions already formulated at the end of Chapters 5.2 and 5.3, specifically addressing *how* the past is mediated in the heritage park. To complete the discussion of the video material, it will include relevant findings from the Stand der Forschung Chapter (Chapter 3.3) and Chapter Four, representing essential aspects of mediation.

However, this chapter begins with the video analysis, divided into two sections. The first section (Chapter 7.1) classifies the video genre and considers its embeddedness on the YouTube platform, while the latter section (Chapter 7.2) delivers a detailed analysis of the video's narratives, themes and tropes.

7.1 Video Genre and Place of Distribution

7.1.1 Video Genre

Baldry and Thibault emphasise “that texts are *dually material* and *semiotic entities* and *processes* [emphasis in original]” (2006, 175). That is why the authors integrate the social purpose and activities of texts in their interpretation. Of course, both the semiotic entities and social purpose of the video play an essential role in defining its genre. According to Baldry and Thibault, “multimodal texts, pictorial, linguistic, kinesic and sound genres may all be assimilated to and recontextualised by the more complex, more highly mediated secondary genres such as the advertisement, the documentary film, the school textbook, the web page and so on” (43).³⁰ Furthermore, Jewitt states that in multimodality a genre is the referential framework that allows analysing texts by providing “a theoretical mechanism that is both

³⁰ Here, Baldry and Thibault follow literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin's distinction between primary and secondary genres in speech communication. For more, see Bakhtin et al. (1986, 60-63).

predictive and explanatory to support the interpretation of genre as a socially significant activity” (2014, 28).

It has been widely recognised that the YouTube platform serves as an essential tool for creating promotional content by destination management organisations (DMOs). Studies on the role of YouTube in the advertising of tourist destinations point especially to the unique potential of user-created content, such as site ratings and comments (Reino and Hay 2011, 8). Furthermore, scholars emphasise the role that the communication of emotional values plays in the advertising by DMOs on YouTube (Huertas, Míguez-González, and Lozano-Monterrubio 2017, 213 and 223).

The video tour to the foundation stones of the Temple Mount can be understood as a “highly mediated secondary genre” of a video advertisement. As the later analysis will show, the video not only employs common referential frameworks, such as the “Indiana Jones explorer trope”, but it also communicates highly emotional values, such as the participation in the discovery of national history and identity and religiously themed imagery, narratives, and performances. Moreover, both the language and imagery of the video are infused by an ostentatious positivity that circumnavigates any direct interaction with possible critics of the heritage park, confirming its promotional character. In a similar vein, a BBC documentary about Roman Abramovic’s enormous financial contributions to the City of David introduces the video tour to the foundation stones as a “City of David promotional video” (See from minute 3:27 in Garthwaite and Blau 2020). However, the length of the video and its character of visualising minute-by-minute what it would be like to walk on the Pilgrimage Road also depicts visual imagery that could stem from a homemade tourist video. Through this embedded *tourist gaze* (see Footnote 24), the advertising of a heritage park seems in line with YouTube’s original platform values, of authenticity, intimacy, and community (for more on this, see Chapter 7.1.2).

Lastly, the overall context of the video in a time of a global health crisis has to be considered. Several times, Dasberg and Spielman mention that due to the Covid-19 crisis, the park had to close for visitors. However, while the park had to close for tourists temporarily, the City of

David's YouTube channel saw a massive increase in video productions.³¹ As the real-life experience was not accessible, the heritage site's operators used the nationwide lockdown for the vast production of commercial content. However, as part of the overall research question, the video genre will also be subject to discussion. In the later discussion, this study will investigate further, whether some of the suggested religious performances exceed the character of commercialism and reach into the realm of online religious rituals.

7.1.2 The YouTube Platform

YouTube's website was launched in 2005 and, at first, aimed its service at non-expert users who wanted an easy solution for uploading and sharing videos. According to media scholars Jean Burgess and Joshua Green, it is understood as one of the driving forces behind the 'Web 2.0' culture, emphasising "usable functionality, technical features, and content as a means of social connection" (2018, 4). However, in 2006, YouTube was acquired by the Google corporation and subsequently became the leading video content platform on the internet. By 2017, YouTube had become the second most popular website, behind Google's main homepage. It accounted for 80 per cent of the twelve billion hours spent on video platforms (5).

Furthermore, in the past decade, YouTube became the driving force behind the development of the so-called "platform paradigm" (9). According to its critics, it allows a few large companies to "shape and govern the media environment, actively regulating their users' content and behaviour through increasingly complex sociotechnical mechanisms of control" (10). YouTube's core asset of authentic, user-generated content has been incorporated in the commercial strategy of selling advertisement. The free and democratic utopia of the early internet days has given way to social media and content platforms as business models. However, Burgess and Green argue that even if today's YouTube platform has not many similarities to its early days of user-created content, it can be still characterised by a "set of practices and norms out of its early history that incorporate the need to balance authenticity, intimacy and community" (122).

³¹ Although the City of David YouTube channel operates since October 2010, roughly a third of the 440 videos have been uploaded between March 2020 and March 2021.

Reading YouTube videos as multimodal texts allows this study to consider both the content, mediation process, and formal character of the text. Linguistics professor Phil Benson characterises *The Discourse of YouTube* as “strikingly multimodal” in the way it includes video, text, buttons, homepage design and the interactivity of comments (2017, 2). Furthermore, in his evaluation of the YouTube page, he shows how the user-generated text of online feedback and comments continuously expands the text of a YouTube page (74-75). As the distribution and production of YouTube online text are entirely in the hands of both the creator and the viewers and commenters, every experience of watching a video offers the possibility of either producing new text through commenting on it, or to further distribute the video through sharing and embedding it on other platforms (95). Benson also determines YouTube’s character as a global and translingual phenomenon that gives global access to locally produced content. In the same context, Benson mentions that on average, 60 per cent of the video’s viewers stem from a country that is different from the Country of production (102).

The YouTube platform bears the multimodal features of interactivity and translingual communication, and it offers free and global access to locally produced content.³² That is why for this study, the context of YouTube has to be recognised as a powerful resource to produce, distribute and share content. The City of David YouTube channel, with its roughly 37,000 subscribers, is a beneficiary of the YouTube bronze tier benefit levels.³³ Due to its number of subscriptions, the City of David YouTube channel is among the top three per cent of YouTube channels and has above average video interactions.³⁴

In conclusion, it can be argued that the video to the foundation stones of the Temple Mount benefits from YouTube’s character as a global, commercial, and multimodal platform. Without any further distributive costs, the heritage site can reach a global audience, watching, liking, and further sharing their content. Furthermore, the video follows the established practice of advertising tourist sites through an emotional and interactive behind the scenes look, and it

³² Here, it has to be acknowledged that YouTube runs different sites in different languages and, when necessary, adheres to local laws and distribution restrictions. A procedure criticised as being supportive of censorship.

³³ The bronze tier is for YouTube channels with 10,000 to 100,000 subscribers. It offers both free production support for video creators and training sessions. Moreover, due to its number of subscribers, the channel generates income through advertisement. For more information, see:

<https://www.youtube.com/creators/benefits/bronze/>

³⁴ For statistical comparison of YouTube channels amongst the top three tiers, see Bernhard, Òscar, and Ariadna (2020).

seems to adhere to YouTube’s guiding principle of creating authentic, intimate and community-based content.

7.2 Analysis

As Baldry and Thibault mention in their handbook, “[t]ranscription is itself a form of analysis” (2006, xvi). That is why the detailed multimodal transcription, attached in Chapter Ten, functions as the necessary backbone for the thematical approach in this section.

Throughout the chapter, the single sub-scenes and scenes of the transcription framework are referenced in parenthesis. However, the temporal linearity of the multimodal transcript has mainly been abandoned for the thematical grouping of the video’s narratives, actions and concepts. The themes have been selected according to their prominence in the video and their relevance for discussing *how* the past is mediated in the heritage park. As already established in the previous section about the video’s genre, the video material can be classified as an emotional, authentic and intimate tourist advertisement. This promotional theme is present in the entire video and also is the starting point for the analysis.

7.2.1 Promotional Theme



Figure 7.1 Dasberg Invites the Viewer (Scene 1.11.)

From the beginning of the video, Dasberg and Spielman warmly invite their viewers to visit the City of David once the Covid-19 lockdown is over (1.11.). By turning directly to the camera and making an inviting hand gesture, Dasberg establishes a direct connection between her and the viewer (see *fig.* 7.1).

According to Dasberg and Spielman, the Temple Mount foundation stones are “one of the most exciting places [...] in the world” (2.4.). As the general promotion of the City of David heritage site addresses the viewer as a potential tourist, the invitation is made more specific by mentioning the possibility of volunteering in the archaeological park, just as Nadine once did (Scene 5). According to Dasberg, volunteering in the heritage park is a way to “feel part of this

story” (6.3.), one of the core motivations for everyone who works there (6.2.-6.3.). By smacking her hands together several times, Dasberg underlines the tangible quality of “feeling part” of both a story and Jerusalem.

Another aspect of the promotional theme is communicated by Dasberg’s vision for the City of David (8.7., 8.8.). Here, she explains that the hands-on archaeology approach will also be a feature of the future Kedem visitor’s centre. Dasberg’s emphasis on touching and connecting is combined with Spielman’s reference to treasure hunting and the iconic Indiana Jones trope. Although it seems highly unlikely that volunteers participating only for a day will find gold earrings, Dasberg and Spielman suggest that in the future, visitors, operators and archaeologists will work hand in hand to reveal the treasures of the City of David (8.4. - 8.9.). Another close-up on Dasberg in Scene 8.3. and 8.4. supports her emotional plea to come and see.

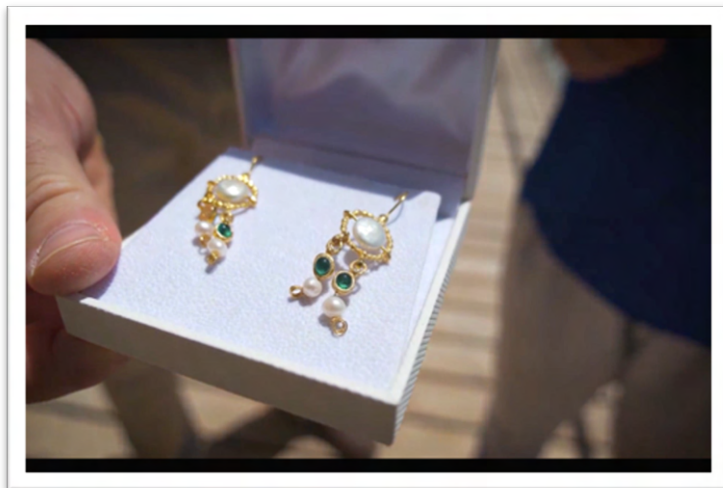


Figure 7.2 Earrings from the gift shop (Scene 9.2.)

Her invitation is followed by presenting earring replicas of the earrings featured in the story about Queen Helena from Adiabene (Scene 7). The presentation of gift shop jewellery (9.2.), supported by a close shot, is more reminiscent of a home-shopping presentation (see *fig. 7.2*). This is another reminder that the City of David

heritage park is not only about volunteering but also shows a commercial interest. Although the conversation between Dasberg and Spielman is seemingly informal and among “friends”, the section about the giftshop reveals the scripted character of the entire video tour. As the jewellery was at hand for the camera presentation, the viewer is also addressed as a potential customer of the (online) gift shop. Moreover, the purchasable gift is embedded in a narrative about Queen Helena, who, according to Spielman, “fell in love with the Jewish people” (7.3.) and “used her money to help the Jews during Roman oppression” (7.6.). Here Dasberg and Spielman seem to

hint at the moral side of purchasing these earrings. Just as Helena did good with her money, the tourist can do the same by buying Helena's earrings.³⁵

Scenes 8.3 and 11.4. are two examples of Dasberg and Spielman's very intimate approach to the video tour. As Dasberg gazes directly into the camera, the viewers are addressed as "my friends". Moreover, Scene 8.3. also points to the fact that one has "to come here to understand", while Scene 11.4 speaks to the excitement one can feel when visiting the City of David. As Dasberg promises her viewers that they will be "extremely excited" when they see the tour's final destination, she underlines her seemingly genuine excitement by briefly touching her chest. Here it seems like the video tour, although only a representation of the real thing, is still designed to evoke an emotional response in the viewers. However, it seems questionable how genuine excitement can be, when it has already been predicted before it occurs. Of course, this staged excitement could be understood as underlining the promotional purpose of the video. In Scene 24.3., after Dasberg and Spielman have reached the underground Kotel, this shared excitement comes up again.

The same scene introduces another aspect of the promotional theme. According to Dasberg, "the small Kotel [...] is for me and the group that is coming here. No one else is interrupting us. It's not with all the people standing there, walking there, praying there. This is like a small, private Kotel. Just for us." Here, Dasberg discloses the unique selling point of this tour. People who pay the entrance fee and take part in the Temple Mount Ascent Tour will have exclusive access to this "private Kotel" (see also Spielman in Scene 26.1.).

In conclusion, there are at least five different aspects of the promotional theme. (1) A direct and very personal invitation to come and visit. (2) The staged excitement of performing the Temple Mount Ascent tour – one of the most exciting places to visit in the entire world. (3) An invitation to volunteering and feeling part of the story. (4) The possibility to support the case of the Jewish

³⁵ The IAA press release mentions both the earrings and Queen Helena. However, it is a farfetched theory that these earrings personally belonged to Queen Helena. The press release only mentions a "large, impressive edifice" that was "probably erected by the Hadyab family" to which Queen Helena belonged (IAA 2008). Nevertheless, in Scene 9, Dasberg creates a direct connection between the replicas and "feeling like a queen for one day" (9.2.).

people (i.e., the City of David heritage park) by acquiring memorabilia from the gift shop. (5) The unique selling point of an exclusive access to the “underground Kotel”.

7.2.2 Theme of Belonging and Identity



Figure 7.3 The Giv'ati excavation site with twelve layers of occupational strata (Scene 3.3.)

Unsurprisingly, two of the most prevalent themes of the video are the themes of belonging and identity. Of course, this is due to the unique nature of the heritage site and its strong claim of being the ancient location of the Davidic dynasty – the “place where everything began”.

Several times, Dasberg and Spielman explain that there are eleven layers of different civilisations visible in the excavation pit (3.3., 6.1., 8.1., 22.1.)³⁶,

that “four billion people (are) connected to Jerusalem” (6.1.), that “people from all over the world” are invited (8.4.), and that the “Western Wall is everyone’s wall” (27.2.). However, this seemingly inclusive approach is somehow contradicted by narratives, artefacts and references that emphasise only a historical Jewish presence in the City of David. Moreover, the eleven layers of occupational strata (see *fig. 7.3*) are only further substantiated by mentioning the “Roman layer, [...] Second Temple layer, [...] and [...] First Temple layer” (6.1.), and Dasberg and Spielman exclusively refer to “biblical periods” and “King David (3.3., 10.4.-10.5.) as temporal references.

The most robust evidence for the exclusive alliance of Jewish identity with the heritage site is presented to the viewer through storytelling. In 34 minutes, Dasberg and Spielman not only emphasise the everyday, administrative, and religious activities during the time of the Temple

³⁶ It is not entirely clear how this number (eleven) comes about. At least one IAA excavation report summarises the Giv'ati excavation by speaking of “twelve occupational strata”. See Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets (2011, 231).



Figure 7.4 The Nathan-Melech bulla (Scene 10.2.)

and today (7.7., 13.1., 13.4., 14.4., 16.1., 18.2., 19, 25.1. 25.2.-25.5., 27) but also the existence of the Davidic dynasty in the City of David (10.2.-10.6.). Furthermore, they repeatedly thematise the oppression of the Jews and destruction of the Temple (7.6., 16, 21.8., 22.1., 22.2., 23.4.-23.6., 27.6.) and the fight for freedom – from the first century AD until today (16, 24.1., 27.8.). Generic terms of belonging and ownership represent another central aspect of identity. As Spielman describes the Nathan-Melech bulla (see *fig.* 7.4), he identifies it as “actual evidence of King David’s lineage” (10.5.). Subsequently, Dasberg passionately discloses: “When we find a bulla saying the name (smacking her hands together) written in the Bible. It’s us. It’s ours (DS: It’s ours). We’re connected. It’s part of me. It really is part of me” (10.6.).³⁷ Spielman continues this line of thought in his closing statement and asserts: “We’re part of the prophecy. (OD: audibly laughing) The matriarchs and patriarchs who came before us. They lived for this. They died for this and we’re back here once again to be proof (OD: To be part of it.) To be part of it” (27.8.). However, even if it is not entirely clear what *it* exactly stands for, the whole notion of “being back” suggests that Spielman understands the heritage site as an essential asset for Jewish identity in modern-day Israel.

³⁷ A statement by the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs quotes archaeologist Anat Mendel-Geberovich, who deciphered the seal, maintaining that “(a)lthough it is not possible to determine with complete certainty that the Nathan-Melech who is mentioned in the Bible was in fact the owner of the stamp, it is impossible to ignore some of the details that link them together”(IAA 2019). The possible connection between the Biblical person (see 2. Kings 22, 13) and the person mentioned on the seal has been supported by other specialists (Rollston 2019). However, archaeologist Michael Press criticises how this seal has been presented and is used to promote an Israeli nationalist narrative, questioning also the extraordinary character of this find (Press 2019).

There are also numerous visual signs of the identity-giving function of the heritage site



Figure 7.5 Harps, flags, and flowers (Scene 1.5.)

(see *fig. 7.5*): From countless Israeli flags flying over Palestinian Silwan (1.1.) to Davidic harp symbols posted at the entrance gates (1.4., 2.9.). From several oversimplified maps that quickly jump the time gap between Second Temple Jerusalem and today's Jerusalem (11.1.) to the general atmosphere of a clean, flowery and high-quality heritage park, the City of

David makes it clear that this is a place for Jewish tourists and like-minded people that support the Jewish cause. The only time that Arabic letters are visible in the entire video tour is on the signage, warning of 24/7 hours of video surveillance (3.2.).

Lastly, another prevalent aspect of belonging and identification are the numerous references to Jewish religious rites, stories from the Bible, and Dasberg's personal religious practices at the "private Kotel". However, these expressions of Jewish identity will be mainly covered in the sub-section about religious themes (see Chapter 7.2.4).

In conclusion, the aspects of identity and belonging are distinguished by (1) narratives and artefacts that emphasise the historic Jewish connection to the City of David, (2) the identification of the video protagonists with Biblical figures and prophecies as *us* and *ours* (3) and the use of Jewish religious and national symbols.

7.2.3 Being Present – Feeling, Touching, Connecting, Revealing

As Dasberg and Spielman present the stories and artefacts of the upper section of the Pilgrimage Road, their promotion of the heritage park is saturated with moments of touching, feeling and connecting. Furthermore, the tour guides not only highlight the transformation of those who feel, touch, and connect, but they also embody the tangible character of the tour, repeatedly touching artefacts and monuments. They communicate the tangible presentation of national and religious heritage and the prevalence of the touch in at least three different ways:

(1) You can touch, feel and connect by taking part in the excavations as a volunteer (6.2.-6.5.). However, for Dasberg, the volunteering not only entails a powerful haptic connection to the past, but she promises nothing less than a revelation. Because “once they [the volunteers] touch the ground, they touch the stones, they reveal themselves, through revealing Jerusalem” (6.4.). Dasberg's plans for the Kedem centre also reflect this elusive message of revelation. According to her, touching and revealing will be possible for every visitor of this prospective entrance to the entire City of David heritage site. Moreover, visitors will not only find treasures (8.7.), but they will be “part of the revealing”. For, “once they touch, they get connected” (8.9.). This revelatory touch connects people to the past while the stones reveal themselves. Dasberg supports these statements with strong gestures (smacking hands) and emphatic stress on the central term *touch* (6.4., 8.9.).

Another central aspect of the heritage presentation is the connection between what people see, touch, and become a part of and their emotion (what they feel). This aspect is predominantly communicated by Dasberg, who talks about her own feelings (9.2., 9.3., 9.4., 21.5.), what future visitors will feel when they come to the City of David (8.2., 8.3., 8.6., 8.9., 10.2.), what volunteers, who get involved in the excavation, feel (6.2.; 6.3., 6.4.), and what people must have felt, when they discovered artefacts (5.4.). However, as Spielman recounts moments of discovery, he also describes strong emotions such as fear (17.6.), disbelief (23.6.), joy (20.7.), and “the most exciting moment of my life”, only topped by his wedding and the birth of his children (22.4.).

(2) The second aspect of the haptic approach to heritage is communicated by the touching,



Figure 7.6 Touching the foundation stones (Scene 19.5.)

feeling and connecting to the foundation stones of the Temple Mount and the “underground Kotel”. While the foundation stones, according to Dasberg, are *the* occasion during the tour to “be quiet for a second and connect to the meaning, connect to the stone and connect to ourselves [sic]” (19.5.), the “underground Kotel”



Figure 7.7 Touching the Kotel (Scene 23.6.)

is her private place “to connect”. In her own words: “I come here for a minute of myself, again, to connect. To the place where everything began, and where is my connection to God, where is my connection to the Bible, where is my connection to Jerusalem” (24.2.). As Dasberg and Spielman reveal both places to the viewer, they

repeatedly touch the monuments with their hands (see *figures* 7.6 and 7.7), thereby presenting the unique character of these sites both in words and gestures (19.4., 19.5., 23.4.-23.6., 24.1.-24.3., 25.1.).

(3) Although not as prevalent as the first two aspects of this presence-based approach, the viewer is also invited to feel, touch, and connect to the purchasable artefact replicas sold in the City of David gift shop.³⁸ As much as the earrings from the gift shop are introduced in a funny and somewhat self-ironic way (9.1., 9.2., 9.5.), the presentation combines a commercial use of artefact replicas with a moralistic narrative (7.6.). Through storytelling, the artefacts not only receive an iconic character, but the heritage park also offers a tangible piece of emotionally loaded history to take home (see *fig.* 7.8).

³⁸ This opportunity even goes beyond the physical gift shop, as the online shop offers plenty of City of David memorabilia.

The dominance of feeling, touching, connecting, and revealing is a striking characteristic of the video presentation, communicated both through the narratives and the repeated habit of touching the revered monumental sites. However, Dasberg also reminds her viewers: “You have to come here to understand” (8.3.). It is hard to discern how intentional this communicated difference between being there and not being there is. As this video functions as an advertisement, it seems natural to emphasise the need for physical presence. Nevertheless, the introduction of a revelatory touch indicates that this is about more than a commercial strategy. As already established in Chapter 7.2.2, identity and belonging are essential aspects of the video tour. In the eyes of Dasberg and Spielman, the revelatory potency of touching monuments and



Figure 7.8 Earring replicas - taking the City of David home (Scene 9.4.)

archaeological artefacts seem to support the identification with the City of David and the heritage of the Jewish people. Moreover, touching and connecting to the “underground Kotel” shows elements of a religious ritual (See Chapter 7.2.4).

The video’s protagonists present the feeling, touching, connecting, and revealing as crucial assets of the City of David’s heritage presentation. It is accessible through 1) taking part in the excavation, 2) personally visiting the foundation stones of the Temple Mount and the “underground Kotel”, and 3) purchasing memorabilia at the gift shop.

7.2.4 Religious Themes, Narratives, and Performances

The numerous references to Biblical figures, passages and festivals, and the primary interest in artefacts and monuments from Biblical periods are characteristics of the strong presence of religious narratives in the video. However, the religious theme is not only presented via storytelling but also through introducing the City of David theme park as an active site for religious rituals, such as pilgrimage and prayer. However, before we can further analyse how these rituals are communicated and embodied in the video, we have to address the predominant meta-narratives of the archaeological site.

Countless times, the viewer is confronted with a strong narrative of destruction and redemption through storytelling and imagery. Spielman communicates this redemptive trope most clearly in Scene 27.6. Here, he puts the narrational puzzle pieces together, concluding: “There is a powerful story here, because we were in the destruction, climbing through the sewer [...]. Now we’re back on the top, at the time of the celebration. Bringing our first fruits to the Temple in ancient times.” The theme of destruction is most apparent in the story about the last 2,000 Jews hiding before the Roman armies in the drainage channel (Scene 16). However, Spielman combines this theme of destruction with alluding to the ancient pilgrimage feast of Shavuot, a yearly ritual commemorating the hardship of wandering 40 years in the desert. Eventually, Spielman situates the ancient celebration of redemption from the desert in today’s practices of celebrating a Bat/Bar Mitzvah at the Western Wall, thereby erasing any temporal or cultural difference between back then and today.



Figure 7.9 Yerushalayim shel maala, Yerushalayim shel mata (Scene 15.2.)

While passing, Dasberg explains the tunnel’s location and its relation to the Old City above ground. However, in her description, Dasberg uses distinctively apocalyptic terminology that invokes the presence of an entirely different reality. Pointing upwards (see *fig.* 7.9), she remarks: “So, we have Jerusalem of up there and we have Jerusalem of down. Yerushlayim shel maala, Yerushalayim shel mata”, to which Spielman replies solemnly: “That’s right, the upper and the lower cities” (15.3.). Nevertheless, “Yerushlayim shel maala” and “Yerushalayim shel mata” is terminology that commonly refers to the “Jerusalem of Heaven” and the “Jerusalem of Earth” (For more about Jerusalem in the Jewish imagination, see Chapter 4.1.3.). In his final remarks, Spielman acknowledges the tremendous significance of walking through the tunnel by stating: “[W]e’re back here once again to be proof” - to which

(2) The proposed fulfilment of Zechariah’s prophecy of singing and playing in the street (27.8.) also adds an eschatological perspective to the tour on/under the Pilgrimage Road. Scene 15 also supports this apocalyptic perspective, when Dasberg and Spielman cross underneath the

Dasberg replies: “To be part of it” (27.8.). Here, Spielman seems to connect the narratives and prophecies of destruction and redemption with the physical re-enactment of the tour through the sewer. A tour appropriately ending in the sunlight and joyful atmosphere alongside the Western Wall (26.4.).



Figure 7.10 The Pilgrimage Road from the Siloam Pool to the Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif (Scene 11.1.)

