> Above the Calle Real (Royal Street) we have left behind the Plaza San Martin and the Old Prison. A few meters ahead, to our left, a small square serves as our first landmark before we penetrate the tiny streets of the Old Jewish Barrio (Juderia Vieja): we are at the Church of Corpus Christi, the former Main Synagogue and one of the most outstanding testaments to the Jewish presence in Segovia… Perhaps it would be good to refer to a document from the archive of the Duke of Sesto, published in 1886 by Father Fita, which introduces us to the space assigned the Jews around 1481. Through the lines of this text we can undertake an exercise in evocation, and imagine what that place was like when the Jews still lived there, "…the church of Corpus Christi where there is an arch of brick and limestone that juts out of the end of a wall of the house of Hayme Sastre...(76)"

The above passage from a Spanish guidebook called *Paths of Sepharad (Caminos de Sefarad)* [1] (TURESPANA n.d.) invites us to travel through space and time to a distant world once inhabited by a people who no longer live there. Operating on the registers of nostalgia, desire and fantasy, the text produces a strong sense of historical authenticity through a double temporal displacement. It refers us to a document from 1886 which itself points back to an actual physical marker of Jewish presence in Segovia in the period surrounding 1481. Presumably, if we were to travel to the old Jewish neighborhood in Segovia today, we would be able to see for ourselves the same brick and limestone arch, which, having been historically documented by Father Fita, serves both to substantiate and evoke the city's Jewish past.

Paths of Sepharad is filled with similar passages as well as glossy, alluring photos of and loads of practical information about historic Jewish neighborhoods in eight Spanish Tourist-Historic cities (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990): Caceres, Cordoba, Girona, Hervas, Ribadavia, Segovia, Toledo, and Tudela. The guidebook is an exemplary "off-site" marker (cf. MacCannell 1989), which both helps to establish historic Jewish neighborhoods as legitimate tourist destinations and interprets their significance to the would-be tourist[2]. Such markers are often the first contact a tourist has with a particular site and, therefore, help guide the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990)[3]. In *Paths of Sepharad* the tourist gaze is not only directed toward buildings, monuments, and streets; it is also guided toward the past, or more precisely, toward a particular representation of the past embodied in specific physical markers.

We can view the Jewish tourist route in Spain, then, as part of the memorialization of the country's Jewish past. The interpretation of Jewish heritage sites in Spain is not only tied to the commodification of history, it is also intricately linked to the production of public memory. Why is Spain's Jewish past being remembered and for what purposes? What is the relationship between tourism and public memory in general and how does it manifest in tourism to Jewish heritage sites in Spain? How is the Jewish tourist route in Spain designed and how does it articulate with contemporary trends in Spanish tourism? In what follows, I consider and set out some provisional answers to these questions largely through an examination of the guidebook, *Paths of Sepharad*. This essay represents an initial attempt to deal with these issues. Crucial questions as to the kind of people who visit Jewish heritage sites in Spain, their reasons for visiting and the nature of their reactions on the one hand, and the reactions on the part of the host populations are beyond the scope of this essay and point to important avenues for future research.

The Cultural Tourist and the Emergence of Heritage Tourism

The expansion of the international tourist industry over the past forty years has been nothing short of spectacular. International visitor arrivals (of which over 80% are tourists) have increased from 70,000,000 annually in 1960 to 500,000,000 in 1993. Visitor expenditures, which totaled $6,900,000,000 in 1960, increased to $334,000,000,000 in 1993 (Graburn 1995: 161). In Europe, much of the initial post-W.W.II tourism flows were from north to south, with tourists from the prosperous north-west seeking cheap sun and fun on the Mediterranean coast. Much of

this early mass tourism was based on standardized products offered by northern tour operators (Richards 1996: 7). However, as global capitalism has shifted from a Fordist regime of mass production centered on manufacturing toward a more flexible regime based on the production of services and information, tourists have become increasingly dissatisfied with standard, mass-produced packages and culture itself has become an important commodity. Many tourists today are seeking learning, nostalgia, heritage, fantasy, action, and cultural difference in addition to sun, sand and sea (Boissevain 1996: 3).

Following Valene Smith, I take a tourist to be any "temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change (1989: 1)." The nature of tourism and the motives compelling individual tourists to undertake their journeys, however, have been subject to much debate in the tourism literature. Dennis Nash (1989) views tourism as a form of imperialism to the extent that metropolitan centers maintain control over touristic and related developments. In this vein, many scholars have pointed to the deleterious effects of tourism on host societies (see for example, Britton and Clark 1987; Greenwood 1989; Turner and Ash 1975). Though not prima facie inaccurate, this view is largely associated with tourism to developing countries and is decidedly reductive and one-sided[4]. Graburn (1989) is more interested in the experiences of tourists per se. He conceives tourism as a sacred journey free from work, responsibility, and the sense of alienation which characterizes modern life. A ludic interval where a sentiment of 'comunitas' prevails among fellow travelers, tourism has a revitalizing effect which enables the traveler to better cope upon return with the strictures of everyday life.

According to Dean MacCannell, the tourist is engaged in an epic quest for 'authenticity'[5]. He/she is a representative of the international middle class who, fleeing from the superficiality,

instability, and inauthenticity of modern life, "systematically scavenges the earth for new experiences to be woven into a collective, touristic version of other peoples and other places (MacCannell 1989: 13)." For MacCannell, modernity is largely characterized by the production and commodification of 'experience'. Sightseeing is thus a modern day ritual where people incorporate modernity's fragments into a unified experience and through which society represents itself as structurally differentiated.[6] Much of the authenticity encountered by the tourist, however, is spurious, particularly when confronted in 'back-stage' regions of presumed intimacy,[7] what MacCannell refers to as 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell 1989: 91-107).

Other scholars have taken umbrage with MacCannell's static conception of authenticity as an objective quality inhering in things. They rightly view authenticity as a negotiable concept which takes on different meanings for intellectuals, experts and ordinary people (Cohen 1979, 1988; Horner 1993; Overton 1988). Alice Horner argues that although motivated by varying concerns and operating with different criteria, tourists and experts are both after a kind of experiential intensity, a personally negotiated authenticity (Horner 1993: 4). As James Overton (1988: 37) has observed:

> Authenticity is not 'out there' to be tracked down. It is not a quality which exists in things, but a 'cultural construct', a taste which is part and parcel of a particular aesthetic. Just as 'tradition' and 'the historic' are constructed by particular people in the present, so too with authenticity. It follows that authenticity can never be 'staged' or 'spurious' (cited from McCrone et. al. 1995: 46).

In terms of the present discussion of heritage tourism in Spain, we can view the relics and events of the past as raw materials to be excavated and used to negotiate a personal sense of

historical authenticity in accordance with contemporary attitudes and cultural dictates (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990: 26).

Some theorists reject the idea that tourists are primarily concerned with having 'authentic' experiences. John Urry's (1990) 'post-tourist' repudiates the notion of 'authenticity' altogether, seeking experiences instead that merely contrast with the ordinary (Boissevain 1996:3). An analysis of heritage forms a central component of John Urry's book *The Tourist Gaze* (1990). The emergence of the post-tourist is related to the shift toward post-Fordist differentiated consumption, which is characterized by the absence of a single mass tourist market. The post-tourist is self-conscious, aware and maintains a distant posture toward touristic experiences. Heritage is particularly attractive to the post-tourist because it allows for playful historical voyeurism, operating on the registers of fantasy and nostalgia. It is this sense of nostalgia, not just the need to understand, which makes heritage so attractive. As David Lowenthal (1985: 4) has observed, "If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all (cited in Herbert 1995: 9)."

In addition, Urry identifies the post-tourist as part of a 'new middle class' based in the service sector, which is particularly susceptible to heritage consumption because it derives its prestige and class position as much from 'cultural' and 'symbolic' as from 'economic' forms of capital (cf. Bourdieu 1984). In a post-industrial, service-oriented economy, the boundaries which separate classes from each other are malleable, contributing to the importance of social struggle on the symbolic and cultural planes. In this context, culture and education are vital means in the fight for class domination and heritage tourism becomes an important vehicle for acquiring both (McCrone et. al. 1995: 40-41).

For the new service class, cultural tastes are prioritized over those constructed as 'natural'. The typical holiday resort, then, comes to signify the uncivilized, the tasteless and the animalistic (Urry 1990: 94; see also Thurot and Thurot 1983). Tastes have changed among this ascending class, as a new 'romantic tourist gaze' has largely come to replace the 'collective tourist gaze'[8]. A 'real' holiday now involves getting away from the tourist masses, which has the effect of incorporating almost anywhere in the world as a potential tourist site (Urry 1990: 95). The tourist industry has begun to cater to the post-tourist's desire for education, culture and novel experiences. The past is being commodified and marketed to tourists as heritage (cf. Ashworth and Larkham 1994: 16; Ashworth and Voogd 1990). Cities and regions throughout the European Union are increasingly basing their tourism development on the promotion of culture and history (Richards 1996: 4),[9] a trend which is intensified by and which, in turn, helps to promote the reaffirmation of difference characteristic of the fragmented 'Europe of the regions'.

