Note: Italicized page numbers indicate photographs, which are located following page 130.

```
Adjusting Sights (Sabato), 60
                                                 army. See Israeli Defense Forces (IDF)
agricultural settlements, 198, 269-70
                                                 Arnon, Noam, 181-82
Akeda, the, 136-37, 139, 141-42
                                                 Ashkenazim, 150
aliya (ascent), 49
                                                 atlas of biblical borders of the land of
aliyas (Zionist immigrations), 229
                                                     Israel, 92
Ali Zahav, 76
                                                 authenticity, 40, 82, 117-21, 238, 241-42
Aloni, Shulamit, 110
                                                 Aviad, Janet, 31-32
                                                 Aviner, Shlomo, 41, 46, 50, 85, 120, 265
Alon Moreh, 1, 24, 68, 75, 134, 140
Alon Shvut, 174
                                                 Avraham Avinu (Our Father Abraham)
altar at Mount Ebal, 101-2
                                                     Synagogue, 156, 165
Amana, 24
American immigrants in ideological
                                                 Balas, Yonatan, 184-85
   settlements, 34
                                                 Ban Ilan University, 256
Amir, Yigael, 25, 254, 256, 297n. 6, 297n.
                                                 Barak, Ehud, 292n. 5 (chap. 5)
                                                 Bar Ilan, Meir, 104
Amital, Yehuda, 255
                                                 Bar Ilan University, 102, 297n. 8
Anatot, 78, 107
                                                 Barkai, Gabriel, 104-5
anthropology, in study methodology, 15
                                                 Barkan, 76
Arab Legion (Jordanian army), 171-72
                                                 Bartal, Israel, 103
                                                 Bat Ayin, 178-79
Arabs: eviction from territories, 127;
   fellahin (farmers), 118; Gush Emunim
                                                 Be'er, Haim, 31, 175
   view of, 160-61; and Gush Etzion
                                                 Beer Sheva, xii (map)
   settlers, 171, 293n. 5 (chap. 8); of
                                                 Begin, Menachem, 24-25, 64, 68, 271,
   Hebron, 160-64; Israeli, 122-23,
                                                     295n. 2
   292n. 2 (chap. 5); Israel's compromise
                                                 Beita incident, 124-25
   with, 116-17; orientalist conceptions
                                                 Beitar Ilit, 178
   of, 117-18, 160-61; as Other, 115-
                                                 Beit El, 74, 92
   16; second-generation settlers and,
                                                 Beit Haggai, 77-78
   108-9, 112-15, 124-25; story of
                                                 Beit Horon, 48
   settler and shepherd boy, 119-20;
                                                 Beit Iskaria, 293n. 5 (chap. 8)
   villages of, 69, 112; youth of the hills
                                                 Beit Yatir, 110
                                                 Ben-Artzi, Yossi, 103
   and, 241-43. See also Palestinians
Arafat, Yasser, 111, 248-49
                                                 Benei Akiva, 33
Aran, Gideon, 8-9, 29, 32, 57, 69
                                                 Ben-Gurion, David: and the Bible in
archaeology: Ariel's use of, 92-93:
                                                     Zionist history, 47–48; in debate over
                                                     occupied territories, 21; hymn of
   biblical, 95-99; biblical narrative and,
   96; as conceived by secular Zionism,
                                                     praise to story of Gush Etzion, 172;
   88; in early years of state of Israel,
                                                     and Israeli occupation of Sinai, 197;
   98-99; greater vs. lesser, 99;
                                                     Porat's criticism of, 44; and principle
   Haredim's struggle against field of, 92;
                                                     of mamlachtiut, 275; tomb of, 279;
   as identity-forming practice, 100;
                                                     vision for Negev desert, 74
   metamessage of, 110-11; as mystical
                                                 Ben-Gurion Research Institute, 15
   experience, 99-100; national role of,
                                                 Ben-Pazi, Rina, 176
   97, 104; Palestinian, 111; settler-
                                                 Benvenisti, Meron, 14, 16, 36-37, 103,
   researchers and, 95, 100-101, 111
                                                     248
Ariel, Israel, 92-93
                                                 Ben-Ya'akov, Yohanan, 176-77
Ariel, Ya'akov, 42, 45, 200
                                                 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman, 291n. 12
```

