

# FACTS ON THE GROUND



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Archaeological  
Practice and  
Territorial  
Self-Fashioning  
in Israeli Society

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NADIA ABU EL-HAJ

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Nadia Abu El-Haj

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the University of Chicago.

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# Author's Note

As much as possible, I have tried to combine accuracy, technical simplicity, and consistency in the method of transliteration. The *h* is used for the letter "het," *kh* for "khaf," *ts* for "tsadi," *k* for "kaf," and *q* for "kuf." However, in particular cases where a conventional spelling differs from this rule, I chose to follow the standard convention (e.g., Eretz, Mizrahim, Haredim, Kotel, as well as particular personal and place-names). The bibliography provides Hebrew titles in transliteration, followed by an English translation. Where Hebrew publishers provided an English title, I have followed their choice of translation.



# Excavating Archaeology

A “national hobby”—that is how archaeology has often been described in Israeli society. During the early decades of statehood, this historical science transcended its purview as an academic discipline. Archaeological sites and the ancient stories they told galvanized public sentiment. Science and the popular imagination were deeply enmeshed. In the words of one Knesset member describing and defending the Masada myth<sup>1</sup> against a critical historical reading, “Masada is far more than an archaeological or historic site. It is an expression of the independence and heroism of the Jewish people.” He could not imagine “his national identity without Masada . . . [his father having] raised him on the heroic tale” (*Qol ha-‘Ir*, 7 February 1992: 37).

An understanding of archaeology as a privileged ground of national identity and national rights shaped the discipline and characterized its relationship to the work of nation-state building during the first decades of statehood. As Yigael Yadin, former chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and the country’s most famous archaeologist, once explained, for young Israelis, a “belief in history” had come to be “a substitute for religious faith” (quoted in Silberman 1993). Various excavations—the most famous of which were carried out in the 1960s at Masada and the Bar Kochba caves—were supported financially, logistically, and symbolically by the state and the IDF. They were sustained by the work of volunteers and the Zionist youth movements, and they received wide coverage in the national press. Such excavations emerged as idioms through which contemporary political commitments and visions were articulated and disputed (see Ben-Yehuda 1995; Zerubavel 1995). More broadly, archaeology became a widespread national-cultural practice among the Jewish public. Jewish public schools, youth



movements, and the IDF (during its basic training for draftees) marched students and soldiers around the country in an effort to teach a knowledge of the homeland (*yedi'at ha-Aretz*). This was a project in which the past and present, antiquities and contemporary settlements, and culture and nature were all brought into view.

This book is, in part, a study of that phenomenon. It analyzes the significance of archaeology to the Israeli state and society and the role it played in the formation and enactment of its colonial-national historical imagination and in the substantiation of its territorial claims.<sup>2</sup> I focus on selected archaeological projects that shaped the spatial foundations and ideological contours of settler nationhood, from the 1880s through the 1950s, and that facilitated its territorial extension, appropriation, and gradual reconfiguration following the 1967 war. Those same research projects were, simultaneously, of primary importance to the work of discipline building, to crystallizing archaeology's paradigms of argumentation and practice, and to demarcating and sustaining its central research agendas. In contrast to the few studies on the topic to date, I do not approach the significance of archaeology solely with reference to the question of nation-building. Instead, I insist that the history of colonization be brought center stage. In addition, rather than focusing on the discursive invocations of archaeological sites and artifacts in ongoing political and cultural disputes,<sup>3</sup> I scrutinize the discipline itself. I analyze the projects and struggles out of which archaeology in Palestine/Israel was produced as a distinctive discipline, explicating the microdynamics of scientific work and the paradigms of practice and argumentation out of which geographies, landscapes, artifacts, histories, and historicities have all been made. But far from focusing on the professional work of archaeology and archaeologists alone, I approach archaeology as an institution, realized and practiced at the nexus of multiple social and political fields. I ask *how* it was that archaeology emerged as such a powerful and pervasive phenomenon and force, one within whose domain the very foundations of a colonial-national-cultural imagination were given shape and often acrimonious and even violently contested political and territorial struggles came to be waged.

This study is best understood as an anthropology of science that meets an anthropology of colonialism and nationalism. I borrow specific methodological and theoretical insights from a philosophical and social scientific literature that analyzes the natural sciences in order to examine the work of archaeology, a historical field science. In turn, I approach this field science as a lens through which to trace the dynamics of colonization, nation-state building and territorial expansion, and the trans-

formations and contestations entailed in ongoing struggles to define and claim the present and future in Palestine and Israel.

To date, scholars have analyzed the significance of archaeology in Israeli society solely in relation to the question of nationhood. In a land in which the vast majority of Jewish inhabitants were immigrants, that is, members of distinct Jewish communities now gathered in Palestine/Israel, archaeology has been argued to have been integral to a long and ongoing struggle to produce a cohesive national imagination.<sup>4</sup> After all, the discipline of archaeology was an extension of the historical profession, a course of study first established in European universities in the early nineteenth century alongside the rise of European nationalisms and nation-states (see Hobsbawm 1990; Anderson 1991; Calhoun 1997; Trigger 1989; Duara 1995; see also Suny 2001). The convergence of the nation-form with historical scholarship fashioned the perspective through which the past would be viewed. Continuous national or ethnic histories were traced along a modern temporal grid of linear time (see Anderson 1991; Duara 1995; Kossellek 1985). Within the field of archaeology, national history took the form of a culture-historical approach to the past. Its research agendas were structured around the quest for national origins believed to be contained within the remains of specific ethnic or racial groups visible in the archaeological record (Dietler and Herbich 1998: 232; see also Trigger 1989). The first generation of Israeli archaeologists—mainly immigrants from central and eastern Europe, many of whom had been trained in European universities—replicated, wholesale, that culture-historical approach to the ancient past. They produced evidence of ancient Israelite and Jewish presence in the Land of Israel, thereby supplying the very foundation, embodied in empirical form, of the modern nation's origin myth.

Archaeological practice generated a historical knowledge and epistemology that became almost second nature in representations of and arguments about nation, homeland, sovereignty, national rights, history, and heritage for decades to come. As a nationalist tradition, Israeli archaeology did far more than dig in search of evidence of an ancient Israelite and Jewish past embedded in the land. It was driven by an epistemology that *assumed* nations, itself embedded in a specific conception of *what history is*, including the significant events of which it is made (accounts of the rise and fall of states and empires, of wars, and of the ruling classes) and the relevant historical actors by which it is made. The archaeological record was understood to contain remnants of nations and ethnic groups, distinctly demarcated (archaeological) cultures that could be identified and plotted across the landscape.

In order to understand the dynamics and significance of archaeological work, it cannot be analyzed solely within this nation-building framework, however. That would be to accept uncritically one of the most significant *effects* of archaeological practice, an outcome of the complex dynamics of a colonial encounter in which archaeology came to play a powerful role. In other words, the colonial dimension of Jewish settlement in Palestine cannot be sidelined if one is to understand the significance and consequences of archaeological practice or, far more fundamentally, if one is to comprehend the dynamics of Israeli nation-state building and the contours of the Jewish national imagination as it crystallized therein. Rather than analytically arguing for Zionism's colonial *or* national dimensions or, as is also common in scholarship on Israeli society, effacing the colonial question altogether, I insist on the articulation of the colonial *and* national projects.<sup>5</sup>

Zionism was borne in Europe in the late nineteenth century and was fashioned within the terms and logics of European nationalisms. As Gershon Shafir has written, "Zionism was a variety of Eastern European nationalism . . . an ethnic movement in search of a state" ([1989] 1996: xiv). The Jewish state, however, was not established in Europe itself, but rather on the colonial periphery. Agitating ultimately for the "return" of Jews to Palestine (a place long resonant in Jewish religious practice and life), for the purpose of establishing a sovereign state, Zionism in effect furnished a political solution for Europe's "Jewish question."<sup>6</sup> In Jonathan Boyarin's words, founding the Jewish state involved "a simultaneously willed *and* forced gathering of a patently reconstituted people" (Boyarin 1990: 4).

The Jewish state was founded in a territory under colonial dominion. It was the British who first promised Palestine to the Jews as their national home, a pledge that ultimately precluded the possibility of its indigenous Arab inhabitants (some of whom were Jews) achieving sovereignty during the process of decolonization to come. And it was within the context of Palestine that the contours of the so-called "new Hebrew" nation and citizenry took shape. It was within the realities and encounters of a settler-colonial society that national culture and ideology were formed. European nationalist imaginations and histories and, for that matter, the Zionist movement's commitment to distinguishing the new Hebrew person and culture from Jewish counterparts in the Diaspora was not the only relevant context—and certainly not the primary context—in relation to which the new Hebrew national culture was fashioned. In fact, the near complete occlusion of "the question of Pales-

tine" (Said 1992) from most Israeli historical and social scientific scholarship can be argued to be but one outcome of "the shaping of an acceptable range of Zionist discourse that set the terms of the polemic and therefore enabled a range of exclusions" (Boyarin 1996: 61).<sup>7</sup>

Nation and empire were always and everywhere co-constituted, as recent writings in colonial studies have insisted (see Cooper and Stoler 1989; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). The history of Palestine/Israel was no different. As in settler colonies elsewhere, the colonizer and the colonized inhabited "the same place," with the difference between "metropole" and "colony" and between "modern" and "primitive" refracted across space and polity alike (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; on Israel, see Shohat 1989; Alcalay 1993). In contrast to other settler colonies, however, there never was an actual metropole for Jewish settlers in Palestine (although the World Zionist organization can be seen as its non-territorial analogue); the projects of settlement and of nation-building developed at one and the same time on a single colonial terrain. To adapt Jim Ferguson and Akhil Gupta's phrase, "familiar lines of 'here' and 'there,' center and periphery, colony and metropole" were "blurred" from the very start (1992: 10). In other words, there were unusual spatial and temporal dimensions to this settler colony that were, in turn, tied to distinct ideological ones. Settlement was framed and legitimized in relation to a *belief* in Jewish national return, an ideology of national right that became ever more powerful and salient for its members and supporters following the destruction of European Jewry during the Holocaust. Palestine and Israel—the colony and the metropole—were, and are, the same place, with the former quite rapidly and repeatedly transformed into a cultural and historical space to which the Jewish settlers would lay *national* claim and over which they would assert sovereign ownership.<sup>8</sup> If colonialism, as Nicholas Dirks has argued, "transformed domination into a variety of effects that masked both conquest and rule" (1992: 7), the most important of those effects in Palestine was to efface Zionism's colonial dimension, at least from the perspective of those building and supporting the Jewish state. It was to erase the question of "Palestine" from the history of the Israeli state and society, which had become, quite simply, the nation-state of and for the Jewish people. Its own cultural and political struggles would henceforth be analyzed and understood, by and large, through a national(ist) lens.<sup>9</sup>

In examining that nation-building/colonization project through the perspective of archaeological practice, this book follows in the footsteps of a recent tradition in colonial studies, which has exhibited a growing

concern with the power of knowledge to shape the contours of colonial rule.<sup>10</sup> Here I bring that colonial studies literature into conversation with another field of scholarship with which it does not generally or directly engage. I follow the lead of recent trends in science studies and shift the focus from an emphasis upon knowledge or upon particular discursive concepts to one on the knowledge-making practices of one specific discipline. If there were multiple forms of colonialism, as that literature has so aptly demonstrated, so too must colonial knowledge be understood to have taken multiple and diverse forms. There was no necessary relationship, for example, between archaeology and the colonial project, nor, for that matter, between archaeology and the nation. The power and salience archaeology gained in Israeli society was contingent upon a specific set of conjunctures and elective affinities out of which it developed as a principal site of knowledge and power in this particular settler-colonial field. It is worth asking *which* disciplines emerged as particularly powerful and pervasive in *which* colonial contexts, and it is worth seeking to specify how and why.

In the chapters that follow, I trace the work through which one emergent discipline produced its own institutional position and power and, concomitantly, specified and substantiated new realities of colonial nationhood and territoriality, materializing ideology in archaeological facts. And I analyze that ongoing work as it articulates with and is enabled by manifold institutions, projects, and social actors. I follow Rogers Brubaker's argument that "the nation" is a "category of practice" brought into being at specific historical and institutional junctures (1996: 7). The work of archaeology in Palestine/Israel is a cardinal institutional location of the ongoing practice of colonial nationhood, producing facts through which historical-national claims, territorial transformations, heritage objects, and historicities "happen" (19). It has continuously instantiated, specified, and repeatedly extended what Stuart Hall has called the "horizon of the taken for granted" (1988: 4), not just precise claims and conceptions of Jewish nationhood, homeland, and history, but, more broadly, distinct epistemological and national-cultural assumptions and commitments composed in and through the very workings of archaeology as a historical field science.

In analyzing the dynamic relationship between constructing Israel as a (colonial-)*national* state and society and producing archaeology as a discipline and a unified research project, my argument builds on a recent turn in science studies that insists on the mutually constitutive relationship of science and society. Beginning in the 1970s, a sociology of

science developed that concerned itself primarily with questions of epistemology and the cultures of science, marking a move away from an earlier concentration on science's institutional locations and possibilities.<sup>11</sup> Seeking to illustrate the contingency of knowledge at any moment in time by demonstrating the processes through which scientific facts are made and agreed upon, what emerged was a series of studies that approached sciences (or, specific laboratories or communities of scientists) as cultures, as groups with historically specific systems of meaning and procedures of practice.<sup>12</sup> By the 1980s, scholars began to inquire, more broadly, about how it is that scientific work entails or even requires restructuring social realities and cultural values.<sup>13</sup> Drawing upon that scholarship on the natural sciences in order to analyze the field of (Israeli) archaeology, I demonstrate how its methodological and theoretical insights can be borrowed to shed light upon the workings of one human science and the social reality that it helps to (re)shape.<sup>14</sup> In so doing, this book takes a specific science studies literature beyond its primary concerns with questions of epistemology, research agendas, and discipline building. My main interest is with the relationship between scientific practice and larger social and political worlds. I analyze particular research projects, specifying their scientific practices, institutional possibilities, and the objects of knowledge they made, and I trace the dynamics through which such work, by generating novel territorial, historical, and national-cultural possibilities and facts, became constitutive not solely of the discipline itself, but, more fundamentally, of broader social and political processes as well. Hence, questions of method loom large in this book. Rather than relying on the traffic in images, ideologies, or discourses *between* science and culture (see Keller 1992; Bloor [1976] 1991; Haraway 1989; Martin 1994), I seek to explicate the processes through which science and society were and are actually reconfigured. I do so by focusing on the interlocking institutions and communities of practice out of which artifacts, maps, names, landscapes, architectures, exhibitions, historical visions, and political realities, as well as arguments, have all been constructed. Through an examination of one particular object of study, in other words, I wish to comment on a much broader subject of inquiry, that is, the ever-dynamic relationship between (social) scientific practice, cultural imaginations, and social and political action.

This book is about one distinctive local discipline of archaeological practice, the semiautonomous field of Israeli archaeology. Simultaneously, it suggests a framework for analyzing archaeological practice

more broadly by focusing on that which unifies the field across its disparate regional traditions and institutional locations. Moreover, while much of what I will trace in Israeli archaeology could be quite simply written off as “bad science,” that is not a label entertained here. This tradition of archaeological practice may well have had an unusually intimate relationship with the Israeli state and its colonial nation-state-building project, particularly in the early decades of statehood. Nevertheless, the microdynamics of archaeological work were not driven by ideological positions writ large, but rather, as is typical of scientific work—good or bad, true or false, successful or unsuccessful—by paradigmatic conceptions of history and methods of practice and by specific epistemological commitments and evidentiary criteria. Through an analysis of particular instances of history, artifacts, and landscapes “in the making” (Latour 1987), I ask, What is it about the specific nature of archaeology’s disciplinary location and practical work that enabled it to transform truths? Moreover, how does the work of archaeology inhabit and intersect with a wider array of social practices?

### Archaeological Knowledge and Social Interests

The relationship of archaeology to politics has been the focus of an increasing amount of scholarship over the past decade or more. It is a debate that has engaged a long-standing dispute in the field about the nature of archaeological evidence.<sup>15</sup> Since its very inception as a scientific discipline, which was to be distinct from the work of mere collecting pursued by amateurs and antiquarians, the question of the “security of archaeological evidence” has been a source of ongoing debate (Wylie 1996: 311). What can or cannot be read *convincingly* from the archaeological record has long been the subject of argument. Should the goal be to collect an ever more comprehensive record of cumulative data that will inductively produce an increasingly accurate body of knowledge about the past? Or is interpretation an intrinsic part of not just understanding the past but, moreover, of the very ongoing practice of collecting itself?

Questions concerning the relationship between interpretation and data and between theory and evidence have come center stage as increasing numbers of archaeologists are debating the politics of their own discipline, including its potential uses and the implications for their professional work. Rejecting a positivist commitment to scientific method, whereby politics is seen to intervene only in instances of bad science,<sup>16</sup> such critics have argued that archaeological knowledge (as but one instance of scientific knowledge) is inherently a social product. Rooted in

multiple intellectual traditions (poststructuralism, philosophical critiques of foundationalism, Marxism and critical theory, a sociology of scientific knowledge) and developed in response to specific postcolonial political movements (specifically, demands for the repatriation of cultural objects and human remains by indigenous groups in settler nations such as Australia, the United States, and Canada), this critical tradition is united, at its most basic level, by a commitment to understanding archaeology as necessarily political. The work of archaeology is understood to reflect and mediate larger sociopolitical interests, its results often harnessed for identifiable political ends.<sup>17</sup>

Within much of this critical tradition, archaeology is seen to act as a source of legitimacy for particular, already constituted interests, in much the same way that the early work of the Edinburgh school of the sociology of scientific knowledge understood the relationship between science and politics. That “strong programme” argued for a (causal) link between the specific interests of particular social groups and the content of the knowledge produced and advocated by those groups. In the words of David Bloor, “theories of knowledge are, in effect, reflections of social ideology” (1991: 75). Neither ideology nor interests were subject to analysis in their own right. Rather, they were quite simply *explanations for* the outcome of scientific disputes.<sup>18</sup> For the most part, it is precisely in relation to such (already constituted) social interests, ideologies, or “imageries” that the content of archaeological knowledge has been understood and criticized. In Alison Wylie’s words, “what counts as a ‘fact’ in any relevant sense, is (understood to be) determined by contextually specific interests: individual, micropolitical interests, as well as class interests, broadly construed” (1996: 320). Moreover, it has been argued, archaeological data is often invoked by specific social groups or states in the pursuit of their own political ends.<sup>19</sup>

Social interests and imageries may well resonate in the work of science.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, in order to understand questions of epistemology *sociologically*—to comprehend the processes through which “facts” are actually made and agreed upon—one cannot rely on an already constituted society, ideology, or set of social interests as a simple or straightforward explanatory factor. Such analyses misconstrue the far more complex and dynamic relationship between scientific and social practices and between science and society (see Shapin and Schaffer 1985; Latour 1990). As becomes clear, for example, in my analysis of archaeological excavations in what becomes Jerusalem’s new Jewish Quarter (chaps. 6 and 7), one cannot explain the excavations’ results primarily



with reference to the national interest, to already constituted social interests extrinsic to science itself. While enabled by and enmeshed within wider fields of political struggle and social practice (military, municipal, national, architectural, legal), the practical work of excavating had a dynamic of its own that was an outcome of specific excavating techniques and technologies,<sup>21</sup> which were themselves animated by paradigms of historical inquiry and disciplinary debate that framed the material quest. The history made was not simply coterminous with the history sought. Moreover, the excavations animated shifts in the very contours of the space itself through which the rebuilt and expanded quarter emerged as an essentially Jewish place. For most (Israeli-)Jews, that quarter came to stand as the symbolic center of the “unified” city as a whole. In other words, in relying on already constituted social interests as a source of explanation for archaeological practice and knowledge, it is not just the very dynamics of archaeological *practice* that cannot adequately be explained, but also the remaking of social and political imaginations and possibilities effected through archaeology’s work.

Arguments concerning the historical or cultural significance of archaeology in and to Israeli society have argued that it supplied “confirmations” (Geva 1992: 7), legitimacy, or the necessary connection between the homeland and the nation that desired to inhabit it anew.<sup>22</sup> Rather than merely an expression of prevailing national-cultural, political, and territorial visions, however, archaeology was essential to their very constitution. Archaeology, to borrow Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler’s formulation, was not “just part of a wider battle.” Rather, it helped to determine the “nature of the battlefield itself” (1989: 612). Archaeological practice has repeatedly been engaged in the “work of extending” (Pickering 1995: 14) the very parameters of what was imaginable and plausible, rendering *given* that which in fact had to be made.<sup>23</sup> At the most fundamental level, archaeology produced this place as the Jewish national home (with its ever-expanding territorial boundaries) and created the *fact* of an ancient Israelite/Jewish nation and nation-state rooted therein. The work of archaeology incrementally reformulated political, geographic, historical, and epistemological truths. And in order to trace those myriad transformations, I suggest that we approach archaeology not primarily as a body of knowledge—as a collection of empirical and theoretical propositions about the past (ones that represent or, for that matter, *mis*represent it). Instead, we must bring into focus a fundamental aspect of archaeological practice—the work of garnering and excavating material culture—and consider what kinds of effects or consequences that practical work has in the world.

## Intervening in the Social World

In most critical engagements with the discipline, archaeologists are understood to *interpret* the archaeological record, generating particular stories or paradigms for understanding historical developments or evolutionary trends.<sup>24</sup> The question that divides these critics focuses on whether or not scholarly practice is able to generate relatively, and increasingly, accurate accounts of the past: Are our interpretations of the archaeological record mere reflections of prevailing social ideologies and interests, demonstrating little correspondence to the past (Shanks and Tilley 1987; Tilley 1989; Handsman and Leone 1989), or does that record—an accumulating body of material evidence—circumscribe what is or is not a reasonable, a better or worse historical explanation or account (cf. Trigger 1984; Wylie 1996)?<sup>25</sup> As Andrew Pickering rightly argues, within such “science-as-knowledge” paradigms, “the representational idiom is more or less obligatory—what else can we ask of knowledge other than whether it corresponds to its object” (1995: 6)? If instead we pay attention to specific practices and examine the material and social dimensions of scientific work, however, the ways in which (social) science generates facts or phenomena, which refigure what counts as true or real, are brought into view. In order to suggest one way in which this generative dimension of archaeological practice might be analytically engaged, I will borrow a specific insight, from a broad and complex field of scholarship on the dynamics of experiment in the natural sciences, which argues that experimental practice is a mode of *intervening* in—and not simply “discovering”—the world (Hacking 1983).

Disputing the notion that all experimentation is dominated by theory, Ian Hacking insists that experimentation has a life of its own (1983: 150; see also Galison 1987, 1997). In other words, the history of experiment cannot be subsumed to that of theory. Experiments are conducted for multiple reasons: to confirm or refute theories, certainly, but also “to get some bit of equipment to exhibit phenomena in a reliable way” (Hacking 1983: 167) or as “the imaginative trials required for the perfection of technology”—the very process of invention (164). In granting experimentation independence from theory, Hacking also argues that we reconceptualize “the criteria of reality” (142). He suggests that reality has far less to do with what we *think* about the world than what we *do* in and to it (17). There is nothing that confirms the status of something as “real” more than our ability to manipulate it in a reliable way, according to Hacking. And it is precisely such processes of manipulation—of *intervention*—that characterize experimental life: the “making, moving, changing” of phenomena (Galison 1997: 800).

The laboratory occupies a central place in recent studies of experimentation. The focus upon laboratories has, in Karin Knorr-Cetina's words, enabled social scientists and historians to "consider experimental activity within the wider context of equipment and symbolic practices within which the conduct of science is located" (1992: 115). In so doing, it has enabled science studies scholars to trace the generation of "new phenomena" by experimental work (Hacking 1992: 27). It is not a simple social constructivist position that Hacking or others are advocating vis-à-vis an understanding of either experimentation or laboratory life, however. It is a call to recognize that the "products of science" are also "cultural entities" and not just "natural givens" (Knorr-Cetina 1992: 115). The natural world is composed of complexities. Experimental work, for its part, entails presenting pure, isolated phenomena, which can exist *only inside the laboratory* and its "pure arrangement" (Hacking 1983: 226, see also Knorr-Cetina 1999, chap. 2).<sup>26</sup> Those phenomena are made possible by—they are "embodied in"—certain technological devices and the environments and networks that sustain them (Hacking 1983: 225–26; see also Galison 1997; Latour 1987; Knorr-Cetina 1992, 1999). It is precisely insofar as experimentation produces specific and novel effects not simply *found* in nature that it can be argued to intervene—and not just in the natural world, but also in the social world (Knorr-Cetina 1992: 115). After all, as phenomena produced in a laboratory circulate in wider fields of practice (scientific and nonscientific), they can emerge as real in Hacking's definition of the term, as entities we "use to intervene in the world to affect something else, or *what the world can use to affect us*" (Hacking 1983: 149). They may well restructure, in other words, the social world, writ large. To invoke one of Michel Callon and Bruno Latour's more amusing examples, the shift from policemen enforcing a speed limit or a sign cautioning drivers to slow down to speed-bumps entailed a change from "action to behavior, from meaning to force. . . . Who or what is now enforcing the law, the standing or the sleeping policeman? Who are supposed to have sociality embedded in themselves, the talking humans or the silent road bumper?" (1992: 361).<sup>27</sup>

The notion of artifacts having sociality embedded in them is, of course, a fundamental assumption of archaeological work. It is precisely the specific social, cultural, political, and economic orders and ideologies that, presumably, are being read from the archaeological record. That is what is entailed in interpreting the past. But I will address the sociality of archaeology's objects from a different angle. Adapting an un-

derstanding of laboratory science as a process of intervention to discuss the quite distinct practices and epistemological commitments of one field science, I suggest a new approach for analyzing archaeology and its relationship to a wider social and political field.

That which unifies archaeology across multiple local traditions is perhaps best identified as a technique, a specific way of finding out about the past, which, in turn, privileges a particular kind of evidence. Archaeologists who are housed in different disciplines and institutional locations (anthropologists, classical archaeologists, biblical archaeologists, Israeli archaeologists, and so forth) are linked, broadly speaking, by the practice of excavating.<sup>28</sup> It is important to bring that work into focus and to move away from an overriding emphasis on archaeology's body of knowledge and onto the making of that knowledge's embodied forms. If material culture, as Michael Dietler and Ingrid Herbich have argued, is embedded not just in "systems of symbolic expression but also in systems of *practical action on matter*" (1998: 244; emphasis added), the work of excavating is perhaps best read as yet one more system of practical action on already worked-over matter out of which material culture is made anew. And it is not just to the material-cultural things that we must pay attention. We need to examine the archaeological techniques for their production (235).<sup>29</sup>

Such an emphasis on the practice of excavating—on the *making* of material culture—is strikingly absent from meta-archaeological engagements and critiques. Throughout critical writings on archaeology (whether framed within philosophical, sociological, or historical approaches), the archaeological record tends to be taken as given. As Alison Wylie argues, archaeological "data cannot even be identified as archaeological—as *cultural* material—without considerable 'lading' by background knowledge" (1996: 11). It is, in other words, at the level of interpretation (of theory lading) that the production of archaeological data is understood to exist.

The making of archaeological evidence, however, entails interventions that go well beyond interpretative acts. In excavating the land, archaeologists carve particular (*kinds of*) objects out of the contours of the earth's depths—depending, of course, on the specific excavating techniques used, the kinds of remains made visible, and which of those remains are recognized as significant and thus recorded (inscribed as evidence) and preserved. In so doing, archaeologists assemble material culture henceforth embedded in the terrain itself, facts on the ground that instantiate particular histories and historicities. It is precisely the

very material commitments and effects of archaeology's historical-scientific quest that need to be focused on if we are to comprehend its distinctive nature and power as scientific and social practice. As Don Handelman and Lea Shamgar-Handelman have written, "The validation of political claims to land in the modern era is obsessed with the creation of reality," a "substantive reality" that must be "made visible and empowered by material presence" (1997: 86).

Archaeology represents a distinct model of history, one that can intersect with the nation-form on epistemological and not just categorical or conceptual grounds. While the term "history" derives from the Greek word "*istoria*," which originally meant, quite simply, research, by the time of its institutionalization as a distinct academic profession and discipline in the nineteenth century, history was understood to mean "a collection of data on the historical past." The professional practice involved the work of "combining empirical data synthetically into a narrative that explained some aspect of the nature of the social world." Its method was to be inductive. It was to build up from facts toward narratives or generalizations (Suny 2001: 2–3). And unlike the mainstay of historical scholarship, which was based on and analyzed (archival) texts, archaeology relied upon physical objects, a material-cultural archive to be examined on the surface or produced from the depths of the landscape. Those were physical objects that (once excavated) could be *observed*.

As is well known, it was following the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century that observation came to be construed as the most—as the only—reliable basis for establishing knowledge (see Shapin and Schaffer 1985). Empiricist and phenomenalist in its commitments, scientific practice was to be based upon experience, upon "seeing with the naked eye" (even if most of what is actually seen in the work of the natural sciences is achieved through the help of instruments). The "positive mind," according to Comte, would collect "facts" and would be "ready to submit to facts" (Kolakowski 1969: 54). Within that developing positivist framework, the continuity of science was understood to issue from "the accumulation of empirical results" (Galison 1997: 785), an ever-expanding factual record on the basis of which theoretical claims would—inductively—be developed.

I want to suggest that, during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, at those moments when archaeological-historical scholarship converged with nation-building, it was on this cardinal epistemological ground that they met. It was an epistemology that de-

defined what it was that would count as knowledge. The modern historical profession was to be both empirical and inductive, as noted above. Antiquities, as also noted, are a distinctive breed of historical fact. They are facts that can be *seen* and that were long understood to embody a kind of ancient immediacy. In order to establish the credibility of biblical archaeology as a scientific field in nineteenth-century European and American scholarly and public culture, for example, artifacts had to displace texts as the primary evidentiary terrain. It would be on that empirical basis that *knowledge* of biblical geography and history would be built. In turn, the geographies and artifacts produced through archaeology's work could be used to evaluate—to confirm, in effect—the historicity of biblical tales. Christian faith would be grounded in scientific fact (see chap. 2). Moreover, as it developed in the early decades of statehood, the Israeli archaeological tradition (a subfield of the transnational discipline of biblical archaeology) developed what were, superficially at least, the commitments of a positive science. Methodologically, it was not just that archaeological practice was based upon observation as the primary source of knowledge, but, in addition, verification and falsification were its primary method (see Geva 1992). On the basis of an ever-accumulating factual record, this historical practice produced particular kinds of empirical generalizations *specific to an individual archaeological culture* (see Trigger 1989), very low-level “theories” that were built upon the witnessing of facts within which historical peoples and events were “seen.”<sup>30</sup>

As thus becomes clear, while the sciences of nature involved analyzing “the scene of the eternally recurring,” the sciences of culture-historical (and of national-historical) archaeology entailed the study of “unique and unduplicable human acts” (Suny 2001: 15). In the case of biblical and Israeli archaeology, excavations traced the movements of Israelites, Canaanites, Philistines, and ancient Jews across the landscape, building a historical body of knowledge about the ancient past, all the while transforming the contemporary terrain: particular landscapes and historical perspectives were brought into view, embodied in empirical form. Most fundamentally for the nation-form, it was within specific artifacts that *Israelites* themselves emerged as visible. As I demonstrate in chapter 5 through an analysis of the famously acrimonious “Israelite settlement debate” that dominated and divided the Israeli discipline for the first decades of statehood, the very processes of surveying, excavating, naming, and arguing about archaeological (arti)facts repeatedly and continuously instantiated the (colonial-)national imagination's most

fundamental grammar in empirical—that is, demonstrable—form. It was through the very dynamics of this particular scholarly argument and a developing paradigm of archaeological practice that the (ancient) nation emerged as an *observable* entity. No longer disputable as mere mythical or textual claim, the nation gained the status of historical fact. National ideology and archaeological and historical practice converged most fundamentally on this epistemological terrain—on the shared foundation of a “culture of fact” (Shapiro 2000).

There emerged, in other words, an elective affinity between archaeology’s epistemological and methodological commitments and the cultural politics of the Jewish colonial nation-state–building project as both crystallized in early- to mid-twentieth-century Palestine. Much has been written about the specific ways in which Zionism sought to distinguish the new Hebrews from their Jewish counterparts in the Diaspora. The new Hebrew/Israeli person was imagined as secular/modern as opposed to religious/traditional, active as opposed to passive, and connected to the land, as a *laborer*, as opposed to disconnected from it, most fundamentally, as a diasporic person. Rejecting the “religious way of life” of the Jewish Diaspora, that is, the “culture of the book,” the new Hebrew would, ideally, be fashioned in and through a connection to the land. “Diaspora Jews” would be transformed into “rooted Israelis” (Boyarin 1997: 218; see Katriel 1986; Luz 1988). “Making place” or *territorial* “self-fashioning,” to borrow Stephen Greenblatt’s phrase (1980), emerged as a pivotal dimension of that political project of Labor Zionism,<sup>31</sup> which involved not only the creation of a new Hebrew subject or citizen, but, moreover, the remaking of the land itself. The establishment of *presence* effectively assembled not just new facts, but also particular rights, a practice reenacted in the post-1967 period as the state expanded its control and jurisdiction into territories that lay beyond its internationally recognized borders. In effect, the lines of determination had been switched. In contrast to the prestate period, during which time a colonial process of settlement formed the basis of, and for, a developing Hebrew national subject and a Jewish nation-state, by the post-1967 period, the Israeli(-Jewish) nation and nation-state became both the driving force and the ideological basis for colonial expansion.

Scholars of Israeli society have long argued that the project of making place was a central element of the new Hebrew culture that emerged in Palestine and that came to dominate Israeli society, particularly in the first two decades of statehood. It was, in large part, through this “territorial ethos” (Ben-Ari and Bilu 1997) that the new national culture

would distinguish itself from the “exilic” culture of Diaspora Jews. Since the time of the Second Aliya (1904–14), Labor Zionism envisioned an *active* engagement with the land and with the making of history itself. Tamar Katriel and Alissa Shenhar have written:

In this [Labor Zionist] master narrative of people and places, neither in finding a haven (as in traditional Jewish migration tales) nor even simply in making place does the drama of a people returning to its ancient land unfold. Rather the narrative is a drama in which places are made in such a way as to potentially incorporate the constructive act into a sanctified and sanctifying “myth.” (1990: 366)

In that Labor Zionist vision, national rebirth was to be realized through “redeeming the land,” and its redemption was to be achieved via “Hebrew labor.”

Settling—the active (re)making of place—was considered *the* paramount pioneering activity. As Yael Zerubavel has pointed out, founding a new settlement defined the ultimate realization (*hagshama*) of the pioneering ideology of the youth movements: “The most obvious expression of the prominence of this activity was the emergence of the concept of Yishuv, Settlement, as the collective reference to the new Hebrew society in Palestine” (1995: 29). Archaeology, I suggest, emerged as a principal site for the repeated enactment of Jewish presence. It was through material signs of an ancient and, supposedly, an uninterrupted occupancy that the Jewish national home and nation were continuously brought into view.

Contrary to the primary framework used to analyze this originally Labor Zionist territorial ethos of making place, however, I want to insist that this national-cultural commitment was most fundamentally about the question of Palestine. As Gershon Shafir (1996) has compellingly demonstrated with regard to the creation of a dual labor market through which Jewish labor alone would be the basis of the Jewish economy in Palestine, the ideological commitment to Hebrew labor was essential to resolve the problem of employment for Jewish immigrants who were not willing to work for the wages being offered to Palestine’s Arab population. In turn, it was through the practice of *Hebrew* labor, that is, a racialized labor of (self-)production, that the land would be made anew. It would thus be “redeemed” and would emerge, in turn, as Hebrew *by right*. Territorial claims and boundaries had to be constituted and institutionalized, in other words (see Lustick 1993), and not just in relation to questions of state, but, in addition, in and through the development of



particular ideological commitments and national-cultural tropes. As in settler colonies elsewhere, land was the object of material reconfiguration, symbolic reinscription, and (colonial) desire (see Carter 1989; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Greenblatt 1991a; Rabinow 1989; Wright 1991). The (initially) Labor Zionist commitment to making place was a specific local instantiation and particular (*national*) configuration that signaled a far more widespread phenomena in the histories of settler colonies, writ large.

The struggle to realize a Jewish presence upon the land is perhaps best understood, quite literally, as having been a conflict over the problem of presence. Archaeology, for its part, developed into yet one more dimension and ongoing practice of *kibbush* (of conquest), “the actualization of Jewish national ownership over territories” (Katriel and Shenhar 1990). Through the very nature of archaeology’s historical practice, epistemological commitments, and evidentiary terrain, it helped to realize an intrinsically Jewish space, continuously substantiating the land’s own identity and purpose as having been and as *needing to be* the Jewish national home. In so doing, the work of archaeology erased other geographies. Most centrally, it effaced Arab/Palestinian claims to and presences within the very same place.<sup>32</sup> The archaeological project, in other words, just like other projects of making place, emerged as fundamental to colonizing the terrain of “Palestine,” remaking it into “Eretz Yisrael” (the Land of Israel). Archaeological practice assembled material-symbolic facts that rendered *visible* the land’s identity as Jewish, *by definition*, often prior to (and in anticipation of) the actual settlement or seizure of specific places within it.<sup>33</sup>

Analyses of the place of archaeology in the making of collective memory in Israeli society have not focused on the material dimensions of the discipline’s work. Such work has examined the discursive aspects of interpretation, appropriation, and arguments about past and present, tracing the ways in which specific archaeological sites and stories have emerged as idioms through which contemporary political and national-cultural arguments have taken place.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, I highlight the concrete transformations of the terrain that the work of archaeology brought about, arguing that those material(-symbolic) reconfigurations are essential to understanding both the efficacy and contours of the discourse itself and the *durability* of national beliefs. Simply put, the material world is powerfully tenacious. As Ian Lustick points out, the expansion of the territorial boundaries of a state is a far more common occurrence than is their contraction (1993: 5). Historical-archaeological landscapes, architectural forms, urban designs, and arti-

factual remains embody the very Jewishness of a place (of the national home, writ large, and of specific spaces within it), and they *naturalize* Jewish presence. Territorial contraction is thus rendered ever more difficult to achieve.<sup>35</sup> And it is at the level of everyday life, and not just ideological commitments, that those material effects most powerfully extend the limits of what seems plausible, debatable, or beyond question.