The twentieth century has witnessed an explosion in forms of cultural production and commodification. Initially, beginning in the nineteenth century, this wave of expansion was tied to the growth of museums (Richards 1996: 8-9; see also Horne 1984 and Lumley 1988). A second wave of expanded cultural production beginning in the 1960's involved the recycling of the past and the preservation of historic monuments. The number of listed monuments in EU member states has grown substantially over the past thirty years (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990). The number of listed monuments in France grew by 27% from 1980 to 1991 and there are an estimated 15,000 monuments currently waiting to be officially listed in The Netherlands (Richards 1996: 12).

These trends are part of a larger global infatuation with the past, as people seek refuge from the instabilities and uncertainties of a rapidly transforming present (Lowenthal 1985). Some

have noted the emergence of a 'new cult of the past' (Hoyau 1988; cited in McCone et. al. 1995: 12). Nostalgia for a lost, simpler time is rampant, as Lowenthal observes (ibid: XVI):

> Fashions for old films, old clothes, old music, old recipes are ubiquitous, and nostalgia marks every product. Traditions and revivals dominate architecture and the arts; schoolchildren delve into local history and grandparental recollections; historical romances and tales of olden days deluge all the media[10].

The contemporary mania for the past and ubiquity of nostalgia are intricately tied to the burgeoning interest in heritage and have contributed to the emergence and growth of the so-called 'heritage industry' (Hewison 1987). David Herbert (1995: 9) writes about 'heritage places', which include buildings and monuments that bear the distinctive imprint of human history. Such places are linked with people, events, and activities and their interest derives from architecture, design, and/or historical significance. There has been an explosion of heritage centers and heritage-based tourist attractions throughout the world during the past twenty years (McCrone et. al. 1995: 17; see also, Hewison 1987; Hoyau 1988; Lumley 1988; Sorensen 1988; and Wright 1985). These new heritage sites demonstrate the interrelationships among tourism, heritage and nostalgia (cf. Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Boniface and Fowler 1993; Graburn 1995; Herbert 1995; Norkunas 1993; and Urry 1990). Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) have posited the emergence of a novel social form, the tourist-historic city, which exploits historicity as a contemporary resource to attract tourists as a way to develop the local urban economy[11]. According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (ibid.: 59), "these historic resources are the single most

important primary attraction for tourists and thus tourist-historic cities are the world's most important tourism resorts."

Heritage, Tourism and the Creation of Public Memory

What is heritage, and how does it relate to history and the production of public memory? McCrone et. al. (1995: 1) have defined heritage in the following way:

> All property which is not forcibly taken by conquest but has been passed on by means of some contract or other is heritage. Strictly speaking, heritage refers to that which has been or may be inherited, anything given or received to be a proper possession, an inherited lot or portion.

In practice, however, heritage has come to refer to a whole complex of physical and symbolic inheritances which may have only a tenuous connection to actual events. Heritage is often a recent construction serving a whole host of present interests, not the least of which is the construction of group identity. As a means to create a sense of belonging to a common place, heritage plays a vital role in nation-building. Monuments, artifacts, and symbolic inheritances can serve as icons for emerging states. Groups draw upon them to legitimize and symbolically root the contemporary nation in 'time-immemorial' (cf. Gruffudd 1995; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Handler 1988)[12]. Heritage may escape the exclusive control of any one nation or state and can thus become the material and symbolic terrain for cultural contestation (cf. Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). For example, as we shall see below, Iberia's Jewish heritage may be

alternatively claimed by the Spanish state or a region such as Catalonia, which is struggling for regional autonomy (cf. McCone et. al. 1995: 16, 23).

The focus on heritage is also a specific expression of a broader search for roots in the complex world of the twentieth century, where national borders are becoming obsolete, even as new boundaries are continually erected. The production of heritage is to a large extent about the construction of a collective past in the context of contemporary political, cultural, and ideological struggles. Heritage tourist centers, then, where the past is preserved, marketed and offered for public consumption are important sites for the production and diffusion of public memory (cf. Johnson and Thomas 1995). As with 'authenticity', rather than inhering in the actual monuments, buildings, and relics themselves, however, public memory is produced through the mediation of interpretative markers, such as guidebooks, plaques, guided tour scripts, and souvenirs. As McCone et. al. (1995: 8) observe, for example, it is impossible to understand the significance of the black Madonna at Monserrat without knowing what that icon means for Catalan identity. *Paths of Sepharad* is an excellent example of an interpretive marker and can be examined in terms of the public memory it helps to create.

More generally, as Martha Narkunas (1993: 5) points out, a tourist landscape, including physical and symbolic markers, can be read as a distinct cultural text to detect the ideological assumptions underlying the tourist environment as a cultural production. Ideology plays an important role in the selection and interpretation of particular structures as heritage and tourist attractions (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990: 28)[13]. Far from being 'objective' and 'value-free' the past is represented at tourist sites in accordance with contemporary social, political, and cultural interests. Precisely how is the past represented at heritage sites and what is the relation between history, memory and public monuments? What is the distinction between history and memory

and how do they relate to collective identity? I will briefly address these issues before proceeding to examine Jewish heritage sites in Spain and the nature of public memory created there.

Maurice Halbwachs, in his classic meditation on remembering, *The Collective Memory* (1980), argues that memory necessarily entails the a priori existence of a social group. An individual subject can only "remember" a person or an event in so far as he/she situates him/herself within the purview of a group or current of collective thought. The group allows remembering to occur; *all* memory is thus collective memory. Halbwachs maintains that individual memory is based on recollections that correspond to, interact with, and depend on the recollections of others belonging to the group. This raises the possibility of "remembering" an event that never took place. Collective memory, then, may not always coincide with events as they 'actually' happened. Collective memories can thus be viewed as socially constituted, produced by individuals and groups through various cultural mechanisms. Moreover, collective memories are "necessary" constructions, both constituted and constituting, in order to produce and reproduce among variously related individuals a sense of belonging to a social group. In other words, shared memories, in part, constitute social identity.

What is the relationship between memory and history? Generally, I take memory to be the lived, communal version of the past, whereas history is the official, codified version, though they are mutually constitutive . Pierre Nora (1989: 7-25) argues that traditionally, memory and history were synonymous; they were experienced by human societies as one and the same. The modern world, however, is characterized by the "conquest and eradication of memory by history, (Nora 1989: 8)". Nora argues that in the modern world, memory and history are in fundamental opposition he explains (1989: 8)[14]:

> Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name...History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer...Memory is blind to all but the group it binds- which is to say, as Maurice Halbwachs has said, that there are as many memories as there are groups, that memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual. History, on the other hand, belongs to everyone and to no one, whence its claim to universal authority.

Official histories, as authoritative versions of the past, can thus serve to silence, control, domesticate, and/or homogenize the multiplicity and multivocality of subaltern memories. On the other hand, the demand for history has spread to non-official groups themselves, as Nora writes (1989: 8), "Following the example of ethnic groups and social minorities, every established group, intellectual or not, learned or not, has felt the need to go in search of its origins and identity." As we shall see, history has become a staging ground for battles over memory, identity, geneology, and, ultimately, cultural capital and resources (cf. Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

Collective memory and history are inscribed in physical spaces (cf. Halbwachs 1989: 156)[15]. Pierre Nora (1989: 7-25) argues that memory in the modern world crystallizes and secretes itself in *lieux de memoire*, the sites of memory where a sense of historical continuity persists[16]. The collective memories stored in *lieux de memoire* are public. Examples of *lieux de memoire* where public memories are embodied include sites such as museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, sanctuaries, and the monuments, building, and streets that constitute tourist centers such as Jewish heritage sites.

Lieux de memoire originate when spontaneous memory has given way to the movement of history, such that memories must be deliberately preserved as nostalgia. Such sites of memory are often used to protect particular collective memories and strengthen identities (Nora 1989: 12). The past embodied in *lieux de memoire* is often commodified as people yearn for traditional remembrances no longer available. As we have seen, nostalgia and the commodification of history are central to the modern heritage and tourist industries.

More than just a lucrative industry, memorialization through the embodiment of memory in physical spaces has become an important mechanism through which shared memories, official versions of history, a sense of "peoplehood", as well as ethnic and national identities are produced. Kirk Savage (1994: 130), in his essay on civil war monuments in the post-war south, writes "Monuments served and legitimated the very notion of a common memory, and by extension the notion of the people who possessed and rallied around such a memory." The memories inscribed in monuments were, of course, highly selective. In this case, the civil war monuments in the south, their counterparts in the north, tended to exclude images of African Americans, thus effectively erasing slavery from the national historical narrative of the post-war period. Instead, civil war soldiers in both the north and the south were portrayed in the monuments as loyal members of a larger political/national collective[17].

The collective memories, groups and national identities, and historical "truths" embodied in and communicated through *lieux de memoire* become part of narrative constructions, that is, meaningful stories people tell about their past which are organized around a plot and which possess fullness, coherence and closure (White 1987). Through narrativization the distinction between the imaginary and the real is broken down and the "truthfulness" of a narrative, therefore, derives from how well it makes historical events "meaningful" to particular groups.