bereavement, 136, 139, 228. See also commemorations: culture of, among commemorations settlers, 137-43, 226-28; death and, in the hills of Samaria, 212-14; of Be'ri, Dan, 118 evacuation from Yamit, 202, 204-7; Betzelem group, 16 Bible, the, 47-49, 81, 91-93 national days of, 55–56; of Yitzhak biblical archaeology, 95-99 Rabin, 257–59; rituals, 191; of Tarpat biblical sabras, 230-31 massacre, 154-55; traditional religious Bin-Nun, Yoel: on assassination of Yitzhak practices in, 138; of victims of Rabin, 256; on communal villages, 71; terrorism, 77, 157-60; of war dead, on failure of Yamit, 209; on settling in 136-37 the hearts, 4, 38, 269; and Zertal's communal villages, 69-72, 80 claims about Mount Ebal altar, 101-2 conspiracy theories, on assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, 254 Blustein, Rachel, 223 Bnei Akiva youth movement, 256 counting project, 277-78 Bram, Chen, 240 cult of North African zaddikim (saints), Brenner, Haim Yosef, 138 149 burial of Abraham Nachshon, 155-56 burial site of Matriarchs and Patriarchs, daily prayers of mincha, 107-8 148, 156, 223 Daum, Hanoch, 270, 298n. 20 Burstein, Arye, 104 David, King, 144 Dayan, Moshe, 197 bypass roads, 8, 134-35, 252-53 Day of Remembrance, 172 Canaanites, 31 death: changing demographics of, 136capitalist and market economy in Israel, 37; connection of, to rebuilding, 159; experience of, in Yesha settlements, 271-72 Carlebach, Shlomo, 240 231-32; of Gavish family, 134; of Cave of Machpela, 3; appropriation of, by Hatuel family, 3; politics of, 1-5; of religious settlers, 148-49; as burial Yosef Trumpeldor, 136, 138. See also site of Matriarchs and Patriarchs, 148, commemorations; terrorism; violence 156; conflict over, between Arabs and de-homing, 279, 282 Jews, 150-51; massacres in, 25, 145-Demo Settlement (Segal), 187 46; as most sacred site, 144; as desert, the, 82, 291n. 9 pilgrimage site, 150; and recurring Deutch, Hayuta, 129-30 circular pattern of history, 165; Dinar, Hava, 186 sharing of, by Jews and Muslims, 146, disengagement plan, Sharon's, 1-2, 26, 167-68; symbolic importance of, 149. 263-69, 276 See also Tarpat massacre (1929) divine promise, 29-30, 43, 49, 91 "center out there," 84, 167. See also Doley, Meira, 140 Hebron drug use by young settlers, 232 Chazani-Katzover, Menora, 141 Druk, Rachel, 212-13, 223, 226-28, 296n. 5 (chap. 11) children in settlements, 3, 231-32, 243 Chomesh, 140-42 Drukman, Sara, 210 Coastal Plain, 261-62 Cohen, Geula, 21-22, 199 Eban, Abba, 172 collective forgetting, 203-4, 251-52 Eckerstein, Eitan, 232 educational hiking, 105-9 collective memory, 9, 157. See also memory Efrat, 178 collectivist ideology, criticisms of, 271 Egypt, 24, 196-98, 201, 208-9, xii (map) College of Ariel, 102 Ein Habsor, 205-6 colonialism, settlement projects and, 112 Ein Tsurim, 171

El-Agsa Intifada. See Second Intifada (Elfundamentalism (continued): and Aqsa Intifada) normalcy, 193-95; radical, inner Elazar, 2, 174 contradictions of, 78; rigid, in Hebron, elective affinity, 12-13 181; scriptural, 98-99; and Zionist Elitzur, Uri, 202, 239, 276 practices, 88 Elitzur, Yoel, 42, 75, 78, 89-90, 100 fundamentalists, Muslim, 5 Eliyahu, Mordechay, 265 funeral practices, in settlements, 128 Elon, Emuna, 119 El-Or, Tamar, 217 Gachelet group, 27, 29 Emunim (loyalty to the past), 40 Gan Uza, 104 Epstein, Alek, 10 Gavish family, murder of, 134 Erez Alley, mythology of, 159 Gaza Strip, 1-2, 263-64, 276, xii (map) Erlich, Ze'ev (Zabo), 94-95, 104-5 gaze, the, 80-81 Gemara, women's study of, 216-18 Eshel, Ya'akov, 103 Eshkol, Levi, 173 gender differentiation, 95, 127, 214-19 ethnic revival, new, 149 Gera, Zvi, 203 ethnocracies, 123 gerim (resident aliens), 117, 119 ethnography, in study methodology, 15 Gilead Ranch, Samaria, 10 Et Ofra (publication), 16, 181, 183-84 Giser, Avi. 65 Etzion, Yehuda, 294n. 2 (chap. 9) Giva't Aliya, 172 Giva't Brenner, 138-39, 227 Etzion Bloc, 171, 177 evacuations, 6; from Chomesh, 142; from globalism, 5-6, 182 Gaza, 268-69; in Gush Emunim Golan Heights, xii (map) movement, last period, 26; from Gush Goldstein, Baruch, 25, 146, 148, 168-69 Katif, 266-68; of Palestinians from Gomeh, Nili, 173 Hebron, 164; from Sinai, 201-4, 206-Gotlib, Daniel, 282 7; of territories, the case for, 23, 35; Gramcsi, Antonio, 109 from Yamit, 196 Greater Israel, 21-24, 261, 264 everyday life. See life, everyday Greenberg, Mordechay, 254 eviction of Arabs from territories, 127 Green Line, 260-61, xii (map) exile, the, 49-53 Grossman, David, 32, 128-29 Exodus, the, 202 Gudai, Nissim, 7 Gur, Mordechai (Mota), 190 Felix, Menachem, 139-40 Gush Emunim movement: collectivist values of, 272-73; in context of Israeli feminism, fundamentalism and, 212-18 fence, around occupied territories, 9, 252society, 7-8; declared aims of, 5, 85; 53, 260-62 effect of Rabin assassination on, 253fences, around settlements, 134, 252-53 56, 258-59; failures of, 247, 250; as field schools, 94 fundamentalist project within Western Filber, Shlomo, 297n. 6 modernity, 181; history of, 23-26; Filber, Ya'akov, 62-63 ideology of, 28, 30-31, 40-42, 194, First and Second Temple periods, 47 274; importance of, 35-38; local social environment and, 6-7; as messianic First Intifada, 25, 132, 212-13 flower children of the hills, 237-41 vs. political movement, 31-33; freier, 273 methodology in study of, 14-17; and Movement to Stop the Withdrawal Frid, Yohanan, 94 Fruman, Menachem, 120-21 from Sinai, 199-201; national fundamentalism: criticisms of, 274; mythology of, 191; origins of, 26-28; and Oslo Accords, 251; political gender roles, 214-18; metamessage of, 110-11; in modern society, 195; extremism, 117;