Moreover, while the existing scholarship on archaeology and national memory in Israeli society emphasizes contestation and appropriation as its central analytic domain,<sup>36</sup> I consciously keep in play and emphasize that which is produced and extended, that which *endures*. I do recognize when horizons are transgressed. In chapter 8, for example, I analyze the exhibition designs and tourist practices at a series of Jewish Quarter archaeological museums, emphasizing the differences between the sacred conceptions of the national past produced at the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel, an archaeological museum controlled by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the more traditional Labor Zionist commitment to, and vision of, archaeology, science, and national history enacted in other Jewish Quarter archaeological museums. Simultaneously, however, I argue for a coherence in scientific and epistemological commitments and in colonial-national imaginations. I suggest that committed, liberal-secular (nationalist) intellectuals share far more with their decidedly illiberal national-religious compatriots than the acrimonious political disputes and the often intense personal and (national-)cultural animosity might immediately suggest. In chapter 9, moreover, I consider the ways in which Palestinian archaeologists and negotiators of the Oslo Accords, on the one hand, and Ultra-Orthodox Jews, on the other, each transgress specific aspects of the established discursive field. Disputes over science and secularism and over nationalism and colonialism are beginning to undermine fundamental, albeit discrete, components of the horizon put in place, in part, by a long history of the conjuncture of archaeological practice and secular colonial-national politics.

While I recognize and analyze incompatible and incommensurable claims when they arise, the most important thing that can be known about the character of nation-state building or colonial projects, the problematics and dynamics of “collective memory” or, more broadly, the operation of power and hegemony, is not necessarily the ways in which it is continually put at risk and potentially undermined through the never ending processes of its reproduction. Instead, my primary aim in this book is to track and analyze how cultural, political, geographical,

historical, and epistemological truths have been incrementally reformulated and extended in the long and ongoing history of colonial-national politics, practice, and arguments in Palestine and Israel.

### The Specificity of Field Sciences

The project of making place, that is, the material-symbolic reconfiguration of landscape, brings into focus the question of terrain, which is crucial to identifying the epistemological assumptions that distinguish archaeology from the laboratory sciences, on the basis of whose analysis I have derived my framework thus far. As a *field* science, it is precisely within *specific terrains* that (historical) knowledge is revealed. It is that space within which scientific knowledge is given “credence” (Outram 1996: 252). Archaeological facts, in other words, are spatially and temporally contingent. As Rudwick explains with reference to the emergence of fieldwork as method in mineralogy (as in other branches of natural history), the field was promoted not just as a site for collecting data, but, more significantly, “for seeing with one’s own eyes how the various minerals and rock masses were spatially related to one another and to the physical topography of the areas in which they were found.”<sup>37</sup> Such formations—the “structural order of position”—were understood to represent “a temporal order of origin” (1996: 276). Unlike laboratory sciences, field sciences are sustained by an epistemology of temporal and spatial specificity and not (atemporal) replicability.<sup>38</sup> Sustained observation—and in the case of archaeology, sustained digging—is essential to revealing and appreciating the context within which evidence has meaning (see Kuklick 1997: 19).

But there is far more than its temporal and spatial specificity that poses different kinds of questions for an analysis of the relationship between archaeological practice and social production than, say, of experimentation in the natural sciences. At the most fundamental level, archaeology’s objects are found—and made—within the public domain. Although the “self-vindicating” truths produced inside the laboratory *may* move beyond it and affect a broader social context (Hacking 1992: 58–59), archaeology’s claims and objects are never exclusively nor entirely its own. They are never protected and produced within an environment to which archaeologists alone have access and can lay claim. As in the natural historical sciences, professional archaeologists have long been dependent upon “well-disposed volunteers” for carrying out their work (Drouin and Bensaude-Vincent 1996: 417). Moreover, archaeologists are forever dependent upon a public consciousness regarding the scientific and social value of artifacts. As has been the case in the work of

discipline building in general, “instituting” (Lenoir 1997) archaeology required demarcating and protecting its objects of knowledge. As a field science, that meant drafting laws and implementing educational efforts designed to define and protect “antiquities,” safeguarding them from destruction at the hands of an unknowing public. That public, as I show in chapters 2 and 3, had to be taught that these were objects of science—stones no longer to be cast aside or reused in contemporary buildings and objects of historical and not commercial value. And as I argue in chapter 3, given the political climate of the Yishuv, members of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society believed that these objects of *science*—and thus the emergent discipline of (Jewish) archaeology in Palestine—would be protected only if their *national* value could be inculcated in the Jewish public at large, through lectures, local branches of the society, visits to archaeological sites and museums, and, finally, through public participation in archaeological digs.

Moreover, archaeology, like natural history, can appear “to belong to everybody,” a conception that perhaps both precedes and is reinforced and expanded through the efforts of discipline building (Drouin and Bensaude-Vincent 1996: 417). Insofar as archaeology produces historical knowledge—knowledge regarding either specific (national, ethnic) pasts or, more broadly, revealing the course of human history and evolution—it is a discipline to which, from its very inception, multiple groups and institutions have laid different kinds of claims (see Trigger 1989). The work of archaeology, as I will trace its emergence and power in the context of Israel and Palestine, is perhaps best understood as a matrix of practices and knowledges that come to be endowed with multiple meanings and harnessed for different purposes by various social actors and institutions who translate, appropriate, extend, and enable its power and meanings. Artifacts, maps, names, landscapes, architectures, and exhibitions—all phenomena and facts produced or enabled through archaeology’s intervention in the world—are made and realized at the conjunction of myriad fields and communities of practice and power. As such, rather than maintaining a sharp distinction between professional or scientific practices and contexts, on the one hand, and popular or political ones, on the other, in this book, I understand the work of archaeology to be situated among a variety of actors and institutions that, together with archaeological practice and practitioners, instituted archaeology and rearranged contemporary and historical reality in Palestine and Israel.

## Scientific Beginnings

In May 1865, the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was founded in London for the purpose of “investigating the archaeology, geography, geology, and natural history of Palestine” (Victoria and Albert Museum 1965: 8). In the opinion of the fund’s founding members,<sup>1</sup> it was time to establish a society devoted to the scientific exploration of “Palestine” among whose first projects should be “a geographical and geological survey . . . as a preliminary to the scientific exploration of the country” (Watson 1915: 21). Thus, the fund launched the Reconnaissance Survey to produce a preliminary map of the region. Upon its completion, the fund’s committee decided that they needed a more complete and accurate survey: “So long as a square mile in Palestine remains unsurveyed, so long as a mound of ruins in any part, especially in any part consecrated by the Biblical history, remains unexcavated, the call of scientific investigation, and we may add, the grand curiosity of Christendom, remains unsatisfied” (Watson 1915: 38). A more comprehensive project, the Ordnance Survey of Western Palestine, was launched. It was an undertaking that brought together what today would be distinguished as cartographic, geographic, archaeological, and ethnographic practices.

It was with the London-based Palestine Exploration Fund’s late-nineteenth-century survey of the country of Western Palestine that sustained processes of discipline building and territorial refashioning commenced and, moreover, converged, and it was on the basis of the fund’s early work of historical-geographic recovery that the subsequent work of Jewish archaeology would build. In analyzing the fund’s early work, I will trace the methodological and epistemological foundations of archaeological research in Palestine, while charting the demarcation of the “artifact” as a discrete scientific object and legal category that would make possible archaeology’s exclusive domain of expertise. An

analysis of this work also uncovers an important moment in the history of colonization, when cartography facilitated colonization on pragmatic and ideological grounds alike (see Edney 1997; Cormack 1997; Said 1979, 1993). Cartography presented Palestine as a concrete, coherent, and visibly historic place, a sustained object of scientific inquiry, charted and recognizable on modern maps and increasingly explored through the ongoing excavation of ancient artifacts.

### Colonial Science and Its Practical Entanglements

Work began on the Survey of Western Palestine in 1871. While this survey was an integral part of the fund's desire to recover the historical roots and truths of Christendom, it was realized only through the cooperation of the British War Office. In the words of one retrospective on the fund's origins: "Officers and NCOs of the Royal Engineers have enjoyed a close association with the Palestine Exploration Fund since its inception and have been mainly responsible for making the maps and plans of Palestine during the past hundred years" (Victoria and Albert Museum 1965: 12). War and archaeology were intertwined from the very start. Beginning with the fund's initial project, the Reconnaissance Survey, and continuing through subsequent undertakings, the Survey of Western Palestine and the Explorations of Jerusalem, in particular, officers on loan from the War Office led the work, often accompanied by an Arabist and "native servants and assistants" (Watson 1915: 72).

The fund's committee recognized that a survey of Palestine could be carried out only with "active and material assistance from the British and Turkish governments" (PEF Archives, WS/3) and, more specifically, from Britain's ordnance survey department. This cooperation could be secured due to the strategic and administrative value of the resulting knowledge and maps. As explained by Captain Wilson in a memo regarding the proposed survey, "The map would be of great importance as a military map should the Eastern Question come forward and Palestine ever be the scene of military operations."<sup>2</sup> The survey would, moreover, be of great value to the Ottoman Empire's administrative needs (PEF Archives, WS/3), and it was on those terms that the fund imagined they could obtain Ottoman consent.

For the PEF, however, the survey's primary significance lay in its ability to shed light on the area's biblical past (see Besant 1895: 11–12). In other words, the motivations for the nineteenth-century PEF survey were twofold: it was part of the larger project of mapping and empire building. Officers from the British War Office carried out the fund's initial projects, generating cartographic knowledge understood from the

outset to be of strategic and administrative value. (It should be noted that this was just a few years after the completion of the Suez Canal and, perhaps even more important, at a time when the British were anticipating the imminent demise of the Ottoman Empire.) Simultaneously, the survey was an undertaking situated within the broader project of the scientific study of religion in nineteenth-century Europe. Through the practices of science, based upon the accumulation of empirical facts, these soldiers and scholars sought to demonstrate the historicity of the Bible. This was the "Land of the Bible," and, in their view, science would "recover" the country itself, and its history would be made plain to the observing eye. As articulated by Frederick Jones Bliss, "recovery precedes discovery . . . if by recovery we mean the bringing again to light of a sight or monument lost, but known to have existed; and by discovery the adding to our knowledge of facts unknown to us before" (1906: 2).

The contrast that Bliss drew between recovery and discovery points to a distinctive aspect of the project of surveying and mapping Palestine, which invokes a very specific colonial imagination. On the one hand, the Ordnance Survey of Western Palestine must be situated within the broader history of mapping and empire building as it occurred in other parts of the (soon to be) colonized world. As Matthew Edney has argued, "imperialism and mapmaking intersect in the most basic manner. Both are fundamentally concerned with territory and knowledge" (1997: 1). Territorial knowledge was essential to governance, which was as true for the "characteristic modern state" (Hobsbawm 1990: 80) that emerged in mid- to late-eighteenth-century Europe as it was for European colonial administrations abroad. Systematic territorial and statistical surveys, which were essential for administrative purposes and powerful in developing conceptions of a "territorial [and national] self" (Edney 1997: 35–36; see also Hobsbawm 1990), proliferated in the increasingly centralized European states in the post-1750 period.

Geographers never limited themselves to making territorial maps, however. Charting the world entailed generating "natural and political descriptions of other lands" (Cormack 1997: 15), not just obtaining topographical knowledge of places, geographical formations, and routes. In effect, geographical practices embodied the desire to produce what Mary Louise Pratt has called a "planetary consciousness," through which the world as a whole would be known (1992: 29). And knowing the world involved conquering it literally and figuratively. Surveying and mapping proved indispensable to advancing the various components of both the colonizing project and the imperial imagination; they were necessary to exploration and conquest and were prerequisites to

any knowledge and conception of, and interest in, the colonies among the public back home (see Murphy 1948; Markham [1878] 1968; see also Edney 1997; Pratt 1992, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Cosgrove 1999). As Pratt and others have argued, those scientific explorations mapped the unknown world into Western (forms of) knowledge. They created a general map, through which the world as a whole was perceived, and more specific maps, through which particular places within it were charted and “framed” (Edney 1997: 9), thus allowing them to be conquered and ruled (see also Cosgrove 1999). As Matthew Edney has written with respect to the beginnings of the British colonization of India, the East India Company undertook “a massive intellectual campaign to transform a land of *incomprehensible* spectacle into an empire of knowledge at the forefront of which were geographers who mapped the landscape and studied the inhabitants” (1997: 2; emphasis added).

Palestine, however, was never considered incomprehensible. Nor was it, strictly speaking, unknown. For archaeologists, biblical scholars, explorers, and officers engaged in the fund’s survey projects, Palestine was not a *terra incognita*. Rather, contemporary Palestine would ultimately be brought, through mapping, *back* into a *historical* geography they already *knew*. Cartography and archaeology were linked from the very start. 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 exemplar of) modern European(-Christian) civilization. For these Christian scholars and officers, the Holy Land was a “political [and cultural] article of faith” (Herzfeld 1982: 12), as was Eretz Yisrael for contemporary and later Jewish colonial nationalists settling in Palestine and living in Europe. All that remained was to identify signs of cultural continuity and to render a historic past materially visible on maps and on the contemporary landscape.

This project of scientific recovery produced maps framed by particular historical-geographic perspectives and material-cultural objects embodying a biblical past, all essential to reconfiguring this region of the Ottoman Empire as the independent territorial locus of a Judeo-Christian tradition and faith. In effect, a long-standing Christian (and Jewish) territorial imagination was being substantiated in concrete form; the maps themselves simply were considered to be records—graphic representations—of a “country” known, at least in its general contours, in advance. As Lorraine Daston has argued, while phenomena “possess an undeniable reality” before they become scientific objects, “scientific scrutiny nonetheless alters them in significant ways: phenomena that



were heretofore scattered . . . amalgamate into a coherent category . . . criteria of inclusion and exclusion grow sharper . . . [and] . . . intense investigation renders evanescent phenomena more visible and rich in implications" (2000: 6). It is in the spirit of Daston's applied metaphysics—"that phenomena that are indisputably real in the colloquial sense that they exist may become more or less intensely real, depending on how densely they are woven into scientific thought and practice" (1)—that modern Palestine can be argued to have emerged through this juncture of cartographic and archaeological work.

### *Cartography, Colonial Power, and Scientific Practice*

As laid out in its initial mandate, the fund was to carry out its work on the basis of scientific principles in order "to ensure that the results of enquiry and exploration, whatever they might prove, should command from the world *the same acceptance as a new fact reported from a physical laboratory*, and that the work should be faced in the same spirit of fearless investigation into the truth as obtains scientific research" (Besant 1895: 12–13; emphasis added). The fund would rely on the credibility of science in order to challenge the "authority of [Western] tradition" (Conder 1873: 35). In so doing, their work would firmly establish the veracity of the historical texts on which the tenets of the Christian faith were based.

The distinction drawn between science and tradition in the fund's discourse is key to understanding the particular epistemological vision and, ultimately, the nature of the disciplinary practice promoted and fashioned through its work. It required rejecting the truth value of much existing Christian (and to a lesser extent, Jewish) tradition. Such tradition was (inter)textual and as such it was not, by and large, considered to be reliable. As Claude Conder, an officer of the Royal Engineers who was working with the fund, explained, while *some* "early and medieval" Christian and Jewish writings may lend insight into some of the "more important questions, especially as regards Jerusalem topography" (1881: 232), the historical value of such traditions could only be confirmed by "other evidence"—presumably archaeological and topographic evidence. Christian travelers, after all, had come to accept "without question the stories they were told, and the legends that had been invented in the course of many centuries; while one writer after another repeated the same ideas, frequently almost in the same words" (Watson 1915: 11). According to the fund, traditions and legends resemble "the moss clinging to the stones of an old ruin" (Conder 1873: 68), making it impossible at this point to extricate the true from the false

“without the aid of excavation” (77). The historical credibility of the biblical tales (and thus, belief) would reside in *material* objects, be they landscapes, monuments, or artifacts. Once properly (i.e., *scientifically*) read, such objects would serve as authentic and reliable historical witnesses in a manner that tradition never could.

It was precisely through the work of excavating that the fund intended to produce knowledge of a very different kind. Textual traditions would be taken as “an indication, not as an authority.” They had to be supported “by other evidence” (Conder 1879: xxiv), which would be derived from firsthand experience and observation of material proof gleaned from the landscape and from the depths of the earth itself. In this quest for observable truths, however, not all things visible (or, more accurately, not all things *potentially* visible) were to be of equal value. The landscape itself, and not the artifice of existing architecture, was understood to be the locus of authentic historical knowledge. That landscape could be scientifically explored (excavated as opposed to “mere purposeless digging” [Conder 1873: 97]) only *subsequent* to the drawing of accurate plans and to the “actual measurement and a careful survey of the modern” (79) city of Jerusalem or of the country as a whole. Maps, in other words, were a prerequisite for archaeological research. And it was precisely for the extrication of historical truth via cartography (the primary science [78–79]) and, thereafter, informed excavation that the fund turned to officers of the Royal Engineers.

The Royal Engineers were men “whose official position and professional reputation” put the conclusions of their reports “beyond question” (Besant 1895: 13). The “scientific training of the officers *gave a greater value to their observations* than could be hoped for from the work of ordinary travelers” (Watson 1915: 32; emphasis added). In other words, not only were all things visible not considered to be of equal value, neither were all observations of comparable worth. As argued by Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer in *Leviathan and the Air-Pump* (1985), “witnessing” emerged as the central tenet of the experimental way of life in seventeenth-century England. It was this epistemology that formed the basis not only of a new natural knowledge, but, moreover, of a new social order. Witnessing had to be a collective act (one carried out in the public space of the laboratory). The credibility of natural knowledge, moreover, would depend on the social status of the persons doing the witnessing. In sum, an Oxford professor was far more reliable than an Oxfordshire peasant (58). Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund likewise recognized and insisted that the social and professional status

of the officers of the Royal Engineers who were witnessing the Palestinian landscape would guarantee, and confer public credence upon, the survey work and the scientific status of its results.<sup>3</sup>

The Ordnance Survey of Western Palestine was the most massive project of archaeological, geographic, and cartographic research undertaken in Palestine up until that time. In contrast to the earlier Reconnaissance Survey, it mapped a far more narrow territory. In fact, there were distinctive models of territoriality that operated in each of the two surveys: one “modern,” whereby territory—understood from the point-of-view of the nation-state—was presumed to have clear boundary demarcations; the other distinctly nonmodern, in which tribal or dynastic realms were understood to have ruled over territories in which political and religious authorities overlapped and outer boundaries were anything but plainly demarcated (see Thongchai 1994). The Reconnaissance Survey, for its part, began in Beirut and proceeded to Damascus before moving southward toward Banias. As explained by Conder, “These places belong, it may be urged, to Syria rather than Palestine; but they are all indirectly, if not directly, connected with that volume whose elucidation is the sole object of our society” (1873: 163). It was not until “the first day of the new year that work commenced in Palestine proper, near Banias” (164). In other words, while presumably a discrete territory, biblical history and, as such, that of ancient Palestine, *per se*, was understood to be deeply involved in the histories of lands outside of what the fund defined as that country’s immediate realm. With the Ordnance Survey of Western Palestine, however, a distinctly modern, (nation-)state-centered territorial vision came into play. The surveyors set out to map “the country . . . bounded by the Jordan, and the sea, and [which] extends from Dan to Beersheba. The desert shuts it off on the south, and on the north the line taken will follow the River Leontes and extend along the parallel of latitude to the sources of the Jordan near Banias—the ancient Dan” (Conder 1874: 242). They charted approximately 6,000 square miles (Conder 1879: xvi), an area that became Palestine under the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration in 1918 (following some modification of its northern borders). In 1922, the Council of the League of Nations approved that same territory as the Mandate for Palestine.

The fund’s memoirs constantly refer to an already defined territory that the Ordnance Survey simply charted and mapped. In actual fact, however, Palestine as a distinct geopolitical unit with clearly demarcated territorial boundaries was itself being designated and developed. (In spite of various attempts by Ottoman authorities to combine the

three Palestinian districts [*sanjaks*] into one province [in 1830, 1840, 1872 (Schölch 1993: 289)], the “country” that these British explorers, officers, scholars, and supporters of the fund imagined as Palestine remained divided up into several Ottoman administrative districts.) Palestine, long a “quotidian object” in a Judeo-Christian imagination, gained salience (Daston 2000: 2) as an object of sustained scientific inquiry. It was mapped as a discrete, recognizable, coherent, and clearly bounded place, and it was as much out of practical considerations—out of the politics and pragmatics of survey work—as out of an a priori conception of where Palestine’s borderlines (should) actually lie that the outer boundaries of the territory were ultimately demarcated and Palestine itself delineated on the fund’s modern scientific maps.

As suggested in an initial proposal regarding the survey, the area to be surveyed was to “commence at the River Leontes and from thence extend southward to join the Sinaitic survey about to be commenced; that its extent eastward be determined hereafter” (PEF Archives, WS/3). In June 1873, Claude Conder proposed an amendment to that northern border in order to accommodate the instructions given to Lieutenant Steevers, an officer from the U.S. War Department who was head of the survey of Eastern Palestine for the American Palestine Exploration Society.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of an agreement reached between the American and British organizations, the territory east of the Jordan river had been assigned to the Americans as theirs to map (see Silberman 1982: 113–27). As Conder pointed out, “the Trans-Jordanic territory and Northern Syria [are] *his* territory” (PEF Archives, WS/Con/51; emphasis added). Conder then proposed a solution to avoid crossing into Steever’s domain: his group would go just north of Tyre and then proceed east and southward toward Baniyas. He made sure to point out in his letter that “This fully carries out the definition from Dan (Baniyas) to Beersheba” (ibid.). In October 1874, Conder raised the problem of a second “boundary of the work”—this time, the southern boundary. This problem lay in practical difficulties (the considerable expense, for one) of extending the survey further south into the desert. He emphasized once again that his proposed boundary, in spirit, still covered the area from “Dan to Beersheba” (PEF Archives, WS/Con/107). The specification of Palestine’s final borders—those that came to frame the negotiations and decisions concerning the mandate to be established in the century to come—were configured, in other words, through ideological commitments and practical compromises.

The survey took six years of fieldwork plus several additional years back in London to complete. The survey team consisted of Arabists, offi-

cers from the Royal Engineers, and various native servants and assistants (including cooks and guides, a native dragoman, a scribe, and “cavalry guards” for protection and the enforcement of punishment when necessary; Conder and Kitchner 1881, 30). Armed with an array of equipment borrowed from the ordnance survey department (see PEF Archives, WS/3), they moved from camp to camp, tracing triangulation points against visible objects on the landscape, which were then plotted and charted onto sheets (see Conder and Kitchner 1881, 35).<sup>5</sup>

The Survey of Western Palestine produced a series of maps of the “entire country” in twenty-six sheets on the scale of one inch to one mile. The series was issued initially by the ordnance survey office “in readiness for immediate use should the maps be required for military purposes” and was later to be reissued for the public by the fund itself (PEF Archives, WS/163). Once produced, the maps became the basic topographical representation of Palestine until 1936 when the mandate produced a new series (Victoria and Albert Museum 1965: 15). As pointed out in a museum retrospective of the fund’s first centenary, “A gridded version of Conder’s one inch map was used during the First World War and in 1917–18 many larger scale maps were used for artillery and tactical purposes” (15–16). For the purposes of war, the fund’s maps provided knowledge of, and access to, Palestine’s terrain.<sup>6</sup> They made conquest possible. The War Office reissued those earlier maps with “additions and corrections,” some of which tailored them to the specific strategic needs of the British military. These War Office maps emphasized Palestine’s railways and roads (often superimposed in different colors), including those existing, planned, or abandoned; those passable by foot or by motor vehicles; and those usable year-round or only in the dry season.<sup>7</sup> Reprinted many times by the close of the war, these maps became the reference point in negotiations over Palestine’s boundaries at the Peace Congress in 1919, and, upon the conclusion of the war, they also facilitated the pragmatics of rule (*ibid.*).<sup>8</sup>

But the life of these maps as objects of strategic knowledge was but one of their careers. The fund’s maps circulated also as guides for biblical exploration and excavation, and, reissued on a smaller scale, they framed the work of excavating, which was to substantiate once and for all, through visible material-cultural facts, the historicity of biblical accounts.

The survey produced a map of *modern* Palestine. Nevertheless, the fund repeatedly emphasized that the project’s primary significance lay in its ability to shed light on the biblical past. An accurate knowledge of the country—the land in which “the documents of our Faith were writ-

ten, and the momentous events they describe enacted" (Watson 1915: 22–23)—was considered to be "of greatest importance in enabling the Bible to be properly understood" (20). That the survey's main objectives were "indeed antiquarian" was made clear in the initial instructions to the survey party: "The thorough examination of the country, with notes of all existing ruins and indications of sites worth excavating" (Conder 1874: 254).<sup>9</sup> As illustrated in a photo-relief map issued in 1911 by the PEF, this remained a quest for places "lost." A map of biblical sites shows only the major cities cited by their contemporary Arabic names, while many other city names have question marks attached to them (e.g., "Zepath?" or "Hezron?"), revealing that their locations were speculated upon but not yet resolved (PRO FO 925/41250).

In order to achieve their main objective—"indications of sites worth excavating"—the surveyors followed a set of clearly specified methodological rules. They would visit "every ruined or interesting site," which would then be noted. In addition, "all buildings dating earlier than the times of the Turkish occupation, are planned [i.e., sketched] with more or less detail according to their importance" (Conder 1874: 254). As reported in 1874, over seventy special surveys and plans had been completed of "sites of Jewish and Roman towns, temples, churches, synagogues, tombs, crusading castles, sections of aqueducts, artificial caves and early Christian convents—none of which have been previously planned or explored in a satisfactory manner" (255). While much of the existing architecture was deemed to be relatively recent (see 256), the more ancient past could be located by reading its more subtle, visible signs:

Many persons would doubtless smile in pity when I shew them a hill-top now occupied by a rude wall enclosing a few fig trees and a rock-hewn cistern or well, and say, Here is the site of a considerable town. Most of these ruins are at the present day invisible to the unpracticed eye but may be traced by the wells, tanks, and caves hewn into the rock . . . by fig trees and an olive grove or a few patriarchal trees split by ages into two or three distinct trunks. (PEF Archives, WS/Dra/65)

In addition to identifying and charting these sites of potential historical significance, the very geography of the modern landscape was also believed to incarnate a biblical past. As Thyrwitt Drake recounted in one of his letters back to the fund,

It is very important that these natural features should be well understood and carefully borne in mind as most important in helping to clear up the obscurity in which the geography of the Old Testament is now

enveloped. These distinctions of mountain, hill, and plain are more than once mentioned in the Talmud—Rabbi Jochanan says that from Beth Horon to Emmuas is mountain (*har*) from Emmuas to Lydda hill (*shephellah*) and from Lydda to the sea, plain (*emeq*) which is perfectly correct as Amwas is situated at the base of a spur from the mountains and the hills extend to within a very short distance of Lidd beyond which is the plain. (PEF Archives, WS/Dra/64)

In other words, cartographic knowledge of the present—villages and ruins, caves and fig trees, hills and plains—would facilitate the recuperation of biblical history: “Much would be gained by obtaining an accurate map of the country; by settling disputed points of topography; [and] by identifying ancient towns of Holy Writ with the modern villages which are their successors” (Conder 1873: 14).

In seeking to locate ancient towns by way of their modern successors, science turned to indigenous knowledge and to what was often referred to as native tradition. It is at this moment of practice that the ambivalences of colonial science emerged most acutely. As Gyan Prakash has argued, the very “staging” of colonial science (in India) helped to undermine dichotomies that a priori asserted the distance between the scientific and the nonscientific, the European and the non-European, the colonizer and the colonized (Prakash 1992, 1999; see also Edney 1997). The enactment of archaeology in nineteenth-century Palestine also initially destabilized such a priori distinctions. This work of biblical recuperation depended for its very possibility upon “local knowledge”—the “non-scientific” (see also Lindee 1994).<sup>10</sup> Existing nomenclature was essential to the project and *process* of recovery. First and foremost, it was on the basis of linguistic similarity that the locations of ancient towns were to be identified through their “modern successors.” And in garnering that linguistic information, these officers could not rely on imported technologies or on their own scientific expertise alone. They had to turn to so-called local persons. The work of science, thus, produced the practical entanglement of the foundation of European (Christian) civilization with that of indigenous language and culture. Having rejected much of existing Christian tradition as unreliable, these European scientists now turned to biblical memories believed to be embodied in the traditions of Palestine’s most long-standing, *and thus indigenous*, population.

### *Unreliable Witnesses*

Based in part upon the earlier work of Edward Robinson, an American Old Testament scholar and explorer who was the first to ascribe significance to modern Arabic names in the work of identifying biblical sites,<sup>11</sup>

the collection of Arabic names was a central component of the Survey of Western Palestine:

Nothing is more striking in Palestine than the manner in which the original Hebrew names are still to be found under slightly modified forms in the Arabic. Very often a later Roman name by which a town may have been known in Herodian or early Christian times has altogether disappeared, and the original Biblical name has reasserted itself. Beisan, the ancient Beth Shean, was subsequently known as Scythopolis, a name now entirely lost. This is but one instance of many. The collection and correct spelling of these names, as tending to throw invaluable light on the geographical passages in the Old and New Testaments, and especially in the early books of Joshua and Judges, forms a most important . . . part of the survey work. (Conder 1874: 253)

Because contemporary Arabic names were considered depositories of ancient historical geography, the work of collecting them occupied a great deal of the surveyors' time. "The exact modern name of every village, hill, watercourse, ruin, etc. had to be ascertained and written in Arabic, no easy matter in a country where the same feature has sometimes several local names" (Watson 1915: 72).<sup>12</sup> And the practical work of determining the exact modern name of specific locales involved relying on the local population whose own cultural and linguistic knowledge could not be taken at face value and whose own (racial) character could not be trusted. Arabs were neither reliable nor cognizant witnesses. Garnering accurate knowledge from the local population required persistence. A passage from a book designed to teach proper archaeological method to early-twentieth-century travelers to the Near East (*How to Observe in Archaeology*) explicates what was considered to be the most reliable way to collect historical information:

Inquire about antiquities wherever stopping. Where camping, villagers usually come up to see who it is; then tell them the directions of the places around. They will ask you how you know; show them the map, and they are puzzled; talk over all the names a few miles around, and there anything notable in the district may be remarked and inquiries made. Several men together help each other to remember to bring out more remarks. Sometimes an intelligent man will describe all the antiquities he knows in the district: this should be followed closely on the map and the difficulties resolved at once, so as to get a clear record noted. (British Museum 1920: 14)

There are many accounts of the problems faced in collecting such information and the difficulties inherent in depending upon local persons for



gathering scientific knowledge in the surveyors' letters back to the fund (their field diaries). To quote at length from one of Thyrritt Drake's letters:

In these well populated districts a wady changes its name half a dozen times in as many miles, taking a new one in the territory of such village that it passes through. The fear of the fellahin that we have secret designs of reconquering the country is a fruitful source of difficulty. This got over, remains the crass stupidity which cannot give a direct answer to a simple question the exact object of which it does not understand; for why should a Frank wish to know the name of an insignificant wady or hill in their land? (PEF Archives, WS/Dra/63)<sup>13</sup>

This dependence upon local knowledge—upon the nonscientific knowledge and character of indigenous and generally untrustworthy persons—was to be mediated and compensated for at various levels in the organization of scientific practice. After all, Arabs were not witnesses upon which science could simply depend. In carrying out its own work, the fund assigned each surveyor a native guide or trustworthy attendant. With his aid, although not solely on the basis of his authority, all collected names were to be confirmed by at least two other natives. As Conder explained,

Every name is collected and written in English on the spot, the native in each case being instructed to listen to it. On the close of every day, the names are pronounced in his hearing, in mine, and in that of our head servant, who is able to read, write and spell correctly. Anything wrong in accent or pronunciation is immediately corrected, and all the names written in Arabic, from which I afterwards transliterate them. The final transliteration will, however, depend only on the Arabic. (1873: 148)

Through this process, the survey parties compiled approximately 9,000 names (Conder 1879: xvii). But simply collecting the names was not enough. That knowledge had to be ordered and that which was significant extracted. Relying on the expertise of the English scholars and officers alone, the names were indexed. The guide to Palestine's nomenclature included lists of the Arabic names correlated with their meanings and "the relationship, when ancient, to the Hebrew, and their origin when modern." Out of the names collected, those of "real value" were then selected for publication (*ibid.*). According to the survey's estimates, there were 622 biblical names in the territory west of the Jordan. Only 262 were known beforehand. By 1895, the project had identified an additional 172 sites (Besant 1895: 84). This was the first step in "the recovery of an ancient historic site, [one] still known to the natives under its

original name, or a modification of that name, though lost sight of by Europeans" (Conder 1879: xxii).

As Mary Louise Pratt has argued, colonial projects of exploring, charting, and surveying lands "exerted the power of naming." It was "in naming that the religious and geographical projects came together, as emissaries claimed the world by baptizing landmarks and geographical formations with Euro-Christian names" (1992: 23). (Re)naming was a transformative project that was engaged in what Paul Carter has called "making spatial history," a history that begins "in the act of naming," which "symbolizes the imperial project of permanent possession through dispossession" (1989: xxiv).

But the relationship between possession and dispossession was more convoluted in the context of Palestine. The religious and geographic projects came together—in part around the project of naming—in literal, not just figurative, ways. Palestine was not simply "baptized" with Euro-Christian names, incorporating unknown lands into a history to which they had no prior relationship or connection. Biblical names were understood to *belong to the land* itself and to be eminently present and identifiable therein (once properly deciphered). As such, the act of naming entailed something other than "canceling" old names and replacing them with the new, as Stephen Greenblatt has argued *vis-à-vis* Columbus and the Americas (1991a: 82). It involved deciphering new names in order to regain the old. Palestine was not being symbolically reinscribed as yet one more new Jerusalem—as the "Jerusalem of Africa," for example (cf. Nixon 1999). This was *Jerusalem*, and the Holy Land, *itself*.

It was not the contemporary Arabic names alone that were important to this effort, however. Native traditions, in particular, the manners and customs of the land's fellahin (peasantry), were also to be observed and recorded. Because of the imagined racial genealogy of this indigenous population, they too were expected to shed light on the mysteries of the biblical stories. As mixed-race descendants of the land's ancient peoples, the fellahin were seen to be "depositories of [its] old memories" (Clermont-Ganneau 1875: 213)—linguistic and cultural. By virtue of their syncretic past, the peasant population of Palestine was seen to embody and to remember a history properly understood as a Judeo-Christian one.

### *Race Memory*

The ethnographic writings that form a part of the Survey of Western Palestine produced a system of social classification that is not entirely consistent, particularly with regard to demarcating of the boundaries of

race and of belonging in (or, of "nativeness" to) Palestine. There were fellahin, city dwellers, and bedouins, and there were Christians, Jews, and Muslims (and some smaller population groups, such as Samaritans). But the population upon which the fund's surveyors focused was primarily Palestine's peasantry, moreover, its Muslim peasantry.

In the fund's ethnography, the starting point for any understanding of the peasant population was a clarification of their race history. According to the surveyors, one thing was clear: the name "Arab" was a misnomer. Besides the inhabitants of towns (in whom they displayed little interest), only the bedouin of Palestine were considered to be truly Arab. And from them there were lessons to be learned, if only as exemplars of an ancient mode of social organization. While not themselves descendants of the ancient patriarchs, their nomadic way of life was presumed to illustrate the manner in which the patriarchs had lived (Besant 1895: 129).

In contrast, Palestine's peasantry was decisively not Arab, and it was precisely their non-Arab status that *rendered* them *native* for these surveyors and thus an authentic locus of biblical history, linguistic memories, or memories of other kinds: "The peasants of Judea are commonly said to be Arabs; and I am willing to admit that they are so in the sense that they speak Arabic. But we must understand what is meant by this vague and deceptive term which is applied to so many distinct races and the heterogeneous remains of so many peoples." According to the author, it is the duty of science to "enquire into the origin of this collective reservoir [the population]; and to track it to its sources" (Clermont-Ganneau 1875: 203).

It was on the basis of language, manners, and customs that the fund's surveyors concluded that Palestine's peasants were not Arabs but rather, a much older race (or more accurately, a much older amalgamation of races):

The antiquity of the native peasant stock is evidenced both by their language and by the peculiarities of their religion. Their pronunciation of many letters is archaic, and approaches much closer to the Aramaic or the Hebrew than to modern Arabic. There are also many pure Hebrew words in use among the Fellahin which are unintelligible to the inhabitants of towns who use the modern Arabic words instead. The worship of Mukams or "shrines" among the peasantry is also intimately connected with the old worship of trees and high places by the Canaanites, although the traditions attaching to these sacred places are traceable to Crusading, Byzantine, or Moslem origin, as well as in other cases to an older indigenous source. (Besant 1895: 128)

In this ethnohistory, the land's most ancient (and long-standing) peoples or races, sometimes referred to as the "pre-Israelites" (Clermont-Ganneau 1875: 208), had undergone endless conquests and conversions. They had, nevertheless, remained on the land. Conquered by Israelites and then Assyrians, by Greeks and then Arabs, the fellahin of Palestine converted to Judaism and then back to paganism, to Christianity and then to Islam. Today's peasants were neither truly Muslim nor Arab, nor truly Christian, if that is understood to entail a consciousness about religious dogma. In fact, Palestine's Christian population occupied an uneasy place in this system of social classification. Local Christian tradition was not seen as authentic, but rather as an unconscious absorption of doctrines that were truly European.<sup>14</sup> In the words of Clermont-Ganneau, Palestine's peasantry were "resigned Mussulmans under the Mussulman rule, bad Christians under the Christian rule, after having been fervent pagans and mediocre Jews." These "land-tilling mountaineers of Judaea, sons of the soil and the rock, are ready to become afresh whatever their masters of to-morrow may demand, if only they are allowed to remain on the land" (*ibid.*).

The Islamic conquest, moreover, was understood as a simple reenactment of the dynamics of a much earlier one—that of Joshua: "We shall find very strong proof that the Mohammedan conquest was almost the literal repetition of the more ancient invasion by Joshua; in both we have a people conquered and enslaved by masses pouring in from nearly the same regions, and impelled by the same necessities" (205). As explained in more detail,

Nomads like the first Mussulmans, and imbued like them with the irresistible force of religious conviction, the Israelites burst over the Promised Land, attracted by its natural wealth and by a civilisation, the existence of which may be inferred from the Biblical writings. In some parts of the country they speedily obtained a footing, though in others they encountered a more obstinate resistance than the Mussulmans did, the federative system of the Canaanites lending itself better to a prolongation of the strife, and the political conditions being different. (*Ibid.*)

Like the Muslims who followed them, the Israelites, nomads themselves, had to "secure the proper cultivation of the ground," and it was for that tilling of the soil that they found themselves "obliged, whether they wished it or not, to allow the bulk of the primitive inhabitants to remain in the country. . . . That the aborigines, after troubling the religion of Israel a long time by their pagan superstitions, should end by adopt-

ing it, and by being mingled though not confounded with their conquerors, was natural enough" (ibid.).