The interesting question is not to ask, then, which historical narrative is "true" or more "accurate", but instead to ask what is at stake in espousing particular narrative constructions. As we have seen, particular versions of the past operate in the present to legitimate and/or contest present distributions of power and authority. Public memory embodied in *lieux de memoire* can thus be employed to produce, contest, and defend hegemonic versions of history and national identity which may support various structures of inequality.

As mentioned above, we can view tourist sites as cultural texts to be read in terms of their underlying ideological assumptions. Ideological narratives etched into the material fabric of monuments and public buildings may be overt or tacit, and more or less consciously crafted. In either case, they say something about the contemporary place and time in which they are produced. In examining Jewish heritage sites in Spain, I am interested in the particular narratives about the Jewish past that are inscribed in the buildings, monuments, and streets that comprise the historic Jewish neighborhoods. Besides the obvious fact that the Jewish past has been commodified and packaged as a novel, alluring product to attract the growing number of cultural and heritage tourists in Spain and throughout Europe, the memorialization of the Jewish past at such tourist sites has an ideological component as well.

The public commemoration of the Jewish past is a European-wide, if not global phenomenon. James Young (1989, 1993, 1994) has carried out extensive research on Holocaust Memorials throughout Europe, Israel, and the United States. He has examined the ways different nations and communities publicly remember the destruction of European Jewry during the Second World War. Young (1993) suggests that memorials and museums are constructed to recall the Holocaust according to present day political ideals and interests. He considers how and why public memory of the holocaust is being shaped by memorials, museums, and ritual

remembrance in various nations. Through monuments and memorials official agencies are able to shape memory in a way that best serves the national interest[18]. For Young *lieux de memoire* are a form of public art which create shared spaces that provide a common frame for otherwise disparate experiences and understandings. By creating common memory spaces, monuments propagate at least the illusion of shared memory, thereby helping to forge the shared values and ideals that legitimate the state and its contemporary interests (Young 1993: 6)[19]. *Lieux de memoire* thus play an important role in current history to the extent that they provide a basis for political and social thought and action.

In *The Texture of Memory* (1993), James Young specifically traces the nature of public memory created at Holocaust memorials in Germany, Poland, Israel, and the United States. Every state has its own institutional forms of remembrance which rely on particular combinations of national and Jewish figures as well as political and religious images (1993: 2). The commemoration of Jewish destruction plays a unique role in each case, according to current political and cultural imperatives in each state, as Young (ibid.) explains:

> In Germany, for example, memorials to this time recall Jews by their absence, German victims by their political resistance. In Poland, countless memorials in former death camps and across the countryside commemorate the whole of Polish destruction through the figure of its murdered Jewish part. In Israel, martyrs and heroes are remembered side by side, both redeemed by the birth of the state. As the shape Holocaust memory takes in Europe and Israel is determined by political, aesthetic, and religious coordinates, that in America is guided no less by distinctly American ideals and experiences- such as liberty, pluralism, and immigration.

Young (1993: IX) suggests that the "art of public memory" encompasses not just the aesthetic contours of and official narratives inscribed in holocaust memorials; it also includes the efforts that went into producing the memorials, the dialogical interactions between memorials and viewers, and the responses of viewers to the memorialized past. He thus refers to the "biographies" of Holocaust sites, which shed light upon their past, present, and future in terms of the social practices involved in their production as well as the practices they shape[20]. I would add that we ought to examine the reactions among host populations at memorials as well, particularly when these sites are also important tourist destinations. For if *lieux de memoire* displace the lived memory they are supposed to embody, then as Nietzsche has suggested, the petrified history they represent may very well bury the living (Young 1993: 4).

Similarly, Michael Herzfeld (1991) has described the battle between "monumental" time and real, lived time in a Cretan town. The nation-state and its modern bureaucracy strive to represent everyday domestic spaces as monumental, a process which often meets with resistance among local residents. As Herzfeld (1991: 6) observes:

> By recasting the past and future in terms of a monolithic present, the state creates "traditional neighborhoods" and "archaeological monuments" out of what, for residents, are the streets where their friends and enemies live and die. As the state encroaches ever further, residents increasingly adopt its rhetorical tactics in self-defense.

In looking at Jewish heritage sites in Spain, then, we ought to examine not just the historical narratives etched into their buildings and streets, we should also consider the processes

through which these sites came into being, the multiple ways visitors interact with and understand them, and the various reactions they produce among host populations. As mentioned above, however, these critical issues are beyond the scope of the present essay and constitute important avenues for future ethnographic field research.

For the time being, I restrict myself to an examination of the historical narratives inscribed in Jewish heritage sites in Spain. How and why is the Jewish past is being memorialized at these tourist sites? For Spain too has experienced the destruction of its once flourishing Jewish community, not in the contemporary period, but five centuries ago. Though temporally distant, the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and the subsequent three centuries of inquisition left an indelible mark on Spanish society, culture, and identity. Right up until the present day in some cases, "purity of blood" has been considered an important mark of distinction. It has served as a vital pedigree, providing its bearers with rights to full membership in the Spanish "nation" and access to positions of prestige and influence within the Spanish state. What significance does Jewish heritage have in Spain today? How is the Jewish past being publicly remembered and for what purposes? What kinds of official historical narratives are being inscribed in Jewish heritage sites and how do they help shape Spanish public memory?

Paths of Sepharad in the Context of Heritage Tourism in Spain and Europe

Before turning to issues of public memory, I want to briefly consider the emergence of Jewish heritage sites in the context of broader trends in European and Spanish tourism. Tourism is Spain's largest industry and it occupies a key sector in the Spanish economy; since the 1970's

tourism has accounted for almost 9% of Gross Domestic Product (Maiztegui-Onate and Bertolin 1996: 278). Perhaps the most obvious way, then, to approach Jewish heritage centers in Spain is to view them as sites where the Jewish past is being commodified to exploit new trends in the tourist market. To further that end, the guidebook *Paths of Sepharad* was published by eight regional governments in Spain in conjunction with the Spanish tourism agency, TURESPANA. *Paths of Sepharad* can be seen in MacCannell's terms as an 'off-site' marker which establishes a new 'Jewish tourist route' composed of a 'network of historic Jewish communities' to be consumed by a new breed of 'post-tourist.' As we have seen, the post-tourist is more attracted to heritage, culture, and landscape than to the sun, sea, and fun of the commercial resort. Post-tourists constitute the primary target audience for *Paths of Sepharad*, as becomes clear in the introduction written by the Spanish Minister of Commerce and Tourism, Javier Gomez Navarro:

> Tourism in our country is well developed in the area of sand, sun and sea, so we have to increase our participation in the field of cultural tourism. With this new offering, TURESPANA and the regional governments together hope to increase awareness of a more profound dimension of our country's historical reality. I encourage institutions and businessmen to create excellent touristic products that attract top-quality quality visitors, offering new touristic routes through this network of historical Jewish neighborhoods throughout Spain (5)[*] .

The promotion of cultural and heritage tourism, then, is an essential component of tourism policy, at local, regional, and transnational levels. Throughout Europe over the past

[*] All translations of passages from *Paths of Sepharad* are my own.

twenty years, culture has become one of the main tools of urban economic restructuring as manufacturing has declined in importance. Culture has become an important tool for marketing cities in an increasingly competitive European Union. To deal with the challenge of increased competition, many cooperative ventures between local, regional, and even national governments have emerged (Richards 1996: 89-91). The Jewish tourist route in Spain can be seen in this light as part of a concerted national effort to promote cultural tourism as well as a cooperative venture among several urban localities[21].

The shift in Spanish tourism policy from an emphasis on mass tourism at commercial beach resorts to the promotion of culture and heritage has been explicit at the national level. The FUTURES Plan (1992-1995) presented a series of novel strategies for developing new areas of tourism from sports activities to culture, including urban tourism, nature tourism, health tourism, educational and social tourism, as well as tourism related to traditional culture and architectural heritage. In 1994, TURESPANA coordinated a new effort, called the Strategic Plan, to intervene in four main areas: 1) the identification of cultural tourism routes (See below); 2) The organization of cultural events with major tourist impacts; 3) Adapting cultural attractions of tourist interest such as museums, monuments and scenic arts; and 4) The promotion abroad of cultural tourism attractions (Maiztegui-Onate and Bertolin 1996: 270-271).

The underlying goal of these policy initiatives has been to encourage multifaceted tourism, which aims to promote several diverse sites of interest to the tourist within a limited geographical range. This strategy redirects attention away from coastal cities and crowded beach resorts towards the less developed interior regions (Crain 1996: 28-29). Economically, this strategy leads to a more evenly distributed tourist network and helps tourist sites cut losses in the off-season. Mary Crain (1996: 29) has commented on the recent creation of a new national logo

by the national tourism industry to advertise Spain in 1992, the year of the Barcelona Olympics, the World's Fair in Seville, and the year when Madrid was chosen as the cultural capital of Europe. The previous logo, 'Spain: Everything Under the Sun', was replaced by 'Spain: Passion for Life'. This change reflects the abandonment of an exclusive focus on sun and beach culture in favor of an emphasis on Spain's unique cultural and artistic heritage. This shift is made apparent in the Minister of Commerce and Tourism's comments in the introduction to *Paths of Sepharad* cited above.