Gush Emunim movement (continued): rise of, under weak Israeli political leadership, 275; Second Intifada and ethos of, 260; and secular Zionism, 51–52; sociology and demography of, 33–35; strategies of, against culture of the freier, 273–74; study of, 8–14; supporters of, 4, 33, 56, 65; theology of, 28–31; warriors of, 61; and Zionism, 44–45; as Zionist revival movement, 29–30

Gush Emunim settlements: as communal villages, 70–72; compared to Zionist settlement efforts, 97–98; following Oslo Accords, 253–54; naming of, 74; in Negev desert, 280–81; siting of, 80. See also settlements; individual settlement names

Gush Emunim settlers: and authenticity, 242; children, 3, 231–32, 243; claims as present-day pioneers, 53–54; exilic terms in complaints and demands of, 52; first-generation, compared to youth of the hills, 239–40; and humor, 185–89; isolation of, 233, 270; Oslo Accords and, 268–69; of Sinai, 210–11; symbolic appropriation of the land used by, 88. See also settlers

Gush Etzion, 170–72, 176–80, xii (map) Gush Katif, *9*, 264–69, xii (map). *See also* Gaza Strip

Gushpanka (publication), 15-16

Haaretz (newspaper), 280–81
Hadassah House, Hebron, 146–47, 157
Haetzni, Elyakim, 117, 165
hai, 189
Haifa, xii (map)
Halamish, 78
halutz (pioneer), 230
Hamas, 169
Hammer, Zvulun, 94
Hanegbi, Tzachi, 199–200
Hantshke, David, 41
Hardalinks, 35, 289n. 21
Haredi, 178
Haredim (ultra-Orthodox Jews), 92, 106, 271
Harel, Israel, 184–85, 255, 280–82

Hareven, Shulamit, 31–32 Har-Shefi, Maragalit, 256 Hatikva (The Hope), 276 Hatuel, Tali, 1-2 Hatzofe (newspaper), 270 Hebron, xii (map); association between new and old Jewish communities, 152-53; as "center out there," 84, 167; essential political question regarding, 169; etymological derivation of, 156; guarded entrance to Jewish section of, 293n. 13; Hever on duties of Jews in, 153; history of Jewish settlement in, 145-47; Israeli Defense Forces in, 162; lack of humor in, 188; merging of social time with monumental time in, 165-66; Mount of, 110; move from Kiryat Arba into, 147; Palestinian attacks against Jews, 132; as place of memory, 9, 144-45; return to, by Jewish settlers, 155-58; and rigid fundamentalism, 181; sacred map of, 159; segregation of Arabs and Jewish settlers in, 162-63; settlers of, 166-67; story of return to, by Jewish girl, 164; story of settler girls and old Palestinian woman in, 151; strategies of Gush Emunim settlers in, against culture of the freier, 273-74; as symbolic center, 147-48. See also Cave of Machpela

Hebron agreement, 163
Hebron-Kiryat Arba complex, 147–48
Hebron market, 7
Hebver, Ze'ev, 153
heretical imperative, 274
heroism, legacy of, 170–71
Heskin, Arie, 262
Hever, Hanan, 37
Hever, Ze'ev, 153
hierophany, 39
historical narrative, three-stage structure of, 46–54
historical time line, 283–85
Holocaust, the: commitment to memory of, 50, 142; metaphor of, used by

Haredim, 297-98n. 16; as proof of

futility of Jewish life in exile, 49-50;

Holocaust, the (continued): symbolism of, in protest of Sharon's disengagement plan, 264-65; use of, as analogy for Tarpat massacre, 154home, concept of, 1-5, 231, 243-45, 260. See also land of Israel homeland/exile dichotomy, 51 Huberman, Haggai, 153 human chain from Nisanit to Eastern Jerusalem, 8, 276 humor, importance of, 185-89 ideological-hegemonic stage, in Lustick's model of territorial construction, 38 ideological settlements, 34, 79-81 ideological settlers: appropriation of Cave of Machpela by, 148-49; author's encounter with, 277-79; and capitalist market, 275; demographic rift between Israeli society and, 34; as minority among Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria, 35; peace camp and, 5; and sacrifice, 139-40; as terrorist victims, 137-38 IDF. See Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) illegalism, of Gush Emunim, 28, 30 immigration, moral connotation of, 49 incumbency stage, in Lustick's model of territorial construction, 37-38 Independence Day, 39, 55-58, 84 Internet sites, in study methodology, 16 interviews, in study methodology, 15

intifadas, 25, 64, 132, 179, 212-13. See also Second Intifada (El-Aqsa Intifada) Ishmaelites (Arabs), 161