It was Palestine's peasantry who were truly native of this place. After all, they were "the modern representatives of those old tribes which the Israelites found settled in the country, such as the Canaanites, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Philistines, Edomites, etc." (208). It was that *non-Arab* population that had long remained on this land. (And of course, by way of contrast, the land's only truly Arab population, the bedouins, were not considered to be indigenous). As these ethnographies emphasized, it was not just the local Christian traditions that were questionably authentic and indigenous. So too were existing Jewish traditions. Jews, after all, were successfully expelled from the country for the final time by Hadrian: "Jewish tradition, properly so called, is forever lost in Palestine" (205).<sup>15</sup>

A historically authentic Judeo-Christian tradition, then, depended for its recuperation and validation upon Palestine's natives, those mixed-race inhabitants (currently practicing the Muslim faith), who by virtue of their historical genealogy embodied the multiple histories of the land itself and its cultural and linguistic memories, which might be best described as "an unconscious inheritance from their ancestors" (Stocking 1994: 5). And it was out of this system of social classification and historical genealogy that a particular category of nativeness emerged, one that existed in tension with the land's own presumed identity. This space, now bounded and represented on the fund's maps, was, after all, the Holy Land, a Judeo-Christian place. And yet its truly native inhabitants were neither Jewish nor Christian (nor Arab). Rather, they were a mixed-race population (of pre-Israelite origins [Clermont-Ganneau 1875: 208]), which, though long resident in the land, had no real history of its own (racial, cultural, or religious), at least not one that could be construed as either autonomous or as consciously recognized. Via topographical and ethnographic research, contemporary Palestine could be made to reveal the historical veracity of the biblical tales (see Conder 1879: xxi). A Judeo-Christian sacred history was practically entangled with that now reified place and population, which contained a living residue of the biblical past. The recovery of the Bible would be based upon observation and the empirical study of Palestine itself. Through the practices of science, these multiple histories (one conscious and explicitly sought, the other unconsciously inherited and embodied) emerged as temporarily enmeshed, and the boundaries of belonging and of racial difference began to be construed anew.

## Producing Antiquities

Compiling a register of Palestine's present surface-level geography and historical sites and of its contemporary linguistic and cultural practices could only partially fulfill the desire to recover its past and to recuperate a biblical history. As was stressed in the fund's many publications, excavations alone would be the final arbiters of historical debate. It was only by unearthing a *buried* past that history would be witnessed and its truths rendered visible to the contemporary eye. The "mass of information . . . hidden underground" would be uncovered only through "long and careful exploration" (Watson 1915: 20). Science would thus be able to establish itself on more reliable evidentiary terrain, which would be based on the investigation and observation of empirical objects and no longer dependent on the testimony of local and unreliable witnesses.

Such careful exploration involved four steps. Exploring Jerusalem, for example, entailed, first, an "actual measurement and a careful study of the modern city" and, second, a study of the city's general history from texts, followed by an examination of the "architecture of ruins which remain" (79). But, though the writers adopted all the same methods, their conclusions were varied. The solution, according to the fund, lay in excavation. "There remains only the last method—that of excavation. . . . The secrets of the past lay buried beneath the surface of the present, waiting for him who should be able to pluck them from their hiding place and give them back to the world" (80). Excavations alone were believed to be capable of producing indisputable, observable facts: "He [the reader] need not take Captain Warren's conclusions [regarding his excavations in Jerusalem], but he *must* take his facts, because they are of a nature which cannot be disputed" (96). The evidence collected from the land's surface was only a prelude to the archaeological work to come. This surface evidence had to be substantiated with material-cultural evidence produced from the depths of the earth itself: facts in the ground. The fund's maps provided the framework for this excavating work. As spelled out in an introduction to excavations at Tell El-Hesy (1890–92),

The surveys, described in the preceding chapters, which had been carried out by the PEF, were a necessary prerequisite to the scientific examination of the antiquities of the Holy Land, but, with the exception of the work done by Captain Warren at Jerusalem, these surveys dealt principally with the geographical and topographical features of the country, and the officers who carried them out were concerned with exploration rather than excavation. (99)

The task that now remained was the investigation of “what lay below the surface of the ground” (*ibid.*).

While the survey officers were concerned primarily with surface exploration, they did undertake some excavating. As stipulated at the survey’s initial conception, “small excavations [should] be made at any place which may seem to offer a favorable field, but . . . any large excavations [should] be left for future consideration” (PEF Archives, WS/Dra/3). During this time, however, a series of excavations *were* carried out (see Conder and Kitchner 1881), sometimes without the requisite permission from the Ottoman authorities (see Conder 1899: v). Nevertheless, with the exception of the rather extensive Jerusalem explorations, the work of excavating began in earnest when the survey was complete. The fund’s maps were used to locate sites worth excavating. The initial excavations concentrated on the large number of mounds in the Philistine country, each of which represented “an ancient city buried under a mass of debris” (Watson 1915: 117). The excavators were digging in search of material evidence of the biblical story of Joshua’s (and the Israelite) conquest. The project of identification and recovery proceeded, now beneath the landscape’s surface-level stratum, collecting the presumed material remainders of a biblical history that increasingly dotted the contemporary landscape.

The fund commenced its more extensive excavating work at a few select sites. For example, in 1890, the fund was granted a permit to carry out an excavation in an area sixteen miles northeast of Gaza. The excavators focused their work on two mounds, whose modern names were “Khurbet Ajlan” and “Umm Lakis.” The mounds were presumed to be “the sites of the ancient towns of Eglon and Lachish, mentioned in the Bible” as “having been taken and destroyed by Joshua and the Israelites during the campaign in Southern Palestine” (100). W. W. Flinders Petrie, an archaeologist known for his work in Egypt, was brought in for the task. (The recognition of archaeological, as distinguished from cartographic, expertise was emerging as significant to the credibility of the fund’s pursuit [see 101–2]).

Petrie’s work in Palestine is considered to have launched a new era in archaeological research in the country. He helped to establish a basis for the dating of Palestinian pottery by comparing it with Egyptian pottery, whose own chronology had been ascertained on the basis of seals and inscriptions with royal names. Petrie was also the first to apply stratigraphic methods to the reading of Palestinian tells.<sup>16</sup> Commencing his excavations on the two mounds mentioned above, he soon concluded that neither of these sites could be the successors of their biblical

namesakes. Based upon his reading of the pottery remains, the earliest occupation dated to the Roman period. Petrie's ability to challenge *specific* details (the location of this particular city) and his willingness to accept the possibility of falsification, not just verification, reinforced archaeology's scientific status as a field committed to building a corpus of accurate historical knowledge through an objective evaluation of material-cultural remains.

After this excavation, Petrie moved approximately two miles southward to a mound whose modern name was Tell el-Hesy. "It gave signs of having been occupied from a very early date, and was much more likely to have been the real site of Lachish" (102). Satisfied that this was a site worthy of further subterranean exploration, "Petrie collected workmen and proceeded to make a careful examination of the mound" (*ibid.*).

Over the next two years of excavating, first by Petrie and later by Frederick Bliss, a chronology was established for the site. Concrete signs of biblical events, in particular, of Joshua's conquest, were discovered. "In the lowest part of the debris he [Petrie] traced a great wall of sun-dried bricks," Watson writes, "and over this was a layer of rubbish and ashes, containing many fragments of pre-Israelite, or . . . Amorite, pottery. Lachish was one of the cities which [was] destroyed by Joshua during the campaign in Southern Palestine" (103). Ash was read not just as a sign of burning (of an unidentified destruction), but rather as a potential confirmation of a specific historical event, that is, Joshua's conquest. As explained in further detail following Bliss's excavations, the three lowest cities (there were eight towns in all) "appear to have been built before the Israelite invasion." It is possible, he concluded, that "the thick layer of ashes, which overlaid the third of these, may be the relics of the complete destruction of Lachish by Joshua" (105). After all, on the basis of the Tell el-Hesy tablet found in the third layer in which the name of a governor of Lachish is mentioned (a governor known from the Tell el-Amarna letters), there is "good reason for believing that Tell el-Hesy is the ancient city of Lachish" (*ibid.*) Bliss, however, cautioned against the absolute certainty of this identification, "though there could be no doubt that the place was a stronghold of the Canaanites long before the Israelites invaded Palestine, and that the eighth, or uppermost city was abandoned before the Roman occupation of the Holy Land" (106).<sup>17</sup>

Future excavations followed upon the lead of the dig at Tell el-Hesy. Various mounds in the Philistine country were identified and located (on the basis of the fund's maps read in conjunction with biblical accounts), local workmen were garnered, and the project of biblical identification and historical confirmation was pursued. Sometimes sites were



seen to be successfully identified as specific towns of biblical significance. In other instances, their historical (*biblical*) significance was established, but their specific identities nevertheless remained obscure. Digging in search of evidence of the Israelite conquest,<sup>18</sup> archaeologists produced mappings of their own. Subterranean layers of earth were distinguished as distinct towns, and specific strata corresponded to specific eras (or suberas) in the historical record.

These localized mappings—of specific sites, of specific loci within sites, and of specific strata (or layers) within loci—did far more than inscribe the landscape with the material remains of particular ancient towns. They were integral to the process of producing “antiquities” as a specific category of scientific object. Excavations fashioned relics, stones, and sites as historical records and as material witnesses that, once properly read, would provide access to events long past. As we learn of Flinders Petrie, “His great experience in the science of excavation, and the manner in which he had learned to judge the comparative dates to be ascribed to pottery, even in the smallest fragments, enabled him after a comparatively short season’s work, to reconstruct the history of the place from very early times” (102). This science of excavation involved charting specific mounds with the same precision that the wider landscape of Palestine had been charted beforehand. The tells’ material culture was to be carefully diagramed and mapped within its own immediate context:

The essential value of antiquities, apart from their purely artistic interest, *lies in the circumstances in which they are found*. The inexperienced traveler is apt to pick up a number of objects haphazard, without accurately noting their find-spots, and even, getting tired of them, as a child of flowers that he has picked, to discard them a mile or two away. If the first act is a blunder, the second is a crime. (British Museum 1920: 9; emphasis added)<sup>19</sup>

Once classified as antiquities, the everyday practice of (re)using old stones, which had long been prevalent in Palestine (see Conder 1873: 50), became not just a scientific problem, but, moreover, a crime. In response to European interest in and looting of the Empire’s antiquities, the first Ottoman Antiquities Law (passed in 1884) was drafted (see Marchand 1996: 201). The law regulated scientific access to antiquities sites (excavating permits were now required) and the subsequent ownership of and control over finds (see Gibson 1999: 137–38). In theory, it also effectively outlawed everyday practices of the land’s inhabitants, even if this area of the law was rarely enforced. Article 4 stipulated that

“the monuments of antiquity which happen to be in the private property or house of private persons, either loose or built in the walls, cannot be moved by the proprietors of the property, and for the keeping of those antiquities in their original place the Government has inaugurated the following measures.” Those measures included rendering illegal what we can assume were common practices, such as removing “the stones of tumbled down ancient monuments . . . appropriating or restoring old buildings and making use of them in part or in all; or . . . us[ing] them for deposits of grain, straw, or hay, or . . . us[ing] them as tanks, or for cattle, or turn[ing] them into foundations, or . . . us[ing] them for other purposes” (PEF Archives, WS/Mac/335–414). All antiquities—stones, monuments, gold and silver, coins, and statues, located on the surface, below the ground, or revealed through the work of excavating—became the property of the Ottoman state (as stipulated in Article 3). As a legal category, antiquities demarcated the historical and not only differentiated “ancient” material culture from its contemporary equivalent (within which it may well have been embedded), but, more important, *protected it* from the ongoing practices of the present.<sup>20</sup>

The very possibility of archaeological practice itself emerged from this demarcation of the (legal) category of antiquities. Disciplines, after all, require their own distinct objects of knowledge through which their expertise is formed and in relation to which their source of authority is established and the significance of their specialized practices recognized (cf., Latour 1988; Lenoir 1997). Once taken out of everyday circulation, it is the very right of access to antiquities that is regulated. The antiquities law required that all excavations be approved by Ottoman authorities; would-be excavators had to apply for permits that outlined the spatial and temporal limits within which specific excavations were approved and within which antiquities *could be* tampered with—or, scientifically explored.<sup>21</sup> Excavation, as opposed to mere surface-level exploration, began to be recognized as within the purview of professionals alone: “anything like unauthorized excavation, especially by unskilled hands, is gravely to be deprecated” (British Museum 1920: 7). After all, “to dig an ancient site unskillfully or without keeping a proper record is to obliterate part of a manuscript which no one else will ever be able to read” (ibid.).

Science had revealed the counterintuitive that stones are as fragile as paper and easily destroyed if not adequately cared for. The historical truths they embody are in danger of being forever lost. As the alphabet of a spatial text, these stones were believed to carry meaning, which was recoverable only if one remained attentive to their *context*, their place in

a localized terrain within which their historical significance could be witnessed. A historical archive was embedded in the landscape itself. The fund had created a total object of study. Antiquities, plotted within their immediate spatial contexts which were, in turn, positioned on a map of "the Country" as a whole, could now be properly explored and read and thereby accurately recovered and understood.

All maps embody particular perspectives, of course. They select and highlight "specific phenomena, consciously remove others," ignore yet more, and render "some choices incapable of adoption by virtue of prior decisions about scale and frame" (Cosgrove 1999: 11). This was as true for the maps of Palestine, writ large, as it was for those of archaeological sites, writ small. But, as Denis Cosgrove reminds us, "'Perspective' has a temporal as well as a spatial meaning—looking forward, the sense of prospect. Thus the map excites imagination and graphs desire, its projection is the foundation for and stimulus to [future] projects" (15). The perspectives and projections produced through the fund's work were indeed foundations for projects to come. The ordnance survey maps had *efficacy*. They intervened in social and political worlds in both concrete and imaginative ways. It was Britain who promised Palestine to the Jews as their "national home" in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. It was a promise inscribed in the Mandate for Palestine agreed upon by the League of Nations in 1922.<sup>22</sup> While struggles were to ensue throughout British rule in Palestine over what exactly that promise meant—autonomy, a binational state, an independent Jewish state—the political promise was made. And it was made from within a historical grammar of biblical recovery, a history less and less "evanescent" and more and more "visible" (Daston 2000: 6). This historical grammar of recovery was to be increasingly recast within the terms of Jewish national revival and return. By the turn of the twentieth century, Palestine no longer existed "on the fringe or beneath the surface of [European] scientific collective consciousness." It had "coalesced into" (*ibid.*) a specific, *historic* domain of scientific inquiry, one that was to have political consequences that progressively exceeded the Palestine Exploration Fund's initial religio-cultural and imperial convictions and their immediate archaeological and scientific goals.

# Instituting Archaeology

According to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Palestine was not colonized because it was inhabited by a “primitive” people in “need of tutelage,” but rather because of its “historic significance” and the necessity for it to be open to all religions—not “dominated by any single race or creed” (Anglo-American Committee 1946: 38). In the negotiations between the European powers that finalized the Mandate for Palestine’s political framework, that need for free access was explicitly extended to the domain of archaeology: “The significance of Palestine since prehistoric times in the development of civilization cannot be overestimated. Nor should the interests of archaeology and history be forgotten. The maintenance of conditions under which such studies can be pursued is a genuine concern of civilization” (ibid.).

The extent to which this right of scientific access had entered into the colonial politics of the time is quite clearly illustrated by the fact that Article 21 of the mandate secured the enactment of a Law of Antiquities and ensured equal access to excavations and archaeological research for nationals from any member state of the League of Nations (see Mandate for Palestine reprinted in Anglo-American Committee [1946]). The science of archaeology came center stage during the mandate, and Jewish archaeology gradually emerged as an institutional and intellectual endeavor in its own right.

Securing archaeology as an intellectual pursuit—whether on the part of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society or British mandate authorities—involved a series of efforts to define, demarcate, and protect its objects of knowledge. Specific objects and spaces had to be subjected to particular regulations and expertise, ensuring a delimitation of archaeology’s domain, through which entire terrains were remade—legally, aesthetically, and practically. As Timothy Lenoir has argued, the work of

discipline building entails reconfiguring epistemological visions and cultural commitments that underpin the social and political order. That labor, in other words, necessitates a struggle to redefine what is to count as valuable (and as valuable knowledge) within the larger social world (Lenoir 1997: 3; cf. Latour 1988).<sup>1</sup> It was through educational projects and legal power (the antiquities law and specific city-planning ordinances) that the British endeavored to instill a general respect for science and a modern conception of heritage among Palestine's Arab(-Muslim) population. The struggle for Jewish archaeology, for its part, was more specific. In the context of the Yishuv, in which much was esteemed in terms of its contribution to the national interest, Jewish archaeology strove to fashion itself as an integral player in that wider social and political field. Jewish archaeologists worked to insert their discipline into the (colonial-) national political project, in part t least, in order to attain their own (emergent) disciplinary goals. Throughout the many arguments, discussions, and practical work that characterized these overlapping efforts to institute archaeology in Mandatory Palestine, there persisted a tension over what is an antiquity—living or dead, secular or sacred, past or present, a specific monument or a larger terrain. Artifacts and scientific fields were not easily harnessed and stabilized as belonging exclusively within and to the scientific-archaeological domain. They were, nonetheless, constitutive of the development of an expanding colonial terrain—or, more accurately, of the fashioning and substantiation of two distinct configurations of colonial politics emergent and operative in Mandatory Palestine.

### Configuring National Value

According to the first volume of *Qovetz ha-Hevra ha-ʿIvrit le-Haqirat Eretz Yisrael ve-ʿAtiqoteha* (Proceedings of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society), the founding of the society was “pioneering” both from “the perspective of Israelite culture” and for national and political reasons: “We cannot back down against the competition of other nations of the world and their knowledge in researching the land of our fathers.” It was considered a “sacred duty” to found a Jewish institute in Jerusalem, one through which they would be able to pursue “Hebrew knowledge” of the land done in the “spirit of Israel” (JPES 1921: 91–92). And, as stipulated in the society’s founding mandate, in addition to pursuing scholarly research, the society was to educate the Jewish public in its fields of expertise, the antiquities of Palestine (broadly construed) and the nature of the country (ibid.).

The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society organized and held the first

*yedi'* at *ha-Aretz* conference in Jerusalem in October, 1943. It was to be the "first attempt to establish a living connection between those working in the science of Eretz Yisrael and the public at large" (Yeivin 1967: 3). Translated as "knowledge of the homeland," *yedi'* at *ha-Aretz* is simultaneously a field of knowledge and a national-cultural movement that first developed during the Yishuv through a variety of institutions and practices, such as the *tiyul*. The *tiyul*—an excursion taken by youth movements, schools, and the Palmach, among others<sup>2</sup>—was the central means of exploration and entailed hiking and walking the country in order to become more familiar with it. In other words, the *form* of learning—exploration through bodily contact—was as important as the knowledge itself.<sup>3</sup> In holding its first *yedi'* at *ha-Aretz* conference, the society saw itself as "spreading the knowledge of the homeland to the general public" (*ibid.*). As explained in Itzhaq Ben-Zvi's opening remarks:

This is not a university or an academic institution, but a society wherein people of science meet with the public which wants to become acquainted with and to know the homeland; it [the society] enables each Jew to participate or to help to the best of his abilities in the research of the country and in the discovery of the treasure hidden therein. (4)

Through his words, Ben-Zvi (who later became the second president of the State of Israel) expressed the desire to link the past with the present. A connection between the people and the land, signified through the interlacing of the scientific and the popular, was a goal allegedly shared by researchers and "each Jew" of the Yishuv. As articulated many times at its conferences and in its publications, the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society was not simply an academic society, but also a popular one. Moreover, archaeology was not just a scientific endeavor, but, more important, a national-cultural one.

Such accounts of the society are often reproduced today by Israeli archaeologists in their accounts of the history of the discipline of Jewish/Israeli archaeology. In writings and in interviews, many archaeologists explain the emergence of Jewish archaeology in Palestine and its subsequent development in the early years of statehood into a powerful national-cultural phenomenon—one possibly unparalleled elsewhere in the world—as being a direct consequence of the desire of (many European and secular) Jews to forge a connection to a (home)land they did not really know through a tangible link with their history therein. In the words of Magen Broshi (an archaeologist and former curator of the Shrine of the Book Pavilion at the Israel Museum),

The Israeli phenomenon, a nation returning to its old-new land, is without parallel. It is a nation in the process of renewing its acquaintance with its own land and here archaeology plays an important role. In this process archaeology is part of a larger system known as *yedi'at ha-Aretz*, knowledge of the land (the Hebrew term is derived most probably from the German *Landeskunde*). . . . The European immigrants found a country to which they felt, paradoxically, both kinship and strangeness. Archaeology in Israel, a *sui generis* state, served as a means to dispel the alienation of its new citizens. (1996: 5)<sup>4</sup>

Or as a second archaeologist told me during an interview, "The people living here always realized that they weren't the first to be here. [They] wanted to know, Who were the predecessors? Can I find my own cultural roots in the land? They wanted to know their heritage; wanted to know about every stone around. . . . An artifact, an inscription could bridge over thousands of years of lack of contact." In the words of yet another archaeologist, secular Zionists needed to "touch the antiquities of the land for their connection." Such arguments posit a naturalness of connection between ancient objects and national persons.<sup>5</sup> Archaeology is understood *to be heritage*, and artifacts are presumed to embody cultural roots, something which all Jewish persons in Palestine/Israel presumably desired to know.

The development of archaeology into a national hobby, however, had far more complex origins than such accounts suggest. Rather than operating within the terms of a nationalist historical explication, it is necessary to develop a more specific argument for why and how archaeology crystallized as a key national-cultural and political practice, emphasizing the dynamics of discipline building and colonial politics, all the while keeping in focus the question of terrain that was central to both. There were no "modular forms" of (European) nationalism (Anderson 1991) traversing the globe in which history and the nation *necessarily* converged as a principal practice of nationhood.<sup>6</sup> The question that must be answered is, How and why did particular *domains* become profoundly *salient* sites for the production of *specific* national cultures (see Chatterjee 1993)? In this instance, How and why did archaeology emerge as a powerful site for the creation of Jewish colonial-national culture as it was configured in Palestine and subsequently in the Israeli state?

### *The Value of Antiquities*

In continuing his opening address before the first *yedi'at ha-Aretz* conference, Itzhaq Ben-Zvi declared that the society's 1920 excavations at

Tiberias had launched a new era in the study of Jewish antiquities, which was represented not simply by a novel intellectual agenda in the research on ancient Palestine,<sup>7</sup> but, moreover, was exemplified in the very character of the practical work itself:

We must also point out that the excavations done on behalf of the Society were carried out by Jewish researchers and workers. Many people who live in the agricultural settlements joined the work of the Society and played a role in it . . . [discovering and uncovering] the treasures of the homeland. In this manner collaboration between the researchers and the yishuv, between the past and the present, was created. (Yeivin 1967: 4)

Despite this initial celebratory tone, however, the theme that actually dominated the conference's fourth session was quite a different one. What was repeated over and over again throughout a discussion concerning how the society might best structure outreach to its public was that many antiquities were being destroyed at the hands of Jewish settlers working the land. As is made clear in the exchange that ensued, there was a tension between a priori assertions that *there already existed* an interest in antiquities among Palestine's Jewish public—(modern) nations are, by definition, interested in their heritage—and the realities of everyday practice that seemed to fly in the face of that national belief. While the explicit conviction was never abandoned, strategies were devised in order to teach the value of antiquities to the Jewish public, or, in the words of many, to awaken their interest in such historical objects.

N. Zimbalist, the director of a regional *yedi'at ha-Aretz* center (Bet Sturman) explained the problem. Upon coming to Palestine, he said, the Zionist movement focused on "redeeming" the land. As a result, "we neglected one of the roots of our culture—the study of the remains of our past in the country" (41). There were, in other words, different models of the processes of nation-state building operating. The first emphasized the work of contemporary settlement activity. This was known as redeeming the land, working the contemporary terrain through which homeland and citizen alike would be created. As in settler colonies, qua emergent settler nations elsewhere, reconfiguring "alien land as their own" involved establishing and celebrating settlers' "own investments of labor and sentiment in it" (Thomas 1999: 22). The second model, the one Zimbalist feared had been overlooked, highlighted the principal role of a nation's historical roots in the formation of modern peoplehood. "Because of such a lack of education," he continued, "every important remain is trampled and cast aside" (Yeivin 1967: 41). This was



not the situation in Europe, especially not in western Europe, which clearly stood, in his eyes, as the model for nationhood. "Every child there knows . . . the value of every ancient shard. Every farmer who while plowing uncovers an ancient stone knows how to distinguish between it and a new one, and takes care to preserve the antiquity, to display it or to derive from it a knowledge of the past in order to build the future upon it." In Palestine, by way of contrast, "If a plowman found a bronze spear he would throw it out with contempt." Over the past few years, many kinds of things—bronze shards, gold coins, statues—all "rich in value" had been "discarded from a lack of interest, a lack of knowledge, a lack of education" (ibid.).

As is made clear in Zimbalist's description, his commitment to these material roots of the culture was not shared by the majority of Palestine's Jewish public, at least not as far as he could tell. And this rather dire state of affairs was reported by speaker after speaker. For example, another participant told of a village built right into the foundations of a tell: "Ten years ago I passed in a train and there was a tell; today there isn't one" (44). The youth movements, for their part, had no connection to antiquities: "One often hears: Why should we preserve the potsherds for these *nudnikim*? That's a slogan of the Scouts" (ibid.). (A *nudnik* is a person who nags others with boring and immaterial details.) While a lot had been discovered in recent years, the speaker continued, so too had a lot been destroyed or obliterated "in the hands of many settlers" (ibid.). Throughout the session, it was the actions of Jews living in agricultural settlements about which most concern was expressed. After all, as workers of the land, they had become the icons of nationalist mythology. It was they who *should have been* most interested in antiquities if national consciousness necessarily entailed such a commitment. And, of course, it was those settlers who were most likely to run into antiquities in the course of their everyday activities and thus to destroy or discard them if not properly educated or suitably concerned.

This debate conveys significant information about the state of archaeology as a national-cultural practice in the 1940s. Despite explicit assertions made by nearly all the speakers (and by many Israeli archaeologists today) that there *was* a Jewish interest in antiquities and that (Jewish) antiquities were *intrinsically* recognizable as the foundations of a revived Hebrew national culture in Palestine, there seemed to be very little widespread popular regard for such an archaeological or national heritage project. There was, in other words, no widespread identification with archaeology and its objects displayed by the Jewish public of the Yishuv, even in its final decade. Residents of agricultural settle-

ments were depicted as uninterested, and their everyday practices were viewed as precipitating the destruction of archaeology's objects. Even tour guides, those seen to be at the forefront of teaching a territorialized national history and heritage, were portrayed in this debate as having both little concern for and perhaps even less knowledge of the archaeological past. As Yeivin stated, guides "quickly pass[ed] over" ancient remains while giving tours (1967: 43, 52). Nevertheless, despite all their own evidence and arguments to the contrary, conference participants continued *to believe* that the Jewish public of Palestine was interested in antiquities, although that curiosity may have been lying in a dormant state from which it could and should be nourished back to life (paralleling the very project of nationhood itself). As one speaker argued, the regulations regarding the educational projects of the Department of Antiquities (outlined in a brochure) may well have been enough for Arabs because they were not "interested at all in the remains of this culture." The speaker went on to say that the "Hebrew public needs education" (41), insinuating an inherent contrast between the Arab and the Jewish publics with regard to antiquities and, by implication, to nationhood itself. He then called upon the department to expand its educational efforts and suggested they should commit themselves to producing guidebooks in Hebrew (*ibid.*).

In designing a solution to this problem, it was to education, alongside specific efforts at better organization, that all participants turned. Education, after all, was considered by the political leadership of the Yishuv to be of primary importance to the Jewish (colonial-)national project of cultivating the new Hebrew citizen and polity for the future nation-state. The political leadership explicitly recognized the need to forge national-cultural unity out of a disparate Jewish population coming to Palestine from multiple countries of origin. And there were to be two key components of that national-cultural rebirth, both to be taught through the Hebrew school system: the Hebrew language and the history of the Land of Israel—*yedi'at ha-Moledet* (knowledge of the homeland), as it was most commonly referred to in the prestate period educational curricula.<sup>8</sup>

Relying on a rhetoric of homeland, speaker after speaker argued that what needed to be done, first and foremost, was to "introduce and to inculcate into children's minds . . . the love of *yedi'at ha-Aretz*" (44). As explained by the first participant, while there was plenty of knowledge and many collections, none really reached the public. The (*Jewish*) public, he argued, does not even know the difference between a tell (the mound of an ancient city) and a *giva'a* (hill) (41). "What we require is ed-

ucation,” added Shmu’el Yeivin (43).<sup>9</sup> And it was first and foremost the *value* of antiquities, a very general and basic knowledge, that had to be taught. Educational material was needed to teach the most basic question of all: “*What are antiquities?*” (55; emphasis added). Antiquities, in other words, were particular kinds of objects whose standing and salience as objects of scientific and national value had to be brought clearly into public view.

A variety of venues were discussed as a means for achieving such an aim: national education, better and centrally developed methods for *tiyulim*, better trained guides, and the development of local branches of the society, which would bring the public into a closer and more active relationship with its work. This was very much a project of centralization. A protostate bureaucracy, with its various institutions guiding national-cultural projects, was imagined as a venue for fostering national values and understandings in relation to which archaeology’s problem, the destruction of its objects of knowledge, would simultaneously be resolved.

The role of the society in guiding a national-educational project was articulated by Shmu’el Yeivin. A year and a half before, the society had convened a meeting of teachers of *yedi’at ha-Aretz* during which they decided to demand of the Department of Education that they introduce the *moledet* as a required subject in secondary schools (48). Having realized that goal, adult education remained an outstanding problem. Various speakers called upon each participant to do outreach in their own region. Others focused on the responsibilities of guides to provide more detailed and better information regarding archaeological remains. The opinion was that guides must “know each tell, and point it out not just in a hurry, but should explain to the public and imbue in them the consciousness: You are not just passing by a hill but rather by an ancient settlement” (43). In effect, the landscape *as a whole*, and not just discrete objects, which would be removed from their original contexts and exhibited in museums, was being cast in terms of its historic (its *biblical*) value, throwing a perspective across the terrain through which the *moledet* would emerge as existing always, and simultaneously, in the past and not solely in the present tense.

Throughout a debate concerning educational outreach, the question of regional museums was revisited many times. Were such institutions suitable sites for inculcating a respect for antiquities, for spreading a knowledge of the homeland, and for ensuring the preservation of antiquities? Yeivin defended the idea. But rather than making regional centers into “a tomb of antiquities” that people visit “for the sake of

amusement" (as was his understanding of large museums), they should be "living institution[s], and . . . center[s] for interest and instruction," sites for public education regarding the antiquities of the country (49). As asserted by a second speaker, he had no doubt that there *were* interested persons; the question was how to bring such persons into closer contact with the society's active members and with its central institutions. Like Yeivin, who spoke before him, he saw regional museums as being able to fulfill such a role:

We have a number of beautiful things that never make it at all to Bet Sturman [a *yedi'at ha-Aretz* center]. It is necessary to establish regional museums. As far as possible, it is necessary to give each member instruction on each potsherd that he uncovers from a hole for planting a tree, and from every meter that his plow has furrowed. He must be given the chance to come to the closest place that he finds, and to get an explanation and encouragement and attention to his work. (52)

Educating the protostate's citizenry about antiquities was clearly being promoted as a role and responsibility the society must undertake. Nevertheless, assertions such as "The study of potsherds . . . is one of the important foundations of the history of our culture" (43) cannot be taken at face value. They capture only some of the desires and interests motivating this debate and the commitments being developed from it. Assuring the proper collection and preservation of archaeology's objects for the purposes of scientific research was *the main concern* for many participants, especially for those members of the society who understood themselves as first and foremost *doing archaeology*. For example, not all speakers were convinced of either the value or the wisdom of establishing regional collections of antiquities. As one speaker most lucidly articulated, the proliferation of such local centers could prove dangerous to archaeology by encouraging a market for antiquities:

The biggest problem is how to stop the excavations done by *fellahin* [the first mention of a "public" that was not Jewish in this entire debate] without permits, as they want to sell the antiquities to researchers; and not [only] once does such a thing destroy . . . many cultures, as we are unable to know from where they have come. We know of a settlement in the country which is full of antiquities, and in the same region there is not one *fellah* or one Bedouin who will not sell you antiquities. If this spirit spreads in the country amongst its residents—it will be a disaster. The scientific purpose of a collection of antiquities is [as] a concentration of material. . . . Without knowing its context it has no scientific value. (44)<sup>10</sup>

As this participant emphasized, "There is no value to potsherds that children bring home" (ibid.), reproducing the language and logic of the British Museum manual, *How to Observe in Archaeology* (1920), which had been designed for European travelers to the Near East. It was on those grounds that he opposed regional and private collections and museums. In their place, he supported regional branches of the society through which students, collectors of antiquities, and neighbors of tells could be educated in order preserve it *as a tell* "for eternity." He concluded, "If we succeed in this . . . there is a future for *our* existence" (ibid.; emphasis added). There would be a future for the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, which he defined as primarily a "historical-archaeological" society (ibid.). The preservation of antiquities as objects of scientific value was his primary concern. All efforts to educate the public (for him, presumably, fellahin as well as Jews) about the value of antiquities needed to be wary of inadvertently contributing to the further diffusion and destruction of archaeology's objects. In other words, what framed this participant's concern and the solutions he proposed had little to do with the question of national value. It was archaeology as a historical and scientific practice whose future he sought to ensure.

The concern with protecting and promoting the society's future as a scientific, archaeological society was articulated and defended by several speakers. The future of the society would require the preservation and protection of its objects of knowledge. But such public education would bring other advantages as well. The society's work, including, for example, the establishment of regional centers, required funds. Increasing its dues-paying membership was crucial to generating much-needed revenue (49). Moreover, the very value and achievement mentioned by Ben-Zvi in his opening remarks, that archaeological work was being carried out not just by Jewish researchers, but by Jewish *workers* as well (4), was being promoted to overcome the financial problems and thus the practical difficulties that the society faced. (The society did not have access to the kinds of funding that the Euro-American-based archaeological schools, projects, and excavations did. Those schools hired various kinds of Arab workers—skilled labor "imported" from Egypt and unskilled labor from Palestine—in order to carry out the everyday work of excavating tells [see PRO CO 733/159/7: 9–10; PRO CO 733/162/1]). In other words, the very significance of Jewish volunteers working on archaeological digs may have its roots less in a national-cultural imagination than in the pragmatic needs of Jewish archaeological work as it struggled to establish itself in Mandatory Palestine.

The discourse of volunteer labor and the way in which it is seen to sig-

nify a Jewish national connection to the archaeological past became important in later decades, particularly in popular accounts of key excavations. Like the general interest in antiquities presumably exhibited by Jewish settlers of the Yishuv, such labor has long been read as testimony to an inherent interest, within this national community, in its historical roots. Yigael Yadin's excavations at Masada (1963–65) perhaps best epitomize the involvement of volunteers in the work of archaeology.<sup>11</sup> According to Nachman Ben-Yehuda, while on any given day approximately 200 volunteers participated, since the groups changed about every two weeks “thousands of Israelis and non-Israelis alike participated in both the experience of the excavations and the exposure to the ‘Masada tale’ in the most intimate and direct way” (1995: 56). Or, as Neil Silberman has argued of the practice of archaeology more broadly, its development into a nationalist tradition entailed not only an attitude in which “each discovery of identifiably Jewish or Israelite ruins” was seen as “a physical confirmation of the modern Jewish right to the land,” but, moreover, by the 1960s, that “participation in excavations had come to be a ritual for Israeli schoolchildren, soldiers and foreign visitors” (1989: 9).

Such rituals *were* important both as indicators of the national-cultural appeal of archaeology, at least by the early 1960s, and, in turn, as (bodily) practices through which a historical consciousness and national-cultural idioms were themselves formed (see Connerton 1989). Nevertheless, the origins of that practice and the reasons for fostering it may not reside in nationalist commitments or sentiments alone. As mentioned by nearly all participants in the discussion at the 1943 *yedi'at ha-Aretz* conference, generating sufficient membership for the society was essential to providing it with an adequate supply of (*unpaid*) labor through which its work of excavating could and would actually get done (see Yeivin 1967: 39–61). In fashioning and promoting the distinctive nature and importance of Jewish archaeology in Palestine, Itzhaq Ben-Zvi and other speakers were invoking—and trying to insert archaeology into—a widespread colonial-national cultural idiom of Hebrew labor (*'avoda Ivrit*), one well in place by the 1940s, although the discipline remained marginal to it.

Indeed, it is possible to distill from this debate evidence that inverts key strands of the traditional take on archaeology's emergence as a widespread national-cultural practice among Jews of the Yishuv and, later, among Israeli-Jews in the newly founded state. Rather than the discipline of archaeology being *a natural consequence* of a national-cultural commitment to investigating the Jewish/Israelite material-

cultural past, that national-cultural commitment to Jewish/Israelite antiquities was, at least partially, an outcome of the struggle of and for the science of archaeology itself. In order for archaeology's research projects to be possible, at a time when excavating was emerging as the locus of disciplinary distinctiveness and expertise, its objects of knowledge had to be protected from ongoing practices that were precipitating their disappearance. Particular kinds of material-cultural objects and specific kinds of sites had to be recognized as antiquities, as objects of value to be excavated, preserved, studied, displayed, and revered. And in order to do so, a particular set of understandings and commitments needed to be forged. Archaeologists had to generate a belief in the value of antiquities, not just as objects of science, but, given the social and political realities of the Yishuv, as objects of national significance. Simply put, despite commonplace rhetoric to the contrary, there was no widespread identification with archaeology and its objects displayed by the Jewish public of the Yishuv. Such a national-cultural conception had to be made. And while the work of the society emerged as part of a project of educating a Hebrew citizenry, one that would be imbued with a national-historical-archaeological consciousness, the interests that motivated such work were complex. Education was essential if the interests of science, and not just those of "the nation," were to be secured.