Cultural and tourism policy has also become a vital strategy for the European Union as it seeks to increase awareness of 'European' cultural heritage (cf. Ashworth 1995; Ashworth and Larkham 1994). The EU has funded various transnational cultural itineraries which have been promoted through a series of guide books, cultural tours, and tour operator packages. For example, the Phoenician Route Project is designed to link sites around the Mediterranean settled by Phoenicians and the Roots Project aims to market Europe to Americans in search of their ancestral heritage (Richards 1996: 98). Though not *yet* part of a transnational circuit, *Paths of Sepharad* illustrates the growing importance of translocal tourist routes in regional and national tourism development in Spain. It is one of several cultural tourist routes coordinated by the Spanish Ministry of Commerce and Tourism with financial backing from the European Union. Others include: The World Heritage City Route, the Pilgrimage Route of Santiago de Compostela, the Silver Route in the west of the peninsula, and the Muslim Route of Granada, which, paralleling the Jewish Route, commemorates the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

The Council of Europe and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) are other examples of transnational bodies which are promoting cultural tourism. One of UNESCO's major campaigns has been the preservation of cultural

heritage. Toward that goal, UNESCO has appointed a World Heritage Committee that decides which monuments, sites or even whole cities are eligible for inclusion on the World Heritage List (Richards 1996: 101). Many buildings and monuments in the historic Jewish neighborhoods that comprise the *Paths of Sepharad* are included on this list. Many others belong to a list of national scope. Of the cities represented in *Paths of Sepharad* , Caceres, Segovia, and Toledo are considered World Heritage Cities. Other Spanish cities on the list are: Avila, Salamanca, and Santiago de Compostela (Maiztegui-Onate and Bertolin 1996: 271). Such honors constitute additional points of attraction for the would-be heritage tourist and point to the incorporation of historical Jewish neighborhoods into the overall structure of the tourist-historic city[22].

The design and layout of *Paths of Sepharad* makes clear the extent to which historic Jewish neighborhoods are integrated into an overall urban plan of tourism development. After an introductory section on the history of the Jews in Spain, a series of chapters follow dedicated to each of the eight cities that comprise the tourist route: Caceres, Cordoba, Girona, Hervas, Ribadavia, Segovia, Toledo, and Tudela. Each section is composed of a main section of text which outlines the historical development of the city's Jewish population; identifies important buildings, monuments, streets and the location of significant historical events; and traces part of the suggested itinerary employing descriptive imagery and speaking in the second person to engender a sense of presence and 'authentic' experience. Following the main section is a list of all the amenities, services, and additional attractions offered by the city, including: means of transportation, tourism offices, police and medical services, museums, monuments of interest, recommended itinerary, hotels, as well as a calendar of ritual celebrations and cultural festivals.

The Jewish historic neighborhood is represented as the principal attraction, the central component in the overall tourist structure of the tourist-historic city. It is not the only attraction,

however. Museums, other important monuments and buildings, and significantly, civic and religious festivals also figure prominently. According to Jeremy Boissevain (1992) there has been a significant expansion of public celebrations, many of which have become major tourist attractions, throughout Europe since the early 70's[23]. Spain is no exception (cf. Crain 1992, 1996 Cruces and Diaz de Rada 1992; Driessen 1992; Greenwood 1989; Murphy 1994). This trend coincides with the efforts of local towns and cities to distinguish themselves from their rivals, as each attempts to market and promote its "unique" public ritual and festival celebrations.

In addition to the annual patron saint festival, many of the cities along the *Paths of Sepharad* organize historical festivals featuring the recreation of the Jewish and medieval periods. For example, the 'Festa da istoria' in the Galician city of Ribodavia, which takes place on the first Saturday in September, offers the following events: life-size chess game, medieval dance, Jewish wedding, hunting exhibition, archery, medieval joust, historical theater, and a medieval dinner. Every, August the municipality of Ribodavia organizes a Sephardic music festival. In addition, on April 22, the city of Caceres recreates a battle between Moors and Christians as a ritual dance and stages a public burning of the dragon's effigy. Other towns offer a wide variety of ethnic, art, and music festivals, often including Spanish guitar and flamenco dance performances.

Local ritual celebrations offer tourists many of the same charms and enticements as heritage sites- they provide an occasion for historical voyeurism, nostalgic escape, the experience of cultural difference, and a brief interlude from the constraints of every day life. Local festivals abound in a country like Spain, where much of public life revolves around the ritual calender. Mary Crain (1992, 1996) has analyzed the Andalusian pilgrimage in honor of the Virgin of the Dew (La Virgen del Rocio). The mass media and local tourist industry have publicized the

festival at the shrine of the Virgin (El Rocio) as a 'colorful folklore and heritage rite' (1996: 44). What formerly had been an intimate local and regional affair has become a mass tourist spectacle, to such an extent that local inhabitants have begun performing their own rites in a private space away from the large crowds. Examining how author Michael Jacobs represents the pilgrimage to El Rocio in his guidebook for a sophisticated, up-scale English-reading audience, Crain (1996: 27- 28) points out:

> According to Jacobs, El Rocio offers the participant a chance to experience a different time and place, 'a time out of time', in which the rociero, (the steadfast pilgrim at the Rocio) temporarily leaves the twentieth century and enters 'the world of yesteryear'. The ritual context is represented as a realm of utopian possibilities in which play is elevated, and concerns for the social responsibilities of everyday life and the world of work are erased...

The event is clearly marked as an object for the romantic gaze of the post-tourist. The tone here resonates with the tenor of the passage from *Paths of Sepharad* cited at the beginning of the essay. In both cases, the authors attempt to pique the would-be tourist's historical curiosity and elicit nostalgia for a world long gone. The limitless array of possibilities represented by the past is contrasted to the mundane, work-a-day present. A similar effect is produced in the following section introducing the visitor to the historic Jewish neighborhood in Caceres:

> If you have already experienced a sensation of traveling through time as you entered the monumental city, World Heritage Site since 1986, perceiving the contrast of its heraldry

> and aristocratic walls with the bustle of students in this modern university city of Caceres, you should be prepared to discover another subtle difference reserved in the Monumental City for the tenacious. We are referring to the old Jewish neighborhood of Caceres with its wasting lime and broken urban fabric, popular and intimate, as suits those who consider their house a temple, which contrasts with the noble ostentation of the palaces and shields of the former nobility of Caceres (17).

This passage is directed squarely at the post-tourist, that adventurous soul who prefers to meander in solitude amongst the quaint, decaying stones of yesteryear and who is able to discern and appreciate cultural and historical contrasts. He/she is invited to mentally wander through the past drawing on the dream images provided by the text. The passages from *Paths of Sepharad* are more subtle than the one describing El Rocio - they are more concerned with eliciting a sense of historical 'authenticity', intimacy and presence. In all three examples, though, culture and the past are presented as commodities for the consumption of cultural and heritage tourists, Spanish tourism policy's primary target audience.

Indeed, contemporary Spain has witnessed an explosion of interest in historical roots and the past, perhaps even more so because of the recent transition to democracy and the end of official censorship (Hooper 1995: 3). Many Spaniards are claiming their Jewish and Islamic heritages. I have been told more than once that all Spaniards have at least one eighth Jewish blood and since the early eighties, a striking number of Spaniards claiming Moorish heritage have converted to Islam, particularly in those parts of Spain once ruled by Moslems, such as Andalusia (Hooper 1995: 128). We can thus understand the emergence of a Jewish tourist route in Spain as an attempt to capitalize on the national and worldwide obsession with the past and as

a commodification of history in line with recent trends in Spanish and European tourism policy. However, as pointed out above, Jewish heritage sites in Spain can also be interpreted in terms of the historical narratives they embody. In fact, tourism to historic Jewish neighborhoods potentially reinforces the diffusion and symbolic power of the public memories created there. It is to these historical narratives and public memories we now turn.

History and Memory on The Paths of Sepharad

The development and promotion of the Jewish tourist route in Spain is about more than the commodification and marketing of the past. This is made abundantly clear in the general introduction to *Paths of Sepharad*. The connection between Jewish heritage sites and the 'recovery' of national history and the creation of collective memory is made explicit, as the following passage illustrates:

> This demonstration and the combined, universal, and global will of many local parties has lead us to the profound conviction as to the necessity of incorporating this piece of our past history in our total history… This is the essential motive that has moved us to come together and work cooperatively to define a common project and promote a Route of Historical Jewish Neighborhoods in Spain that, apart from the most significant landmarks, recuperates and reclaims this part of our collective memory (7).

Before addressing *why* Spanish officials are laying claim to the Jewish past as an integral part of Spanish collective memory, I want to first address the substance of the historical

narratives woven into the material fabric of historical Jewish neighborhoods through the mediation of *Paths of Sepharad* . Precisely how is the Jewish past represented and interpreted?