(3) By combining the narratives of destruction and redemption and the eschatological character of the tour with a physical walk through the tunnels, the topic of pilgrimage becomes central to understanding the video material. Apart from the apparent branding of the tour as happening on the Pilgrimage Road, it is the highly suggestive

and ritualistic character of walking from the Pool of Siloam to the foundation stones of the Temple Mount that adds a specifically tangible religious component to it. However, as Spielman and Dasberg also refer five times directly to the upcoming holiday and ancient Jewish pilgrimage feast of Shavuot (2.6., 10.4., 25.5., 27.5., 27.8.), the tangibility of walking on the Pilgrimage Road is also supported by religious narratives (For more about the topic of Jewish pilgrimage see also Chapter 4.2).³⁹

³⁹ In 2020, Shavuot began in the evening of May 28th and ended on May 30th. The video was released on YouTube on May 26th.



Figure 7.11 The Pilgrimage Road and Drainage Channel underneath (Scene 13.5.)

Furthermore, the pilgrimage theme also dominates the paintings that are mounted both outside and inside the tunnel. The map outside the tunnel (see *fig.* 7.10) shows the original location of the Pilgrimage Road by merging the depiction of the ancient street with a simplified version of today's Silwan and Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif (11.1.).

However, the painting mounted in the tunnel serves as a visual orientation for the visitor to conceive better the ancient use and proportions of the Pilgrimage Road (see *fig.* 7.11) Referring to the painting, Spielman remarks that this is “the road that the Jews celebrated on, as they went up to the Temple Mount” (13.4.).

Both the painting and Dasberg and Spielman's explanations locate the drainage channel clearly underneath the road, which makes it even more astounding that in one scene, Spielman refers to the drainage channel as a “pilgrimage channel” (13.2.). Of course, this misleading identification can be either a simple mistake or because he wants to highlight its location underneath the Pilgrimage Road. However, the entire character of Spielman and Dasberg's online tour suggests another compelling explanation. As both protagonists are repeatedly referring to the ancient Jewish Pilgrimage festivals and allude to the eschatological significance of their performance, their tunnel tour can also be understood as a re-enactment of the Shalosh Regalim. While in this segment of the tour, the actual road is only accessible in the direct vicinity of the Temple Mount (as seen in Video Chapter 27), the drainage channel leads the pilgrim all the way up to the underground Kotel. Hence, the “pilgrimage channel” seems to allow for a pilgrimage, even when the actual Pilgrimage Road is not walkable. Although one must assume that Spielman and Dasberg are aware of the Rabbinic laws requiring the fulfilment of specific purity rituals before the actual Shalosh Regalim can be performed, they provide their viewers with a compelling religious experience, combining narratives of redemption with the fulfilment of prophecy.

(4) In the video, the foundation stones of the Temple Mount and the “underground Kotel” are *the* two prominent places of stopping, touching and connecting. According to Dasberg, the underground foundation stones are a place “to stop for a second” and to “understand, that we're going into something which is much bigger than us”. She follows this elusive message by remarking that in this place, she invites every group to “be quiet for a second and connect to the meaning, connect to the stone and connect to ourselves [sic]”. Although Dasberg neither clarifies the “bigger something” nor the practice of being silent and connecting, the viewer can grasp the significance of this place and how touching and spatial presence are at the epistemic centre of it. Her solemn and quiet voice and the repeated touching of the stones support the reverent character of her speech. While stopping, being silent, touching, and connecting with revered monuments has elements of religious ritual practice, it can also function as a ritual of national commemoration.

However, the character of Dasberg’s introduction of the “underground Kotel” seems less ambiguous. Here, Dasberg describes not only her repeated practice of private prayer “at this place where everything began” but also the outstanding quality of this place for her “connection to God, [...] to the Bible, [...] to Jerusalem” (24.2.). Furthermore, Dasberg clearly distinguishes her own “small, private Kotel” from the Kotel above “with all the people standing there, walking there, praying there.” For Dasberg, the “underground Kotel” serves not only as a place for private prayer but also offers something unique and exclusive to its visitors.⁴⁰ As already established in Chapter 7.2.1, Dasberg’s unique selling point of private access to the Kotel serves well the commercial purpose of the video. However, visitors with a religious background will also be able to perform rituals of prayer and pilgrimage. For the viewer, these presence-based and tangible qualities of the Temple Mount Ascent tour are wrapped in narratives of destruction and redemption. Furthermore, Spielman alludes to the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy, as expressed by walking on/underneath the Pilgrimage Road. Of course, these religious narratives and performances make a strong case for the higher purpose and urgency of the City of David heritage site and justify their highly controversial practice of tunnelling underneath Silwan.

⁴⁰ This notion is supported by a video embedded on the website, advertising the Temple Mount Ascent tour. The video shows how the underground Kotel is used as an alternative to the one above, depicting close-up shots of tiny pieces of paper stuck between the stones, alluding to the religious practice of placing papers with prayers at the Kotel (CODYC 2012).

7.2.5 Experts and Explorers: Archaeology as Adventure

As one can expect from a video tour of an archaeological heritage site, the video deals with the history and practice of archaeology in the City of David. Archaeological findings are communicated mainly via captivating narratives, imagery, and familiar explorer tropes, such as from the Indiana Jones movies. Furthermore, Spielman and Dasberg re-narrate the many moments of hardship, treasure hunting and perseverance, leading to discoveries of precious artefacts that are made visually explicit through the images in the picture-book. Lastly, Dasberg and Spielman communicate a specific image of the archaeologist as both an endowed expert and lateral thinker.

The narrational aspect of adventure, overcoming hardship and finding spectacular objects is visible in the many stories that Spielman tells their viewers. There is the story of Nadine, who had to “dig in” and get her “fingernails dirty” in order to do the “sweaty” and challenging work of excavating in the pit (5.2.), before being rewarded with finding a “real treasure” (5.3.). A story that Dasberg, in turn, uses as a steppingstone for her heartfelt monologue on the passion of those volunteers, who come to help, despite the hot sun, rain and difficult work (6.2.-6.3.).



Figure 7.12 Bent forward through the tunnel (Scene 18.2.)

The adventurous aspect of archaeology in the City of David is clearly communicated by invoking the image of putting on a hat, playing Indiana Jones for a day (8.8.), but also by the long video sequences of a slightly bent forward Spielman (see *fig. 7.12*), who makes his way through the narrow tunnel.

However, numerous times Dasberg and Spielman contrast the bold and courageous work of the first group crawling through the tunnel with the relatively smooth tour depicted in the video. Vividly, Spielman recounts the night when he got the “4am call”, ordering him to “putting on some clothes you don’t care about” (14.3.) and inviting him to be part of the first team going through the tunnel. Furthermore, they invite the viewers to re-imagine the exact moment when



Figure 7.13 "His pick went into open air" (Scene 17.4.)

the workers “pick went into open air” (17.2.) (see *fig.* 7.13), laying open a new section of the tunnel, which according to Spielman, “only happens in movies” (17.4.). During the video tour, Spielman goes back and forth between the night of the first discovery and the ease of walking there today (18.5.,

20.1.-20.7.). Moreover, several times, he re-narrates conversations happening on their first expedition into the tunnel (14.3., 17.4., 17.6., 19.2., 19.3., 20.7., 21.4., 21.6.-21.7., 23.6.), occasionally recounting personal feelings and thoughts he had during that night (17.6., 22.4., 23.6.). As Dasberg and Spielman further wind through the tunnel, they also visualise themselves as “walking in a book” (22.2.). Moreover, the fact that both Spielman and Dasberg can recount detailed aspects of the events of discovery as if they have been there personally is pointing to some form of editorial background and narrational canon for the tunnel tour - something that is ready-at-hand to any tour guide in the City of David (17.2.-17.4., 21.1., 21.6.). Direct speech, word-to-word re-narrations of moments of discovery, references to Indiana Jones, and the imagery of brave and enduring volunteers and tunnel explorers introduce a trope of archaeology as an adventurous exploration that eventually pays off.

As Dasberg and Spielman highlight single (often golden) artefacts (Scene 5, 7, 10 and 25.3.), they also paint an image of archaeology as a treasure hunt. The tour guides even imagine going shopping with 264 gold coins (5.5.) before jokingly referring to the possibility that one of the coins



Figure 7.14 "What would you do with 264 gold coins?" (Scene 5.5.)

went missing because Dasberg took it to make some jewellery (9.1.) (see *fig.* 7.14). Furthermore, in Video Chapter 21, the viewer is introduced to Captain Charles Warren and his first mission under Queen Victoria in 1867. Without any hesitation, Spielman connects their exploration with Warren's endeavour. Here, it seems like team Spielman is happily following in the footsteps of Captain Charles.

In the video, the tour guides also refer to the work of contemporary archaeologists. In the beginning, Spielman re-narrates the Russian scientists, giving their order to clear the parking lot, before he comments: "We thought it was crazy, but you know [...]." (2.9.). His verdict on the "crazy Russian archaeologists" is supported by gestures and a direct gaze into the camera that seem to aim for an alliance with the viewer, who might also deem this kind of behaviour "crazy". This notion of solidarity with the viewer, also seems to be supported by Spielman's tendency of showing a certain humility. He refers to himself (and the group) as "just being the moles going underneath the ground" (17.5.), as being scared (17.6.), as not knowing and not being able to believe (21.4., 23.6.), and as apparently needing to be told what to wear in a tunnel excavation (14.2.-14.3.).

A striking example of both Spielman's vivid rhetoric of direct speech and the self-image he conveys is his recounting of discovering the underground Kotel. Spielman remembers with a solemn, quiet voice: "I couldn't believe that this was the Western Wall. And Davideleh, the founder of the project: "This, I'm telling you, it's the Western Wall." And I said: "How could it be" (23.6.)? Here, the doubter Spielman cannot fathom what he is seeing, while David Be'eri (for the second time) is the one who knows (see also 22.6.-21.7.). Although the role of knowing and speaking the truth is usually reserved for archaeologist Eli Shukron, here, it is the founder and visionary of the City of David heritage park who knows the Western Wall when he sees it.

Spielman's playful naiveté is often contrasted with the knowledge of leading archaeologist of the former tunnel exploration, Eli Shukron. Shukron, whose statements Spielman often re-narrates word-by-word, is introduced as someone who *knows* things no one else seems to know (19.3.), *hears* things, everyone else is missing out on (20.7.), *sees* things that no one else is seeing (21.4.), and *realises* things before anyone else does (21.6., 25.3-25.4.). Moreover, when introducing Shukron, his academic title and official affiliation to the IAA are repeatedly highlighted (20.1., 21.6., 25.3.). For the viewer, Shukron's professional background and his

striking qualities seem to be even more evident in the light of Spielman's confession of his shortcomings.

The grand narratives, tropes, and themes of experts and explorers conclude that archaeology is a practice that requires the knowledge, faith, lateral thinking, and stamina of seasoned archaeologists and is also a playground for everyone in search of adventure and treasures. Neither the outdated practice of tunnelling, nor the fixation on single artefacts instead of all twelve strata, nor the introduction of archaeology as exploration is at any point discussed critically. The video conveys this compelling message with skilled rhetoric and in a compelling manner. However, by going back and forth between the moments of discovery, the current filming situation, and on one occasion even imagining, what this place would have looked like 2,000 years ago (27.7.), this approach also reveals the editorial character of the storytelling and the scripted performance of Dasberg and Spielman as tour guides.

7.2.6 Innocence and Positivity

Dasberg and Spielman's video guiding performance can be best described as recklessly positive. As aforementioned, the video conveys no direct critical reflection on archaeology in a contested site and city. Moreover, they completely ignore political and religious minefields. For Dasberg, "the Western Wall is everyone's wall" (27.2.), and any potential conflict of a woman praying at the "small Kotel which is just mine" seem non-existent (24.2.). With ease, they introduce maps showing a rendered version of today's Wadi Hilweh neighbourhood (Figure 12), divided by the imaginative ancient Pilgrimage Road that in a spatial and temporal parallel universe leads from a full-size Siloam Pool to the Al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock (11.1.). This naiveté is also reproduced in the second featured painting (see *fig.* 7.11), depicting a cross-section of both the Pilgrimage Road and Drainage Channel underneath (13.5.). The picture mainly serves to orientate the visitors and viewers. However, its bright pastel colours, depicting bright stones, a clean road, and people with festive blue and red garments, accompanied by goats and sheep and carrying bowls with fruit, deliver a strong message of positivity. As it is doubtful that the Jerusalem of the Second Temple was a place of glaring pastel colours, one wonders what kind of time and place is imagined here – an ideal past or a pastel-bright future?

As aforementioned, Dasberg and Spielman's language and habitus communicate the absence of any negativity. Without a glitch, they both hang on each other's lips, often gazing directly at each other and the viewer (Figure 15) and echoing the exact words the counterpart just spoke. Moreover, countless times the conveyed message is affirmed and intensified by words such as "amazing" (6.4., 8.7., ...), "incredible" (3.2., 6.5., ...), "wow" (3.2., 9.2., ...), or "unbelievable" (6.5., 17.5., ...). Furthermore, the video depicts Dasberg and Spielman, as constantly smiling (9.5., 18.3., ...), joking (5.5., 9.1., ...), and laughing at each other (5.5., 14.6., ...), establishing a positivity and seeming ease with each other and the viewers.

Lastly, the City of David heritage park is introduced as a place of joy and as a place of privileged work. Dasberg even refers to them as being "the most privileged people in the world, working here, every day, in the City of David" (24.2.). However, in line with the complete absence of negativity, the video viewer is not invited to consider further consequences of this privilege for the people of Silwan and the general state of archaeology in Jerusalem.

Of course, their communication's naïve and cheerful nature can be easily explained as a strategic decision to make a good impression on the viewers, delivering a compelling invitation to come and visit this place of joy, happy people, adventure and absence of any conflict. However, as the next sub-section reveals, Dasberg and Spielman's seemingly a-political and positive message is still far from being non-divisive.

7.2.7 The (Non-) Communication of Difference

This last section of the analysis serves both as a summary of the preceding sub-sections and as a magnifying glass, focusing on the sometimes muted, sometimes directly communicated pivots of difference, invoked during the video tour.

(1) The difference between being here versus not being here is communicated directly by the tour guides. For Dasberg, coming to the City of David is the way to "understand what we feel" (8.3.). Although she does not explicitly state it, the video seems to be a poor copy of the tangible reality of being there. However, the epistemology of knowing through touching is only one aspect of being there. As Dasberg introduces the revelatory touch, she also seems confident that going "through the archaeology is something very unique" (8.5.). According to her, there are "places in the world where you can see archaeology. In here, they're going to go through the archaeology. They're going to touch; they're going to feel and they're going to be part of the

excavation” (8.6.). The context suggests that here, Dasberg refers to the future Kedem centre. However, the aspect of “going through the archaeology” might also refer to the Pilgrimage Road tour.

(2) According to the video’s tour guides, a slightly different form of knowledge is represented by the seasoned archaeologist. Here, the seeing, knowing, hearing, and realising is performed by an educated specialist, carrying both an official licence and title. However, Shukron’s multisensory discoveries are not further discussed with the overwhelming body of scholarship that questions both the practices and interpretations of archaeology in the City of David. By muting the critics and highlighting Shukron’s embodied expertise, the video indirectly suggests that Shukron knows, sees, hears and realises “best”. Moreover, by playfully placing himself amongst the ignorant, Spielman further establishes Shukron’s superior status as an expert.

(3) The underlying narratives of destruction and redemption, loss and re-discovery have been sufficiently discussed. However, at this point, it seems necessary to acknowledge that in a place like Jerusalem, one’s redemption and re-discovery will most often result in somebody else’s loss and destruction.

(4) While Dasberg and Spielman create a strong sense of identity and unity by constantly referring to *us*, *ours*, and *we*, they do not address the *them* and *theirs*. However, they are most certainly implied. As aforementioned, when Dasberg reacts to the story of the Nathan-Melech bulla, she fervently declares: “It’s us. It’s ours (DS: It’s ours). We’re connected. It’s part of me.



Figure 7.15 24/7 hours surveillance (Scene 3.2.)

It really is part of me” (10.6.). For the viewer, it seems pretty obvious who the *us*, *ours* and *we* refer to and to whom not. Furthermore, the video material suggests that Dasberg, Spielman and the entire team behind the

archaeological site are most concerned with archaeological data that puts the “Davidic dynasty” into the pit. Moreover, as discussed earlier, the City of David employs religious imagery, nationalist symbols, and guideposts only in Ivrit and English (2.9.), except for the warning signs of 24/7-hour surveillance, also translated into Arabic (3.2.). A very literal sign of who the *us* and *them* is (see *fig.* 7.15).

Another strong argument for the exclusive storytelling of the City of David heritage park is the absence of any reference to the approximately 1,400 years of Arabic and Muslim presence in that area. However, the reference to Queen Helena of Adiabene, whom Spielman identifies twice as being from Iraq, might be an indirect hint, how people with a different cultural background can become part of the *us*. By “falling in love with the Jewish people” (7.3.), by conversion (7.3.), and by supporting the “Jewish empire with [...] kindness and [...] donations” (7.6.). Furthermore, in this narrative, the ancient Roman oppressors seem to function as a stand-in for any contemporary enemy of the Jewish people.

(5) While Dasberg explains the practice of stopping and connecting at the foundations stones, she also elusively refers to “going into something which is much bigger than us” (19.5.). The *something* is not specified for the viewer. However, the question remains if the *bigger something* is of the same essence as the *thing* (10.2.), *this* (27.8.), and *it* (27.8.), which all lack further description and show a similarly ephemeral character? It might be a waste of time to further analyse these terms, however, their quality as being *this*, *the thing*, *it*, and *the bigger something* not only show a tendency for vagueness but suggest that in the world of Dasberg and Spielman, the opposite also exists. The context of each of these utterances of essence, allude both to the historical presence of the Jewish people in the City of David and to a timeless connection between the video’s protagonists and their ancestors. At the same time, this form of transient identity, found in the excavation pit, seems to exclude everyone that cannot sufficiently identify with the *it*.

7.3 Discussion

The video tour to the foundation stones of the Kotel depicts the City of David heritage park as a *mnemotope* (for a definition, see Footnote 27) where the past is mediated, remediated and publicly performed. Moreover, the heritage park’s strikingly interactive, tangible and performative character also seemingly acknowledges and facilitates the individual’s role in

constructing memory. However, as much as the heritage park appears as a product of a reciprocal process of constructing memory, it also gives room for experience and epiphany by *presencing* the past through ritual and performance. Pilgrimage, as narrated and performed in the video, is a vivid example of bringing both together. It might be best characterised as being in-between narrative and performance, storytelling and ritual, the ephemeral and tangible, the past and the present.

By employing the lenses of narrative and presence, this sub-section discusses how the past is (re)mediated in the video material. Subsequently, the discussion concentrates on their interconnectedness and interdependence, exemplified by the topic of pilgrimage. Lastly, this section will also address the twofold character of the video material, mediating and mediatising both a heritage site and a religious ritual. Here, the discussion comes back to the introduction and 2020's challenges for all kinds of religious mediations.

At the end of Chapters 5.2 and 5.3, I have respectively singled out the essential questions that Schmidt and Gumbrecht's theories raise to discuss narrative and presence, as depicted in the video material. These questions will guide the now following discussion: (1) How do the heritage park and its video mediation construct memory through cognitive and emotional processes, productions and performances? (2) In what way are *Gegenbegrifflichkeiten* and *operative Fiktionen* part of this construction? (3) How do the heritage site and the video serve as tools to negotiate and assure oneself of a common identity and of being part of the *us*, *we*, and *ours*? (4) How does the emphasis on the touch, the experiences of *self-unconcealment*, and the embodied practice of pilgrimage relate to Gumbrecht's *presencing* approach to history? (5) How do the *past-presencing* experience and moments of intensity in the City of David heritage park influence the display of complex archaeological records and the long history of occupation in the City of David? (6) What is the relationship between language and presence in the heritage park? These questions will be discussed in the following three sub-sections (See Chapters 7.3.1 - 7.3.3) before the final question about the mediation and mediatisation of religion will be addressed. Here, I will refer mainly to the discussion about online religion in Chapter 4.3.

7.3.1 (Re)mediation through Narratives

In the video material, narratives play a profound role in the (re)mediation of the past. However, how exactly are these narratives constructed, and how do they serve to construct memory? As already mentioned in Chapter 5.2, Schmidt answers these questions by introducing his concepts of remembering, based on the reciprocal discourses between individuals and society, *Gegenbegrifflichkeit*, and *operative Fiktionen*. Under the following three headings, I will discuss the video's (re)mediation of the past through narratives in the light of Schmidt's social constructivism.

7.3.1.1 The Reciprocal Process, Production, and Performance of Memory: Heritage as Self-fulfilling Prophecy

Dasberg and Spielman's narrations reflect the highly individual character of the cognitive processes, productions and performances that reciprocally constitute personal and collective memory. However, the video tour also alludes to a corporate canon of tour-guide narratives, as Dasberg and Spielman can narrate the experiences, thoughts and emotions of individual volunteers and archaeologists involved in the excavations. Paz' account of Rabbi Maly's guiding principles seems to confirm this notion, that the heritage park's guides are constantly working on effectively orchestrating the individual visitor's connection to the heritage site (see Chapter 3.3.2.4). As Schmidt asserts, individual memory needs remembering occasions, something the City of David offers to its visitors. Hence, by inserting their memories in the heritage park, Dasberg and Spielman also become co-producers of its *Kulturprogramm* and link their narratives to their audience's individual and collective memory.

However, while the video first and foremost depicts the narratives and performances essential for its two protagonists, the heritage park also seems to operate as a functioning mnemotope for each visitor and volunteer. According to Dasberg's vision for the Kedem Centre, interactivity and being part of *it* seem to be the essential ingredients of the heritage park. In that sense, the park needs visitors as much as the visitors "need" the park to construct collective memory successfully. The heritage park's highly individual approach seems to confirm the visitor's role in the authentication of heritage sites (see Chapter 4.4). As much as the heritage site is a product of preceding histories and discourses, heritage is always actively performed by the visitor. Without visitors, the heritage site loses its character as an authentic mnemotope. Or as Schmidt affirms, "remembering realizes itself as process in the here and now which is bound to an

individual actor” (Schmidt 2008, 194). This also reveals the tension of a locked-down heritage site and might explain the production of numerous videos during the Covid-19 crisis. Ultimately, it is the ongoing individual visitor experiences that leads to the authentication of the City of David heritage site. Hence, the role of the visitor in the City of David heritage park cannot be overstated. It is twofold: On the one hand, the visitor authenticates the tangible heritage site through having authentic experiences. On the other hand, each individual visitor has to calibrate his cognitive processes, productions and performances with the collective memory - (re)mediated by the theme park. However, as heritage sites are only considered authentic when they can unify and reaffirm the visitors' identity, the City of David heritage park needs to actively search for the right audience. Here, visitor and heritage site seem to be intrinsically dependent on each other. In that sense, Dasberg and Spielman's interaction with archaeological remnants, religious tradition and rituals, and the performative quality of their video tour becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy but not in the literal sense that they propose. Dasberg and Spielman have to carefully select narratives and performances that confirm the *operative Fiktionen* of their target audience and ultimately lead to a successful operation and authentication of the heritage site.

However, at this point the question remains, does the video tour itself become a remembering occasion and *Kulturprogramm* that mediates and performs the past in the global public arena? Moreover, might the visitor's role in authenticating heritage sites even be transferable to the online communities' actions of watching, liking and sharing the video's content? Although Dasberg and Spielman do everything to convince their viewers that they have to come to the City of David to understand, the identity-creating character of the video material seems powerful enough to influence the viewers' individual memory, even from afar. Through the power of YouTube, the video's *Kulturprogramm* transcends the borders of the local culture, potentially addressing a global audience that can identify and connect to the storytelling and performative character of the tour. In that light, Dasberg and Spielman seem not only to (re)mediate the histories and discourses of artefacts, stones and monuments, but they also deliver an apologetic argument for an international YouTube audience whose identity is built around the connection of the ancient Israelite's past, with the present of the City of David heritage site. Ultimately, this striking potential of (re)mediating heritage online even seems in tension with the visitor-based authentication of the City of David as a mnemotope.

7.3.1.2 Gegenbegrifflichkeit: We, Us, and Ours

Similar to Assmann, Schmidt also discusses the dependence of collective memory on places of remembrance. Those places support the process of individual and social identity formation by establishing a clear *Gegenbegrifflichkeit* between *us* and the *other*. The process of identifying who *we* are versus who *we* are not is an apparent aspect of the video material. As presented in Chapter 7.2.2, both Dasberg and Spielman narrate the City of David as a place predominantly connected to Jewish narratives. Furthermore, the imagery and design of the theme park exclude any signs of conflicting accounts or the multitude of historical layers that have been excavated. This exclusive aspect of the City of David's heritage design has also been addressed extensively by the current scholarship about El'Ad and the City of David (see Chapter 3.3.2.2). However, in Schmidt's terms, the video material only *presupposes* negative concepts, as Dasberg and Spielman never clearly state who the *other* is (see Chapter 5.2). The presupposed negative concept of the *other* stays as elusive as the exact identification of Dasberg and Spielman's peer group. Nevertheless, during the video tour, they offer a richly illustrated and performed canvas that allows the viewer to connect with narratives and performances individually.

7.3.1.3 Operative Fiktionen: The Place Where Everything Began

Schmidt introduces the concept of *operative Fiktionen* to describe the individual's assumption that "everybody thinks about the past in that and no other way" (Schmidt 2008, 196). However, according to Schmidt, this perceived unity of thought is not so much a result of an evidence-based discussion but depends entirely on the successful implementation of *Kulturprogramme*. By looking at the City of David heritage park as a *Kulturprogramm*, it is possible to discern several pieces of fiction providing enough references for those who can and will identify with the *we*, *us* and *ours* of the video's narratives.

Chapter Seven has already dissected some of these underlying *operative Fiktionen*. The most prominent fictions are the narratives of destruction and redemption that also speak to the eschatological significance and purpose of the City of David heritage park (see Chapter 7.2.4) and the narrative of the adventurous hardships of archaeology that ultimately provides definitive answers (see Chapter 7.2.5). This is not to say that Dasberg and Spielman's narratives are entirely fictitious. However, they all seem to serve as culturally meaningful references that aim to provide unity and purpose for a specific subgroup of religious and nationalist Jewish people and those who support their case. However, as mentioned before, these culturally meaningful

references only function as identification devices as they sidestep any criticism that would lead to a different outcome or more ambiguous narratives. Here, der Vries' notion of the *required past* seems to describe best what the video material offers (see Chapter 3.3.2.2). The required past seemingly carries a similar notion of a self-fulfilling prophecy that the entire heritage park is based on. In order to justify means and measures, the park has to provide culturally meaningful references. However, as many archaeologists have questioned the validity of their results, based on ethically dubious practices (see Chapter 3.3.2.1) and the erasure of any complexity (see Chapter 3.3.2.2), the only option for Dasberg and Spielman is to ignore criticism completely. This might also explain the video's innocent and naive character (see Chapter 7.2.6), wherein archaeology is presented both by fictions of a pastel past and bright eschatological future. However, at times this naïve *operative Fiktion* is intermingled with a highly exclusive narrative. The seemingly joyous and harmless character of the Jewish people who are back, "singing and playing in the streets of Jerusalem", foreshadows an apocalyptic state of things in which celebration happens over the ultimate defeat of the enemy, as the context of Zechariah's prophecy discloses.