Not all participants in this discussion, however, shared a specifically archaeological perspective regarding these objects of knowledge. Many were members of a wider network of practices and institutions, some of whom at least held different interests in and understandings of the society's work. In fact, no consensus emerged out of this discussion regarding the goals of the society (where it should concentrate most of its future work) or concerning the most basic question of all: What *is* an antiquity? There was no singular understanding of such objects, in particular, not with regard to the manner in which they would partake in the making of a new Hebrew national culture in Palestine. Instead, divergent conceptions of what constitutes an antiquity and what kind of historical and temporal conceptions the society should work to promote, by and large, aligned along emergent disciplinary divides: those of the archaeological community versus those of the *yedi'at ha-Aretz* community.

What was the society's primary purpose? J. S. Schweig took issue with the answer provided by Zimbalist. He disagreed with Zimbalist's vision in which most of the society's efforts would be focused on the task of public education and, moreover, in which its scholarly work would be subsumed to the larger project of *yedi'at ha-Aretz*. *Yedi'at ha-Aretz* was,

according to Schweig, far broader than archaeology in its focus. In his opinion, much of what Zimbalist proposed fell outside the real goals of the society. The primary purpose of the society was the “study of Eretz Yisrael *in the past*”; that is, a “*historical-archaeological role* more so than the purpose of Bet Sturman,” which dealt with “the problems of the present,” and that created “an archive for the future.” The society’s primary goal should be to support “archaeologists in the present” (Yeivin 1967: 43; emphasis added). It was precisely his emphasis on Eretz Yisrael “in the past” and, moreover, of even differentiating between past and present that several participants, particularly those squarely situated within the emerging field and national-cultural practice of *yedi’at ha-Aretz*, decided to challenge.

Ze’ev Vilnay, one of the key figures in the development of the field of *yedi’at ha-Aretz*, who wrote the canonical texts of the tiyulim movement,<sup>12</sup> presented the conference with a very different view of the society’s main purpose and role, which was far more presentist than Schweig’s in its conceptualization: “Potsherds have been spoken of here. I don’t think that our *tiyulim* here in the country must concentrate on these potsherds of all things. For us, the *tiyul* encompasses all the values of our culture,” including potsherds. He understood lessons concerning ancient relics to be important “not only because they teach the hikers to value the remains that were destroyed in the days of Abraham our father or King David.” Rather, “the remnant is nothing but a motive for moving into the future” (45). He explicated his meaning with reference to the Negev, presently being settled: such shards must “open his eyes [the visitor] to the vision of settlement in the Negev. . . . These same remnants must not be preserved only in a pedantic or high way, but they must be presented in a way which will show us that these remains are faithful witnesses to the fact that this Negev was densely settled. And we must educate our generation in this such that these remnants give them the energy and the strength to penetrate such places” (45–46). The role of the society for Vilnay? It should act as the central organ for administering tiyulim, thus ensuring that they were properly conducted, their guides properly trained, and thereby that tiyulim would be successful.<sup>13</sup>

Benvenisti, another participant, was likewise a central figure in the *yedi’at ha-Aretz* movement.<sup>14</sup> He took Vilnay’s presentist vision even further by dissolving the category of antiquity altogether. Benvenisti objected to drawing any distinction between the past and the present. The whole Hebrew culture was to be treated as a unitary, continuous, and contiguous thing: “In the past few years, there has begun an important



turn in the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society as in dealing with antiquities [and it] has come to the decision that *for the people of Israel in the Land of Israel there are no antiquities, everything is alive*" (53; emphasis added). "Everything that we do every day—if we immigrate to the Negev—for example, that is a link in the great chain from the days of Abraham our father up until today. It is not possible to say that what was in the days of Noah and Abraham that is ancient, and what we are doing today that is new; rather, it is one long chain" (ibid.). Accordingly, one cannot say certain things are ancient and others new. There exists no such thing as an antiquity.

In that *yedi'at ha-Aretz* vision, antiquities were but one kind of material culture, continuous with and an integral part of an ongoing (material) culture in the present, very much constitutive of the project of building the Hebrew nation anew. But other participants in the discussion presented a significantly different understanding, one in which there *was* an appeal to the national project but one that nevertheless diverged in important ways from the national-cultural logic promoted by Vilnay and Benvenisti alike. There were indeed antiquities, and there was indeed a distinction between the past and the present. It was in their efforts to promote the significance of the past in the making and fashioning of the present and future that such speakers labored to insert archaeology into the national interest. Stekelis, an excavator of prehistoric remains, for example, expressed his regrets that "the people who need to be here" are not at this meeting. He was speaking of those persons who held power in the Zionist organizations working to settle Eretz Yisrael. After all, "the exploration of Eretz Yisrael is tied to that work" of settlement. Many of the questions and problems it faces "cannot be solved without investigating Eretz Yisrael's past" (57–58). He added that such organizations get a lot of funding, often from abroad, and sometimes they use that money to research particular problems. In order to put the society in a better position to garner such funds, he suggested that it rethink its name, thus recasting the scope and significance of its work. After all, the society did not just investigate "Eretz Yisrael and its antiquities, but first and foremost . . . [it investigated] . . . Eretz Yisrael." He argued that the phrase "and its antiquities" must be deleted altogether, "owing to the fact that *everything is tied to the past of the country*" (58; emphasis added).

In defense of the society and its work, Stekelis inverted the temporal terms presented by Benvenisti and Vilnay. It was not that all was "living," that is, in and of the present, but rather, that all was tied to the past. And it was through that approach that the speaker hoped to appeal to

the key national organs for land settlement to support the society's work. Armed with that argument, he suggested that members of the society go from place to place not primarily to give lectures, but rather to establish local branches, which would be financed by a poll-tax imposed upon settlements to fund the society's work (*ibid.*). Other speakers made similar translations of the significance of archaeology for the national interest:

The most important thing is the active study of the settlement, of the surroundings with the aid of a *tiyul* or the recovery of the past by means of active observation. Pottery is not pottery, it is Eretz Yisrael. . . . If there is a person to whom this vessel or this shard speaks, he can introduce into the consciousness of people who live here the thought: Jews dwelled in this place—this is not just a connection to strengthen our Zionist activities in the country, but this is a connection that links people around a *central idea* that will henceforth find its expression in this large organization that we call the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. (60–61; emphasis added)

That central idea encapsulated a particular kind of national-historical connection. This connection was to be embodied in ancient objects and experienced through their study and observation. The society's educational work fashioned and promoted the national-historical link but was driven as much by pragmatic concerns as by national and ideological interests. Its existence was dependent upon Palestine's (Jewish) public consciously and actively recognizing the society's social and scientific value. The society's educational activities were thus motivated, at least to some extent, by archaeology's own vulnerabilities as a field science.

### Legislating Scientific Objects and Terrains

The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society was not the sole institution to concern itself with teaching the value of antiquities to the general public. The government's Department of Antiquities had long been engaged in such a task. In his address before that same *yedi'at ha-Aretz* conference, Richard Hamilton (the department's director) outlined what he considered the twofold contribution that a society such as the JPES could make to archaeology. The first was the "duty" of its "professional members," which was to carry out research. The second, while less obvious, was no less crucial. It was a duty for which all members—professionals and amateurs—must be responsible: "fostering and spreading amongst the mass of ordinary people, in town and in country, the habit of regarding their monuments as things to be respected" (Yeivin 1944: xix). Such work was "one of the principal functions" of the JPES and of the Pales-

tine Museum alike (*ibid.*). And that work of inculcating a respect for “their monuments” among the public at large was by no means new. As described in a confidential memo written by Hamilton in September of 1931, one of the roles of the department’s chief inspector was “protecting and preserving the sites and monuments, familiarising the fellahin with the existence and meaning of the Antiquities law and, for generally assuring the obeisance of that law in the district.” He explained that while much of such work was “of a routine character . . . so widespread are the monuments, so complete the ignorance of the peasants, so frequent infringements of the law, that it occupies at present nearly the whole working time of the three Inspectors” (PRO CO 733/209/7).<sup>15</sup>

As indicated by Hamilton’s words, it was not just that the value of antiquities was to be taught. It was to be legislated and the force of law imposed. That law would have to provide an answer to the most fundamental question of all: What is an antiquity? In other words, what kinds of sites, monuments, objects, *and spaces* were to be classified as antiquities, subject to the jurisdiction of the antiquities law?

As laid out in the Antiquities Ordinance of 1928:

“Antiquity” includes historical monument, and means: (a) any object, whether movable or immovable or a part of the soil, which has been constructed, shaped, inscribed, erected, excavated or otherwise produced or modified by human agency earlier than the year 1700 A.D., together with any part thereof which has at a later date been added, reconstructed or restored. (PRO CO 733/159/7: 1)<sup>16</sup>

But as the ordinance then clarified, there was one category of historical objects that would not be subject to (most provisions of) its jurisdiction, that is, “antiquities of religious use or devoted to a religious purpose which are the property of a religious or ecclesiastical body,” be they monuments or movable objects (2).

Exempting sacred antiquities (those owned by religious and ecclesiastical bodies, as well as those owned by the government) from the jurisdiction of key clauses of the antiquities law or from specific mention therein was an outcome of the colonial politics involved in establishing mandatory rule in Palestine. One demand of the European powers involved in negotiating the terms of Britain’s Mandate for Palestine was that the government be bound to preserve the status quo with regard to its holy places, thus guarding the interests of different (Christian) European states in Palestine and their respective religious-national claims to specific Christian properties and as the protectors of particular Christian communities.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the mandate adopted the principle of re-

fraining from unnecessary intervention into the affairs of local (i.e., Muslim) religious authorities with regard to the administration of Islamic sites. The mandate would rule *through* existing “communal politics,” communal identities that would be radically reconfigured by the time of the mandate’s demise. In the numerous drafts of the antiquities ordinance to come and in the many debates surrounding the preservation of religious and other monuments, the mandate would constantly represent itself as not intervening with the status quo or taking sides in local communal politics (Muslim and Jewish, in particular [on maintaining the status quo, see Article 13 of the Mandate for Palestine, PRO CO 733/159/7: 7]).

While motivated by an altogether different set of (colonial) interests and politics, the exclusion of particular kinds of monuments and objects from the full force of the antiquities ordinance was key to fashioning what an antiquity was to be: What kind of a cultural object is it? What is its relationship to the present? To what kinds of interventions or alterations can it be subjected? Moreover, who is it that the law empowers to make such interventions or alterations? In order to demarcate the legal limits of the antiquity law, I begin by considering the clauses from which objects and monuments in religious use were to be exempted.

Sacred monuments and objects were excluded from two of the main provisions of the ordinance, regulations that were fundamental to the Department of Antiquities’ goal of ensuring and managing both access to its objects of knowledge and their preservation. First, religious monuments and objects in nongovernmental possession could not be subject to either a compulsory lease or to outright confiscation. They were protected as the private property of specific religious bodies. Second, the government would have no authority in attempting to stop any alterations being made to the structures themselves or to their immediate contexts.<sup>18</sup> The latter exemption was important in establishing the distinction between two overarching categories of historical monuments: the sacred and the secular (the living and the dead). A memorandum explicated the logic behind excluding monuments in religious use from restrictions on (re)building and alterations in the following terms:

It is sometimes also suggested that the Government should be in such a position as would enable them compulsorily to stop, on merely archaeological or quasi-aesthetic and capricious grounds, any work that may be considered by the traditionary owners of any shrine (whether Christian, Moslem or Jewish) to be necessary for other than purely archaeological reasons. But it is to be remembered that the monuments in question are not of a merely archaeological character, but are also (to

borrow the term used in the Conservation Manual of the Archaeological Survey of India) "living" monuments; that is to say, monuments still in use for religious purposes. (PRO CO 733/159/7: 8)

And it was precisely that status of being *in use* that rendered such monuments distinct and that would make restrictions on alterations artificial:

To take up a rigidly one-sided archaeological, capricious, or "aesthetic" attitude towards such monuments, to lay down that although, as living monuments, they have in past ages been subject to innumerable changes and alterations, yet no changes or alterations can, from this date onwards, be permitted, would not be either reasonable or in the interests of archaeology, but would cause that activity to be looked upon as a *deadening influence seeking to arrest the normal current of human affairs*. (Ibid.; emphasis added)<sup>19</sup>

*Real* antiquities, for their part, were to be subject to precisely such a "deadening" of the "normal current of human affairs" under the 1928 ordinance. The question of what could and could not be done to these different categories of historical monuments was central to producing the demarcation between the living and the dead, between the sacred and the secular historical. These legal provisions were pivotal to far more than demarcating a domain of archaeological practice. They worked to fashion distinctive modes of secular versus sacred historicities.

Once placed outside of the antiquities law's jurisdiction, it was no longer religious monuments that would pose problems for the Department of Antiquities' efforts of historical preservation. Rather, it was "monuments of a secular character" not owned by the government, on the one hand, and "undiscovered antiquities and antiquities situated on land owned or worked by peasants" (4), on the other hand, that became the focus of the department's work. In the first category, "Of these the most important are the monuments of Medieval *art* belonging to the period between 600 A.D. and 1700 A.D. almost entirely *Moslem in origin* . . . and existing chiefly in Jerusalem, but also in other parts of Palestine" (11; emphasis added). Approximately one-third of these monuments were owned by the "Central Waqfs [*sic*] Administration" (the Islamic Trust), and the remaining two-thirds were in private hands. The former posed no great challenge since the Supreme Muslim Council was already engaged in their upkeep. The latter, however, were potentially a very different matter. Encouraged somewhat by the Committee for the Preservation of Monuments of Medieval Art in Palestine founded by

“several leading Moslems and others,” it was proposed that the Department of Antiquities provide the committee with financial assistance in its work of conservation. And *conservation* is the key word. Although mostly private properties, and mostly (one can assume) private “habitations” (14), these buildings were understood to be monuments of *art*, Muslim *in origin*. They were no longer living monuments allowed to undergo architectural change as may have been precipitated by ongoing practices and quotidian needs. They were now *artifacts*—material remainders of a history that had passed (not one to be revived as was the case for many participants in the *yedi’at ha-Aretz* conference). These were (historical) objects subject to scientific inquiry and expert intervention alone.

As Gwendolyn Wright has written of French projects to preserve “the *madina*” (a city’s historic section or “old city”) in various North African cities, “the desire for stopping time and history . . . is always implicit in a preservation campaign” (1997: 331). The mandate’s antiquities law classified all change as damage, and stipulated that it was “necessary to prevent damage to these and all other historical monuments through works of addition, repair or alteration done by owners who may be unaware that the conservation of their property is a matter not merely of private interest but also of public amenity” (PRO CO 733/159/7: 13). Section 12(6) of the ordinance was drafted precisely to preclude such a possibility. And it was perhaps in efforts to protect Jerusalem’s Old City that this clause of the antiquities ordinance was most often invoked. Like all antiquities, objects of science and objects of heritage produced at the juncture of legal jurisdiction, archaeological practice, and public education, the Old City as a whole and many of its individual buildings were to be protected from any unauthorized works of addition, repair, or alteration. They were to be protected from the ongoing practices of the present.

### *The Old City as Historical Monument*

From the time of Britain’s occupation of Jerusalem in 1917, the state of Jerusalem’s antiquities was considered to be of prime concern, and beginning with the 1918 town planning scheme developed at General Allenby’s request, a very specific vision for the Old City—and for the city of Jerusalem more broadly—was pursued, at least in theory if often not realized in actual fact. That plan entailed a strict demarcation of urban space. There were two cities, “the *Ancient City*” and an “adjacent *modern city*” (PRO CO 733/339/4; emphasis added), paralleling the production

of “dual cities” that characterized modernist city planning in various parts of the colonized world (Wright 1997: 328; see also Rabinow 1989). The needs of each of those cities were understood to be radically different. There were to be four planning zones (the Old City, a protective belt surrounding it, a larger outer protective belt enclosing that, and the modern city), and the city plan delineated the criteria for development and construction for each of these specific (types of) locales within the singular space of the municipality of Jerusalem as a whole. The principles governing each of the zones were as follows:

1. that the medieval aspect of the Old City within the walls should be preserved;
2. that a belt of land surrounding the walls should be preserved, as far as possible, as an open space;<sup>20</sup>
3. that within a large outer belt any new buildings should be in harmony and in scale with the Old City;
4. beyond this outer belt the Modern City was free to develop under the usual town planning control. (PRO CO 733/339/3)

As W. H. McLean (one of the mandate’s chief city planners) wrote in a series of letters to the editors of various London newspapers, the fear expressed by several persons regarding “spoiling the Holy City”<sup>21</sup> was due to an “insufficient distinction” between these different municipal zones: “It is the recently unsatisfactory architecture in the Modern City, beyond the outer protective belt, which Professor Bentwich doubtless refers to in his article.” The Old City itself and its surrounding belts had, by and large, been sufficiently protected by the original 1918 city plan and the legal force with which it was endowed (*ibid.*).

This was a town planning scheme designed to “preserve the Old City and its immediate surroundings” (*ibid.*). In so doing, it promoted a specific aesthetic and endowed archaeology—its institutions, its personnel, its expertise—with the power to determine and to regulate that historic-aesthetic character. In effect, this urban space was being transformed into an archaeological terrain. It was not enough that *individual monuments* be preserved; rather, as for the Moroccan *madina* analyzed by Wright, “a detailed set of aesthetic requirements” were drawn up for the Old City, writ large (328). The Old City emerged, legally, ideologically, and scientifically, as a “historic locality” subject to sustained expert practice and oversight (Handler 1988: 143).

As reported in a “Memorandum on the Protection of the Old City of Jerusalem and its Environs” (PRO CO 733/339/4), “Within the Old City much has been done to preserve the mediaeval appearance. This is the

result of an admirable co-operation between the municipality, the Town Planning Advisor, and the Antiquities Department." The authority of the Department of Antiquities in this town planning scheme was based upon the legal and zoning status of the Old City itself (and specific surrounding areas), as well as the pragmatics of expertise and available resources. In 1922, the walls of the Old City had been declared a "historical site" (PRO CO 733/467/8). They were included in the Provisional Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments in June 1929 (PRO CO 733/467/9), thus placing them under the jurisdiction of the antiquities law. And, as concluded by a subcommittee formed under the chairmanship of the Jerusalem town planning advisor to consider the state and upkeep of the walls, "since as at present constituted the Town Planning Office was not in a position to assume" the task, the responsibility for "maintenance and upkeep" of the city walls would be given to the Department of Antiquities (*ibid.*). That maintenance and upkeep required that all "encroachments" upon the wall—be they temporary or permanent, immediate or in the vicinity—be destroyed. "Squatters" were to be removed (PRO CO 733/467/8) and unsightly structures demolished.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the Jerusalem Town Planning Ordinance of 1936 limited the local commission's authority over the design of any proposed building in particular zones considered the "archaeological zone" (PRO CO 733/467/9), of which the Old City formed its central part.<sup>23</sup> In place of the local commission, the antiquities department was empowered to regulate such building activities (*ibid.*).

There were two principles that were to govern construction within Jerusalem's Old City: that it was to be very limited ("New buildings may be permitted under special circumstances") and that it was to be regulated by a strict sense of an appropriate aesthetic. Its "medieval character" was to be maintained, right down to the style of its arched doorways (PRO CO 733/339/4). After all, the goal of all this work was "the preservation of such a monument as the Old City" (PRO CO 733/467/8; *emphasis added*), which, like all other secular (*i.e.*, dead) monuments regulated by the antiquities law, would be subject to strict restrictions regarding any alterations or additions made to them. It was the "area outside the Dotted Blue Line"—the adjacent modern city—that was the "area planned for future development" (PRO CO 733/339/4).

In its most radical form, an understanding of the Old City as a historical monument and as an authentic-historic architectural space that must be preserved in its current form was expressed in an article in *Iton Agudat ha-Enginirim* (the newspaper of the association of architects and



civil engineers) in November 1943: “The Old City covers a small area and contains, besides dwelling houses and public buildings, factories for dairy products and sweets, bakeries, flour-mills, shoe factories, etc. There are also stables, market-places and grocers’ shops” (PRO CO 733/467/9). This, according to the writer, was a problem. Such businesses, structures, and inhabitants masked its true beauty and historical (-religious) significance:

One passes through narrow streets, through alleys full of dirt and rubbish and none of the holy, ancient places can be seen through a nice perspective. And one thinks: how nice it would have been had it been possible to approach the holy, ancient places through boulevards and gardens, instead of twisted, narrow and dark alleys. . . . Conditions will never change as long as the status quo, which benefits nobody, is observed. (Ibid.)

In the spirit of benefitting visitors to the holy places—Jewish, Christian, and Muslim alike—he put forth a number of proposals that would freeze all future businesses in the Old City, remove (many of) its residents to “cheap houses” outside its walls, and establish a competition for a design for the Old City’s reconstruction. He concluded with his vision for its future:

I imagine the new plan leaving the present walls intact while providing for broad streets, boulevards and gardens inside. A green belt will separate the old town from modern Jerusalem outside the walls. The old town will be a quiet place containing museums, theological and archaeological libraries, teachers’ and priests’ colleges, a central synagogue and churches. With a view to giving satisfaction to opponents of such a plan who wish to see narrow streets and dirty alleys I would leave one or two streets with a market-place in the corner. These could show how people used to live in the past. (Ibid.)

Clearly, the vision promoted by Jerusalem’s city planners, by the municipality, and by the antiquities department was more nuanced than this. No one proposed actually denuding the space of its inhabitants and transforming it wholly into a museum and a place for learning. Nevertheless, there are elements of this more radical vision that converge with those of British planners and policy makers. The Old City *stood for* the historical, in the eyes of Europeans and outsiders, in relation to which the modern city would and could exist. The Old City, its living architectural fabric, was imagined and legislated to be a historical monument whose special character had to be conserved. It was, after all, only in the

modern city that future development could take place. But, in contrast to French colonial cities in which the “madina” was simply a “conservatory of Oriental life” (Wright 1997: 323), the Old City’s imagined historical relevance was far more specific. Its existence—its *conservation*—was of principal importance to *Jerusalem’s* present and future. It was the Old City, after all, that identified this place as the Holy City, in relation to which the continual (Christian) anxiety regarding its potential destruction made sense. And it was far more than the colonial imagination of (a Judeo-Christian) recuperation that was produced and promoted at this juncture of town planning and archaeological epistemology. So too was the very nature of (secular) historicity itself—the idea that the present indexes the past in relation to which its own identity is secured and that the past remains physically distinct, (aesthetically) frozen in time and personified in its physical remains.

But to talk about that past as unified, as a singular heritage shared by all those who inhabited the contemporary city, would be to eclipse a key aspect of this work of heritage production and management and of the colonial communal politics promulgated by the British in their commitment to maintaining the status quo. While at one level the Old City as a whole (taken as a singular monument) was a material referent for the historic (Judeo-Christian) identity of the contemporary city, as becomes clear in the endless correspondence regarding the problem of preserving historic monuments in Palestine, particular population groups—Christians, Muslims (or Arabs), Jews—were seen to have *specific* attachments to *individual* sites. Each group was understood to have its own (material) culture (Handler 1988). Heritage rights and responsibilities were understood to divide along communal lines. There existed Jewish, Muslim, and Christian monuments. Moreover, as is also evident in such correspondence, individual monuments were not so easily discernible as being *either* secular or sacred, religious or historical. That was a matter of perspective.

Throughout the mandate, the problem of sufficient funds for the purposes of historical conservation persisted. One of the schemes bandied about for a decade proposed the taxing of all visitors to Palestine for the purpose of funding the survey, conservation, and restoration of historic monuments. As explained in a memo back to London, this tax should be imposed “regardless of race or religion” because “it would be deplorable if historic monuments, of interest and importance to the whole Christian world, were left to dilapidate” (PRO CO 733/157/9). The author of a second memo considered such a tax “reasonable” but anticipated problems in its focus on Christian monuments. Explaining that “a

large proportion of the money so raised would be spent on the conservation of what may be called 'dead' monuments, that is to say, of monuments that are not in religious use," he imagined that all religious communities could contribute "without offence" to such restoration work. But a portion of this money would need to be spent on "live monuments," some of which were under the control of Christian religious bodies. Nevertheless, funds levied from a traveler's tax should be used for the purpose of their conservation as well "in so far as their conservation is necessary in order that they should continue structurally fit for use (*apart from their conservation as historic monuments*)" (*ibid.*; emphasis added). (In other words, depending upon the point of view from which one considered a single monument, it could be either live or dead, in need of repairs as a religious institution with ongoing relevance in the present or in need of conservation as a historic monument.)

But the decision to use such public funds for the conservation of religious institutions could prove contentious: "There might conceivably be an objection on the part of Moslem and Jewish travelers to contribute to the cost of their conservation; and this (in so far as the Jews are concerned), more especially in regard to one of them (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) which Jews are, by established custom, discouraged from visiting" (*ibid.*). His proposed solution was to "reduce the fee payable by Moslem and Jewish travelers" proportionately. It was a solution, however, that he himself quickly rejected, as it would require all travelers to Palestine to declare their religion and "would probably produce more objections than paying for such repairs." Given that Moslem travelers are few and "Jewish feelings would probably be satisfied by the fact that Rachel's tomb is included on the list," he decided to support the visitor tax despite the aforementioned potential problems.

This question of how to fund repairs to historic monuments was revisited many times in correspondence between Palestine and London. In practice, the question of conserving dead monuments was considered potentially no less contentious than was that of repairing live ones. And as becomes clear, the (financial) responsibility for preserving them fell to the (religious or national) community to whom they were seen to belong. In other words, the desire to "preserve the status quo," which was the very ideological foundation of the communal politics of British colonial rule in Palestine, defined the parameters of heritage ownership and management as well, and not just in relation to religious sites (living monuments). As the Department of Antiquities reported in 1935,

We have recently been considering a scheme, put forward by Richmond, for the conservation of monuments of Arab art in Jerusalem.

The monuments in question should rest with the Waqf Authorities, who should also be required to provide the greater part—if not indeed the whole—of the necessary funds, government's assistance being limited to the giving of technical advice and possibly to meeting the cost of the necessary supervisory architect and his assistants. (PRO CO 733/277/14)

The letter then explained:

We recognize the difficulty under the Mandate, which a scheme of conservation of purely Arab works of art might involve and the charge of discrimination to which the government might thereby be exposed. On the other hand, such a scheme should it prove to be feasible would have the advantages of making a beginning in necessary conservation without involving Government in heavy expense, and in preserving most important monuments of Arab art. (Ibid.)

This proposal for the conservation of monuments of "Arab art" had followed upon an earlier preservation project in which Richmond, then director of the antiquities department, offered his services, that is, the "Repairs to the Dome of the Rock."<sup>24</sup> In reporting on the completion of that project, Richmond remarked that "a more appreciative outlook regarding" the monuments had developed not only by the Supreme Muslim Council, but, moreover, by "educated Moslems" more generally. The value of such monuments as artistic heritage had begun to be learned. It was that perspective that, according to Richmond, the Muslim population of Palestine (or sectors of it) had begun to acquire (PRO CO 733/160/12).<sup>25</sup> In sum, "The work just completed is the first part of a comprehensive programme decided upon by Moslem authorities some years ago for the purpose of expressing the vitality of *Islamic culture* in Palestine" (ibid.; emphasis added). In the words of thanks written by the Supreme Muslim Council, however, the secularizing language of "Islamic culture" is strikingly missing: "The story of the beautiful edifices of *this Holy Place* is known to many of you and can be found in the annals of history." Finding the mosque itself "in a most dangerous condition," in danger of collapse, the "Supreme Muslim Council found it their immediate and imperative duty to proceed with the reparations of the whole place." And it was not only the mosque that was repaired. So too were minarets, gypsum windows, and *schools*—fixed so as to be structurally sound *for use* (ibid.; emphasis added). These material-cultural objects had ongoing social lives of their own. Stabilizing their identity as antiquities—as a legal category and scientific-historical object, as that which instantiates a secular (an aesthetic, a dead) historicity—was something that would never be fully achieved.

### *Historical Objects in Peasant Hands*

Existing monuments such as the Old City and its surrounding walls formed but one category of the historical objects in nongovernmental possession. Those “existing or undiscovered antiquities or antiquities on land owned or worked by peasants” (PRO CO 733/159/7: 4) produced even more anxiety for officials of the Department of Antiquities. They were considered to be in dire danger because of the practicalities of peasant life and the limits of peasant knowledge:

Antiquities [are] either buried in the ground or situated on land owned or worked by persons who are hardly at all aware of . . . [the] reasons for valuing and preserving antiquities. For peasants the all-absorbing object in life must be to gain shelter, food, clothing and fuel for themselves and their families. . . . Everything that serves this . . . is used for that end. Stone constructions and rock cuttings, if conveniently situated, are treated as quarries and antiquities that are buried in the ground are, if discovered, treated as things to sell. (14–15)

Such practices were understood to precipitate “Much damage . . . to the legitimate interests of archaeology not merely in Palestine but everywhere else in the world” (15). Palestine’s material-cultural heritage was claimed here as a “universal” (read, *Judeo-Christian*) one. In other words, the ongoing uses to which the peasantry had long put material-cultural objects, whether inhabiting old buildings or reusing old stones and quarries was translated into a form of destruction, one precipitated by need and accompanied by ignorance. The struggle to preserve (to produce) the Crusader Castle at Athlit as an antiquity site is a good case in point.

In 1932, the decision was reached that the “Arab squatters inhabiting the ruins of the Crusader Castle at Athlit” needed to be removed. The residents of the site were now legally cast, like those inhabiting the environs of Jerusalem’s Old City walls, as squatters. A special warrant was issued in the amount of 732 pounds sterling to compensate them for their relocation. This offer of compensation fell apart, with new claimants disputing the rights of the squatters to compensation and demanding compensation of their own.<sup>26</sup> The matter ultimately landed in the courts. The government requested the right to take possession of the site, and the court ruled in their favor. Nevertheless, the court cautioned against seizing the site by force. Given the “practical matter” of not wanting to resort to force, the government then stipulated “that the Castle area should be inspected at frequent intervals by Inspectors of the Department of Antiquities to ensure that the Arab families residing in

the area are not damaging the Castle or removing antiquities" (PRO CO 733/350/19). In 1937, the issue remained unresolved.

Not wanting to take the castle by force points to a key aspect of the mandate's antiquities laws and, for that matter, to archaeology's problem, that is, its dependence upon the public at large for the protection of its objects of knowledge. As laid out in the mandate itself, "The Law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat" (PRO CO 733/159/7: 1). Proceeding by threat was understood to pose a grave danger, precipitating the *deliberate* destruction of antiquities. As explained by the memorandum regarding the proposed antiquities ordinance, the provision that all antiquities discovered following the enactment of the law automatically became the property of the government, unless and until it rejected its claim to them, would prove counterproductive to the goal of protecting antiquities. Such a provision would encourage peasants—those who were "most likely to have chance discoveries"—to hide the antiquities, to sell them illicitly to dealers, even to destroy them (see PRO CO 733/159/7: 17; see also "Revisions of Antiquities Ordinance," May 11 in the same file).<sup>27</sup>

Proceeding by encouragement rather than by threat, by education rather than by criminalization, the antiquities ordinance hoped to secure these historical objects for the purposes of scientific inquiry, just as had the leaders of the archaeological community speaking before the first *yedi'at ha-Aretz* conference in 1943. After all, it was the accumulation of knowledge that was the ultimate objective of the government's (and the society's) interest in antiquities: "Preservation and acquirement [of objects] are no more than the means to an end. The end is to increase knowledge" (PRO CO 733/159/7: 3).

The conditions under which this increase in knowledge would be possible necessitated a series of transformations in Palestine—in the public consciousness (a public construed, by and large, as Jewish by the JPES and as Arab-Muslim by the British administration) and in the objects and landscapes themselves. Instituting archaeology set in motion a dynamic that was at one and the same time enclaving (of objects) and expansive (across the terrain). Particular kinds of remains were "defined, segmented, detached" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 388). They were fashioned legally and culturally as objects of scientific and social value, artifacts to be protected from destruction and sale, to be collected, housed, displayed, and preserved in museums, be they local centers for public education or a centralized collection of antiquities. But archaeology's objects were far from confined to discrete "fragments" sim-

ply “excised” from their social or territorial contexts (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 388). Larger terrains—tells, rural sites, entire municipal spaces—were also legally transformed into archaeology’s domain, albeit never effectively into its exclusive dominion. The (archaeological) field, in other words, was not just a place to be *traveled to*, a space within which archaeological (or other natural historical) knowledge would be given credence (see Outram 1996). Rather, as a space of scientific production and expertise, it had to be demarcated, defined, and produced, as had the space of the laboratory for experimental science in seventeenth-century England (see Shapin and Schaffer 1985). The landscape of Palestine was divided up into discrete zones: historical and modern, archaeological and nonarchaeological, secular and sacred. And in the context of the practices of *colonial* archaeological traditions, shaping that scientific field entailed configuring the colony, writ large.

In effect, contemporary Palestine was increasingly saturated with specific historic “resonance[s].” From the perspectives of its various colonizers, the objects of archaeology had the power to reach beyond their boundaries to a larger world, “to evoke . . . the complex, dynamic cultural forces from which [they had] . . . emerged and for which [they] . . . may be taken . . . to stand” (Greenblatt 1991*b*: 42). For the British, and the broader “European-Christian interests” they believed themselves to represent, that larger world was a (Judeo-)Christian tradition and history. It was the continued survival of that past that would be evoked in and through the monuments and “stylistic idioms and prototypical [architectural] forms” (Wright 1997: 325) conserved in Jerusalem’s Old City. The perpetuation—the freezing—of that larger aesthetic-historic context ensured that Jerusalem’s *true* identity would remain visible in the now rapidly expanding and changing modern city. For members of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, promoting public education as, in part, a strategy to secure the survival and centrality of their discipline in the political culture of the Yishuv, it was Eretz Yisrael—an emergent *altneuland* (an old-new [home]land)<sup>28</sup> of and for a developing settler-nation—that would resonate in and through artifacts, tells, and landscapes of (biblical) history, at least once they could be properly delineated and defined, valued and viewed.

## Terrains of Settler Nationhood

Speaking before the Tel Aviv branch of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society in 1934, Shmu'el Yeivin spoke of the past decade as the time in which a real basis for a Hebrew archaeology had developed. After giving an overview of prehistoric and Roman and Byzantine times, and then a consideration of the development of pottery, he emphasized that the "most important achievement" of the decade was "the discovery of Hebrew Palestine [*Eretz Yisrael ha-Ivrit*]" (Yeivin 1935: 43).

In 1925, he told his audience, Macalister had argued that "the level of the material culture during the whole period of the First Temple was very low, and that which did exist was brought from the outside, mostly from the Philistines" (44).<sup>1</sup> But in the past ten years, this state of affairs had begun to change. Excavations at Dvir, Megiddo, and Lachish had all revealed high levels of Israelite material-cultural development. Certainly it was the time of Solomon's reign that was the "period of splendor for the Hebrew empires," demonstrated by, among other material-cultural remainders, "excellent examples" from Megiddo: fortification walls, "gates done in good taste," building remains, and the discovery of the "Seal of Solomon" (*ibid.*).

None of these specific sites was excavated on behalf of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society or Hebrew University, however. While reported on by Yeivin and clearly considered relevant to their work, such sites were dug on behalf of European and American institutions.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, the material culture studied and excavated under the auspices of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and Hebrew University tended to date to later periods in the historical record, and, given the lack of adequate funding and personnel, they consisted mostly of small trial digs (see Silberman 1993: 225). Rather than focusing on Israelite ma-



terial culture, these scholars studied *Jewish* remains that dated to Roman through Byzantine times in the history of Palestine, archaeological periods in which the European and American Christian schools displayed little interest. Moreover, most of the work of Jewish archaeology in Palestine focused on two kinds of sites: synagogues (post Second Temple period) and tombs (in general from the Second Temple period or later). In addition, there was some attention paid to Jewish cities that continued to exist, and even flourish, after the Romans destroyed the Second Temple or, in a commonly used turn of phrase, “after the destruction” (see Slousch 1925: 8).<sup>3</sup> These material-cultural remains were hewn, collected, and classified as signs of Jewishness. Discrete material-cultural artifacts, ornamentations, and styles of architecture were interpreted as exemplars of Jewish artistic forms and achievements. They were invoked as emblems of continuity, signifiers of the lasting presence of Jewish communities, mostly in the Galilee, after the fall of the Second Temple, the final episode in what was considered to have been ancient Jewish national existence and sovereignty in their homeland.

This effort of (arti)fact collecting configured a distinctive form of settler-colonial space. I analyze this work of Jewish archaeology by considering the relationship between the collection of “discrete particulars” (Poovey 1998)—material-cultural and linguistic facts dispersed across the terrain—and the instantiation of a “spatial biography” (Carter 1989: 70), through which a cohesive, historical narrative for the land was given empirical and factual form. Fact collecting was essential to “colonizing the land at the level of meaning” (Thomas 1999: 24), which prepared the ground for the enactment of colonial practices of a very particular sort. As Paul Carter has written of the travel that was undertaken by European explorers who traversed and discovered Australia’s terrain, so too was Israeli archaeological practice an “epistemological strategy, a mode of knowing” (69), one in and through which the colony ultimately emerged, visibly and linguistically, as the Jewish national-home. Tracing that remaking of space, however, requires that one move beyond the scholarly work of the society and consider an array of institutional locations and political contexts within which the society and its members intervened. Thus, it is important to consider not only the specific research agendas of the JPES during the latter years of the British Mandate, but also to analyze the invocation and configuration of archaeology’s knowledge and expertise within explicitly political strategies and struggles of (and between) British imperial rule and Jewish settler-colonial nation-state building.

## Fact Collecting

In discussing Roman and Byzantine Palestine, Shmu'el Yeivin informed his audience that much of what exists from these periods is the remains of religious buildings: churches, monasteries, synagogues. This was, after all, an era of "heightened religious sentiment" (Yeivin 1935: 42). The discovery of such synagogues is not new, he cautioned; synagogues at Nahum, Biri'im, Meron, Gush H̄alav, and Sepphoris, for example, had all long been known. In the past decade, additional synagogue remains were found at Iblin, at Peki'in, and of course, at Bet Alfa (42–43). All these synagogues were oriented toward Jerusalem, "in the Galilee, southwards, in the Jordan Valley—westwards." Moreover, "they belong to two types" (43).