Israel, xii (map); ambivalence of, toward outposts, 236; borders of, 21, 259-63; citizenship, 118; civil religion of, 189; compromise with Arab nations and Palestinians, 116-17; and construction of Jewish neighborhood within Hebron, 146; construction of Kiryat Arba, 146; Declaration of Independence, 44; Gush Emunim demonstrations against, 117; Gush Emunim's view of, as ethnocracy, 123; Gush Etzion and, 179; historical milestones, 248; land and history connection in, 177; leftist, 44-45, 65,

292n. 16; national narrative of, 135-36, 166; and occupied territories, 12-13, 34; peace talks with Egypt, 24; religious communities within, 28; requirements of, in Oslo Accords, 251; rightist, 15, 44-45; State of, as expression of God's will, 29-30; symbolic landscape of, 136. See also Greater Israel

Israeli Arabs, 122-23, 292n. 2 (chap. 5) Israeli Coastal Plain, 261-62 Israeli Defense Forces (IDF): evacuating settlers, 6; and Gush Emunim protesters, 5; in Hebron, 148, 151, 162; second-generation settlers and service in, 34; settlers' encounter with, 267-68; violence of settlers against, 200

Israel Exploration Society, 96

Israeli ethos, 136-37 Israeli identity, 7-8, 259-60 Israeli laws, in Yesha settlements, 231-32 Israeli mythohistory, 53-54 Israeli social and humanistic sciences, 10-12, 96-97

Israeli society: ambivalence of, toward future of territories, 41, 88, 247-48; collectivist values vs. changing social and economic order of, 272-73; Gush Emunim in context of, 7-8; major divisions in, 11, 21; Oslo Accords and, 268-69; rift between ideological settlers and, 34; secular youth compared to second-generation settlers, 233; shift from socialist to capitalist principles, 270-71; transformation of, and rise of settler movement, 275; traumas of, 257

Jebaliya, 172 Jenin battle, 292n. 6 (chap. 5) Jerusalem, xii (map) Jerusalem Day, 56-58 Jewish communal expansion, 159 Jewish ethnic groups, 49 Jewish land. See land of Israel Jewish-Muslim religious dialogue, 121 Jewish nationalism, 40, 297-98n. 16. See also Zionism Jewish people, 43-44, 123-24, 130

Jewish transformation motifs, 153–54 land of Israel: adulation of, 31; atlas of Jewish underground, 25, 146, 158, 190 biblical borders of, 92; basis of jokes, political, as mechanism of Palestinians' claim to, 113; divine constructing order, 194 promise and, 91; efforts to include Jordan, xii (map) Sinai desert in, 209; exilic conditions Jordan Valley settlements, 34 in, 126; the feeling of, 99-100; living Judea and Samaria: annual conferences in, as mitzvah, 50; Ofra residents and, on, 102-5; as born-again landscape, 183; perceptions on appropriation of, 72-78; ideological settlers as minority 93; redemption of, 45; return to, 48, in, 35; settlement projects in, 72, 79, 201-4; sacredness of, 29; tension in 261; youth of the hills in, 234–35, principles of, 41–42; traditional rabbis 237-38 on rights of Jews to, 93; Yom Kippur War as war for, 63-64; youth of the juvenile delinquency, 232 hills and, 244-45 Kach (Kahane) movement, 35, 146, 148 Land of Israel Studies, 91, 94-95, 109-11 Kadum compromise, 68 land of the Bible, 81, 91-93. See also land Kahane, Meir, 35, 199 of Israel Karmei Tzur, 76 Lapid, Yair, 134 Karney Shomron (Horns of Samaria), 76 law enforcement in Yesha settlements, Katriel, Tamar, 291n. 14 231-32 Katz, Saul, 106 Lebanon, xii (map) Katzover, Benni, 110, 295n. 4 Lebanon War (1982), 42, 60, 64, 209 Kedar, Mira, 123-24, 129-30 Leibowitz, Yeshayahu, 30-31, 126 Kedumim, 76 Levinger, Miriam, 126, 146-47, 157, 166 Levinger, Moshe, 1, 45, 145-46, 152, Kehat, Hana, 218 Kerem Beyavneh Yeshiva, 254 161, 164 Kfar Etzion, 171-75 Liebman, Charles, 58-59 Kfar Maimon, 266-67 life, everyday: in fight against Sharon's kibbutzim, 70, 74, 173-74, 230, 279 disengagement plan, 266; memory in, kibbutz movement, 34, 85, 138-39 40; normalcy in, 189-95, 261-62; in Kibbutz Netiv Halamed-Hei, 173 Ofra, 181-82, 191-92, 194; terrorism Kibbutz Sede Boker, 279 and, 134-35, 259-60; youth of the hills and, 234-35 Kimmerling, Baruch, 9-10, 37 King David, 144 Likud Party, 1-2, 198, 263, 271 Kiryat Arba, 144, 146-48, 158, 162, xii Lior, Dov, 159 Lod, 89-91 (map) Kiryat Shmona, 72, 138, 227 Lone Tree of Gush Etzion, 4, 173-75 Kissinger, Henry, 59 Luria, Zipora, 258 Kniel, Shlomo, 239 Lustick, Ian, 8, 30, 37-38 Knohl, Dov, 172 Kolekh (Your Voice), 217-18 Maccabees, 65 Kook, Abraham-Itzhak HaCohen (Kook the mamlachtiut principle, 275 Elder), 27-29, 171 massacres in Cave of Machpela, 25, 144-Kook, Zvi-Yehudah HaCohen (Kook the 46, 151-55, 158, 169 Son), 27-28, 39, 41, 50, 55-56 Massuot Yitzhak settlement, 171 Kvutzat Avraham, and settlement of Kfar Matriarchs, burial in Cave of Machpela, Etzion, 171 mechdal (failure through inaction), and Labor Party, 263-64, 271 Yom Kippur War, 59 Lamed Hei (Thirty-Five) platoon, 171 Melamed, Zalman, 92, 117-18