However, as Schmidt determines that there is "kein Handeln ohne Wissen. Kein Wissen ohne Handeln" (2017, 65), he already points to the interdependence of knowledge and action. The video material discloses both the knowledge and action - or in this case, the narratives and performances that build up the *Kulturprogramm* of the City of David heritage park, something this study comes back to when discussing the in-between state of pilgrimage (7.3.3).

7.3.2 (Re)mediation through Presence

The video material indicates that the (re)mediation of the past through presence is central to El'Ad's approach. On the one hand, the presence effect results from the apparent difference between the tangible place of production and the internet as the place of both distribution and consumption. The video depicts the fundamental qualities of the heritage park as a tangible site where the visitor walks through and touches the remnants of the past, or as Spielman puts it, it is "like walking in a book". On the other hand, Dasberg and Spielman's conversation goes beyond the mere performative offerings of the City of David, as touching and digging becomes a way to understand, feel, connect, and even receive revelation.

Here, Gumbrecht offers a language for the description of the epiphanic prospects of historical objects. Similar to him, the video's protagonists seem to emphasise the *presencing* effects of *Dasein* and seemingly embody the human desire to be no longer ontologically separated from the material dimension but to be fully present. Moreover, similar to Gumbrecht, Dasberg and Spielman seem to argue for a hermeneutic that goes beyond what we can know through science and technology but instead, they propose an attendance to moments of *self-unconcealment*. Here, the City of David heritage park seems to offer an *ästhetisches Erleben* that precedes acts of world interpretation.

However, Gumbrecht and the video's protagonists seem to differ in their approach to utilising those *presencing* effects. While Gumbrecht proposes that *ästhetisches Erleben* is real, he ultimately denies that it can lead to a better understanding of the past. He is not so much discussing if these moments of *self-unconcealment* can convey any truth; he simply states that "presence and meaning always appear together, [...] and are always in tension" (2004, 105). This deviates from Dasberg and Spielman's position, seemingly emphasising the congruency between experience and knowledge, which in their combination will serve a better understanding of the past. For them feelings, epiphanies, and performances of both volunteers and visitors, are proof of the historical presence of David and the entitlement to this place for his ancestors. Ultimately, the epiphanic touch reveals that the City of David is really the "place where everything began". The emphasis on presence is also a reminder of the role that the visitor plays in the authentication of heritage sites. Furthermore, it is evidence that the authenticity of a heritage site depends at least as much on the feeling that the past becomes "really real" as it depends on presenting historical facts. As Lovell and Bull and Cohen and Cohen suggest, emotional experiences become even more essential for the authentication of heritage sites if the targeted audience might be *superheated* by belief (see Chapter 4.4).

As discussed in Chapter 5.3, Gumbrecht's critics warn before the consequences of a solely presence-based approach to history. They argue that language always matters for the (re)mediation of history and that *presencing* techniques have explicitly been attractive for fascist regimes. In that light, the video material can be criticised for depicting the heritage park as a place that offers knowledge through presence. As argued before, this goes beyond what Gumbrecht describes as a *presencing* effect. For Gumbrecht *ästhetisches Erleben* is real; however, according to him, it does not convey any transcendent truth. For Dasberg and

Spielman, *ästhetisches Erleben* seems to confirm the archaeological data, and the artefacts and monuments carry the potential to feel, understand and disclose the past.

7.3.3 Narrative and Presence: The powerful In-between of Pilgrimage

This section of the discussion looks specifically at the in-between state of pilgrimage, as represented by the video tour. For, it is the act of pilgrimage that ultimately connects narrative and presence. Here, the video material is a vivid example of *how* the past is mediated both through language and presence, through narratives and performances, and by combining *Wissen und Handeln*. Moreover, the video seems to underline Erll and Rigney's proposed interdependence, interconnectedness, and ongoing process of mediation, (re)mediation, and public performance in the construction of collective memory (see Chapter 1.2).

Both Schmidt and Gumbrecht acknowledge that *Wissen und Handeln*, knowledge and presence, storytelling and performance ultimately depend on each other. While Gumbrecht emphasises the imaginative character and *ästhetisches Erleben* in the presence of historical objects and monuments, Schmidt accentuates the personal histories and societal discourses that ultimately lead to *Anschlusshandlungen*, who are an essential part of constructing memory. The video tour to the foundation stones turns pilgrimage into a practice of embodied storytelling. For the viewers, the prospect of pilgrimage on the ancient Pilgrimage Road comes with the potential for moments of *self-unconcealment*. However, to fully grasp the significance of the pilgrimage performance, Dasberg and Spielman's eschatologically informed worldview of destruction and redemption seems indispensable.

Here, Assmann's description of the Shalosh Regalim as "festivals of collective remembrance" (Assmann 2011, 198), and Gitlitz and Davidson emphasis on their function as "rites of nationhood" (Gitlitz and Davidson 2006, 21-22) shed light on the potential and meaning that a walk on the Pilgrimage Road (or in the pilgrimage channel) carry (see Chapter 4.2.1). For Dasberg and Spielman, walking to the foundation stones seems to be living proof that the ancient prophets spoke the truth. In the pilgrimage performance, the past festivals of collective remembrance and rites of nationhood are effectively *presenced* and filled with notions of a cohesive Jewish identity that stretches from David's conquest of the city until the present day. To quote Galor again: The tunnel tour is a recent attempt to

strengthen the Jewish narrative of pilgrimage to the Holy City, as well as to create both a tangible and ideological link between the First and Second Temple periods, between the City of David and the Temple Mount, and finally between the Israelite and Jewish past and the Israeli present. (2017, 130)

However, the performative character of the tour might even reach beyond linking the past to the present. As Dasberg and Spielman allude to the eternal Jerusalem of Heaven, to them, the entire tour also seems to proclaim a tremendous Jewish future. As established in Chapter 4.1.3, the imagined Jerusalem is a well-known theme of Judaism and Christianity. Viewers with a similar background to Dasberg and Spielman will most likely understand the heavenly proportions of their propositions. Hence, with every step on the Pilgrimage Road, a bright and exclusively Jewish future for Jerusalem becomes “really real”.

By considering the imaginative and performative power of pilgrimage, Dasberg and Spielman’s excitement and the prominent place of the Pilgrimage Road in the mnemotope of the City of David heritage site is easier to understand. With the opening of the Pilgrimage Road in the heritage park, the ancient Jewish *Kulturprogramm* of pilgrimage to the Temple Mount is effectively *presenced*. Moreover, through Dasberg and Spielman’s narratives and performance,

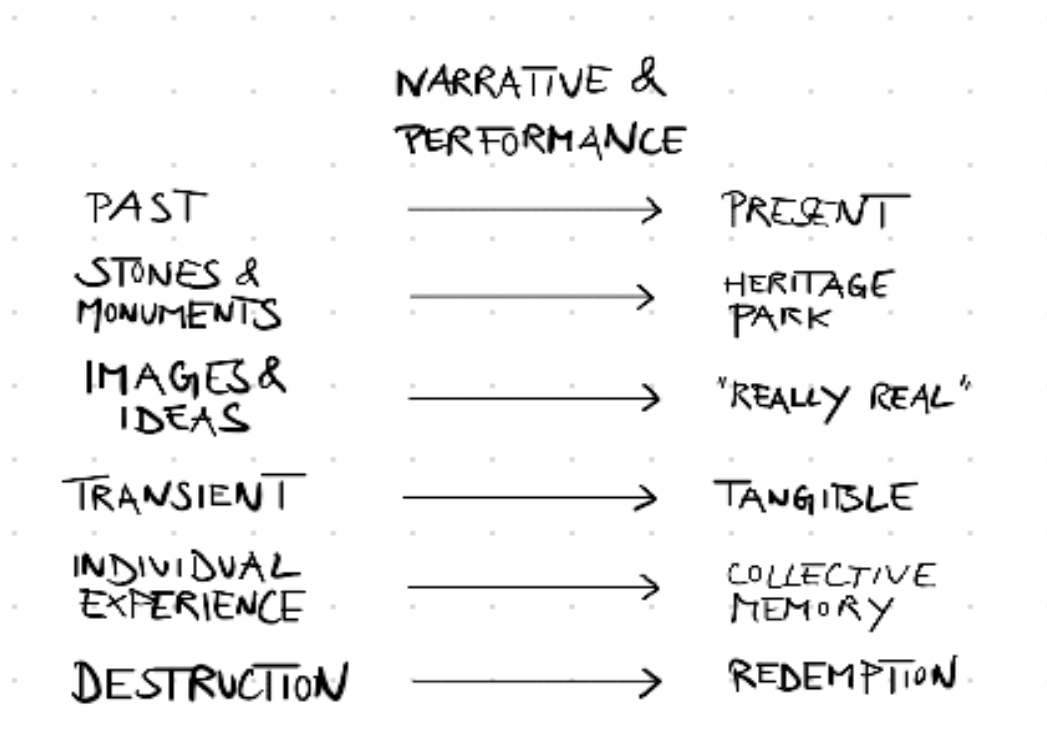


Figure 7.16: Narrative and performance as mediative devices

it becomes a vital part of both the current construction of collective memory in the heritage park and points to Jerusalem's happy but entirely Jewish future. Dasberg and Spielman's performance on the Pilgrimage Road offers strong notions of identity formation; however, it is based on the exclusion of others. Moreover, the popularity of the video tour might be proof that this recipe of performance and narrative works.

In conclusion, the pilgrimage to the foundation stones brings together narrative and performance as mediative devices connecting the past with the present and individual experience with collective memory. Furthermore, it transforms stones and monuments into a heritage park, eschatological destruction into redemption, expectations and ideas into the “really real”, and transience into tangibility (see *fig. 7.16*). However, at this point, we have to remember that the video also serves as a commercial to attract future visitors. Moreover, as discussed before, the heritage site will only be deemed authentic and worthwhile a visit if the place can stir feelings and emotions that will unify and reaffirm its visitors' identity. In that sense, the tour on the Pilgrimage Road seems to lay a good foundation for more visitors in the future. Moreover, as mentioned before, Dasberg and Spielman leave enough to the imagination of the individual viewer. The tour will essentially become what you want it to be and what you need it to be.

7.3.4 (Re)mediating Religion – “We are Part of the Prophecy!”

The preceding sub-sections discussed how the past is (re)mediated through narrative and presence, culminating in the in-between of pilgrimage. However, the heritage park's bifold approach to heritage construction not only transcends the experience on location but also scrutinises the character of its online (re)mediation. Or asked differently: If visitors are invited and instructed to perform pilgrimage in the heritage park, how does the performative religious character of the video tour on the Pilgrimage Road translate to the online world? Of course, this question is related to the earlier discussion about the role of the internet for cultural memory and the (re)mediation of the past through heritage sites (see Chapter 7.3.1.1).

The last section of the discussion deals explicitly with the question of whether the video tour itself can be characterised as an online religious ritual. By asking this question, the discussion connects directly with the thesis' Introduction Chapter and the specific challenges and affordances of 2020. Moreover, finally, Chapter 4.3, addressing the mediatization and

mediation of religion, is included in the discussion. However, as this section not only deals with the unique character of online religion during a global crisis but also with the unique character of (re)mediating Jerusalem, it will also discuss the video material in light of the imagined Jerusalem (see Chapter 4.2.3).

Chapter 4.2.3 shows that Jerusalem has always been a subject of the religious imagination and (re)mediation since becoming the religious and political centre of the ancient Israelites. Moreover, as Jerusalem's past is (re)mediated through an online video, this (re)mediation stands in a long tradition of mediating, (re)mediating and publicly performing texts, narratives and images of Jerusalem – either by emphasising its ethereal or tangible character. As Dasberg and Spielman emphasise the City of David's eschatological character by evoking concepts of destruction and redemption and referring to the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem, it seems possible to argue that their eschatologically informed understanding of Jerusalem transcends time and place. Furthermore, as they actively presence the past through performance, they seem to be very aware of Jerusalem's imaginative qualities. Moreover, as the virtual pilgrimages of the Middle Ages show, at least for a Christian religious audience, images, travelogues, maps, indulgences and relics successfully (re)mediate an embodied experience of Jerusalem. In that light, it even seems more reasonable to ask if the video material does the same.

As mentioned before, *Jew*, *Jewish* and *Judaism* are ambiguous and imprecise terms when discussing current and historic Jewish communities and their beliefs (See Chapter 4.1). As a result, it seems reasonable to assume that the YouTube video will provoke different outcomes amongst different audiences, depending on how it relates to their identity and the nature of their beliefs. However, the ambiguity of Jewish memory culture and identity seems not to be of great concern for Dasberg and Spielman. For them, the City of David plays a central role for the entire Jewish people.

Considering the role of place in the discussion of the video material, at least for Dasberg and Spielman, the tangible and exact location seems to be of great concern. Especially since their understanding of the City of David's location has strong eschatological connotations. After all, the anticipated Third Temple is not expected to be a virtual Temple, and the Shalosh Regalim are standing in the long tradition of embodied feasts of national and religious identity. On the other hand, to recall Altena, Notermans, and Widlok, place is not necessarily that important

during online rituals. If the online (re)mediation conveys the feeling of a common identity, location-bound religious rituals might transfer to online worlds. In the words of the Sanctuary of Lourdes's rector Olivier Ribadeau-Dumas, "even virtually, there is a real communion between pilgrims" (AFP 2020).

Of course, nowhere is the online tour to the foundation stones deemed to be an "official" pilgrimage. However, through the powerful presentation of the Shalosh Regalim on the actual Pilgrimage Road (or in the adjacent channel) and repeatedly referencing the fulfilment of Jewish prophecy, the video shows great potential to fulfil the eschatological expectations of a likeminded online audience. Like the prophecies, these expectations transcend an actual visit to the City of David. Jerusalem has become as much a place of the imagination as it is a tangible city. Still, Reddig and Morgan's emphasis on embodiment in religious rituals are necessary reminders of the body's role during a pilgrimage (for this and the following discussion, see Chapter 4.3). However, in the case of the video material, it seems possible to argue that Dasberg and Spielman successfully substitute the bodily experience of the viewer, who, in times of a global pandemic, is unable to perform the live pilgrimage. This seems to confirm Helland's observation that "there is a symbolic substitution occurring online where virtual space simulates the representation of sacred space" (2013, 33). Moreover, as Hjarvard testifies to the increasing role that the media plays in the mediation and mediatisation of religions and religious rituals, the City of David's YouTube presence easily qualifies as a "purveyor of enchanted experiences" (2013, 93). Furthermore, the video material seems also to be a case in point for Hjarvard's observation of the rise and role of banal religion. Here, YouTube allows for banal religious (re)mediations without interference by traditional media organisations or religious authorities.

So finally, does the video function as an online ritual? Similar to the live heritage site, the video material shows a somewhat ambiguous character. Like the heritage site, the video's authenticity and exact function depend significantly on the consumer. If the viewer brings certain expectations and pre-considerations to the video material, it has the potential of fulfilling an online religious ritual. Especially when considering that Jerusalem has always been more than a tangible city. In that sense, the video material falls on the fruitful grounds of a longstanding history of (re)mediating Jerusalem as an ethereal and imagined place. Furthermore, for a religious viewer, the presentation of the Pilgrimage Road to the foundation stones has the

potential to evoke images, historical performances, and eschatological expectations with the potential for *ästhetisches Erleben* and moments of *self-unconcealment*. Ironically, Jerusalem's eschatological and ethereal significance becomes a solid counterweight for Dasberg and Spielman's emphasis on presence and being there. Moreover, for them, the City of David is much more than a heritage site; the heightened sense of eschatological importance exceeds facts and archaeological data.

However, at this point, the discussion will refrain from drawing further conclusions. As stated before, similar to the heritage site, the reception of the video tour depends substantially on the audience, whose reactions are not part of this study. Nevertheless, the eschatological and performative character of the video tour, the ethereal character of Jerusalem and its history of being (re)mediated for the imagination, and the mediatisation of religion, the video material has all ingredients that ultimately can result in a religious experience.

The discussion of the video material has shown how narratives and performances come together in the live heritage park and culminate in the tour on the Pilgrimage Road. The concluding chapter of this study will summarise critical findings and suggest topics for further research.

8 Conclusion

This study has researched how the past is remembered and (re)mediated through the video tour on the Pilgrimage Road in City of David heritage park and has asked if the video (re)mediates a religious ritual. By concentrating on *how* the past has been (re)mediated and by explicitly looking at the potential of (re)mediation through YouTube, this study goes beyond earlier research, mostly converging on the political realities and results of El'Ad's approach.

In order to answer the research question, this study has combined the theories of Schmidt's constructivism with Gumbrecht's presence-focus. One unique finding of this study is that the video material reveals how the City of David (re)mediates the past through *narratives* and *performances*. With the help of Schmidt, this study has been able to show that the video's narratives base on the *Gegenbegrifflichkeit* between *us* and *them* and the *operative Fiktion* of destruction and redemption, ultimately revealing El'Ad's eschatological worldview. Furthermore, Gumbrecht allows for talking about the power of *presencing* the past and the emphasis on *ästhetisches Erleben* in the heritage park. Experiences of volunteers and visitors alike – or as Gumbrecht calls them, *moments of self-unconcealment*, become evidence for the archaeological data. El'Ad's approach to narratives and performances culminates in the tour on the “authentic” Pilgrimage Road. Here, the past is not only successfully *presenced*, but eschatologically informed narratives draw a bow from the Shalosh Regalim of the ancient Israelites to the latter-day's fulfilment of prophecies through the work of El'Ad. The following six observations further elaborate on this central finding.

1. The video invites visitors to come and see the City of David for themselves. However, at the same time, it reveals the heritage park's utter dependence on a constant stream of visitors, fulfilling their intended role of authenticating the heritage site. Previous research shows that heritage sites self-authenticate through the stream of visitors that successfully connect their personal histories to the narratives and performances within the site. Without visitors, the City of David heritage park essentially loses its active role in constructing memory and its quality as mnemotope. However, this study further asks if and how an online (re)mediation of the park will construct identity and collective memory without needing to be in the actual mnemotope.

2. Similar to earlier research on the City of David, this study confirms that the park's narratives establish a clear *Gegenbegrifflichkeit* between *us* and the *other*. Although the *other* is never explicitly mentioned or defined, is the absence of non-Jewish narratives a clear indicator of whose identity the park ultimately confirms. The City of David heritage park employs a one-sided, exclusionary narrative and employs strongly religious and nationalistic imagery. El'Ad's active role in the religious-Zionist settler movement should no longer come as a surprise.

3. Although the narratives are presented as rooted in archaeological findings, the heritage parks' *operative Fiktionen* are predominantly occupied with Jewish identity and religious themes. The narratives of destruction and redemption and the emphasis on the fulfilment of prophecies right before the audiences' eyes are clear indicators that the heritage park addresses a religiously literate audience. However, as this bright eschatological future depends on the self-fulfilling prophecies and the *required past* of putting the David dynasty in the pit, competing narratives are entirely ignored. Earlier studies have pointed to the religious-nationalistic background of the City of David. Through studying the video material's narratives and performances, this study was able to further distinguish the religious aspect as being firmly rooted in Jewish eschatology.

4. Several times, the video's protagonists emphasise the *presence effects* of touching the stones and touching the past in the City of David. Here, Dasberg and Spielman combine archaeology with *ästhetisches Erleben* and *moments of self-unconcealment*. Furthermore, they seem to suggest that together, archaeology and presence ultimately reveal that the City of David is the "place where everything began". However, the suggested concept of knowledge through presence bares criticism for conveying the idea that if things feel "really real", they also must be real. Furthermore, the epistemology of presence and touching the past is to a degree obliterated by the carefully curated and narrated constitution of both the heritage design and its video mediation. Without Dasberg and Spielman's interpretations of archaeological layers, objects, and monuments and their placement in a national-religious narrative, presence alone cannot do the trick.

5. As the video material puts pilgrimage in the centre, this study has looked specifically at the historical embeddedness of Jewish pilgrimage. It finds that pilgrimage successfully combines language and presence, narratives and performances, and *Wissen und Handeln*. Furthermore,

the pilgrimage to the foundation stones is rooted in the historical Shalosh Regalim and their function as “festivals of collective remembrance” and “rites of nationhood”. They successfully connect the ancient Israelite past to the present by *presencing* the ancient *Kulturprogramm* of pilgrimage to the Temple. However, as the Shalosh Regalim are also embedded in eschatological expectations, their public performance suggests that the bright Jewish future has already begun. On the Pilgrimage Road, narratives and performances function as mediative devices that turn the past into the present, ideas into reality, individual experiences into collective memory, destruction into redemption, and the transient into the tangible. Hence, the “authentic” Pilgrimage Road tour seems to be more than another tourist attraction or a territorial claim to the City of David. It actively nurtures the imagination of soon again performing the Shalosh Regalim in their intended place.

6. Lastly, this study asked if the video material itself has become a (re)mediation of a religious ritual. Like the live heritage park, the video stands in a long history of (re)mediating Jerusalem for the imagination. That is why elusive concepts, such as the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem, cannot be separated from their history of mediation. Moreover, the imaginative potency of depicting the re-opening of the ancient Pilgrimage Road cannot be overestimated. Although online rituals have been questioned for lacking the embodied qualities of live rituals, several studies point to the practical usage of online rituals in people’s lives.

However, this study also finds that the video material is ambiguous by design. Firstly, its ambiguity results from the in-between character of online mediation, being simultaneously dislocated and within grasp. Secondly, Jerusalem has been mediated as this ambiguous place between heaven and earth, reality and imagination, and between accessibility and being non-accessible. As a result, the online (re)mediation stands precisely in this tradition of (re)mediating Jerusalem as more than a physical place. Lastly, similar to the live heritage site, the video’s reception fundamentally depends on the viewer’s pre-conditions and pre-conceptions. Therefore, the video will ultimately become what the viewer wants - and needs it to be.

As already discussed in the section about the validity of the methodology (Chapter 6.4), this study is a one-case study based solely on the multimodal analysis of a single YouTube video. Therefore, to confirm and contextualise the results of this study, more research is needed.

Research that analyses further online content of the heritage park and looks specifically on how the YouTube audience receives the content and how many of those watching the YouTube channel end up visiting the heritage site. Moreover, future research could further enhance our understanding of visitors' expectations before they visit the site and if their expectations are fulfilled or exceeded through the complementary approach of narrative and performance in the heritage park. Another exciting research field arises when considering the role that YouTube plays in constructing memory and remembrance for a global audience. Here future research should also consider the uniqueness, diversity, and global representation of Jewish memory culture.

The year 2020 challenged visitor-dependent heritage sites and religious pilgrimage destinations and research projects since most were conducted online and under the impression of a global pandemic. However, 2020 also presented a ripe basket of research projects for everyone willing to take up this challenge. Compared to potentially researching the City of David on-site, a focus on the YouTube tour served to better understand the *how* of heritage design and the endless potential of (re)meditating religion and heritage for an online audience. Here, scholarship is in the infancy of understanding; however, the pandemic year ultimately accelerated that research process.

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10 Attachments

10.1 NSD Approval Letter

Behandlingen av personopplysninger er vurdert av NSD. Vurderingen er:

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, so long as it is carried out in accordance with what is documented in the Notification Form and attachments, dated 26.03.2021, as well as in correspondence with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to begin.

NOTIFY CHANGES

If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION

The project will be processing general categories of personal data until 25.05.2021

LEGAL BASIS

Our assessment is that the processing meets the requirement of scientific research, and therefore constitutes a task in the public interest.

The project will process general categories of personal data on the legal basis that processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 e), and for scientific research purposes, cf. art. 6.3 b), cf. the Personal Data Act § 8.

The processing is in accordance with appropriate safeguards for the rights and freedoms of the data subject, cf. art. 89.1.

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
- storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects about the processing of their personal will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 14.

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), and protest (art. 21). These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data. We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data. To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded. Good luck with the project!



Contact person at NSD: Kajsa Amundsen



Data Protection Services for Research: [+47 55 58 21 17](tel:+4755582117) (press 1)



10.2 Video Transcription

Soundtrack			
Speaker	DS:	Doron Spielman	
	OD:	Oriya Dasberg	
	()	Text in () as direct response/echo to what is said before, often with a cumulative effect	
Editorial actions	(±)	source of spoken voice is off-screen, (±) used at the beginning and end of the sequence	
	(!)	Cut	
Tempo of speech	(SL)	slow	
	(M)	medium	
	(F)	fast	
Emphasis	(*)	strong	
	(**)	very strong	
Dyadic relations among auditory voices	(R)	responding	
	(I)	initiating	
	(S)	simultaneous	
Pause	(#)	pausing	
	(#3sec)	approx. length of pause	
Loudness of voice	(pp)	very soft	
	(p)	soft	
	(n)	normal	
	(f)	loud	
	(ff)	very loud	



Visual Image			
Shot range	VCS	Very close shot (less than head and shoulders)	
	CL	Close shot (head and shoulders)	
	MCS	Medium close shot (human figure cut off above waistline)	
	MLS	Medium long shot (Full length of the human figure)	
	LS	Long shot (human figure occupies approx. half the height of the image)	
	VLS	Very long shot (the distance is even greater)	
Editorial Action	(!)	Cut	



Scene 1 - 0:00 - 1:16 - Introduction at the City of David Visitor's Center					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
1.1. 00:00		(silence)	A man walks from the back diagonally towards the entry (medium-fast movement). Clothes: beige pants, blue shirt, rolled-up sleeves, short brown hair wearing a small microphone attached to the shirt	LS. 1 st shot on entry portal of CoD. The harp logo and a little (Olive?) tree are in the frame. As the camera moves to the left, the open gate to the CoD become visible. In the background, several Israel flags blow in the wind. Pink flowers are visible. The sun is shining. Blue sky.	Establishes the CoD, its picture language of Olive trees, Israel flags, and the harp symbol create a nationalistic and biblical realm. DS's movement shows activity. His clothes and body language are casual, rolled-up sleeves showing activity.
1.2. 00:05		Background noise: silent street noise, car passes by (off-camera) DS: (M) (I) Hello everybody and (*) welcome to Jerusalem. Once (*) again, the City of David. It's (*) amazing to have you back with us.	The man comes to a halt in the entry, looks straight into the camera, and gestures with his left hand while talking.	MCS. The camera moves slightly to the left, and two plaques on the wall next to the entry becomes visible. The text is both in Hebrew and English. The first plaque is only partly visible, however in a later shot, it reads: "City of David, Jerusalem Walls National Park". The second underneath reads: "DEDICATED BY E. AND Z. SHVIDLER. FOR THE GLORY OF JERUSALEM"	Directly addresses viewers. An intentional creation of video for English speaking audience. Establishes a connection to earlier CoD YouTube videos. Plaques show affiliation to place and organisation. Eugene Shvidler is a Russian American oligarch, billionaire, and best friend and business partner of Roman Abramovitch, who invested 75 million Pounds in the CoD. Shvidler's plaque directly next to the entry suggests that he has given a substantial amount of money. The Jerusalem Walls National Park plaque establishes the relationship to the Israel Nature and Parks Authority.
1.3. 00:12		DS: My name is Doron Spielman. I'm the director of global communications in the City of David And I want to introduce you	DS touches his chest while introducing his name.	MCS.	Name and touch correspond and communicate the heartfelt connection to the audience. The title suggests that his professional role is to officially communicate on behalf of the CoD to a global audience.