It was precisely the question of typology, and consequently, chronology, that research on ancient synagogues engaged. Archaeological practice was structured by the detailed description and classification of discrete artifacts and architectures plotted across the terrain. As E. L. Sukenik (one of the founding figures of Jewish archaeology in Palestine) reported to the first *yedi'at ha-Aretz* conference (1943), the German synagogue excavations of 1903–7 (by Kohl and Watzinger) "discovered for us for the first time the exact structure of the Galilean synagogues" (Yeivin 1967: 30). They published detailed descriptions of ornamentation patterns found in synagogues and provided an "archaeological-artistic examination" on the basis of which they determined the eras to which such remains should be attributed.

Synagogue art conformed to strict patterns. Mosaic floors were distinguished by specific characteristics, including dedicatory inscriptions, a biblical scene, and signs of the Zodiac, for example, all arranged in distinct relationships one to the other. But it was not artistic depictions alone that conformed to recognizable styles, so too did the overall architectural structures of the synagogues themselves. It was primarily on the basis of these architectural forms that synagogue remains were divided into two types: early and late. Early and late synagogue types dated to the second and third centuries and to the fifth century C.E., respectively (Sukenik 1967: 31).<sup>4</sup>

In his speech before the Tel Aviv branch of the JPES, Yeivin was quite concerned with the question of whether Israelite and later Jewish art and craftsmanship was autochthonous or, at least, autonomous (Yeivin 1935: 41–43). Sukenik, however, harbored no similar obsession. In the society's numerous publications, there are constant *explicit* references to Eretz Yisrael as a discrete place with its own history in which Hebrew

culture would be born anew. In practice, however, this focus on synagogues and on Jewish communities in postdestruction Palestine tied the land, its people, and religious culture to wider worlds beyond Eretz Yisrael's presumed territorial borders and national-cultural boundaries. Thus, although many of the society's scholars emphasized artistic uniqueness, Sukenik pointed out that Palestinian synagogues shared artistic forms with synagogues found outside the territorial boundaries of Palestine, forms that were "universally employed in the Hellenistic world for public buildings" (Sukenik 1934: 78). It would not be until the early state period that this far less completely territorialized focus was to be replaced by an interest in the *biblical*, the *pre-Diasporic* past, which would finally stabilize the ancient Israelites, and national history itself, squarely within the parameters of national sovereignty and the boundaries of a clearly demarcated national home (see chap. 5). Archaeological practice during the latter years of the prestate period was still protonationalist.

The investigation and typological classification of Jewish art and architecture was not limited to considerations of synagogues. It characterized the entire edifice of Jewish archaeological practice. Individual remains (ornamental and architectural) were classified along a chronological-typological grid, the development of Jewish art and architecture was mapped, and the continued presence of Jewish communities in ancient Palestine, from the time of the Second Temple period through the Byzantine era at the very least, was charted and substantiated. As recounted by Nahum Slousch with respect to his work at the Tomb of Avshalom and other ancient remains in its vicinity (in the village of Silwan just outside Jerusalem's Old City walls), "This structure, certainly the most original if not the most artistic of the early buildings near Jerusalem, is familiar to all, with its lower part hewn in the form of a cube out of the rock of the Mount of Olives" (Slousch 1925: 9). A. Mazié considering the Tomb of Jehoshaphat "in relation to Hebrew art," wrote of this monument as additional proof of "an early *independent* Hebrew style of art" (1925: 68; emphasis added).<sup>5</sup> The excavations of these ancient tombs had "long been the ambition of archaeologists and students of ancient art," finally enabling such scholars "to see the monuments as a whole in their original, disencumbered condition" (Slousch 1925: 7).<sup>6</sup>

Beyond such engagements with questions of artistic merit, descriptions of the structures of each of the tombs and monuments (the Monument of Avshalom and the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, the Tomb of Zechariah and the Tomb of the Sons of Hezir), and their identifications (via inscriptions referring to specific families), Slousch emphasized two issues:

chronology and function. For its part, the question of chronology charted artifacts along a linear temporal grid that tracked national history, or *presence*, up through time. Slusch dated the origins of the Tomb of Avshalom to the period between the “later Maccabeans and later Herods,” names understood to specify significant moments in ancient Jewish history. Moreover, he concluded that it was not a tomb at all, but a cenotaph constructed as “an integral part of the Tomb of Jehoshaphat” (25).<sup>7</sup> As summed up by a German scholar in his critique of the current state of scholarship, “All that has been done [vis-à-vis the examination of such tombs] has been to identify Jewish tombs and fix their relative date” (Brandenburg 1925: 35).<sup>8</sup> But, as argued by Benjamin Maisler, this “systematic” examination of tombs, “from the point of view of their architectural structure” (identifying different types) and through the examination of “individual finds” discovered within them (mostly pottery and glass shards), has been of “great value.” It has enabled scholars to understand “the burial customs that our fathers followed in the days of the Second Temple—in the Hasmonean era and that of Herod—and also . . . the architectural skill . . . in which they achieved a high artistic level” (Maisler n.d.: 116). In addition, the inscriptions were of particular (national) importance. Epigraphical analysis revealed names in widespread use among “our fathers in the days of the Second Temple,” which has clarified the development of the square Hebrew script. It also provided insight into “the history of noble families who lived in Jerusalem in the last generations before the destruction” (117). Deciphering individual and familial names, in other words, emerged as one means for tracing a national genealogy incarnated in the “familial-form” (Stevens 1999: 158).

This research into synagogues and tombs composed what could be described, in Thomas Kuhn’s words, as a “pre-paradigmatic” science (Kuhn [1961] 1970: 16–17).<sup>9</sup> The collection of ever more facts, cumulative instances of Jewish art and architecture, of Jewish presence and (familial-national) history were never quite integrated into a cohesive historical vision or scientific method. This work did not fully coalesce into an integrated method or generate a larger set of scholarly or historical questions or arguments. Rather, guided by a “naïve empiricism” or “hyperfactualism” (Bernstein 1976: 32), it was the very *collection process itself* that seems to have been significant. As evidenced in the Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (*Yedi’ot ha-Hevra le-Haqirat Eretz Yisrael ve-Atiqoteha*), the examination of specific tombs and particular synagogues was governed by the quest for signs of (ancient) Jewishness continuous in and dispersed across the land of Israel. This work had all

the characteristics of butterfly collecting: an amassing of sometimes seemingly inchoate data not limited to what would later be defined today as archaeology, strictly speaking. The work of the JPES concentrated as much on historical geography (relying on linguistic inferences and facts, as well as textual sources) as upon what would subsequently delimit archaeology per se (the survey or excavation of material-cultural objects). There was, moreover, a broad effort at fact collecting about Eretz Yisrael's past *and present*, which converged upon signs of Jewishness, albeit not exclusively so. While archaeology, and the work of the society, was progressively defined with reference to the excavation of specific *tells* and, hence, a focus on the ancient past, those parameters of a specifically archaeological-historical practice did not yet decisively define and delimit the field.

As becomes apparent by perusing the JPES bulletin (JPES 1925 [English]; see also *Yedi'ot ha-Hevra ha-'Ivrit le-Ḥaqirat Eretz-Israel ve-'Atiqoteha* for various years [Hebrew]), the discovery of more and more tombs was chronicled and additional (potential) remains of ancient synagogues were reported on. In 1923, a tomb (later dated to the Second Temple period) was discovered on the property of a Mr. Yahya Aruri; the society then excavated the site (Mayer 1925). Another tomb came to light on Hebrew University's premises in May 1924 (Sukenik 1925) and in the Mahanaim Quarter of Jerusalem in September of the same year (Slousch et al. 1925). In January 1934, Brasalawski, who traveled the Galilee on behalf of the society, reported the possible discovery of a synagogue: "A simple excavation would perhaps enable the discovery of additional pieces of the building and clarify if we have in front of us here an ancient synagogue" (1934: 32). Another synagogue was discovered in the village of Samu'a and identified via linguistic similarity as Eshtemoa. It was excavated in the winters of 1935 and 1936. After the Muslim conquest, the synagogue was turned into a mosque and a Mihrāb added (Mayer and Reifenberg 1942). The Synagogue of Abraham in Hebron was reported on in 1939 as a sixteenth-century synagogue destroyed in "recent riots" (Pinkerfield 1939). And the discovery of a synagogue in the village of Faḥma was made in 1947 (Avi-Yonah 1947: 154–55). After describing its structure (in comparison to synagogues at Kefar Nahum, Peki'in, and Bet She'arim), Avi-Yonah concluded:

It is apparent then, that in the third and fourth centuries there existed a Jewish settlement in Faḥma. Its ancient name is not yet known, its current name symbolizes the existence of forests around the village in ancient days whose trees were burned as [wood] coal. The Arab name Faḥma is older than the days of the Crusades. (155)

He dated Jewish settlement in the area to perhaps as early as the Hasmonean period, and at least to the days of the Second Temple and afterward. "This new discovery widens the area of the district and adds another dot to the map of ancient Jewish settlements in the country" (*ibid.*).

It was precisely such a perspective that the labor of fact collecting helped to assemble, that is, viewing the (present) land by way of the dots that mark locales of ancient Jewish presence. The land (*ha-Aretz*) emerged as recognizable, as visible, and as integrated through the very process of connecting those dots, which were scattered throughout its numerous landscapes. This work of fact collecting needs to be understood as part of a wider cartographic project, one that was not limited to map making, but was very much about "world-making" (Haraway 1997: 132). And in that work of world making, the point of view of the archaeological relic—here, linguistic alongside material-cultural facts—was fundamental. Archaeological relics were fetishized as unmediated empirical evidence, "inhabit[ing] a semiotic domain [of a] culture of no culture" (Haraway 1997: 136; see also Traweek 1988), facts of ancient Jewish history through the perspective of which the land was fashioned as an old-new Jewish national home (the *altneuland*).<sup>10</sup> This material-symbolic (re)inscription of the land connected the dots not only in space but also through time.

Excavating Galilean Jewish cities (Tiberias, Bet She'arim, Bet Yerakh) alongside synagogues was fundamental to this cartography of continuity. As summed up by Benjamin Maisler in his history of archaeological research in Palestine (a book published by the JPES that fell under their category of popular publications), only since World War I had explorations of Jewish remains "from the end of the Second Temple Period and after" been examined, mostly "at the hands of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, the first Hebrew institution that took upon itself the role of investigating the remains of the Hebrew past in the country and, in the course of time by Hebrew University and the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine" (n.d.: 115):

A new light has been shined on the late-Hebrew settlement that did not cease to exist in Eretz Yisrael even in the days of the Byzantines. . . . The Synagogues of the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. discovered following the World War in different places throughout the country are witnesses not only to the existence of many Jewish communities during the days of the eastern Roman kingdom but also to the distinctive development of the life of the Jewish community and of its popular art during this period. (123–24)

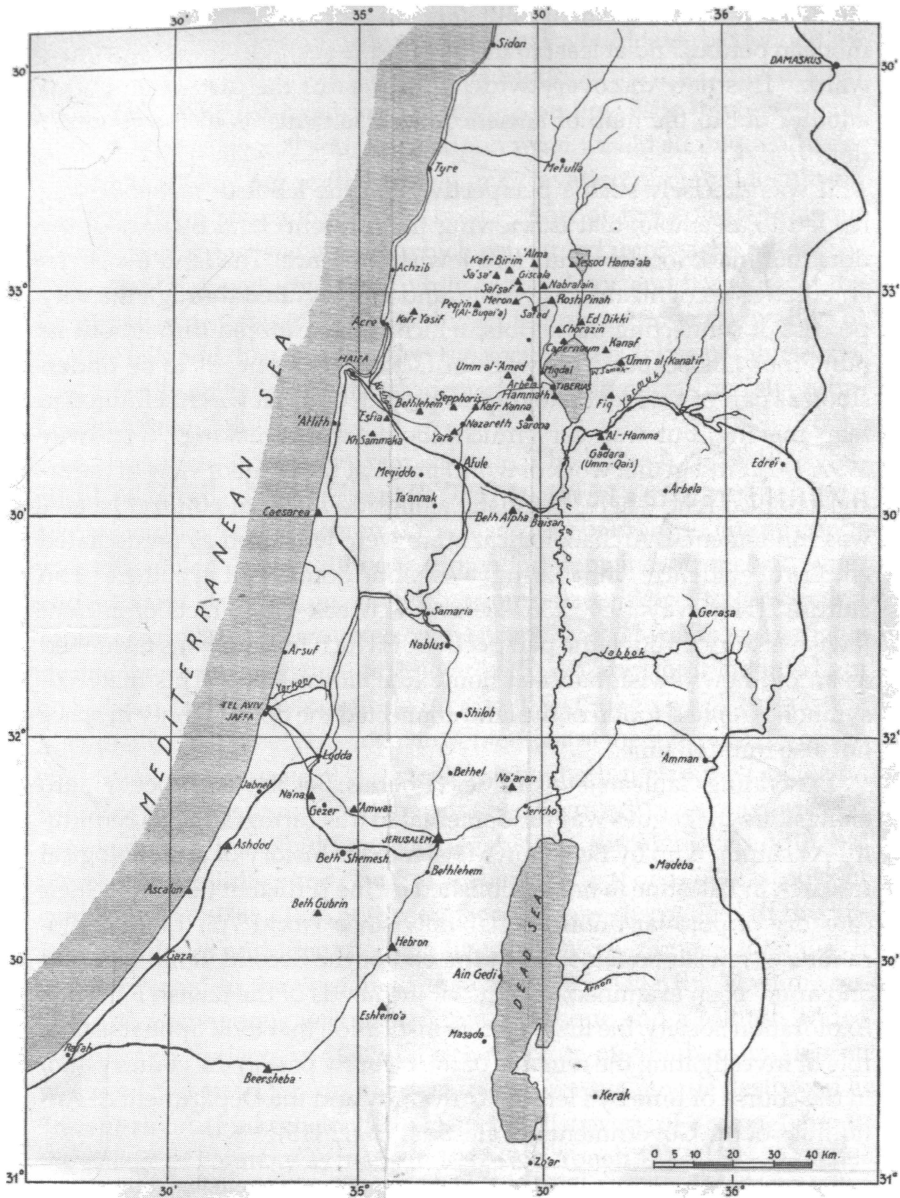


FIGURE 4.1. Map of Palestine. ▲ marks the location of archaeological remnants of an ancient synagogue

It was on questions of Jewish life in the Galilee in the “postdestruction” period that the Bet She’arim excavations focused (1936–40). Bet She’arim “is known in Jewish literary sources as a city of the late Second Temple Period, and continued to exist during the centuries immediately following the Temple’s destruction” (Mazar 1973: 1). Bet She’arim and “its neighborhood” were initially possessions of the Hasmoneans (4). While its fate in the immediate aftermath of “the Jewish war” (i.e., late first century C.E.) is obscure (in literary sources), it appears that in the last quarter of the second century, Bet She’arim was “a Jewish agricultural settlement and the home of one of the important Tannaim [authorities/teachers quoted in the Mishna]” (ibid.). Moreover, “the change which came about in the Jewish settlements of Galilee after the Bar Kochba Revolt (132–35 C.E.) marked a turning point in the history of Beth She’arim” (ibid.). It was in the aftermath of that defeat that “many Jews including leaders and sages, who had been forced to leave their homes in Judah, came to Galilee, settling Bet She’arim and its environs. The Antonine-Severine period (138–235 C.E.) was one of growth and prosperity for the Jewish settlements in the Lower Galilee. Bet She’arim . . . grew to become one of the most important centers of Judaism in the days of Rabbi Judah ha-Nassi” (ibid.).

Such sites—be they cities, synagogues, necropolises, or family tombs—were neither dug nor treated in isolation. Rather, they were mapped into a larger temporal-geographic grid. Maisler’s map of the area surrounding Bet She’arim marks the locales of existing settlements and cities, tells, and ruins. Sites with ancient ruins *and* contemporary settlements were also highlighted: Tsiporri (the Hebrew name for the Arab town of Saffouriyah) and ‘Afula, for example. Those old-new places are indicated on the map alongside the names and locations of ruins, such as Megiddo and Tell Abu-Shoushah, and contemporary Jewish settlements with no known antecedent in the ancient past, for example, Mishmar ha-‘Emeq. It was that perspective that was mapped onto the land, producing landscapes that came to *stand for* Eretz Yisrael, specific locales through which the whole, the homeland, was given concrete and factual form.

Such plottings of Jewish presence across space was completed by an accumulation of evidence of continued settlement up through time. Bet She’arim may well have ceased to exist as a Jewish city at the end of the fourth century, but ample evidence was assembled by members of the society regarding the lasting Jewish presence in Palestine well beyond that Byzantine date. As illustrated by articles published in the JPES bulletin over the years, a seamless temporal connection was as fundamen-



tal as a spatial one. For example, Itzhaq Ben-Zvi published an article on Jewish settlement in the village of Hannania in “later eras”—all the way up to the sixteenth century, basing his conclusions on “historical sources” (1934). Y. Brasalawski, also relying on textual evidence, wrote about the location of the Jewish community in Jerusalem in “the Arab period” (1937).<sup>11</sup> And, such evidence of continuity was brought up to the present, such as in Avraham Brawer’s study of Palestine’s contemporary inhabitants “in measure and in number” (1945: 101).

While archaeological expertise and practice were increasingly defined with reference to the excavation of material remainders, the work of Jewish archaeology in Palestine was still far more diffuse. It integrated bodies of knowledge produced by what we would consider today as being the objects of study of distinct disciplines: (historical-) geography, archaeology, climatology, linguistics, cartography. Together they collected disparate facts, discrete and yet recurring material and linguistic instantiations of Jewish presence, which began to crystallize, reify, and integrate a Jewish national terrain.

### Converging Fields of Practice

Article 22 of the Mandate for Palestine stipulated that English, Arabic, and Hebrew were to be the official languages of Palestine (His Majesty’s Stationery Office 1937: 148). It was based upon that article in the mandate that an argument ensued over the proper Hebrew name for the country. To start at the beginning of the dispute, the name was “Palestine” in English and “Filasṭīn” in Arabic, but what was its Hebrew name to be? Soon after its occupation of Palestine at the end of World War I, the British military administration adopted a Hebrew name for Palestine: *Palestina* (Aleph Yod—the Hebrew initials for *Eretz Yisrael*). The civil administration took over that usage from its military predecessor (158). This official name precipitated a long argument, challenged by both Jews and Arabs on linguistic grounds and on the basis of language rights and the national-political ones implied therein.

As summed up in a memorandum prepared in 1937, by the Government of Palestine, regarding the Hebrew name for Palestine, Dr. Habib Salem presented “a general objection on the part of many inhabitants against the use of the Hebrew letters ‘Aleph’ ‘Yod’ after the word ‘Palestina’ in Hebrew on Palestinian stamps.” He asked, why refer to this land as the “Land of Israel” and not, for example, the “Land of Canaan” or the “Holy Land”? “If this land was called ‘Eretz Israel’ over 2,000 years ago, it was also known as the Land of Canaan, and it is also known as the Holy Land” (*ibid.*). That choice of name was, in other

words, *arbitrary*. The Land of Israel was but one of a series of historic names by which Palestine had, at different times and by different communities, been known. Or, as further pursued in the case of Jamal Efendi Husseini against the postmaster general (a case argued before the High Court), certain stamps should be withdrawn from circulation "on the ground that the surcharging on this issue of postage stamps in Hebrew lettering of 'Palestina E.I.' was contrary to Article 82 of the Palestine Order-in-Council,<sup>12</sup> 1922, and to Article 22 of the Mandate for Palestine on the grounds that the letters 'E.I.' did not appear in the English or Arabic surcharges" (159). The petition was dismissed on various grounds, including that not all the terms of the Mandate for Palestine were enforceable in the courts (*ibid.*). But while those of the Order-in-Council were legally enforceable, the High Court questioned whether or not this linguistic practice contravened the terms of Article 82. In sum, that article did not require "that the wording of the Arabic and Hebrew on official documents shall be a literal translation of the English," but only that "the three official languages shall be used in official documents" (*ibid.*). Furthermore, as argued by a second judge, the real issue at stake here was political. The petitioner, as an Arab, complained with others of his "race" that they could not "exercise the legal right of sending letters by post without purchasing and using a document in which their country [was] described as the Land of Israel," which was a "matter of sentiment or politics," and, as such, the complaint was outside of the purview of the court to adjudicate (*ibid.*). The case was dismissed. But clearly the Arab political leadership had sought to resist was the very cartography that would be made real in and through the Hebrew name. In the terms of a pragmatic linguistic philosophy, applying the name Eretz Yisrael would itself help to *create* "a situation of [Jewish national] truth" (Kolakawski 1969: 154).

The Palestine Royal Commission defended its policy with regard to Palestine's official Hebrew name on two grounds. First, it would have been impractical to have a name, Eretz Yisrael, which most people in the world did not recognize, particularly on postage stamps and in passports (His Majesty's Stationery Office 1937: 158). Second, the official name was consistent with "Hebrew convention":

The official name of Palestine in Hebrew is "Palestina" followed by the Hebrew letters "Aleph" "Yod" in brackets. These letters are the initial letters of the Hebrew words "Eretz Israel" and their adoption by the Civil Administration . . . is not inconsistent with the widespread Hebrew convention of replacing familiar phrases and names by a shorter expression formed of the initials of the constituent words or parts.

Thus the philosopher Maimonides, in Hebrew Rabbi Maimon Ben Moshe, is universally known as “Rambam” (RMBM). (Ibid.)

The Palestine administration, in other words, claimed to be respecting not only the rights and sensibilities of the Jewish people in its choice of a Hebrew name, but, moreover, the linguistic conventions of the language. But that was not an argument that was acceptable to the Jewish community. David Yellin, a founding member of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and a prominent political actor in the Yishuv, spoke on behalf of the Jewish community before that Advisory Council meeting of 1920.<sup>13</sup>

Yellin began by emphasizing that he was not only concerned with the use of the name “Palestina (Aleph Yod)” on postage stamps but on all public documents. Moreover, he was not interested in “the relation of Jews to the country, but with a linguistic point” (ibid.). In his rhetoric, in other words, Yellin sought to sideline the Jewish national political stakes inherent in naming this land Eretz Yisrael, insisting instead that the government recognize and respect a simple “linguistic fact”:

Every language has a special designation for place names. For instance, Germany is called in English “Germany,” in French “Allemagne,” and in German “Deutschland.” No German would dream of thinking of compelling a Frenchman to call Germany “Deutschland.” . . . Arabs are in the habit of calling Jerusalem “El Kuds;” nobody would think of asking them to call it otherwise. (Ibid.)

He cited ample “documentary evidence”—from the New Testament, the Concordance of the Mishna, the Talmud, “a reference book written by a non-Jew” among other sources—that Eretz Yisrael has always been the only Hebrew name for Palestine. In light of that documentation, Yellin argued that the government could not “make reforms in the Hebrew language” and that “the proper name that had been used for centuries *must be restored to the language*” (ibid.; emphasis added), thus objectifying the language and demanding that it be preserved intact.<sup>14</sup>

David Yellin cast his argument within a distinct framework. He presented linguistics and politics as separate realms of engagement. This was, after all, not about “the relation of Jews to the country,” but rather about a linguistic point. Whether in this struggle over the appropriate Hebrew name for the land as a whole or as evidenced in a dispute over place names within Palestine, a rhetorical emphasis was placed upon the scientific nature of linguistic (and historical) claims. Names, like historical geographies and material remainders, were fetishized as *facts*, and they demanded both recognition and implementation. But

my point is not just that science was misrepresented as an “innocent practice” (Haraway 1997: 133) engaged in the straightforward compilation of facts. More fundamentally, this scientific rhetoric, and the *ideology of facticity* that it continuously invoked, was intrinsic to formulating and substantiating the distinctive settler-colonial imagination of a nation “returning home.” These were not just *any* names. They were not *arbitrary* proper nouns. It was not uncertainty—“the uncertainty whether what lies ahead is sea or land,” for example (Carter 1989: 92)—that typified the Jewish political project of exploration, settlement, and the ultimate dispossession of most of the land’s indigenous inhabitants. Quite the contrary, it was a commitment to *certainly*. In this instance, it was a commitment to the factual, nonarbitrary nature of Hebrew names. Those names *belonged to* the land itself. The words quite simply represented and reflected the world as it truly was. In addition, insisting that this land be named Eretz Yisrael was an act of settler-colonial “enclosure” on a grand scale. The name would demarcate a territory henceforth “communicable” (137) as the ancient-modern Jewish national home in actual, that is, *political-legal, fact*.

### *On Naming and National Identity*

In 1922, the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, in cooperation with the (British) Government of Palestine, generated the first list of Hebrew geographical place names for Palestine, assembling Jewish historical names for settlements and villages throughout the country (JPES 1925: 4–5; see also Press 1925: 90). That spirit of successful cooperation, however, was not to last forever. In September 1931, a dispute erupted—one that precipitated a question put before the House of Commons in London—regarding Hebrew place names in Palestine. It was a communication sent by a Mr. A. Reubeni to Colonel Wedgwood that “gave rise to the question in the House of Commons on the 23rd of September,” a question regarding the problem of “biblical names” being “banned” in Palestine. Dated 19 September 1931, Reubeni’s notice read as follows:

The Palestine Administration has lately decided to banish most of the Biblical names from official use, and this even in Hebrew documents! All cultured men and women who may be able to appreciate the value of the remnants of the old Palestine civilizations as preserved in the traditional names, are invited herewith to let their word of protest against that vandalic decision be heard. (PRO CO 733/209/9)

Correspondence passed back and forth between London and Jerusalem regarding Reubeni’s notice and the ensuing question before the House

of Commons. With regard to the point that “most *Biblical* names are being banished,” as argued in an unsigned letter, “This, I suppose, means that the Palestine Govt. is adopting for official use the Arabic names of places as used for the last few hundred years at least, instead of restoring the old Hebrew names in order to please such Jewish immigrants as may attach importance to them” (PRO CO 733/209/19; the letter is dated 18 September 1931).

It was the publication by the Government of Palestine of its *Transliterated Lists of Personal and Geographical Names for Use in Palestine* that presumably precipitated Reubeni’s notice as it did the formal protest launched in the name of both the Va’ad Leumi and the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. That list announced that “the systems of transliteration . . . formulated will be followed in all official correspondence and documents, and on signboards, street names etc. . . . for which the government or local authorities are responsible” (Government of Palestine 1931: 1). The names by which Palestine was to be known were thereby standardized.

According to the document, the process of standardization was intended primarily for “official and practical use” and thereby the *Transliterated Lists* “lay no claim to scientific exactitude” (ibid.). The process had involved recording and transliterating names from and into various languages and alphabets. As explained in the introduction, “Many place names in Palestine are of Arabic origin while others are of Hebrew, Phoenician, Greek, Latin-Frankish ancestry—to mention only the most important sources but, as most places are inhabited by Arabic-speaking people, local usage has given them names in Arabicised forms of colloquial Arabic” (2). The major problem faced by those generating the list was how to render colloquial Arabic forms into literary Arabic—a “transliteration” which when dealing with names of non-Arabic origin “often produced a form farther from the original than that used colloquially” (3).<sup>15</sup>

The historical origins of names *were* of concern to the government; that was one reference point for determining the appropriate modern form. As Scott Atran recounts, “The Zionists promised to bring history again to a country whose ‘place names,’ mused Prime Minister Lloyd George, ‘were more familiar to me than those on the Western Front’” (1989: 721). Nevertheless, when *impractical*, the question of origins became secondary. If literary Arabic rendered contemporary names even farther from their original forms, so be it. In the end, this list was concerned primarily with effective administration, particularly for those British colonial officials residing in Palestine and overseeing the man-

date's everyday affairs. That required neither historical nor scientific accuracy. Far more fundamentally, it required the recording of existing names. It also required, especially following the Arab revolt of 1929 (see Swedenburg 1995; Porath 1977), not unnecessarily inciting nationalist sentiment or violent actions among the majority of Palestine's population.

An examination of the list indicates that the goal of standardizing overrode any tendency to record names as they were known differently in Arabic and in Hebrew. For example, Acre in English was recorded as 'Acca in both Arabic and Hebrew. Only in parentheses next to the Hebrew name was it written in its original Hebrew form—'Acco. That decision was probably based upon the identification of 'Acca as an Arab town. Population censuses during the mandate period were used, in part, to demarcate and classify towns, villages, settlements, and regions along communal lines—Arab (Christian and Muslim), Jewish, and mixed. (Of course, the latter classification involved designating a minority and a majority population). And while not stated in the Mandate for Palestine, it becomes clear from the *Reports on Palestine Administration* submitted over the years to the Council of the League of Nations that trilingualism was not practiced throughout the country. In reality, the rights of the Hebrew language in Palestine were localized with respect to Jewish areas and persons. Specific trilingual areas were designated on the basis of the presence of "a considerable Jewish population," a population of "not less than 20 percent" (His Majesty's Stationery Office 1937: 149).

The guiding principle for adopting Hebrew place names seems to have followed the same logic for designating trilingual areas: that Hebrew place names would be adopted as official names only for those cities or settlements designated to be sufficiently Jewish. For example, as explicated in a second letter written by a British official in Palestine regarding Reuben's notice of protest regarding the "banishing" of Old Testament names: with regard to how "inappropriate an [undiscriminating?] reversion to O.T. names might be, I would point out that it would involve giving the ancient [name] Shechem to the town now known as Nablus. Nablus is the centre of the more extreme Arab nationalists and has recently been the scene of a largely anti-Jewish demonstration!" The colonial officer then continued in a more compromising vein:

I should have thought that it might be possible to have parallel lists [of] names—Arabic and Hebrew—in cases where the historic importance

justified it. The Hebrew could be used in Hebrew notices and documents and in correspondence with Jewish organizations, and the Arabic in Arabic notices/docs and correspondence. On maps etc. the two names could be shown (one in brackets)—though which should be in brackets is of course a ticklish issue. (PRO CO 733/209/19; letter dated 6 October 1931)<sup>16</sup>

Protesting the government's official list of names, and the various political and administrative logics that guided its authors, the JPES and the Va'ad Leumi submitted their own *Memorandum on Method of Transliteration of Geographical and Personal Names* (Ben-Zvi 1932). Writing on behalf of a "committee composed of distinguished experts representing the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and Professors of the Hebrew University" (Professor S. Klein, Mr. Y. Press, Dr. A. J. Brawer, Mr. I. Ben-Zvi, an Dr. B. Maisler), Itzhaq Ben-Zvi (in the name of the executive of the Va'ad Leumi) registered his objections to the government's names list and method of transliteration. Ben-Zvi called upon the government to respect and use "correct translations of Hebrew personal and place names" as laid out in the previous list generated by the society,<sup>17</sup> engaging in a rhetoric similar to that of Yellin's before the Advisory Council meeting of 1920.

Ben-Zvi demanded that the government instruct its employees to follow the general rules of transliteration as laid out in the attached lists. The first list contained "the names corrected in accordance with the principles laid down by our experts after careful consideration"; the second, "scientific observations, indices, and quotations from scientific authorities, which were prepared at the expense of considerable care by our expert, Dr. B. Maisler" (1932: 5–6). "Such a step has important consequences not only for our times but also for generations to come. . . . Most Hebrew place names are not . . . dead but rather they live in the mouths of most of the inhabitants of Palestine, those who need Hebrew, and that is not all but also millions of Jews in the world recognize and know these place names *which belong to the country* from the sacred writings and from ancient Hebrew literature, which is studied with diligence in each Jewish community in the Diaspora" (3; emphasis added). Harkening back to the authority of the work of the PEF, Ben-Zvi wrote, "One of the most important English researchers, Major Conder, notes in his book 'Palestine' that the names of cities and villages that are mentioned in the Bible remain, for the most part, almost unchanged in the mouths of the inhabitants of the country until today" (4). And, he continued, "The feeling of adoration which exists in the world vis-à-vis Palestine must also apply to its historical names, to preserve their origi-

nal form without any distortion or perversion" (ibid.). These Hebrew names—ones that belong to the country—possess an "original form" of their own, which needed to be preserved. In framing that defense, Ben-Zvi and the committee of experts invoked the authority of historical and scientific accuracy:

This strange tendency to Arabicise Hebrew names is prejudicial to scientific and historical accuracy. It amounts to an offensive distortion of the original forms of Hebrew names as fixed by usage in the Hebrew Scripture and in Talmudic literature, and at the same time it inflicts a gross injury upon the Hebrew language itself. All this is not only sure to outrage the feelings of the Jews of Palestine, but when the book comes to the notice of hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Diaspora, it will provoke them to a feeling of humiliation and distress. (Ibid.)

A committee of experts was appointed in order to "correct such errors as result from insufficient knowledge or involve the obliteration of historic truth and usage" (ibid.). The following were some of their general conclusions regarding place names in Palestine:

(a) Each place with an historical name in Hebrew, whether occurring in the Bible or in post-biblical literature (e.g., the Apocryphal literature, the New Testament, Hellenistic literature, the Mishna, the Talmud, etc.) shall be known by its Hebrew name, even if its present Arabic appellation bears no resemblance to the original Hebrew. Thus, even as the Hebrew uses "Shechem," and not "Nablus"; "Hebron," and not "Khalil"; "Jerusalem," and not "el-Quds"; so we should write "Dor," and not "Tantura"; "Adoraim," and not "Dura"; "Egannim," and not "Jinin," etc.

(b) When the Arabic name of a place is derived from the Hebrew, it should be written in Hebrew in its original Hebrew form; e.g., "Ashkelon," and not "Asqalan" . . . "Zippori," and not "Saffuriya" . . . "Beth Dagan," and not "Beit Dajan," etc.

(c) Names not occurring in Hebrew literature, which are adaptable to a Hebrew form with only a change in the vowels and with no change in consonants, should be used in the Hebrew form; e.g. instead of "Dair Aiyub," "Deyr Job." (iii-iv)<sup>18</sup>

The first of the two lists attached to Ben-Zvi's letter corrected the government document. In two columns, it recorded the "faulty name" next to the "corrected name." Some corrections were a matter of transliteration, of shifting the vowels into what the experts judged to be the correct Hebrew form, so, for example, Beit Lid transformed into Bet Lod, Beit Dajan into Bet Dagan, 'Acca into 'Acco (8). Others involved a complete change in the Hebrew name itself, for example, Ziri'in to Yizra'el (12).



Attached to this first list of names was a detailed documentation of scholarly justification (authored by Benjamin Maisler) with a supplementary index “to the names of ancient places” in order to enable readers to use the document itself. Maisler cited relevant sources for each corrected name. Historical documents (Egyptian, biblical, Greek, Talmudic, and Mishnaic) and recent scholarly explorations (of the PEF alongside German scholars and studies produced by the JPES) were brought to bear as evidence that the revised list contained *correct* Hebrew names that should be used.

In contrast to the government list in which no sources (historical or contemporary) were cited in order to justify their name choices, this document relied on bodies of evidence to back-up its historical and scientific conclusions. The lists produced by the JPES contained no hints of the national interest at stake in this dispute over names. Within them, names were presented, quite simply, as correct. Nevertheless, in his cover letter, Ben-Zvi turned to the Palestine government “with the request, so as to amend the book, as to bring its instructions into congruity with historic truth and with the requirements and the convenience of the [Jewish] inhabitants of the land, as well as with the political claims of the Jewish people and their language in Palestine” (4). Official recognition of historic-linguistic facts and Jewish national rights were deeply enmeshed.

But the argument between British officials and the Jewish political leadership of the Yishuv over place names for Palestine attests to far more than that. As the mandate progressed, tensions between British colonial administrators and Jewish settlers came increasingly to a head. The Balfour Declaration had promised Palestine to the Jews, but the terms of that promise were both ambivalent and vague. It declared Britain “in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people,” at the same time insisting that it be “clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine” (Government of Palestine 1946: 86). In other words, that national home (the wording was not one of a *nation-state*) could have taken a variety of forms, including the facilitation of increased Jewish settlement without an endpoint of sovereign statehood, a binational state, or a sovereign Jewish nation-state. Britain’s political project was ultimately an imperial and not a settler-colonial one. As Scott Atran has argued, the “A mandates of the Middle East—Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine”<sup>19</sup> had “a relatively insignificant European settler population” (1989: 720). Pri-

marily of strategic importance, “they could simply be ‘administered’ instead of colonized . . . ‘Enlightened’ rule would benefit subject peoples, but also safeguard civilization while satisfying Europe’s age-old thirst for the Orient” (ibid.). Britain, in other words, would rule *through* the local population, ultimately—in theory at least—preparing and educating them for self-rule. And as is clear in official reports and unofficial correspondence passed between Jerusalem and London over the years, the terms “local population” and “the public” were used, almost exclusively, to refer to an *Arab* one. Britain’s imperial project ultimately came into conflict with the Zionist settler-colonial one, which, nevertheless, would not have been possible without active British and wider European support.<sup>20</sup> In contrast to British imperial goals, however, Jewish settlers worked to displace—to *replace*—Palestine’s Arab population and to recreate the land as their national home. As the mandate progressed, the very pragmatics of British imperial rule forced forms of political improvisation, largely unsuccessful efforts to navigate between the promise of the Balfour Declaration to the Jews, on the one hand, and the reality and everyday complexities of ruling a population that was primarily “non-Jewish,” on the other. British administrative policies supported or opposed, responded or appealed to the Jewish versus Arab communities at different junctures depending upon the shifting economic and political realities, in Palestine and in Britain, at any given time. That the argument over the “appropriate” Hebrew place names for Palestine was never fully resolved is indicative of the ongoing tension and ever-escalating conflict that developed between imperial and settler-colonial forms and visions of conquest and rule.