First of all, the Jewish past is being claimed as a vital component of contemporary Spanish heritage. The remnants, relics, and 'footprints' which attest to the Jewish presence in Spain are considered an essential part of the national patrimony, as the Minister of Commerce and Tourism, Javier Gomez Navarro, points out in his introduction to the guidebook:

> Finding the footprints of the Jewish people, connected in its most intimate roots with the Spanish people, in the tiny streets of the cities referred to has served to spread and make us participants, through the activity of tourism, in this culture which is as distinctive as it is our own (5).

Moreover, throughout *Paths of Sepharad* Spanish Jews are referred to as ancestors of contemporary Spaniards. As mentioned previously, many Spaniards are beginning to recognize, or perhaps, exaggerate the extent to which they share Jewish blood. In a section on the Jewish 'legacy' in Ribadavia, the author explains, "Recalling the past, 'Casa Herminia' sells some exquisite 'Hebrew sweets', with recipes handed down mouth to mouth from our *ancestors*." Other sections of the guidebook emphasize examples of living Jewish culture in the popular traditions, legends, and myths which have survived in the oral culture of contemporary Spain. Referring to Hervas, the author of that section of *Paths of Sepharad* observes:

> In what ever form the cultural inheritance that Hervas received from the Jewish people was great and still lives on in popular traditions. Legends like the one where the rabbi

kills his daughter to maintain romantic relations with a Christian; the 'errant Jew', Maruxa, a grieving soul who is always witness to visions of bad things to come (60).

The prominence of various aspects of Jewish tradition in Spanish legend is further emphasized in the section of the guidebook about Hervas, as the author points out:

> The Jewish tradition flourishes all over. Legends abound about the theme, with some varying shades, but which always bring into view the reality that all legends encapsulate; hates and loves, culinary reminiscences; names and facial features; and more than anything the architecture of their neighborhood. Adobe and chestnut framework, fragile materials that have learned how to conquer time (59).

Buildings, synagogues, and other physical structures that constitute the material fabric of historic Jewish neighborhoods are considered particularly important contributions to the Spanish architectural heritage. For example, the Santa Maria la Blanca synagogue in Toledo was declared a national monument in the middle of the nineteenth century. Moreover, it is praised in *Paths of Sepharad* as a testament to the 'luxury' of the local Toledan architecture, a combination of Islamic and Jewish stylistic forms. In addition, Toledo boasts a Sephardic museum which, having opened in 1971, "collects examples of the Jewish past in Spain before 1492 and of the artifacts maintained- language, culture and customs- by this community of Spanish origin, the Sephardis." Jewish ritual baths were recently excavated next to the museum, which is important because it signifies the recuperation of an object viewed as central to Jewish communal and religious life.

In other words, ritual baths constitute another physical testament not only to Jewish presence, but also to their distinctive way of life.

Interestingly, in the above citation about the Toledo museum, Sephardis are said to be of "Spanish" origin. This seemingly minor point is of no small importance. As mentioned above, at one time being "tainted" with Jewish blood was grounds for symbolic and physical exclusion from the Spanish nation. As Marc Shell (1991: 309) points out, The Christian Reconquest of Spain, culminating in the expulsion of the Jews and the Muslims in 1492 and 1502, respectively, was the most significant nationalist event in Spanish history. The official view became that only Christians with Christian ancestors were Spanish nationals. The famous Statutes of the Purity of the Blood (limpieza de sangre) were introduced in Toledo in 1449 precisely to distinguish among Christians and *conversos* who had converted from Judaism or Islam or whose ancestors had converted. A myth of Pure Blood took hold that later informed the discourse of German Nazis and Italian and Spanish fascists and is still cherished among *some* contemporary Spaniards[24]. The final consolidation of Spanish nationhood was achieved in the latter half of the sixteenth century following the strict enforcement of blood regulations in which one drop of Jewish blood was grounds for exclusion from the Christian and, therefore, Spanish nation (Shell 1991: 309-312).

The rhetoric in *Paths of Sepharad* represents a striking discursive shift. Far from excluded, the Jewish past is claimed as a central pillar of "Spanish" heritage and Sephardis are symbolically redefined as "Spaniards". This change in contemporary Spanish rhetoric is particularly notable, given that the inquisition was only officially terminated in the 1830's. The establishment of a Jewish tourist route in Spain can be seen as part of a larger effort to recuperate and reclaim the Jewish past as legitimately Spanish, as the author of the Caceres section explains:

> Currently, after spending so much time following the refrain of "Before the King and the Inquisition, silence," we return our gaze toward the historic Jewish neighborhoods with the intention of recuperating and strengthening an important part of our cultural past, regardless of the name we use to designate it: Hispania, Al-Andalus or Sepharad (19).

The historical narrative running through *Paths of Sepharad* is also characterized by its emphasis on cultural pluralism. The authors of the guidebook continually refer to Spain's historical 'multiculturalism'. The introduction to the guidebook opens with this observation:

> For many centuries, until 1492, the Iberian Peninsula was a mosaic, a hotbed of peoples, cultures and religions. The presence until this date of Jewish communities adorned the urban geography of the peninsula (7).

This multicultural mosaic is considered to be another fundamental component of Spanish heritage, as the introduction goes on to note:

> The richness of this reality, of these plural realities, is a common heritage, a collective patrimony of many communities and cities in Spain . A heritage rooted physically and spiritually and identifiable in a multitude of documents, archaeological texts, customary place names, legends and literary, philosophical and religious texts (7).

Such rhetoric appropriates the language of pluralist liberal democracy, a point to which we return below. The Jewish tourist route can be seen as a means through which Spain's

multicultural past is encoded in the physical landscape and the message of pluralism transmitted to Spanish and foreign visitors alike.

It is significant, however, that the Jewish communities being remembered have long since disappeared. Spain's campaign to achieve Purity of Blood at the national level was overwhelmingly successful, due in large part to the efficacy of the inquisition. There are only 15,000 Jews living in contemporary Spain; many of them are Holocaust survivors or refugees who fled either from the Balkan Wars or Morocco during the 50's and 60's (Hooper 1995: 127; Sachar 1994: 367). They are never mentioned in *Paths of Sepharad*. It is the Jewish past which is of primary of interest here, not the present. In this light, publicly remembering the Sephardic past at contemporary heritage tourist sites in Spain can be seen as an instance of what Renato Rosaldo (1989:107-108) has called 'imperialist nostalgia', that longing among people for the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed[25]. Rosaldo characterizes imperialist nostalgia by its use of "'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination (ibid.: 208)."

Indeed, the recounting of Jewish history in *Paths of Sepharad is* highly selective. The long periods of religious tolerance and 'convivencia' (coexistence) are emphasized throughout. The histories of violence, expulsion, and inquisition are not completely excluded, but they are overshadowed by allusions to peaceful coexistence and religious pluralism. As is pointed out in the introduction, "Above and beyond the economic and social life of the civic coexistence, the common languages established a nexus of union above the religious differences (7)." The following passage from the Segovia section provides another illustration of the way intolerance is overshadowed by an emphasis on harmony and coexistence throughout the guidebook:

> This city, which has receptively and hospitably harbored all the cultures that have arrived in its territory, could not have lacked testimony to the Jewish presence in its streets: two Jewish neighborhoods, the "old" and the "new", the testaments- physical or documentary- of its five synagogues, the Jewish burial ground which now lives its dramatic solitude in a spot named "El Pinarillo", are testaments to a coexistence which, although it is true that was subjected on occasion to cycles of intolerance and incomprehension, lasted many centuries and marked, in a way, the very structure of the city (75).

If this assurance that a general level of toleration prevailed in Segovia is not sufficiently convincing, the author goes on to explain that the city represented a veritable compendium of cultures and that:

> ...in Segovia, the coexistence between the three cultures was especially cordial and tolerant: the already cited Garci Rue Castro affirms, even, that at certain sermons given at the Church of San Miguel, Jews and Moors attended in company of the devote Christians of Segovia (78).

A parallel might be drawn between the representation of Pilgrim/Native American relations during the first Thanksgiving and Christian/Jewish relations presented here. In fact, Jonathan Boyarin (1992: 9-31) has suggested that in many ways the Jew can be seen as Europe's Indian. Not only are periods of toleration and harmony emphasized in *Paths of Sepharad*, however, but, and this is the final point I wish to make about the historical narrative constructed

in the guidebook, incidents of violence and intolerance are either passed off as waves of extremism and fanaticism or they are attributed to 'outside' forces. Responsibility is never imputed to ordinary urban residents or to Spain's political and religious leaders. Neither, is it recognized that exclusion based on religion and blood was a central pillar of Christian ideology during the Reconquest. For example, in the section on Cordoba, the papacy is directly implicated in the spread of intolerance, as the author explains:

> But the conduct of the Jews caught the attention of the popes Gregory IX and Innocence IV who, in 1240 and 1250 respectively, issued bulls ordering Jews to wear a distinctive mark on their outfits so they would be known. We also know that Innocence IV ordered the destruction of a lavish synagogue erected by the Jews of Cordoba for breaking the established law "with dishonor and great scandal of Christianity (28).

