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the role of archaeology in Israel's pursuit for land
and identity

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To *Lehvi* and *Sorts*

"As the navel is set in the centre of the human body,
so is the land of Israel the navel of the world...
situated in the centre of the world,
and Jerusalem in the centre of the land of Israel,
and the sanctuary in the centre of Jerusalem,
and the holy place in the centre of the sanctuary,
and the ark in the centre of the holy place,
and the foundation stone before the holy place,
because from it the world was founded."

Midrash Tanchuma, *Qedoshim*

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Preface and Acknowledgements

Choosing a topic for my thesis was neither easy nor instant. I wanted to write about a subject that is very current, and would allow me to fully take advantage of my skill-sets as a student of anthropology. However, I have always been interested in archaeology and history; I have volunteered on various archaeological projects and took archaeology classes in the *Orientalistik* department at the University of Vienna. In the summer of 2009, on account of my long held interest in the history, archaeology and culture of the Middle East, I participated in two archaeological excavations (in Jerusalem and Golan Heights) in Israel. Afterwards it became evident that archaeology is what I am really drawn to - all I needed was, somehow, to incorporate the two together and write about archaeology from an anthropological perspective. I went through different stages of indecision and rather late in my final year of university came up with an idea that later evolved and manifested itself as my ideal thesis topic leading me back to Jerusalem. In 2009 I did not know that I will return to Israel to do further research but as I was drafting my research plan for this thesis my prior experience in Jerusalem provided me with relevant case studies for the topic and assisted me in my research.

I believe that under the current political situation and the scope of archaeological activity in Israel there is a great necessity to explore the relationship between Israeli politics and Israeli archaeology, and to open avenues for further, more specialized research. Initially, my aim was to work on two archaeological projects in Jerusalem – the City of David and the Temple Mount Sifting Project, but after a few weeks of fieldwork it was apparent that research on just archaeological projects is not enough. In Jerusalem, wherever I turned my head, I came into contact with archaeology and the historiographical narrative that is based on it. Therefore, I expanded my research and searched for dimensions where archaeological data/knowledge is being used in the creation and appropriation of landscapes and identities as

well as a constant source of sustenance for developing nationalist and religious ideologies. In Israel it is not very difficult as numerous projects; everything from construction to agriculture to tourism requires the presence of an archaeologist due to the high risk of accidental discoveries by stumbling on a valuable artefact. Keeping a keen eye on the archaeological heritage of the area and tireless research have shown to have both positive and negative consequences. It is beneficial for gaining knowledge and preserving one's heritage, but for people, whose lives have been affected and continue to be affected, archaeology has become a nuisance and they have lost both interest and tolerance towards archaeological excavations. This kind of dichotomy has become a serious problem in states like Israel. The most crucial question here is the one of territory, and in Israel, after textual sources, archaeological remains and sites are the most relevant means to justify territorial claims. In my research I attempt to always stay connected with archaeology, whilst approaching the subject from different angles and contexts, for example; archaeological sites, museums displaying archaeological artefacts and archaeological practice in general. Thus the central subject of this thesis is archaeology, but as will become clear in the following chapters, by writing about archaeology one will brush against many relevant concepts in the field of anthropology such as mythology, religion, ethnicity, identity, nationalism and ideology.

Writing this thesis was a challenging as well as a rewarding experience. It is my pleasure to thank the people and institutions who helped me in accomplishing this task. It is difficult to give full dues to all those who have been a part of this long process. First, my special thanks go to my supervisor Univ.-Prof Andre Gingrich, who accepted my research proposal and guided me throughout its realization. I want to thank my father for his endless support and encouragement and for believing that I will finish this work eventually, even at times when I refused to write a single word for weeks and the end was nowhere in sight. I am grateful to my family, friends and colleagues in both Estonia and Austria, especially MaijaLiuhto, who has borne with me through

many challenging times. This thesis would not have been possible without JabbarMadni, who accompanied me with his valuable advice and critique throughout this period, tolerated my frustration and motivated me to continue writing throughout the nice days of summer. I want to thank him for giving up so much of his time for the completion my work. To Professor Mohammed Shunnaq I owe thanks for his encouragement and advice in the initial stages of my research, his vast knowledge on the subject facilitated the work ahead of me. I want to thank Avner Goren and YonathanMizrachi for their guidance in Jerusalem and for putting up with the endless row of questions; for showing me amazing places and for letting me tag along on their assignments. Additionally, I am grateful to the staff of the Temple Mount Sifting Project for accepting me on their Project as a volunteer to carry out my fieldwork.

Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War, at the heart of every global conflict, lies the issue of national identity and cultural property. It has shaped and reshaped, defined and redefined, united, separated and merged nations, their borders, the peoples within, and the culture and the heritage they share. In this global overhaul which started in the 19th century the material and even the immaterial history and culture, which for centuries defined peoples and nations, was taken under a new ownership. Ancestral land, ancient artefacts and even historic monuments were claimed by the new Imperial masters and distributed all over Western Europe in the same way trophies or war booty is distributed among the conquering army.

The British Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris and the Pergamon Museum in Berlin all house substantial collections of archaeological material, mostly acquired during European colonial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was a race between different nations to collect more archaeological artefacts than others for the glory of the nation (Kohl 1998: 227). Even today the British Museum contains a substantial part of the Greek Parthenon, the Elgin Marbles, obtained in the beginning of the nineteenth century that are now in the middle of an international dispute. The issue revolves around the question whether or not they should be returned to the Acropolis complex in Athens as part of the Greek cultural heritage. Such issues have become a norm in the field of archaeology as even the smallest artefacts uncovered by archaeologists can become involved in debates of cultural ownership and national-cultural identity. This raises bigger questions: who *owns* a particular element of material culture? Who interprets the data, and for whom is it being interpreted?

First, I want to make clear that the aim of this thesis is not to argue whether such and such archaeological interpretation is correct or whether it is appropriate to use archaeological data as it is being used. It is my intention to

show how, why, and to what end certain interpretations are made and how archaeology has taken a prominent place in the cultural politics of Israel and Palestinian Territories - specifically in Jerusalem. I would also like to point out how archaeology has entered to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; and the sites, artefacts and knowledge is harnessed to construct/deconstruct collective and individual identities, legitimize territorial claims and to reinforce religious beliefs, thereby making certain political actions justified. This originally Western science has become a part of the day-to-day life of a large number people in both Israel and the Palestinian Territories.

During my fieldwork and research I came to realize that the issue with archaeological practice and artefacts is much more complicated than just the conflict between Israel and Palestinian Territories, although as mentioned before, it makes up a substantial part. A number of other religious and political actors enter the field with their own agenda and claims to certain artefacts, e.g. the Ultra-Orthodox Jews demanding control over artefacts they consider sacred and not archaeological (El-Haj 2002: 239). During the course of this text I will explore some key issues that are crucial in explaining the nature of the impact archaeology has in the creation of a nation and its identity.

The first chapter contains an overview of the research methods applied in gathering data, as well as the central literature and authors, whose works have influenced my thesis.

The second chapter, *A Tale of Two: Archaeology and Anthropology*, outlines the history of the two disciplines and attempts to show the close connection between the two. The third and fourth chapters give an overview of the history of Jerusalem from the first settlement to modern times and introduce the reader to archaeological practice in the city since the beginning of scientific exploration. There is also a short discussion on the excavation methods. The fifth chapter, *Archaeological Interpretation - Subjectivity and Biases*, is analyses on the basis of various examples the interpretation and possible utilization of archaeological knowledge. The chapter attempts to show the

interconnection of archaeological knowledge to ethnic, religious and or national identity. Chapters 6 – 9 concentrate on my personal fieldwork in Jerusalem. These chapters acquaint the reader to the two main localities of my fieldwork – The Temple Mount Sifting Project and the City of David Archaeological Park. It will be explained how and why these specific locations are important for understanding the role archaeology plays in creating a national identity in Israel. Chapter 10 continues on the subject by examining the extent to which archaeology contributes to appropriation and change of both historic and present landscapes in Jerusalem. On the example of the village Silwan I will demonstrate how a present landscape is remodelled into a historic. Finally it will discuss the contested debris from the Temple Mount Sifting Project. The final chapters 11 – 14 are allotted to four of my smaller fieldwork projects: national monuments, cemeteries, museums of archaeology and audio-visual representation of archaeological knowledge in Jerusalem.

PART I - THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

1. Methodology

This research has taken an interdisciplinary approach to a complex and intricate subject matter, primarily employing anthropological methods to assess the role of archaeology in Israel's territorial and national-cultural strife. Anthropological methods have been applied to examine archaeology and its practice in order to elaborate on an archaeological discourse in a specific cultural - political framework. My thesis can be roughly divided into two - the theoretical and empirical part. The theoretical part has been constructed using predominantly secondary research methods, while the empirical part is based on fieldwork and interviews conducted largely in Jerusalem during a period of two months.

1.1 Secondary research methods

1.1.1 Literature

Being that the title and contents of the dissertation are multidisciplinary but the work itself is intended for the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology of Vienna University (*Institut für Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie*) choosing the relevant academic literature was a challenge. Much of the theoretical part of my work will be based on the works by Nadia Abu El-Haj (1998; 2001) whose book "*Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*" (2001) serves as a very detailed and in-depth study of the topic. Her book covers the history of Israeli archaeology since the

creation of the state of Israel and provides a detailed analysis of its impact on the fragile Israeli-Palestinian relations as well as the development of a settler nationhood. On the basis of numerous archaeological reports and her own fieldwork she explains how archaeology can and does affect processes in the society. It provided me with an abundance of references and ideas in the initial stages of my research and throughout my research for data comparison.

The works of Randall H. McGuire (2008) and Lynn Meskell (1998) clarify archaeology's interrelation with politics and nationalism.

A very interesting and detailed overview of archaeology in Jerusalem was a book called *"The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel"* (2002) by Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman. Although its title may refer to an anti-biblical content, it gives a very unbiased and interesting overview of the history of Israel, based on both Biblical and archaeological data.

Despite the divide in Europe between anthropology and archaeology, I was able to narrow down a sound number of authors, such as Bruce Trigger, Christopher Godsen, Ian Hodder and others, with relevant contributions to both disciplines. Christopher Godsen's book *"Archaeology and Anthropology"* (1999) discusses thoroughly the relationship between the disciplines, their development and how they can be merged to create a more detailed and accurate knowledge. The work is divided into two parts: anthropology and archaeology in the historic framework and the contemporary scene. The latter concentrates on more recent developments, such as gender globalism and post-colonialism and how they have influenced the scientific practice among both archaeologists and anthropologists.

A perfect link between anthropology and archaeology has been *"The Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology"* (2002) which, in my opinion, bridges the gap between the two, reducing it to a mere institutional difference rather than a disciplinary one. It contains clear and detailed explanations to the most important anthropological, archaeological and linguistic termini.

In some chapters, using archaeological and historical texts has been inevitable, e.g. descriptions of archaeological sites, artefacts and historic accounts. Admitting that the Internet and online databases have been an important source of information, the majority of the research was done in the libraries. An extensive selection of books on the topic can be found in the anthropology library of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain.

1.1.2 Media

Written sources certainly make up the core of the information I used, but the nature of the topic gave me an opportunity to make use of a wide collection of audio-visual data. Archaeological documentaries, news reports and radio programmes have influenced my research both directly, in terms of citations and information, and indirectly, influencing my understanding and knowledge of the subject and helping me find different approaches. The intense political situation in the area results in an abundance of press articles on the subject from many parts of the world, which gave me an opportunity to read and observe how the issue is being dealt with on an international level.

1.2. Participant and Direct Observation

In the course of my fieldwork I made use of one of the principal research methods of cultural anthropology – observation, both participant and direct, depending on the location and the circumstances of the fieldwork. I conducted my fieldwork over the course of 10 weeks in two locations: The Temple Mount Sifting Project (TMSP) and the City of David Archaeological Park (CoD). During that time I worked as a volunteer, participated in the tours, and observed the people in the CoD's Visitor's Centre. Due to the vehement social and political situation in the country, the overall sensitive character of the topic and in order to avoid altering the 'field', I decided for covert participant observation. Despite the problems which covert participant observation entails,

such as, ethical questions and data validity, I believe that overt observation would have been impractical if not impossible.

1.2.1 Problems with Covert Participant Observation

Researchers in the social sciences often discuss the ethics of covert fieldwork and whether such 'spying' on groups or individuals under study is morally justified. Often choosing covert method is the only way to gain access to information, which normally would have been denied or forged, and the safety of the researcher exploited. Knowing the risks of doing research in a country like Israel or Palestinian Territories and how the topic relates to current religious-political disputes, I chose to stay undercover, at least in part. I never lied about my person or activities but I did not reveal the entire extent of my research, which, in retrospect, proved to be a wise decision. Another problem, when employing covert research methods, is the validity of the collected data, as the fact of data collection must remain hidden and possible audio-visual recording of individuals unseen. No audio-visual recording of any individual was made without their knowledge and no photographs or personal data revealed without their prior consent.

1.2.2 Interviews

The main idea of the qualitative interviews was to provide an in-depth look into the political implications of archaeology in Jerusalem and to find out what it's like to 'do archaeology' in Israel, especially by interviewing individuals who are in one way or another affected by politicized archaeology or drawn into it due to their profession as archaeologist. The interviews were conducted in the form of both narrative and episodic interviews (Flick, 1995; Lamnek, 2005); the guidelines for every interview were slightly different and depended on the interviewee. Everyone interviewed was aware that I was in the progress of writing my diploma thesis and of the possibility of it being published.

Two key informants for this thesis were archaeologists Avner Goren and Yonathan Mizrahi. Both men took me to interesting locations and showed me things I would not have seen otherwise. Avner Goren is the director of Abraham's Path, a tourist route which follows the footsteps of Abraham/Ibrahim through the Middle East. According to Goren, history and archaeology can be of use in educating people from different faiths and cultures to see how much they actually have in common. Yonathan Mizrahi is an archaeologist and a member of organization Emek Shaveh, and kindly agreed to answer my questions and show me archaeological sites and objects involved in the 'conflict for the past' (Ch. 6). Additional interviews were conducted all around Jerusalem ranging from short conversations of five minutes to long discussions over a cup of coffee.

Before getting deeper into my fieldwork and interviews I will use the next chapters to introduce the reader to a number of subjects which are important for easier understanding of the overall text. The following chapter will shortly explain the history and connection between the fields of archaeology and anthropology and takes a look at some crucial periods in the development of the two.

2. A Tale of Two: Archaeology and Anthropology

Archaeology and sociocultural anthropology, as well as physical anthropology and linguistics are all sub-disciplines of a larger discipline – anthropology. It is a field of study that covers all aspects of human life. Archaeology and anthropology have been closely connected since their establishment in the beginning of nineteenth century. As the need for areas of specialization grew, and research methods became more complex, the two disciplines distanced themselves from each other. Nevertheless, during this period, their paths have inevitably crossed on a regular basis, and both have complimented and added value to one another. Christopher Godsen describes archaeology and anthropology as “a double helix with their histories linked, but distinct” (Godsen 1999: 2).

Archaeology is the only means to study the history and development of humans before the invention of writing, largely by analysing the material remains such cultures left behind. Although archaeology is mostly concerned with the past, ranging from the recent history to the “[...] earliest evidence of prehistoric hominid cultural activity about 2.5 million years ago” (Dietler 2002: 45), but due to its sheer objectivity and inference based interpretations it is getting evermore involved in the sociopolitical affairs of the present. (Hodder& Shanks 1997: 1). Anthropology, on the other hand, is more concerned with the study of human life by researching people in the present in their natural environment, touching slightly on history to observe social and cultural change (Dietler 2002: 47).

In the post-modern era archaeology took a break from the formalist approach and followed the high road to more theoretical applications of the discipline. As a result, in the 1960s, a new direction emerged in the field of archaeology – processual archaeology, also called, the ‘New Archaeology’. In the wave of this ‘new’ direction archaeology was conceptualized as an anthropological science rather than historical. (Shanks &Hodder 1997:3)

During the 1960s and 1970s with the emergence of ethno-archaeology the gap between archaeology and anthropology grew smaller. Archaeologists began to concentrate on the material culture of the 'living peoples' in order to make sense of the past (Dietler, 2002; Godsen, 1999). For example the study by Lewis Binford on the Inuit hunter-gatherers (Binford, 1978) and their behaviour around the hearth, attempting to interpret Palaeolithic remains. In the United States, the disciplines are part of the same faculty along with linguistics and physical anthropology, but in Europe they are generally separated with archaeology more closely linked to history. It is possible to separate faculties and institutes but the two fields are intrinsically connected by being the two sciences that provide information about human life – past and present. Therefore it is not surprising that course books and encyclopaedias of archaeology contain definitions about anthropology and vice versa.