1.4.	00:17		DS: to my dear friend and partner Oriya Dasberg. Hallo Oriya.	DS starts strolling to the right and comes to a halt in front of the CoD harp logo.	The camera stays for a while on DS and moves to the right, following him. OD wears a blue and white Kippa.	“Friend and partner” is not creating a business relationship but introducing chitchat between people who know each other well. OD’s position in the CoD is not mentioned here.
1.5.	00:21		OD: (R) (*) Hallo (*) Doron. (*) How are (*) you? DS: (R) Great to see you again OD: (R) How are you doing? DS: (R) I'm excellent.	Simultaneously OD walks slowly into the frame from the right and comes to a halt in front of the CoD harp logo.	OD wears a wide blue shirt and beige pants. She wears sunglasses on top of her red curly hair. On the top right corner of the frame, a security camera becomes visible and what could be some form of protective wiring.	The whole appearance of OD shows energy, warmth and connection at the same time. Although it is doubtful that they haven’t seen each other before the recording, the introduction acts out that they actually meet each other in front of the camera.
1.6.	00:26		DS: (I) We're back by popular (*) demand OD: (R) (*) Absolutely, I was so thrilled last time we had so many people watching us. DS: (R) We did OD: (I) It was hundreds of thousands. DS: (R) (**) hundreds of thousands of people (OD: (R) Yes) were watching	DS holds a picture book/folder. OD gestures extensively with both her hands while talking. Protagonists look at each other while talking.	The camera moves to the right and steadily to the back.	Acknowledging the popularity of the last virtual tour video and creating some kind of excitement. As it is “popular demand” that they do more, it diminishes the commercial interest behind the video.
1.7.	00:34		OD: (I) and it was so nice from everyone was writing to us. (DS: (R) It’s true) Please send us more (*) information. We got so many emails.	DS is nodding, smiling, gazing at OD. OD gesturing with both hands.	MLS. The camera comes to hold showing trees, flag, harp logo and both protagonists in conversation in the centre.	The overwhelming number of received emails (not verifiable and no reference to content – positive or negative?).


1.8.	00:41		<p>OD: (I) (f) So, (*) this time really if you feel like joining us (*) again and if you want to be the first one to know just leave us your email, we will be in touch (*) all the time (DS: (S) Absolutely), not just Corona time (DS: (R) Absolutely).</p>	<p>OD gazes in turn at the camera and DS, gesturing with both hands, making an inviting hand gesture. DS gazing at OD and the camera, nodding.</p>		<p>Advertising newsletter – everyone else did communicate with us, why not you?</p>
1.9.	00:51		<p>OD: (I) And you know, now last time we met we did the first part of the Pilgrimage Road, and it was (**) quiet. There was (*) no one here because of the Corona.</p>	<p>Turning to each other. OD/DS gazing at each other. OD's hand moves from down to up while talking about the Pilgrimage Road.</p>		<p>Reference to the first part of Pilgrimage Road – PR seems to be the in-house reference and more popular branding of the “Temple Mount Ascent Tour” Reference to Covid-19 and its significant impact on the CoD creates a connection to viewers and gives context to why video is done.</p>
1.10	01:01		<p>OD: And it's very optimistic to meet again once we see that more people are starting to come out (DS: (S) That's right) and I hope that in just a few weeks we're gonna have the City of David with (*) thousands of people (*) again</p>	<p>OD making circles with her arms. OD/DS gazing at each other and camera in turn.</p>	<p>Camera moves from MLS to MCS. Starts turning to the left.</p>	<p>The future after Covid-19 – a bright future with many visitors again.</p>
1.11	01:15		<p>OD: and (*) you, too, (*) join us. (DS: (R) Come and join us)</p>	<p>OD gazes directly into camera while making inviting hand gesture. DS begins walking, gazing at OD and camera, making inviting hand gesture towards OD with left hand.</p>	<p>MCS. OD in foreground to the right, DS slightly back to the left of frame.</p>	<p>Direct address to the camera supports the invitation.</p>
<p>General Comments: Scene 1:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scene one sets the general tone of the video. It's informal character and the excitement of “popular demand” create a relative closeness to the viewer, who is at the same time a target for advertisement. - The protagonists are not co-workers but friends and partners. - Setting the scene in front of Israel flags, little olive trees and the harp symbol straight away communicates the entanglement of religious and nationalistic imagery at the CoD. - Setting the first scene in front of the empty CoD entrance also communicates the demand for visitors and invites the people to walk through the gate. - The weather, blue sky, pretty flowers etc., are an ideal background for inviting tourists to the CoD. 						

- Although the 1st scene is all in one shot and shows no cuts, there is some scripted character to it. The protagonists know where and when to move into the frame, and the camera knows what happens next. When they are about to move on, the camera beforehand positions itself to follow them. The protagonists know where to stop and turn when talking.



Scene 2: 1:16 – 2:54 - Walk from the visitor's centre to the Giv'ati Parking Lot					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
2.1. 01:16		OD: (I) Today we're going to do another part (DS: (R) (*) absolutely, another part) tell them what we're gonna do today.	OD and DS begin walking while having a conversation, gazing at each other. OD points towards the road as they start walking.	MCS to MLS. The camera follows their movement from behind, slightly to the left. Both plaques are visible again. Olive tree, Israel flag. Left side of the frame a street with some partial blocking and painted wall, where briefly some of the pictures of archaeological sites and children looking at them are visible. Background: street side parking cars, the Old City Wall, and Al-Aqsa Mosque are visible	Infrastructure and Locations of the different parts of the CoD become visible, Close proximity to Old City Wall and the Temple Mount.
2.2. 01:21		DS: Today, you're gonna join us, as Oriya and I take you through the Pilgrimage Road	DS gazes at camera and begins walking backwards. OD turns her head, gazes at camera. DS gaze stays on camera while turning his body again towards walking direction	MLS. The camera moves slightly to the left and films DS and OD while they're beginning to walk on the sidewalk along the wall of the CoD visitors centre.	Taking turns between looking at the camera and the other protagonist creates a triangle relationship between viewer, OD and DS. Directly addressing the viewer creates closeness. The way camera moves with DS/OD invites viewer on the journey and makes them part of the walking group.
2.3. 01:25		DS: Down to where we go underneath the ground, through the ancient aqueduct which went beneath the road, all the way to the (S) (***) foundation stones (M) of the Temple Mount	DS and OD keep walking midtempo. DS walks in front carrying the folder. DS gestures with his left hand, gazing alternately into the camera and on the road before him and at OD. DS gestures with left hand, supporting locations given in speech. OD follows him in a 1m distance, slightly to his left. OD nods at DS, OD gazes towards walking direction.	MLS. Camera moves with them as they walk, approx. situated on street. The background is completely covered with the wall out of beige stones. A large golden sign at the wall above their heads becomes visible reading in Hebrew and English: CITY OF DAVID. The wall is approx. 3m high, pink and red flowers grow lavishly from the top of the wall	The strong emphasis on the "foundation stones" highlight the extraordinary role these stones play for OD/DS/CoD. Architecture makes the CoD a seeming part of ancient Jerusalem (See chapter on architecture in Pullan). Contrast between security measurements, high walls and the lavish flowers. Everything seems old.


2.4.	01:35		<p>DS: one of the most (*) exciting (OD: (*) (R) absolutely) places, in the what? Probably in the world. OD: (*) (R) Definitely in the world. DS: Wouldn't you say? OD: (**) (R) Definitely the world.</p>	<p>OD and DS walk midtempo. DS turns to OD, and they gaze at each other. OD makes supportive head gestures.</p>	<p>MLS. Camera moves alongside OD/DS, speeds up, moves in front of them. The street becomes visible again. To the right: a wall with posters showing pictures of tourists in archaeological digs or on segways. Car passing by to the right Background: The entrance to CoD still visible, steep street, view over Kidron Valley. Some simply built houses are visible to the right behind the postered wall. Some security instalment visible on Top corner of the wall. To the left: As wall ends, high fence becomes visible, with trees behind.</p>	<p>Unique role of Temple Mount foundation stones comes out even stronger in dialogue. The contrast between CoD and the visible neighbourhood is enormous. Although CoD has seemingly ancient architecture, they are probably responsible for construction site on the street. (Still: Neighbouring context unknown - how do the fences and walls of other houses look?)</p>
2.5.	01:41		<p>Background: Noise of passing car OD: (F) (I) You know, last time we discussed the fact that the City of David is the place where Jerusalem was born (DS: (R) (Yes) We spoke about the water, the significance of the water. And today, we're going to see where this road that we spoke about last time that thousands of people used to walk on it. Where does it end? (DS: (R) (*) absolutely)</p>	<p>OD and DS walk midtempo, gazing at each other from time to time. OD gestures with hands while talking. OD and DS crossing road diagonally walking past construction site.</p>	<p>MLS to MCS. Camera walks backwards in front of DS/OD. As OD/DS cross street camera crosses street diagonally, filming them slightly from left side. Car passes. While diagonally crossing, to the right, the postered wall ends, parts of a construction area come into frame, another postered wall becomes visible. Parking cars in the construction site.</p>	<p>CoD – “where Jerusalem was born” is a reminder of their branding “Where everything began” This sentence is said in almost every video. We know where it ends. DS just said it. Are the walls plastered and not painted because the pictures are vandalised regularly?</p>
2.6.	02:00		<p>OD: And it's really exciting that we speak about it near (*) Shavuot. DS: (R) That's right.</p>	<p>OD/DS walk midtempo, slow down and halt. DS gazes at camera. OD gazes at DS.</p>	<p>MLS. Camera films subjects from righthand side moving with them diagonally. Parked car in front centre of frame, between camera and protagonists. Postered wall comes into frame to the left. It shows different scenes from the CoD archaeological digs: the sifting site, a larger overview of the park and children and adults in bright coloured shirts that are part of the activities. Some seem to work as archaeologists; others, like a little boy, sift at the sifting station, holding something into the camera that he found on the sifting screen.</p>	<p>The reference to Shavuot is tying CoD's Pilgrimage Road to one of the three Jewish Pilgrimage Festivals, creating a direct link between the Torah and this part of the tour. The happy pictures of children, archaeologists and tourists show the CoD's vision for this part of Jerusalem and create an alternate reality for the neighbourhood of Silwan. The security measurements and selling of tickets for an</p>


					To the right, the entry gate to the Giv'ati Parking Lot excavation site comes into frame, showing a prominent black harp symbol and a white plaque in Hebrew and English reading: "Welcome to the City of David: Giv'ati Parking Lot Ecavation." In smaller letter it reads below: "Press Button To Open and Present Ticket Upon Entry. Tickets Are Available for Purchase at the City of David Ticket Office Across the Street."	official IAA dig are a reference to the controversial situation of El'Ad.
2.7.	02:05		DS: (I) Now, before we take our visitors to a surprising parking lot. I think it's actually an opportunity to turn around and show them that right over here is actually the Temple Mount. Meaning we're only a few feet from the Temple Mount, Oriya. (OD: (R) yes) And we're actually going to be meeting very close to the Temple Mount, but underneath the ground in that dark and mysterious place (OD: (R) yes) that we discovered.	DS/OD standing DS gazes to what is before him, points with left outstretched arm and index finger and begins walking midtempo, keeping arm up and his finger pointed. DS stops after 5m walk, turns his body and gazes at OD, keeping his finger and arm stretch out, now pointing towards the background. As DS is talking about the tunnel, he lowers his arm again and creates a symbolic room with his hands, referring to the "dark and mysterious place." OD gazes at DS, and gaze follows the pointed-out direction. She moves slowly and stops again, <u>gazing</u> at DS, OD nodding.	MLS to DS The camera comes to a halt, focus is on DS while he walks through the frame from left to right. Camera follows him, while OD stands still next to the entry. Camera moves slightly backwards and comes to a halt to the back-right side of OD, keeping DS in distant centre of the frame. The gate is briefly visible in full. Seems heavy. It doesn't let through any view. Security system and heavy lock. A little harp symbol with a red triangle pointing towards the entry. On the other side of the entry, there are more posters on the wall visible, showing some tourists on bikes and logos of the City of David and Israel Nature and Parks Authority. In the background is the Old City Wall and Al-Aqsa Mosque visible. Street-side parking to the right.	The Temple Mount is mentioned again, close proximity shown. (So close, but so far away). The "dark and mysterious place" DS refers to, creates some tension and excitement for the viewer. (Visible dome of Al-Aqsa not mentioned). The pointing finger is part of tourist gaze? Q: Did they discover that place, or was it discovered before by Warren? They are dropping in and out of "stories". This is tying together an informal tour with regular performance of tour guides and their storytelling. The plastering with official logos is necessary if your organisation is constantly questioned.
2.8.	02:28		OD: (I) And you know every good story starts at a (#) (*) parking lot (DS: (R) (*) parking lot, that's true) So, we're gonna start our story at a parking lot, and it's not just the usual parking lot. DS: (R) It's not just the usual parking lot.	DS walks slowly back to OD, comes to halt in front of her, facing camera, gazing at OD and camera. OD steps forward towards DS, stands still, gazes at DS and turns to camera. OD/DS stand next to each other.	MLS. Camera moves slowly to the right and back. It comes to a halt, filming OD/DS standing to the right of the entry. To the left is the heavy gate visible	Scripted tour-guide performance? Are there good stories starting at a parking lot?



				OD points with both hands to the entry. DS nodding and smiling.		
2.9.	02:39		DS: (I) I remember here, Oriya, in 2002 when a group of Russian scientists came to us, and they said: "Clear off our cars (#) We're going to do an MRI of the parking lot" (#) We thought it was crazy, but you know, so	DS gazing in turn at OD and the camera, gestures with left hand. OD gazes at DS, nodding.	MLS. Camera filming OD/DS standing to the right of the entry. To the left is the heavy gate visible. Camera zooms in to MCS.	The way archaeologists are pictured here is interesting. Which Russians? Why an MRI? Who thought it was crazy? The people who run archaeological sites find the techniques and ideas of archaeologists crazy? The storytelling of crazy archaeologists creates a companionship between the viewer and the two performers. The storytelling next to closed off entry creates more excitement for the viewer to finally get a look behind. Tension is built.
2.10.	02:49		OD: (R) Let's see what they found and DS: (R) Let's see what they found. This used to be our parking lot. (#)	OD pointing towards door, moving slightly towards door, gazes at camera. DS gazes at camera pointing towards door, nodding head, follows OD towards door.	MCS to MLS. Camera turns slightly to the left while DS/OD begin walking towards door. Door is unlocked.	Everyone expects a parking lot, but what is actually behind the wall? The direct turn towards the camera again creates closeness to the viewer. Now, the tension to look behind the wall is even higher.
General Comments: Scene 2						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The setup is quite intriguing: The viewer is part of the tour; the camera often takes the viewer's role. - Tension is created before the entrance to the parking lot. - Difference between CoD architecture and rest of neighbourhood seems large. Construction and blocking of street are reference to the power of Elad. - DS is the storyteller, while OD leads into the next scene. Still, DS walks first... - Archaeologists are mentioned as being this other kind of people with crazy ideas. At the same time, they are referred to as an authority who can make people clear of their cars from a parking lot. 						

Scene 3: 2:54 – 3:34 - Entering the Giv'ati Parking Lot excavation site						
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation	
3.1.	02:54	Background: (birds, street noise, metal door) DS: Come on in. (#5sec)	OD opens door. DS makes a nodding gesture towards door.	MLS. Camera moves behind DS/OD filming their backs.	The surprising aspect of moving through a metal door in a sleepy neighbourhood street and suddenly standing high up, looking down into a	

				<p>OD followed by DS walks through door. OD turns gazing at camera. DS moves to the right of OD, both come to halt standing at railing.</p>	<p>Background: Large, deep pit opens up with infrastructure of archaeological dig. Whole dig is fenced in with high fence. Stairs and railing are visible throughout whole dig. On the top quarter of frame Old City Wall visible. To the upper left, simple houses of Wadi Hilweh, Silwan, behind Old City Wall house of Jewish Quarter visible</p>	<p>pit can't be overstated. It's like entering a completely different world. Quality of railing and stairs looks permanent. This is an excavation site made available to the paying public.</p>
3.2.	03:02		<p>OD: Isn't this a wow? (DS: (R) Wow) (#) Really! (#) Isn't this a wow? Look at this, Deron. DS: (R) Incredible, that's incredible. OD: (f) (*) A parking lot. This used to be a parking lot. And look what we found here. (DS: (R) Absolutely) Isn't it amazing? DS: (R) It's incredible. I remember parking our car here.</p>	<p>OD suddenly turns, gestures towards pit behind her, gazing in turn at camera, pit and DS. DS nodding, smiling, gazing in turn at pit, camera and OD left hand at hip, right hand holding folder and railing.</p>	<p>MCS. Camera moves slightly to the right, DS/OD in front, excavation pit and houses in the back. Next to OD a sign at the wall says in Hebrew, English and Arabic: "Site is Under 24 Hour Camera Surveillance".</p>	<p>The surprising effect is supported by OD's performance of suddenly turning and talking directly to the camera. Her expressed excitement is countered by DS "silent awe" as he gazes over pit. DS gesture with hand at hip, gazing gives him some statuesque character. The warning sign of 24h surveillance is also in Arabic. None of the other signs visible so far have been in Arabic. The contrast between parking lot (ordinary everyday use) and excavation pit (extraordinary) is strong.</p>
3.3.	03:16		<p>DS: (I) And when you got out of your car, little did we realise that (±) as we got out of our car if you went down 50 or 60 feet, you had (*) 11 (*) different (*) civilizations, going (*) all the way back to the ancient Biblical period. The time period of King David. And as we know, Oriya, we've had some real (±) surprises in this parking lot.</p>	<p>DS pointing towards pit with index finger. End shot: OD/DS gazing at each other.</p>	<p>MCS to VLS to MCS Camera moves between OD/DS, filming slightly down into pit, panning from r to l and back from l to r. Camera moves back, DS/OD in the frame again. The shot reveals the size of excavation pit, some areas are covered with awnings. To the left and to the back the pit is surrounded by tight housing.</p>	<p>DS is pointing out 11 civilisations in the pit, however, he only referring to Kind David and Biblical times by name. The foreshadowing of "surprises" again creates some tension for the viewer of what comes next. DS is pointing with his finger again. It's not entirely clear if pit is still active, although awnings in northeast corner speak for activity. The three buildings in the northwest corner of the compound are what DS refers to in 5.1. This is where the Byzantine gold hoard was found.</p>
<p>General Comments: Scene 3:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The size and location of pit is extraordinary. - The proximity of excavation site to Temple Mount, local Palestinian housing, Old City Wall, Jewish Quarter shows the outstanding geographical and political character of the Giv'ati Parking Lot dig. - The signs at the wall speak to who's expected as tourist (Hebrew and English) and who should be warned that they're under surveillance (Hebrew, English, Arabic). 						

Scene 4: 3:34 – 3:54 – Walking around the Giv'ati excavation pit					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
4.1. 03:34		OD: (I) Yes. Let's walk a little bit (DS: (R) sure, please) around it and (#) come with us (#), so you can see different angles of this place.	OD gestures with pointed figure a half circle and begins moving behind DS, down the stairs. OD walks, looking to her back right at the camera gesturing and making inviting hand gesture. DS goes ahead begins walking down the stairs.	MLS to MCS. Camera turns to the right as subjects begin to move, camera follows DS/OD. OD is more prominent to the front left side, while DS is in the back. An elevated path is surrounding the pit (approx. 4-5m below the fence and 5-7 m above the pit) comes into frame. To the right, a small hut with some security (?) instalments on roof is visible. To the left the excavation pit below the high railing that secures the path. OD/DS leave the platform in front of the entry. The path has installed lights above and is approx. 1-1,50m wide.	The infrastructure seems permanent. The story continues as the two protagonists continue. OD initiates, while DS is walking in front of her.
4.2. 03:41		DS: (I) Did you bring your water? It's a (*) hot day. OD: (R) I did, (#) and I forgot then. (laughing) DS: (I) I'm not allowed to share. OD: (R) You're not allowed to share. (DS: (R) Not allowed to share, no.) I will be OK. We're going underneath soon (±), so it's going to be cool and dry and nice. (±)	DS turns and gazes at Oriya, takes out a water bottle from his left back pocket, presenting it to Oriya. DS walks down the stairs, briefly turning, gesturing with bottle. OD walks down the stairs, gestures with hands.	MCS. Camera follows DS/OD closely down the stairs to back right. As camera moves down the stairs it begins filming above OD's head. Camera pans from right to left, showing the pit down below.	The small talk about hot weather is giving some really casual vibe. As this happens while walking down the stairs, it makes the camera/viewer involved in the place. It easy to feel the hot air of the excavation pit. The reminder of not being allowed to share water, because of the Covid-19 crisis is making the viewer and the protagonists part of the same story and reminds everyone, why they have to film. Q: Would DS share water if there was no Covid-19? Are they that close? The reference to going underground soon is creating some tension to what happens next.
General Comments: Scene 4:					
- The mixing of casual and thematic talk is giving the tour a personal touch, helps the viewer to identify with those who walk through the pit.					
-					



Scene 5: 3:54 – 5:38 <i>Nadine and the Gold Coins</i>					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
5.1. 03:54		<p>DS: (I) So just as we reach over here, (#) we can see in the distance that there are three rooms (#) and I remember, we had, we got an email (#) a number of years ago, from a young woman from London. She said I want to volunteer in the excavations. (#)</p>	<p>DS is standing, leaning at the railing, touching railing from time to time, gesturing with both hands, still holding folder in left hand, gazing in turn at OD, camera, and pit. OD standing, gazing at DS, nodding head.</p>	<p>VLS to MCS. Camera pans from left to right, DS in the centre of frame, OD to the right side of frame. DS talks directly at camera while OD has turned her back slightly to the right. Camera films her from the left side, as she gazes at DS.</p>	<p>Three rooms are not identifiable. Volunteering at CoD is possible and part of their strategy. → For more clarity, see drawing in article by Ben-Ami, Tchekhanovets and Bijovsky.</p>
5.2. 04:07		<p>DS: Her name was Nadine (#), and we sent her email to the Israel Antiquities Authority, and they employed her. (#) And a month after Nadine came to the job - now we have to understand, most people, when they come to an excavation, they don't realize how (*) dirty and (*) sweaty and how (*) difficult the work is. (*) Nadine - she was working at a large automotive manufacturer in planning, but she got used to it. And she had a lot of friends, and by this point, her fingernails were dirty, and she had dug in. (#) (p) And one day she was over here, and a group of workers heard Nadine (*) scream and they thought maybe she was bit by a (*) scorpion and so they sent first aid.</p>	<p>DS standing and leaning at railing, gesturing with both hands, gazing at camera and OD. OD standing, gazing at DS, smiling and nodding.</p>	<p>MCS to CS to MCS to CS. Camera zooms in twice on DS. Both times, OD comes out of frame. Camera zooms out again in between, OD comes into frame on the right-hand site. Background: shows part of the elevated path with railing alongside the north-eastern wall of the pit. The wall is plastered, lighting and what seems to be loudspeakers are installed above path.</p>	<p>CS and talking directly into camera are giving the story more impact. Through CS, the camera is not simple participant in the tour anymore, but it is more clearly addressed as someone that is talked to. The story of Nadine is a story some of the viewers might be able to identify with and seems like an invitation to participate. The setup is quite dramatic and paints again a picture of archaeologists as the other. Good storytelling - the girl that has to get her fingernails dirty and is possibly bit by a scorpion is very vivid.</p>

5.3.	04:43		<p>DS: (p) But no, Nadine is sitting in the ground, and they walk up to her and in the dirt that was right in front of her, she's pointing (#) and she (*) found, this young woman from England, found one of the most (*) miraculous discoveries ever made in Jerusalem (#) which are these gold coins. OD: (R) (±) Treasure. It's a real treasure. DS: (R) It's a real treasure)</p>	<p>DS standing next to railing, gesturing with both hands, takes book in both hands, browses through book and opens book, holding it into the camera, pointing at a picture in the book. DS gazes in turn at OD and book OD gazes at DS.</p>	<p>CS to MCS to VCS Camera zooms out, OD comes in frame again, camera move slightly back, OD/VS standing next to each other Camera zooms into book pages of a picture book that DS holds into camera, showing a page (p.31) with four images. (1) Of a black woman, photographed in profile, wearing an earring and a colourful head-band 2) A different photo of the earring that is captioned as: "A Roman earring made of gold pearls and emeralds (First century CE)" 3) A photo of gold coins inside ground, perhaps in the archaeological pit and 4) An image of the coins, cleaned on a black background, shining. The last two pictures are captioned as: "A cache of gold coins minted during the Byzantine Era (613 CE).</p>	<p>The silent way he is telling the story is capturing the audience, creating tension. The story is captivating and has the adventurous aura of a movie, playing with stereotypes of archaeologists and treasure hunting. The picture book seems to be prepared with paper pieces stuck between the pages. Assumption: the story has been told plenty of times before, part of the guidance-repertoire. The highlighting of coins and earrings for the movie, while not mentioning most of the other artefacts that were found in GPL. Highlights the more popular aspects of archaeology.</p>
5.4.	05:02		<p>OD: (I) I can only imagine what (*) she felt when she found it and I can only imagine what (*) you felt when you got the (*) message. DS: (R) It's true), but (±) this is something I – (***) again it's not fair that I wasn't here. DS: (laughing) You were here, I wasn't here, and I can only imagine what people felt when they saw this. (#) It's unbelievable. DS: (R) It was, it was amazing.</p>	<p>OD gazing at DS, gesturing with hands, smiling, loosely pointing at picture in the book. DS gazing at picture and OD, smiling.</p>	<p>VCS to MCS. Camera zooms out from picture to MCS shot. DS/OD standing to the left and right of the frame. Background: See 5.2.</p>	<p>Three times, the feelings of those who found/got a message about the coins are mentioned by OD. OD is playing (as in the video before) with being envious of other people finding the "treasures". Strong language: "Unbelievable, Amazing".</p>
5.5.	05:21		<p>DS: (I) What would you do if you had 264 gold coins, Oriya? OD: (R) (*) Och, we don't have enough time (#) (both laughing) for me to speak about it DS: (R) Watch out, Manhattan. (both laughing) We spoke about that last time. OD: (R) Absolutely, absolutely, but eh – well, let's start with opening the shops again DS: (R) exactly) all around the world, but eh, yes. DS: (R) That would be the first step)</p>	<p>DS standing, smiling, gazing in turn at OD and picture book, pointing finger at OD. OD smiling, gesturing with hands, gazing at DS.</p>	<p>MCS. DS/OD standing to the left and right of the frame. Background: See 5.2.</p>	<p>Taking the coins out of context and imagining what to buy with it is imaginative for the audience – again, playing with the theme of "treasure-hunting". Q: Who has the coins now? Reference to Covid-19 and the closed shops has a grounding impact and creates bonding with the viewer, who is possibly also stuck home (not shopping on 5th Avenue).</p>


General Comments: Scene 5:

- Very connective way of telling stories – identification with Nadine quite easy.
- For the archaeological knowledge about the GPL, how important are the gold coins (apart from giving a timestamp)?
- Strong emphasis on the feelings of those who found the treasures, got the call etc. -> points out the personal experience over the scientific data.
- Good example of the in/out of prepared stories and more spontaneous reaction towards current situation.
- Both of them are professionals and might have done these tours together, before.