### The World Remade

It was on July 7, 1949, that Israel’s first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion appointed the first Governmental Names Committee (Va’adat ha-Shemot ha-Memshaltit). It included leading members of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, some of whom were to emerge as key figures in the first generation of Israeli archaeologists.<sup>21</sup> Its first mandate was to create a Hebrew map of the Negev, determining “Hebrew names for all places—mountains, valleys, springs, roads etc. in the Negev region” (Va’adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 1).<sup>22</sup>

In the words of one committee report, “The Committee started its work . . . in July 1949, four months after the liberation of the Negev” (Va’adat ha-Shemot n.d.: 1). In fact, this work must be situated within that larger reality of spatial transformation and military conquest. The

project of renaming places in the Negev region—soon to be followed by renaming geographic places and settlements in “the whole territory of the state” (Va’adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 2)—had been preceded by the physical and demographic transformation of Mandatory Palestine. Between December 1947 and July 1949, approximately 750,000 Arabs fled or had been expelled from those parts of Palestine that came under the jurisdiction of the Israeli state. (This was out of a total population of approximately 900,000 who had previously resided within those 1948 borders). Arab villages in the Negev region had been depopulated and destroyed in the 1948–49 period. Similarly, much of the bedouin population fled, was expelled, or “relocated” into concentrated areas designated by the Haganah/Israel Defense Forces (see Morris 1987). For example, the pre-1948 villages of al-Jammamah, ‘Arab al-Jubarat, Hoj, al-Muharraqa, Kawfakha, and Be’er al-Saba’ah were now empty and, for the most part, destroyed. Jewish settlements had taken their place: Bet Kama (established in 1949, southeast of al-Jammamah), Tkumah and Bet Ha-Gadi (both founded in 1949, on or near the village site of al-Muharraqa), and Beer Sheva, where the first Jewish families settled in the city in February 1949 (Morris 1987: xviii–xx).<sup>23</sup> By mid-1949, landscapes throughout Palestine had been radically transformed. The vast majority of pre-1948 Arab villages and towns had been eradicated, and 133 Jewish towns or agricultural settlements had been established in their place (155–56, 179), by and large founded either on top of the actual destroyed village sites or nearby on village lands (see 179–200).<sup>24</sup> With the vast majority of the country’s Arab population rendered refugees in neighboring lands, it was now possible to have and to build a *Jewish* state. British imperial rule had “given way to political decolonization,” the Jewish settler colony was now a settler-nation under its own sovereign rule (Thomas 1999: 11). And on seizing power, the project of geographic-linguistic transformation and standardization was officially pursued, erasing remainders of an Arab *past*—not just materially, but also linguistically.

One names committee report gave the following account of their initial mandate:

Being half of our country, the foreignness of the names in the Negev evokes fear, nearly all of the names are Arabic, many are confused and distorted. Among them some lack meaning while others have negative, sad or degrading connotations. Through these names a foreign spirit blows. With the occupation of the Negev and the raising of the Israeli flag in Eilat came the need to change this situation, to adopt Hebrew names, to abolish these foreign sounds, and to fill the map of the

Negev with original names close to the heart of the Jewish defender and settler in the Negev. (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 1)

In this rhetoric of settler nationhood, it was not so much a “profoundly evacuated land” (Thomas 1999: 21) that awaited “some sort of meaningful inscription or spiritual definition” (21–22). More accurately, it was a historically distorted, displaced, and, even, polluted place that had to be recuperated through the work of linguistic *reinscription*. Members of the committee understood the “urgency” of their work, “uncovering the origins of the people and its language from historical, archaeological, geographic, and natural hiding places” (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 1). Upon completion of their work, the southern sheet of the map had 560 names. It included indexes consisting of, first, “the old names in foreign alphabetical order,” second, “the new names in Hebrew alphabetical order,” and, finally, “references for the historical names” (2). This work produced “a Hebrew map of the Negev, *cleansed* of foreign names, in which every place is called by a Hebrew name” (ibid.; emphasis added).

In its initial work on the Negev, the committee laid out the principles that were to govern all future work of Judaizing the map of the State of Israel as a whole, and they articulated the criteria by which new Hebrew names were to be determined: preference was given to “historical identifications,” the term historical indexing not Arabic names or eras but harkening back to ancient Hebrew ones. That was “the ideal solution” (1). For example, they suggested “reviving” the historical name “Lachish,” now a “Jewish agricultural settlement” by whose name “the entire district is [now] called” (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1956: 2).

Reviving historical names, however, provided only a partial solution to the problem of populating the country with new Hebrew names. In the Negev, for example, there were not enough *known* historical names to fill the modern map: “few of the places . . . are preserved in literary or historical tradition. From the Bible there is a basis for 40 identifications. For the remaining identifications, different sources help,” such as Egyptian or Byzantine sources. Seventy Hebrew historical names were revived, now used to refer to 120 places: ruins, springs, wells, settlements, rivers (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 1). As explained in a second report that dealt with how the committee chose names for places in the state as a whole:

The choosing of names was not a simple problem. In our sources a lot of names of settlements are mentioned, but there are very few names for other geographical formations. For example, the names of rivers and streams mentioned in the Bible number 32, of which only 18 are

west of the Jordan; from the Mishna and the Tosefta come to us another five names, and from Greek and Roman sources another 12, altogether we have inherited from the ancients 35 names for streams, but our maps need approximately 900 names . . . and . . . this is the same situation vis-à-vis springs, mountains, valleys and so forth. (Va'adat ha-Shemot n.d.: 1)

In addition to the supposed paucity of known historical names in relation to the number of settlements and geographical formations in need of Hebrew names, identification posed an entirely distinct set of problems. Few historical identifications were undisputed, and, according to these experts, for names to be legitimately revived, they had to be *accurately located*, something that could not be achieved by “guess-work” or “etymological similarities” alone (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 4).

Since reviving historical names was not going to generate sufficient (appropriate) Hebrew names for the country as a whole, a further list of priorities was generated: the second option was to use “biblical names whenever possible”; third, to translate Arabic names; fourth, to give Hebrew forms to Arabic names according to a similarity in sound or in roots; and finally, to generate “new symbolic names,” such as names of significant movements or persons in the modern Zionist movement or from the war of 1948 (1, 4).

The third and fourth categories proved essential to the committee's work. Reproducing the very dynamics of scientific practice carried out by the Palestine Exploration Fund's late-nineteenth-century survey project, this cartographic-linguistic endeavor, which was carried out by a wide array of experts and political or bureaucratic figures,<sup>25</sup> continued to rely upon “local knowledge.” That local knowledge, however, was no longer gleaned from the testimony of Arabs themselves. Most of the land's Arab inhabitants had been displaced, and those that remained were not turned to as a means of (Hebrew) historical recovery. Rather, the committee would base the generation and designation of Hebrew names upon the geographical and historical knowledge contained within the land's known Arabic terms and names, now documented on maps and in scientific reports and attested to by a Jewish “linguist of Arabic,” among others.

There were two additional important differences between the workings of this post-1948 Jewish-Israeli expert practice and that of their English-Christian counterparts seventy or so years before them. First, the Arab (even if a *misnomer*) no longer occupied the category of native. That which was understood to be indigenous was, *by definition*, Jewish. Therefore, so too were Hebrew names, even if they had to be revived

and substantiated on the landscape, via their “redemption.” Settler nationhood had arrived, and the land’s indigenous population had been *ideologically*, not just physically, displaced. Second, the Arabic had been rendered (and was treated as) a historical remainder itself, what was left of a culture and history that had been all but decimated in the now sovereign state (and land) of Israel. In effect, the destruction—and silencing—of an Arab presence had been all but achieved, at least for the Jewish majority of the newly founded state.

Throughout these documents, there are repeated references to foreignness. The public is called upon to “uproot the foreign and existing names” and in their place to “master” the new Hebrew ones (1952a: 6). Most existing names were Arabic names, names that *in practice* proved essential if Hebrew (nomenclature) was to be rooted in the newly established land and State of Israel. As reported in the March 1956 report of the committee,

In the summarized period 145 names were adopted for antiquities sites, ruins and tells: eight names were determined on the basis of historical identification, 16 according to geographical names in the area, eight according to the meaning of the Arabic word, and the decisive majority of the names (113) were determined by mimicking the sounds of the Arabic word, a partial or complete mimicking, in order to give the new name a Hebrew character, following the [accepted] grammatical and voweling rules. (Va’adat ha-Shemot 1956: 5)

A later report confirmed that the majority of names for antiquities sites were not determined on the basis of historical identification. Instead, they often relied on existing Arabic names to determine the Hebrew one:

Seventy-two names were determined for antiquities sites, tells and ruins. Of them . . . 17 antiquities sites were identified and called according to their biblical names or names from non-Biblical or post-Biblical sources. The remainder of the sites, and they are the decisive majority, are still not identified, and the Hebrew names were determined according to the meaning of the Arabic name, according to similarity in sound, according to the surrounding countryside, and according to the names of geographical places in the area. (Va’adat ha-Shemot 1958: 2)

Approximately one-fourth of all geographic names were derived from the Arabic name on the basis of a similarity in sound (Va’adat ha-Shemot 1956: 4).<sup>26</sup> For example, Wadi ‘Amud is now Neve ‘Amud, Wadi ‘Ara now Neve ‘Iron, and Wadi Futays renamed Neve Patish (Va’adat ha-Shemot 1955: 1). Many names were translated from Arabic to Hebrew “if they reflected the characteristics of a place, its topographical

structure, plants, animals, [or] natural characteristics" (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 3).<sup>27</sup> Others were transliterated and changed into a Hebrew form: Kefar 'Eqrn, for example, was named according to the pre-1948 Arab village named 'Aqir, identified in the report as its "previous name" (ibid.). In other instances, it was on the basis of the Arabic that origins were established and that history was identified and *situated*. The historical identification of Tell Tsor'a was possible on the basis of the location of the pre-1948 village of Sara'ah (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952c: 2; see Khalidi 1992: 314; Morris 1987: xix).<sup>28</sup> And, finally, the names of Arab villages were used to derive historical knowledge. As such, "the historical identification of abandoned villages or villages inhabited by non-Jews was emphasized," to give a few examples, 'Aqbara, 'Ein Karem, Sakhnin, and Beit Dajan (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952c: 2).<sup>29</sup>

The issue of where names should be situated indexes a crucial aspect of this project of map making, one that began with the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund the century before. It was not enough that historical Hebrew names be recovered. Within the specifically archaeological(-cartographic) perspective long realized through the conjunction of scientific expertise and institutional power, names had to be recuperated on the proper (kind of) site. As a result, there were already existing Hebrew names (names adopted by Jewish settlements and towns before the establishment of the state) that the committee queried and sometimes changed. For example, while a tell is supposed to refer to a site of the remains of an ancient settlement, all sorts of other places had already come to use that term: Tell Hai, Tell Yosef, Tell ha-Shomer on the road to Tel Aviv, the very choice of the word "tell" as a prefix for these town names was indicative of the desire to imagine contemporary settlements as a revival of ones in the ancient past. Such improper terminological uses could not be continued, however, the committee insisted. Nor could already existing names be summarily changed, as settlements were not easily convinced of the need to adopt new names (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 5). But that did not stop the committee from intervening when they deemed it necessary, or possible. For example, after the destruction of their first settlement, the residents of Kefar Drom wanted to move the name along with them to a new site, approximately 50 kilometers northward. But, the committee insisted, "one cannot move an historical name to another place." Instead they proposed that the new site be named Bnei Drom (the sons of Drom; a settlement named Kefar Drom was established in the Gaza Strip following the 1967 war).<sup>30</sup>

In a similar vein, a settlement located on the border of Mount Hebron

called itself Dvir. And yet, the experts insisted, "there is no historical basis to locate Dvir" near that site. A new name had to be chosen (5). Negotiations between members of the settlement and experts on the committee ensued. As a solution, the residents offered to call their kibbutz *Ma'ale Dvir* (the height of Dvir), thereby distinguishing it from its historical counterpart. Committee members traveled to see the site in order to determine whether or not this name was "appropriate": "The Committee went to the place, and there wasn't a single height there." In fact, it was located beyond "the line of hills." Clearly it could not be named *ma'ale* anything. The committee proposed that the kibbutz should henceforth be called "*Dvira* (meaning: in the direction of Dvir) and the members of the kibbutz accepted this name" (*ibid.*).<sup>31</sup>

This project of convincing local residents to change the names of their kibbutzim brings us to the second part of the committee's project. From the start, the committee saw its work of determining appropriate names as but the first step. They understood that rooting these names within daily usage was a fundamental problem requiring additional means. It would need state sanctioning. It would, in sum, require the force of law (3). In addition, the committee realized that such names needed to be publicized through a variety of organs, a process which was integral to the struggle to create a new Jewish (or Hebrew) polity. In promoting this "daily use," they considered it necessary to explain the names, "expanding within the public a consciousness of the Hebrew names" and sharing the "choice of names and their connections to the sources, as well as their connections to our aspirations for settling the land and for making the desert bloom" (*Va'adat ha-Shemot n.d.*: 1). To quote from a second report, "Even after the names come to the attention of the public, what still needs to be strengthened is their roots in the daily lives of people such that they will take hold and win over from the old habits" and such that their "connection to the people and its history" will be recognized (*Va'adat ha-Shemot 1958*: 4).

The committee established close relations with the Ministry of Education and Culture, with local schools, with local *yedi'at ha-Aretz* groups, and with nature groups in order to encourage the teaching of these new names and in order to insist on "strict adherence" to uniform spelling and pronunciation. Such efforts coexisted with an active cooperation with key state institutions and quasi-governmental agencies. All road signs were changed to the new names, and the Settlements Department of the Jewish Agency published the new, correct Hebrew names for settlements on an ongoing basis. The committee established formal links with the cartography units of the Israel Surveys Department and the Is-



raeli military (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 7). All government agencies and the military were ordered not only to learn the official Hebrew names, but also to use *only these new names* in all oral and written correspondence. Ultimately, it would be through the conjunction of education and the force of law that this process of Judaizing the land—here through the standardization of Hebrew places names within it—would take hold in public practice and in individual and collective consciousness, or so the committee maintained.<sup>32</sup> The marginalization of those nonspeakers of the now “standard national language” was a fundamental part of this process of linguistic cartography through which an Israeli-Jewish polity would be born. New Jewish immigrants had to learn standard Hebrew (for immigrants from the Arab world, proper Hebrew *pronunciation* as well). And, far more fundamentally, Israel's Arab minority, whose native language was not (and was never intended to become) Hebrew, had to learn the national language of the Jewish nation and state.<sup>33</sup>

That practice of linguistic standardization was deeply embedded in scientific-historical commitments defined by an archaeological sensibility in which facts, including artifacts and names, have spatial as well as temporal dimensions. It was only within particular locales that both revived Hebrew names and excavated historical remains had national-historical and not just scientific meaning. The truth of Jewish (settler) nationhood resided in the credibility of facts. And the very work of fact collecting, whether through excavating the land for material remainders or “redeeming” Hebrew names, had established the matrix of a terrain within which the practices of (settler)nationhood and a more fully nationalist-archaeological discipline would take place and shape in the newly founded Jewish state.

## Positive Facts of Nationhood

In 1971, Amos Elon, an Israeli journalist, first wrote of “the extraordinary appeal of archaeology as a popular pastime and science in Israel.” As he explained, “Israeli archaeologists, professional and amateurs, are not merely digging for knowledge and objects, but for the reassurance of roots, which they find in the ancient Israelite remains scattered throughout the country” (280). The first generation of Israeli archaeologists dug in search of Israelites, an “ethnic group” that presumably entered Palestine in the transition from the late-Bronze Age to the early-Iron Age. The primary question of archaeological importance after the founding of the state and, in particular, to be answered by the major work and excavations of the 1950s concerned the character of the ancient Israelite conquest of the land of Canaan. It was by that issue that the field would long be dominated, and by the divergent convictions regarding the nature of that historical process by which it would long be divided.

There were two schools of thought in this argument. Yigael Yadin, following the work of the American biblical archaeologist William Foxwell Albright, defended the historicity of the tale of conquest put forth in the Book of Joshua, which was the story of a quick and decisive Israelite military victory over the Canaanite city-states. Yohanan Aharoni, for his part, argued that the archaeological evidence supported a different story, which was that of the Israelite settlement told in the Old Testament’s Book of Judges. That story, long defended by a German biblical scholar, Albrecht Alt, recounted a more gradual process of settling the land of Canaan, which was followed only later by the military defeat of the Canaanite city-states. This theory came to be known as the school of “peaceful infiltration” in this settlement debate.

This dispute has been understood as a reflection of the multiple social imageries and interests then pervasive in Israeli society. As Neil Silber-

man argued, "These were more than dispassionate scholarly alternatives. In their differing reconstructions of the Israelite conquest, Yadin and Aharoni both implicitly expressed their own understandings of modern processes of territorial conquest and nationhood" (1993: 237). For Yadin, who had previously been head of the operations branch of the Haganah, chief of operations of the Israel Defense Forces in 1948, and then the IDF's chief of staff, the story of a decisive military victory achieved under the unified command of an innovative leader resonated with his own understanding of Israeli victory in 1948. Aharoni, however, was rooted in the kibbutz movement. He was allied with the left wing of labor Zionism, which had envisioned land seizure via settlement as preferable to seizure through war. Sovereignty would be achieved over the whole of the land of Israel not through "political declarations or formal statehood," but, rather, through "hard work, pioneering and steadily expanding settlement" (Silberman 1993: 327). Or, as Shulamit Geva has argued, Yadin's version of events resonated in a society preoccupied with issues of military security and in a national culture that upheld the soldier as national icon, thus, his victory in both the scholarly and the popular imaginations (1992: 93–94).

Social imagery may well resonate in historical arguments, but there are far more fundamental ways in which the debate about the Israelite settlement was intertwined with the practice of nationhood. The quest for "facts" and the epistemological commitments that underwrote that quest illustrate the dynamic relationship between empiricism and nationalism and demonstrate how a commitment to the former gave credible form to the latter, not just in narrative, but, even more powerfully, in material cast.

The debate over the character of Israelite settlement and the work of generating an empirical body of evidence to prove or disprove one or another of the accounts (historical hypotheses, one could call them) established a paradigm of archaeological practice that guided disciplinary work for decades to come. No longer the preparadigmatic archaeology of the prestate period, this dispute consolidated, to borrow Thomas Kuhn's term, "normal science." Archaeological practice would henceforth involve puzzle solving, which continually extended the empirical basis of the original theory, a practice in which key background assumptions, nationalist and *nationalizing*, were never questioned.<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously, this scholarly debate is perhaps best understood as an ongoing practice of settler nationhood, one that repeatedly reenacted and reinstated the "national collective" in empirical form, facts of positive science that emerged as an *independent* evidentiary basis upon

which the work of archaeology itself would henceforth rely and within which the ancient Israelite nation would emerge as visible. I trace the work through which three conceivably autonomous fields of discourse and practice—nationalism, archaeology, and the Bible—converge, each stabilized and grounded through one particular scholarly dispute.

### Acrimonious Debate or Epistemic Culture?

“Few questions in Israelite history have interested so many people from so many different points of view,” Yohanan Aharoni wrote in 1957 in his account of the debate concerning the Israelite conquest (1957b: 131). As he explained in the preface to *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee*, “The history of the Jewish people in the full sense of the word commences only in the Land of Israel, with the beginnings of the settlement in ancient Canaan” (1957a: 1). The archaeology of Israelite settlement was very much a search for national origins, that is, a quest for material evidence of the emergence of ancient Israel in their land. It is the character of the early phases of that settlement process—when and how the Israelites first entered and conquered “ancient Canaan”—with which I engage here, by focusing on the nature of evidence, reasoning, and argument brought to bear on the dispute.<sup>2</sup>

In the fall of 1958, the Israel Exploration Society (IES) held its fourteenth *yedi’at ha-Aretz* conference in Safed, which was attended by approximately 1,400 persons,<sup>3</sup> including, among others, the speaker of the Knesset, the head of the Jewish Agency, and the mayor of Safed. This was one forum in which Yadin and Aharoni publicly staged their dispute.<sup>4</sup> Under the title “Safed and the Upper Galilee,” the theme that year, the conference’s sixth session was devoted to a discussion of the Israelite conquest and settlement in ancient Galilee.<sup>5</sup> It was with reference to the excavations at Hazor that Yadin clarified his position in the debate.

With Yadin as director, excavations began at Hazor in 1955 under the joint auspices of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Exploration Society. The excavations focused on the exploration of what came to be identified as two cities: the Upper City (located on the tell itself) and the adjacent Lower City. The Lower City, Yadin explained to his audience, 700 dunams in perimeter, was founded in the middle Bronze Age (i.e., the first half of the second millennium B.C.E., suffered a massive destruction in late Bronze I, was rebuilt on a smaller scale, and continued to exist through the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. The very same history of settlement and destruction was found on the tell itself, Hazor’s Upper City. Those, however, were not the destruction lev-

els on which the Israelite settlement debate would focus. Rather, above the destruction level of the *last Canaanite-city*, and beneath the strata of “Solomon’s city,” excavators had identified remains of “a small Israelite settlement” (IES 1959: 94–95). In that early-Israelite stratum, Yadin explained, they had discovered a pottery assemblage containing the same ceramic forms characteristic of the Israelite settlements in Upper Galilee (surveyed by Aharoni a few years beforehand) that had been dated to the twelfth and eleventh centuries. Given the dates Yadin assigned to these two strata—the last Canaanite city and the first Israelite settlement (thirteenth and twelfth–eleventh centuries, respectively)—he concluded that Israelite settlement *in the Galilee* had to have begun “after the conquest of Hazor” (95).

What all this archaeological evidence verified, for Yadin, was the historicity of the story of conquest presented in the Book of Joshua. In other words, the empirical evidence excavated at Hazor confirmed his historical hypothesis. Given the material evidence, he insisted, there was no reason to suppose that Joshua did not conquer Hazor. Moreover, if the “time of Deborah” was fixed, as Benjamin Mazar suggested, to the end of the thirteenth century, the excavations at Hazor did not contradict that biblical story either.<sup>6</sup> He believed he had laid bare archaeological facts that disproved what he identified as the two “extreme” positions: dating the destruction of Hazor to the fifteenth century (as had John Garstang, who conducted trial digs at Hazor in the 1920s) or to the end of the twelfth. Neither date was supported by archaeological evidence.

The latter position—dating Hazor’s destruction to the end of the twelfth century B.C.E.—was a reference to Aharoni’s position in this conquest debate. And it was Yohanan Aharoni who spoke next. He laid out the contours of his argument on the process and dating of settlement and conquest by the Israelite tribes in the ancient Galilee: “The Bible, the external sources, and archaeological research prove that the Tribes of Israel settled initially mostly in the mountainous regions and did not have the power to conquer the tells of the Canaanite valley” (ibid.). In other words, it was on the basis of three bodies of evidence, each presumably independent of the other two, that he had developed his position on the history of settlement at Hazor in relation to that of Upper Galilee more broadly. The destruction of Hazor did not *precede* the process of Israelite settlement in the region. Rather, it succeeded it. The dating of each element in this historical tale (the destruction of Hazor, the initial process of settlement in the ancient Galilee) would have to be reconsidered.

Like Yadin before him, Aharoni was forced to grapple with the question of biblical chronology. According to the Book of Joshua, after all,

Hazor's destruction did not conform to Aharoni's sequencing of these historical events. It was destroyed in the days of Joshua, that is, at the very start of the era in which the Israelites crossed the River Jordan and entered the Land of Canaan. Aharoni, however, saw a clear resolution to this apparent contradiction. The Bible had corrected this impression by its mention of the fact that Hazor still stood at the head of the Canaanite alliance during the days of the war of Deborah. The question remained of how then to account for this chronological inconsistency. The war of Deborah, after all, presumably followed Joshua's conquest. The Bible's editors, Aharoni explained, passed on events with precision. The same could not be said about chronology (something about which they did not always know, he clarified): "The Israelite wars in the Galilee described in the Book of Joshua chapter 11 are wrongly attributed to Joshua." In fact, we learn quite clearly from Chronicles that Hazor was destroyed only in the era of Judges, "that is to say, during the 12th century" (*ibid.*).<sup>7</sup>

According to Aharoni, archaeological evidence, that is, empirical facts, had not yet established with certitude the precise time of Canaanite Hazor's final destruction. Nevertheless, it was certain (on the basis of the presence of Mycenaean pottery, which was imported during the thirteenth century) that the destruction of the penultimate Canaanite city (of the Lower City) could not have occurred before the thirteenth century. On top of that late-Bronze I city, moreover, excavators had revealed a more recent Canaanite city; on the tell itself, they had isolated two Canaanite strata that also postdated that thirteenth century date. Thus, Aharoni concluded that even though an exact date for the destruction of the last Canaanite city at Hazor could not be established, there was no reason to "assume that it was destroyed before the 12th century" (*ibid.*). (In other words, the circa 1250 B.C.E. date that Yadin had set could not be correct). While the chronological problem could not yet be settled definitively, Aharoni pointed out two important historical questions for which the excavations had produced indisputable proof: First, the account in Joshua that "among all the cities of Canaan in the North only Hazor suffered a complete destruction" was accurate. The historicity of that biblical tale had been confirmed by empirical evidence. Second, the excavations proved that the tribes of Israel who settled on the Canaanite city's ruins used "Israelite pottery," the same pottery discovered during his archaeological survey of Upper Galilee.

This argument between Aharoni and Yadin was truly acrimonious and was represented in a rather tongue and cheek *Ha'aretz* article. After viewing the various Bronze Age destruction and building levels, with

Yadin at his side to explain, a journalist wrote, they finally arrived at the central historical question: "And suddenly Joshua came and destroyed it all. Before Yadin said the name Joshua, he looked left and right to see if Aharoni was listening because Aharoni gets extremely angry when he hears that" (Shimon Tzabar, "Be-<sup>ʿ</sup>Einey Tsabar: Mi Saraf et Ḥatsor," *Ha'arets*, 17 October 1958). The disagreement polarized the two archaeologists to such an extent that Aharoni ultimately moved to Tel Aviv University. Students and colleagues were forced to take sides, and very few managed to work or maintain good relations with Yadin and Aharoni at the same time.

But for all the irascibility of the dispute, this was in effect an argument over *details* (see Geva 1992: 96). The debate concerned questions of chronology, sequence, and, thereby, the character of the historical process known a priori as the Israelite settlement. Both schools of thought shared far more than they disagreed about: the historicity of the biblical tales, the "fact" of an Israelite nation that entered ancient Palestine during the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition, the criteria of evidence, argumentation, and archaeological practice. Nevertheless, the work through which answers and positions in the dispute were produced crystallized the epistemological, methodological, and historical architecture of disciplinary debate and practice.

It was precisely through this dispute over details that a tale best understood as the modern nation's origin myth was transported into the realm of history—that an ancient Israelite social collectivity emerged as historical fact. Throughout the argument, the oft-repeated moral lessons and divine interventions that form the context of those events that Aharoni claims the Bible's redactors passed on with precision are elided. In their place, historical events that proceed linearly "as part of a chronological or causal series" (Valensi 1986: 294) emerge, themselves compiled through a "naïvely realist" reading of and attitude toward the biblical texts (see Thompson 1999). In analyzing the relationship between this excruciatingly detailed scholarly argument over particulars of chronology and sequence and the concretizing of the (colonial-) national imagination's most fundamental historical grammar in empirical form, it is helpful to focus on the three linchpins that together composed the scaffold of scientific practice and historical inquiry shared by Yadin and Aharoni alike: texts, dates, and pots. At the heart of this analysis rests the most fundamental question of all: What is it that makes particular historical eras and specific forms of material culture—in this instance, a distinctive class of pottery—*Israelite*?

Both Aharoni's Survey of Upper Galilee and Yadin's excavations at

Hazor, which relied on Aharoni's prior work, invoked *empirical* facts as the basis for verifying or falsifying, proving or disproving specific aspects of the Bible's *textual* accounts. But the empirical basis of disciplinary practice itself had textual roots, as can be shown through W. F. Albright's initial identification of "Israelite pottery." Once released from its initial genealogy, this archaeological data took on a life of its own, enabling paradigmatic practice to take shape, stabilizing the Bible as a historic document, and generating a body of evidence in which the ancient—the *historical*—nation would henceforth inhere.

### Empirical Foundations of Historical Claims

In the early 1950s, Aharoni launched an archaeological survey of Upper Galilee, an area of the country thus far poorly explored by "archaeological research" (Aharoni 1956: 56). This survey was designed to challenge the then reigning opinion concerning the history of the Galilee in the Bronze and Iron Ages, which was that the Galilee's mountainous regions were either mostly or entirely forested well into the "Israelite period" and that it was the Israelites who first settled the region. During the preceding "Canaanite period," scholars maintained, settlements existed only in the Galilee's fertile valleys (6). Aharoni, however, argued that this position was "not based upon any systematic archaeological research" in the region. Furthermore, Aharoni insisted, while some Galilean Canaanite tells had already been identified, nothing was known about either the location or the character of the Israelite settlements. In other words, at the very outset of his survey work, Aharoni *presumed* the existence of "Israelite settlements" in the Galilee, based on his reading of the biblical narratives as historical document. That was not a background assumption to be tested scientifically or to be explored via his appeal to systematic, empirical archaeological research. It was merely a matter of conducting research in order to locate and date the settlements.

Through his regional survey, Aharoni produced empirical evidence to disprove the basic assumptions of the then widely accepted theory of the region's early history. Upper Galilee was not empty until settled by the Israelite tribes in Iron I. That story held true only for a more discrete area within the Galilean mountains, that is, in Upper Galilee south of Naḥal Kziv (Wadi Keren, as he noted its Arabic name for those readers not yet familiar with the Hebrew names adopted by the Governmental Names Committee) and in the northern section of Lower Galilee (up to the valley of Bet Netofa). In those two subregions, no remains or sites from the Bronze Age were found. But the story of settlement in Upper



Galilee north of Naḥal Kziv was quite different. Aharoni identified a “dense chain” of large tells that dated to the Bronze Age, proving that this district within (Israeli) Upper Galilee was settled and opened long before the Israelite period began.<sup>8</sup>

Aharoni developed his argument regarding the overall nature of settlement patterns in the late-Bronze to early-Iron ages based upon the presence of two kinds of tells differentially distributed in distinct areas of his survey work. First, on the basis of a series of tells settled either in the early- to mid-Bronze periods alone, or from the Bronze through the Iron and on into later periods, Aharoni traced “a picture of dense and well-developed Canaanite settlement in Upper Galilee” (1957b: 146). Of the ten tells he charted on a map, the largest was Tell Qedesh (approximately 100 dunams in size), with several of the smaller ones (e.g., Tell Rosh) having similar histories of occupation and parallel stratigraphic sequences (Aharoni 1956: 56–57).

South of Naḥal Kziv, however, Aharoni and his team found no remains from Bronze Age settlements, except for “scattered remnants” dating to the middle-Bronze period that indicated the presence of a nomadic population.<sup>9</sup> In contrast, they identified “many sites whose settlement began at the start of the Iron Age, that is to say that were established in the period of Israelite settlement” (58). Aharoni investigated fifty-four sites in these two regions of settlement in the northern Upper Galilee, divided along a northern/southern axis by Naḥal Kziv: larger, fortified settlements occupied initially in the Bronze/Canaanite period; smaller, unfortified settlements (the largest of which spanned 4–6 dunams) founded in the Israelite/Iron Age (*ibid.*). It was the latter class of sites that Aharoni distinguished as Israelite. The archaeological data from these early-Israelite Upper Galilee settlements henceforth became a reference point in relation to which subsequent identifications of Israelite strata and settlements would be made (by other archaeologists), and on the basis of which arguments about the pattern and chronology of the Israelite settlement process in ancient Galilee would ensue.

On what basis, then, did Aharoni conclude that the smaller, more southerly settlement sites were Israelite? First and foremost, it was premised upon the reigning conceptualization of archaeological periods. These sites were first settled in the (early-) Iron Age, an archaeological period understood to be *synonymous with* “the period of Israelite settlement” in ancient Palestine. The very names used for chronological classification were themselves invoked interchangeably: “Israelite Period (Iron) I, II,” as Aharoni noted in his specification of archaeological eras (see Aharoni 1956: 58 n. 16). The convergence of ethnic name and

era was an essential component of the national-historical grammar, one that reached far deeper than a narrow nationalist commitment to the quest for ancient Israelites. Like the Israelite period, so too was the earlier “era” categorized according to ethnic label: “Canaanite Period (Bronze) I–III” (ibid.). In other words, the specific nationalist commitment to uncovering evidence of ancient Israelites was itself generative of (and embedded in) a broader epistemology that *assumed* distinctly demarcated archaeological cultures. The archaeological record was understood to contain remnants of identifiable nations and ethnic groups all the way down. Those ethnic-chronological distinctions, in turn, were the lens through which archaeological data would be made to make historical sense.

The *Israelite* period, after all, denotes not simply a temporal range, one that could, quite easily, be labeled something else (i.e., the Iron Age). More fundamentally, it signifies a cultural-political ontology understood to define ancient Palestine during this period. It is an ontology essential to classifying and interpreting its archaeological remainders. As Ruth Amiran and Yohanan Aharoni explained of their decision to redivide the Israelite period into subsidiary time frames in a novel way,<sup>10</sup> the era as a whole was “one cultural entity” whose main features “remain traceable through all its phases,” even though there are some noticeable changes or differences, “mainly the result of inner and local developments, with a certain amount of stimulus from without” (Aharoni and Amiran 1958: 171). That ethnohistorical period was used as an objective criterion for historical specification and classification. As chronological fact, it became an important, although not sufficient, basis for the identification of archaeological remainders themselves. Artifacts, architectures, and sites were understood to be embodiments of Israelite culture. Thus, the sites initially settled in the early-Iron Age—“the Israelite sites”—became the focus of Aharoni’s survey work.

From their initial work of surface checking, Aharoni and his team identified pottery made of “coarse clay” with red or yellowish-white slip. These finds, both “unique” and “astonishingly similar” within and across specific sites, led Aharoni to surmise that he was examining “unique ceramics from the beginning of the Israelite period, which, no doubt, were connected to process of Israelite settlement” (1956: 61). In other words, the pottery’s uniqueness indicated a *different* group then emergent in Upper Galilee, one traceable across these multiple settlement sites. And, on the basis of the premise that “Iron Age I” was equivalent to the ethnic identification “Israelite I”—that it marked the entry of the Israelites into ancient Palestine—it was *reasonable* to identify this

Iron I ceramic assemblage as “Israelite” pottery. Although the logic operated simultaneously in the inverse direction; ceramics also helped to fix chronology and thus the ethnicity of sites.

In order to check his “initial results,” Aharoni conducted a trial dig at Khirbat el-Tuleil (Tell Harashim). He established the fact that the tell was settled initially in the early-Israelite period (below it are only scattered and temporary remains dating to the Bronze Age). Moreover, in the Israelite I stratum, Aharoni uncovered a workshop within which were exposed large vessels and other ceramic remains.<sup>11</sup> Aharoni focused on the description, comparison, classification, reconstruction, and dating of that ceramic assemblage, organizing it into types indicative of the presence of particular historical actors. It was through this engagement with ceramic chronology and typology that the circularity—and, in fact, the underlying tension—in his logic of historical reasoning and archaeological method came to a head, specifically, around his insistence upon identifying this (material) culture as ethnically Israelite.

Aharoni used the pottery assemblage primarily in order to date Stratum III at Tell Harashim. Ceramics thus specified chronology: “As we found these big jars in situ, together with pottery usually found at other places [in Palestine], such as cooking pots, juglets and chalices, we could date them with certainty to the beginning of the Iron Age, i.e., about the 12th–13th centuries B.C.” (1957*b*: 149). Aharoni established that temporal range through a comparison of the form of the Tell Harashim pottery with ceramic assemblages from dated strata at other excavation sites in the country. It was by interpreting specific objects as a class of *types*, ones regularly found in particular kinds of Iron I settlements, that he fixed the chronological range and ethnicity of the initial occupation levels of these Upper Galilean settlement sites. And, in this work of comparative ceramics, he drew most centrally on the pottery typology and chronology laid out by William F. Albright, the biblical archaeologist widely credited with having first identified a distinctive “Israelite pottery” form.

The pottery assemblage excavated at Tell Harashim was integral to establishing a chronology of the settlement. Vessels were characterized by a “protrusion” located at the base of their necks, a style reminiscent of the “‘collared rim’ ware found in different places in the mountains of Judea and Ephraim that Albright connects to the beginning of the Israelite settlement period” (Aharoni 1956: 63). The brims of cooking pots found in Stratum III were likewise “typical” of those found in other sites in Palestine/Israel that had been dated to the late-Canaanite–early-Israelite transition (*ibid.*). But this pottery assemblage did more

than help to establish dates. It proved essential to the ethnic/cultural differentiation that Aharoni drew between the two different kinds of Upper Galilean sites. At none of the small settlements dating to Iron I did they find "so much as one sherd from the late Bronze Period. We should also note that in the Canaanite mounds in Galilee, whose settlement was not interrupted in the Israelite period, very little of this special pottery has so far been found, although it is widespread in the small settlements" (1957b: 149). In other words, the strata from the same chronological period at the two classes of sites—large permanent versus small seminomadic, Canaanite versus Israelite—were characterized, for the most part, by different ceramic assemblages.

Aharoni's treatment of the Iron I ceramics from Tell Harashim, however, ended up complicating the question of ethnic identification far more than the above discussion would suggest. On the one hand, Aharoni defined this ceramic assemblage as having a "family resemblance" to Iron Age I pottery found at other sites in the country and named "Israelite" by Albright. That equation of pottery typology with chronology-ethnicity was the basis for his identification of these sites as Israelite in the first place. On the other hand, Aharoni simultaneously insisted that this Tell Harashim pottery, and the ceramics from the Upper Galilean early-Iron Age sites more generally, displayed a special "Galilean character." There were "additional changes" to the vessels recognizable in their forms (e.g., the handles are attached to the neck of the vessel at Tell Harashim, but below the neck at the comparable stratum (VII) at Megiddo [1956: 63]). Pointing to the "unique shape" of and "the plastic ornamentation" found on the Galilean vessels, Aharoni asserted that there was no comparable Iron I ceramic assemblage known from any other part of the country (ibid.). The Galilean pottery was *unique*.

How then did Aharoni reconcile the simultaneity of family resemblance and uniqueness that he identified in these Galilean Iron I pottery forms? He used this material-cultural evidence not only to falsify the reigning theory concerning settlement in this region of the country during the Bronze Age. In addition, he used it to disprove the account of the Israelite conquest presented in the Book of Joshua. First, while the information gleaned thus far was not sufficient to "define the ceramic period" *with precision*, it was enough to conclude that their appearance could not postdate the twelfth century nor predate the thirteenth (63–64). Second, he used an analysis of pottery assemblages found at each of the two types of sites to challenge Yadin's hypothesis regarding the sequencing of conquest and settlement. According to Aharoni, the pottery from Tell Harashim was of "a unique type of ceramics that was brought

to the region by the settling Israelite tribes at the beginning of the Iron Age. The fact that these pottery vessels [were] not found in the country's large tells" was explained by saying that "those tells were not destroyed at the beginning of Israelite settlement, and that when they were destroyed and turned over to Israelites, the Israelites did not still use such vessels, or they introduced big changes in their forms" (64). In other words, the large Canaanite tells coexisted with these early-Israelite settlements, their destruction occurring only at a later phase during which this early-Israelite pottery—the basis for fixing chronology (-ethnicity)—was no longer in use. The destruction of those Canaanite tells had to *postdate* the establishment of the early-Israelite settlements in the mountainous regions of Upper Galilee.