In Europe, the search for a connection and the attempt to associate oneself with ancient cultures, considered superior to one's own, started in Italy during the 14th century. The scholars of the time, in the newly formed city states, researched ancient Greek and Latin texts, attempting to create a glorious past and justification for innovation and expansion (Trigger, 1989). Alice Kehoe suggests that already back then [Renaissance], archaeology functioned as a tool for the mercantile capitalist expansion (Kehoe 2007) and has been an instrument in reinforcing the capitalist ideology since then. During the second half of the 15th century, an Italian scholar, Ciriaco de' Pizzacoli of Ancona, travelled through Italy, Greece and Asia Minor. On his travels he collected ancient inscriptions and sketched archaeological remains, and often, therefore, the invention of archaeology has been accredited to him (Silberman 1995: 254 in Kohl 1995). Europe's fascination with ancient Rome and Classical Greece has not decreased; they are still considered as the cradles of European culture and democracy. An excellent example of the importance of this idea today is the three-volume work *"Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization"* (1991) by Martin Bernal. He states, resting on linguistic and historical evidence, that the Ancient Greek civilization was not established by

Central-European settlers but instead, had African and Asian roots. Again, it is not my point to argue whether his claims are true or not, but to show the reaction it got from the academia. Soon after the publication scholars like Mary Lefkowitz vigorously protected the heritage we have called 'our own' since the 14th century. On the other hand, the book was well accepted in Afro-American circles throughout the United States. In the light of such cases, the point to be made is that the connection with the past has a profound and a deep-rooted impact of how people and nations view themselves. Any attempt to re-evaluate that connection can be very controversial.

Before archaeology became a systematic study of human history, antiquarianism was widespread throughout Europe and Scandinavia. Antiquarians collected prehistoric artefacts and curiosities, provided detailed descriptions of archaeological sites and eventually ascertained relative dates and classifications. During this phase extensive collections of artefacts were put together and catalogued. Although the work was not coherent to constitute a discipline of prehistory, it was extensive enough to form the ground for further developments (Trigger, 1989).

Archaeology, as an empirical science, was born in Denmark in the beginning of the 19th century. C.J Thomsen¹ discovered the reliability of the 'three-period-system'- the sequence of stone, bronze, and iron ages, and made the first steps toward early chronologies and an 'archaeological systematization' (Goodman Mandelbaum 1963: 261). At the end of the century cultural evolutionism was prevailing both among archaeologists and anthropologists, e.g. Morgan and Tylor, which eventually led to the identification of geographically defined archaeological 'cultures' (Dietler 2002:48).

During this cultural evolutionist period, German linguist and prehistorian, Gustaf Kossinna, developed the paradigm of '*settlement archaeology*' – using material culture to identify geographical regions with specific ethnic groups and "[...] trace the presence of historically known peoples back to their supposed

¹Danish archaeologist (1788 – 1865)

prehistoric origins” (Jones 1997: 2). This concept became influential in the European archaeology (Dietler 2002: 48) and also contributed to the co-option of archaeology in the political endeavours of the National Socialist regime. At the same time, the Vienna School of ethnology, developed the concept of *Kulturkreislehre*, which is constructed on the diffusionist notion of a ‘centre of origin(s)’, where cultural traits can be traced back to. After the Second World War such concepts were largely cast aside in both archaeology and anthropology and the next generation of scientists developed new approaches, bringing the two disciplines closer to each other once again.

In the later chapters I explore the rather racist use of archaeology in Germany during the NS-Regime and archaeology in the post-Soviet states as they are good and befitting examples for demonstrating how easily and to what end archaeological data can be used and manipulated to influence how people perceive the world, territory and others around them. Both archaeology and anthropology have evolved and have gone through periods of self-criticism and self-reflection. Every generation of scholars has come forward with new ideas and technologies which have reshaped the scientific fields. In current archaeology archaeologists pay more attention to the political implications of their research and have started to concentrate more on the lives of the past peoples as opposed to only their material remains and chronologies. Indigenous perspectives on archaeology are taken more seriously and notions like ‘gender’ and ‘body’ have entered the discourse.

In the following chapter I will move away from the history of archaeology to the history of Jerusalem to acquaint the reader with the complicated historiography of the city as well as some of the more important historic events.

3. Jerusalem. Its History and Importance

Much of what is happening in Jerusalem today is the result of 5000 years of tremulous history of the city. Historical, archaeological and anthropological knowledge is being used more here than anywhere else in the world for constructing and de-constructing ethnic identity and national myths of origin, legitimizing claims on territory and moulding people's systems of belief. Numerous ethnic and religious groups co-exist on a rather small territory, each claiming to have historic connections to the city or at least to a part of it. Therefore, I find it relevant to add a chapter which gives a short historical overview of the city in order to show the constantly increasing importance of Jerusalem to the culture, religion, politics and economy of both Palestinian Territories and Israel alike.

It is relatively tricky to give an historical account of Jerusalem. First of all, much of the historical narrative is influenced by ideological predispositions - in the words of Avner Goren: "narrative is stronger than archaeology". Much of the ancient history of Jerusalem is told in accordance with the Bible and based on the writings of Titus Flavius Josephus - a Roman-Jewish historian of the first century CE – and thence one-sided. Secondly, recent publications about the history of Israel and Jerusalem have been written with Israel as the focus of attention not Palestine, as Israel has the means to provide for large-scale financial and scholarly resources for the search of its past (Whitelam 1996: 3). The beginning of Jerusalem's history starts outside the City Walls on a mound which is now called the City of David (Ch.8). From there the city started growing, soon covering the hills around it. I do not intend to go over the entire 5000 years of history but, instead, add a general time-line with important dates and events in order to facilitate the orientation in historical periods (Table. 1).

Jerusalem, for secular people, is just a city in the middle of a conflict, until their first visit. Thereafter the visit becomes an experience that people will keep with

themselves forever. This bold statement comes from seeing and interacting with people visiting Jerusalem during a period of almost two months. During my fieldwork I did not encounter a person who had been left unmoved. The long history is evident in every corner of the Old City and its vicinage; remainders of the people of the past accompany the life and activities of the current inhabitants.

In the next chapter on the history of archaeological work in Jerusalem I will look more closely into the ever growing curiosity of archaeologists to uncover the historic account of this small ancient settlement that evolved into one of the most important cities in the world.

Historic Timeline of Jerusalem

Date	Timeline	Religious events
4500 – 3500 BCE	First settlement near the Gihon Spring	Time of the Patriarchs
3500 – 2800 BCE	Early Bronze Age. Canaanite Culture – small village	
1700 BCE	Canaanite city. First wall and water system built.	1850 BCE The Binding of Isaac
1300 - 1000 BCE	Canaanite city. Fortifications to the acropolis.	Israelites settle in the Land of Israel.
1000 – 800 BCE	Small Israelite and Judean settlement. Royal Quarter E built.	1000 BCE King David conquers Jerusalem and makes it his capital
		962 BCE King Solomon builds 1 st Temple
701 BCE	Siloam tunnel built. Sennacherib's Siege on Jerusalem.	King Hezekiah builds a tunnel from the Gihon spring.

586 BCE	Nebuchadnezzar II siege on Jerusalem. Jerusalem is destroyed.	Babylonian Exile. Destruction of the Second Temple.
539 – 322 BCE	Persian Period	Return to Zion. The Temple is rebuilt.
332 – 141 BCE	Hellenistic Period. Alexander the Great. Expansion of the city.	
141 – 63 BCE	Hashmonean Period	
63 BCE	Early Roman Period. Pompey the Great conquers Jerusalem.	
38 – 37 BCE	Herod the Great is named 'King of Jews'	
19 BCE	Herod rebuilds the Temple	
		Birth of Jesus. Healing the blind man. Cleansing of the Temple
30 CE		Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension of Jesus
70 CE	Roman siege of Jerusalem by emperor Vespasian. Destruction of Herod's Temple.	
70 – 324 CE	Late Roman Period. Jerusalem reconstructed under Hadrian and renamed <i>AeliaCapitolina</i>	
324 – 638 CE	Byzantine Period. Jerusalem becomes an important Christian centre. Empress	570 CE Birth of Mohammed 620 CE Mohammad's

	Helena visits Israel.	Night Journey
637 – 1099 CE	Muslim Period	
1250 – 1516 CE	Mamluk Period	
1516 – 19	Ottoman Period	
1917 -	Modern Period, British Mandate.	
1948	Establishment of the State of Israel	

Table 1.

4. Archaeology in Jerusalem

In glancing at the map of Jerusalem, and observing how strongly marked is its site by the hand of nature, and how limited, from the character of the ground, must have been its dimensions; one might suppose that there is no city of the ancient world, respecting the topography of which there was room for so little question: yet, strange to say, although this general correspondence of situation between the ancient city and the modern is evident, and admitted by everybody, there is perhaps no similar instance in which so many conflicting notions have been put forth, respecting the course of the three walls, and the position of the prominent buildings. It would seem as if this limited space were destined to be an arena for the eternal display of antiquarian ingenuity and learning, - the battle ground of views diametrically opposed to each other; and so inexhaustible appears to be the fascination of the subject, that fresh theories continue to be poured forth, each of them more absurd – or, to speak more

respectfully of the learned disputants – at least startling than that which preceded it.

W.H. Bartlett in 1855

Jerusalem and the area today known as Israel and Palestinian Territories has continuously been a matter of dispute between the three major monotheistic religions of the world: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Throughout the history one or the other group has been excluded from visiting their holy sites or even entering the city, depending on who is holding it at a given time. Next to religious, territorial and ethnic contention, a new dispute has risen during the past century – a dispute for historic past. Archaeology has undeniably become an important factor in this fight for heritage.

Archaeological interest in the area awoke in the 4th century CE, when Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, ventured through the land considered as the birthplace of Jesus, in search for Biblical sites and relics (Silberman, 1983) to propagate and reinforce the Christianization of the Roman Empire. According to the historical account, Empress Helena was able to find and retrieve the True Cross and the nails which attached the body of Christ to the Cross (Drijvers 1992: 111). The pieces of the True Cross, among other items related to Jesus Christ, fast became important relics throughout Europe and Asia Minor. Since the early Middle Ages pilgrims have embarked on journeys through the Holy Land, in search for objects that could be kept as relics. The expulsion of the Christian Crusaders from the Holy Land at the close of the 13th century did not stop the European influx of pilgrims and travellers, which continued throughout the Middle Ages (Silberman 1991: 77).

Since the Middle Ages, Jerusalem in general and certain locations in particular, have become matters of cultural and religious conflict between the adherents of the three religions and their subdivisions. It was not until the nineteenth century, when the wave of western travel and scientific exploration pulled Jerusalem once again to the centre of western European interest (Silberman 1982: 4). Scholarly curiosity first started with biblical geography and

cartography - the search for biblical locales and mapping of the ancient landscape. Early 1850s marked the beginning of archaeological activity in the modern sense of the word, systematically uncovering biblical monuments and relics (Silberman 1991: 76). "Ancient Palestine, much like the concept of Hellas for nineteenth-century Europeans, was to be recuperated, as it was understood to be the foundation of (or in the case of Hellas, to be the example of) modern European (Christian) civilization" (El-Haj 2001: 25)

The research and surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund (est. 1865) and the early archaeologists, had an effect on the politics and largely defined the borders and shape of the Mandatory Palestine after World War II (Silberman 1991:79). With the emergence of biblical archaeology in Europe, finding the Temple of Solomon became one of its first quests (Finkelstein & Silberman 2002: 132), which was followed by the search for King David's Palace and other biblical monuments. Later, national Israeli archaeology was built on the Fund's nineteenth century surveys and explorations (El-Haj 2001: 22).

The lure of the Holy Land and biblical sites invited a multitude of pilgrims, travellers and archaeologists to Palestine, bringing about the largest western invasion since the Crusades (Silberman 1982: 4). The later Jewish immigration to the area resulted in the emergence of a new interest group for antiquities and archaeological sites, which led to the rise to Israeli archaeology as a distinct form of archaeology. It developed hand-in-hand with Jewish nationalism and, according to Silberman (1995), by the 1960s, "participation in excavations had come to be a ritual for Israeli schoolchildren, soldiers and foreign visitors" (Silberman cited in El-Haj 2001:55), and had become a secular pillar of Jewish identity (Hallote&Joffe, 2002).

Archaeology in Israel has been often described as being a "national hobby" (El-Haj 2002: 1) for the Israelis - and correctly so. Apart from the abundance of archaeological projects running all across the country, a great number of Israelis are urged to participate in the projects as volunteers and helpers. Some archaeological sites, in and around Jerusalem, offer individuals and families a chance to participate in an archaeological dig for a few hours or a

day, sometimes for a small fee. I participated in two projects that offered this opportunity: Ramat Rachel (2009) and Temple Mount Salvage Operation (2011) both located in Jerusalem.

The abundance of archaeological material contributes to its use for ideological purposes, as more material means a more abundant history and a deeper, more established connection to the 'thriving' civilization² of the past. It is not only the Israelis, who are trying to establish a deeper connection to the land. While in Jerusalem, I heard from a number of people that a number of Palestinian academics are also seeking to establish and prove their historical connection with the Canaanites, thereby preceding the Jewish connection to the land by two thousand years. Due to the absence of financial and political means, this theory is poorly researched and lacking evidence.

Apart from prehistory, it seems to me, that archaeology in Israel and Palestine splits into two paths: 1) archaeology that is being used to prove the Bible, 2) archaeology that is being used to disprove the Bible. According to Yonathan Mizrahi, there is also a small group of archaeologists interested in the civilizations and cultures of the people of the past but they are a minority. Hence, the majority of the archaeological projects in Jerusalem are done in the biblical context and, in essence, verify the connection between the land, the Book and the Jewish people.

4.1 Excavations Everywhere

Throughout the history of archaeological excavations in Jerusalem there has never been a lack of sites to excavate and study. Despite the intense and continuous archaeological work, it seems, more questions have risen from the vast amount of knowledge accumulated in the last 150 years than has been possible to answer. Hence, it is easy to find an archaeological project to participate in. My participation in three different archaeological projects

²The braces are used due the on-going debate between archaeologists, whether Davidic Jerusalem was in fact a great city and part of a powerful empire (Finkelstein & Silberman, 2001)

in Jerusalem and Golan Heights has given me an idea of how much excavations vary in their setup and character across the country. First and foremost, it is the people: the archaeologists, students and volunteers, who define the dynamics and set the tone of the project. They are largely dependent on the nature and context of the site and its period, whether it is a pre-historic, Biblical, Muslim etc. site. The site director's opinions and personal agenda will eventually have an effect on the volunteers and others working on the site. The archaeologist is responsible for interpreting the finds extracted from the site and in the case of Israel, it is important to know whether the archaeologist has a biblical or in some cases anti-biblical agenda, which frames the context of his/her interpretations.

Even though archaeology is a popular field of study among Israeli students and a beloved pastime among the locals, the amount of work to be done is substantial. Volunteering at an archaeological site is very common among tourists, who want to see the country and learn about its famous past. The Projects usually vary in the time period and location but additionally they are divided after levels of comfort, depending on how much the participants are willing to pay. It is entirely possible for volunteers to stay in a 5*star hotel and have meals served on the site, including staff wearing white gloves and tables covered with white tablecloths.

4.2 Destruction that Follows

The methods of excavation have evolved greatly during the past hundred fifty years. If a century ago 'digging' was the only method, next to scriptural data, for obtaining information from the ground underneath, then today it is considered as the last option, as it causes irreparable damage to archaeological layers as well as the present landscape. Due to the application of new technologies, like geophysical analysis, radar mapping, aerial photography and echo sounding, to name a few, the need to excavate has diminished.

Archaeology has been drawn into the conflict between Israel and Palestinian Territories and both sides criticize each other's work and practice. Archaeology in Israel or Israeli Archaeology, as El-Haj calls it, has been criticized on many grounds. Apart from being accused for its nationalistic character and following a certain ideology, even the practice of archaeology and its methods are under close scrutiny. Israeli archaeology has been accused by the Palestinian *Waqf* and the international archaeological community to use bulldozers and bigger buckets, shovels and pickaxes on archaeological sites to reach the earlier layers (Iron Age) faster (El-Haj 1998; 2001).

During my fieldwork I did not come across different sizes of buckets or tools. The buckets used on the sites were the standard 10L containers I saw on every site I worked at or walked by from. I also cannot imagine doing the 'bucket-chain' that is so common on archaeological projects, with larger buckets. The Iron Age stratum contains material objects of nationalist importance. Excavation is eventually destroying the landscape of the present as well as past, because every layer must be removed in order to get to the next. If the destroyed layers are not carefully recorded and finds preserved, some periods in history might be lost. I inquired about this from two archaeologists during interviews and they disagreed that bulldozers are used inappropriately and that some layers are being discarded and treated differently. Still, they acknowledged the fact that certain strata are more relevant and interesting for the archaeologists. Excavations that I participated in (2009) had bulldozers working on them regardless of the history of the site. One of the sites, Ramat Rachel, was biblical, the other, in the Golan Heights was a Classical site. The bulldozers were working under the supervision of the archaeologist, who stopped the machine as soon as he noticed something in the debris. It can be that bulldozers are used by some archaeologists to cut through irrelevant strata quicker but I do not believe it is a general practice. Therefore, I would not equalize using bulldozers on excavations with nationalist pursuits or 'bad practice'.