Scene 6: 5:38 – 6:52 – Excavation pit Walkaround continues					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
6.1. 05:38		<p>DS: (I) (*) Okay, so let's continue. As we walk around this, you know, (#) this incredible excavation where we have all these layers. We've got the (*) Roman layer, and we have the (*) Second Temple layer, and we've got the (*) First Temple layer, and 11 different civilizations. (*) Every day we have new things that have come out of here. (#)</p>	<p>DS turns around, begins walking, closes picture book. While walking, DS turns several times to gaze at OD. OD walks behind DS.</p>	<p>MCS to MLS Camera follows close behind OD. OD walks to the left side along the railing that secures the path. DS walks on the right side of frame, next to the plastered wall. As they walk, the camera moves slightly to the right of OD. Background is showing parts of the pit to the left and the Southern slope beyond Old City Wall and Jewish Quarter. Further security measures are visible: beneath the railing is another horizontal fence attached to the elevated path.</p>	<p>Walking and talking – relaxed and informal type of conversation DS mentions only Roman, 2nd and 1st Temple Period, although, according to him, there are remains of 11 civilisations in the pit. What are the other civilisations? “Incredible”</p>
6.2. 05:53		<p>OD: (I) And you know, you spoke about Nadine, who was volunteering here. (*) Every year, we had, we get many volunteers coming to work here because they want to feel (*) part of what we're doing. It's a very tough work, like you said.</p>	<p>OD walking, gazing at path and DS, gesturing with right hand DS walking, gazing at OD, nodding, left hand on hip, right hand holding folder/picture book Background: Person walks in the opposite direction on the path.</p>	<p>MCS to CS to MCS. Camera begins moving from right side of OD, panning left, close up of OD's face, passing through between OD and DS while turning further. DS briefly outside frame. Camera walking backwards in front of OD/DS. Background: As camera turns and moves in front of OD/DS, the whole pit is visible. More houses in the background towards the south of the pit. A brief background shot of the door, where OD/DS entered the elevated path. The south side of the pit seems not to be surrounded by walls, giving free view from the houses into the pit.</p>	<p>Feelings are mentioned again. “Feeling part of what we're doing” Q: What are they doing? What does a volunteer become part of? Volunteering is described in a very inviting way. This is a commercial to come and work there yourself.</p>


					Along the path, there are several unmounted parasols.	
6.3.	06:05		OD: So why would people volunteer, come to work in the (*) sun (DS: (R) Ja) in the rain (DS: (R) So hot)? They want to feel part of this (*) story. We don't pay too good, (*) really, this is not the issue. They want to (**) feel (*) part of Jerusalem.	DS/OD walking slowly, coming briefly to halt, gazing at each other, walking again slowly. OD makes questioning hand gesture (“Why would people...”). Smacking hands together twice (1) “feel part of this story”(2) “feel part of Jerusalem”. DS: left hand at hip, nodding. Background: unidentifiable person comes to halt.	MCS to MLS. Camera moves slowly in front of DS/OD.	“Feeling part” is mentioned twice. (1) Part of this story - Q: What story? (2) Part of Jerusalem – Q: How does one become part of Jerusalem? The smacking of hands as she talks about feelings, is somehow counter-intuitive to feelings as sth. more soft and interior. However, it very strongly supports her emphasis on the feelings. People are coming even though the working conditions are difficult because they believe in sth. – a higher cause, maybe?
6.4.	06:19		OD: They want to feel part of (*) revealing (±) the history of Jerusalem. They want to connect to their (*) own dynasty. (DS: (R) Amazing) To the something inside. And once they (**) touch the ground, they (**) touch the stones, they (*) reveal themselves, (*) through (±) revealing Jerusalem.	OD walks slowly, smacking hands (“feel part of...”). DS walks slowly (off frame).	MLS to VLS to MLS. Camera pans from l to r, filming the pit, panning back from r to l.	“Feeling part” is mentioned again. Revealing the history of Jerusalem. Which history is it? Roman, 1 st /2 nd Temple? The camera shows what they are part of by panning over the archaeological pit. Connect: To their dynasty and sth. inside? What does that mean? Which dynasty? Touch: Touching stones and touching the ground lead to a revelation. DS: Amazing.
6.5.	06:35		OD: And we hear (*), again and again, the stories. And Nadine, who was so excited. (F) (f) This is going with her, for the rest of her life, with her children and her grandchildren. DS: (R) It's incredible, Oriya. OD: (R) It's (*) unbelievable. And you know there was another thing we found here. DS: (R) Yes, there was OD: Which is making me (**) very jealous (DS: (R) (*) Very, very jealous) (**) Very jealous.	OD/DS walk slowly, gazing at each other. OD gesturing with hands. DS left hand on hip, nodding. DS/OD coming to halt, smiling. DS taking picture book with both hands, browsing, looking at book. Background: unidentifiable person moves again towards	MLS. Camera moving slowly backwards, coming to halt as protagonists halt. Part of pit is visible on the right side of frame.	The goal is that people have exciting experiences they can share with family and friends. What has been revealed to them is passed on to the next generations. DS/OD: Incredible, unbelievable.



				door, comes to halt again.	
General Comments: Scene 6: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A very strong case for feelings/experience over facts and complexity. Nadine is a great example for someone that will probably never forget and will always tell the right kind of story. - Golden coins and jewellery have a strong emotional factor attached. - OD is the person with excitement and a religious idea of touching, feeling and connecting. - DS tells the story and marvels at OD's emotional response. - 6.4. is case in point for hypothesis. - It's hard to tell what is acted and what is real. However, the way they reflect on the story of Nadine, seems quite authentic in case of OD. - Walking together: Time for reflection; Standing together: time for stories. 					



Scene 7: 6:52 – 8:07 - Queen Helena from Adiabene					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
7.1. 06:52		OD: (I) Because there used to be a (*) Queen here (DS: (R) That's right). So, tell our friends. DS: (R) Well, we know that there was a (*) Queen. (!)	DS/OD standing. DS browsing through picture book. OD gazing at DS and picture book. Background: Person walks upstairs towards entrance.	MLS. Camera stands still. (!)	The topic of a Queen lays again a very strong focus on relatable objects in archaeology. However, in this story, Queen Helena seems only interesting because of her gracious attitude towards the Jewish people. The audible and visible cut at 6:57 is the first cut in the video.
7.2. 06:57		DS: (±) Her name was Queen Helena of Adiabene. She's a Queen in the Iraq (±),		VLS Camera pans from l to r over pit. Location is slightly different as in the scene before Shot seems to be same material as 9:16 – 9:20 (!)	Why is the Iraq mentioned? It was not the Iraq back then. A rare bit of post-editing is visible here, as a different visual image is inserted over the soundtrack. The cuts seem due to some form of interruption with an unknown cause. The inserted frame shows a general overview of the pit and does not reflect specifically DS's story of QH.
7.3. 07:00		DS: (F) and she falls in (*) love with the Jewish people. And mostly, she fell in love with the idea that there was one God. (OD: (R) Yes) So, that made a lot of sense to her, so she decides to convert.	DS standing with open book in right hand, gestures with left hand, gazes at OD. OD gazes at DS, nodding, both hands in pockets, takes hands out of pocket.	MLS to MCS. Camera moves forward and to the right. OD out of frame at the end of subscene. Background: Light-brown, plastered wall.	The way DS is standing with the book shows a preachy attitude, somehow similar to the many videos of men with an open bible, explaining archaeology that the CoD produces. The reference to one God might be part of an apologetical argument against more critical scholarship that questions the monotheism of ancient Israel.
7.4. 07:08		DS: "I believe in one God". Now, most of the world	DS holding book in right hand, gazing	MCS.	



			believes in one God, today, but back then it was pretty uncommon. (#) And she converts and her (*) entire Kingdom converts and Queen Helena (#), who was from Adiabene in Iraq, she moved to Jerusalem and she builds a Palace in the City of David (#)	directly at camera, and briefly at OD's position behind, to the right of camera. Left hand ready to fold back picture book.	Camera zooms in a bit further on DS while turning to the right at the same time. Camera halts approx. at OD's former position.	
7.5.	07:24		DS: and while we were excavating the Palace, (#) we uncovered this (*) gorgeous (*) earring with freshwater (*) pearls and (*) emeralds and (*) true gold. (#) And you know this is, really, this earring is a symbol not only of wealth. It is the symbol of (*) what a person could do with their wealth.	DS gazing at picture book, folding back book, holding book in both hands, while pointing with left index finger towards picture.	MCS to VCS. Camera moves forward. Focus on picture in right upper corner of picture book -> same page as in 5.3. (see description). Camera moves left -> focus on the upper left side -> picture of woman wearing the earring. Camera moves slowly backwards.	This is a perfect introduction to the two following segments. Oria's vision and the gift shop. It also shows that simple and "magic" connection between a queen and a visitor today. It implies the question, what the viewer does with his/her wealth, today? Maybe give some of it to help the Jewish people? The fact that QH was not Jewish but converted also supports the inclusion of donors outside the Jewish faith – at least as long as they give money and are friendly with the Jewish people. While the IAA press release gives a date of 1 st Century BCE-4 th CE, the CoD picture book dates it to 1 st Century CE.
7.6.	07:43		DS: Because Queen Helena transforms the Jewish empire with her (*) kindness and with her (*) donations and she really, while the Romans were (*) oppressing the Jews, Queen Helena used her (*) money to buy (*) food to help the Jews during the Roman oppression. (OD: (R) Yes) And so she is written about by the sages,	DS gazing at camera, holding picture book with right hand, gestures with left hand, gazing at OD. OD looking briefly at picture book, gazing to the left over the pit, walking slowly forward, coming to halt, nodding, gazing at DS.	CS to MLS. Camera moves backward, towards approx. same position as before. Zooming in on DS/picture book.	Who is oppressing the Jewish people today? http://www.antiquities.org.il/Article_eng.aspx?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=1444&hist=1 The IAA press release mentions the earrings and also mentions QH, however, it still seems a far stretch that these belonged to QH. DS storytelling does not put them directly at QH ears, yet he still creates a subtle connection between them. Scene 9 creates the immediate connection when OD puts the gift shop earrings on and "feels like a queen for one day". OD looks like she heard the story too many times. As she might not be aware that the camera is back on her, she looks around, and only after gazing at the camera again, and realizing she is filmed, she shows (acts out?) real interest.


7.7.	07:58		DS: really, as one of the greatest, (#) really one of the most important people ever in the history (#) of the Second Temple Period, in Jerusalem.	DS begins walking again, holding open picture book in front of his chest. OD walks to the right, a bit further back. DS gazes at OD, turning slightly to the left.	MLS Camera moves slowly backwards as they move on. DS in left front side of frame, OD further back in right side of frame	Because of what? Compared to whom?
General Comments: Scene 7:						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The example of Queen Helena is simple, intriguing, relatable, and ideal for connecting historical storytelling with fundraising. - DS breaks down complicated archaeological matters to a simple story of a wealthy queen – presumption: the addressee of this video is either not interested in the nuanced account or simply doesn't understand it. - The very specific interpretation of the earring is an example of imaginative historic construction that is turning single finds into emotional stories. 						

Scene 8: 8:07 – 9:47 – Oriya's vision						
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation	
8.1.	08:07		DS: (I) You know, Oriya, (#) I'm looking at this excavation, and what I often hear from people is: (#) "Ok, there's four billion people connected to Jerusalem, (#) there's (*) eleven layers here. (#) How are they ever going to experience this, Oriya?" I mean, that's your, (#) that's what you (*) really bring to the table here. (#) What's your (*) vision for this place? (#)	DS stopping and turning slightly to the left, gazing over pit, holding picture book with right hand, putting it in left hand and holding it to the side of his torso. Gazing in turn at camera and at OD, gesturing with right hand. OD stopping shortly after DS, gazing at DS, smiling, turning her back slightly towards pit, nodding.	MLS. Camera comes to halt, turns to the right and moves slightly to the left, bringing OD in centre of frame. Background: the pit. DS is in the very left side foreground of the frame.	Who are these 4 billion people that are connected? Are all Christians, Jews and Muslims connected to Jerusalem? What does "connect" mean? The report talks about 12 layers. What layer is he missing? In DS description, Oriya is the visionary that creates the experience for the visitors. CoD's goal is to create an experience.
8.2.	08:23		OD: (R) Well, I must say that once we found all these excavations, we understood that this is (*) huge what we have here. (#) And, I want people from all over the world to (*) feel what we feel now.	OD moves a bit back, takes deep breath, turning face to pit and back to DS. OD turning back and forth towards pit, gesturing towards pit and raising hands at both sides, gazing in turn at DS and pit. DS most of time off-frame, briefly can be seen nodding.	MCS. Camera moves a bit forward, OD in centre. DS comes outside frame.	Feelings are mentioned again. The future visitors should feel, what OD/DS are feeling. Not clear what that is and if they're feeling the same things, but the assumption is, they're feeling exhilarated. In the beginning, it seems like OD has to collect her thoughts. Still, it is assumed she's not talking about it for the first time.


8.3.	08:38		<p>OD: I'm trying to say to them, to our friends. I'm trying to tell (*) you, my friends, what we feel. You have to come here to understand.</p>	<p>OD gazing right into camera, gesturing with hands, holding stretched hands towards camera. Gazing in turn at DS (DS off camera).</p>	<p>MCS to CS. Camera moves forward, closing in on OD, briefly out of focus.</p>	<p>This is as a dramatic invitation as possible. CS with gesturing hands and the direct address "You, my friends". She's making the assumption, you can't understand if you have not been here -> interesting argument against looking at a video vs. touching. It is clear to them that the stones have to be touched. The data itself is not convincing enough?</p>
8.4.	08:45		<p>OD: (F) What we're gonna (*) build here is the (*) house that will make people (*) connect to what we find here. (#) People will come here, (#) (*) hundreds of (*) thousands of people from (*) all over the world and there we go</p>	<p>OD gazing in turn at DS and pit, strong gesturing with hands, supporting "building house".</p>	<p>CS to MCS. Camera moves slowly backwards.</p>	<p>Connecting hundreds of thousands of people to the Giv'ati Parking Lot asks for a large and strategic plan.</p>
8.5.	08:57		<p>OD: (*) through the archaeology, which is something (*) very unique. You know there are places in the world where you can (*) see archaeology. In here, they're going to go (*) through the archaeology.</p>	<p>OD gazing in turn at DS and pit, strong gesturing with hands, gestures a slinging gesture both times saying "through". DS standing, gazing at OD, nodding, folding hands in front of belly, holding picture book.</p>	<p>MCS to MLS. Camera moves further back; DS comes into frame on left side. OD still centre frame. Camera moves a bit in again.</p>	<p>Another key aspect of their idea of heritage design is the possibility to go through archaeology. This is not unique, especially not with large pits like this. How will covering archaeology with a 7-floor high building change the storytelling?</p>
8.6.	09:07		<p>OD: (F) They're going to (*) touch; they're going to feel and they're going to be (*) part of the (*) excavation. (*) Every (*) person who comes to (*) visit (*) this place, it's going to be called</p>	<p>OD makes touching gesture, clenches fingers, gazing at DS. DS – see 8.4.</p>	<p>MLS. Camera moves to the right, begins turning right, DS and OD off frame.</p>	<p>The touching and feeling of archaeology are key components of El'Ad's approach. Being part of the excavation might refer to the sifting station that El'Ad still operates?</p>



8.7.	09:16		<p>OD: (±) Kedem, (*) every person who will come here can take part of the excavation himself and find (*) treasures (DS: (R) How amazing) and find (*) earrings (±).</p>	OD/DS off frame.	<p>VLS. Camera pans from left to right over pit and back from right to left.</p>	<p>Kedem-Centre: A highly controversial project supported by the government, the IAA and Parks Authority that puts a 16,000 sqm visitor centre on top of the Giv'ati excavations and also connects the place to the planned cable car.</p> <p>The storytelling is playing with treasure hunting and romantic ideas of archaeology, however, every discovered piece that fits El'Ad's narrative will be highlighted with a political connotation.</p> <p>The earring that was found by an officially hired staff person might not be a regular find for a visitor.</p> <p>The way visitors will take part in excavations is not entirely clear. However, part of the identification with the City of David will happen through taking part in archaeological activities</p> <p>DS: Amazing!</p>
8.8.	09:25		<p>OD: And this is what I want this place to be. DS: (R) So, (OD: (S) (*) very unique) they'll be part of that (*) adventure (OD: (R) exactly). They'll put on a hat. They will be the Indiana (*) Jones, or you know, whatever we want to call it, and they will</p>	OD gazing at DS, gesturing with hands, nodding, smiling as DS says "Indiana Jones". DS off frame.	<p>MLS to CS to MCS. Camera moves towards OD and begins to move out again.</p>	<p>The personalized, unique experience of archaeology reveals the strategic thinking of El'Ad and the role that affect plays in their thinking.</p> <p>DS mentions Indiana Jones, the hat, the adventure – this is, of course, a far stretch and again questionable if his reference to and promotion of Disneyfied archaeology will lead to any sincere discoveries.</p>
8.9.	09:35		<p>DS: (*) actually be part of the process, of the revealing. (OD: (R) Exactly. And this is something very unique. And as we spoke before, about the volunteers, this is what people (*) want to feel. (DS: (R) Amazing) Once they (*) touch, they get connected.</p>	<p>DS gesturing with right hand, holding folder with left hand, gazing at OD. OD gazing at DS, gesturing with hands, supports "feel" by tipping her chest with her fingers, makes a touching gestures saying "touch". DS off frame from 9:45.</p>	<p>MCS. Camera moves slightly to the left until DS in left foreground. OD to the right, slightly back. Begins to move in on OD.</p>	<p>People want to feel that they are part of the revelation. DS: Amazing OD sees a strong relationship between touching and connecting.</p> <p>This is manipulative if every found object is pieced exclusively into the Jewish nationalistic narrative.</p>
<p>General Comments: Scene 8:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oriya's vision is one of the most straightforward statements on El'Ad's strategy yet and reveals how they want to create a personal and emotional experience for every single visitor. - Highlighting single shiny artefacts goes well together with the treasure-hunting idea they want their visitors to have. 						

Scene 9: 9:47 – 10:48 – Earrings from the gift shop					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
9.1. 09:47		<p>OD: (I) And you know, Yael is now joining us, and she's bringing me (#) the (*) earrings that you found. (DS: (R) (*) What?) (*) Yes.</p> <p>DS: (*) (I) Oriya, how did you manage to do that that quickly (OD: laughs)? Well, you already took those 200, you know there were (*) 264 (*) gold coins, everyone always says, maybe there were 265, and one went missing (both laughing) (#).</p>	<p>OD gazing past the camera, making inviting hand gesture, receives small box with left hand from behind the camera, laughing, gazing at DS, opening box, looking at box, turning it around and holding in front of her in left hand.</p> <p>Hand of Yael(?), briefly visible in frame.</p> <p>DS in frame from 09:52, gazing in turn at Oriya and camera, gesturing with right hand, raising index finger, pointing at open box.</p>	<p>MCS to MLS to MCS.</p> <p>Camera moves back out from OD to bring in DS into frame to the left.</p> <p>As hand reaches out from behind the camera and gives box to OD, camera moves slightly to the left and begins zooming in again.</p>	<p>Joking about stealing the coins and minting them into earrings is kind of edgy in times where more and more archaeological finds are not traceable to their origin.</p> <p>Staged tour, as earrings are prepared to be there.</p>
9.2. 10:03		<p>OD: (I) So, you know we have a (*) shop in the City of David (DS: (S) Yes), and we make jewelries (DS: (R) Wow) that are the (*) same as the ones that we found here. And, ehm, (#) can I (*) feel like a Queen for one day, Doron? Will you let me?</p> <p>DS: (R) We feel like your queen every day, Oriya.</p>	<p>OD holding box with left hand, gesturing with right hand, briefly pointing with index finger at picture book in DS hand.</p> <p>DS moving a little closer to OD, taking box with right hand, holding it, moving arm forward to present it to the camera.</p>	<p>MCS to VCS to CS.</p> <p>Camera moves in to a CS of both earrings, getting very close. Showing two gold earrings with white and green pearls that to a high degree resemble the earrings from the picture book.</p>	<p>The scripted concept of this tour is visible in this commercial insert about the earrings.</p> <p>Connecting the finds and their made-up stories through selling copies in a gift shop is helping to connect people emotionally. If I wear an earring that is the "same" QH wore, I will always be reminded of her story as told by the CoD and will remember the positive experience of touring this site.</p> <p>Although it is said nowhere that QH owned the earrings and a very far stretch, here they are ultimately connected. Queen Helena -> Queen Oriya.</p>
9.3. 10:19		<p>OD: (I) I would (*) really like to feel a Queen (DS: (S) Absolutely) Can I put them on, just for (*) today?</p> <p>DS: (S) (*) Please, I think it's appropriate</p> <p>OD: Yes, I would (*) love to put them on and (DS: (I) I will say that...) (S) what do you (*) think, do I look like a queen?</p> <p>DS: (*) Beautiful, (*) beautiful!</p>	<p>OD taking open box back from DS with right hand, gesturing with left hand towards ear, taking one earring out of box with left hand and putting it in left ear, throwing hair back with left hand, gazing at DS and box in turn, smiling</p> <p>DS giving box to OD, gazing at OD, smiling, slightly turning his body to her, holding folder with both hands in front of belly, raising right hand with</p>	<p>CS to MCS</p> <p>Camera has OD slightly more in the center of frame</p>	



				pointed index finger, giving thumbs up		
9.4.	10:30		<p>DS: (I) And I will (*) say if you remember (±), we did have a former (*) president, who his (*) wife, I got these as a gift and she, we have pictures and she (*) wore them, (OD: (R) Yes) so there you go.</p> <p>OD: (I) So, I feel a (*) queen.</p> <p>DS: (R) You're a queen.</p>	<p>DS turning to camera, gesturing with right hand (DS off camera from 10:32-10:43).</p> <p>OD taking other earring with left hand while holding box with right hand, putting earring in right ear, smiling, gazing at DS and camera in turn, tucking back hair behind ear on left side.</p>	<p>MCS to CS.</p> <p>Camera moves forward to a CS of OD wearing both earrings.</p> <p>DS off camera from 10:32-10:43.</p>	<p>Here the closeness to highest political offices is revealed briefly.</p> <p>The clichés of the earring wearing woman and the man who gave these as a gift are also revealing the different roles, they're playing.</p> <p>Q: What is the profit margin for these earrings? How much money do they make through tours and gift shop?</p>
9.5.	10:42		<p>OD: So, let's continue our journey (DS: Absolutely) as a Queen and you will be my, (#) my Lord.</p> <p>DS: I'll be your (*) servant (OD laughs).</p> <p>OD: You'll be my lord.</p> <p>DS: I'll be your servant.</p>	<p>OD gesturing with hands, holding closed box in left hand, begins to walk, gazing and smiling, gesturing at DS.</p> <p>DS taking picture book in both hands, starting to walk, taking a image slide out of book, gazing at book and OD in turn, smiling at OD.</p>	<p>CS to MLS.</p> <p>Camera moves backwards again, showing both OD and DS next to each other.</p> <p>Beginning to slowly move backwards as OD/DS begin to walk.</p>	
General Comments: Scene 9:						
- The presentation of single spectacular finds that are taken out of historical context and are remade and sold through the gift shop is creating not only an experience at the CoD but an emotionally loaded experience that can be taken home.						