Though perhaps factually accurate, such observations about the external causes of intolerance are misleading in the absence of substantive historical analysis. The extent to which common folk or even the royal leaders of the various Spanish kingdoms are responsible is not dealt with at all. When outbreaks of violence are mentioned in *Paths of Sepharad*, they are usually passed off as manifestations of extremism and thus, not representative of the 'normal' state of affairs. In explaining the circumstances that led up to the violent attacks on the Jewish neighborhoods of Girona in the fourteenth century, the author of that section observes:

> The relations between the Jews and Christians of Girona were for a long time pacific, with detonations particular to the coexistence between a minority community, the Jewish,

> with another dominant community, the Christian. But things took on another shade beginning in the fourteenth century. The changes in mentality brought with them an increase in fanaticism and intolerance...(43)

The author goes on to explain how this sharp increase in extremism led to three massacres in the space of sixty years. In other cases, the severity and the causes of violent assaults are subject to historical revision to make them appear less severe then was previously thought to be the case. As the author points out regarding the 1391 'massacre' in the Jewish section of Cordoba, "This Jewish neighborhood was assaulted in 1391, the motive being robbery and pillage, and not the massacre of Jews as was supposed before (29)." Whether or not this view is accurate, it does point to a general strategy throughout *Paths of Sepharad* to minimize the extent of malice, intolerance, and hatred toward Jews on the part of Christians.

In sum, the meanings tourists derive from their visit to historical Jewish neighborhoods in Spain are shaped both by their previous experiences and their exposure to various forms of interpretive literature, such as *Paths of Sepharad*. However, the historical narrative running through this guidebook is neither 'objective' nor 'value free'; it constructs a highly selective version of the Jewish past in Spain. Although Jewish blood once meant exclusion from the Spanish nation, the Jewish past is now being reclaimed as a central component of Spanish heritage and Jews are being constructed as ancestors of contemporary Spaniards. Moreover, *Paths of Sepharad* exalts Spain's multicultural past and emphasizes the periods of peaceful coexistence among Christians, Jews, and Muslims. It does mention outbreaks of intolerance and violence, but such incidences are downplayed and largely blamed on outsiders and fanatics.

This narrative neglects the fact that much of the peaceful coexistence among the three communities took place under Muslim rule[26]. Christian Reconquest quickly led to a brutal policy of exclusion based on religion and blood. Surely, there were periods of tolerance under Christian rule, but this was the exception rather than the rule (Shell 1991: 308-309)[27]. True, *Paths of Sepharad* does focus on the period before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and the introduction of the inquisition, before religious persecution had reached a climax. This is in itself, however, a telling omission. Surely the religious intolerance, hatred, and ill-treatment which prevailed in Spain from the sixteenth century onward represents as important a legacy as the glorified period of 'coexistence'. In fact, as Marc Shell (1991: 316) points out, "Spain, once the European model of *convivencia* and intellectual progress had become in the sixteenth century the least tolerant place in all Europe, and soon it was to become one of the most backward."

Granted, this is not the kind of message likely to be directed at tourists, and perhaps the post-tourist is sophisticated enough not to expect that it would. However, the very selective nature of the past presented here, does elucidate the kind of 'packaged' and 'filtered' historical narratives inscribed at such heritage sites. On the one hand, this can be seen as part of a standard campaign of tourist marketing. On the other hand, as we shall see in the next section, the narrative outlined above does coincide with official discourse about contemporary Spain and it fulfills a number of ideological functions.

Public Memory and Spanish Modernity

As I have been arguing, what a nation or state chooses to remember and the way it goes about remembering say more about its present than its past. The public commemoration of

Spain's Jewish heritage along the *Paths of Sepharad* helps foster a particular image of Spain as a tolerant and modern democratic nation-state, proud of its Jewish heritage and ready to assume its place at the table reserved for advanced western democracies. Moreover, by portraying Spain as multicultural and open to cultural difference, this historical narrative appropriates and helps contain and dilute the potentially subversive discourses circulating among radical sectors and in regions, such as Catalonia and the Basque country, bent on achieving greater autonomy or even independence. In the remainder of this essay, I examine some of the ways that publicly remembering the Jewish past helps produce this image of Spanish modernity.

The act of studying and 'recovering' the Jewish past is itself being employed as a mark of modernity. After decades of censorship under Franco, Spanish officials are eager to demonstrate their willingness to engage in legitimate historical inquiry. Moreover, the opportunity to carry out relatively unfettered historical research has contributed to the national preoccupation with issues of history and identity, as John Hooper (1995: 2-3) as poignantly observed:

> Freedom, meanwhile, has given the Spanish a much more clear-eyed view of themselves. The opportunity to research their history without having to make it conform to a preconceived pattern means they are perhaps closer than ever before to understanding who they really are. Their Moslem and Jewish heritages, for example, were ignored for generations. Today, Madrid has a park named after the city's founder, Emir Mohammed, and a synagogue in which King Carlos donned the *yarmulka* to attend a service of reconciliation on the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jews.

The end of official censorship in Spain has not only contributed to a renewed interest in the past, it has led to the emergence of the practice history itself as a powerful symbol of freedom and openness. The will to actively engage history and correct the distorted views of the past can be detected in the introduction to *Paths of Sepharad* which points out:

> This (Jewish) heritage has remained eclipsed, diluted and in some aspects, proscribed for a long time. From the there, it would not be too adventurous to affirm that until very recently we have agreed to live with a certain mutilation of our own history (7).

The recovery of the Sephardic past through the establishment of a Jewish tourist route is offered as a way to recuperate a component of Spanish history which had long been silenced and ignored. This is somewhat ironic, for as we shall see, Franco himself promoted the history and culture of Spanish Jewry as a way to gain support in the liberal west. However, it is not so much the historical content that is important here, as the very act of engaging in history itself. In any case, despite the establishment of a Sephardic Studies Center in the Spanish capital and the establishment of a full Institute of Semitic Studies at the University of Madrid in the 1940's, the level of interest in the Jewish past was not nearly as significant as it is today (Sachar 1994: 369). In the past twenty years, there has been a veritable explosion of local institutions concerned with Sephardic heritage and culture. Many of the cities along the Jewish tourist route house research centers and academic programs dedicated to the study of the Jewish past. In Girona, for example, the City Historical Archive has an entire section reserved for important Jewish historical documents and even possesses a facsimile of an 'actual' Haggadah from Barcelona. The municipality of Girona has sponsored various workshops and seminars, such as a Conference on

the History of the Jews in Catalonia (April 23-25, 1987) and a Symposium on the legendary Jewish rabbi and Kabbalist, Moses ben Nahman, and his time (November 8-9, 1994). In addition, the municipality of Girona, the Spanish Ministry of the Exterior, and the University of Girona co-sponsor the Moses ben Nahman scholarship program to promote Jewish studies in Girona.

As we have seen, the effort to construct an image of Spanish modernity revealed in the historical narrative woven through *Paths of Sepharad* is also characterized by a selective reading of history that emphasizes Spain's tolerant, multicultural past. This strategy is not totally unique to the contemporary period. Among Spanish intellectuals, interest in Spanish Jewry as carriers of Hispanic culture actually began to revive in the years leading up to the first World War, when a research institute, *Casa Universal de los Sefardis,* was established in Seville and a chair in semitics was established at the University of Madrid (Sachar 1994: 367). This reevaluation of the Jewish past was soon to have an impact on the leaders of modernizing Spanish state. The 'benign' dictator, Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) expressed public admiration for the Jews and, in a powerful symbolic gesture, restored Spanish citizenship to all 'descendants of the exiles of 1492' (ibid. 368). However, this short period of toleration was not to last very long.

During the Civil War a majority of Spain's Jews fled the country. For those who remained, the earlier guarantee of religious freedom was revoked and the synagogues of Barcelona and Madrid were closed. The Falangists denounced 'Jewish bolshevism' and presided over occasional cases of police brutality. However, although Franco adopted a pro-German stance during World War II, no government measures were enacted specifically against the Jews. Moreover, despite Spain's harsh policy toward World War II refugees, some thirty thousand Jews were permitted to enter Spain on their way to eventual sanctuary (Sachar 1994: 368-369).

In general, however, the Falangists displayed little concern for the fate of European Jewry (ibid.: 369; Avni 1982). Nevertheless, in the postwar years Franco deliberately embellished his regime's war record in order to reclaim the goodwill of liberals and Jews as part of a campaign to win membership in the United Nations[28]. During the ensuing years of his regime, Franco continued to make public gestures celebrating the history of Spanish Jewry as part of his courting of the West, as Howard Sachar (1994: 371) explains:

> During the late 1950's and early 1960's, in a typically mingled gesture of cultural solicitude for the Sephardic heritage and political anxiety for Jewish and Western goodwill, the Franco government arranged an imposing exhibition of documents on the Golden Age of Spanish Jewry. Additional courses in Hebraic and Semitic studies were introduced at the universities of Madrid, Barcelona, and Granada. A ten-day symposium was conducted on the status of Sephardic culture throughout the world. A postage stamp was issued, engraved with the likeness of Toledo's renowned fourteenth-century El Transito Synagogue.