Memorial Day for the Fallen, 136, 172-73 national home, defined, 3 nationalism, Jewish, 40, 297-98n. 16. See memory: and compromise, 64-66; of Gush Etzion, 172; Hebron as place of, also Zionism 144-45; of the Holocaust, 142; of National Naming Committee, 75–78, 206 Jewish history, 293n. 5 (chap. 8); in national religious camp: backlash against Gush Emunim, 269-70; Daum on Jewish ritual and everyday life, 40; month of, 54-55; politics of, and the problems facing, 270; as good neighbors, 281; isolation of, 276; and meaning of return, 176-78; rituals of, 191; sacred, in Gush Emunim Jerusalem Day, 56-57; researchers of, and Gush Emunim, 26-27; and rights ideology, 40-41, 194; settlements and dialectics of, 85-86; sites of, 9; of of Jewish people to the land, 93; youth Tarpat massacre, 158; of Yamit, 203. of, 33 See also collective forgetting; National Religious Party (NRP), 24 National Service, 94-95 collective memory; commemorations Merchav Am, 280-82 nativeness and authenticity, 40, 82, 117-Merkaz HaRav Yeshiva, 28, 39 21, 238, 241–42 metahistory, 43-45 Negev Bedouins, 281 Negev desert, 205-6, 279-80 metamemory, 43-45 methodology of study, 14-17 Nekuda (publication): account of violence Midreshet Ben-Gurion, 279, xii (map) between settlers and Palestinians, 124-26; coverage of terrorist victims Midreshet Hebron, 159 mincha, daily prayers of, 107-8 in, 140; editorial on Jewish vengeance, mitzvah, living in Israel as, 50 131; evacuation from Yamit in, 202; Mizrahi Jews, 149-50, 271 on eviction of Arabs from territories, 127; images of friendship between mobile homes, 1 modernity, and the settler movement, 6, settlers and Arabs in, 117; national 64-66 discourse in, 183-84; in Ofra, 182; monument settlements, 138. See also and political position of Israeli Right, 15; Yitzhak Rabin's assassination in, Rechalim 256, 258 "Morning After, The" (Benvenisti), 14 moshavim, 74 Neve Dekalim, 6, 203 Mount Ebal altar, 101-2 Neve Ovadiah, 171 Mount of Hebron, 110 Neve Tzuf, 78 Movement to Stop the Withdrawal from Newman, David, 8 Sinai, 196, 199-201 Next Year I Will Know More (El-Or), 217 museum commemorating Tarpat Nili, 76 massacre, 154-55 Nofim, 76 Muslim fundamentalists, 5 Nokdim, 77 normalcy, 189-95, 261-62. See also life, Nabulus, xii (map) everyday Nachshon, Abraham, 155-56 North African zaddikim (saints), cult of, Nahal outposts in the Sinai, 198 149 Nakbah, 251 National Association for the Protection of oak tree in Gush Etzion, 4, 173-75 Nature, 94 occupied territories: ambivalence of Israeli national emergency economic plan society toward future of, 41, 88, 247-(1985), 271 48: case for evacuation of, 35: debate national holidays, as temporal over, 21-23; eviction of Arabs from. embodiment of historical concepts, 127; Israel and, 12-13, 34; Israeli 54-58 presence in, 3-4, 36-38;

```
occupied territories (continued): Porat on
   withdrawal from, 48; sacred nature of,
   39-43; settlers' view of, 121-23;
   threats to Israeli control of, 59; wall
   around, 9, 252-53, 260-62. See also
   settlements
Ofra, 4, xii (map); anniversary celebration
   of founding, 189-93, 195; challenges,
   mundane, 293n. 5 (chap. 9); as first
   Gush Emunim settlement, 24, 182;
   between fundamentalism and
   normalcy, 193-95; between ideology
   and everyday life, 181-82; as
   movement leader and cultural
   alternative, 185; naming of, 76-77;
   population diversity in, 182-83; as
   prototypical settlement, 183-84; self-
   representation of, 190; use of humor
   in, 186-89
Ohana, David, 177-78
olive trees, 6, 81
Ophir, Adi, 6-7
oranges, the, 265
orange Star of David, 264-65
"Organization of the Sons of Gush Etzion,
   The," 172
"Organization of the Survivors of Gush
   Etzion, The," 172
orientalist conceptions of Arabs, 117-18,
   160-61
Ortner, Nathan, 89-90
Oslo Accords: and changes in status of
   settlements, 252-53; collapse of,
   296n. 2 (chap. 13); economic
   incentives of, 272; elements of, 249;
   and emergence of youth of the hills,
   245; and fifth period of Gush Emunim
   movement, 25: opposition to, 123,
   249-50; as political failure of Gush
   Emunim, 250; Yitzhak Rabin and,
   248-49; and relationship between
   Gush Emunim settlers and Israeli
   society, 268-69; requirements of,
   251; and sanctity of the state issue,
   30; and settlement projects, 248-54;
   and termination of violence, 132; and
   territorial settlers, 35
Oslo Intifada. See Second Intifada (El-
```