Bulldozers play a significant role in the establishment and work of the Temple Mount Sifting Project, one of the main points of interest in this thesis. Here the direction of critique has turned towards the *Waqf*, as they are accused of using bulldozers and conducting illegal constructions on the Temple Mount and destroying valuable archaeological strata. According to Yusuf Natsheh³, Waqf archaeologists were present when the construction works were carried out. This makes it seem that using heavy machinery is fine as long as Israelis are behind the wheel but not anyone else. I think, after writing this chapter that the struggle for cultural heritage and the political nature of archaeology in Israel has reached a point where accusations of all kinds, for example the size of the tools, are used to draw negative light on the other party, thereby diminishing their credibility. It shows the enormous significance of archaeological knowledge and the influence this knowledge has on Israeli politics and culture.

5. Archaeological Interpretation, Subjectivity and Biases

“Whenever the archaeological data of material culture are presented in museums, on sites, in literature, in schools, in textbooks, as the evidence for the activities of 'races', 'peoples', 'tribes', 'linguistic groups', or other socially derived ethnic amalgamations, there should be at least scepticism if not downright suspicion” (Ucko 1989: xi).

In the previous chapters I have attempted to give an overview of archaeology, its developments in the world in general and in Jerusalem in particular. This chapter will introduce the main emphasis of my thesis: how archaeology is and has been used for modifying and propagating a certain ideology and the role it plays in how people see and experience the world - and sometimes, are *made* to see the world. Archaeology has been a beneficial instrument for imperialist, colonialist, nationalist, capitalist and Zionist ideologies for a long period of time.

³ Director of the Department of Archaeology at the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem.

Only recently have archaeologists begun to view their work with critique and re-evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the discipline and its methods. In September 1986 the issues of 'Archaeological Objectivity' and 'Interpretation' were discussed on a global scale the main themes of the World Archaeological Congress, which brought together archaeologists and anthropologists as well as non-academics from all over the world (Ucko in Shennan 1989: x).

Today there is an abundance of works, written by archaeologists themselves, on topics that relate archaeology with nationalism, politics (McGuire, 2010), and capitalism (Hamiliaks& Duke, 2007).

Defining the term ideology for this thesis is pivotal but also complicated. The scope of my thesis does not allow for an in depth analysis of the term, as the explanation of such a wide subject would require a research thesis in its own right. However, different social sciences have come up with their own definitions of the term depending on the usage and context. According to the *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ideology, out of a variety of meanings, has two definitions which are relevant to anthropology. Firstly, it is defined as a “system of social and moral ideas of a group of people” (Barnard & Spencer 2002: 293). Clifford Geertz summarizes ideologies “whatever else ideologies may be – projections of unacknowledged fears, disguised for ulterior motives, phatic expressions of group solidarity – they are, most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience” (Geertz, 1973). Here the term ‘ideology’ is interchangeably used with ‘system of beliefs and ideas’ mostly referring to religious, national and political ideology.

Archaeology is not an exact science and almost every artefact, stone, wall or structure can have and most probably has multiple interpretations as long as there is no written documents stating “This is my harp - signed, King David” and even then the question of authenticity remains. Therefore it is not very difficult to incorporate various archaeological finds into theories that would serve an ideological, national or a racist cause. Artefacts, recovered from the

earth are nothing but material objects and become scientific data only after being put into a context of specific theories and narratives (Shennan 1989: 2) by archaeologists. Regrettably “[t]he history of archaeology is littered with examples of the suppression of disciplinary dissent, the manipulation of argument and principle and, most important, the culturally-sanctioned production of archaeological knowledge which violates the methodological principles of its producers” (Murray 2007: 114).

5.1 Archaeological Sites as Matters of Dispute and Controversy

In many parts of the world archaeological sites are involved in conflicts or are the triggers for conflicts, mainly for identity or religious reasons. Examples include the relatively violent dispute between Muslims and Hindus over the Ramajanamabhumī-BabriMasjid in the city of Ayodhya, India. Certain Hindu groups assert, based on historical evidence, “that this was the site of a temple built to commemorate the birthplace of Lord Rama, a much revered kingly deity [...]” (Das 1993: 138). Muslim organizations, on the other hand, disagree that there is firm archaeological or historical proof to say that the mosque was built on top of a destroyed temple (*Ibid*). The culmination of the dispute was the destruction of the Masjid in 1992. Saddam Hussein attempted to rebuild ancient Babylon and the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II using the latter as a symbol for his power, identifying himself as somewhat of a reincarnation of the historic ruler. After the invasion in 2003 the site became a base for the U.S Marines. In Zimbabwe, the ancient ruined city of Great Zimbabwe has been appropriated as a national monument by the current government, giving the name to the modern state of Zimbabwe. The most relevant example for this thesis is the City of David in Jerusalem, which will be described thoroughly in the following chapters. Archaeology and its practice are therefore imbued with politics (Kohl, 1998; McGuire, 2008) despite being sometimes hidden behind the “facade of empirical objectivity” (Kohl 1998: 224).

In today's world of scientific progress, scientists from all fields come up with theories about how we and the world around us function, develop new technologies etc.. In a way, science develops and steers the ideas and makes people question and re-think their cosmology. As shown in the examples above, archaeology, as a well-established and prominent scientific field of study, does contribute to individuals' and groups' way of understanding the world around them, their past and their identity. It has helped the Western World to answer the question of the origin and evolution of human species, after Creationism became under speculation; it has contributed to the discourse about the authenticity of the three Abrahamic religions, moulding peoples beliefs and creating new ideas; it has helped to unearth a number of ancient civilizations in different geographic locations, providing modern nations with a national past. Although the questions archaeology seeks to answer seem to be universal to all mankind, the practice of archaeology – excavating and uncovering remains from the past, “[...] has become structurally necessary only in certain types of society, such as our own” (Tilley 1990: 128).

Archaeological interpretations may or may not be used to influence certain ideologies but one must be aware, that contemporary social, political and cultural aspects of a place fashion the course of archaeological research (EmekShaveh, 2011). Interpretation of the past is a contemporary act (Tilley, 1990) and the past is created in accordance with meanings understandable today. In Israel and elsewhere, the knowledge produced by archaeologists escapes the boundaries of science as it enters the field of politics, religion etc.. Although most archaeologists in Israel do not admit to having any political agenda and are only searching for truth and explanations, the archaeological data they produce is often, with the knowledge of the archaeologists, used for other purposes whether religious, economic or political.

“This ideology of science, which tries to conceal its interests and wants its own beliefs to be accepted as truth by those who recognize its power and dominance, is thus hardly different from other ideologies that are developed to achieve hegemony, to legitimate power or to conceal inequality – if only in the domain of knowledge”(Dijk 1998:3).

In Israel and Jerusalem the archaeological knowledge is contested, as there are at least two groups creating their own distinct history and identity on the same historical terrain. Practitioners from both sides blame each other for forging the facts and false interpretations, but at the moment the Israelis have the upper hand as they control the territory, funds and institutions responsible for conducting research in the Land of Israel. This fact puts Israel in charge of historical knowledge and its distribution. Today the general public, not well informed of the scientific dialogues between different schools of scholars, generally trust the theories which get a wider coverage by the media, and see no reason to question the personal motives of the stake holders.

5.2 Archaeological Interpretation

In the previous chapter I have given short examples on how archaeology can be and is used for political ends. The aim of this chapter is to point out, that taking advantage of archaeological knowledge for nationalist pursuits is not only taking place in Israel. Due to the disposition of archaeology as a science, it has become an important factor in territorial disputes as well as ethnic and religious self-determination, especially with the spread of globalization and the fall of Western colonialism, in many parts of the World. I do not intend to leave the impression, that using nationalist archaeology is always controversial and questionable. On my opinion, it is only the case in certain socio-political environments, where there is urgency for territorial or ethnic legitimacy, for example after a war or other political instability.

A widely criticised example is the use of archaeology during the National Socialist period in Germany. Nations try to create a link with a legendary

civilization of the past, especially to one that contributed greatly to the development and advancement of the human race. It is also politically and strategically advantageous to have a connection with a civilization of the past which has a universal appeal. For a nation to have a strong legacy and a glorious past elevates its importance in the present and establishes its historical precedence giving it a place in history. It is suggested that National-socialist Germany's obsession with genealogy and prehistory was a result of the inferiority complex that developed after the demoralizing and humiliating defeat in 1918. The German self-respect was in desperate need of repair and instilling national pride into the hearts of the German people was imperative.

What began as a rehabilitation of national pride turned into an expansionist agenda geared towards declaring the German supremacy over other races and reclaiming the ancient 'Germanic' land. In retrospect it has been observed that the inferiority complex was more perceived than real, nevertheless it must be pointed-out how nationalism can be deeply infused with archaeology. Archaeology played an important role forging and defining the NS ideology and on many occasions archaeological data was either forged or misinterpreted (Jones, 1997; Arnold, 2006) to create and maintain the national myth and heritage they had created. Archaeology in Israel, on my opinion, has come alarmingly close to a similar 'bad practice' in archaeology.

Analogous circumstances prevailed in the archaeology of the Soviet Union. The aim of Soviet archaeology was to counter the claims of prehistoric superiority for one, and to create a Russian-centred, rather than a multi-ethnic federation (Chernykh, 1995).

From 1919 onwards, after the establishment of the Russian Academy of Material Culture, the Soviet Union controlled the world's most widespread network of archaeological research (Trigger, 1989). During the period of Russification, archaeologists concentrated on Slavic material culture and often disregarded and even destroyed other material. My grandmother told me stories how in *Izborsk*, Estonia, a Russian archaeologist, Professor Rõbakov, eliminated Viking remains, in order to propagate an exclusive Russian account

of history. Such acts had a lasting effect on the archaeology in the former Soviet republics, in form of an information gap as well as lost data.

The fall of the Soviet Union and the emergence of a number of new states in Eastern Europe and Central Asia created an urgent need for a national past of their own, one distinct from Soviet heritage. The nationalist movements in archaeology and elsewhere began long before the crucial *perestroika* period (Chernykh, 1995) and did not surface right after the fall of the Union, instead a period of transition followed. The main reason was lack of funds, as the institutions of the Soviet Union financed the majority, if not all archaeological excavations (*Ibid*). Despite the difficult political and financial situation people needed and wanted proof of their distinct heritage and culture. In 1976, the late Estonian President Lennart Meri, wrote a book, *Hõbevalge* (1976), about the past of the Estonian people, reviving a forgotten mythological past infiltrated with, sometimes questionable, archaeological, ethnographic and historic data. After regaining control of the territory in August 1991, it was necessary to create a separate ethnic and linguistic identity of Estonian people. Regrettably, archaeologists in young states like Estonia, tend to give more attention to finds that are considered 'our own', thereby following the 'bad practice' from the Soviet Union. Even the Museum of History in Tallinn concentrates mostly on the more 'glorious' historic periods, and keeping the others silent.

Very much like Israel, Estonia has propagated its very individual national and ethnic identity by marketing specific 'Estonian' products, which are created based on ethno-archaeological data. This has greatly enhanced people's understanding and interpretation of Estonian culture and past. Throughout the history people have lived a simple life on the territory where the state of Estonia is now located. Due to centuries of slavery, both Estonian culture and religious beliefs were suppressed. Nevertheless, through archaeology, folklore and heritage marketing in the past twenty years people have come to appreciate this mixture of Slavic, German and Scandinavian culture as their own. I have seen the change in my family household: After the fall of the Iron Curtain new products covered the shop shelves and people, including my family, wanted to have all the things possible. As time passed by, people

began to distance themselves from the new and dug deeper and deeper into grandmothers' attics, packed with family heirlooms, which are proudly shown to visitors from abroad. I believe archaeologists, folklorists and historians brought this change about by researching and investigating a very long span of time in a short period of time. There are always a number of possible interpretations of archaeological finds but during the Independence period there has rarely been a conflict of opinions among the Estonian academia. Regrettably, as I mentioned before Estonians concentrate more on the research of their individual origins, and very much like archaeologists in Israel, do not pay much attention to several Russian periods. Schools in Estonia dedicate years to teach Estonian history to children with Russian background thereby cultivating an Estonian identity and assimilating them to this 'newfound' Estonian national identity and culture. Although the histories of Israel and Estonia are different, both use archaeology in creating and reinforcing their national and ethnic identity. At the same time they are neglecting the identity and heritage of others, whose lives are attached to the same landscape. I do not believe it is always intentional but in the words of Samuel Butler: "Self-preservation is the first law of nature".

PART II - FIELDWORK

The information in the empirical part is for the most part based on my fieldwork in Jerusalem during eight weeks (Feb' 11 – April '11). I divided my time between the Temple Mount Sifting Project, working as a volunteer, and the City of David Archaeological Park, which I visited a number of times, both alone and as a part of a tour group. I attended the official City of David tours as well as an alternative tour run by EmekShaveh (see Chapter 7). In addition, I visited diverse archaeological sites and museums to see and compare the representation of archaeological artefacts all over Jerusalem. The following examples are intended as first-hand accounts on archaeology's current position and importance in revealing the historical *truth(s)* and the implications it entails. Additionally, I have added a chapter on the role of cemeteries and tombs in the continuously contested historic landscape. In the last chapters I will shortly stop on a number of museums exhibiting archaeological material, as well as historic audio-visual representations involving archaeological artefacts.

6. The Ir David⁴ Foundation

According to the web page⁵, the Ir David Foundation (*Amutat EL-AD*⁶) is a non-profit organization in charge of preservation and development of the City of David, familiar from the Bible. Others have added characteristics like right-wing (El-Haj 2001; Mizrahi 2011) and having an expansionist-settlement agenda (El-Haj 2001: 231). The Foundation itself sets its goal as follows: “[t]he Ir David Foundation is committed to continuing King David's legacy as well as revealing and connecting people to Ancient Jerusalem's glorious past through

⁴City of David

⁵ www.cityofdavid.org.il

⁶ Elad – Hebrew acronym for 'To the City of David'

four key initiatives: archaeological excavation, tourism development, educational programming and residential revitalization” (City of David 2011). I had the opportunity to take part in the first three activities and observe first-hand the residential revitalization, which meant moving Jewish settler families in the area, sometimes to the (former) homes of evicted Palestinian families.

The organization was established in 1986 by David Be'eri and has been settling Jewish families in the village since October 1991. Since then over 400 Jewish residents have been settled there (EmekShaveh 2011) and the number is annually increasing. The issue has caused a conflict between archaeologists and national-religious Jews, who want to re-establish a modern Jewish settlement on this ancient site. Today, the Elad Foundation continues the annexation of properties in WadiHilwehneighbourhood, either by buying them from local residents or finding a reason to evict them if they refuse to sell. Since many of the houses have been built or expanded without a permit⁷, it increases the number of buildings that are being subjected to demolition under the auspices of the Israeli law.

The foundation also funds several archaeological projects in East Jerusalem, including the Temple Mount Sifting Project. Such excavations are often directed by archaeologists like EilatMazar and Gabriel Barkay, both known for their right-wing political views and the predicated Biblical framework of their work. Additionally, it provides tours in different parts of Jerusalem relevant for the Jewish connection toJerusalem. The organization has control over the content of the tours and materials provided at the site. The materials include a detailed map of the City of David, the 3D movie, numerous books at the City of David souvenir store and the information panels near the exhibition areas. Every information panel, with very few exceptions, starts with a verse or a phrase from the Bible. The verses were carefully chosen to match the

⁷Since 1967 when East Jerusalem was annexed to Israel, not a single building permit was given in WadiHilweh.

information, in my opinion, just to connect the place with the Holy Scriptures of Jews and Christians.