Moreover, in June 1967, religious liberty was finally granted as a fundamental right, enabling Jews to legally worship in public and hold public offices (ibid.).

Following Franco's death, a new national constitution was adopted in 1978 which expressly guaranteed freedom of conscience and declared the end of state religion. Spanish officials continued to make overtures toward Sephardic culture and history, now as part of the effort to symbolically reaffirm Spain's successful transition to liberal, pluralist democracy. In February 1976, King Juan Carlos warmly received visiting delegates of the World Sephardic

Federation. Three months later, in what Howard Sachar (1994: 373) has labeled "a shrewd genuflection to Western liberal opinion", Queen Sofia attended a Sabbath service in the Madrid synagogue on the eve of a royal visit to the United States. In 1990, the Spanish government awarded the nation's most prestigious honor, the Prince of Asturias Prize, to the World Sephardic Federation. Appropriating the heritage of Spanish Jewry for all of Spain and including Sephardic Jews as an integral part of the Spanish nation, those who awarded the prize emphasized "Spanish Jewry's role in upholding and preserving the Spanish language and culture, thus serving as 'the wandering Spain' in all the corners of the earth (Sachar 1994: 373)[29].

We can place the commemoration of Spain's Jewish heritage along the *Paths of Sepharad* squarely within this historical context. Following Spain's Jewish tourist route, the visitor bears witness to Spain's modernity as the state publicly remembers its multicultural past. The historical narrative contained in *Paths of Sepharad* and inscribed in the material fabric of historic Jewish neighborhoods constructs Spain as an open, multicultural society. It celebrates Spanish tolerance and diversity. Ignoring the fact that the Franco regime employed similar ideological tactics, the Minister of Commerce and Tourism, Javier Gomez Navarro, explicitly links the 'recovery' of Spain's Jewish heritage to the new period of openness following the transition to democracy, as he comments:

> From the Minister of Commerce and Tourism we invite you to support this magnificent idea: To introduce the culture which the Jewish people bequeathed to us yesteryear. With this activity, Spain adds another initiative to the new period of reconciliation, peace, and harmony (5).

The public memory created at Jewish heritage sites contributes to the construction of Spanish modernity in two final ways. First, the existence of Jewish historical sites throughout various autonomous regions of Spain furnishes the country with a common, unifying heritage. Secondly, the representation of Spain as a tolerant, multicultural nation helps dilute the charge by radicals and nationalists that the Spanish state is dominated by the center, ethnically exclusive, and culturally repressive. The first point is straightforward- the cities along the Paths of Sepharad encompass seven of the eighteen autonomous regions that comprise the Spanish state. Among them are Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalusia- three autonomies where a strong sense of distinctive regional identity prevails and where nationalist groups have garnered widespread support. The fact that seven autonomies are represented in the Jewish tourist route, including three of the most regionally oriented, helps to establish Sephardic history and culture as a common, 'national' heritage that transcends regional differences.

The second point is related to the first to the extent that reclaiming the Jewish past as a component of *Spanish* national heritage helps dilute the efficacy of oppositional and separatist rhetoric which metonymically links historical Jewish suffering at the hands of the Spanish state to the repression of regional cultures and identities. An anecdote should illustrate the point. This past January, I was speaking to an assistant researcher at the historic Jewish neighborhood in Girona, Catalonia. I asked her why she was interested in investigating the Jewish past. She told me that, first of all, she feels it is time that people in Spain are exposed to their true history. She recalled that under Franco, history books in school had very little to say about the Jewish past. She drew a historical parallel to the fact that the Franco regime censored any material though to contribute to a distinct sense of *Catalan* as opposed to *Spanish* history. She was generally interested, then, in recovering an 'accurate' version of the past. Secondly, as a Catalan, she felt a

sense of historical identification with the Jewish people. In her view, the centralized Spanish state had repressed the history and culture of both Catalans and Jews. In addition, she said that both Catalans and Jews have been subject to the same cultural double standard. On the one hand, they are both praised for their business acumen, while on the other hand, they are denounced as selfish, stingy, and 'cheap'. Moreover, she was convinced that she herself has at least some Jewish blood. She considered her efforts to recuperate Sephardic heritage as a contribution to the fight against all forms of cultural intolerance and repression in Spain, including that directed against her own Catalan history, language, and identity.

By appropriating Sephardic history and culture as part of a national *Spanish* culture, then, the Spanish state is attempting to diffuse the power of such oppositional discourses. Moreover, by symbolically linking the nation's diverse, multicultural past to its pluralist and democratic modernity, the state is attempting to deflect some of the criticism leveled against its perceived intolerance toward and repression of regional cultural difference.

Conclusion

In this paper I have examined the Jewish tourist route in Spain as part of the memorialization of the country's Jewish past. I have reflected on the historical narratives inscribed in the material fabric of historic Jewish neighborhoods largely through an analysis the guidebook, *Paths of Sepharad*. I have considered the representation of Sephardic history and culture in terms of both the shift toward cultural and heritage tourism and the creation of public memory for contemporary ideological purposes.

With regard to heritage tourism, we have seen how shifts in the global regime of capitalist production have led to the emergence of a new breed of tourist- the post-tourist- who is guided by the romantic gaze. He/She is motivated by a nostalgic desire for heritage, fantasy, historical voyeurism and cultural difference and prefers unique, solitary experiences to mass-based commercial tours. Through the commodification and marketing of the past, the heritage tourist industry has directed its promotional efforts toward attracting the post-tourist as its primary target audience. Drawing on this nostalgic desire to experience the Jewish past, *Paths of Sepharad* is marketing Spain's Sephardic heritage to attract the would-be post-tourist. The establishment of a Jewish tourist route can thus be seen as an example of the shift in Spanish tourism policy, which is aiming to promote cultural and heritage tourism as a way to diversify Spain's touristic repertoire and to capitalize on the current Spanish and worldwide infatuation with the past.

Attracting tourists to Jewish heritage sites in Spain also accomplishes an important symbolic and ideological goal for the Spanish state. Visitors to historic Jewish neighborhoods are unwittingly transformed into consumers of the public memory created there. The historical narrative woven through *Paths of Sepharad* and inscribed along the Jewish tourist route through its mediation helps produce a particular image of the Spanish state and Spanish modernity. The commemoration of Spain's tolerant, multicultural past and the appropriation of Sephardic heritage as its own both contribute to the image of Spain as a modern, pluralist democracy and help contain potentially subversive discourses of radical otherness. The meanings visitors derive from Jewish heritage sites in Spain, and the reactions these sites produce among both hosts and guests alike are still open questions, pointing to important avenues for future field research.

[1] Sepharad is the word commonly used to refer to Jewish Spain before the expulsion in 1492 and Sephardi refers to a Jew of Spanish origin.

[2] MacCannell (1989: 43-48)) refers to the process through which a tourist site is produced as "sight sacralization", which consists of five stages: 1) naming; 2) framing and elevating; 3) enshrinement; 4)mechanical reproduction (prints, postcards, guidebooks, etc.); and 5) social reproduction. This process of marking actually produces the site rather than the other way around and the marker may even come to "obliterate" the site. In general, macCannell conceives the tourist site as an empirical relationship between a tourist, a site, and a marker (MacCannell 1989: 41-43).

[3] The idea of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990) refers to the fact that people go away from home to look at distinctive environments with interest and curiosity. Many tourists passively gaze at what they encounter (Herbert 1995: 5). Urry's notion of the gaze is drawn from Foucault's discussion of the medical gaze, in which the doctor is trained to 'see' things which ordinary observers cannot. Thus, the twentieth century tourist is trained to see certain things as 'out of the ordinary' or as especially meaningful in particular ways (McCrone et. al. 1995: 34-35)

[4] For a useful review of the anthropological literature regarding tourism, development and the impact of tourism on local economies, cultures and societies, particularly in the Caribbean see (Crick 1989).

[5]Contrary to MacCannell, scholars such as Boorstin (1964) and Turner and Ash (1975) view tourism as an aberration and a symptom of the *malaise* of the age (cf. Cohen 1979: 179). Boorstin despises the shallow modern mass tourist who is attracted to 'pseudo-events' as opposed to authentic ones. Eric Cohen (1979) argues for the existence of several different kinds of tourist, each characterized by a particular world-view

and the place of tourism in the person's life. Whether or not a tourist adheres to a 'center' and the location of this 'center' in relation to the society in which the tourist lives are seen as diacritical (Cohen 1979: 180). According to Cohen, there are five modes of tourist experience: 1) The Recreational Mode; 2) The Diversionary Mode; 3) The Experiential Mode; 4) The Experimental Mode; and 5) The Existential Mode. These modes run the gamut between the experience of the tourist as traveler in pursuit of 'mere' pleasure to that of the modern pilgrim in quest of meaning at someone else's center. In *Nomads from affluence: Notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism* (1973), Cohen examines a specific variety of tourist experience falling somewhere toward the existential end of the above typology.