Aqsa Intifada) Other, the, 115–16, 127

```
outposts, 198, 234-37, 239
Paine, Robert, 105-6
Palestine, Jewish immigration to, 13
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),
Palestinian Arabs. See Palestinians
Palestinian archaeology, 111
Palestinian architecture, 162
Palestinian intifadas, 25, 64, 132, 179,
   212-13. See also Second Intifada (El-
   Aqsa Intifada)
Palestinians: as authentic primitives, 117-
   21, 161; and battle in Jenin, 292n. 6
   (chap. 5); claims on land by, 90-91,
   113; divine role of, 124, 128-29;
   expulsion of, by Jews, 13, 164; friction
   with settlers on educational hikes,
   108-9; in Hebron, 160; in humor of
   settlers, 188; Israeli War of
   Independence and, 23; Israel's
   compromise with, 116-17; as natives,
   112; in the occupied territories, 34-
   35; requirements of, in Oslo Accords,
   251; rights of, 115, 121, 126-27, 130;
   settlers' views on state for, 123; story
   of boy and young settler, 119; story of
   settler girls and old woman in Hebron,
   151; terrorism by (See terrorism);
   terrorism enacted against, by settlers,
   142-43; use of term by settlers, 122;
   view of settlers, 133-34; villages of,
   80-81: violence between settlers and,
   124-26; and youth of the hills, 241-
   43
Palestinization, 114, 118
Passover, 55
Patriarchs, 148, 177
peace, religious, 121
peace camp: and capitalist market, 275;
   commemoration of Rabin, 257-59;
   and ideological settlers, 5; and murder
   of Hatuel family, 3; and occupied
   territories, 88; Oslo Accords and, 296-
   97n. 2 (chap. 13)
Peace Now, 16, 277-78, 292n. 16
peace talks and agreements, 8, 24, 196-
   98, 208
Pe'erim, 3
```

People of the Book, 91-92

pilgrimages, 83-84, 172-73, 225 religious peace, 121 pilgrimage sites, 149-50 religious settlements. See ideological Pinhas-Cohen, Hava, 209 settlements place, construction of, in the postmodern religious Zionism, 92, 145-46 republication woman concept, 216 age, 5-8 place, fetishism of, 31 Revadim, 171 political marches, 83-84 revenge, by Jewish settlers, 128, 131-37, Porat, Hanan, 1; and Gush Emunim, 170; 168-69 on injury in Sinai battles, 60-61; and rituals, 40, 189, 191, 194, 224-26 memory of Yamit, 203; on return to roads, segregated, 8, 134-35, 252-53 Kfar Etzion, 173–74, 176; struggle to Rofeh, Yitzhak, 212-13 stop withdrawal from Sinai, 200; on Rosenfeld, David, 77 uniqueness of Jewish people, 43-44; Rosenthal, Robik, 60 use of image of Rachel, 223; on Rosh Tzurim, 174 withdrawal from territories, 48 post-Zionism, 13, 85 Sabastia, 1, 218-19 Presman, Eli, 77 Sabato, Haim, 60, 290n. 14 privatization of settlement projects, 234sabras, as generational group, 229-31 sacred fallen, the, 136-37 Promised Land, 29, 43. See also land of sacred texts, study of, by women, 216-18 Sadat, Anwar, 198 Protestant researchers, of 19th and early Sade, Liav, 205-6 20th centuries, 99 Sadot, 198 Purim, logic of, as holiday of Jewish Salmon, Yosef, 45 Saloma, Yehoshua, 132, 158-59 reversal, 169 Purim Demukaffin/Purim Dekrachin, dates Samaria, 10, 76, 212-14, 263-64. See of, 89-90, 92 also Judea and Samaria satirical writers, from Ofra, 187-89 schools, and gender separation, 184-85, Offir, Adi, 37 215-16 rabbinical halakhic system, 92 Schwartz, Dov, 116 Rabin, Yitzhak: assassination of, 25, 248, scriptural fundamentalism, 98-99 254-59, 297n. 6; commemoration of Sechem (Nablus), 107 as fragmented memory, 257-59; on second-generation settlers, 10; and Gush Etzion, 179; and Jewish Arabs, 108-9; challenges of, 85; and majority, 292n. 5 (chap. 5); and drama of national salvation, 27; drug Kadum compromise, 68; and the Oslo use and juvenile delinquency, 232; Accords, 248-49 educational hiking, 109; and future of Rachel, as mater dolorosa, 222-24 the settlement project, 229; in Gush Rachel the Matriarch, 222-24 Emunim movement, 26; home for, Ran, Avri, 236-37 231; and negation of the exile, 51; Ravitzky, Aviezer, 30-31, 43, 255 religious, compared to secular Israeli Raviv, Avishay, 255, 297n. 6 youth, 233; and revenge, 127-28; and Rechalim, 212-14, 222-25, 227, xii (map) service in the army, 34; yeshiva redemption, in traditional Judaism vs. students' encounter with Arab woman, 112-15. See also biblical sabras: Zionism, 46 regime stage, in Lustick's model of vouth of the hills territorial construction, 38 Second Intifada (El-Agsa Intifada): and religious discourse, scientific methods in, collapse of Oslo Accords, 249-50;