Scene 10: 10:48 – 12:27 – The Nathan-Melech bulla						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
10.1.	10:48		<p>DS: (I) By the way, Oriya, you know as we continue moving forward, there's, there's something here (*) incredible that I want our, our dear friends to see, now.</p>	<p>DS: Walking in slow tempo, gazing towards left side where OD is walking and towards picture he took out of folder/book. Holding picture with right hand in front of him towards the camera.</p> <p>OD: Walking, holding white box with earrings in hand, gazing at</p>	<p>MLS to VCS.</p> <p>Camera moves slowly backwards, stops, taking picture of bulla in full frame (see 10.2. for description).</p>	<p>“By the way” is an odd rhetoric introduction to the immense importance and emotional reaction both of them have in this scene.</p> <p>DS: Incredible.</p> <p>DS: “Dear friends” Addressee is a friend of the CoD.</p>



				picture, pointing with right index finger at picture.		
10.2.	10:57		<p>OD: (R) And you know this, this is (*) really – (p) we speak about the Queen, we speak about jewellery, we speak about treasures but when we want to feel really connected and (**) (f) really understand what's going on here, this is the thing.</p> <p>DS: (R) This is the thing.</p> <p>(OD: (S) (*) This is the thing) You and I remember because it only happened a few months ago (OD: (R) Yes)</p>	<p>10:58-11:14: OD off frame DS standing, holding picture with right hand into the camera, Briefly a hand is visible in the lower left corner of frame, stabilising the picture</p>	<p>VCS. Full frame of photograph showing a magnification of the grey-blackish Nathan-Melech epigraphic clay bulla on a black background. The bulla shows two registers of ancient Hebrew text divided by a double line and surrounded by a double line. The first register reads: “LNtnmlk” -> ”Belonging to Nathan-Melech”, the 2nd register reads “bd hmlk” -> “Servant of the King”</p>	<p>https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/israelexperience/history/pages/rare-seal-bearing-biblical-name-found-in-city-of-david-excavation-31-march-2019.aspx</p> <p>https://twitter.com/MichaelDPress/status/1112375734117584896?s=20</p> <p>http://www.rollstonepigraphy.com/?p=870#comments</p> <p>Here OD is giving another hint towards her idea of “feeling a connection” and “understanding of what is going on”. The combination of both is “the thing”.</p> <p>Apparently, “the thing” is finding biblical references in the excavations. In this case, most scholars agree that there is a likeliness this belonged to the Nathan-Melech of the Bible. However, it is not the first seal found, though the last one was without proper provenance.</p>
10.3.	11:14		<p>DS: that one of the archaeologists here in the parking lot (*) found this (*) clay seal about the size of my fingernail, and they (*) looked with a magnifying glass, and it has a name, and the name is (*) Nathan Melech.</p> <p>(OD: (R) (*) unbelievable) (*) Unbelievable, (*) servant of the King.</p>	<p>DS laying picture on top of picture book in left hand, gesturing with right hand, walking and talking, showing his little finger to the camera, briefly pointing at picture. OD walking, gazing at DS and picture in turn, nodding (holding no white box anymore).</p>	<p>VCS to MLS. As DS takes away the picture the two protagonists are back in the frame. Camera begins slowly moving backwards again and as they have reached the northwest corner of the compound, the camera slowly turns to the right. In the background, security cameras are visible, and to the left side, a hut appears, covered by bamboos sticks.</p>	<p>2x unbelievable.</p>




10.4.	11:27		<p>DS: Now, it's even more unbelievable as you (*) open up the Bible, (#) (OD: (R) yes) (*) 2nd book of Kings, (#) chapter 22/23, and you see King (*) Josiah, who was King David's great, great, great, great-grandson – a (*) righteous king in the (*) Bible, written in the Bible and his (*) servant is Nathan-Melech. It's just incredible because we have Shavuot in a few days were going to be re-living (*) Ruth, who was King David's grandmother, great grandmother and the Davidic dynasty,</p>	<p>DS/OD halt. DS talking, gesturing with right hand, while holding book in left hand, gazing at OD. OD standing, gazing at DS; nodding, slightly turned towards DS, left hand at hip, standing straight both hands at side.</p>	<p>MLS. DS in centre of frame, OD to the right. To the left, a large map appears that is mounted to the hut. For a detailed description of the map, see 11.5.</p>	<p>Unbelievable. Incredible.</p> <p>Linking the seal to the Davidic dynasty and Shavuot is spanning the timeline from David to here and now.</p>
10.5.	11:55		<p>DS: and the idea of bringing the first fruits up to the Temple. Here we find (#) the (*) actual (*) evidence of King David's lineage. The actual dynasty in the parking lot.</p>	<p>See 10.4.</p>	<p>MLS to MCS. The camera moves in and slowly turns to the right showing OD's back in the foreground to the right and DS in centre frame, filming him frontally.</p>	
10.6.	12:05		<p>OD: Yes, and I was with you when we (when we) heard about it. It was (**) really, (**) really exciting (DS: It's amazing). Because (*) everything else is telling us a story was going on here. When we find a bulla saying (#) the (**) name (**) written in the (*) Bible. It's (*) us (DS: (*) incredible). It's (*) ours (DS: It's ours). (#) We're (*) connected. (#) It's part of (*) me. It (*) really is part of me.</p>	<p>OD gesturing with hands, gazing at DS, stretching out hands, smacking hands ("the name written in the bible"). DS gazing at OD, holding book with both hands, briefly gazing twice into camera, nodding.</p>	<p>MCS to MLS. The camera moves to the left bringing OD in centre- frame and DS slightly to the left foreground. The camera moves slightly in again. Background: As the camera turns the pit is visible from the northeast corner.</p>	<p>This time OD was in the loop of the discovery.</p> <p>The "real" excitement is re-lived by telling the story of the moment they heard about it. This is adding some extra emotions to the find. Again, the combination of a name on a seal and that the name is written in the bible is giving this find an extra portion of importance. The announcement that "it is us" (not them?) and "it is ours" (not theirs) seems to underline the importance of putting "us" into the pit. Q: Who is the "Us" and "We"?</p> <p>Connection. I am personally part of this.</p> <p>DS: Amazing, Incredible.</p>
General Comments: Scene 10:						

- Here, strong political undertones of us vs them are detectable.
- The connection between a biblical name and the excavation is extremely important for the CoD.
- Linking “experience” and “understanding” is part of their agenda to create a story no one can argue with.
- Here, the stretch between the find and their announcement is not too far. However, the meaning of the find is exaggerated.



Scene 11: 12:27 – 13:32 - The ‘Pilgrimage Road’ map		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
11.1.	12:27		OD: (I) (f) Now, just before we go down (DS: Yes), I want to remind our friends (DS: (R) Oh yeah) the (*) route that we’re gonna take (DS: (R) Mmh). So last time, (#) Doron, if you remember (#) and, if (*) you remember our friends,	OD points with two fingers towards place behind the camera, points towards place to the left of camera frame, walks towards wall and places herself towards right side of map. Gesturing towards camera, gazing at DS, map and camera in turn. DS turning around, walking two steps towards wall with map, coming to halt to the left side of it, closing picture book, gazing at OD and wall.	MCS to MLS. Camera moves slightly forward and turns about 100 degree to the left, bringing OD and DS into the left and right side of the frame. The centre-frame shows the map attached to the wall of a hut. The map shows a 3d-painting/architectural drawing of the Herodian “Pilgrim’s Road” leading all the way up from Siloam Pool to Robinson’s Arch. The artist blends an ancient rendering of the road with modern day Silwan/Jerusalem. The Pilgrim’s Road is crowded with people. The artist depicts the Pilgrim’s Road as an open-air road, and Siloam Pool is depicted in its entirety as a pool, crowded with people. Robinson’s Arch is depicted intact, as are the stairways leading up to it. The map shows Al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock on top of Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif.	Addressing our friends is suggesting close proximity. OD is referencing and reflecting the first part of the tour while looking and pointing at map. This is giving context to what they are doing today. Map is anachronistic and extremely suggestive. Its pastel colours and aquarelle type of drawing gives the map some idealistic quality. Blending their idea of the past road with today’s Silwan is leaving out all other layers and focuses only on the “Pilgrimage Road”. The same rendering of the Pilgrimage Road is also available in alternate version with Herodian Temple on top of Temple Mount and frequently used in other productions by CoD, such as tours and videos.
						http://auchterphotography.com/israel-city-of-david-archeology-park-ascension-road-to-temple-mount/



					<p>Dome in the upper third of the picture. Below that the southern slide of the Temple Mount, including Silwan with some detailed houses and green areas, is visible. The Old City Wall is cut open, where the Pilgrim's Road is going through. Giva'ti Parking Lot is depicted as an excavation site, marked by a red sign saying both in Hebrew and English "You are here".</p> <p>Behind OD another picture/drawing becomes visible. For a description see 11.2.</p>	
11.2.	12:38		<p>OD: we started here, (#) in the pool of Siloam. We spoke about the water, about the idea of Jerusalem was born here with the water. And we started walking (*) up (#) the Pilgrimage Road and we went, we finished about here (#). And we (*) discussed the fact (#) that our employees are (*) working to (*) discover all this road.</p>	<p>OD in slightly bowed position, pointing at lower part of map with left hand, further moving hand up at map, pointing to different areas. Gazing at DS, map and camera in turn. DS standing, gazing at DS and map, off-frame from 12:45-13:20.</p>	<p>MCS. Camera turn slightly left. DS off-frame from 12:45. Map in centre of frame. OD slightly to the left of frame. Behind OD, slightly to her left an architectural rendering of the drainage channel and Temple Mount Ascent is visible. It shows a rendering of the Pilgrim's Road, blending a imagination of the ancient road with today's Silwan and its architectural sites (close to the Siloam Pool). English and Hebrew headlines underneath. The English headline reads: DRAINAGE CHANNEL AND PILGRIMS ASCENT Underneath a bible verse reading:</p>	

					“Come let us go up to Zion, to the Lord our God!”(Jeremiah 31:5) Underneath a longer text reads: (See separate picture ->).	http://auchterphotography.com/israel-city-of-david-archeology-park-ascension-road-to-temple-mount/
11.3.	12:59		OD: (*) Today, we're going to the upper part, the northern part of the road. We will go (*) down, you will explain a few more things, and we will go (*) out (*) just (*) beneath the (*) Temple (*) Mount. And this is (*) really, if we were excited (*) here.	OD pointing at middle and upper section of map with left hand. Pointing at lower part of map (“excited here” -> off frame), gesturing with right hand, gazing at DS (off frame).	MCS to CS. Camera moves into CS of OD to the left and the upper part of the map in centre-frame.	Excitement is increasing as they get closer to Temple Mount.
11.4.	13:14		OD: I'm sure my friends, (#) you are going to be (**) extremely excited. And I hope you will (*) see how excited (*) I am once we get down here. (#) Yes.	OD turning towards camera, gazing right at camera, pointing at map with left hand, gesturing with right hand, touching her chest (“see”). DS pointing at map with little finger of right hand.	CS to VCS. Camera stays on OD and map and begins moving in.	However, excitement is communicated as something that will definitely be there when they reach the place OD is talking about. This depicts the artificial side of producing excitement -> Is that even possible to be genuinely “extremely excited” if you are beforehand informed about it? One reason why I focus on this part of film is the increased communication of excitement, as they get closer to the Temple Mount.
11.5.	13:23		DS: Underneath the wall, by the way (OD: underneath the wall) We're going underneath that old City wall, right Oriya? OD: (*) Yes. Underneath. And we'll stop (#) and we'll (*) show them the place, and we'll start.	OD pointing at map with index finger. DS pointing at map with little finger. Both begin turning, gazing towards the direction they will walk towards.	VCS to MCS. Camera moves closer towards map, showing area that OD/DS point to and moves backwards again as both begin to walk.	As rhetoric device, DS asks a question, as if he doesn't know where they are going next.
General Comments: Scene 11: - How genuine is the transported excitement, and how much of a guided performance is visible here?						


Scene 12: 13:32 – 14:22 – Descending into the Drainage Channel					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
12.1. 13:32		DS: (I) Alright, let's do it. OD: (I) Let's go down. DS: (I) Watch your step here. (#3sec)	OD/DS begin walking.	MCS to LS. Camera turns left and begins following protagonists. The background shows roughly plastered walls A sign with arrow pointing down reads in Hebrew and English: "Drainage Channel Route to the Davidson Center".	Inconsistency in the naming of the different routes and tours. The Davidson Centre is also run by El'Ad and the starting/ending point of the tour.
12.2. 13:37		DS: So here we go. We're heading (*) down. We're going to be (*) descending around 40 feet (#) from ground level of today. What's fascinating is (#) if we look around us (#) there's pottery shards (*) everywhere. Everywhere we look, because we're descending (*) back in time. I can see pottery on both sides of me. OD: Doron, will you be so nice, and you will lead the (*) way?	OD/DS descending down the stairs. DS using handrail from time to time with right hand, moving head towards left and right while descending.	MLS. Camera follows DS/OD down the stairs, turning left. OD is often covered totally by DS walking behind her. Heavy steel beams support the entry to the tunnel as stairs continue going down.	Doron leads the way.
12.3. 13:58		OD: It's ok with you? DS: Sure, sure, as your loyal servant, I will definitely (OD: Excellent, so please) head out this way. (#3sec) Ok. OD: It's so (*) cool and (*) nice here (DS: Yes). I (*) love this route. DS: Mother nature's air conditioning being (OD: (S) Yes) deep under the ground. (#1sec) OD: And just thinking - that we're going all the way up now to the (f) (*) Temple (*) Mount DS: (*) Absolutely. Watch your head on this door here.	DS descending down the stairs. Holding camera (on stick?) with right hand, smiles, gazing in camera and past camera. OD off frame 13:58-14:03. OD standing next to stairs, carrying folder in right hand, letting DS pass, smiles. DS/OD walking, turning right, descending further steps, turning left,	(!) CS. Camera seems mounted on stick. DS walks in front holding camera while OD follows in some distance, occasionally covered by DS. Steel beams, tunnel lagging, stair railing, fuse boxes, fire security and artificial lighting are in place. Staircase is approx. 1m wide and high enough for DS to stand.	Again, the Temple Mount is mentioned as the exciting final destination. The camera on a stick gives touristy vibe and an explorer quality to DS's movements. After the entrance to the Giv'ati excavation this is the 2 nd passage in the tour, where tension rises, and the viewer's experience is that of someone taken into an unknown place.



				descending more steps, turning right. DS holding door with left hand for OD.		
General Comments: Scene 12:						
- Rite of passage down the stairs into the tunnels.						


Scene 13: 14:22 – 15:32 - In the 'Pilgrimage' Channel						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
13.1.	14:22		DS: (I) And here we are, walking through a channel (#) that is (*) so amazing, Oriya. Because it was built by King Herod (door slamming noise). And as we know, (#) if we head in that direction, we would be back at the Siloam Pool (OD: (S) yes), where we began last time (OD: (R) Last time, yeah).	DS holding camera with right arm, gazing in turn at camera and way before him, his right shoulder is slightly bend towards the front. DS/OD walking, stopping. DS slightly turns, points back with left arm and stretched index finger. OD gazes at camera, smiling. DS/OD continue to walk again.	CS to MCS to CS. Camera moves mounted on stick with DS through tunnel, to the left and right beige stones are visible in narrow tunnel path. Camera stops with DS and is lifted up. In the background, the door they passed and another door behind them is visible, as is the top of the stones left and right from the tunnel path. Camera is lowered again, bringing DS in centre of CS. OD is on- and off-camera, as she's blocked by DS's body.	More context referring to the first part of the tunnel tour. They walk in the water channel underneath the "Pilgrim's Road". The channel is amazing , because it was built by Herod?
13.2.	14:36		DS: (I) You and I are winding through this pilgrimage channel. (#2sec) (p) And above us, in a minute, we're going to see (*) remains of the actual road. You can see, we have construction here (#) which is holding up pretty much the city of Jerusalem.	DS/OD walking, turning left corner, DS gazing at camera and way before him, DS stoops and walks slightly bend down. DS straightens up, gazing at roof and camera, points towards roof, turns right corner and stops, turning his body slightly left, gazing back.	CS. The camera continues moving with DS in centre-frame. The tunnel roofing is lower, so DS has to duck while walking, camera moves slightly down. Background: There is more electricity and some tubes and cables visible, that are running parallel, mounted to the tunnel roof, steel beams, tunnel lagging, and from time-to-time large beige-brownish stones. Due to the artificial lighting the picture has a strong yellowish tint.	The camera and angle give an explorer kind of look to this part of the film, especially when DS walks through the tunnel his movements seem fast-paced (due to closeness of camera?). The "holding up of Jerusalem" part is quite cynical, considering that the houses in the neighbourhood have cracks because of the digging of the tunnels.


13.3.	14:50		<p>DS: Which you are also in charge of, (#) Oriya. OD: (R) In charge of (*) what? What did you say? DS: (R) The construction (OD: (S) (*) Oh) that is holding up the city of Jerusalem. OD: (R) Yes. Yes, and it's eh, it's really again, it's (*) exciting, I must say.</p>	<p>DS standing, gazing at OD to his left. OD smiling, surprised look, stopping, gazing at DS and camera. DS turning camera. Probably changing holding hand. OD/DS off-camera 15:00-15:33.</p>	<p>CS. Camera stops, DS centre-frame, head of OD visible in background. Camera turns slightly left, bringing OD closer to the camera. Camera turns 150 degrees, showing a painting mounted to the tunnel wall (for description see 13.4.).</p>	<p>OD is not really following DS words but gets out another “exciting”.</p>
13.5.	15:14		<p>We're going to be (*) back on this road in a few minutes. But what we're doing now is we're going (*) underneath the road. You and I are going (*) through the (*) drainage channel, where the aqueduct, with the (*) water, flowed. It was fresh water, rainwater. We're gonna (*) climb underneath this (#), and then we're gonna (p) (*) come out in the Old City and come back on the road.</p>	<p>DS pointing with right hand and index finger. Gesturing with flat outstretched hand, a movement pointing forward.</p>	<p>CS. Camera is focused more on the lower part of the picture (description see 13.4.).</p>	<p>The Pilgrimage Road above is still an excavation site, so the tour has to go through the tunnel that has already been excavated.</p>
13.4.	15:01		<p>DS: So, (#) (*) Oriya, what we wanna, what we wanna show people now is this picture (#), which is again; (#) (F) This is the Pilgrimage Road, which you and I were walking on last time and of course this is the road that the Jews (*) celebrated on, as they went up to the Temple Mount.</p>	<p>OD/DS off camera. DS briefly points at picture.</p>	<p>CS. Camera focused on the picture at the wall, moving a bit in, closing in on the upper part. To the left of the picture are plastic bags (?) hanging, to the right of the picture a dirty/dusty base cap, underneath the picture is an orange first-aid stretcher. The picture is mounted to wooden tunnel lagging and its approx. length is 1.80m and width 1.00m. The picture shows both Pilgrimage Road and the Drainage Channel underneath. The Pilgrimage Road is plastered and has houses and shops to the left and right, all made out of bright stones. The road is clean, people in blue and red garments are walking up the stairs, a goat and a sheep accompany them, a person pulls a hand wagon, a woman is carrying a bowl with fruits.</p>	<p>The picture is of a naïve and cliched quality depicting the Jewish Pilgrimage towards the Temple Mount. The way the celebration and bringing of firstfruits is depicted idealizes 2nd Temple Judaism.</p> <p>The colours and cleanliness of the people, roads and shops in the picture adds an additional layer of naivete – 2nd Temple Jerusalem as happy place for the Jewish people.</p> <p>This idealized picture is combined with necessary explanations of where the visitor is walking → arrows and signs.</p>


					<p>The picture is in bright pastel colours; some flowers and ranking greens are visible. There are many people in the background walking up the stairs, all in either red or blue garments. In the far back, Robinson's Arch is visible. Underneath the street in the lower portion of the image, there are stones and the drainage channel with flowing water. Both the road and the channel are marked each with an arrow pointing, and a blue sign, reading in Hebrew and English "Pilgrimage Road" and "Drainage Channel"</p>	<p>The framing with items such as stretcher, base cap and carrying bags is giving the picture an a-historic and contemporary context of a daily excavation/tourist site</p>
<p>General Comments: Scene 13:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The artistic imagery of 2nd Temple Jerusalem is generally transporting a very naïve and cliched look. It is showing an imaginative artistic depiction of the past combined with simple explanations of the archaeological strata. 						

Scene 14: 15:32 – 16:46 - <i>The 4am Call</i>						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
14.1.	15:32		<p>OD: (I) And Doron, you were one of the, you were one of the members of the first (*) team that was (*) here, (*) right? DS: (±) (R) This is true. I was a member of the (*) first team that came through here.</p>	<p>OD in frame 15:33. Standing, gesturing with left hand, holding folder in right hand, gazing towards Doron behind camera and camera. DS off frame until 15:44.</p>	<p>MCS to CS. Camera turns left, OD in centre-frame.</p>	<p>OD's question is a rhetoric device to continue the conversation, as she knows the answer but wants the viewer to hear this story.</p> <p>DS tells the story about the moment when the team went through here.</p>
14.2.	15:42		<p>DS: (I) I, eh, got a call at around (±) four in the morning and, eh, when I got that (*) call, I was told:</p>	<p>DS standing, turning camera around, DS turning to the right. OD off frame from 15:44.</p>	<p>CS. Camera turns 180 degrees right. DS in centre frame, cutting part of his head.</p>	<p>This story has an adventurous explorer typology - the events are remembered and retold in the place where it happens so the viewer can imagine the first moment of discovery.</p>
14.3.	15:48		<p>DS: "(*) Listen, go put on some clothes you don't care about. OD: (R) (*) Four o'clock in the morning? DS: (R) (*) Four o'clock in the morning. OD: (R) Oh, you were so (*) excited, you couldn't wait to</p>	<p>DS beginning to walk, gazing beyond camera, eyes fixed high beyond camera. Laughing, shaking head, briefly turning head and torso to the left, gazing back at OD, stopping.</p>	<p>CS. As DS begins moving, he is in centre-frame, movement seems fast pace through close up. To the left and right ancient stones shoulder/head high.</p>	<p>4am -> big deal. Q: Is it normal to have night shifts at excavation sites? And why?</p> <p>The excitement is again reported as a now common theme for excavating archaeology.</p>


			<p>the (*) (±) morning (±) (#) (both audibly laughing)?</p> <p>DS: (R) We couldn't wait till the morning, and in a minute, I explain (*) why. And our (*) excavation team that was working the (*) night shift. At the (*) time, one of those (*) members actually is the one that - that was the first one to realise, something strange was happening.</p>	<p>raising left arm and hand.</p> <p>OD walking, smiling, mostly covered by DS.</p>	<p>Above are tubes and cable running.</p> <p>Steel beams, yellowish lighting.</p>	
14.4.	16:08		<p>DS: Here we go, by the way, (*) now, I'm lifting up the camera. This is actually the bottom stones of the Pilgrimage Road. (#) It's over our heads, and you and I</p>	<p>DS turning camera, knocking and pointing at roof above, gazing at roof and camera in turn.</p> <p>OD off frame.</p>	<p>CS.</p> <p>Camera tilts upwards, filming roof, DS head and arms are in the lower right of the frame.</p> <p>A white stone is visible above that DS is touching. The stone seems to be carried by steel beams.</p>	<p>There is one stone visible that is painted white. Where are the other ones?</p> <p>Q: Will the PG be excavated all the way up?</p> <p>Steel beams are mixing with ancient material. Are the beams covered up afterwards, or are they drilling holes into the original stones?</p>
14.5.	16:17		<p>DS: are walking in the water channel (*) below it.</p> <p>OD: (±) (I) I hope our viewers (*) understand. We walked last time (*) on the road. Now we're walking (*) underneath the road in the tunnel. It's all (**) connected. It's all part of the (*) same area and (±)</p>	<p>DS beginning to walk, stooping, smiling, gazing at camera and beyond, walking while stooping.</p>	<p>CS.</p> <p>CS on DS.</p> <p>Fast movement with camera.</p> <p>Ancient stones to the right and left, passage narrows.</p>	<p>DS/OD again clarify the stratigraphic situation and elaborate where they are walking to the viewers.</p> <p>OD: Connection – all is connected. Q: What is connected? The tunnels? The history with the present?</p> <p>The imagery is that of a first-person video game.</p> <p>DS has a fast tempo, or it seems like it, and the fast pace of the camera creates energy through the tight confinements of the space.</p>



14.6.	16:36		<p>OD: (I) Doron, you're so tall, so you have to (laughing audibly)</p> <p>DS: (R) This is true. This tunnel wasn't made for somebody my size, Oriya.</p> <p>OD: (R) (±) People, people were not supposed to walk (*) here, Doron. (DS: (R) Absolutely) you know, (±) it was for water.</p>	<p>DS stopping, turning slightly to the left, gazing at camera, beginning to walk again, changing hand. Holding camera briefly with left hand, again right hand, turning head, gazing at OD, signalling OD to stop.</p> <p>16-37-16:41 OD off-frame. OD stops, gesturing with left hand, making ducking move, laughing.</p>	<p>CS.</p> <p>Camera stops (as DS stops).</p> <p>DS in the front to the left. OD visible behind in centre-frame.</p> <p>Stones left and right all the way up to roof, less and less stones to the end.</p> <p>From 16:45, only steel beams and wooden tunnel lagging is visible.</p>	
<p>General Comments: Scene 14:</p> <p>- The adventurous side of archaeology is put forward both through storytelling and the way it is filmed.</p>						


Scene 15: 16:46 – 17:40 - Crossing the City wall underneath						
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation	
15.1.	16:46		<p>DS: (I) Now, Oriya, wait there one (*) second. I wanna show our viewers something just (*) absolutely amazing, (#) that I want you to do. Because (*) now, (#)</p>	<p>DS stopping, turning head and torso slightly left, gazing at OD, stretching out left hand, making stopping sign with flat outstretched hand. Turning back towards walking direction, walking slightly stooped, switching arms holding camera back and forth, gazing beyond camera, stopping turning torso to the left.</p> <p>OD stopping, smiling, gazing towards DS/camera.</p>	<p>CS.</p> <p>Camera briefly stops. Moves with DS in CS.</p> <p>To the left and right, mostly wooden lagging and steel beams.</p> <p>Lighting above head.</p> <p>Around 16:50, a breakthrough through a stonewall is visible.</p>	<p>DS: Absolutely amazing. Setting the scene, building tension. What will OD do?</p>