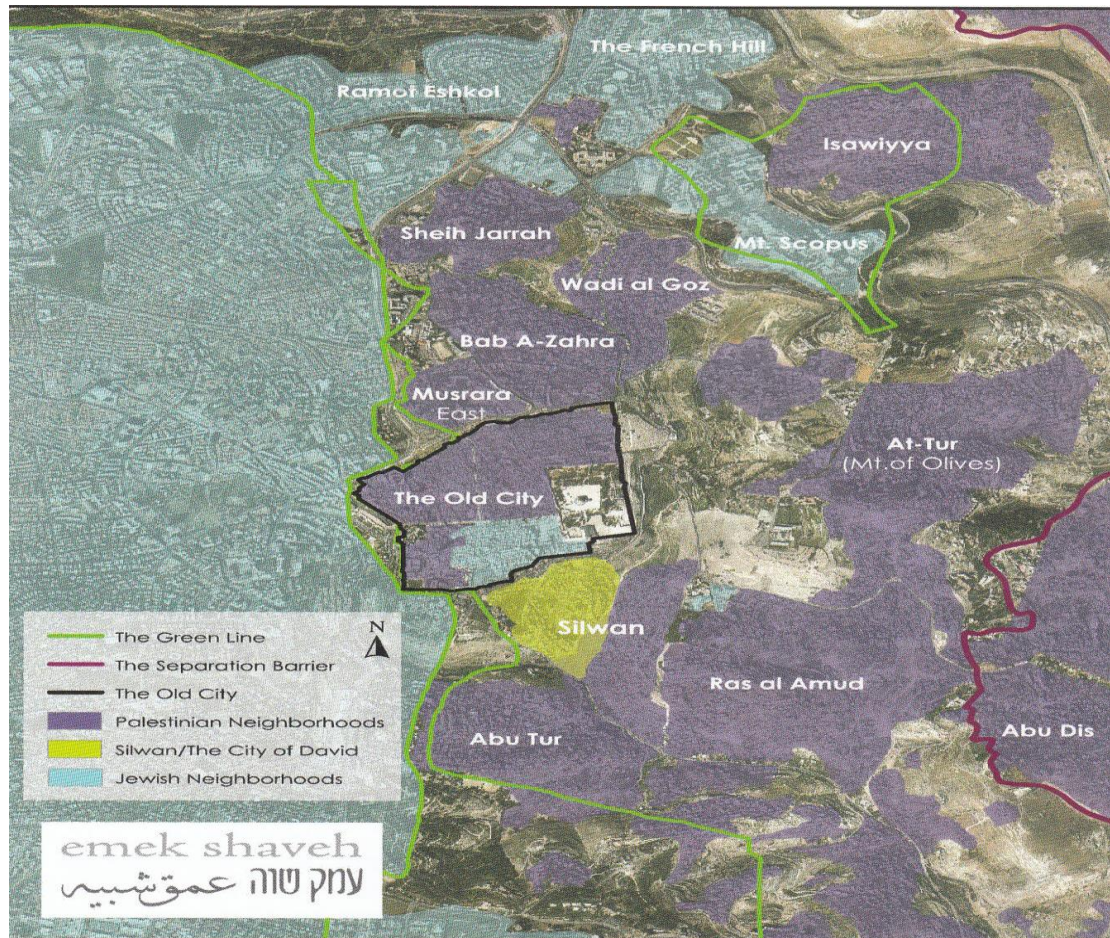
7. EmekShaveh – Alternative Archaeology

There are a small number of archaeologists, who have noticed the misuse of archaeology in Jerusalem. EmekShaveh is a non-profit organization consisting of archaeologists and community activists, who have taken a critical view on archaeological practice in Israel, especially on the role it plays in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. “We will offer a different perspective: archaeology without an ownership, one that bridges between periods, cultures and nations; archaeology which involves the local residents and examines the past as a shared asset regardless of religion or nationality” (EmekShaveh 2011). They oppose the attitude which treats past as a possession and instead, see it as a possible tool for instigating positive processes between people. The organization has also published an information booklet *“Archaeology in the Shadow of the Conflict”* (2011) as well as an alternative tourist guide to the City of David *“From Shiloah to Silwan Visitor’s Guide”*(2011).

During my fieldwork I got the opportunity to interview one of its members, Yonathan Mizrachi, who also leads alternative archaeology tours to the City of David, writes to different publications in both Hebrew and English and keeps archaeologists up-to-date about the situation in other parts of the world. According to Mizrachi, the archaeologists in EmekShaveh are among the few who admit that archaeology in Israel has become politicized. Their critique on many Israeli archaeologists and their projects has resulted in a slight exclusion from the mainstream archaeological community since his involvement with the organization.

8. City of David: From Tourism to Conflict

As part of my fieldwork I spent a number of days conducting fieldwork in the City of David Archaeological Park, which is presently part of the *Wadi Hilweh* neighbourhood in Silwan. The site is controversial, not only because of the recent issues with Jewish settlers, but also because of the three different narratives connected to the site – Jewish, Christian and Muslim. Both, City of David and Silwan, have provided material for many articles in both national (Israeli) and international press, mainly reporting on the clashes between Palestinians and Israelis due to Israel's controversial settlement politics. Every Friday the streets of Silwan are filled with tear-gas, water cannons and a special police force is chasing Palestinian youths on the streets. From the lookout points in the City of David one can follow the clashes in detail, as they happen below in the valley. The clashes are one of the many indications that the area is a 'contested landscape' in the strictest sense of the word. Although such clashes between Israelis and Palestinians are quite common all over Israel, most people do now know that in this case, the main reasons are archaeology, its practice and interpretation.



Map 1: Map of Jerusalem and its neighbourhoods. Silwan and the City of David are marked yellow. (Courtesy of EmekShaveh)

8.1 Silwan

The village was established in the 16th century (Silwanic.net, 2011) and is considered by Palestinians as one of the oldest villages in Jerusalem, with a long tradition of Arab habitation (Yas 2000: 31). The name of the village derives from the Gihon Spring, in Arabic *EinSilwan* - the main reason why people settled in the area over 5000 years ago. To Christians, it marks the place where Jesus returned the sight to a blind man next to the Siloam pool, now at the end of the tourist trail of the CoD. The village was originally established on the eastern side of Kidron Valley, built on top of a Judean necropolis – many tombs are still clearly visible today. In the last 150 years the village has expanded and become a large residential area near the Old City

Walls, south-east of the Temple Mount. Today the area houses approximately 40 000 Palestinians as well as 400 Jewish settlers. The village spread also to the mound of ancient Jerusalem, which now forms the *Wadi Hilweh* neighbourhood of Silwan. According to local folklore “Hilweh was the wife of *mukhtar*⁸ Siyam. She was killed during armed clashes in the valley. Before her death, the valley was called *Wadi Al-Nabah*, the Valley of Wails. It is said, that at night one could hear among the hedges of cactuses the wails of the innocent girl who was viciously murdered by her brother” [sic] (Silwanic.net, 2011). 5500 people live in the Wadi Hilweh neighbourhood, which now correlates to the Jerusalem Walls National Park, including the City of David (Illustrations 3 and 4).

To the Jews, the village is known as *Kfar Hashiloah*, a village of the immigrants from San’a, Yemen, who arrived in 1882. For three years the newcomers suffered from extreme poverty and so in 1885 the Jewish community decided to purchase land to establish the first Yemenite village in Israel, *Kfar Hashiloah*. The Jews of the village were forced to abandon their homes due to the riots of 1936-1939. That was the second time when Jews were forced to leave the mound of ancient Jerusalem. The short historical overview above was taken from the City of David visitor map provided by El-Ad. Both historical narratives, the Jewish and the Palestinian, have ignored the others presence in the area. According to a third source, Emek Shaveh, the Jews moved to live into an already Arab village, since due to different language, dress and prayer tradition they were not accepted by the Old Yeshuv, residents of the city, and were forced to live outside the city. Their poor financial and social status forced them to live in caves around the city in rather miserable conditions. The Yemenite Jews first received help from the Christian missionaries and only thereafter did members of the Old Yeshuv decide to collect money to buy land for the Yemenites. First Yemenites settled in the Silwan area in 1884 and lived peacefully with the Arab residents, until they left due to the riot in 1936 (Emek Shaveh, 2011)

⁸ Head of the village, Arabic

The last of the three 'pasts' seems to be an effort to integrate the other two accounts of the same story.

After the 1967 war, the area was annexed to Israel, along with 28 other villages around Jerusalem (EmekShaveh, 2011) and began to grow rapidly due to the influx of Palestinian refugees. First Israeli archaeological excavations began at the site during the 1970s and 1980s and have not stopped since (WadiHilweh leaflet 2011). Today the excavations have gone so far that local residents face eviction from their homes on various grounds to make space for settlers and archaeological excavations, often called 'salvage excavations'. On the same street, as the entrance to the City of David, is a small community centre where the youths can spend time with books and computers. In addition to this, it also functions as an information centre where activists and local residents tell 'The Story behind the Tourist Site'. They cooperate with the 'alternative archaeology' tours of EmekShaveh and have put up a sort of lecture room (see illustration 3, page 42). At the end of every EmekShaveh tour in the City of David the participants are invited there to listen a local resident speak about archaeology, settlements and everyday life in an area as volatile as the 'Cradle of Jerusalem'. Unfortunately, when I participated in the tour, the person who was supposed to give the lecture was in jail and the other was under house arrest. I got a chance to meet one of them shortly a few weeks later, just before he was jailed again.

The village and the people living there remain mostly unseen by the tourists as the fences, tour guides and site security seek to diminish the possibility of contact, giving the illusion of an entirely Jewish neighbourhood. Apart from Fridays, when weekly clashes between the locals and the Israeli Defence Force, manifested in loud blasts, water cannons and children with explosives, stir up the valley below. Regrettably that might remain their only contact with local residents, giving an impression of violent misbehaved children who need to be disciplined.



Illustration 1: A view on the City of David and Silwan, with Jewish houses on the background. Courtesy of EmekShaveh.



Illustration 2: A view on Silwan from the City of David. Courtesy of EmekShaveh.



Illustration 3: Lecture Hall in the WadiHilweh Information Center. A local resident presenting the situation and views of the Palestinian community. (Courtesy of EmekShaveh)

8.2 The City of David

The City of David, the mound of ancient Jerusalem is located in the *WadiHilweh* neighbourhood of Silwan, south of the Temple Mount. It is thought to have been inhabited as early as 5000 BCE but not before 3000 BCE a small village was built on the site and from the Canaanite period (Middle Bronze Age IIB) evidence of a walled city has surfaced. Approximately 1000 BCE, according to the biblical tradition, King David conquered the city from the Jebusites, brought the Ark of the Covenant into the city and made Jerusalem his capital. Since then archaeological finds show a changing settlement pattern and population density on the mound during different periods until in the 16th century, when the village of Silwan started expanding on the slopes of ancient Jerusalem.

Despite the biblical tradition, the name itself, City of David – *Ir David*, is quite recent, given to the site by early European explorers, and is now used by scholars of all backgrounds (Finkelstein, 2011). It was first suggested by the French archaeologist, Raymond Weill, in the 1920s and it took some time before it was taken up by Israelis (Pullan&Gwiazda, 2009). About 150 years ago, in 1867, when the British explorer, Charles Warren, first excavated the underground water systems in the area, there was not much there apart from a

small village. Many other archaeologists, among them Kathleen Kenyon, excavated in the area after Warren. Today, along with Silwan, the excavations have spread – two excavations above ground and additional three underground. The local activists mentioned that earlier excavations were conducted in accordance with the local population who used to enjoy the visits of tourists and also benefited from tourism, but today, when the excavations are conducted secretly behind the fence and under 24h supervision, the residents feel constricted and left out. According to the staff of the WadiHilweh Information Center, archaeology has become their enemy in the struggle for their homes.

Aside from an archaeological site, it is also a settlement, a business and a major tourist attraction, which drew more than 350.000 tourists in 2007. Furthermore, it has become an important symbol for Jewish nationalism, a place 'where Jerusalem began'. Israeli soldiers visit the place at least once during their service. In the words of Doron Spielman, the spokesperson for Elad: "It's part of their cultural day to learn what they're fighting for, [and they] actually represent the return of the Jewish people to Israel after thousands of years" (60 Minutes, CBSNEWS, 2010).

First things to catch the eye on the way to the City of David are the fortified and bulletproof vehicles and construction trucks, parked near the entrance and a large golden harp that marks the entrance to David's city. The gate itself is narrow and armed guards check and assess everyone entering the premises. The gate leads to a peaceful and serene patio and on the background plays harp music. According to the biblical narrative, David was a very skilled harp⁹ player and this was, apparently, his city. The visitors are reminded of this as they enter, since there is a giant harp right at the entrance which also happens to be the emblem of the CoD Park. One visitor, whom I interviewed, called it:

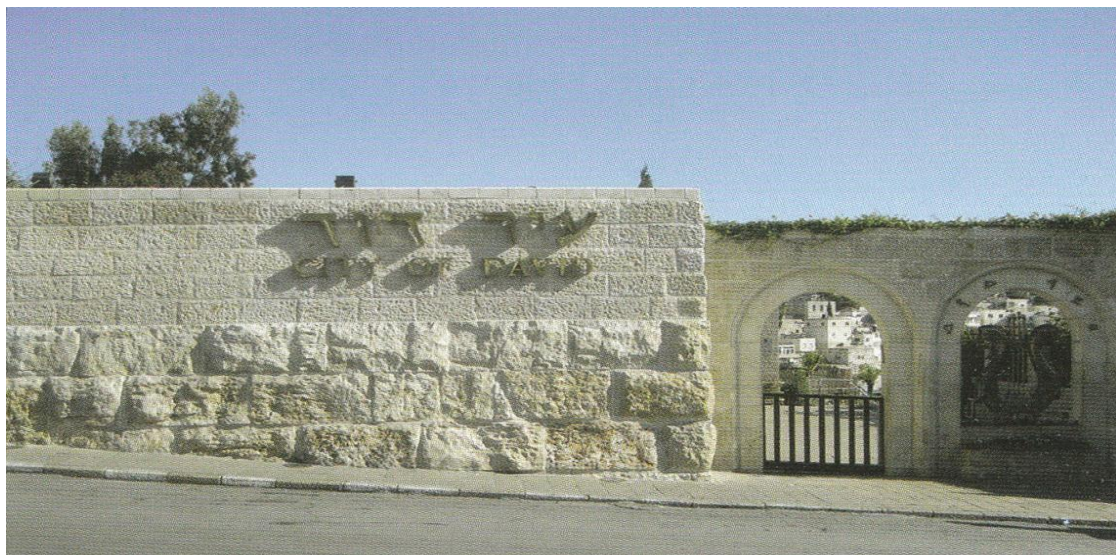


Illustration 4: City of David Entrance.

'The Disneyland for Bible enthusiasts'. The entrance area is filled with tourist groups, soldiers and young children, either finishing or starting their tour. Despite the laughter and content visitors, the presence of the armed guards ruins the intended effect of peacefulness.

8.2.1 Tours

The majority of the people visiting the site come as part of a tour group or take part in the official City of David tour. With the help of a map and an information leaflet provided by El-Ad visiting the site individually is also possible and

⁹King James Version of the Bible translates the word *kinnor* as harp.

younger visitors, as I often observed, chose that option. Most people do not know that there is also an alternative, cheaper option to explore the site – a tour provided by the organization EmekShaveh. This paragraph intends to discuss both tours and seek to show how differently same archaeological material can be presented to the public, depending on the background and agenda of the tour-guide.

The tour around the City of David, officially available in English and Hebrew, lasts approximately three hours and takes the visitor through most of the important places at the site. It starts with the 15 minute 3-dimensional movie which I will come back to in later chapters, and ends in the village of Silwan at the bottom of the Kidron Valley. The cost of the tour is 60 NIS, which makes about EUR12. However, the volunteers of the TMSP like me can take the tour for free because *de facto*, they are volunteering for El-Ad/El David.

The tour guides are all Jewish, some more orthodox than others but both, men and women, dress according to the Jewish custom: women wear knee-length skirts and men wear the *kippah*, at the very least. They are carrying a few things – the Bible and a folder with maps, charts and pictures – all to bring the place more alive for the visitor. The main characters in the ‘show’ are kings David, Solomon and Hezekiah, prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, hostile armies

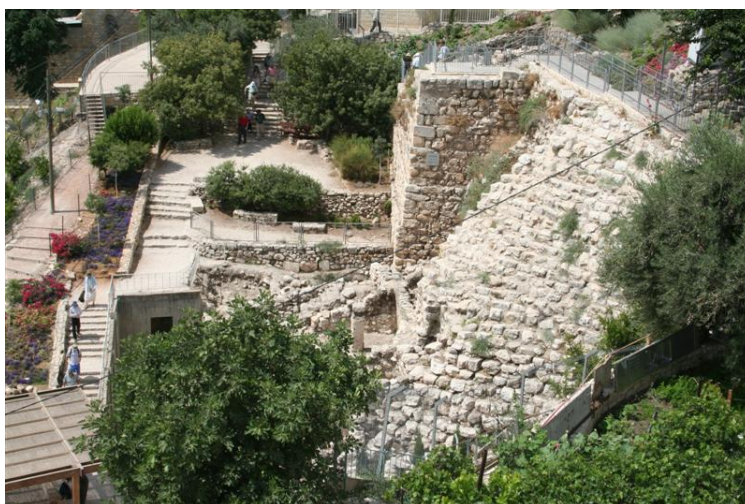


Illustration 5. Stepped Stone Structure. (Area G)

of Babylonia and Assyria and the ancient inhabitants of Jerusalem. Depending on the tour guide, the stories and characters vary but are all taken from the Scriptures. The different stories being told influence the visitors' experience and

understanding of the site. The tour mainly follows just one historic layer - the

Judean layer, and shows how the site is very much Israeli. Other layers, e.g. the Canaanite layer, is either mentioned briefly or completely ignored.