effects of, on settlers, 140;

90

Second Intifada (El-Agsa Intifada) settlements; ideological settlements; (continued): and Gush Emunim ethos, secular settlements; individual 260; Kedar on, 123; and last period of settlements Gush Emunim movement, 25-26; and settler movement: modernity and, 181, struggle to keep settlements, 296-97n. 2 (chap. 13); terrorism in, 133 settler movement, in postmodern age, 6 secular ritual, and Israeli civil religion, 189 settler-researchers, 89-90, 93, 95, 97, 100-101, 109-10 secular settlements, 140-42, 198, 253 settlers, 3; aim of, to be defined as secular settlers, 204-7 secular Zionism, 27, 51-52, 74, 88, 116natives, 112; attacks on, by Islamic 17, 139 extremists, 133; benefits of settling security settlements, 179 territories for, 12; context of, compared to early Zionists, 116; Segal, Haggai, 158, 187, 294n. 2 (chap. criticisms of, 113; and culture of Segal, Rafi, 79-81 commemoration, 226-28 (See also self-sacrifice, culture of the freier vs., 273 commemorations); encounters with seminaries (midrashot), 94 soldiers at, 267-68; as normal Sephardic community, and Avraham Avinu Israelis, 182; Palestinians' view of, Synagogue, 156 133–34; pilgrimages of, 84; response settlement efforts, 97-98 to the fence, 261-62; secular vs. settlement landscapes, 80 ideological, 135, 141; and Sharon's settlement projects: as attempt to disengagement plan, 265-66; reproduce sacred map of Judea and socializing mission of, toward Arabs, Samaria, 72-74; and colonialism, 112; 161; and traditional Zionist practices, focus of, 46; goals of, 65; Gush 13; trap of, 275-76; violence on hike Emunim's assumption about, 33-34; through Arab village, 124-26; on the Israeli opinion on, 247-48; in Judea West Bank, 13, 34; women, 212, 214and Samaria, 261; Oslo Accords and, 19. See also ideological settlers; 248-54; and potential for immoral second-generation settlers acts, 113; privatization of, 234-37; Settlers, The (Shafat), 62 role of women in, 216; and sense of settling in the hearts, failure of, 269-76 Shafat, Gershon, 62, 83 home, 86 settlements: attacks by Palestinians on, Shafir, Gershon, 36-37 132; the Bible in charters of, 48; Shafran, Dvir, 238 construction of, 69-70, 224-26; as Sharon, Ariel, 1-2, 64, 263, 276 countersocieties, 69; criticism of, Sharvit, Yosef, 91 following assassination of Rabin, 256; Sharvit, Yossi, 165 destruction of, in last period of Gush Shavit, Ya'akov, 99 Emunim movement, 26; Shechem (Nablus), 9, 107 environmental impact of, 82; Etzion Shechner, Ron, 110 Bloc, 171, 177; evacuation of, 6; as Sheleg, Bambi, 217 issue in peace between Israel and Sheleg, Yair, 233 Palestine, 8; layout of, compared to Shemer, Neomi, 198 Palestinian villages, 80; naming, 72-Shilat, Ya'akov, 217 Shilat, Yitzhak, 122 78; publications of, 15-16; quality-oflife, 34; for security, 179; security of, Shiloh, 75, 212-13, 277-78 shivah, for Erez Shmuel, 159 81: similarities of, to one another, 79-80; as symbol of Gush Emunim Shmuel, Erez, 159-60 ideology, 67-68; territorial hierarchy, Shohat, Ella, 13 74-75. See also Gush Emunim