				OD mostly off camera.		
15.2.	16:57		<p>DS: (±) they see on. What are you doing now, Oriya? Tell us where you're walking. (±)</p> <p>OD: (I) Listen, (#) you remember when we started with, we said we're going to go (*) underneath the walls of the ancient city. Of the, of the, eh, the Ha'lr Atiqah, the ancient</p> <p>(DS: (S) (±) the Old City Wall (±) the Old City Wall, it's (*) here. (SL) (*) Now I'm (*) crossing underneath the (*) ancient (*) city wall. (N) It's just (f) (*) above us. (DS: (p) (R) (±) Wow (±)</p>	<p>OD standing, beginning to walk a couple of steps, stopping, pointing upwards towards roof, gesturing with left hand, walking again, gesturing towards roof while walking. Gazing towards camera/DS. DS off frame.</p>	<p>LS to MCS. Camera stands still OD approx. 10-15m from camera, walking towards camera, getting closer. DS off frame. Surroundings -> 15.1.</p>	<p>Ha'lr HaAtiqah is the Hebrew word for the Old City By using the Hebrew words, OD is revealing the cultural meaning of certain places that are known to every Hebrew speaking Israeli -> integrated part of language.</p> <p>Crossing the wall underneath reminds the viewer of conquering or fleeing a walled city?</p> <p>DS: Wow</p>
15.3.	17:25		<p>OD: So, we have Jerusalem of up there, and we have Jerusalem of down. Yerushalayim shel (*) maala. Yerushalayim shel (*) mata.</p> <p>DS: (p) (R) That's right, the upper and the lower cities.</p> <p>OD: And we are getting to be privileged to walk (DS: absolutely) (*) up and down. (*) Amazing. (DS: (R) (p) It's incredible.)</p>	<p>OD stopping, gazing towards DS, gesturing with left hand, pointing up and down several times, touching chest. DS off-frame.</p>	<p>MCS. OD in centre-frame. Surroundings-> 15.1.</p>	<p>The reference to the Jerusalem of Heaven and of Earth seems odd here. As usually, these terms refer to the eternal Jerusalem and the worldly Jerusalem.</p> <p>OD: Amazing. DS: It's Incredible. OD: Amazing. Pointing out their privilege is somehow very true. At the same time, it is a political decision that gave El'Ad the right to dig and open up tunnels. It's a political privilege and maybe not a privilege in the sense of humbling.</p>
General Comments: Scene 15:						


Scene 16: 17:40 – 18:28 - <i>The last 2,000 Jews</i>						
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation	
16.1.	17:40	<p>DS: (I) And you know, Oriya, people who walk down here were mostly people from the (*) city that were trying to repair the water system, or (#) people that in times of war were fighting for their lives (OD: (S) for their (*) lives).</p>	<p>DS standing slightly turned towards OD, gazing in turn at OD and camera, gesturing with left hand, outstretched right arm holding camera.</p>	<p>CS to MCS. DS in foreground, centre left, OD to the right further back. As DS stretches out arm, camera moves a bit back.</p>		



				OD standing, gazing at DS, nodding.	Background: yellow-lit tunnel with cables and tubes above.	
16.2.	17:52		DS: and as you and I both know, ehm, and our viewers we now tell them: (**) 2,000 people, (*) last 2,000 people to (*) survive during the destruction of the 2 nd temple (OD: (R) it was (*) here), it was here. OD: (R) It was (*) just here.	See 16.1. OD/DS both pointing with finger to the ground (“it was here”).	See 16.1.	Reference to Josephus, <i>Of the War</i> , Book VI, Chapter 9.4: https://penelope.uchicago.edu/josephus/war-6.html
16.3.	18:03		DS: (p) (I) When we crawled through here, we found the (*) pots remaining, with the remains of food inside them. And if you look in Josephus Flavius, he (*) explains that those last 2,000 people were caught, (#) many of them were (*) killed, men, women and children, inside this tunnel. OD: (p) (R) Yes, and we found the sword. DS: (p) (R) And we found the sword, exactly.	See 16.1.	See 16.1.	There is no direct reference in that section of Josephus that men, women and children died in the tunnel. However, it is mentioned that in the final stage 2,000 went underground. The atmosphere changes as siege of Jerusalem is remembered.
16.4.	18:19		DS: We found the sword right here, and so there was a lot of (*) tragedy that happened here, but there was also a lot of incredible news.	DS turns slightly to the right and moves a couple of steps forward, lifting head towards roof, stops. OD walks two steps, gazing to the left and right and briefly into camera, stops.	CS. Camera moves with DS and moves a bit in - CS. OD in background to the lower right. Camera stops again.	DS: Incredible. Odd switch from the killing of people to the good news of discovering more tunnels.
General Comments: Scene 16:						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The references and stories told are strictly from an “us” perspective, wherein the two guides identify themselves with the Jewish people from the past. - The exploration is a re-living and re-enactment of an altered version of the past. 						



Scene 17: 18:28 – 19:37 – “His pick went into open air”						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
17.1.	18:28		DS: It was actually (*) right here, Oriya, where, when we got a call that morning. I just want to show the opening	DS standing, gazing upwards beyond camera, turning his body to the left, right hand holds camera. OD standing, gazing into camera, out of frame: 18:31-18:52.	CS. Camera turns right, DS in left foreground of frame. Arm is stretched out diagonally towards tunnel walls with ancient stones. There is a corner visible.	
17.2.	18:33		DS: to our (*) viewers right here. If you can see right up (*) here, there’s actually a turn in the tunnel. (#) And, eh, if you look at the turn. We got a call at four in the morning, there was a worker who was working here with his pick. (#) And he (*) put his (*) pick (#) to excavate it, at around (*) three in the morning and his pick went into open air.	DS standing, gazing in turn towards right (camera) and forward, pointing diagonally with left hand to upper section of wall. Moving left hand as if pickaxing wall. Right hand holds camera, DS turning head towards OD.	CS. DS in left foreground of frame, arm is stretched out diagonally towards tunnel walls with ancient stones. There is a turn in the tunnel visible.	The viewers are addressed again directly. This time as viewers and not as friends.
17.3.	18:51		DS: His pick went into open air, Oriya, (#) and when that happened it was absolutely incredible,	DS turning right, gazing in turn into camera and towards OD, switching and holding camera with left hand. OD standing, gazing in turn at camera and DS, holding open picture book with both hands.	CS to MCS. Camera turns left. OD in centre of frame (MCS), DS in right foreground (CS). Background shows tunnel where they crossed underneath the Old City Wall.	DS: Incredible.
17.4.	18:56		DS: because he’s: (F) “How is that going into open air, that only happens in movies?” But he cleared out a little bit. He climbed in around three meters, (#) and then he climbed back out, and we got the call.	DS standing, gazing at OD, gesturing with right hand, pointing with index finger towards area to the left of him, holding camera with left hand. OD standing, gazing at DS, smiling, nodding, holding book.	See 17.3.	Referencing movies again.




17.5.	19:04		(OD: unbelievable). Unbelievable. And (*) six of us (OD: (S) (R) (*) So, so jealous) climbed in (DS (R) audibly laughing) (OD: (R) (*) once again). There'll be, there'll be (*) plenty more. Now you run everything, so it's ok. We're just the (*) moles that are going underneath the ground. And... OD: (R) You're very privileged, Doron.	DS standing, gazing in turn at OD and camera, smiling, gesturing with right hand, holding camera with left hand. OD standing, gazing in turn at DS and camera, shaking head, smiling, frowning, scrolling through picture book.	See 17.3.	Unbelievable 2x. Moles? The privilege of digging.
17.6.	19:16		DS: (R) It was, at the time I was (*) scared, I'll be honest, because, eh, we had to crawl on our stomachs (#) and we were kind of leg to (*) head, just crawling. (F) And we made a deal saying, it was too narrow to turn around, we said: "We crawl, until we can't crawl (#) and, and, than we crawl backwards if we couldn't get out". (p) But, eh, as luck would have it, we were able to turn around and even more than (OD: (S) (*) Unbelievable) that, find something very special.	DS standing, gazing in turn at camera, ceiling and OD, making flat hand curving gesture (crawling). OD gazing at DS, nodding, emphatically, smiling.	See 17.3.	The honestly scared but adventurous and overcoming explorer. → Humblebrag Unbelievable. As DS recounts stories his voice is getting a bit more silent. The re-telling of discovery stories is a theme. It seems very important to them to re-tell the moment they found something and how it felt to find it. Q: WHY?
General Comments: Scene 17: - Why is it so important to relive the moment of discovery? What is the role of the viewer here?						

Scene 18: 19:37 – 21:32 – <i>Continuing the tunnel walk</i>						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
18.1.	19:37		OD: (I) Let's see where it goes all the way up. DS: (R) Let's see where it goes, ok.	OD standing, gesturing with right hand, briefly lifting the arm up, gazing beyond camera. OD off frame from 19:39-21:28.	MCS to CS. DS in foreground to the right of frame, OD a bit further back in the left centre of frame. Camera turns slightly right.	

				DS standing, switching camera arm from left to right, gazing in camera and beyond, turning torso slightly left, beginning to move forward.	Background shows tunnel where they crossed underneath the Old City Wall.	
18.2.	19:39		DS: (I) Let's (*) run all the way up (*) underneath an (*) ancient matrix of the Old City. (#) What's incredible (#) is, this was the main drainage channel. So, you could imagine, we're climbing (*) underneath ancient Jerusalem right now. There's the Old City above us. The Temple (*) Mount is what we're nearing just in a few (*) seconds. And you have (*) waterways going to the right and left that have (*) not even yet been discovered. You have to imagine there was a city here of close to over a 100,000 people at the time. Those people, they were all being (*) fed by this water. So, (*) follow this channel it goes (*) all the way, branches off to other channels. Which if you have a (*) team, a lot of (*) time, (#) you can just go (*) underneath the ground, and you can (*) really (*) explore and uncover the ancient city of Jerusalem.	DS moving forward, stooped torso, head up, gazing beyond camera. 20:03: briefly gazing to the right. 20:22: switching camera hand from right to left.	CS. Camera moving with DS through confined tunnel area, approx. 40cm wide. Cable and tubes running over head, steel frames visible from time to time. Camera positioned hip high, filming DS slightly from below.	Incredible. The camera movement, angle and close up on walking DS transports intense explorer trope.
18.3.	20:34		DS: (I) How are you doing there, Oriya? OD: (R) (*) (±) Great. (*) So cool! (±) DS: It's (*) so (*) cool. (OD: (±) audibly laughing (±) Our (*) friends here, they don't get the aerobic workout. But you're all gonna (*) join us, and (*) when you do, you're	DS stopping briefly, touching camera with right hand, smiling, continues moving in hunched position, gazing in turn in camera and beyond. 20:44: Switch camera hand from	See 18.2. 20:35: Camera briefly stops.	OD/DS: So cool. DS: Our friends. Although not really visible due to the camera movement, the tunnel seems to move upwards. Again, a clear invitation to come.



			gonna say, this is the best aerobic, ancient	left to right, turning head left, stopping.		
18.4.	20:50		DS: adventure you ever had. Look at (*) this: An (*) example right next to me (*) of (#) an (*) opening blocked by a stone. Who will be the first to remove that stone? Who'll be the first to explore where that goes? They are on (*) each side of me. As we go back and forth, (*) each side of me.	Standing in hunched position pointing with left hand towards left side, pointing with index finger towards left side, gazing in turn to the left and to the camera. Continues moving in hunched position, briefly moving head towards the right.	CS. Camera stops, turns to the right. Opening in wall is visible approx. 25x25cm and 20-30cm deep, in the back is a stone visible. DS head continues to reach out of frame as camera is turned right. As camera begins to move again, another smaller hole 20x20cm is briefly visible to the right, as camera is briefly turned.	The exploration modus of opening underground tunnels. Who will be the first... 2x -> almost poetic quality to these questions? ➔ Invitation to come and dig?
18.5.	21:10		DS: And (*) now, (#) we're actually gonna make a (*) turn. (#) Which is what we did. And in this area that just took us three or four (*) minutes, (#) when we climbed (*) through here, (*) (#) all those years ago, took us about an (*) hour (#)	DS moves through tunnel in stooped position, head lifted up, turning left. 21:23: Torso straightens up.	CS. Camera moves with DS around corner. Tunnel continues to be narrow, at 21:23 more vertical space is available, and DS can stand upright.	Both are a little out of breath. Another dramatic recount of the happenings, when the tunnel was "first" opened up.
18.6.	21:28		DS: to reach this location. OD: (R) (*) Crawling. DS: (R) Crawling. OD: (R) Crazy.	DS standing, turning torso to the left, turning head further left, gazing at OD. OD standing, gesturing with outstretched left hand a curvy gesture, smiling, nodding, gazing in turn at camera and DS.	CS to MCS. Camera stops with DS. DS in centre left frame in foreground, OD further back in centre of frame.	Crawling 2x OD: Crazy.
General Comments: Scene 18:						
- Exploration motive continues						
-						

Scene 19: 21:32 – 22:43 – “It’s this”: Touching the Temple Mount					
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
19.1. 21:32		DS: (I) If we look up, there is a (*) dome, (#) there is a dome ceiling right above us	DS standing with back to the tunnel wall, holding camera with right hand, tilting camera upwards, gazing in turn at camera to his right and turning head, gazing at roof to the left upper side of him. Pointing with stretched arm to a place diagonally above him, moving index finger to the right and left. OD partially off frame, standing, looking up, open mouth, turning head slightly left.	CS. DS in foreground to the centre left. OD further back to the centre bottom, briefly out of frame. Camera tilts upwards, a dome structure is visible above, approx. 30cm higher than rest of roof. Background: Yellowly lit tunnel, tubes and cables running above head, stones to the left and right, tunnel approx. 80cm wide.	What exactly is the dome and why is it mentioned? Seems disconnected from the rest of storytelling.
19.2. 21:37		DS: (I) and we realize, when we look at you, Oriya, behind you the tunnel actually curves. (F) (p) So, we said to us: “Why is it curving? (#)	DS standing, gazing at camera to his right, turning head to the left, gazing at OD and beyond, pointing finger to his left side (face invisible). OD standing, gazing at DS, turning to the right, turning head to the right, turning head back toward DS.	CS. DS in foreground to the centre-left. OD further back to the centre bottom. Background: the tunnel makes a slight turn to the right.	Again, the story is recounted from the moment of the discovery. First-person plural.


19.3.	21:44		<p>DS: What's (*) here? (#) What's behind this (*) wall, right over here?" (#) And the archaeologist Eli Shukron, (#) (F) (p) he said: "I know what's behind this wall!" (#)</p> <p>OD: (R) (p) What did he find?</p> <p>DS: (R) (p) He said: "The Temple (*) Mount" (OD: (*) (R) Wow) (p) is right behind this wall, and we're now skirting underneath (#) the (*) Temple Mount.</p>	<p>DS turning about 130 degrees to the right, gazing at camera, switching arm holding camera. Touching wall in front of him with right hand slightly stretched fingers, moving a bit back, gazing at OD and camera, in turn. Touching wall again with right index finger, gesturing with hand. OD standing, gazing at DS, smiling, nodding.</p>	<p>CS. DS in foreground to the centre-right, camera shakes a bit as DS switches hands, keeps almost same position. OD in the background centre of frame. To the left of the frame the wall with yellowish, brownish stones in different sizes is visible – taking approx. half of frame.</p>	<p>OD asks if she doesn't know. Looking up to DS, she's playing the naïve, unknowing woman This is again a very scripted way of presenting emotions that are part of a PR video. Do they really feel what they tell they are feeling? How much of it is a show and meant to influence the audience?</p> <p>The archaeologist is presented as the one who knows.</p> <p>OD: Wow.</p> <p>The softening of their voices gives this whole scene a sincere and festive atmosphere.</p>
19.4.	22:02		<p>OD: (p) It's, it's (*) this.</p> <p>DS: (p) It's this.</p> <p>OD: (p) It's (*) this! It (*) really (DS: (pp) (S) It's incredible) is this.</p>	<p>OD firmly touching wall with flat left hand twice, letting hand lay on wall, gazing at DS, camera and wall, smiling. DS standing with his torso turned to the right, holding camera with left hand, gazing at OD and camera, nodding, smiling.</p>	<p>CS. DS in foreground to the centre right. OD in the background centre of frame. To the left of the frame the wall with yellowish, brownish stones in different sizes is visible – taking approx. half of frame.</p>	<p>Combining the touching with "It is this" is a dramatic presentation of the Temple Mount.</p> <p>DS: incredible.</p>
19.5.	22:07		<p>OD: (p) And (*) this is the (*) second, in the, in the route that we're taking, that we (*) stop for a second. This is the time when we (*) stop for a second. (#) And we (*) understand that we're going into something which is much (*) bigger than us. (#) Which is (*) so strong. (#) And I always (*) stop here when I come with a group. And I tell them, okay, now we laughed, (#) we sang, (#) we spoke. Let's be (pp) quiet for a second and (*) connect to the</p>	<p>OD touching wall with left hand three times, gesturing with left hand, putting fingertips together, gazing at DS. DS standing with his torso turned to the right, holding camera with left hand, gazing at OD and camera, nodding, smiling.</p>	<p>CS. DS in foreground to the centre-right. OD in the background centre of frame. To the left of the frame the wall with yellowish, brownish stones in different sizes is visible – taking approx. half of frame. At 20:30, camera moves a bit forward, DS now partially out of frame to</p>	<p>Stopping is over and over mentioned, and silence, and connecting.</p> <p>Q: What is the sth. that is so strong and bigger than us?</p> <p>Q: What does it mean to connect to the stone, the meaning, and ourselves? -> This is a highly religious experience, and the video transports that this is the place where the visitor should have a revelation.</p>



			meaning, connect to the (*) stone and (*) connect (#) to ourselves.		the right, OD in MCS in centre of frame.	
19.6.	22:39		(DS: (pp) (R) (*) Wow, it's beautiful) OD: (*) This is the place. DS: (p) (R) Beautiful, Oriya.	DS turns head left, turns his torso left, and begins moving forward, gazing beyond camera. OD standing, touching chest, making a fast gesture with left hand from above towards down, gazing at DS, begins moving.	CS. Camera begins moving backwards, OD off-frame from 22:42.	DS: It's beautiful (2x) OD: This is the place See also: 6.4., 10.2., 10.6.
General Comments: Scene 19:						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Essential chapter in the video. Connecting, touching, stopping. - Story of first discovery leads into the religious moment of revealing the Temple Mount. - Although the viewer knows where the path leads, it is still surprising and revealing that suddenly, they are standing next to the Temple Mount. 						



Scene 20: 22:43 – 23:42 – <i>In the cistern</i>						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
20.1.	22:43		DS: (I) So, as we crawled through here (#) on that first expedition. We were six people, (#) led by Israel Antiquities archaeologist Eli Shukron.	DS walking, gazing up, beyond camera and in camera. Holding camera in left hand, left part of torso slightly turned forward. OD walking, mostly off frame (behind DS).	CS. Camera moves backwards with DS in centre. OD in background mostly covered. Background: tunnel turns right.	Storytelling of the first discovery continues. The title of Eli Shukron is mentioned. Is that important?
20.2.	22:52		DS: Here, I had to be (*) pulled (cracking noise in background) into this room and, eh	See 20.1.	CS. Camera moves backwards. Background: leaving tunnel. Entering a larger room, cables and tubes hanging from roof.	Adventurous.


20.3.	22:57		DS: I don't know if our viewers (±) can actually see, but there is water down there (OD: (R) yes) There is a lot of water, and you and I, right now, we are in a cistern, surrounded by a cistern. (p) (#) All the way around. And (±) you now, when we (*) reached this place, Oriya,	DS stops, standing. Off-frame from 23.00-23:12. Switching camera arm, gazing beyond camera. OD stopping, standing, carrying picture book, sorting through picture book, looking down and up. Off-frame from 23:12-23:30.	CS-WS-CS. Camera stops, briefly showing OD, standing on metal bridge construction. Underneath, a dark bottom. Camera tilts left and downwards, turning right again. CS on DS.	
20.4.	23:15		DS: it (*) wa_s at this point around 6:30, maybe 7:00 in the morning.	DS standing, holding camera with right hand, Gazing to the right towards OD, gazing in camera.	CS. Camera on DS in centre-left frame. Bridge railing visible in the background and brownish wall. OD cut out 2/3 rd on the left side of frame.	
20.5.	23:20		DS: (p) And I remember we looked up and we were (*) very excited. If our (*) viewers	DS standing, holding camera with right hand, gazing up, and in camera, switching camera arm.	CS. Camera turns slightly right.	
20.6.	23:23		look up. (±) Do you see (*) that (*) light at the end of the tunnel up there? (#) (p) That was the first (±) light that we saw.	DS standing, tilting camera upwards Off frame 23:25-23:29		Metaphoric: they saw light, it was morning, they discovered the tunnel throughout the night
20.7.	23:30		DS: (p) And we were down here, and we were clapping (*) hands, and we were so excited. And Eli Shukron said: "Shhh" (#) (pp) And, eh, we heard voices. (#) You know the story.	DS standing, gazing in camera and towards OD, gesturing with right hand, smiling. OD standing, gazing at DS, putting hand	CS-WS-CS. Camera tilts upwards, showing a hole in the roof 5m above. Light is coming in through the hole. Camera turns downwards again.	Excitement over what? Did they already know what it was? Q: What's the history of these tunnels and excavations? Setting the scene for the next story in the repertoire.


				in hip, nodding smiling.	DS in centre frame. OD in left bottom of frame. Camera tuns slightly left.	
General Comments: Scene 20:						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is a repertoire of stories that are recounted every time they are doing the tour. Part of it is the importance of the moment of discovery and the excitement. Even people who were not part of the original discovery know the stories. - There is a mythological storytelling canon that every tour guide is capable of telling? 						


Scene 21: 23:42 – 26:03 – Charles Warren’s stone						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
21.1.	23:42		OD: I know the story. That you heard... It wasn’t just voices. You somehow heard (*) English-speaking people. (DS: (S) (p)We heard English, that’s right) Which, is (*) unbelievable because it really connects us (#) to what happened (*) here,	OD standing, hand at hip, gazing beyond camera and at DS, gesturing with left hand, holding railing with right hand. DS standing, gazing at OD, nodding, smiling, holding camera with right hand, gazing at camera, grabbing camera with left hand.	CS to MCS. OD in left side of frame. DS more in foreground to the right. Background: brownish wall and bridge railing.	OD “knows” the story, although she was not there. Why is it “unbelievable” that there are English-speaking people in Jerusalem?
21.2.	23:54		OD: just how many years before you were here? (DS: (R) (p) Ja, Not many) Not many (DS: (S) (p) not many). And we spoke about it before with our viewers. (#) About another (*) queen. DS: (R) (p) That’s right. (OD: (R) audibly laughing) Another queen was here (OD: (S) (*) Another queen) Exactly right. (Laughing) OD: (I) This is why I love where I work (both audibly laughing) So, tell them, Doron. DS: (R) The other queen had your accent, not mine. But the other Queen (OD: She was (*) British) was Queen Victoria,	OD standing, gazing at DS and beyond camera, in turn. Gesturing shaking gesture with left hand, holding railing with right hand, also holding picture book. Touching left earring and hair, shaking head and throwing back hair, putting hand at hip. DS standing, smiling, nodding, laughing, gazing at OD and camera, and beyond.	CS. Camera turns a bit left and moves slightly forward. OD almost centre-frame, DS half visible in foreground to the right, Background: curving tunnel, both railings of bridge visible	Queen theme is continued. The theme of hunting for treasure is also continued.



			the Queen of England. Queen Victoria was looking for treasure. (#) And in 1867, Queen Victoria, (OD: (S) Let's move)			
21.3.	24:21		DS: she (*) sends a mission led by Captain Charles Warren, and she basically wanted him to find treasury. Captain Charles Warren is looking; he's looking (*) everywhere. (#) And, eh, as we walked in this direction, we saw something that was (*) absolutely (*) unreal (#3sec).	DS turns slightly left and begins to move, gazing beyond camera, slightly turning head to the right, gazing up to place beyond camera, camera in right hand, stops again. OD, making brief, moving gesture with left hand, begins moving, holding open picture-book in hands.	CS. Camera moves backwards. DS in foreground, covering half right side of frame. OD in background. Background: Whole steel bridge visible – about 6-7m long, leading from one side of cistern to the other side. Moving back into tunnel, to the right briefly, an opening of approx. 2sqm is visible.	
21.4.	24:38		DS: Which, (#) is this stone right above us. This (*) stone right here, they say it weighs (*) five metric-tons. (p) And Eli Shukron looked at that (#) and he said: "I've seen this stone before". And we were all laughing. "Eli, (*) no one here has seen that stone before. Cause no has been here in 2,000 years!"	DS stops, turns around, pointing diagonally with index finger and stretched arm towards space in front above him. Gazing in turn at camera and area he points towards. OD off frame. Background: a woman and man moving backwards out of frame.	CS. Camera turns right, slightly tilted up. DS in left lower corner, pointing to the roof, where a large stone covering all the tunnel roof is visible. In background, camera crew is backing out. Team of two with camera. The stones in tunnel seem more massive than before.	The lack of knowledge about former discoveries at the CoD is astonishing.
21.5.	24:56		DS: (I) However, Oriya, I think you have something to show us; (OD: (S) (*) Yes) that Eli was right. (#) OD: (R) This picture is (*) really, it's, it's like Photoshop. This is what I felt, when I first saw it.	DS turns right, gazing at OD OD standing, gazing down at picture-book in her hands.	CS. Camera turns right. OD in centre of frame, holding the picture-book with an open page, showing two pictures.	