[6]Georges Van Den Abbeele (1980) has criticized MacCannell for ultimately maintaining the superiority of the theorist to the tourist given that the former remains aware of what he is doing while the latter remains mystified as to his true motives and role in constructing modernity. Van Den Abbeele argues that we must cease to think either theory or travel in terms of fixed places. Rather, he argues for a somewhat ambiguously defined nomadic theory of travel from "inauthentic marker to inauthentic marker without feeling the need to possess the authentic sight by totalizing the markers into a universal and unmediated vision (ibid.: 14)."

[7]MacCannell is drawing here from Erving Goffman's famous 'front-stage'-'back-stage' distinction. In the context of tourism, the front is the meeting place of hosts and guests and the back is the place where the 'natives' relax in between performances, where they behave 'naturally' away from the tourists (MacCAnnell 1989: 92).

[8]The romantic gaze belongs to the more aware, elites who possess sufficient cultural capital to appreciate magnificent scenery, enjoy solitude, and draw distinct meanings from places. The collective gaze, on the other hand, belongs to the less perceptive majority, who require the presence of large numbers of people to give a carnivalesque atmosphere to the place (Urry 1990: 45-46, cf. Herbert 1995: 6).

[9] As G. Richards points out, tourism and culture have always been closely linked in Europe, dating back to the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century (for a useful history of tourism see Adler 1989). However,

this early cultural tourism was largely restricted to elites. As the European tourist market matured in the 1970's and 1980's, along with a concomitant shift toward a post-Fordist, service-based regime of production, cultural tourism became a large-scale phenomenon (Richards 1996: 6-8). For current trends in European cultural tourism see Richards' discussion of the ATLAS cultural tourism project (1996: 33-43). In addition, for a breakdown of the aspects characterizing contemporary European cultural tourists see Richards' discussion of participation in cultural tourism (1996: 50-55). The relevant factors include: education, socio-economic status, occupation, leisure time availability, and age.

[10]According to Lowenthal (1985: 4), nostalgia is today the "universal catchword for looking back." This was not always the case. Formerly, nostalgia was restricted in time and place. For example, antique dealers used to operate with a 100-year-old barrier. Today, 1930's art deco and 1950's jukeboxes are treated with reverence. The original concept of nostalgic affliction was even more different. Seventeenth century nostalgia was considered a physical illness with concrete symptoms and often deadly consequences (Lowenthal 1985: 10). For additional approaches to nostalgia see Susan Stewart (1984) and Fred Davis (1979).

[11]According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990: 3), the tourist-historic city can be viewed in three ways: 1) as both a form and a function, 2) as both a particular type of city and a specialized morphological-functional region within a city, and 3) as both a particular use of history as a tourism resource and a use of tourism as a means of supporting the maintenance of the artifacts of the past and justifying attention to the historicity of cities.

[12]In a fascinating essay Greg Ashworth (1995) examines the role of heritage in the construction of a "European" identity as the European Union moves toward greater unification. Heritage is being explicitly used as a policy tool to facilitate European political and cultural integration.

[13]As Ashworth and Turner (1990: 28) point out, "it is hardly radical to suggest that the historic city has a socialization function in reproducing the dominant political ideas of the community." Among the

ideological divisions commonly encountered in tourist-historic cities include: 1) nationalism versus internationalism; 2) regionalism versus centralism; and 3) socialism versus capitalism.

[14]Nora (1989: 13) distinguishes between true memory, "which has taken refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body's inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories" and memory transformed by history, "which is nearly the opposite: voluntary and deliberate, experienced as a duty, no longer spontaneous;.." Nora depicts three classes of memory in the modern world: archive-memory, duty-memory, and distance-memory. Archive-memory relies on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, and the visibility of the image. It constitutes the materialization and exteriorization of memory, its inscription in physical spaces. Duty-memory refers to the total psychologization of contemporary memory, which entails a new type of self-identity. the less memory is experienced as collective, the more internal pressure on the individual to assert his/her collective, ethnic and/or national identity. Distance-memory implies that we know longer experience the past as solid, steady and continuous, but as fractured, discontinuous and radically other.

[15]Halbwachs (1980) mentions three types of physical spaces into which group identity and collective memory are inscribed: legal space, economic space, and religious space.

[16]Nora attributes the origin of the term *lieu de memoir* to Frances Yates', *The Art of Memory* (1966), which traces the history of the classical art of memory, as codified by Cicero and Quintilian. This classical art taught orators to remember their speeches by associating particular topics with some part of a real or imagined building in which the oration was to take place. Recollections were thus triggered by recourse to an inventory of memory places, *loci memoriae*.

[17]This process is indicative of what Raymond Williams (1977: 115-116) has called 'selective tradition'. Establishing hegemony involves the selective use tradition that becomes the 'official' or 'sanctioned' ways of conceiving the past. The process of selecting aspects of the past and disregarding others is one of the fundamental hegemonic operations.

[18]Young (1993: 3) refuses to draw a hard and fast distinction between monuments and memorials. Monuments are said by many people to commemorate the memorable and embody the myths of beginnings, while memorials are thought to ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends. Young points out, however, that the same object can perform both functions. He proposes to classify monuments as a subset of memorials: they are the materials objects, sculptures, and installations that memorialize a person or thing. He treats all memory-sites as memorials and the plastic objects within these sites as monuments. A memorial need not be a monument, but a monument is always a memorial.

[19] Young (1993: XI) explicitly avoids using the term "collective memory" because he wants to avoid applying "individual psychoneurotic jargon to the memory of national groups." He aims to break down the notion of "collective memory" altogether, instead preferring to examine "collected memory," which is comprised of the many discrete memories gathered into common memorial spaces and imbued with shared meaning. According to Young, a society can only be said to "remember" insofar as its institutions and rituals organize, shape, and inspire memories among the individuals who compose it.

[20] The concept of a "biography" of Holocaust memorial sites shares a family resemblance to Appadurai's (1986) notion of "the social life of things".

[21]Tourism policy in Spain is the responsibility of government bodies at three distinct levels: central government, the autonomous communities or regions, and the municipalities. At the national level, the General Secretariat of Tourism is divided in three main departments: 1) The Institute of Tourism of Spain (TURESPANA); 2) The National Society of Tourist Hotels of Spain; 3) The State office of Tourism Policy (Maiztegui-Onate and Bertolin 1996)

[22] Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) even include the 'Spanish type' as a principle variety of tourist-historic city.

[23]Boissevain (1992: 8-10) contends that rituals declined in importance during the immediate post-WWII period for a variety of reasons. First of all, significant patterns of out-migration made it difficult to continue many local communal rituals. Secondly, the post-war period was one of increasing

secularization when religion and ritual became less important in the daily life of local communities. Third, many rituals were based on agricultural cycles which were rendered obsolete by industrialization. However, many of these patterns reversed themselves during the 70's and new one's emerged. For example, many migrants returned during this period and the media explosion has stimulated the rapid dissemination of ritual practices. Also, mass tourism has created an audience for celebrations and democratization has led to increased support for regional and working-class cultural manifestations. Perhaps most importantly for Boissevain, has been the emergence of a novel concern for 'quality of life' and a reappraisal of 'traditional' community-centered rural ways of life. I would add that the expansion of ritual celebrations also articulates with the tremendous upsurge of interest in heritage, identity, and cultural roots discussed above.

[24]A version of the myth of Pure Blood later emerged which traced a tribal bloodline to a Gothic or Teutonic ancestor, Tubal, from the twenty-second century B.C. (Shell 1991: 311)!

[25]Rosaldo (1989: 208) further explains 'imperialist nostalgia' in this way: "Imperialist nostalgia thus revolves around a paradox: a person kills somebody and then mourns his or her victim. In more attenuated form, someone deliberately alters a form of life and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to his or her intervention. At one more remove, people destroy their environment and then worship nature."

[26]However, it should be noted that Christians and Jews were considered 'second-class citizens' under Muslim rule in Spain (Shell 1991: 309).

[27]Shell (1991: 316) explains the differential treatment of non-Muslims and non-Christians by Muslims and Christians in terms of a fundamental doctrinal difference. Muslim ideology allowed for a class of non-Muslim human others ('Peoples of the Book') who were not brothers. These human others had to be lived with regardless of how distressing their presence might be. Spanish Christendom, on the other hand, considered all humans brothers, which was interpreted to mean that non-Christians were animal or, at least, less than human. As Shell maintains (ibid.), "Spain fulfilled its national aspiration in the Reconquest

only at the loss of any specifically human term mediating between Christian human beings and other creatures.

[28]The Franco government issued a statement in 1949 observing that, "Spain, imbued with its universal Christian spirit of love for all the races on earth, contributed to the rescue of Jews, and acted more for spiritual than for merely legal or political reasons (Sachar 1994: 370)." (Note the irony here in light of the above footnote)

[29] We might also interpret these overtures as symbolic recompense to world Jewry and American public opinion for Spain's historic role of siding with the Arabs in the Middle East conflict (Hooper 1995: 106).

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