My first observation during every tour is that the visitor, whether international or local, is not informed about the archaeological work currently taking place. Only two archaeologists are mentioned briefly: Charles Warren and Eilat Mazar. The tour is concentrated only on the interpretations but the interpreters are ignored. I would call it the Biblical experience beneath the façade of archaeology. One guide said out loud that they “take the Bible and the archaeological data and put them together to get to the *real* story”.

After the movie, the tour takes the visitor to two pivotal locations that define the essence of the place and set the visitor the ambient of Davidic Jerusalem: The Large Stone Structure and The Royal Quarter Area G (Illustration 5).

The first – Large Stone Structure – was discovered in 2005 and excavations are carried out under the supervision of archaeologist Eilat Mazar. In her article “*Did I find King David’s Palace?*” (2010) she writes how she let “the stones speak for themselves” and asserts that the excavations, funded by Elad, have uncovered numerous artefacts near the structure as well as clues from the Bible, indicating that it is a structure from the 10th century BCE – the time of David- and the structure itself is the Palace of David.

Of course there is always a multitude of opinions when it comes to interpreting archaeology. She dated the structure after a chronology based on pottery which has no fixed dates and it is fluctuating in time and that renders her theory rather dubious. The structure could also be older, part of a Canaanite structure dated to the 12th century BCE. Both theories have their supporters and opponents but it is important which story is chosen to be told to the public and whether it is mentioned that a certain theory is not generally accepted and that alternate theories exist.

8.2.3 Bathsheba and David in Archaeological Remains

The tour stops by the Royal Quarter for approximately twenty minutes and, depending on the guide, the structure and artefacts found there are often connected to a biblical myth chosen by the tour guide. For example the story of David and Bathsheba gets its start from the description of a stone toilet seat found from the Royal Quarters. The toilet seat allows the archaeologists to conclude that the area was inhabited by royalty or other high-ranking individuals of the society. That is already enough information for making a connection to the Bible.

Bathsheba, according to the biblical account, was the wife of Uriah the Hittite, one of David's 37 mighty men (2 Samuel 23:8-39). Allegedly, David seduced Bathsheba and arranged Uriah's death in order to marry her. The verses from the Book of Samuel also reveal that David was watching Bathsheba bathe from his balcony, which leads to the conclusion that the house of Uriah was near the palace of David. As mentioned in the paragraphs above, connecting the site to King David is one of the important goals of the Ir David Foundation, usually relying more on the Bible, imagination and faith than actual archaeological information.



Illustration 6. Area G. House of Ahiel

The visitors find themselves in peaceful and serene surroundings but the hostility of the Arab neighbourhood is revealed by the tour guide (depending on the guide sometimes

already in the beginning) at the end of the tour, as people are advised to take a shuttle bus back to the main entrance, which is about 200 meters away. I

walked up this path many times alone and with others and nothing happened, I found the inhabitants of the village very helpful and friendly. It is either that the people responsible for the tour are extra cautious or they intend to paint a picture of an unsafe and hostile environment. People who decide to take the *sherut*¹⁰ back to the City of David entrance may notice a small building on the right side of the street with the sign: WadiHilweh Information Center – The Story Behind the Tourist Site, where local people tell their stories and inform those interested of their personal experiences with the Elad Foundation and the City of David Archaeological Park.

8.2.4 Fixation on King David

King David with his conquests, triumph over the Philistines, and the slaying of Goliath, is one of the pillars of Jewish identity, especially in Jerusalem - his capital. He is definitely the most well-known of all Biblical characters after Jesus. A whole industry has developed around this mythical figure, whose significance, apart from being present in the writings of all three monotheistic religions, cannot be proven archaeologically. For believers of the religious texts archaeological proof is not important, it's almost unnecessary - it would only help to reinforce and strengthen the already existing systems of belief. Apart from reinforcing the Jewish religious ideology, proof of Kings David and Solomon would have political, territorial and economic outcomes for Israel. Philistine pottery is considered to be the most important archaeological evidence used to link destruction levels of ancient cities with Davidic conquests (Finkelstein&Silberman 2002: 341). The accuracy of different chronologies used in archaeology for dating finds is always questionable. Israel Finkelstein along with Neil Silberman are two of the archaeologists arguing for the inaccuracy of the chronology based on pottery that is often used to date Davidic finds, for example the City of David or the destruction layers of his conquests. (Finkelstein&Silberman 2002: 340).

¹⁰ Shared taxi in Israel

Tomb of David, City of David, and the Tower of David – none of these has actually been proven to have any connection with King David himself, but naming places after him has the power to appropriate them, legitimize one's presence and ownership and construct some sort of historical landmarks on modern terrain, forging a historical continuity. Numerous other tourist locations, e.g. Western Wall Tunnels, start their tour with the story of David's conquest of Jerusalem, it is fed to the tourists on a daily basis until it becomes a certainty for them and the lack of archaeological evidence becomes less important, even unnoticeable. The City of David is one of the most excavated sites in the world but so far no evidence of either King David or the Davidic era has come forth (Finkelstein, 2011).

It is remarkable how the lack of evidence on King David has been kept rather quiet from the wider public. David is represented as a real historical figure with all his characteristics and information about him being accurate and reliable. Why would one question the accuracy of the information provided by every museum or historical monument in Israel? There is evidence of the existence of the Davidic dynasty in the form of an inscription found at the site of Tel Dan in 1993 – the Tel Dan inscription 'House of David' (Finkelstein&Silberman 2002: 129). This is enough to prove the existence of David as a leader or a king in the lands of modern Israel and Palestinian Territories but nothing more. I am certain that the way King David is depicted all over Jerusalem, many visitors will return home with a fairly clear idea of him – an idea constructed by archaeologists, tour guides and museum exhibits.

9. The Temple Mount Sifting Project – One Man's Trash is another Man's Treasure.

This chapter will discuss the second part of my fieldwork that took place at the Temple Mount Sifting Project in Jerusalem. The following pages will describe the setup of the Project, the process of the fieldwork and eventually my

conclusions. By the end of this chapter it should be revealed why I decided to do fieldwork on this particular project and how it fits the overall framework of the topic.

Thou wilt arise, and have compassion upon Zion; for it is time to be gracious unto her, for the appointed time is come: For Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and love her dust. (Psalms 102: 14-15).

The Temple Mount on Mount Moriah is considered by many the holiest site in the world but it is also very volatile. According to the Jewish tradition it is where the Foundation Stone is located, 'the Binding of Isaac' took place (Genesis 22:1-24) and where King Solomon built the First Temple. The later Muslim tradition states that this is the location where Prophet Mohammed came on his Night's Journey (Surah 17), the location of the Farthest Mosque. In the 7th century CE the Dome of the Rock was built there by Caliph Abd al-Malik. The site has been managed by an Islamic *waqf* since the Muslim conquest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 and it remained under their management after the Six-Day War in 1967. Although archaeology might have shed light on the questions and disputes concerning the site, no organized archaeological excavation has ever taken place there.

9.1 History of the Debris

Between 1996 and 1999, however, the Islamic *Waqf*, the Moslem Trust and the Islamic Movement performed construction works on the south-east corner of the Temple Mount to open a small doorway to Solomon's Stables, it happened in agreement with the Israeli government and the Israel Antiquities Authority. The actual undertaking was far more substantial than expected and concluded in the construction of the Al-Marwani Mosque accommodating approximately 10 000 people. According to the Israeli archaeologists, this

inflicted irreparable damage to the archaeological layers of the Temple Mount. The earth, supposedly full of archaeological evidence, was removed by heavy machinery (on some accounts up to 300 truckloads) and disposed in the nearby Kidron Valley and was left untouched until 2004. The act is viewed by Israeli archaeologists (e.g. Gabriel Barkay) as cultural vandalism and deliberate eradication of the Jewish past. It is sometimes connected with the Temple Denial Doctrine, which claims that there never was a Temple on the Mount Moriah. Barkay goes as far to say that the Palestinians are undermining the Jewish ownership and bonds to the Temple Mount (Fendel, 2010).

The dumped debris caught the attention of a young archaeology student, Zachi Zweig, who on his own accord explored the soil for archaeological artefacts and ended up being accused by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) for antiquities theft. He found a number of pottery shards and brought them to his professor, Dr. Barkay, for investigation. A long process followed, involving archaeologists, politicians and the wider public. Finally, in 2004, Zachi, along with Dr. Barkay, were given the permission to start systematically sifting through the material. The Temple Mount Sifting Project is in many ways controversial. Dr. Gabriel Barkay, calls it the most important archaeological project in Israel, whereas to others, it is merely a nationalistic pursuit unable to provide accurate and credible archaeological knowledge. One man's trash is another man's treasure.

9.2 Location and Setup

In the following paragraph I will describe the people and setup of the project, to give the reader a better understanding of the location and the atmosphere. The project is led by archaeologist Gabriel Barkay and his former student Zachi Zweig who started the project in 2004. They can both be seen on the site from time to time but they are not directly involved in the sifting process. There are also other archaeologists working on the site, sorting and

cataloguing finds, bagging special items, and giving introductory lectures to the visitors. During my stay I encountered four archaeologists sharing responsibilities on alternating days, usually two at a time. As there is a constant lack of volunteers, unless a larger group comes for a longer period, the site has hired permanent staff to sift through the piles of debris. The staff members are also responsible for checking the trays of the visitors for any unnoticed finds that could be crucial clues. My fieldwork took place in spring so there were not too many long-term volunteers. During the six weeks I met five other long-term volunteers working there.

In the EmekTzurim National Park, on the slopes of Mt. Scopus a large tent has been put up to accommodate the installations used to wet-sift the soil, bucket after bucket. Apart from the tent there is just two other structures, the office trailer and a transportable shed. The reason for this is that the on-going project is not supposed to be permanent and, as soon as they are finished, it will be packed up and removed from the park territory. As I understood, it is supposed to be impermanent due to the Projects' location in East-Jerusalem. With the worsening dispute around the Jewish settlements it would pour more fuel to the fire, to establish a permanent research facility. However, the work on sifting through the Temple Mount soil is predicted to last for another ten to fifteen years, considering the amount of soil still remaining. A volunteer on the site noted the following after an incident with the Arab youths: "I don't understand what their problem is, it's not like we're here forever. Once we are finished, we will pack up and leave." With the current situation in Jerusalem, waiting fifteen years for someone to leave, who is considered as a rival, is quite unrealistic; especially given the background and an outwardly nationalistic image of the Project.

9.3 Controversies

The activities in the Temple Mount Sifting Project, or in other words Salvage Operation, cannot be considered as correct archaeological practice. Although the artefacts uncovered by volunteers have historical significance they are not found *in situ* and are therefore out of context. Additionally, the soil that is being sifted at the Project has come a long way from its original location on the Temple Mount. It was first deposited in the Kidron Valley and other places by the Muslim Waqf, and from there transported to its current location in the EmekTzurim National Park. The only context it has allegedly maintained is that it is from the Temple Mount. The project does not deny the problematic fact that the finds are not *in situ* but they still claim that the soil “contains great archaeological potential”.

“This project is not a task for a small, clique of archaeologists, but rather a responsibility, duty and privilege of the entire Jewish people and those who support them [...] Of course, we also consider our work with the earth from the Temple Mount to be an expression of our spiritual connection to this wonderful and holy place that was, and remains a vital part of our history and culture.” (TMSP on Facebook, 2011). They claim that the soil contains ‘archaeological wealth’ to Jewish, Christian and Muslim history but are, at the same time, making it part of *their* history and culture and working on the project is a ‘duty and privilege’ for only Jewish people, excluding Muslims. Christians, mainly from the United States, come frequently to work on the Project but Muslims, especially Palestinians, are not too welcome. That is an issue I will come back to later on. It gets more complicated. The soil from the Temple Mount does not only help them in proving the Jewish connection to the Temple Mount but also to counter the doctrine of Temple Denial, which started with Yasser Arafat’s denial of the Jewish Temple on the Temple Mount and spread to other parts of the Middle East (Karsh, 2004; Gold, 2009). The doctrine is only accepted in certain circles and it contradicts the Muslim tradition of the site. Nevertheless, it is always mentioned to the newcomers and repeatedly brought up as an on-

going issue they need to confront. I did not personally meet any Muslims in Jerusalem who denied the existence of the Jewish Temple on Mount Moriah, but many 'new theorists' have emerged in other parts of the Middle East, completely denying any connection Jews might have with the Temple Mount and Jerusalem. It seems, the conflict of archaeological interpretation is largely between Muslims and Zionists, not between Palestinians and Israelis. The finds are first interpreted in the religious context and later put in the context of national and territorial self-fashioning.

I worked on the site as a volunteer for six weeks doing whatever needed to be done at a given time. Long-term volunteers, like me, get to experience the project in a different fashion than people who attend just for a couple of hours. I was able to see and experience the research done on the site and followed up the investigation of the artefacts after uncovering. I saw the interaction of the people at the site, both staff and visitors, and learned about their involvement and personal history with the Project.

9.4 Visitors and Volunteers

Apart from long-term volunteers the site is daily visited by both international and Israeli groups and individuals interested in joining the activity. The majority of the international groups are from the United States and visit the site as part of their Holy Land Tour. As part of the Elad Foundation the tour guides from the City of David bring the groups up to the TMSP site. The Israeli groups consist mainly of schoolchildren of all age groups, who come as part of a school fieldtrip to familiarize themselves with their history and roots and get their hands on the soil from the Temple Mount. Furthermore, because of the political nature of the project, politicians come as well. When political figures visit the site it gives the Project more legitimacy and their theories can be considered more reliable. A Knesset member visited the site while I was doing my fieldwork and many others have come before. The visits of political figures

are often filmed and photographed and later uploaded to the Internet for publicity and information.

The group visit starts with an introductory lecture covering the history of the soil they are sifting and how it was brought to the Kidron Valley and ends with an overview of finds that have been uncovered in the past six years. During the lecture it becomes clear why this Project can also be called a 'Salvage Operation', as it is made clear who are the 'good guys' and who are the 'bad guys'. The events that led to the obtaining of the soil from the Temple Mount are told only from the point of view of the site archaeologists. Visitors are then taught the basics of wet-sifting and introduced to the objects they are looking for. The process of sifting is supervised by the project staff to avoid discarding valuable material with the rest of the rubble. The sifting takes place in a tent where they have installed sieves and water hoses for wet-sifting the material. The bucket is emptied on a sieve and washed thoroughly with water. Then it is looked through, stone by stone, and anything of interest picked out for further inspection. The volunteers are looking for six main types of artefacts: pottery, glass, metal, bones, special stones and mosaics. Occasionally there is a chance of finding special items such as coins, jewellery or *opus sectile* tiles among other things. *Opus Sectile* is a mosaic technique using marble and other materials cut into shape and used to inlay floors and walls, especially in the Ancient Roman World (Dunbabin 1999: 254). In the next paragraph I will introduce you to some of the finds from the projects that are considered special and also presented to the public as such.

9.5 Important/Special Finds

Almost every archaeological project is situated in a certain framework depending on what is already known about the site and what is being expected to find. It also depends on the research the leading archaeologist of the

projects is interested in. In Ramat Rachel, for example, LMLK-seals¹¹ were considered as significant finds due to the personal interest of the archaeologist Oded Lipschits. The seals form a material evidence for the presence of a provincial administrative system and tax collection (Lipschits 2005: 176). The seals might also be “[...] referring to a Biblical King, or possibly God” (Lipschits, 2005). “Privileging certain kinds of events as those of which history is made has had implications not only for the kinds of stories told but also for the nature of the objects deemed archaeologically (and thus historically) significant” (El-Haj 1998: 71).

Apart from finds considered important by the site staff and archaeologists, there are finds that are of personal significance to people. The fact that the soil is from the Temple Mount, considered one of the holiest spots on earth by many, brings about the personal interpretation of certain artefacts based on Bible stories or other religious narrations and the false belief that every artefact from the soil might be from the First or Second Temple Period. One day a tour group from the United States came to do the normal drill – introductory lecture, sifting and evaluation of the finds. One group member, a middle aged lady, picked up a very small piece of marble from the tray and asked whether it was a piece of a Temple column. The nature of the Project makes people, especially those with religious affiliations, expect to find items from certain periods. The second example is a story told by one of the volunteers. He told me a story of a lady who, in the course of the sifting, came across a Roman nail, which in itself is a quite a common find on the Project. This Christian lady, however, took the nail with shaking hands and tears in her eyes and said “This could be one of the nails Jesus was crucified with”. As Jesus is not part of the Jewish tradition the volunteer had answered so: “Yes it could be, or it could be one of the nails which were used for the crucifixion of the 100,000 Jews around the same time”. These examples show how people relate to the Project and what kind of emotions simple objects from a pile of soil can bring out. As

¹¹Lamed-Mem-Lamed-Kaf, commonly pronounced “*L'melekh*”, meaning “belonging to the king”. (www.lmlk.com) Used on storage jar handles found in and around Jerusalem.

part of a tour group people have just one hour to sift and look for artefacts which can sometimes lead to bad mood and grumpiness as I have observed. Coming to the project people expect to *find* something of archaeological relevance other than shards of pottery.