21.6.	24:59		<p>OD: (*) (I) How can it be that (*) Charles Warren is telling us about this stone and Eli Shukron, Dr Eli Shukron, who (*) learned so much about this place, he realized it, that (**) he's seen this stone before? (p) And it's this one here. It's again the (*) same one. (p) So, the stone of Charles Warren. The stone that was found with you and Eli Shukron and the first team that was here. A few years later. Hundred years later. So, whatever. And (#) what is this stone? Doron? (DS: (R) This stone (*) stone has a (*) story. DS: (R) It has a story. And David Be'eri, the founder of the City of David, who was also there and Eli Alony, they both said: "Wait,</p>	<p>OD lifting up book, holding it with left hand, gesturing with right hand, gazing at book and DS/camera. Pointing repeatedly with index finger at book page. DS off-frame.</p>	<p>CS. Camera turns right. Picture book in centre. OD holding book to the lower left side of frame. The page shows one coloured drawing and one black and white photography next to each other. The drawing to the left is a drawing of Charles warren hunkered down under the stone. The right picture is a black and white photo of Eli Shukron standing close to the stone gazing upwards.</p>	<p>No mentioning of the difficult history of the PEF and how Charles Warren is an example for colonialism.</p> <p>The tunnel seems to have been carved out, so people can actually pass the stone.</p> <p>Mentioning the title of Eli Shukron is again important.</p>
21.7.	25:43		<p>this (*) stone", which is of course (#) (*) this stone. (*) "This stone is a stone of the Temple Mount itself. It must have fallen (*) of the Temple Mount. We don't know why."</p>	<p>OD lifting up book, holding it with left hand, gazing at book DS right index finger pointing at book page and pointing diagonally at area above head</p>	<p>CS. Camera turns right and tilts upwards. DS' right hand reaches into the right side of the frame.</p>	
21.8.	25:54		<p>And it ended up, (OD: R) We (*) know why, (*) Doron only in getting wrenched down. OD: (R) It fell down in the (*) destruction. DS: (R) (*) Right, (*) exactly. OD: (R) It fell down in the destruction.</p>	<p>DS turning around, gazing at camera, turning further right. Off-frame: 25:59. OD standing, gazing at DS, gazing upwards, gesturing with left hand.</p>	<p>CS to MCS. Camera turns left, filming slightly from above DS face in right lower corner. OD a bit further back in centre frame -> MCS.</p>	<p>How certain is that? Was there a probe taken? Recounting the stories from the destruction of the Temple is another recurring theme.</p>
<p>General Comments: Scene 21:</p>						

Scene 22: 26:03 – 26:45 – <i>Standing on a book</i>						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
22.1.	26:03		OD: (I) So, (*) see how many stories we tell once we walk this route. We speak about the beginning of Jerusalem. We speak about 11 (*) layers of excavations. We speak about the last people, the last 2,000 people, who were (*) here, walking here, hiding here. And now we	OD standing, gazing at DS, making a circular gesture with her left index finger close to her head. Pointing backwards with her left hand, raising hand and making a gesture of stacking, using both hands to simulate walk and hide in tunnel. DS mostly off screen, seen standing and holding camera (off screen).	MCS. OD filmed slightly from above in centre of frame. Left and right big building blocks are visible.	The history of the CoD from the perspective of OD.
22.2.	26:20		OD: spoke about Queen Victoria, and now we (f) speak about the Temple (*) destruction, and we see this (*) stones that fell (*) of (*) from the wall, (*) during the destruction.	DS/OD begin walking. OD gazing in front of her to the ground and towards DS. DS gazing beyond, and into camera.	CS. Camera begins moving backwards. DS in front right side of the frame. OD half visible behind DS shoulder in the background. The big blocks in the roof are visible, and a rocky structure to the left side of the tunnel that is not as even as the rest.	
22.3.	26:31		DS: (R) It's incredible. It's (*) actually like OD: (S) Yes, and it's only... reading a book, Oriya. OD: (*) Yeah. DS: (S) Which we're walking in) And it's only like 20, 30 minutes walk. That's it. DS: (*) Incredible. (#)	DS walking, briefly stopping and turning, gazing at OD, gazing beyond and in camera. OD walking, briefly stopping gazing beyond camera and in front of her.	CS. Camera begins moving backwards. DS in front right side of the frame. OD half visible behind DS shoulder in the background. Briefly, a portion of the tunnel wall is filled with smaller sized stones.	DS: Incredible. A fictional book, a book of stories, not a history book or an archaeological report.

22.4.	26:38		DS: This, (*) definitely, when you say; it was for me, definitely, with the exception of getting married and having children, (*) this was the most (*) exciting moment of my (*) life.	DS walking, briefly turning, touching chest several times. Briefly gazing at OD while turning, otherwise ->gazing beyond and in the camera. OD walking, gazing down in front of her and towards DS.	CS. Camera begins moving backwards. DS in front right side of the frame. OD half visible behind DS shoulder in the background.	This is such an over the top emotional recall of the “discovery”.
General Comments: Scene 22:						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A summary of the history of the CoD in 5 objects. - Emotional personal attachment of DS is astonishing. 						


Scene 23: 26:45 – 28:07 – The discovery of the underground Kotel						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
23.1.	26:45		DS: (I) And, (*) eh, you know, to (*) capsule the moment is actually, you’re standing here in the tunnel, when we actually made this turn. And here, (p) Oriya, I’d actually appreciate if you would have the honour.	OD/DS walking and stopping. DS: turning his body to the right, gazing in turn at OD (to his right), camera and path before him, gesturing with right outstretched hand towards stairs (inviting gesture). OD gazing in turn at camera and DS, nodding, smiling.	CS to MCS. Camera moves backwards, stopping, turning right. Turning left again. First DS in centre and OD behind. Then, DS to the outer right of frame, OD in centre. Background: tunnel, to the left a metal staircase with a CoD-sign. Arrow pointing up the stairs attached to it.	DS is trying to sound a bit more festive and makes this a special moment. 3x actually.
23.2.	26:59		OD: (R) I would love to. DS: (R) (*) Queens first. OD: (R) (*) Thank you so much. DS: (I) And you’re gonna show our viewers something (*) incredible that we did (*) not know, we were gonna find here. (#3sec)	OD beginning to move, turns right, walks up stairs. DS mostly off camera: 26:59-27:10.	MCS to MLS. Camera turns left, OD as she moves up the stairs in centre of frame. Camera follows OD. DS off camera. Background: metal staircase with 7-8 steps, wooden scaffolding to the right, stones to the left.	Again, the Queen theme. DS: incredible.

23.3.	27:08		DS: (pp) This is really, really amazing. Wait, till you see this.	DS visible 27:10-27:12. Walks up the stairs, gazing in camera. OD off camera.	CS. Camera turns approx. 150 degrees, while moving. Briefly DS face in centre-right part of frame. Camera again turns approx. 150 degrees.	This turning and whispering is supposed to create more excitement for the viewer.
23.4.	27:13		DS: (p) (I) Oriya, what is that in front of you? (#) OD: (R) (p) Doron, I (*) think our viewers	OD standing, touching wall to her left with outstretched left arm and full flat hand. Gazing upwards and towards DS and camera. DS off-screen.	MCS. Camera moves forward, then diagonally to the right and comes to halt. Turning slightly left. OD in centre of frame. Background: Stonewall with large stones (approx. 60x40cm) that are mostly yellow-brownish, with some red and green sprinkles on it are visible. Full height is not visible (minimum 4m). Large green steel beams going up alongside the wall. White pieces of material stuck in between the stones.	The question of what it is leads the viewer first to guess. OD does not directly answer but in a festive and quiet tone announces the Kotel. Are the pieces of paper signs of religious use of the underground Kotel? Repeatedly touching the Kotel.
23.5.	27:20		OD: (p) will know themselves, even if I don't speak. If I said before - that let's be quiet because it's the first time when we get to the stone of the Temple Mount. (#) This wall, (#) everyone knows it. They just (*) know it from a different angle. They (*) know it from up there. (*) This is the Kotel. (#) (*) This is the Western Wall, but it's (*) underneath the ground. Usually, we will walk up there. And we will go out soon and we will	OD standing, repeatedly touching wall to her left with outstretched left arm and full flat hand. Gesturing with left hand, pointing upwards, briefly smiling, gazing towards DS and camera. DS off-screen.	MCS. Camera has OD in centre of frame. OD is standing in front of a railing. Further back some undefinable objects. Behind her, the wall seems to continue another 5-6m.	OD puts a lot of effort into explaining the location and relation of what the viewer sees. Not the first time that "underneath" gets a (*).

23.6.	27:46		<p>walk (*) above it, but when (*) you came here, you first discovered the Wall of the Kotel, of the Western Wall. You discovered it (*) underneath the ground. DS: (R) We did. And we didn't even know. We actually argued. (OD: (R) You didn't think it was that?) (I) I didn't think that this... I couldn't believe that this was the Western Wall. And Davideleh, the founder of the project: "(*) This, I'm (*) telling you; it's the Western Wall." (pp) And I said: "How could it be?"</p>	<p>OD standing, repeatedly touching wall to her left with outstretched left arm and full flat hand, gesturing with left hand, gazing towards DS and camera, OD nodding (as DS talks). DS standing, gazing in turn at camera and OD, nodding, briefly touching camera with left arm while holding it the whole time with right hand. Then, touching wall with left arm and full hand, leaning with hand at wall.</p>	<p>CS to MCS. Camera turns slightly right. DS in foreground to the very right side of frame. OD a bit further back to the left centre of frame.</p>	<p>Rediscovery theme: DS is retelling the moment of discovery. The founder knows. Whispering: the "How could it be?" He's using almost biblical terminology.</p>
<p>General Comments: Scene 23:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One prominent theme is the theme of discovery. DS storytelling focuses a lot on the moment when they found the place. - Another recurring theme is the theme of being silent and in awe. This place is designated to be a special place – its introduction and the way they talk about it fills the whole place with a religious aura. The pieces of paper might be pointing to Jewish prayer ritual. 						


Scene 24: 28:07 - 29:37 – The "private" Kotel						
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation	
24.1.	28:07	<p>DS: (I) Now, you know, I have a question, Oriya. You know I moved here from the States. I also did the army, but I wasn't born an Israeli. You're a (*) leader of this project. You are an (*) incredible woman. You (*) served in the Israeli Army. You (*) fought. You risked your life for the state of Israel. (*) As an (*) Israeli. What is it like for you to be in this,</p>	<p>OD standing, touching wall to her left with outstretched left arm and full flat hand, gesturing with left hand, taking hand from wall, leaning with right elbow at railing behind her gazing towards DS and camera. DS standing, gazing in turn at camera and OD, gesturing with right hand.</p>	See 23.6.	<p>Mentioning the army and serving the army is a big part of the identification with Israel. DS: incredible: DS is not a born Israeli? The connection of OD as an Israeli with the private Kotel is speaking more to a nationalistic understanding of the Kotel and not so much to a religious.</p>	


24.2.	28:26		<p>DS: in this Western Wall? Our own private Western Wall. (#)</p> <p>OD: (p) Well, I must say that at least once, twice, three times a year, I go to the Western Wall with my family, okay? To the Western Wall that all of us know. (#) But, standing here underneath – it’s kind of a small Kotel which is just (*) mine. And it’s for (*) me, and the group that is coming here. No one else is interrupting us. It’s not with all the people (F) (*) standing there, (*) walking there, (*) praying there. (M) This is like a small, private Kotel. Just for (*) us. And for (*) me, I must say, sometimes I come here when everything is really quiet. No one knows. I come here for a minute of myself, again, to connect. To the (*) place, where (*) everything has began. And where is (*) my connection to God, where is (*) my connection to the Bible, where is (*) my connection to Jerusalem. (#) And as I said before, Doron. I think we are the most privileged people in the world. Working (*) here, every day, in the City of David. And, what we are doing today, is trying to give our viewers</p>	<p>OD standing, first leaning a bit at railing, standing upright, gesturing with left hand, repeatedly touching wall with her left hand, smiling, gazing in turn at DS and wall.</p>	<p>Camera moves a bit left. For everything else see 23.5.</p>	<p>The private Western Wall is a product of politics, money and a conflicting position regarding the archaeological sites of Jerusalem and whom they belong to.</p> <p>Q: What is the meaning of the Kotel for a Jew? Is it possible to pray at every spot?</p> <p>OD has a private faith she is able to express in this separated area of the Kotel. Turning the nationalistic (Israeli, served in the military) theme into a private confession of her faith.</p> <p>But she is only working here – that is why she is able to use it. She is still pointing out the privilege that she has because of her job -> she is distancing herself from the organisation.</p> <p>This whole scene is showing the power of El’Ad and how they have private access to the Kotel.</p> <p>Wholehearted tone and private confession</p>
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24.3.	29:28		to share this excitement that we have. DS: (R) (*) Absolutely! (OD: This is my) (S) And I want them to (*) join us. (OD: Yes) We want to share with you that excitement.	OD standing, upright, gesturing with left hand, touching wall with her left hand, gazing at DS and wall in turn, nodding. DS standing, nodding, gazing at camera.	(Camera moves a bit to the right). For everything else, see 23.6.	This scene is also an invitation for people to visit the private Kotel -> somehow like a private beach. Talking about Excitement.
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General Comments: Scene 24:



- Another key scene that is reflecting the religious meaning of having access and being able to touch the Kotel.
- The amount of touching the Kotel, paired with the personal testimony of going there regularly speaks to the fact that this part of the Kotel has a religious function for them. El'Ad, a private organisation has exclusive access.
- Still a PR video.
- They created a private holy place.


Scene 25: 29:37 – 30:59 - The bedrock of Mt. Moriah and the priestly bell						
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation	
25.1.	29:37		DS: (I) We just wanna show you one more thing that, these again are the stones of the Western Wall. And (*) this, now, is the (*) bedrock of Mount Moriah. So (*) this is the (*) bedrock of Mount Moriah, where according to the (*) Kabbalah, the world began on this bedrock. (*) This is where the Western Wall (*) meets that layer. Oriya and I are (*) 200 feet (*) below the top of the Temple Mount that can be seen and are 50 feet below ground level. OD: (R) We're gonna show them. DS: (R) We're gonna show them.	DS hunkers down, touching wall with outstretched right arm and full hand, pointing diagonally with full hand further down. Touching stones repeatedly, standing upright again and pointing up with his right arm. DS gazing at camera, face off-screen, gazing in turn at camera and OD. OD standing, mostly off-screen, nodding, pointing beyond DS.	CS. Camera moves down. In centre of frame is a portion of stone visible that is darker and has not been worked on. OD and DS are mostly off frame. Camera moves up again. DS to the outer right, half visible and OD to the outer left. Camera turns left, filming OD slightly from above, who is now almost centre frame.	Axis Mundi?
25.2.	30:00		DS: (I) But before we do, (*) Oriya, do you (*) mind? Could	OD scrolling through picture	CS.	DS: Absolutely incredible


			<p>you find perhaps something we found in this (*) book. It's somewhere near the beginning. Up, there you go, you got here pretty close. At the very beginning, we found something (*) absolutely incredible in this book, which is gonna be right over here. (#)</p> <p>OD: (R) (*) Ah, the bell. DS: (R) (p) The bell. (OD: laughing audibly) The bell.</p>	<p>book, holding it with both hands. DS scrolling with right hand through book, pointing at page, changing the camera hand from left to right.</p>	<p>Camera moves to the left, book comes into centre frame, book shows 5 different pictures. DS is pointing to the picture in the left upper corner, showing a hand with a round golden ball, approx. 1cm in diameter, (the texts accompanying the picture is too small to read).</p>	<p>Description from the CoD website: <i>The Bell is spherical and measures approximately 16mm across. It consists of two attached hemispheres of gold leaf. A flat gold ring with an external diameter of 3 mm and a thickness of 1 mm was welded to the point of attachment between the two hemispheres, creating the top of the bell. A round gold ring, measuring 2.5mm was inserted into the flat ring, enabling the bell to be sewn to a garment</i></p> <p>Official announcement through Ministry of Foreign Affairs and IAA: https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/israelexperience/history/pages/gold_bell_excavations_jerusalem_24-jul-2011.aspx</p> <p>http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_eng.aspx?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=1863&module_id=</p>
25.3.	30:19		<p>DS: (*) So, one day, again, Eli Shukron, who was working here, the Israel Authorities archaeologist, comes, and he (*) shows us this bell. This is (*) his hand and the bell actually has the chime inside of it. And he realized</p>	<p>DS pointing at picture in book with left index finger. OD holding book with both hands. DS/OD's faces off screen.</p>		<p>Mentioning the title of ES.</p>
25.4.	30:30		<p>DS: this is none other than the bell of (*) who? (#) OD: (R) (p) The High Priest. DS: (R) The High Priest. The kohen ha'gadol. The High Priest. That was (*) his bell that (***) somehow went through a sewage drain when he was maybe running away from the Romans. (p) Ended up on the ground where we're standing. And It is just (*) unbelievable. OD: And to (*) think that the High Priest used to walk up this road</p>	<p>DS pointing at page, pointing upwards, pointing at page again. Gazing in turn at camera, OD and picture-book. OD holding picture-book, gazing at DS, nodding.</p>	<p>CS to MCS. Camera moves a bit to the right. OD in centre frame. DS to the outer left of frame</p>	<p>From "possibly" (Eli Shukron) to "non other than".</p> <p>Running away from the Romans – Again the theme of the siege of Jerusalem is mentioned – only imaginatively.</p> <p>DS: unbelievable.</p> <p>When they talk about the High Priest, their tone gets more sincere and festive.</p>


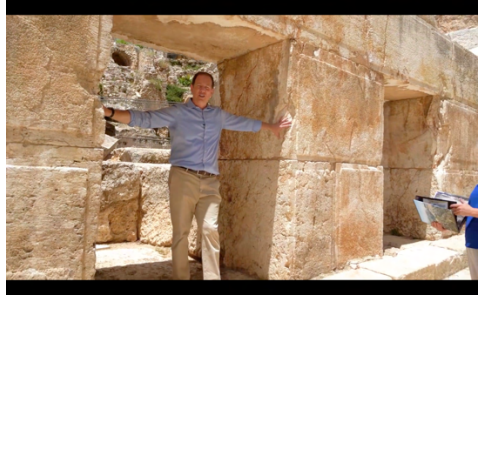

25.5.	30:49		to the Temple Mount, in (*) Shavuot, getting all his, the families, the Jewish families coming (*) here, (#) (*) bringing... (#) Let's go and (*) see (DS: (R) Let's do it), outside. (DS: Okay.)	OD gesturing a bit with book in both hands, gazing at DS. DS off screen.	MCS. OD in centre frame.	
General Comments: Scene 25:						
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not the first time IAA and Eli Shukron's title is mentioned. Why? To give the findings more weight? - The imaginative storytelling of ancient people walking, losing things etc. helps contemporary people to identify with this exclusive story of the past. 						

Scene 26: 30:59 – 31:37 – <i>Ascending to the 'Pilgrimage Road'/Western Wall</i>						
Sub-scene and Time		Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation
26.1.	30:59		DS: (I) We're gonna (*) walk up now. We're gonna begin our journey, elevating up, to the, to the (*) skylines. So, we have to (*) leave, we can still... we're walking along now a few of the (*) upper stones of the Western Wall. Still not those that have been seen, yet, by the modern public, though you're invited to come. (#)	DS walking, walking up the stairs, walking slightly bent forward, pointing with finger towards camera, gazing in turn at camera and beyond. OD closing book, beginning to walk, gazing down. OD mostly off-screen from 31:04-31:43.	CS. Camera moves backwards. DS in centre. Scaffolding and staircase in background. Moving parallel to Kotel on the right side.	Promotional character comes out (The private Kotel).
26.2.	31:16		DS: And now we're gonna go up a flight of (*) stairs. (#2sec)	DS turning right, walking up the stairs, gazing beyond and in camera.	CS. Camera turns with DS. Cables, tubes visible running underneath roof.	

26.3.	31:20		DS: You can see underneath us (#) is that (*) channel. (#)	DS walking up the stairs, turning camera.	CS /MLS. Camera tilts downwards. Staircase. Area below with yellow lighting visible. Camera tilts up again.	Orientation: They walked through the drainage channel, turned right, stood in front of the underground Kotel, walked to the right (south alongside the underground wall), turned again, and are going up along the wall facing the area of Wailing Wall from south to north.
26.4.	31:25		DS: (I) Here we go. Sunlight is again in our (*) face. (#2sec) OD: (R) Back to the (*) sun. (Background: Live Music audible from 31:29-33:52) DS: (R) Back to the sun. (#4sec) (*) Wow. (#4sec)	DS walking up the stairs, turning left, holding camera with right hand, left hand at handrailing, gazing beyond and in camera, squinting eyes.	CS. Scaffolding, steel beams, Staircase. Approx. 40-50cm of a layer of stones is visible, DS head comes out ground. Fencing in the close background. Camera turns with DS. More scaffolding in background alongside high wall. Huge piles of large stones visible.	The position of the staircase is somewhere close to the Davidson Centre and Robinson's Arch.

Scene 27: 31:37 – 33:52 – “We’re part of the prophecy”: Singing and dancing on the ‘Pilgrimage Road’						
Sub-scene and Time	Visual Frame (Selection)	Soundtrack	Kinesic action (movements and gestures of people)	Visual Image	Notes and Metafunctional Interpretation	
27.1.	31:37		DS: (p) (*) Wow. (#) This is (*) amazing. Every (*) time this (#) happens, this is (*) so incredible. (#2sec) Here we are. OD: (I) The same Kotel we spoke about. DS: (R) The same Western (*) Wall. Here’s the Western Wall. I can hear the (*) noises.	DS walking, turning right, stopping. DS off-screen from 31:44-32:07. OD walking, touching turnstile with left hand, passing turnstile, slowing down, turning 180 degrees, walking a step backwards, stopping.	CS. Camera moves backwards, halts. DS in right side of frame. OD walking towards camera, passing from the right towards left. Stone Street with large columns to the left, staircase with fencing to the right.	

27.2.	31:53		<p>OD: (I) This is what we spoke about. The (*) Western Wall is everyone's wall, from (*) all over the world, people (*) come here, people (*) celebrate, (*) Bar Mitzvah, people come to say their own (*) prayer. People come to say (*) Thank you for what they have.</p>	<p>OD briefly off screen, stepping forward turning slightly left, gazing at DS, gesturing with left hand DS adjusting camera with left hand</p>	<p>MCS – MLS. OD in left side of frame.</p>	<p>Q: Is it really everyone's wall?</p>
27.3.	32:07		<p>OD: What we saw (*) today is a small part of the wall, (*) underneath the ground, which is only for the people that come to (*) visit the City of David. DS: (R) (*) Absolutely.</p>	<p>OD standing, gazing at DS, gesturing with left hand. DS nodding, gazing at OD and camera.</p>	<p>CS (DS) to MLS (OD). OD further back in left side of frame DS in front right side of frame.</p>	<p>Again: The theme of the private Kotel. DS: Absolutely.</p>
27.4.	32:16		<p>DS: (I) And (*) here, to point out: (*) This is now the Pilgrimage (*) Road. The same Pilgrimage Road that you and I (*) saw when we began our (*) journey (#) down at the (*) Shiloah Pool. We're back on the (*) Pilgrimage Road, we came (*) up underneath the ground, where Oriya and I just crawled. We're (*) back up on the Pilgrimage Road. Here you can see it. (#)</p>	<p>DS standing, pointing with left hand towards ground, gazing towards ground and camera, gazing beyond camera, changing camera arm, gesturing with left hand. DS handing off camera. OD standing, gazing towards ground, where DS is pointing, walking a bit back and forth, gazing afar, smiling, gazing at DS.</p>	<p>CS. Camera tilts down a bit. OD off-frame, DS almost entirely off-frame. Camera turns left. DS in foreground to the right, OD in background centre left.</p>	
27.5.	32:36		<p>DS: And what's (**) incredible about the Pilgrimage Road, right here, you mentioned Shavuot. (!)</p>	<p>OD/DS standing. DS gesturing with both hands, gazing at ground and OD. OD gazing at DS.</p>	<p>MLS. Camera moves back. Halts. DS on right side. OD on left side of frame. (!)</p>	<p>DS: incredible. Shavuot is mentioned again.</p>

27.6.	32:41		<p>DS: (I) There is a (*) powerful (*) story here. Because we were in the destruction, (#) climbing through the sewer (OD: (R) Mhh). (#) Now we're back on the top, at the time of the celebration. (#) Bringing our first (*) fruits to the Temple in ancient times.</p>	<p>DS standing, gazing at camera, gesturing with both hands, spreading fingers in front of chest (essence gesture?). OD gazing at DS, gazing down at picture-book. Taking book in both hands, scrolling through pages, nodding.</p>	<p>MLS. DS on right side. OD on left side of frame.</p>	<p>The powerful story of Redemption? Through the sewer back to the Kotel? The reversal of the siege?</p>
27.7.	32:54		<p>DS: And here we even have a (*) storefront, right here. This is an (*) original storefront. Just as it would have looked 2,000 years ago. You can imagine there was a table here, and there was a curtain hanging down of the table like a drape, and they were selling their wares, and they were changing money. (!)</p>	<p>DS walking with outstretched right arm, walking one step up, turning 180 degrees, standing, stretching both arms to the right and left, touching stones on both sides, gesturing with both hands. Making a gesture of sth, folding down before him. OD turning 140 degrees to the right, scrolling through picture book, gazing at picture book, and briefly at DS.</p>	<p>MLS. DS moves diagonally from right side towards left side of frame. Camera turns left. DS in centre of frame. Large columns visible. Behind columns seems to be an archaeological area (!)</p>	<p>The powerful picture is somehow decimated by the imagination of people selling stuff.</p>
27.8.	33:08		<p>DS: What we're hearing now, Oriya, (#) is singing in Jerusalem, (#) and the prophecy in the book of Zechariah says: "One day the (*) elderly and the (*) children will come back to Jerusalem and (*) sing and play in the streets" It's written about in the prophecy. (#) We can hear the (*) joy of someone having a Bar Mitzvah, a Bat Mitzvah, Shavuot is on its way. (#) (*) This is the prophecy, where we're standing on the road, like our...</p>	<p>DS standing, gesturing with both hands, lifting hands, gazing at OD, stretching out arms to both sides. Gazing at OD to his left, camera to his right and area before him to the ground. OD standing, gazing at DS, nodding, gesturing briefly with left arm, smiling, more nodding.</p>	<p>MLS. DS to the left side of frame. OD to the centre of the right side of frame. Background shows again street, columns to the left and pile of stones to the right.</p>	<p>The Jewish people are back? As part of a prophecy? Dying and fighting for what? Bat Mitzvah at the Wailing Wall? Quite the positive atmosphere Q: To be part of what?</p>

			<p>OD: (R) You're (*) part of the prophecy.</p> <p>DS: (R) We're part of the prophecy. (OD: (R) audibly laughing) The matriarchs and patriarchs who came before us. They (*) lived for this. (#) They (*) died for this. And we're (*) back here once again to be proof (OD: (S) To be part of it.</p> <p>DS: To be part of it.</p> <p>OD: Thank you, Doron.</p> <p>DS: Thank you, Oriya.</p>			
27.9.	33:44		<p>(Voice from off camera) Ok, now come.</p>	<p>DS/OD both beginning to walk smiling. OD/DS off camera from 33:46.</p>	<p>MLS. Camera moves forward towards OD/DS, as they walk towards camera, camera passes in between them. Last shot on piles of stones, street and wall with scaffolding.</p>	
<p>General Comments: Scene 27:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong religious and nationalistic undertones. Prophecy, fighting for this... etc. - However, always a bit unclear what exactly they mean. Are they making a statement about things to come, or is everything already like they want it? - DS is putting a lot of effort in his closing remarks. The fact that they cut twice, while he was talking makes it even more serious. - 						