Chronology alone, however, was not the sole basis of Aharoni's defense of Alt's model of peaceful infiltration. Such pottery vessels, he insisted, displayed a particular style, one distinctive of *the northern tribes alone*. (Joshua and his army had come from the south):

There is no doubt, in my opinion, that this wave of settlement from the beginning of the Iron Age is Israelite. . . . It follows that this settlement in Galilee also took place around the 12th–13th centuries B.C., even though the tribes settling here used pottery unknown in other parts of the country. We cannot say with certainty where this special pottery tradition originated, but as the ware is not found in the southern part of the country, and in view of the fact that north of the Plain of Jezreel there has been almost no archaeological excavation, we may assume that it came from the north. This in turn strengthens the assumption that the beginning of settlement by the Galilean tribes was not connected with a united military campaign from the south. (1957b: 149)

The very impossibility of exiting the historical architecture of archaeological practice is demonstrated with a vengeance here. This ceramic assemblage and its family resemblance to pottery first identified by Albright as Israelite was essential to dating Stratum III at Tell Harashim as Iron I. In other words, *similarity* in pottery style with Iron I ceramics excavated at other Palestinian sites was the basis of identifying the tell—and with it the other small settlements found along this "chain"—*as (early-) Israelite* in origin, an archaeological period that converged with Iron I. And yet, that very same collection of pottery was simultaneously defined as having a "special character," its distinctive style invoked to buttress Aharoni's critique of the biblical account of a unified military campaign launched from the south and led by Joshua. Identifying what he distinguished as *discontinuous* forms present in this body of ceramics, Aharoni concluded that *these* Israelites must have had different *geo-*

*graphic* origins, as exhibited by their distinctive material-cultural style. But, if pottery does indicate ethnicity as the entire logic of chronological and ceramic classification and identification presumed, Aharoni should have had to consider the possibility that the premise of an Israelite presence in the Galilean mountains was itself false and that these settlers shared neither (material) culture nor ethnicity with their compatriots to the south—that is, if he was not simultaneously committed to a literalist reading of the Bible as historical document from which he derived his chronology and the terms of “ethnic-classification” in light of which he interpreted the empirical evidence. After all, if pots equal ethnic groups, then different pots should equal different ethnic groups—unless and until one figures out *just how much* difference or modification can be tolerated in the styles or forms of pottery assemblages before one is compelled to recognize the existence of a new group in the archaeological record.<sup>12</sup>

The circularity of his evidentiary reasoning, however, would have no effect, at least not in the short run, on the background assumption of an Israelite entrance into Iron I Upper Galilee. Aharoni’s discovery of Israelite settlements, *as confirmed by* the Israelite ceramic assemblage, henceforth became a key body of empirical evidence (of “independent facts”) upon which the ongoing work to identify additional Israelite sites and strata, the persistent debate about chronology and sequencing, and the historicity of specific biblical tales would build.

### Excavating Hazor

According to a report issued on the history of the Institute of Archaeology at Hebrew University in 1973, the Hazor excavations of 1955–58 remained the largest excavations ever undertaken under their leadership.<sup>13</sup> Those Hazor digs were the first of many “grand scale” excavations (Marchand 1996) to mark the Israeli discipline in the decades to come. It was an excavation during which Yadin established his reputation as an excavator in a discipline increasingly defined and circumscribed by the work of excavating large urban tells. With a professional staff that averaged forty-five and employing anywhere between 120–250 laborers working under their supervision, the Hazor excavations received assistance from the defense and labor ministries and the Israeli Army (“which authorized its Engineers and Signal Corps to supply the expedition with such equipment as field telephones, rails, etc.” [Yadin 1956: 118]), as well as from specific corporations (donating diesel engines, helping to supply water to the site, and so forth). (See Yadin 1956, 1957a, 1958, 1959.) Much as the Masada excavations were in the early

1960s, this was state-sponsored archaeology. Yadin is reputed to have run the project with the order and discipline of "a military operation" (Silberman 1993: 226). Moreover, the Hazor excavations were a key moment in the establishment of Israeli archaeology as a distinctive field, one that now had the funds to compete with the large-scale excavations that had been conducted exclusively by the Christian schools during the prestate period.<sup>14</sup> These excavations served as a field-training school for a generation of archaeologists. As Yadin wrote in 1972, the staff included many already practicing archaeologists (from Hebrew University and the Department of Antiquities) in addition to "many students of the Hebrew University, who are now archaeologists in their own right" (Yadin 1972: 23). Yohanan Aharoni was the area supervisor for Area A, one of only two areas on the tell excavated for the duration of the four-season dig. Area A emerged as a central reference point for questions regarding Hazor's history and for disagreements regarding the chronology of the Israelite settlement and conquest (see Geva 1992).

In 1926 Hazor was (re)identified by John Garstang,<sup>15</sup> the first head of the Department of Antiquities of the British Mandate government. He conducted trial excavations at Tell el-Qedah in 1928, for which he left scanty records. Yadin's excavations were designed in order to check Garstang's initial results and to resolve some of the outstanding questions regarding the chronology and character of the site. Specifically, Yadin set out to establish a more precise date for the abandonment of Canaanite Hazor (which Garstang had dated to circa 1400 B.C.E., "a date in accordance with his placing of Joshua" [Yadin 1972: 28]). Moreover, he wanted to excavate the Israelite levels on the tell proper (Yadin 1956: 121).<sup>16</sup> Paralleling Aharoni's approach in his survey, the crucial historical assumptions themselves never were investigated. It was their dating and character alone that was explored. Empirical evidence would be brought to bear on historical hypotheses, specifying and extending existing historical knowledge and filling in details of the puzzle that was the Israelite settlement. As Yadin explained in his framing of the first season of excavations in the first Preliminary Communiqué, Hazor "was one of the largest and one of the most important cities in ancient Palestine. It is mentioned several times in Egyptian sources from the 19th down to the 13th century B.C. . . . According to the Bible, it played a leading part during the period of the Hebrew Conquest. It was one of Solomon's royal cities in the north, and was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 B.C." (1956: 12). Over the next four seasons, Yadin was to empirically prove and further specify each element of this historical framework, including the middle-Bronze Age Canaanite city's expanse,

complete destruction by the Israelites in the late-Bronze period, subsequent settlement by Israelite tribes, revival in Solomon's times, and destruction in the eighth century B.C.E. by Tiglath-Pileser III (see Yadin 1959: 87–88, 1972).

Stratum XII of the tell proper (the Upper City) was dated by the excavating team to Israelite (Iron) I. It is with reference to the finds at Stratum XII (and, of course, a reading of those finds in conjunction with the remains of Stratum XIII, the last Canaanite level) that the debate about the sequence and dating of conquest and settlement of ancient Hazor, and by extension, of Upper Galilee ensued. One of the most important locales for the development of evidence regarding Hazor's history was the excavation at Area A. It is through a focus on that area that this huge excavation project can be distilled down to a fundamental grammar-of-practice in order to highlight the epistemic architecture that Yadin and Aharoni shared and to trace another stage in a process wherein the evidentiary basis of the debate and of paradigmatic archaeological practice—and thus, the positive facts of nationhood—were themselves taking shape.

The remnants from Stratum XII were identified as “those of the earliest Israelite occupation of the site, built on accumulated debris which covered the ruins of the last Canaanite city” (Yadin 1959: 75).<sup>17</sup> Following the first season of excavations, Yadin reported that the “last Canaanite city” (at this point, he was referring to the Lower City) “came to an end in the 13th century B.C.” (Yadin 1956: 125). This thirteenth-century date was reached on the basis of pottery finds (see 123–24). As for the tell itself (and, more specifically, Area A), the excavators uncovered *dispersed* evidence of fire in Stratum XIII on the basis of which a conclusion was reached: “Stratum XIII was the last Canaanite Stratum in Area A, and was entirely destroyed” (Ben-Tor 1989).<sup>18</sup> Or, as Yadin summarized his findings at the close of the 1958 season: “The downfall of Canaanite Hazor occurred towards the Late Bronze Age II, when the Israelites destroyed it completely; this is recorded vividly in Joshua XI and emphatically confirmed by the spade” (Yadin 1959: 87). The return to the text is crucial here. Without the story of conquest and destruction in the Book of Joshua, no specific historical cause could have been attributed to this end of Canaanite Hazor, whether that terminus really was marked by the city's complete destruction by burning, or perhaps, by its abandonment (and partial destruction?).<sup>19</sup>

Yadin's archaeological reasoning relied upon two distinct kinds of relationships between textual accounts and empirical facts. The former clarified the latter, filling in the missing information. These textual ac-



counts provided the necessary interpretation of the facts in order to specify historical stories and historical eras that could not be derived from the facts themselves. So, for example, we know this is the *Israelite* stratum and not simply some unnameable distinctive material culture. We learn that Joshua and his army and not some unknown conquerors (or accidental fires) burned Hazor to the ground, thus ending the Canaanite city-state once and for all. Simultaneously, empirical facts, which were construed as being independent of the initial historical hypotheses, were used to verify or falsify specific elements of the biblical texts, *details* of the historical events presumably chronicled, albeit not always consistently, therein. The archaeological reasoning used to interpret material finds from Area A demonstrates quite clearly the interlacing of the kinds of evidentiary relationships between texts and facts.

The search for the early-Iron Age history of the site had begun in Area A in the second season of work (see Yadin 1957a: 119). But, it was not until the fourth season (1958) that the team reached what they identified as the early-Israelite levels. The 1957 season had ended with the “first elements of the earlier strata [earlier than Stratum X, identified as the Solomonic level] beginning to show” (Yadin 1959: 75). In 1958, this stratum was further explored and identified as Stratum XII. The excavating team exposed “very poor structures, mainly huts and crude silos sunk deep into the ground, as well as numerous ovens, mostly made of large disused storage jars laid upside down.” More specifically, the remains fell into three categories: foundations of huts or tents, cooking and similar installations, and storage pits. There were no remains of a city wall or public buildings, in fact, there were no “proper buildings” found at all (Yadin 1972: 128). From the moment of this discovery, there was never any questioning the assumption (or testing the hypothesis) that these remains represented the first Israelite settlement on the site (see Yadin 1959: 75). These structures were read as evidence of a seminomadic population in the early processes of sedentarization. Considering the chronology of that occupation (that this is the early-Iron Age, that is, Israelite) and that the presence of a new material culture presumably correlates with the entrance of a new ethnic population, Stratum XII was immediately identified as the first Israelite settlement at Hazor.<sup>20</sup>

It was through the conjunction of dates (or, chronological sequences), pots, and texts that Yadin developed his disagreement with Aharoni. Following the German scholars Alt and Noth, Yadin wrote in 1972, Aharoni maintained that “peaceful infiltration” had preceded the destruction of the Canaanite city of Hazor. As such, Hazor could not have been de-

stroyed by the Israelites before the end of the twelfth century, "a generation or so after the date of the upper Galilee settlements" (Yadin 1972: 131). But, Yadin argued, "the *chronological* sequence of Strata XIII and XII is clear, the former is L[ate] B[ronze] and 13th century while the latter is 12th-century Iron Age" (*ibid.*). Given that such chronological facts stood at the center of this dispute, how did Yadin date Stratum XII to the twelfth century?

It was on the basis of two criteria that chronology was fixed: its location beneath Stratum X (dated to the tenth-century or Solomonic period) and the nature of the pottery assemblage associated with the exposed structures.<sup>21</sup> This ceramic assemblage was described by Yadin as "basically different from that of Late Bronze," and, moreover, as "characteristic of the earliest phase" of the Iron Age. Among the "most prominent features of this culture" (130; or, as defined in the final report, the "most common and characteristic vessel" [Ben-Tor 1989: 29]) is the pithoi: large storage jars, which were elliptical or egg shaped with a pointed base and characterized by a tall neck with a ridge at the bottom. It is not in the early-Iron Age that pithoi first appear in the archaeological record (Yadin 1972: 130). Early-Iron Age pithoi, however, were argued to differ in form from their late-Bronze/Canaanite forebearers. "Unlike the Late Bronze pithoi they are sometimes provided with two loop-handles, normally below their shoulders" and many are marked by rope-impresions around their belly, "a result of potter's efforts to 'hold them together' before they were put in the furnace" (*ibid.*). Like the typical early-Iron "cooking pot" found at Hazor ("carinated, round-bottomed, and without handles" with a particular kind of rim that is "of importance for its dating"), the assemblage of these ceramic forms and styles was essential to dating Stratum XII to the early-Iron Age and thus to defining the stratum (and the pottery) as early-Israelite. As recounted in the final report, "These pithoi closely resemble examples found at excavations at Tell Harashim and in Aharoni's survey of the Galilee. They are also related to Albright's collared-rim type" (Ben-Tor 1989: 29; see also Yadin 1972: 130).

Reproducing Aharoni's approach during his Survey of Upper Galilee, it was precisely through the work of comparative-pottery typology and chronology that Yadin specified dates and ethnicities for particular strata in the archaeological record. For Stratum XII, it was on the basis of similarity in form with already known and dated early-Israelite pottery that Yadin established a twelfth-century date. Moreover, he relied on the previous work of Aharoni and Albright as the evidentiary bases for these two intertwined findings: chronological and ethnic. (Yadin, neverthe-

less, continued to disagree with Aharoni on his chronology for Stratum XII and his sequencing and dating of Israelite settlement and conquest in Upper Galilee more broadly). Yadin noted in his Preliminary Communiqué that “the pottery on the whole was very similar to that of the small *Israelite settlements* in Upper Galilee discovered by Dr. Aharoni” (1959: 75; emphasis added), thus accepting Aharoni’s findings as conclusive and as an independent empirical basis upon which his own project of historical identification and chronological specification could proceed. For Yadin, Albright’s work was *one more* body of evidence upon which he drew, not recognizing that Aharoni’s conclusions were themselves contingent upon (even, derivative of) Albright’s prior work. But given that it was Albright’s work that formed the evidential edifice upon which both Aharoni and subsequently Yadin constructed their archaeological conclusions and historical arguments, it is important to have an understanding of that work.

### On the Genealogy of Observation and Facts

Further developing the method of ceramic typology/chronology first introduced into Palestinian archaeology by Flinders Petrie the century before, Albright produced a more developed system for chronological specification.<sup>22</sup> He distinguished “ceramic features of the new material culture that appeared in the central hill country . . . in Iron I” during his excavations at Tell el-Ful, ceramic features that he ultimately named “Israelite” (Finkelstein 1988: 270). It was not on the basis of any specific *material* finds (say, an inscription) that Albright first identified such pottery forms as characteristically Israelite, however. Rather, that conclusion was derived from his assumption regarding who this new culture in early-Iron Age Palestine had to be. Nevertheless, once detached from that initial textually based reasoning, which specified the identity of the pottery forms, the presence or absence of Israelite *pottery* enabled subsequent excavators to ascertain the location of Israelite *sites* and *strata*, now on the basis of *empirical evidence*, or archaeological facts.

It was at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah) that Albright distinguished a single “ceramic period” evident in strata I and II that spanned the late-thirteenth century to the tenth century (Albright 1922–23: 10). He understood this pottery assemblage to be characterized by a series of forms, reproduced in plates attached to the end of the report. First, there were cooking pots distinguished by a specific kind of rim, “everted” and “carinated,” and, moreover, always found with two handles. (This, of course, is one place where Yadin’s cooking pots differ; they had no handles). On the basis of comparisons with pottery assemblages from other excavated sites in

Palestine, Albright concluded that this particular kind of rimmed cooking pot “was used all over Palestine during the period from the 12th to the 10th centuries” (11). Second, he identified the rims and profiles of hand-burnished saucers. This burnishing was the most distinctive feature about this class of objects and appeared as “semi-continuous, usually with parallel or cross strokes” (12). Albright then explained:

It is quite impossible to confuse this technique with that practiced in the Middle Bronze Age. . . . In our period burnishing seems to be restricted to small bowls and saucers . . . and to decanters, where it usually appears in [a] vertical sense. This type of burnishing clearly came in from the north, since it appears rather suddenly at the opening of the Iron Age, not having been known in the preceding Late Bronze Age. (Ibid.)

As proved by the Gibeah material, he argued, this pottery class is “another characteristic type of the first phase of the Early Iron Age” (ibid.). It represented a new material culture that signified the entrance into the region of a new group who presumably brought specific ceramic forms and techniques with them.

Excavating at Bet-El in the 1930s, Albright further developed his analysis and dating of this early-Iron Age ceramic culture. Faced with the question of how to distinguish between the various strata visible in archaeological stratigraphy, Albright concluded that it was sometime in the thirteenth century that the second phase of Late Bronze was destroyed by a tremendous conflagration (evidence for which was in Area I and Area II). The “break” between late-Bronze II and the subsequent stratum was “more complete than in any other case except between Iron II and Hellenistic.” He continued:

When we consider the masonry, building-plans, pottery, and culture of the following three phases, which are in these respects homogeneous, the break becomes so much greater that no bridge can be thrown across it, and *we are compelled to identify it with the Israelite conquest*. In reaching this obvious and inescapable conclusion, the writer abandons a position which he has held for eleven years, and adopts the low date of the Israelite conquest of central Palestine. (1934: 9–10; emphasis added)

So while Albright readjusted his dating of the conquest (to the twelfth century), it was to the Hebrew conquest alone that such a cultural break could be ascribed. That conclusion was reached not by the archaeological evidence itself, however (on whose sole basis we have no way of knowing if this was a specifically Israelite settlement, what that desig-

nation may actually have signified to its population, or, for that matter, if it was used by them), but by the narrative in the Book of Joshua. With regard to the distinctive—now Israelite—pottery forms: “Virtually all of the hundreds of store-jar rims found in connection with the first three building-phases of Iron I, have the collar which is so characteristic of early Iron I in central Palestine,” Albright argued (1934: 12). More specifically, that distinctive storage jar (pithoi) rim was characteristic of the twelfth century, extending somewhat into the thirteenth and the eleventh; in the eleventh and tenth, “an entirely different form of pithoi rim appears” (13). Albright conclusively fixed both ethnicity *and* chronological range, explaining moreover, that “Such monotonous pottery we have never seen elsewhere. If collared-rim store-jars and cooking pots were eliminated, the number of remaining types would be insignificant” (12).

Assigning *names* to pottery shards, for example, “Israelite” or “collared-rim,” was essential to their composition as (archaeological) facts. Various critics have noted the politics of naming that long dominated disciplinary practice, pointing to the ideological underpinnings of such nomenclature. Aharon Kempinski, for one, has argued that identification was created between the modern state and the ancient past via the discipline’s use of terminology: “The Bronze age, the days of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah are referred to as the ‘Israelite period.’ There is Israelite architecture, Israelite fortifications, Israelite ceramics and so on. . . . [This is] a semantic identification of statehood,” both archaeological and mythological (Kempinski n.d.: 7). In Hebrew, after all, there is no semantic distinction between “Israelite” and “Israeli” in adjectival form; both are *yisraeli/t*.<sup>23</sup>

It is not just that such names reflected a nationalist-ideological bias endemic to the field, however. Far more fundamentally, the naming of objects (and eras) enabled the very work of archaeology to proceed. If archaeology was to be a scientific practice—one differentiated from the humanistic (and *textual*) field of biblical scholarship—it required an empirical base. It was through the very process of naming particular facts that an empirical body of evidence, including (Israelite) architectures and (Israelite) pottery forms, came into being. Once established, those empirical facts were *observable* and discoverable, and, moreover, they were generative of additional historical knowledge (which could prove or disprove specific aspects of the Bible’s textual accounts). It was through names that individual archaeological “specimens” were rendered part of a “species.”<sup>24</sup> Descriptive names, such as “collared-rim

ware," assigned individual pottery finds to a classificatory *series* or a type, which emerged, in turn, as confirmation of Israelite presence.

In other words, the naming of objects was integral to producing an independent evidentiary basis upon which an empirical tradition of archaeological practice would henceforth build. It facilitated low-level generalizations, for the most part, empirical generalizations, fundamental to archaeological practice (e.g., the typological classifications of artifacts, or the identification of specific archaeological cultures on the basis of the regular occurrence of specific material-cultural traits; see Trigger 1989: 20). Such generalizations, according to Trigger, are "normally based on regularities that are *repeatedly observed*" (ibid.; emphasis added). It is precisely with respect to that question of repeated observation that the naming of objects emerges as key. Without the name Israelite attached to the pottery form, such historical observations, such as the identification of Israelite sites and strata, could not in fact occur. Pottery shards—and not *Israelite* pottery shards—were what was actually being seen.

As Jacqueline Stevens has argued quite eloquently with regard to personal names and national affiliations, they are not merely "contingent labels" detachable from some already constituted personhood. Rather, "the personal name is also the person" (1999: 154); such names *perform* nationality (158). Extending that argument to questions of scientific facts and the naming of things, the name Israelite performs nationality in the very ontology of material-cultural things. Thus, the repeated invocation of *Israelite* pottery as evidence for Israelite presence in debates concerning questions of chronology and character continuously enacts the nation itself as historical fact. The nation's historical reality, after all, is evidenced in the pottery form itself—a form that exists as a specific ethnic class of objects only when named. That very practice of (repeated) naming, moreover, translated materiality into a particular kind of fact: These are "discrete particulars"—material-cultural objects that stand in for a *category* of objects (Israelite, collared-rim, hand-burnished)—that form the building blocks of the "systematic knowledge" (Poovey 1998: xii) that archaeologists sought to build. Such archaeological facts emerged as both generalizable and generative, no longer the isolated and relatively inchoate collection of individuated bits of empirical evidence that characterized the quest for signs of Jewishness in the work of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society during the prestate period. By tracing and mapping the presence or absence of these facts (horizontally across synchronic space, and vertically up through space and time),<sup>25</sup> archaeologists developed a cohesive and

systematic set of observations, arguments, and practices within the framework of which the Israelite settlement debate ensued, the national collective emerged as given, and upon the basis of which an epistemological architecture of historical knowledge and archaeological practice crystallized.

Despite the occasional caveats offered by various archaeologists that such a label does not imply that it was *only Israelites* who used such pottery (about which there was some disagreement),<sup>26</sup> the ontology implicit within the very names and classificatory schemes themselves cannot be undermined. This is *Israelite* pottery, an overarching category composed of distinctive forms to which archaeologists attached descriptive names. Taken together, the assemblage of those forms signifies a particular ethnicity embodied in its given name. In contrast, it does not represent a particular *group of potters* who shared a set of skills, even pottery styles and forms, but who may or may not have shared ethnic identity (see Dietler and Herbich 1998). As Thomas Thompson has written with regard to both the “Hyksos fortifications” of Bronze Age Palestine (invoked as if it were “an ethnic or political term”) and the fortifications of Iron II, including the Solomonic gates (read as evidence of the Davidic and Solomonic centralized states), “These impressive fortifications are engineering feats, and engineers travel” (1999: 145). But, the ethnic identification of engineers and engineering feats, of potters and pottery forms would for decades remain enmeshed in Israeli archaeological practice, a fundamental criterion of archaeological attempts to identify sites, architectures, and strata as belonging *exclusively* to one ethnic and chronological specification or another. In the words of Ruth Amiran (an archaeologist and pottery expert in the Israeli field), “the ethnic identification of the makers of these vessels, as proposed by Albright and confirmed by Aharoni’s survey, seems to be in accordance with other evidence in this period” ([1958] 1969: 233). The corroborative evidence for such ethnic identifications was, presumably, following Albright, the combination of a “rupture” in material culture (and consequently, given the pots-equals-peoples paradigm, a break in the culture or ethnicity of the sites) and their early sedentary character.

This logic of evidentiary reasoning replicated the manner in which archaeological cultures were identified in cultural-historical archaeological traditions more broadly. Such cultures (often unnamed) were defined, pace the work of V. Gordon Childe, for example, as “certain types of remains—pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms—constantly recurring together” (Trigger 1989: 170). In the early-Israelite case, pottery forms converging with settlement patterns characteristic of

a group still only partially sedentarized were considered key “diagnostic artifacts.” But, as was clear in Yadin’s own reasoning, a break in ceramic culture did not entail complete novelty in ceramic forms. The problem of persistence of Bronze Age (Canaanite) forms recognizable within Iron Age (Israelite) pottery assemblages would have to be tackled.

It was actually Ruth Amiran and not Yohanan Aharoni who first conducted survey work and trial excavations in Upper Galilee, albeit on a far more limited scale.<sup>27</sup> She spoke about the pottery from the “Israelite I” stratum at Hazor before that same 1958 *yedi*? at *ha-Aretz* conference in Safed. During the 1958 season, they had discovered two strata from the “Israelite period that preceded the Solomonic period” (Stratum XI [found in Area B only] and Stratum XII [Areas A and B]), she told her audience (IES 1959: 97). The ceramics from Stratum XII were not “rich in types” but displayed “a clear and unique character.” The study of that pottery, which was “absolutely identical with that of the small settlements that Aharoni discovered in the Galilee,” proved that there were commonalities between it and the hill country settlements such as Bet-El and Shiloh. Albright succeeded in “isolating” the “characteristic elements” of this culture (i.e., of the “hill country”), Amiran told her audience, and “crowned it with the name ‘Israelite.’” There were some distinctions between these regional pottery assemblages. Nevertheless, she insisted, “it is important to emphasize the similarities more so than the differences,” and on the basis of those similarities, it was possible to propose that “that there were cultural connections, or at least, definite contact between these regions during the period” out of which the particular early-Israelite pottery form emerged. The conclusions she drew from this situation were “that all of these settlers did not bring with them” a distinctive ceramic tradition. Rather, together they (the settlers in the Galilee and in the hill country) acquired the manufacturing techniques and reproduced the models and forms of the *local* population. But, she clarified, they developed “new styles” imprinting their “own unique mark.” It was thus that “Canaanite ceramics was turned into Israelite ceramics,” the “ethnic connotation” of this pottery obvious in the form itself (*ibid.*).

There were two culture-contact models operating in her archaeological-historical reasoning. There was the contact—or the cultural connections—between the different Israelite tribes spread throughout the country, which enabled Amiran to posit a single and unitary (material) culture that she identified as Israelite. In other words, she mapped out a synchronous “cultural entity” across space, recognizable in the Israelite



pottery remains. In addition, there was culture contact across or between *different* material and human cultures, reproducing the logic of Aharoni's analysis, which is explicated above. While Israelite pottery forms displayed both "crystallization and perfection," Amiran argued, it was also possible to look for its "prototype in Canaanite ceramics." Like Aharoni, she constructed her argument concerning the nature, order, and chronology of Israelite settlement through an emphasis on *continuity* in pottery forms and styles with the Canaanite ceramic traditions. How was it possible to account for the continuities between Israelite ceramics and the earlier Canaanite culture? During the period preceding conquest, the Israelites lived next to the Canaanites and acquired from them the "potter's craft," she explained. Hence, "specific continuities" remained recognizable in "all areas of material culture" between the now-destroyed Canaanites and the victorious Israelites (*ibid.*).

Identifying Israelite ethnicity in the archaeological record from the Galilean sites required not just the demarcation of a "new material culture" found in ancient tells believed to be brought from without, crystallized from within, or some combination of both. Rather, Yadin, Aharoni, and Amiran all identified both continuities and differences within and between Canaanite and Israelite pottery assemblages.<sup>28</sup> The problem, then, was not simply that without the Bible this new ethnicity would not be nameable,<sup>29</sup> but, reading the Bible as a historical and chronological guide required the recognition of particular "breaks" in the material-cultural record as *critical*, whereas other ruptures had to be read as signs of internal changes that did not signify anything important for the demarcation of cultures or, for that matter, the progress of history itself. So, for example, during Aharoni's trial excavation at Tell Harashim, he noted that below a Stratum II wall (the second Israelite stratum) were older structures, "destroyed in part by the fortification wall that was built in a completely different direction." He read this as evidence of an apparent temporal interruption between the two *Israelite* settlement strata, the more recent builders not knowing anything about the older buildings and not taking them into account (1956: 61). During Albright's excavations at Bet-El, as another example, one could have ascribed more breaks or significant destructions to other strata in the archaeological record than did Albright himself. For example, Albright noted differences between the first three phases of the Iron Age and the fourth. During Iron Ages I–III, the material culture was not only extremely poor but, moreover, declining, marked by a conflagration, which brought that material culture to an end. Iron IV, in turn, displayed far more de-

veloped (and clearly, newly built) levels of material-cultural remains (see 1934: 11–12).

As Thomas Thompson writes in his critique of the broader field of biblical archaeology, primary evidence, those archaeological remainders from the time period in question, was read against the “secondary evidence” of the “Bible and the extra-biblical traditional literature” that provided “the appropriate time-frame for our primary quest for archaeological evidence” (1999: 8). Frameworks regarding both chronology and identity were taken from texts, the earliest of which were composed in the Hellenistic period, at a distance of approximately one thousand years from the events they purport to record. But, as I have illustrated above, the relationship between primary and secondary evidence was far more dynamic and complex than Thompson’s account suggests. It was the secondary evidence, the texts, that composed the primary evidence, or observable empirical facts, *as primary* in the first place. Those facts subsequently gained a life of their own and emerged as being independent of the textual sources; they were used to empirically confirm or falsify specific aspects of the Bible’s historical tales and to validate once and for all the historicity of the Bible itself. It was with reference to those facts that a tradition of positive science was able to proceed and that archaeology crystallized as disciplinarily, methodologically, and epistemologically distinct from the more fully humanistic field of biblical studies.

### Archaeology and Nationhood Revisited

The Israelite settlement debate was not simply reflective of competing social imageries. It was deeply entangled with ongoing practices of nationhood and of nation-state building. During the 1950s and 1960s, this debate focused primarily on the remote Upper Galilee region. The settlement of this region posed one of the greatest challenges to the newly established Jewish state. Most of the state’s Arab citizens resided in Lower Galilee, in response to which the state launched several efforts to Judaize the region in the 1940s and 1950s (see Rabinowitz 1997; Kipnis 1983). In addition, the government had not been entirely successful in its efforts to develop Upper Galilee, which was basically a border zone with “hostile” states. In its uphill battle to develop the area’s economy and populate this outpost, the state settled Jewish immigrants in this region who were, for the most part, from North Africa. Thus, while it may seem odd that Yadin turned down the job of minister of the south and the Negev in order to pursue the excavations at Hazor and continue his archaeological career, the work of state building was perhaps just as sig-

nificant to the choice that he made, if perhaps less obviously so. As Neil Silberman has written: “Yadin saw the Hazor project as his own contribution to the state, far transcending the bounds of pure archaeology. The Eastern Galilee and Huleh Valley, where Hazor was located, were areas that Yadin knew well.” Such a large-scale project at Hazor “could offer material and cultural benefits to the region—a source of steady employment for workers and an impressive historical monument to link the far northern region with the mainstream of Israelite history” (1993: 226).

The interlacing of this archaeological work—surveys and excavations—with the larger project of territorial expansion and the consolidation of the nation-state and its national economy could be pursued at length. Here, I will just sketch out the contours of an analysis. An examination of the dynamics of archaeological practice in the early years of statehood should not rely exclusively on ideological pronouncements and the *content* of historical claims, arguments, and imaginations alone (cf. Zerubavel 1995; Ben-Yehuda 1995). If the nation is not simply an “imagined community” (Anderson 1991) but a “practical category, institutionalized form, and contingent event” (Brubaker 1996: 7), it is worth asking what exactly it was that the work of archaeology participated in, enabled, extended, or brought into being through this long and acrimonious argument over the nature of the Israelite conquest and settlement of ancient Canaan.

Safed’s mayor spoke before the 1958 *yedi’at ha-Aretz* convention, insisting that this Galilean city was not just “a city of the past and of mystery,” but also “a contemporary and developing” one (Avinoam Haimi, “Niftaḥ ha-Kinus le-Yedi’at ha-Aretz be-Tsfat,” *Ha’aretz*, 1 October 1958). The conference itself included papers that covered the gamut of the region’s ancient and contemporary histories, including one by Major General Yigael Alon on “Safed during the War of Independence” (IES 1959: 80). Yosef Amiran, president of the Israel Exploration Society, pointed out that bringing their annual conference to Safed was not an arbitrary decision. They came to this “small and distant” place precisely because the purpose of such conferences was “to bring people to neglected regions” of the country (Haimi, *Ha’aretz*, 1 October 1958). Itzhaq Ben-Zvi, the president of the state, visited the city on the third day of the conference, turning the day into “a holiday for all of Safed.” Thousands of residents met him in the streets and listened to the mayor report on the past year’s economic progress and his plans for future development of the city. Ben-Zvi, meanwhile, shared his “pleasure” at seeing how much Safed had grown “since its liberation” and expressed hope for the whole Galilee—that it “will flourish anew” (Avinoam

Haimi, "Tsfat ve-Hafirof Hatzor ba-Kinus le-Yedi'at ha-Aretz," *Ha'aretz*, 3 October 1958).

As their papers made clear, conference participants understood contemporary settlement as a revitalization of Galilee's ancient Israelite and Jewish past. The incremental reclamation of space would, over time, "Judaize" (*re-Judaize*, from their perspective) Galilee as a whole, and contemporary settlement would advance in these early decades of statehood in a manner that mirrored Aharoni's peaceful infiltration model far more than it would that of Yadin's military victory. But, as Neil Silberman points out, the link between archaeological practice and contemporary state building was not played out on the plane of spatial transformations alone. The Hazor excavations were a source of employment in a region suffering from a weak economy. It was the government labor exchange at Rosh Pinna that arranged for the daily transport of immigrant workers to the site (Silberman 1993: 226). The dynamic of professional archaeologists (part of the Ashkenazi cultural and political elite) supervising paid laborers (members of the society's marginalized and newly immigrant Mizrahi Jewish population) reproduced the dynamics of labor practices in the economy as a whole. The question of labor on archaeological digs, and the way in which those excavations were thus integrated into a larger political economy, is worth considering from the perspective of the multilayered "ethnocratic" character of the Israeli polity and economy (Yiftachel 1998). The only laborers on archaeological digs were not, in other words, volunteers (see Silberman 1989; Ben-Yehuda 1995).

Beyond the question of the location of the excavations and surveys in this specific region of the country, the Israelite settlement debate, and the nature of scientific practice, reasoning, argument, and evidence that it entailed, continuously reconstituted the Israelite nation as a material-historical entity and fact. The *yedi'at ha-Aretz* convention was not limited to lectures alone. Nearly one thousand of the participants took part in three tours organized during the conference's second day. Individuals of all ages, of all professions, and from all over the country, as one reporter on archaeological matters recounted, visited historical sites in the Galilee. They went up mountains and down into valleys "in order to see places known to them from the Tanach [the Bible]" and in order to "see up close, to listen to explanations of" the sites "from the time when the Israelites lived in the Galilee" (Avinoam Haimi, "Ra'iti ve-Shama'ti ba-Kinus le-Yedi'at ha-Aretz," *Ha'aretz*, 2 October 1958). If seeing is believing—or *knowing* (Foucault 1975: 107)—the Israelites are thus made real. Participants listened to arguments about the nature and chronology of

that early-Israelite history. In their lectures, the archaeologists contextualized that history with reference to the material-cultural remains that participants observed. Yadin's lecture on Hazor was, after all, a prelude to a tour of the excavations themselves.

The symposium on the final day of the conference was dedicated to the problem of Israelite conquest of Hazor. After listening to lectures all morning, having lunch, and then partaking in a three-hour tour of Hazor, one journalist recounted, participants stayed for nearly five hours in order to listen to lecturers talking about one particular problem: *When* did Israelite settlement in the Galilee begin, and *when* did the conquest of Hazor happen—"during the 13th or the 12th century B.C.E.?" That was a question of "principal importance," one that, alas, archaeology may never be able to decisively resolve (Avinoam Haimi, "Ra'iti, Shama'ti, ha-Simpozion be-Ayelet ha-Shaḥar," *Ha'arets*, 5 October 1958).

As summarized several weeks later in a *Ha'arets* article reporting on the results of the four seasons of excavating Hazor, this was a good excavation "from an archaeological perspective." Archaeologists were able to study the development, beginning in middle-Bronze II, of a large city, perhaps the largest in the country. Nevertheless, "The excavations at Hazor were not able to determine exactly when Hazor was destroyed at the hands of the Israelites." They had not, in other words, resolved what was hoped for at the beginning of the dig, that is, shedding light on "all of the problems connected to the settlement of our forefathers in the Land of Canaan" (Avinoam Haimi, "Ma'azan ha-Ḥafiroṭ be-Ḥatsor," *Ha'arets*, 24 October 1958).

After reiterating the debate between Aharoni and Yadin for his readers, the reporter pointed out that a resolution to that argument would be reached only when the date of Hazor's destruction could be determined with precision. While they had been able to date it to the late-Bronze period—the era that corresponds to "the period of Conquest"—archaeologists were unable to determine in exactly which *century* Hazor had been destroyed. The "ideal find" for the purpose of fixing chronology would have been the discovery of a "destruction level above the Canaanite city—which could belong to the 13th or 12th centuries." But, "Such an ideal find was not discovered," he explained. In its place, archaeologists identified five Upper City strata beneath the Solomonic level: the bottom three which were Canaanite and the upper two which were Israelite (as demonstrated by the discovery of Israelite pottery, "coarse and primitive, like those discovered by Aharoni in the Galilee Survey" and which are characteristic of the beginning of Israelite settlement; *ibid.*). A series of destruction levels and new building activities

were discernible in the former set of strata: "Which of them is Joshua's destruction?" he asked. "Even the ceramic finds—the true 'chronometer'"—had not been able to resolve this dispute. Ruth Amiran and Trude Dothan (both of whom spoke about the pottery finds at Hazor at the 1958 convention) disagreed. While Amiran dated them to the temporal range 1140–1000, Dothan insisted that one cannot go outside of a thirteenth-century date (*ibid.*).<sup>30</sup>

These arguments over chronology were perhaps efforts that saved the biblical story for history, as Thomas Thompson has argued (1999: 38). While engaged in chronological disputes, after all, the mythical character of the biblical narratives is effaced. Specifiable dates and linear chronologies signify historical and not mythical time. Moreover, far more fundamental historical assumptions were left unqueried. There was never any doubt that the Israelites *did* conquer and settle Hazor and the Upper Galilee, that a particular Iron I pottery assemblage *is* Israelite pottery, that destruction levels *are* evidence of Israelite conquest, and that history is made up of the emergence and struggles of distinctly demarcated peoples and cultures. But these arguments did far more than that. They were persistent reenactments of the fact of nationhood itself. Arguing about Israelites *saves the nation for history*. The invocation of material evidence in scholarly argument, the visiting and seeing of such facts on tours continually instantiated the nation as an entity—embodied, historic, and demonstrable. If the nation is a category of practice, as Rogers Brubaker has insisted, the Israelite settlement debate was certainly one institutional site of its continuous (re)production.