Apart from people making such connections individually, the staff also gives examples, associating the finds with the Biblical narrative. All the bones found during the sifting will be sent to the lab to determine the age of the remains and the species they came from. I want to bring two examples on what information bones can tell the archaeologists, and how it can almost always be placed in the required narrative. The largest quantity of bones found on the site belonged to small livestock like goats and sheep, which in the Jewish and Muslim traditions are classified as sacrifice animals. On the site there is even a category for 'burnt bone', to classify bones that were considered as remains of a sacrifice ritual. Additionally, there were bones of larger animals such as cows and bulls and also wild animals, like foxes. From time to time some pig bones are also found, but as they do not fit either in Jewish nor Muslim tradition, they are thought of as remains from the Crusader Period. The fox bones found on the site were conveniently connected to a verse in the Bible: "Because of the mountain of Zion which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it"(Lamentations 5: 18), lack of pig bones refers to the prevailing Jewish tradition on Mt. Moriah and so do the 'burnt bones' of the sacrificed animals. Such connections are easy to make but impossible to prove.

In the field of zoo archaeology¹², it is not just the random fragment of bones that provide any archaeological insights but the context they were found in, with relation to the other data found on the site. For example, a typical report based on faunal assemblage will include an inventory of the bones, including species and element, and concluding with totals such as Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), Minimum Number of Elements (MNE)

¹² A subfield of archaeology and anthropology studying animal remains from archaeological sites to gather information about human behaviour, e.g. nutrition, rituals, settlement patterns etc.(Reitz; Wing 2008: 5).

and Number of Identified Specimens (NISP). It is a much more scientific process that involves other data from the site to yield any meaningful results. That data can only be gathered if the remains are found *in situ*, otherwise it is almost impossible to establish a context or a framework. Study of these remains helps archaeologists understand past human subsistence strategies and economic interactions as well as complete our picture of the kinds of environments and landscapes humans have inhabited and worked. Here, at TMSP, this fragmented data and finds are being used to draw connection to the biblical narrative with little consideration for other animal life on the mountain, apart from what fits the narrative, as is evident in the appropriating of the fox bones to the verse in the Bible.

Once again I would like to repeat that it is not my intention to criticize the way archaeological data is being interpreted in such sites and neither it is my place to do so, but in terms of data appropriation and the inferences drawn from the fragmentary evidence one cannot help but notice the stark contrast between the archaeological practice in Israel compared to the rest of the world. For mainstream archaeology, conclusions are drawn in the light of the data collected, whereas in Israel it seems that the data is arranged and conclusions are drawn in the light of selected passages from the Bible, which is often misleading and biased.

9.5.1 The Harp of David Pendant

On the Temple Mount Salvage Operation a harp-shaped object was found, which was dated to the Ottoman Period (TMSP 3rd Report). It is a small bronze object slightly green from the oxidation reminding of a harp with three strings.

The find was named the Harp of David pendant, thought to be a pilgrimage object, and it became the logo of the City of David – Ancient Jerusalem, only in gold. As a logo it is visible to everyone but few, excluding a small number of scientists, know the story and the history of the artefact. A few even know that

the logo is derived from an artefact from the 16th century. For the people familiar with Biblical David the logo represents his harp, as among other things he was a skilled harpist. To others it is just a logo with no particular meaning.

9.5.2 Coins

Around 5000 coins have been found in the last five years of shifting, according to the staff, which makes it one of the largest antique coin collections in Israel. On the Temple Mount Salvage Operation the things most participants expect or hope to find are coins, the older the better. Coins are very significant for archaeological interpretation and dating but what makes them so desirable in the eyes of volunteers? Is it because it is money and its importance in the modern world? Or is it the recognition they get from archaeologists and being told they have found something important? I have observed people finding coins and have myself found two. Every find will be labelled with the finders name and if you happen to find something of greater importance, you might end up in the newspaper, so everyone is expecting to find the 'special coin'. One can make a quasi-social distinction among the volunteers between those who have found coins and those who have not. More experienced 'coin-finders' offer advice to people who have not been so lucky and tell stories about their 'first coins'.

9.5.3 My special finds

During the time of working as a volunteer on the project I sifted through at least hundred buckets of Temple Mount soil if not more. I, as a volunteer, had a certain disposition and expectations toward the field. At first I did not think so much about what I will find but what others will find and how they react to it. In the planning phases of my research I had not considered or analysed how I might react to certain finds. Somehow I considered myself unaffected from the symbolic meaning of the Project as I have no religious views myself. Later I

understood that it was the lack of religious views that made me see all the uncovered objects as equally important and fascinating. After a couple of days of sifting I discovered I had developed a certain excitement for finding particular items.

I was looking forward to finding pieces from the Dome of the Rock –blue and white mosaics and gold-plated tile pieces. I found them beautiful and there was no question or dispute what they were or where they come from. And as everyone is expected to find at least one coin during their stay, I was looking for mine. There were times when I forgot my position as an observer and enjoyed being just a volunteer, excited for new and important finds. At the end of the day, I was equally interested in the social organization and interaction, as much as I was in the objects that were uncovered. The atmosphere in the project was influenced by both.

9.6 Field experiment

During my fieldwork, I did not see a single Muslim school group or an individual there, excluding a couple of National Park employees taking care of the olive trees and machinery. I inquired with one of the archaeologist at the site whether Muslims are interested in coming to the site and if they come at all. She irrefragably replied: "No! No Muslims come to the site, not even Arab Christians." Then she remembered that there is a group of Muslim women who come from time to time to bring cookies and coffee. Unfortunately I never got a chance to find out who they were or why they came. One volunteer was certain that Muslims just did not care as it was them, whodumped the soil containing 'archaeological wealth' in the garbagein the first place. I, however, was interested in finding out how a Muslim volunteer would be treated in such an environment and whether it would at all be possible for Muslims or Palestinians to participate in the Project. The only way to find out was to run a field experiment by altering the field and introducing an unfamiliar situation and eventually draw a conclusion. One of the reasons for this experiment was

to see how they accept Muslims on the Project after their accusatory introductory lecture about how the Muslims contributed to the destruction of Jewish heritage. It turned out that I was not the only one interested in the outcomes of this experiment, Yusuf Natsheh (See footnote 4.) was also keen to find out how the TMSP team would react to a Muslim volunteer's presence at their Project.

The results of this experiment, we both felt, would reveal in empirical terms how Muslims are treated on this Project and would therefore, to a certain extent, dispel or confirm the anti-Muslim sentiment which I had observed so far. The only thing missing now was such an individual who would be willing to participate in this experiment. Coincidentally, a friend of mine, who studies archaeology in London and also happens to be a Muslim, was scheduled to arrive in Jerusalem shortly to work on his final year project. I saw him as the perfect candidate for my experiment and this scenario as the perfect opportunity to alter the field by introducing an unfamiliar situation. Thereby, before his arrival I contacted him, explained the nature of my research and informed him about the Project, and asked if he would be interested in volunteering for a few days. It did not take a lot of convincing on my part as he himself holds an avid interest in the history and archaeology of Jerusalem and quickly agreed to participate in my field experiment. Although due to his own research and engagements he could only commit for three days, but for me, it was just enough time to make some very valuable observation and take plenty of field notes. Consequently, he started his registration process through email, in the same way as myself, and got a similar reply from the TMSP administrator, welcoming his participation and advising him to get in touch once he has arrived in Jerusalem. Although unlike I, he was not given any specific instruction on how to approach the site or who to contact upon arrival. This left us a bit uncertain and unsettled at the extremely nonchalant and casual attitude of the TMSP team.

Nevertheless, upon his arrival he received an email from Zachy Zweig, with a rather long list of questions. The email stated, "We are very pleased that you

want to help us with our work. But before you join us I would like to ask you a few questions [...]”, and the first question on the list was, “I understand that you are Muslim. Are you aware of the political and religious sensitivity of our work?” Other questions were more general in nature inquiring about his research interest and academic background. Once he had answered all the questions to their satisfaction he was given a contact name and phone number and the permission to join the Project. Here I would just like to point out that in the initial email exchange prior to his arrival, my friend never mentioned his religious orientation, therefore, in retrospect, it is valid to assume that it was the Israeli immigration services who informed the TMSP team of the fact that their new volunteer is a Muslim, as during his immunization process he was required to disclose full details of his activities and the purpose of his visit. Things went relatively smooth from this point onwards, on his first day he was introduced to all the staff and volunteers and went through the same induction process as myself and was assigned similar duties as everyone else. And, as it seems, they were even considerate enough to make the accusatory introductory lecture (mentioned above) sound a little less accusatory. Later that day he met with Zachi Zweig, who explained to him the nature of the work being conducted at TMSP. Over lunch they discussed the current issues concerning archaeology in Israel and all the tension and scepticism previously built up over the email correspondence was somewhat chipped away. During the next couple of days which followed, I did not particularly notice any discrimination or differential treatment directed towards my Muslim friend and key ingredient in my simulated field experiment. If anything, the team members were taking extra care not to openly express any negative sentiments towards Muslims, lest it offends the newest Muslim member of the team. There did, however, occur another incident of being attacked by local Palestinian children throwing stones at the site while my friend was there but it did not result in any awkwardness between him and the rest of the team. These were only my observations on the situation at hand. Afterwards I interviewed him as to his feelings towards the Project as a volunteer on one hand, and how he felt about it as an archaeology graduate on the other.

The fact still remains, that the Project leaders won't do a special effort to have more Muslims participate in the sifting. The staff does not mind the presence of Muslim volunteers, at least openly, but also does not seek to cultivate mutual understanding and working together.

In the next chapter I will move away from the TMSP and discuss my fieldwork and observations in Silwan and the City of David.

10. Landscapes: Appropriation and Change

The study of landscapes is interdisciplinary which allows "a variety of topics and subject matters" (Godsen 2002: 153) to be considered under the theme. From the 1980s onwards anthropologists began to realize how landscapes influence the people's perception of and their engagement with the world (Bender 2002: 323). "Landscapes are created by people – through their experience and engagement with the world around them." (Bender 1993:1) "The landscape is never inert, people engage with it." (Bender 1993:3) "It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group, or nation-state." (Bender 1993:3) This chapter aims to analyse both the present-day and historic landscape of Jerusalem, based on the examples from my fieldwork. The current landscape of Jerusalem is construed by nearly five thousand years of history and occasionally, the historic landscapes are dominating the contemporary landscape.

10.1 The Biblical Landscape in Silwan

The site of the City of David or Silwan, has become a part of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as it has become, what Barbara Bender calls, 'a Contested Landscape' (Bender, 1993; 1999; 2001). She analyses Stonehenge as a 'contested landscape' over a period of thousand years and she does a great

job in showing how different people engage with the huge stone structure in diverse social and economic as well as historic contexts. Jerusalem in general and the City of David in particular have been appropriated, re-appropriated and changed since the very beginning. The tour guides at the site claim that Jerusalem is the most conquered city in the history of the world for which have not found scientific proof or documentary evidence. Whether this fact is true or not, matters little at this point. It is certain that Jerusalem has been conquered many times throughout the history beginning with the Biblical King David, followed by Babylonians, Alexander the Great, the Romans, the Arab armies of the 7th century, the Crusaders and finally the Jews restoring David's Kingdom. "No other city has been more brutally fought over[...]118 conflicts in the last 400 years, destroyed completely at least twice, besieged 23 times, attacked 52 times and captured and recaptured 44 times. Scene of 20 revolts, 5 periods of terrorist attacks in the past century and has changed hand peacefully only twice in the last 4000 years." (Cline 2004: 2) All of whom have left traces of their presence in and around the city, now again a matter of dispute, this time between Israel and Palestinian Territories.

Jerusalem, apart from being a perpetually contested landscape, consists of smaller specific landscapes that are being challenged simultaneously. In my thesis I have concentrated on two locations mentioned already earlier, the City of David and the Temple Mount Salvage Operation, as well as few other locations in Jerusalem.

"Archaeology can be seen [...] to provide evidence for a group's occupation of the landscape over the long term" (Godsen 2002: 11). Since the start of Jewish immigration to the area, the aim of some settlers and archaeologists has been to re-cover and in some cases resettle ancient landscapes. People create, live and re-work landscapes over and over in the course of history and recreating a mythical landscape over three thousand years old requires the destruction of a landscape people have engaged with for over three millennia.

The City of David/Silwan area is seen and experienced differently by everyone; local inhabitants, archaeologists, tourists and Israeli settlers. Everyone

appropriates the site according to their personal experience, creating their own past (Bender 1993: 263-64). The people currently living there consider it their home and have real memories connected to their land, house, family and the entire village - for them it is Silwan. However there are many different landscapes under the village, “[...] traces of peoples past activities” (Bender 1999: 6) which are now brought to the surface to re-create a certain historical landscape. To many, who call it and also believe it to be the City of David, the site is a connecting joint to *their* past, their identity. Hence, the El-Ad organization is trying to recreate a Biblical landscape of King David through tourism, architecture and archaeology.

Both the local Palestinians and Israeli settlers have their identity and historic-mythical narrative connected to the place, which seem to exclude one another. “Contestation will often go hand in hand with appropriation of the past” (Bender 1992: 251), which in this case is obvious and done by creating and propagating a certain historic continuity, thereby laying claim on the territory. During the last 150 years Silwan/City of David area has become also an archaeological landscape and it is being reshaped through excavations and interpretations. I want to propose, that if people’s experiences and engagement create landscapes, then planned modification and redesigning of landscapes guides individuals’ experience and engagement with it and their collective or individual identity. As will be explained in the next chapter, the fairly recent systematic and institutional archaeological activity and (re)designing (Yas, 2000) of the landscape has in a short time span changed the surrounding area visually as well as symbolically.

Archaeology can be a tool and influential mechanism to, first, create a historical narrative of the landscape using material evidence to support the textual evidence (as in the case of City of David) and, secondly, to legitimize, through the historical narrative, their claims of the nations’ connectedness to the homeland or a place of certain importance.

10.2 The Temple Mount Sifting Project – a Contested Landscape and Contested Debris.

The Temple Mount Sifting Project, situated in EmekTzurim National Park in East Jerusalem, is a quasi-archaeological project, where archaeological work is conducted out of its archaeological and historical context. It is a very nationalist undertaking run by Jewish archaeologists in an originally Arab neighbourhood, which is conveniently turned into a National Park. Locals do not think they [archaeologists] belong be there and express their contempt for the Project very clearly. The feeling is mutual: the weekly conflicts have erected a permanent barrier between the locals and the Project staff, further cleaving the two ideologies clean apart, thereby making it another hotspot for turmoil brought about by archaeological practice. It has become another neighbourhood in Jerusalem where archaeological knowledge is prioritized over the well-being of the local Palestinians, profoundly affecting their quality of life. According to archaeologist YonathanMizrachi, National Parks are one way for Israel to prevent the Arab population to settle down in particular areas.

The local population considers the project an enemy undertaking and there have been attacks on the project buildings and staff. On one occasion a few Palestinian schoolchildren were throwing stones toward the sifting tent. As the stones hit the roof of the tent it sounded like someone was shooting towards us. The archaeologist carrying a weapon opened fire towards the children. Fortunately he did not hit anyone but it does show the reality of the relationship between the Project staff and local inhabitants.

Such attacks have more archaeologists and staff to carrying weapons. The archaeologists, they explain, also function as protectors of the staff as well as the past they are uncovering. The Project claims to be peaceful in its nature, just attempting to gain knowledge, but the way itwas established (see above)

and the methods by which the material was obtained placed it in an already volatile context.

The landscape of the TMSP is fairly new and there has not been a continuous reshaping and appropriation of that certain landscape, apart from the fact that it fits the category of a contested landscape in the Benderian sense - the history of it is just recent. It is a new landscape, considering the human activity, but simultaneously they have transferred part of a much older historic landscape, which many claim to be part of their history, and moved it to a different location. The soil, part of the Temple Mount landscape, has retained its meaning and people working through it, work the landscape of the Temple Mount. Traces of human activity that have reshaped the Temple Mount landscape have now been relocated into a pile in the EmekTzurim valley. The contested debris has turned the landscape into a contested landscape. Consequently, the research will never have enough credibility in the academia and can only be used for propagating their national agenda, which is fine, as that seems to be their main intent.

In the next short chapter I will discuss how archaeological sites are turned into national monuments, on the example of the Masada fortress.

11. On Archaeological Sites and National Monuments

Certain archaeological sites have become symbols for national heritage and identity, similarly how sites associated with religious characters or events become sites of pilgrimage. In Israel we can talk about 'nationalist pilgrimages' – systematic visits to sites connected with important people and events in the Jewish historic narrative. In previous chapters I have already analysed one such national symbol – the City of David. A visit to the City of David is mandatory for all Israeli students and soldiers. Palestinians living in Israel are

excluded from these visits and according to them, they would not be interested in only hearing about the history of someone else.