Shvut Rachel (the Return of Rachel), May 2, 2004, 1–2; against 296n. 5 (chap. 11) Palestinians, 142-43; by Palestinians, Shvut Sinai (Return to Sinai), 202 127; paramedics treating victim of, 7; Siege in the Hills of Hebron (Knohl), 172 against settlers of Shiloh, 212; suicide Sinai: evacuation from, 201-4, 206-7; as bombings, 132-33, 259; victims of, failed memory project, 208-10; 134-38, 140-42, 146, 157 Movement to Stop the Withdrawal Teum Kavanot (Sabato), 60 from, 196, 199-201; Porat's injuries in time line, 283-85 battles of, 60-61; settlement of, 197-Tomb of Ben-Gurion, 279 201, 210-11. See also Yamit Tomb of Joseph, 110 Six-Day War (1967): arrival of Israeli Tomb of Rachel, 223 army in Hebron, 148; and Greater Torah scroll, processional presentation to Israel idea, 22-24; and Jerusalem synagogue, 138 Day, 56; and origins of Gush Emunim Trumpeldor, Yosef, 136, 138, 227 movement, 26; and orphans of Kfar truth claims, in religious writings, 89-90 Etzion, 173; and return of Jews to Turner, Victor, 84 Hebron, 145-46; significance of, 59-60; and transformation of Israeli ultra-Orthodox Jews (Haredim), 27, 34society, 271 35, 92 Smelser, Neil, 26-27 Urbach, Uri, 187 Smooha, Sami, 37 social and humanistic sciences, 10-12, value-crisis hypothesis, 26-27 96-97 vandalism, in Ofra, 185 social movements of new middle class, vengeance, Jewish settlers and, 128, 131-271-72 37, 168–69 social movement theories, 26-27 violence, 124-26, 154, 200. See also soldiers. See Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) terrorism Sorek, Yoav, 86 Spanier, Tamar, 186-87 Waldman, Eliezer, 50, 62, 158-59 Sprinzak, Ehud, 8, 27-28 walking tour in Hebron, 159 Starr Sered, Susan, 223 wall, around occupied territories, 9, 252study methodology, 14-17 53, 260-62 suicide bombings, 132-33, 259 War of Independence (1948), 13, 23, 136, Susia, 75 171, 179, 197 symbolic center, logic of, 148 wars: divine nature of, 62-63; of Israeli symbolic landscape, 136 Independence, 13, 23, 136, 171, 179, 197; metahistorical perspective on, Tarpat massacre (1929), 25, 144, 151-58-64; Yom Kippur, 24, 26, 58-64, 55, 158 198. See also Six-Day War (1967) Tehiya Party, 198 Weiss, Daniella, 45, 250 Tel Aviv, 72, 74, xii (map) Weiss, Hillel, 52 Temple periods, First and Second, 47 Weiss, Rachel, 213, 223 territories. See occupied territories Weizman, Eyal, 79-81 terrorism: commemoration of victims of, West Bank, 9, 13, 80, 214, 261, 270 77, 157-60; construction of West Bank Data Research Institute, 16 settlements in response to, 224-27; Western Wall, Jerusalem, 8 as defining Israeli experience, 259-60; Women in Black, 220 the fence and, 262-63; against Israel Women of Rechalim, 220-22, 225-26 and Israelis, 132; and Jewish women settlers, 212, 214-19 vengeance, 128, 131-37, 168-69; on

Yadin, Yigael, 96, 101-2, 291n. 12 Yakir, 76 Yamit, 4; commemorations of evacuation from, 201-7; establishment of settlement at, 198; as failed memory project, 207-10; Gush Emunim move to, 199; secular settlers of, 204-7; site of, returned to Egypt, 201; in weeks before evacuation, 196. See also Sinai Yamit Yeshiva, 6, 203 Yanon, 236 yerida (descent), 49 Yesha council, 24, 182, 239, 268-69 Yesha (salvation), 1-3 Yesha settlements, 231-32. See also settlements; individual settlement yeshiva students, 112-15, 146, 157-58, 199-201 Yeshivot Hesder, 33, 256 Yiftachel, Oren, 7 Yishai, Yael, 216 Yizkor (memorial) tent, 175 Yom Kippur War (1973), 24, 26, 58-64, youth of the hills: and authenticity, 238, 241–42; in Gush Emunim movement, 26, 235-36; home for, 243-45; in Judea and Samaria, 234-35, 237-38; mission of, 238; Avri Ran and, 236-37; relations with Palestinians, 241-43; self-definition by, 240; use of term, 237; Yesha council and, 239

Ze'evi, Rechavam, 280 Zelkin, Mordechai, 100, 291n. 11 Zertal, Adam, 101-2 Zimmerman, Moshe, 126 Zionism: the Bible in history of, 47-48; criticism against, 271; definitions of, 40, 90; essence of, in Hebron and Kiryat Arba, 144; and exile, 49-53; Gush Emunim and, 44-45; and historical memory, 45-46; Kook the Elder and, 29; narrative of, 9, 96, 196; Porat on, 44; post-, 85; practices of, and loss of nationalist significance, 87-88; religious, 45, 92, 145-46; revival movement, 29-30; secular, 27, 51-52, 74, 88, 116-17, 139; secular vs. religious, 45; settlers and traditional practices of, 13; traditional maternal values of, 223; traumas in narrative of, 196 Zionist immigrations (alivas), 229 Zionist left, and homeland/exile dichotomy, 51

Zionist settlements. See settlements