Another important example lays 40 kilometres from Jerusalem. On a hilltop looking down on the Dead Sea, stands a huge fortress dating back to King Herod and his building frenzy – the Masada Fortress. The fortress is famous for the legendary last stand of the Zealots against the 10th legion of the Romans in 72 CE. According to Josephus, 960 Jews committed suicide instead of surrendering to the Roman army, choosing death over slavery. Today this event has been engraved in the collective memory of the Jews. Israeli soldiers have to take the oath “Masada shall not fall again” there before their service starts. It is certainly a magnificent and important archaeological site but it is also an important nationalist symbol and a tourist site. Claiming historically important localities as *theirs*, the Israelis seem to seek to convince others of the legitimacy of the State of Israel and the Jewish narrative.

Masada is not an issue of dispute between Israelis and Palestinians like a number of other similar historic locations. Such examples include the Cave of the Patriarchs/Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron and Rachel’s Tomb/Bilal ibn Rabah near Bethlehem. These cases are perfect examples of how two contradicting traditions are connected to one site and the tensions that rise when one group claims them as only their heritage excluding the other completely. Israel has almost complete control of archaeological and tourist sites and therefore has the power to present these localities as Israel’s National Heritage. Additionally, apart from securing their connection to archaeological sites as well as territory, many Israelis seek to disrupt the association Palestinians have to the land. In the next chapter I refer to one example of how it is done – destruction of the Muslim cemeteries by the Israeli authorities.

12. Cemeteries – Exhibiting Continuity and Interruption

The chapter on cemeteries and burial mounds was born very unexpectedly and was initially not planned in my research. Archaeologist Yonathan Mizrahi, whom I had the honour interviewing, invited me to accompany him on a walk through Jerusalem as he was photographing ancient graves from the Judean period, intended to become part of the Jerusalem archaeological trail, and a Muslim cemetery near the Old City Walls. After four hours of walk-and-talk I was convinced that I need to include this chapter in my thesis as the dispute over the sanctity and presentation of burial mounds is a very current topic and provides interesting insights to my subject in general. In Jerusalem very often a new tomb or burial place is uncovered during an excavation or stumbled upon by a random hiker¹³. These tombs are dated and studied by archaeologists and, if possible, included in the Jewish heritage collection. On the contrary, the Muslim Mamilla cemetery, the oldest Muslim cemetery in the city is archaeologically neglected and slowly annihilated. This chapter will give an overview of the role of cemeteries in archaeology and anthropology, it will also attempt to highlight the importance and significance of the information they can provide. Here, I will discuss two types of burial grounds: Muslim and Jewish, and explore the various issues related to the conflict concerning these spaces in Jerusalem. Finally, I will briefly discuss the complicated issue of human remains in Israeli archaeology and also in general - with a focus on people whose cosmology and mythology entail the concept of an afterlife.

As said, cemeteries and burial grounds provide important information for understanding the history, culture and the way of life of a certain group of people. Jerusalem is scattered with graveyards from different time periods and from distinct traditions. Some of them are still in use, others not, some are open to the public others private, and certainly there are some hidden underground. Cemeteries and burial grounds are of interest to both disciplines,

¹³ One of my acquaintances in Jerusalem claimed to have found a tomb during one of his walks in the hills around Jerusalem.

anthropology and archaeology, and provide them with facts and interpretations about the practices and customs of the people of the past. Today, apart from being burial grounds, cemeteries and tombs in Jerusalem have become a part of the conflict for the land and the past. In my opinion the function of the cemeteries/burial grounds in Jerusalem is two-fold. First and foremost, the cemeteries are used today as places to bury honour and remember the deceased. The second function is of a more political nature and motivated by nationalistic pursuits. The permanent character of the tombs links the living to the particular land and territory which makes the crucial in nationalist politics (Bloch 2006: 149).

The Judean-period tombs and Jewish cemeteries are more and more exhibited to the public all around the city, some of them in East Jerusalem, for example the famous cemetery on Mt. of Olives (Map 1), that serves as a popular tourist destination and constitutes a large part of the tourist trail running through Jerusalem along with the numerous tombs carved in the valleys around Jerusalem. Exhibiting tombs and other burial grounds can be viewed as creating a continuity and connection with the ancient past and in some cases justifying one's presence.

In Jerusalem all three monotheistic religions have their own cemeteries in different parts of the city, although all of them are located outside the city walls. In the turbulence of the conflict between Israel and Palestinian Territories, Muslim graveyards in particular have become a contested landscape. Burial grounds and graveyards in the prehistoric landscape are recognized as territorial markers that have and in some instances continue to define the landscape throughout history (Beneš&Zvelebil 2004: 86). Muslim or Jewish cemeteries were, according to my knowledge, never used as territorial markers until today when destroying and desecrating them serves as, unofficially, cutting and severing connections with the past, and I would go as far as to say, eliminating historical realities of the people concerned. The landscape of Jerusalem is full of such unintentional markers that, on account of the current

archaeological knowledge, can be used as signposts marking the present-day territories of the State of Israel.

12.1 Two Muslim Cemeteries

During my fieldwork I visited two Muslim cemeteries in Jerusalem: Mamilla cemetery in the New City and the cemetery along the Eastern Wall near the Lion's Gate (Map 2). The Mamilla cemetery, *Ma'man Allah*¹⁴, is the oldest Muslim cemetery in Jerusalem where a number of Salah ad-Din's soldiers and administrators were buried during the Crusader period (Khalidi, 2009). It served as a burial ground until the British took control of Palestine in the early 20th century. Now, many of the gravestones have been razed to the ground by bulldozers - despite the protests of a number of archaeologists worldwide - and approximately 300 skeletons removed and possibly buried into a mass grave (Quraishy, 2009). A new museum, the Museum of Tolerance, has been planned on the spot by the Simon Wiesenthal Center and in 2004 the governor of California, Arnold Schwarzenegger, set the corner stone in place. Archaeologists all over the world have signed a petition¹⁵ to preserve the archaeological monuments as well as the past and tradition of the people.

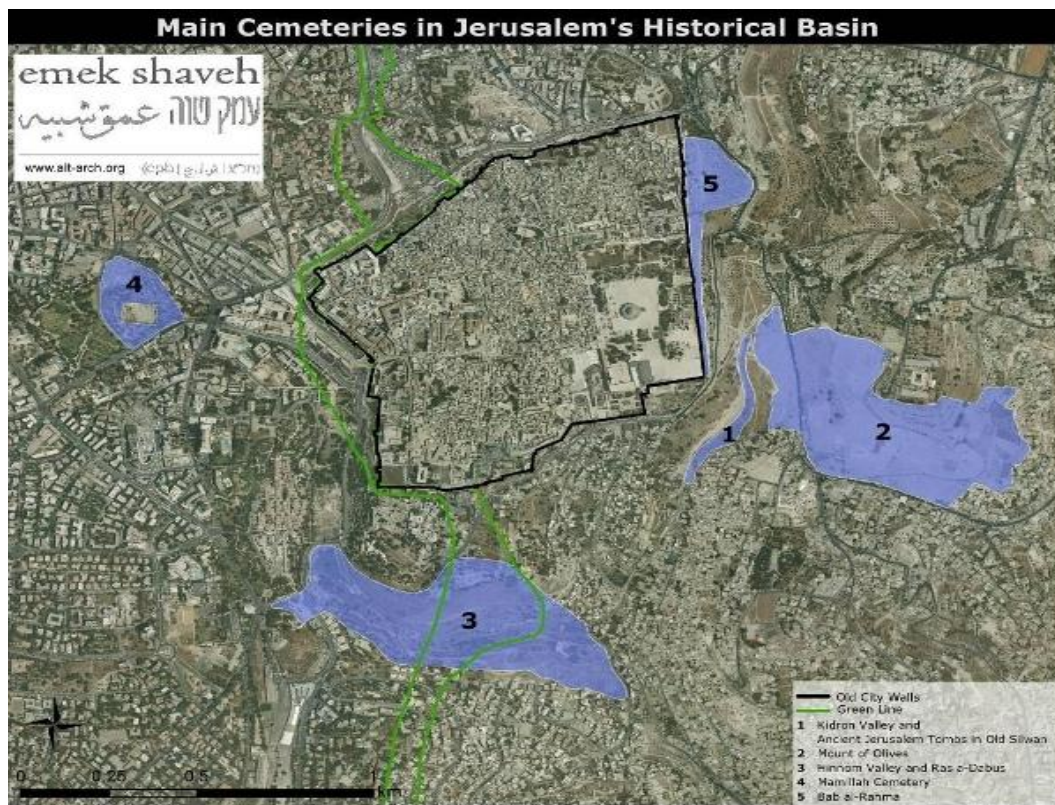
The Muslim cemetery near the Lion's Gate, the *Bab Al-Rahmah* cemetery, faced similar fate – Israel decided to turn part of the cemetery into a biblical garden and forbid Muslims using it as a burial ground. Similarly, it is a historically significant cemetery and such appropriations of space and past do not bid well with the local Muslim communities. Apart from the archaeological information this historic cemetery can provide, it is also an important spiritual and religious landscape that is being eradicated. Such destruction of many archaeological layers, simultaneously with the connection people have to this land, results in elimination of possible archaeological and historic knowledge of the past.

¹⁴ The Sanctuary of God. Trnsl.

¹⁵ Available at http://ccrjustice.org/files/mamilla_letter.pdf

The destruction of the cemeteries continues despite the efforts of local residents and human rights activists. This issue is currently being discussed on an international level, including the UNESCO and the international archaeological community but with no significant success. Restoring the cemeteries is not possible anymore but maybe further destruction can be prevented. Although cemeteries form a strong link between the people and the land, I believe in the long run destroying sacred places will have a negative effect for Israel and encourages those affected to fight more strongly for their rights.

Not only graves are matters of dispute. Archaeological excavations in Israel often have to deal with finding bones. Next paragraph will shortly introduce and discuss the complex issue of human remains on archaeological projects.



Map 2. Main Cemeteries in Jerusalem's Historical Basin. 1 – Kidron Valley and Ancient Jerusalem Tombs in Old Silwan, 2 – Mount of Olives, 3 – Hinnom Valley and Ras a-Dabus, 4 – Mamillah Cemetery, 5 – Bab al Rahma cemetery. Courtesy of EmekShaveh.

12.2 Picking a Bone: The Sensitive Matter of the Excavated Human Remains

The matter of human remains is sensitive everywhere, but in Israel the matter is more complex. When such remains are found, the archaeologist needs to determine whose bones he or she is dealing with and the results will decide the future of both, the project and the bones. The situation is almost contrary to the Jewish cemeteries or sites where Jewish remains may be found. The Ultra-Orthodox interpretation of the religious law entails that Jewish grave sites and remains should not be excavated or disturbed in any way (El-Haj 2001: 259). Different archaeological projects in Israel have come up with code words for bones, in case they happen to come across human remains. In Ramat Rachel, the code word was 'bananas' and no one was supposed to talk about bones at any given time. There are two reasons for this: firstly, if the presence of Jewish human remains is discovered by the Jewish religious authorities they might halt the excavation all together, not to mention the protests, which might follow and could stall the excavation process, and secondly, not to attract grave-robbers who might associate the bones with burial goods waiting to be stolen.

In a place where religion and politics are so intertwined that it is next to impossible to separate the two, issues such as this can very easily be exploited. As Sir Mortimer Wheeler, a well-known archaeologist, once said on the radio, "we do no harm to the poor chaps. When I'm dead you can dig me up ten times for all I care", in Jerusalem it is certainly not the case and human remains continue to cause problems for archaeologists and local people alike and both cemeteries and human remains from archaeological excavations continue to affect the social and political scenery. From the point of view of Israeli ideologues, the quest to locate ancient Judean graves and incorporating them into the present landscape, makes sense, however looking at it in a neutral and unbiased fashion, it is an audacious act of annulling the 1400 year

old Muslim precedence from the land and exposing a much earlier past that may or may not have been.

13. Museums of Archaeology and the Historic Narrative

The number of museums has grown tremendously all over the world and visiting museums is somewhat of a ritual for people traveling to foreign countries. The same is true for Israel, where museums have become part of the country's self-representation and means to diffuse its national identity and the past it has constructed. In 1997 James Clifford introduced the idea of 'museums as contact zones' (Clifford, 1997), although concentrating more on ethnographic collections. The term 'contact zone' was introduced by Mary Louise Pratt referring to "[...] social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power[...]" (Pratt 1991: 33) Clifford proposed that museums could be such contact zones where historically separated groups could establish an evolving relationship. Can we speak of a 'contact zone' when talking about the museums of archaeology and history in Israel, given the fact that these museums depict the history of an area shared by two different groups, who have both in one time or another worked the same landscape. Could such museums become the space for negotiating understanding and acknowledging each other's right for past, present and future, or will they continue to reproduce a biased and one-sided historical narrative, alienating the two even further.

The cultural landscape of Israel has been besprinkled with new museums since 1967. Due to the conflicted socio-political atmosphere more weight is placed on the image Israeli museums need to reflect. In many museums, therefore, the significance of the objects has decreased, making them just

appliances in remitting the biblical narrative to the audience. Very often, the artefacts are exhibited in the biblical context or connected to the audio-visual installations depicting the narrative. It is especially the museums concentrating on a multimedia program that tend to be more nationalist in nature. I suggest that certain museums of archaeology and history sustain and deepen the gap between Israeli and Palestinian self-perception through reproducing a biased and one-sided history whereas others, like the Israel Museum, recognize the importance of representing the history of the Lands of Israel and Palestine as a whole.

After being excavated and interpreted, many artefacts are placed in museums for public viewing. It is in the museums, where most people come in first-hand contact with historic objects, that is why the correct and unbiased representation of, and information about these objects is crucial. In Jerusalem, however, some museums are a part of Israel's religious and nationalist ideological propaganda. There are numerous of museums in Jerusalem containing archaeological material excavated mainly in Israel or the near surroundings. The museums can be divided into two categories: 1.) Museums located on archaeological sites themselves, where the surroundings determine the exhibited objects and archaeological remains have been incorporated into the exposition; 2.) Museums containing large collections of diverse material without a particular emphasis on a certain historic period. In this paragraph I will show how archaeological material has been exhibited and used for reconstructing a certain kind of past. Many of the exhibitions are available for visiting only with a qualified tour guide who skilfully connects artefacts with Biblical stories or events.

Many museums and exhibitions were available for visiting only with a tour-guide to connect the places and artefacts either with biblical narrative or the State of Israel. Besides observing the artefacts and their setting, I was curious to find out how the information was passed on to the public, and for what kind of public the museum expected. I did it by checking the availability of

information panels and leaflets, as well as tours, in various languages and after visiting a number of museums saw, that information in Arabic was available in very few museums, making the Arabic speaking population cut off from the information.

13.1 The Burnt House of Kathros

The Burnt House of Kathros, or simply the Burnt House, is a small museum located in the new Jewish Quarter¹⁶. It was accidentally found in 1970 during a clean-up for upcoming reconstructions in the area. A team of archaeologists uncovered building stones and household utensils, all blackened by soot. Based on this evidence they drew a conclusion that the house was burnt and destroyed when the Roman Legions conquered the city in 70 CE. Among other finds was a stone weight with the engraving “[of] Bar Kathros”, evidence that suggests this house might have belonged to the Kathrosfamily of priests and thence got the name ‘Burnt House of Kathros. Today a residential structure has been built above the burnt remains and a museum established in the basement.

The Burnt House can be visited on specific timeslots; this is due to the short film visitors are shown prior to viewing the artefacts. The film reconstructs the last hours of the Kathros family¹⁷; it is based on a small number of finds, but is nevertheless very detailed.

In the centre of the exhibition room is the main area of the former living quarters with pieces of shattered stone vessels and pottery lying around, just as they would have been left after the Roman destruction. The film playing on the screen, which is hanging above the living area, depicts the exact same

¹⁶Rebuilding of the Jewish Quarter began in 1969, after the area was destroyed in 1967 during the 6-day war. Extensive archaeological excavations were conducted simultaneously uncovering buildings from Second Temple Period.

¹⁷The Kathros family was one of the lineages of the priests to the Temple.

pots intact. To increase the effect of dramatization, at the end of the film, in the scene showing the destruction of the house, the objects fall in a particular spot which, upon entering the House, are found by the visitors in the exact location as it was shown in the film. An iron spear and a hand of a female nearby were among the most interesting finds from the House. These finds were used to depict the tragic struggle of Miriam, the servant to the house of Kathros, who was defending herself and a child from the Roman soldiers when they were trying to slaughter them and eventually succeeded.

I do not want to speculate on the correctness of these conclusions but instead to point out how, in this case, a detailed narrative for the past has been created from a small number of objects and then passed on to people who might take it not as conjecture but rather as the absolute truth, putting their trust in the expertise of archaeologists.

The Burnt House is not a unique occurrence. Archaeological excavations have provided a blueprint for rebuilding the Jewish Quarter as an entirely Jewish landscape, expanding its original boundaries. I do not want to propose that an entirely Jewish representation of history should be considered wrong. Instead, I want to point out that the archaeological knowledge and interpretations are not easily accessible for people whose native language is Arabic. Due to the language barrier the museum cannot function as a contact zone between the two nations, Israelis and Palestinians.

13.2 The Tower of David Museum of the History of Jerusalem

The Citadel of Jerusalem, also known as the Tower of David, is a fortress-like structure at the entrance to the Old City near the Jaffa Gate. The site has been fortified since the Hellenistic times and, as the city changed hands; later additions were built by King Herod, Romans, Islamic conquerors and Crusaders. The current Citadel was rebuilt on top of the remains in 1310 by the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammed (Hawari, 2010) and later additions were added up

until the 20th century. It was an important political and military centre of power until the British Mandate. Already during the Mandate period the Citadel was used for temporary exhibitions and cultural events. Archaeological work on the site has been going on there since the 1967 war and archaeologists believe to have found, among other things, the fortifications to king Herod's palace, the foundations of the Tower of David (Wilson 2006: 71) which give the place its present name.

The Tower of David Museum opened its doors in 1989, after a series of excavations and intensive restoration. It is among the primary tourist attractions of Jerusalem and is most likely visited by everyone visiting the city. After the sun sets the tower serves as a stage for a show of light and sound, depicting different periods of Jerusalem's history. In the words of Renee Sivas, the curator of the museum, people "[...] are transported to an imaginary Jerusalem, to a dream"¹⁸. Next to the permanent collection the museum houses many contemporary temporary displays. The history of Jerusalem is told by using modern audio-visual techniques and simulations. The museum does not hold any archaeological artefacts, merely reproductions that are installed in the historic structure. The Citadel of Jerusalem is an excellent example of appropriation of a place and culture, imposing it to the public as something that it is not. It is a museum about Jerusalem's history located in an Ottoman structure and named to suggest the Jewish claim to the place. Along with many other excavations in the Jewish Quarter after the annexation of Jerusalem, the work of archaeologists has been criticized as an effort to create a Jewish presence on the site (Wilson 2006: 71) and legitimize the claim to the land.

¹⁸<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25B0WGGGoVR0> Uploaded by medialink.com

13.3 Israel Museum

My most enjoyable museum visit was to the Israel Museum. It takes a whole day to explore the entire collection and some of the objects are unique, for example the Dead Sea Scrolls. It was interesting for me to see the Scrolls, because I had the chance to visit the study of Avner Goren and he informed me that the first Dead Sea Scroll was opened in the very same room more than sixty years ago.

Situated in the Givat Ram neighbourhood of Jerusalem, The Israel Museum is the national museum of the State of Israel. According to the Museum website, it is home to nearly 500,000 objects of fine art, archaeology, *Judaica* and Jewish ethnography, representing the history of world culture from nearly one million years ago to the present. Being Israel's main cultural institution it prides itself in being one of the leading encyclopaedic museums of the world. A day pass allows the visitor access to the main part of the Museum and the Shrine of the Book, which houses the Dead Sea Scrolls; the Second Temple model, and the model of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period, attempting to reconstruct the topography and architectural character of the city as it was prior to its destruction by the Romans; and of course the Art Garden, which displays various modern western sculptures and serves as the backdrop for the Museum and its collection.

Unlike the other museums I visited for my field research, Israel Museum was refreshingly objective in its approach to material culture. It has what one would expect from an international museum. There are no re-enactments of historical events through visual media or short films, no overtly nationalistic or biblical sentiment or disestablished context attributed to the exhibits. It is different in character, in architecture, in the portrayal of the collection and the overall message it is collectively trying to convey. There are several wings within the main Museum facility and the focus of research became the archaeological galleries, known as the Samuel and Saidye Bronfman Archaeology Wing. This

part of the Museum is devoted to the ancient Land of Israel and claims to display the most extensive holdings of biblical and Holy Land archaeology in the world, mainly from archaeological excavations in Israel. This archaeological section is divided into seven parts or periods, namely, The Dawn of Civilization, from 1.5 million to 6,500 years ago; The Land of Canaan, from Bronze Age to Late Bronze Age; Israel and the Bible, covering Iron age and the Babylonian and Persian Periods; Greeks, Romans and Jews, from 322 BCE to 63 BCE; Under Roman Rule; from 63 BCE to 70 CE; Holy Land, from 324 CE to 750 CE, Muslims and Crusaders, from 750 CE to 1516 CE. Although the collection mainly focuses on the Levantine or biblical archaeology but unlike other museums I have discussed it remains very objective and does not force the visitor to digest a certain preconceived narrative based on biblical passages.

In addition to the above mentioned departments, they have various educational events and programs, which seem to be quite inclusive and focused on community participation. The Ruth Youth Wing for Art Education have special programs foster intercultural understanding between Arab and Jewish students and reach out to the wide spectrum of Israel's communities. Though I did not get an opportunity to visit or participate in any of these outreach programs but from the literature available they seem to be focused on integration and bridging the gap between communities through art and dialogue between Arabs and Jewish youth. The Israel Museum is a progressive museum and its focus on promoting its heritage and history is no more or any less than museums of other nations (Greece for example) that were carved on the map after the Second World War. I did not take part in any of the guided tours of the Museum, therefore I am not able to comment on how the volunteer guides explain the collection to the visitors, but ironically, the Israel Museum with its very much nationalised name happens to have a rather international spirit. At least the public face of the museum does not come across nationalistic or separatist. Like other international museums around the world, at the end of the visit, its visitors are left informed enough to

form an opinion of their own - that, in my opinion, is how museums are supposed to function

A number of museums in Israel have decided to spice up their collections with different multimedia installations. Next chapter will describe and analyse a few examples of such installations in Jerusalem.

14. Audio-Visual Representation of Archaeology and Historical Narrative in Museums

“Much of the representation of archaeological material is geared to the instant appreciation and visual stimulation demanded by the video generation; like fast-food, there is a “fast-past”.” (Yoffee&Sherratt 1993:1) The last point I want to address in the scope of my thesis is this ‘fast-past’ in the context of museums and exhibitions of archaeology in Jerusalem. With the development of film industry more archaeological debates and knowledge reach the wider audience. A large number of archaeology documentaries are produced each year to enable the viewer to keep track of the newest developments in the field. As is with the author of a book, the producer of the documentary chooses the content and the audience he or she chooses to address. There are documentaries claiming the Bible is a myth and those countering that claim, documentaries either tracking the life of Jesus or showing no such person existed after all, there is even an entire series running on History Channel dedicated to investigating the Ancient Aliens. Documentaries and feature films, like Indiana Jones, have, in my opinion, succeeded in raising interest and curiosity in archaeology more than written sources ever have. Today, the practice of using multimedia technology to inform and educate the public has been applied in museums and exhibitions all over the world.

In previous paragraphs I have briefly introduced and described a phenomenon observable in museums and exhibitions across Jerusalem – multimedia

installations and films depicting the history of the city. In this chapter I want to examine a small number of such visual representations in order to show how cartoons and sophisticated audio-visual techniques are interwoven with archaeological material and biblical texts. These quasi-historical representations layer the archaeological objects and the written descriptions with controversial and disputed information. Such manifestations place the objects in a highly contrived archaeological setting, giving the people a pre-formulated idea about how to perceive the past. In Jerusalem, it seems, it is done systematically – seemingly different films concentrate on selected events and people. “[I]mages lend a rhetorical advantage to arguments precisely because their optical consistency lends to the appearance of objectivity and neutrality, yet they are always situated and highly selective” (van Dyke 2006: 370).

Many archaeological sites and museums in Jerusalem use films and multimedia presentations to introduce the site to the people. I chose to describe and analyse the 3Dimensional film shown in the City of David¹⁹. The history of others is not denied but it is mostly silent. That is apparent in the majority of the tourist attractions associated with the history and archaeology of the city. The approximate length of the movie did not exceed fifteen minutes but during that span of time the viewers were acquainted with very long controversial and complicated periods in history.

The City of David 3-Dimensional computer reconstruction fits 3000 years of history in one short clip. The film is narrated by a fictional archaeologist, sometimes rightly referred to as the Israeli Indiana Jones (Butters, 2009), called Amos, and with the help of ‘the Bible and the shovel’ he flies through the Jewish version of the history of Jerusalem, never mentioning that the city was also governed by both Muslim or Christian authorities. The film starts with a bold statement: “In the valley, just below Jerusalem’s Old City walls, the birth right of the Jewish people is being unearthed”. This sentence already makes it clear that the history, exposed during the film and on the tour, will be exclusively

¹⁹A preview of the film can be seen here: http://www.cityofdavid.org.il/en/virtual_tool/3d-movie

Jewish. Using more verses from the Bible than actual archaeological data he (Amos) tells the story of King David's ingeniousness while conquering the city, Hezekiah's bravery protecting it and the predictions of the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah.

His story is cut off with destruction of the Second Temple by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II in the 6th century BCE. Then after 2000 years of silence the story starts again with Elad and the Jewish settlers returning to and rebuilding the City of David. It shows Jewish families moving into the houses, road constructions etc. It clearly depicts just one side of the narrative and does not once mention the Palestinians, who have lived there for generations. It looks as the Jewish families, after the discovery of the site by archaeologists, move back to their rightful home which has been hidden for so long and finally regained. The movie, just like the City of David guided tour keeps silent on the various other groups of people who have lived on the site and left their mark in the layers under Silwan, just as they ignore the present layer with people and their stories. If they keep it silent then, after the initial storm, it might be forgotten.

Our video-guide, Amos, gives a short but precise introduction to the stories later being retold by the tour guide to make the information more understandable and easy to remember. He suggest to imagine the stories taking place whilst walking through the site and when necessary reads a verse or two from the Bible, which he is carrying with him throughout the film. The movies contain archaeological material put in the context of familiar characters and stories in order to quickly create a visual connection between the artefacts and stories. People tend to understand photographs and visual images better than reading descriptive texts and leaflets. When information has been acquired visually, fewer questions are raised later on. After the 3D movie of the City of David, the tour guide usually asked the group whether and how they liked it. None of the 20-30 people seemed to doubt the contents of the movie, usually everyone says at once: "It was great, very interesting". Only once I

observed when an older lady tried to bring up the 'Palestinian problem' after the show but the tour guide aptly changed the subject by 'not mixing culture with politics'. The clips are a good example of what is considered relevant by the people in charge of the enterprise.

The movie ends with the powerful statement of Elad: "Welcome to the City of David, the place where it all began...and continues". The 3D clip has received much critique from both Muslim and Jewish population of Jerusalem. Two of my interviewees, both archaeologists of Jewish descent, agree that the Judean-Jewish archaeological layer in the City of David is very important but criticize the fairy-tale-like presentation. Additionally they would like to see more representation of other layers also present and "archaeologically interesting", for example the Canaanite or late Muslim layers, both important periods in the history of the City of David. Similar films are shown in the 'Burnt House of Kathros' (Ch 13), in the Tower of David Museum and in the Davidson Centre Jerusalem Archaeological Park, a shorter clip is shown in the Western Wall Tunnels. After visiting the main archaeological sites-turned-museums in Jerusalem I was left with a feeling that nothing really important happened there besides David conquering the City, Solomon building the Temple, Herod building the Second temple and Nebuchadnezzar II destroying the Temple and also Jewish return to their ancient homeland – *EretzYisrael*.

Conclusion

The objective of this research was to demonstrate, on the basis of my fieldwork, to what extent archaeology is and can be used for political, religious, nationalist or capitalist ideologies. With the help of the literature along with my own fieldwork I believe I have managed to show the magnitude of archaeological research in Jerusalem and its effects on the Israeli-Palestinian relations for one, and its influence on the overall socio-political atmosphere of the country. Archaeology is used as an ideological instrument in certain socio-political settings, which in general are brought about by the modern notion of

nationalism. Due to the sensitivity and versatility of the knowledge archaeology as a science can provide, it is easy to manipulate it and to arrange it in a suitable context. In conflict or post-conflict areas the tendency for archaeology to become an ideological tool is higher. The process that led up to and the events that followed the creation of the Israeli state required, and still require, 'facts on the ground', something to legitimize the State of Israel and its current political actions. Archaeology does provide that.

A small country like Estonia, which has been occupied longer than it has been independent, there is a need for exclusively Estonian history and culture to provide a national identity. In the beginning of the 20th century Estonians (re)created a religion based on mythology and sacrificial stones found all over Estonia without real evidence of such a religion ever existing. Additionally F.R Kreutzwald wrote a national epic - *Kalevipoeg*, which is loosely based on folklore and oral history as well as the Finnish epic *Kalevala*. Interestingly not many people have read it or know the details of the famous Estonian epic, instead it is a symbol for Estonian national identity, and the fact of knowing that there exists an epic they can call their own. Similarly, I believe, many archaeological sites and artefacts have weight just as symbols of national history and the long historical account and importance is just of secondary importance. Archaeology produces the symbols, and a convenient narrative is attached to it for increased effect.

During my time as a volunteer I concluded, that people with very different backgrounds get together and find common language and goal through participating in archaeological excavations. Avner Goren told me that he believes, archaeology can and should be used to bridge the gap between Israelis and Palestinians through learning about each other and see how much they actually have in common. Unfortunately at the moment, many archaeological projects cause further alienation. Although, my fieldwork in the City of David Archaeological Park, demonstrated the widening gap between the Israelis and Palestinians, there have been examples in the history of Israel

where very important archaeological artefacts have been sacrificed for pursuing peace. One condition of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty was to give back artefacts uncovered in the Sinai desert since 1967. The treaty was signed in March 1979 and the last artefacts were returned to Egypt in 1993. In this case, Israel returned territory and archaeological material to Egypt in the effort for conciliation. According to Avner Goren, an archaeologist, part of the team negotiating peace, there were a great number of artefacts, with files and research, returned and among them some very important artefacts for the history and identity of Israel.

Today the situation with archaeology and territory is volatile and it is far from being involved in the peace process between Israel and Palestinian Territories. A similar situation occurred in November 1993 before the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza region and Jericho. Under the directives of the Israel Antiquities Authority a salvage excavation took place to locate more Jewish scrolls before the area was turned over to the Palestinians (El-Haj 2002: 240). This move caused the Palestinian Authorities to raise a question about the ownership of archaeological artefacts unearthed in the territories since 1967. Who should own and control the cultural property of the West Bank and Gaza and who can call the heritage theirs (El-Haj 2002: 242). Both sides claim the archaeological objects to represent their cultural and national history and rootedness to the land - only from different angles and viewpoints. The Jewish archaeologists are showing the re-found nativness of the Jewish people in the Lands of Israel and the Palestinians are laying claim to their indigeneity in the territories.

Archaeology's role in political and cultural endeavours fluctuates in time and space along with the current socio-political atmosphere. It cannot be said that one country or another is always utilizing archaeology for questionable goals, but on some occasions the knowledge archaeology produces proves to be an easy tool in the wrong hands. That is the reason why research articles from outside the field of archaeology can provide a critical view and hopefully balance the inequalities. Additionally, after writing a thesis on archaeology, I

realized that the disciplines also differ in the vocabulary that is used to explain findings and theories. In archaeology, very often the words 'evidence' and 'proof' are used to explain the data gathered, which makes me understand why it is so often used in contexts of legitimization – proving one's right to land and history. It was established simultaneously with the rise of nationalism, and the scientific language evolved in that same context. In anthropological interpretation and writings these two words are rarely used in a similar context.

15. Abstract (German)

Die Gründung des Staates Israel im Mai 1948 hatte weltweit Einfluss auf das Fach der Archäologie. Der neue Staat wurde mit Fragen der nationalen und territorialen Identität, die geschaffen und gestärkt werden musste, konfrontiert. Diese nationale und territoriale Selbstfindung, die in diesem speziellen Falle teilweise zu einer Selbstinszenierung avancierte, setzt sich bis heute fort. Archäologische Ausgrabungen und Tourismus des kulturellen Erbes florieren in den letzten zwanzig Jahren und erreichten ein Ausmaß, welches das Leben und die Identität der einheimischen palästinensischen Bevölkerung bedroht.

Die vorliegende Arbeit enthält eine von mir durchgeführte empirische Forschung innerhalb zweier archäologischer Projekte in Jerusalem, sowie ebenfalls von mir geführte Gespräche mit Archäologen, Anwohnern und Touristen. Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es zu zeigen, wie Archäologie in Politik, Religion und Tourismus-Industrie des Staates Israel eingebunden ist. Meine Feldforschung innerhalb der beiden archäologischen Projekte beweist, dass die Legitimität von archäologischen Daten gelegentlich nicht so wichtig ist, wie die Stärkung der jüdischen Identität innerhalb des Großteils der israelischen Bevölkerung.

Durch die Untersuchung verschiedenster musealer Sammlungen und öffentlicher archäologischer Stätten beabsichtige ich zu zeigen, wie durch eine ehervoreingenommene geschichtliche Darstellung versucht wird, die palästinensische Version des historischen Narrativs zum Schweigen zu bringen.

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