Michael Rowlands has argued that archaeology escapes "the deceit of historical writing" via its "production of past material cultures," which "has the spontaneity of a kind of unconscious speech, a taken-for-granted, common-sense existence that simply demonstrates that a people have always existed in that place" (1994: 136). In so doing, he captures not an essential ontology of material culture, however, but the epistemological commitments underwriting an empiricist tradition of scientific practice and a (national and archaeological) culture steeped in the legacies of positivism. That natural—or cultural—entities are observable, that observation is the only source of positive knowledge, that facts are distinct from evidence are all elements of a positivist ethos (Poovey 1998). It is important here to consider the issue of ethnicity in (Israeli) archaeological practice and the ways in which positivism and nationalism met on its terrain. What is it that makes an Israelite an Israelite?

That question was never posed in this Israelite settlement debate.

There was no need to ask the question at all. The Israelites were a category of people known from the Bible who entered Palestine at a particular historical moment, (eventually) conquered the Canaanite city-states then regnant in the land, and ultimately built a nation-state of their own—the forefathers of contemporary Israelis. The question is not *who* they were, but *how* to identify and locate them. As Richard Handler has argued in his analysis of the convergence of nationalist ideological commitments and the categories of social scientific analysis, “the nation or ethnic group is taken to be bounded, continuous, and precisely distinguishable from other analogous entities”; its “culture” being that “which provides the ‘content’ of group identity and individuality” (1988: 15). An *archaeological* culture, which demarcates one ethnic group from another, is defined by a set of *observable material-cultural traits*, those residues of human behavior, presumably shaped by culture itself.<sup>31</sup> The practice of archaeology engages, quite literally, in a process of “objectification” (Marx [1867] 1906; Lukacs [1922] 1971). In Handler’s view, such objectification stands at the very heart of nationalist ideology and cultural practice (see also Dominguez 1989). It assembles the nation-in-history as an object—a series of objects, more accurately—“to be scrutinized, identified, revitalized and consumed” (Handler 1988: 12) and, one could add, observed.

The convergence of a scientific tradition of archaeological practice with national culture and ideology can best be understood with reference to this practice of objectification. It is not just that this historical science and national culture and ideology coalesced around the prism through which the historical record is read, that is, that particular eras are given precedence over others and that the past is cast within the terms of contemporary social classifications, finding in ancient remains early evidence of modern peoples (cf. Trigger 1989; Hobsbawm 1990; Anderson 1991; Suny 2001). It was around the status of the “fact” that Jewish nationalist commitments and this empirical tradition of historical practice intersected. As Handler argued, there is a particular conception of “things” that pervades “Western culture.” A thing is understood to be “objectively existent in the real or natural world . . . [presenting] itself unambiguously to human subjects who can . . . *apprehend the thing as it truly is*” (1988: 15; emphasis added). It is useful to locate that understanding within a more specific philosophical and epistemological genealogy. As Mary Poovey has written, “Western philosophy since the 17th century has insisted that the things we observe constitute legitimate objects of philosophical and practical knowledge” (1998: 1). One branch of that philosophical tradition has been positivism (in its various

forms) whose key “instincts” Ian Hacking delineates as follows: that observation is the “best content or foundation” for knowledge, that the work of knowledge building relies on the verification and falsification of “theories,” that there would be no emphasis on “causal” knowledge as such, no metaphysical claims proffered, and that while “explanations may help organize phenomena . . . [they] do not provide any deeper answer to *why* questions except to say that the phenomena regularly occur in such and such a way” (1983: 41; see also Longino 1990 and Kola-kowski 1969). In the context of this tradition of archaeological practice, and of cultural-historical archaeology more broadly, positivist commitments took the form of low-level, empirical generalizations concerning archaeological cultures. What cluster of traits needed to be observed together in order for a particular ethnicity to be identified and located? To what kinds of typological classifications could archaeological remains be subject? What methods of stratification or seriation would be needed in order to demonstrate that “one archaeological manifestation dates earlier or later than another” (Trigger 1989: 21)? Such archaeological practice did not pretend to make universal claims. Rather, this was a “substantivist” tradition of positivism, generating “laws,” or, regularly occurring phenomena (Hacking 1983), applicable to a particular context alone. It was a tradition of empirical generalizations regarding an individual culture (or a cluster of closely related cultures) through which historical processes and culture traits were identified and traced (Trigger 1989: 25).

Those low-level generalizations were built on the basis of things that could be seen. Observable empirical facts—“*Israelite*” pottery, in this instance—formed the foundation of archaeological knowledge and became the terrain of historical argument. It was within a specific epistemic culture—in which observation was understood to be a privileged source of knowledge and material-cultural things to embody a historical immediacy—that this quest for positive facts gave credible form to a Jewish nation, which was now reified and repeatedly recreated in the multiple instances of invoking and witnessing the material instantiations of an ancient “*Israeliteness*” believed to be visible in Upper Galilee.



# Excavating Jerusalem

Following the 1967 war and Israel's capture of Jerusalem's Old City, archaeological excavations were planned almost immediately (see Ben-Dov 1982: 19). The work of enlarging the terrain of settler nationhood began at once. The first excavation, an archaeological dig on the south and southwestern slopes of the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount), began in February 1968 under the leadership of Benjamin Mazar. Beginning in the summer of 1969, Nahman Avigad led a second excavation in the heart of what became the new Jewish Quarter. These were among the most massive excavations in Israeli archaeological history. One archaeologist described them as the last of "the mythological digs" that characterized the early years of statehood. Following in the tradition of digs such as Hazor, Masada, and the Bar Kochba caves, the excavations focused on biblical through Second Temple times, those eras that had not only long composed the center of disciplinary debate and practice and the basis for successful archaeological careers, but, moreover, that had long formed the foundation of the Israeli colonial-national imagination. In the words of one archaeologist, they were "directly tied to the media." Though not necessarily typical, it was certainly excavations such as those carried out in Jerusalem's Old City that both promoted and enacted the national-cultural significance of archaeology in and to Israeli society. Furthermore, given both the scale of these excavations and the importance of the site to the field of biblical archaeology, digging up Jerusalem's past was also of great significance to the professional work of Israel's archaeological community.

I begin with an analysis of the practices and records of the major Jerusalem excavations, and subsequently turn to reexamine the significance of those excavations from the perspectives of larger processes of territorial transformation involved in making a new urban landscape,

and the multiple uses and (re)interpretations of archaeology's objects in museums and by tour guides. Focusing on these interlocking fields of practice makes it possible to illustrate how the work of archaeology transformed truths in Jerusalem's Old City, setting new coordinates for historic and contemporary realities within which claims to the present and future have been formulated and framed.

Beginning with an analysis of the excavations themselves, the following discussion is divided into two parts. First, the work of archaeology is considered from a "theory-laden" perspective on the workings of science, demonstrating the ways in which "observations"—the conclusions drawn from the archaeological record—are shaped by reference to an already formed "theory." The theory that shapes the work of archaeology exists on two levels. There is a prior historical story (one based in textual sources) that directs the excavating quest and frames the interpretations and identifications of the artifacts found, reproducing the circular reasoning relied upon by Yadin and Aharoni in their dealings with the evidentiary relationship between texts and facts. It is at that level that the discipline's *Jewish* nationalist commitments are both presupposed and made. In addition, this work is considered theory-laden insofar as it is framed by a paradigm that defines the nature of History more broadly, including the kinds of events of which it is made and the categories of historical actors by which it is made.<sup>1</sup>

The same excavations are then approached from a different angle, that is, through a focus on the objects themselves and on the techniques of excavating practice through which such material-cultural remains (such observable data) are made. To invoke Peter Galison's metaphor for the goal of experimentalists, "They are like the relationship of Michelangelo's *David* to the block of marble from which it was hewn: the statue is in the stone, but the background has to be carved away in order to see it" (quoted in Lenoir 1997: 38). The earth has to be carved up in particular ways in order for the objects of archaeology to become visible, not simply by transforming absence into presence, but, more specifically, by creating particular angles of vision through which landscapes are remade. *How* one goes about hewing the land tells us something about what *kinds of* objects archaeologists deem to be significant (to be worthy of being observed). Moreover, it determines which (kinds of) objects come forth from the excavated land. History was made, and a new material culture produced from, the dialectic between the kind of history these digs sought to recover and the practical work of excavating itself. It was an embodied history of Jerusalem that was not simply coterminous with (the quest for) a Jewish national tale.

### In Search of a Historical Tale

As both Mazar and Avigad articulated in their various publications, these excavations were concerned primarily with the history of Jerusalem during what is most often referred to under the temporal rubrics of the First Temple period and the Second Temple period (*Bayit Rishon*, *Bayit Sheni*—the Hebrew terms secularizing in their effect insofar as the word “temple” is absent), that is, the Iron Age, the Persian, Hellenistic, and early-Roman periods in the city’s history. Those periods are understood to mark the birth of Jerusalem as the ancient Jewish capital, from the time of initial Israelite conquest and settlement to the culmination of the First Temple period in the establishment of the United Monarchy under Davidic and then Solomonic control, through the Babylonian exile, Jewish return, and ending with the destruction of the Second Temple by the Roman army in the year 70 C.E. (see Avigad 1977; Mazar 1969a). It was not, however, this nationalist historical conception alone that rendered these eras the focus of archaeological research. The century-long tradition of the wider field of biblical archaeology had already delimited the parameters of inquiry and debate for the study of ancient Jerusalem. It is at the intersection of these two scholarly and national-cultural fields that the work of excavating Jerusalem needs to be situated.

Writing in the first preliminary report about the excavations on the slopes of the Haram al-Sharif, Mazar explains, “the major factor behind the selection of the area for systematic excavations was the desire to solve several basic topographical problems of ancient Jerusalem, and to trace the historical process of settlement in this important part of the city, through exacting stratigraphical analysis and dating” (Mazar 1969a: 2). In excavating the area, the Mazar team relied heavily on the results of Charles Warren’s 1867–70 excavations. Excavating the city was one of the first projects undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund. As recounted in one of the fund’s many memoirs, while the committee considered the Survey of Western Palestine the “most important preliminary step in carrying out the proposed scientific exploration” of the country, they also decided to launch a second expedition, this one devoted to exploring the city of Jerusalem. After all, “a number of subscribers were particularly interested in questions connected with the topography of ancient Jerusalem” (Watson 1915: 41). Through investigating the city, those nineteenth-century excavators hoped to solve “matters in dispute,” which included the location of the ancient Jewish Temples; the dating of the initial construction of the Dome of the Rock; the locations of the three Walls of Jerusalem (mentioned in textual sources); and the sites of the City of David, the Pool of Siloam, and the

original Church of the Holy Sepulcher. In order to resolve such topographical questions, which would involve identifying material-cultural artifacts according to places already known from textual sources, they needed “to try to ascertain what existed under the vast accumulations of rubbish, and then, having found the remains of ancient buildings, if that were possible, to reconstruct from these a plan of the city as it was before it had been destroyed [by Titus] in 70 c.e.” (Watson 1915: 43). Those excavations came to an end in June 1897 when the Ottoman authorities revoked the fund’s excavation license. As Mazar tells us in his first preliminary report, Warren’s excavation reports “provide us with accurate information on the lay of bedrock, on the courses of the Herodian Walls beneath the surface, on the remains of two bridges which had crossed from the Temple Mount to the Upper City (‘Robinson’s Arch’ and ‘Wilson’s Arch’), on cisterns and water channels, on pavements etc.” (Mazar 1969a: 3).<sup>2</sup>

Like the English excavators a century before them, Mazar and his team set out to determine the topography, settlement patterns, and architecture of Jerusalem’s ancient Ophel (its eastern hill). Citing historical sources, Mazar recounts in the first preliminary report:

The drastic changes that have taken place in the topography of this area were mainly the result of the enormous construction project initiated by Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.), which considerably extended the sanctified area of the Temple Mount through filling up the adjacent slopes and valleys, and leveling the resultant broad area, enclosing it within mighty supporting walls founded on the very bedrock. (1969a: 2–3)

With this textual knowledge framing the parameters of archaeological excavation, it was “*the plan of the area south of the Temple Mount in the Herodian period*” that Mazar hoped to resolve (16; emphasis added). And in focusing on the area’s plan, much of what is discussed in both excavation reports and journal articles has to do with architectural structures and remainders of public works and discusses the nature of their construction, their possible location and functions vis-à-vis the ancient Temple Mount, their dating, and their identification according to structures (and functions) already known from ancient texts.

In summing up the accomplishments of the first decade of work, Mazar writes: “As our excavations progressed, more data have accumulated on the fine planning of the area south and west of the Temple Mount. The splendor here is especially evident in the huge supporting walls, with their accurate courses of enormous, smoothly bossed ashlar, and in the abundance of architectural fragments” whose artistic motifs

are “typical” of the Herodian period (1978: 230). It was during the first season of excavations that Mazar’s team (following Warren’s excavation reports and the shafts he had dug) unearthed the “massive foundations of the southern wall and the southern corners of the Herodian Temple Mount platform” (Geva 1994: 14). According to Hillel Geva, “These discoveries followed up and complemented the thorough investigation along the outer walls of the Temple Mount started by Warren a century earlier” (ibid.). In addition, the excavating team unearthed the remnants of a Herodian period street (Mazar 1975: 26, 1969a: 16), part of which had been known from the earlier excavations of F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie (1894–97). Mazar determined that this “main street” was “the artery of two principal markets . . . and it was flanked by shops,” the contents of which were “large quantities of stone vessels, weights, pottery and coins,” thus “surmising” that those shops served persons visiting the Temple (1978: 234). Archaeologists also unearthed what they identified as a public plaza. “The chronology of this building complex is revealed by the many finds—especially coins, pottery and stoneware—found among the debris. It is clear that the street and plaza went out of use at the time of the destruction of the Second Temple” (Mazar 1975: 27).

In addition, Mazar and his team located the remains of “two adjoining rows of small rooms . . . which appear to continue till near the ‘Double Gate’” (an entrance gate to the ancient Temple Mount) and “a network of drainage channels” leading toward an aqueduct (1975: 26–27; see also Mazar 1969a: 16). There was a “broad monumental stairway” (Mazar 1975: 27), east of which was recovered “the remains of a large structure, the plan of which is unclear.” Mazar writes, “what is outstanding in this building is the number of pools and cisterns hewn into the rock and plastered. It may well have been an extensive ritual bath for those coming to the Temple, prior to their entering the holy precincts” (28).

In his efforts to determine the functions and historical identities of the architectural relics now visible on the terrain, Mazar turned to textual sources, including Josephus’s books, the Talmud, and the Mishna. The monumental staircase, for example, Mazar assumed to be the stairs at the Temple Mount, mentioned in the Talmud (29; see also Mazar 1978: 236). A subterranean tunnel south of the Double Gate, a tunnel with “niches in walls for oil lamps” is perhaps a *mesiba* (a winding passage), one similar to “that described in the Mishnah, *Middoth* 1, 9: . . . ‘he would go out and go along the *mesiba* that leads below the citadel, where lamps were burning here and there until he reached the Chamber of Immer-

sion'' (1978: 236). Or, to take one more example, a Herodian period structure, one that reutilized remnants from the days of the Monarchy can, ''hypothetically,'' be identified as ''one of the palaces built by the royal family of Adiabene, converts to Judaism, which stood in the Lower City according to Josephus'' (237).

This reciprocity between archaeological discoveries and textual identifications is important to understanding the dynamics through which Jerusalem's history is made, just as it had been for establishing the ''empirical base'' of the Israelite settlement debate which had, in turn, established the parameters of paradigmatic practice for the Israeli discipline for decades to come. As most starkly demonstrated in a comparison of Mazar's writings across nearly a decade, in a 1969 preliminary report, he points out that ''the drastic changes'' that took place in the topography of this area were *the result of Herod's building projects*. That was *the premise* that drove these excavations in the first place. Following Warren's excavation reports, Mazar and his team sought to further determine the plan of this area during the Herodian period, knowing already from a variety of ancient literary sources that it was Herod who had massively changed its topography and structure. Moreover, they were cognizant of specific structures in search of which they dug.<sup>3</sup> Nine years later, Mazar assessed what was known of Herodian Jerusalem ''in light of the excavations south and south-west of the Temple Mount'' (1978: 230; emphasis added). ''One of the *conclusions* which can be derived from the archaeological evidence of the Herodian period found in the excavations adjacent to the supporting walls of the Temple Mount is that the decisive modifications to the topography of this area *are indeed* the result of Herod's project,'' Mazar wrote (237; emphasis added). Premises had become conclusions, textual sources confirmed deductively via the identification and interpretation of specific observable evidence, both in terms of broad sweeps (the dating of various finds to the Herodian period) and in terms of more specific conclusions about particular finds (identifying the stairs at the Temple Mount as being akin to those known from the Talmud, *naming* other structures according to sites known from literary sources). Mazar continues, ''During the Herodian period this area played a very important role as a center of public life in Jerusalem as a focal point for the masses of Jerusalemites and pilgrims before the gates of the Temple Enclosure'' (237); ''another conclusion concerns the main street of Jerusalem, which ran along the Tyropeon Valley between the Temple Mount and the Lower City, on the one hand, and the Upper City, on the other'' (ibid.). In other words, Mazar knew that this area of the

city was the center of public life. He better understood its topography (the street and area plans, the construction projects of Herod the Great, the structural and functional relationships of various structures to the ancient walls of the Temple Mount). He now had archaeological facts—*empirical* evidence—that validated the *textual* sources that had provided a map through which Mazar (and Warren before him) determined where to excavate, what to look for, and through which they were able to identify and name what it was that had been found in the first place.

For Mazar, however, there was no circularity at issue here, no over-determination between the history sought and the history made. It was, rather, simply a matter of correspondence:

From our excavations . . . we learn of the magnificence of this metropolis [in] the first century A.D. and we can see a correspondence between the archaeological findings and the literary description of Jerusalem at its zenith (especially those of Josephus). . . . We should note here particularly what Pliny the Elder wrote of the city . . . “by far the most famous city of the East, and not of Judaea only,” and the Talmudic passage (BT, *Succah* 51b): “Whoever has not seen Jerusalem in its splendour has never seen a fine city.” (1978: 232)

Or as he writes in closing, “Indeed, the descriptions in Josephus and in the Mishnah concerning this very area are in close accord with the archaeological findings, as revealed in our excavations” (237).

In contrast to Mazar’s excavations, those led by Nahman Avigad focused not only on the Herodian period, but, in addition, they produced archaeological evidence for the history of settlement in this area of the ancient city during the First Temple period (Iron Age II, for the most part). In fact, Avigad’s engagement with the question of Iron Age settlement was perhaps his most important contribution to the wider (transnational) field of biblical archaeology. These excavations played a decisive role in forging scientific consensus on a historical question that had long dominated disciplinary debate, which concerned the expanse and dating of settlement in the Iron Age city. This work of excavating was driven by competing theories concerning the city’s past that would be resolved only by reference to observable data. Moreover, the prior (alternative) narratives that drove Avigad’s excavations—as they did those of Mazar—substantiated far more than specific historical tales. They presupposed a paradigm of and for history itself.

### *Avigad’s Iron Age*

The major debate with which Nahman Avigad engaged was whether or not Jerusalem’s western hill was occupied during the late Judean

monarchy or only much later, during Hasmonean times. For generations of biblical archaeologists, that had been the question that dominated disciplinary debate about the history of the Iron Age city. In Avigad's words, "Any discussion of First Temple Jerusalem is first and foremost a discussion of her topography" (Avigad 1981: 131): "When, and to what extent, was the Western Hill of Jerusalem first settled? Secondly, was this expansion of the city enclosed within walls?" (Avigad 1970*b*: 132).

The argument had ensued between the maximalist and minimalist schools. The former maintained that the city's western hill was occupied as early as the First Temple period: "According to these thinkers, the city was spacious and full of people, as befitting a capital" (*ibid.*). But, according to Avigad, this position was untenable *archaeologically*. So far, as Avigad phrased it, arguments concerning this historical question had been either "hypothetical (depending on literary sources) or based on results of excavations which were either ambiguous or negative" (*ibid.*).

Prior to Avigad's excavations, archaeological digs on Jerusalem's western hill had been few and far between. The area had been far too densely populated to allow for extensive excavations. As such, there had only been "soundings," preliminary digs that had produced no material evidence of a presence on the western hill during the Iron Age. Disciplinary practice and historical reasoning had long been structured by the search for evidence that could prove presence or absence, that could answer questions of "was there" or "was there not." It was a structure of research and reasoning that had come to dominate scientific practice in the Israeli field, especially since Yadin's excavations at Hazor (see Geva 1992). It was, therefore, the minimalists who had the upper hand in this dispute.<sup>4</sup> Based upon the lack of material-cultural evidence to the contrary, the minimalists argued that Jerusalem had been limited to the more narrow borders of the eastern hill until its destruction by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. It was only during the second century B.C.E. (the Hasmonean period) that the city expanded westward. In Avigad's words, it was the minimalists who were more realistic and who "depended only on facts" (Avigad 1981: 132)—at least prior to his excavations. These minimalists, he tells us, had "determined the fate of Monarchic Jerusalem to remain a small city in our consciousness" (134).

The material-cultural evidence found by Avigad's team is said to have resolved this argument once and for all. These excavations produced facts that proved there had been an Israelite presence on the western hill: "Now, for the first time, a concrete point of reference is provided for the re-examination of the entire issue" (Avigad 1970*b*: 132). Having



dug up both the remains of an Israelite wall and fortification tower (a wall dated to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.E. on the basis of “Israelite pottery” present therein), as well as the remnants of buildings and fragmentary remains (mostly pottery shards) dated to the same period scattered over the excavation site as a whole, Avigad concluded, on the basis of an independent body of empirical evidence, that *Israelite* Jerusalem was not limited to the Ophel (the eastern hill), and furthermore that only part of it was enclosed by a wall:

That Jerusalem had spread beyond the city-walls in the period of the First Temple is hinted at already in the Bible, where mention is made of two suburbs, the *Mishne*, and the *Makhtesh* (Zeph: I: 10–11; and cf. Neh. II: 9)—which the Commentaries definitely regarded as outside the walls. And now, the present findings are decisive in solving the longstanding historical-topographical controversy surrounding the spread of the city to the western hill in this period. A new question rises, however: Exactly when and by whom was the newly-discovered wall built? (1975: 44)

Avigad surmised, on the basis of biblical accounts of “various kings as the builders or restorers of the walls of Jerusalem” during this period, that it was probably Hezekiah who “built up the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and *another wall without* (2 Chron. 32: 5)” (*ibid.*).

Avigad’s excavating team was not alone in focusing on this question. Smaller excavations in the vicinity also worked to resolve the same historical dispute. Excavations at Mount Zion, for example, (work that built upon Bliss and Dickie’s late-nineteenth-century excavations) determined that: “The late Iron Age fortifications uncovered on Mount Zion are conclusive evidence that the walled city of Jerusalem before the Babylonian exile extended to the western slopes of the Western Hill” (Chen, Margalit, and Pixner 1994: 81). According to Magen Broshi, while Avigad’s work contributed the most important evidence of the expansion of Jerusalem in the eighth century B.C.E., other smaller excavations (at the Citadel, the Armenian Garden, and Mount Zion) offered additional evidence that the “walled area was not the only territory added to Jerusalem at the end of the First Temple Period” (Broshi 1994: 84). There is also evidence of “the existence of extramural quarters west and north of the expanded city” (*ibid.*). For his part, Mazar unearthed an “extensive necropolis” from the First Temple period, thus he also engaged the question of the “initiation of settlement in the quarter located on the western hill” (Mazar 1975: 40). These tombs were cleared, we are told, at some point during this period. And, Mazar explains, “the practice of

clearing tombs in areas newly included within the city proper is known from several ancient sources. . . . This cemetery was probably removed upon settlement of the western hill, on its eastern slope in the Valley (the Mishne and 'Makhtesh'), which gradually grew from the days of Hezekiah on" (ibid.). In fact, throughout the area under excavation, the boundaries of Iron Age walled settlement were determined on the basis of the location of Iron Age tombs and cemeteries surrounding it. Tombs, textual evidence indicated, were located outside the city walls (see also Broshi 1994: 84).

Taken together, what all this evidence established was a scholarly consensus that the western hill was settled in the late Iron Age, with only part being enclosed and fortified by a massive wall. Thus, the key historical question that had long dominated disciplinary debate regarding the history of the ancient city was laid to rest. That Iron Age city, of course, represented the culmination of the Israelite conquest: the settlement, expansion, and establishment of Jerusalem as the capital of an ancient Israelite state. The nation's origin myth—a history that begins in the process of Israelite settlement and *culminates* in Israelite "sovereignty"—had been substantiated in empirical form.

Having successfully produced a scholarly consensus concerning this disciplinary dispute, only one other issue recurs in the writings and representations of the Iron Age city. There is a sustained interest in "archaeological evidence that sheds light on the biblical account of the destruction and burning of the city by the Babylonians in 587/6 B.C.E." (Geva 1994: 7). As Hillel Geva writes in regard to his excavations at Jerusalem's Citadel:

In Area C-3 . . . a mass of large field stones below the Hasmonean stratum . . . was cleared and excavated; it became clear that this layer of stones had been burned by an extensive fire. The few pottery shards found among the stones are identical in character to those commonly found on the south-western hill and dated the layer to the Iron Age II C. The character of the stone mass and the fact that it had been burned during a conflagration may support its identification as a pile of collapsed stones which had fallen from the city-wall of that period. . . . We believe that the remains of this earlier wall may represent the pre-exilic fortification, the upper part of which collapsed eastwards into the city during the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.E. (1983: 58)

Avigad produced not only empirical evidence of burning, but also of battle. A number of arrowheads (distinguished as being Israelite and Babylonian) were found within the remains of a "large and heavy structure," (1975: 161), which was later named the "Israelite Tower." He

writes of that structure: "This heavy structure obviously belonged to the northern defense line of Jerusalem during the later Judean monarchy. . . . The burnt remains and the arrowheads found at the foot of the fortification seem to point to a battle which took place here during the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 B.C." (261), a battle that we know of from biblical texts.

These excavations produced (and focused their attention on) eras and objects considered significant to "Jewish national history." It was in relation to the First and Second Temple period histories of Jerusalem (and more broadly of Palestine), after all, that the practices of settler nationhood had long been reenacted, concretizing ancient Israelite history and continuously reinstating the ancient nation and its territorial locus and claims as historical fact. Nevertheless, this production of Jewish national tales and objects and the emphasis on chronology implied therein provides only a partial explanation of the dynamics of archaeological practice. These excavations did not just concentrate on specific historical *eras* considered to mark the birth and ascendance of the Jewish nation in ancient Palestine, they also focused on particular historical *stories*. In so doing, the work of archaeology presupposed and (re)produced a distinctive understanding of what history is. Settlement (and, more specifically, its topography and chronology), fortification, and war (between two "peoples"—the Israelites and the Babylonians) are the three topics that dominate accounts of the city's Iron Age past.

Within a conception of history defined by events and architecture, by stories of war, heroism, and (national) destruction, there is little place for a sustained curiosity about other kinds of questions that one could imagine asking about the city's past. For example, Mazar's and Avigad's excavations, as well as some of the smaller digs in the vicinity, did produce and record at least some evidence (although not a great deal) that could have been used to ask more social-historical questions regarding Jerusalem's Iron Age or even earlier histories. In the first season of excavations, Avigad's team unearthed "Various remains of walls and floors . . . associated with pure deposits of Israelite pottery and a number of Astarte figurines of the pillar type" (1970a: 5). These figurines were indicative of religious practices not necessarily in keeping with biblical accounts of proper Israelite belief (see Dever 1991). In addition, archaeologists unearthed fragmentary remains of Iron Age buildings, potentially Iron Age homes of the city's poorer inhabitants. These buildings were treated only as a means for dating the building of the wall itself (some had been cut through by the wall), or they were the basis for

reaching conclusions that the "Israelite city" was not entirely enclosed by a wall (see, e.g., Avigad 1975). In a similar fashion, while there is constant reference from both major excavations to the discovery of fragmentary pottery shards from the Iron Age, such remainders are, by and large, treated as a means to date the stratigraphic section and the larger remains. These larger remains are usually relatively intact architectural structures in which the archaeologists are more interested and within which the smaller remains were usually found. The presence of Israelite pottery was key to tracing the early history of Iron Age/Israelite settlement in the city of Jerusalem, just as it had been for the Hazor excavations and the Survey of Upper Galilee carried out in the 1950s. Only when there was an inscription did such smaller remains receive more attention. The archaeologists generally took care to decipher the writing, determine what the entire inscription might have been (by correlating it with textual evidence if possible), or used such inscriptions as a basis for chronological determinations based upon what archaeologists knew of the script or content of the inscription (see, e.g., Mazar 1975: 38–40; Avigad 1975: 43). To go back even further in history, Mazar reported the presence of Bronze Age shards found in the bedrock of the eastern slope of the western hill, the oldest of which he ascribed to Bronze Age II: "This shows that, already early in the second millennium B.C.E., the eastern slope of the western hill, above the valley, was utilized for agriculture" (Mazar 1975: 40). This is the first and only reference to agricultural production in any of these reports; its possible dating is mentioned, but the issue of agricultural production itself is never further pursued. Broshi and Barkay, for their part, reported the remains of an Iron Age II quarry at the site of the Chapel of St. Vartan in the Holy Sepulcher (Broshi and Barkay 1985: 117–19). This quarry could have been used to raise questions about the nature and presence of industry in the ancient city's environs and, by implication, of a working class or a slave class. Aside from being inscribed in the excavation records, however, none of this evidence has become an object of sustained scholarly inquiry or even curiosity.

There is a glaring absence of anthropological or social historical questions asked about the economy, culture, and practices of everyday life in the ancient city. Such questions were extraneous to the historical and methodological paradigm that framed archaeological inquiry. According to an American biblical archaeologist who has long worked in Palestine/Israel, the one striking thing about Israeli archaeology (even in the 1990s) is the general lack of interest in daily life—in the places where

most people lived and in *how* they lived. She argued that the few exceptions in the archaeological record were those ancient cities in which the Jewish residential quarters were dug: Sepphoris or Jerusalem, for example. However, while the second scholarly contribution of Avigad's excavations is said to be the discovery of a residential quarter of antiquity, this did not translate into a sustained consideration of daily life. Avigad's history of Herodian Jerusalem never transcended a focus on the splendor of the architectural forms of the building remains or the aesthetic quality of the artifacts unearthed. It remained locked within a historical framework concerned with questions of national ascendance and cohesion and then demise. Even while digging this residential quarter, the concern was only with monumental questions: with art and architecture (in the city's wealthy quarters), a confirmation of what we know, textually, about its splendor; and in an even more sustained fashion, with material corroboration of stories of its destruction—and thus, the beginnings of a long history of “exile.”

### *Concretizing Herodian Jerusalem*

Yigael Yadin writes in the preface to *Jerusalem Revealed* that Avigad's excavations brought to light, for the first time, “the splendor of Jewish secular architecture in the Second Temple period” (1975: 1). As Avigad himself explains in his first Preliminary Report, “The significance of such excavations in this area is self-evident. The Jewish Quarter, situated on the Western Hill of Jerusalem overlooking the Temple Mount, covers the former north-eastern part of the Upper City of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period. It is believed to be the site of an important residential quarter, of such important public buildings as the Hasmonean Palace and, perhaps, also the Akra fortress.” (1970a: 2). (Decisive evidence of those two structures was never found, thus presumably falsifying particular *details* of the textual accounts [see Geva 1994: 9].) While the temporal rubric of the Second Temple period spans a much larger period of time, most of what Avigad's team produced are remnants of Herodian art and architecture (residential art and architecture from the period immediately prior to the destruction of the city by the Roman army in the year 70) side by side with the material signs of conflagration.<sup>5</sup>

There were three sites at which Avigad's team excavated the remnants of Herodian period residential dwellings, two of which are considered his most significant Herodian finds. The first architectural remnant was excavated at Site E, a 200-square-meter house, “the remains of a spacious dwelling which apparently belonged to a wealthy family” (Avigad 1975: 45). The house was considered noteworthy be-

cause of the degree to which both its structure and its contents had been preserved. The excavators uncovered what they identified as a series of rooms and corridors, an inner court and a large reservoir with steps leading down to it and wall-cupboards in niches, two of which still contained some juglets and flasks (Avigad 1970*b*). The smaller finds laid bare within the remains of the larger architectural structures were used to establish chronology by systematizing them into schemes of pottery or glassware types, with distinct types corresponding to distinct periods. They were described in brief in terms of aesthetics, forms, and presumed places of origin (see Avigad 1975: 45). In contrast to other Herodian period dwellings unearthed during these digs, this house "was not destroyed by war," but instead in a rebuilding project of late-Herodian times (Avigad 1981: 140–41). Moreover, "The house was last in use in the time of Herod I, in the late first century B.C. After its destruction, a road was paved over its ruins" (Avigad 1970*b*: 139). This pavement, we are told, spread "westward, [and] was uncovered for a stretch of about 50 meters . . . and seems to have been one of the main streets of the quarter, leading from west to east towards the Temple Mount" (Avigad 1975: 45).

The second residential find has subsequently been named the Herodian Quarter. It is the remains of a series of rather palatial homes, the largest of which is now called the "Herodian Mansion." Within the houses are the fragmentary remains of stone vessels and tables, ritual baths, and other household wares. In the remnants of one of these houses is a mosaic floor. "The significance of this mosaic," Avigad writes, "lies in the fact that it is the first mosaic in Jerusalem which can be ascribed to the period of the Second Temple. Other mosaic pavements of this period have been found at Masada and, indeed, the patterns there are in part identical" (46). Furthermore, excavators dug up ash, evidence of fire. On the basis of numismatic evidence (coins dated to the years 67, 68, and 69 C.E.), Avigad concluded that this house was in use up until the year 70 C.E.; he then dated the destruction layer found at this site to "the time of the destruction of Jerusalem [by the Roman army] in 70 C.E." (*ibid.*). He pointed out that the subsequent "fate" of this house was "far more normal" than that of other Herodian period building remains: "Its stones were robbed and its walls largely destroyed by building operations in the Byzantine period" (Avigad 1972: 196). For their part, the "building operations in the Byzantine period" at Site F are not discussed further.

Finally, there is the archaeological site known as "Burnt House." According to Avigad, the site was given its name because "it had a thick

and distinct stratum of burning" (Avigad 1981: 141), the first one discovered that had been destroyed as a result of fire. Fifty-five square meters in size, the remains, Avigad concluded, were the basement level of a house; no traces were left of the upper floor(s). The excavating team identified an entrance room, four other rooms, a kitchen, and a bath. There are two unique things about this find. First, the nature of its preservation: the ruins, Avigad explained, had not been disturbed by later building activities, and everything remained untouched and in its original state of destruction (Avigad 1970a: 6). On the basis of coins minted in the years 67, 68, and 69 C.E. that were unearthed at this site, Avigad concluded, "the house was destroyed by fire during the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70; more accurately still, it probably happened one month after the destruction of the Temple, *since according to Josephus the Upper City was captured and set on fire on the 8th of Gorpheus (Elul)*" (ibid.; emphasis added).

The second unique relic uncovered at this site was a set of human remains: "In the corner of one of the rooms an iron spear was found leaning against the wall as if left ready for use, and against a wall in the small kitchen, we found the skeletal arm of a young woman who apparently did not manage to escape when the house went up in flames, collapsing upon her. This was the sole instance of human remains left from the disaster which overtook the house" (Avigad 1975: 46–47). Or, as recounted in the second Preliminary Report, "Here [in the kitchen] the skeletal remains of a complete forearm were found leaning upright against the outer wall, resting with the palm on a step. The rest of the skeleton seems to have been scattered and swept away by later activities in antiquity. . . . This arm belonged to a young woman who had apparently been trapped in the kitchen when the house collapsed—the only human remnant of the disaster" (Avigad 1970a: 7).<sup>6</sup> As Avigad writes, this house revealed, in part, the day-to-day life of the inhabitants of ancient Jerusalem, which "met a tragic and fiery end during the destruction of the city by the Romans" (3). But the assertion that either of these two sites—the Herodian Quarter or Burnt House—provide empirical evidence of the Roman destruction of the city is something that needs to be looked at more carefully. How does one determine that a specific historical event is causally linked to *physical* remnants of fire?

While Avigad treated the ash as evidence that these two sites were destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E. during their siege of the Upper City, there is no accurate means by which to date ash, the *material* evidence of fire, to the decade, let alone to the year or to the day of its creation. Furthermore, there is no way to determine the cause of that fire without re-

ferring to textual sources, to an already known story. Clearly, we know from historical accounts (from Josephus's book *The Jewish Wars* for one) that the Roman Legion burned the city down, destroying the Upper City on the eighth of Elul, in the year 70 c.e. It is on that basis that Avigad reached the specific dating of the destruction layer at Burnt House. This story, the Roman siege and Jerusalem's subsequent burning, is a tale of destruction much more in keeping with a nationalist historiography than are several alternative *but equally plausible* accounts. For example, at least some of the evidence of fire and destruction at both Burnt House and the Herodian Quarter could just as convincingly be read as evidence of class or sectarian conflict *within* Jewish society during the period immediately prior to its destruction at the hands of the Romans. There is ample textual evidence for that story as well. From those same historical sources, after all, we also know that Jerusalem erupted in intra-Jewish conflict on more than one occasion prior to the year 70 c.e. and that Upper City homes were set alight by "Zealots" who considered Jerusalem's priestly class to have become corrupt, having strayed from the values of Judaism. In fact, in one Preliminary Report, the house at Site E is interpreted as exhibiting the material signs of such intra-Jewish conflict: "The period of the Herodian dynasty (37 B.C.–A.D. 70) was represented [at this site] by three floor levels in most of the excavated area. . . . The building was destroyed before A.D. 70, perhaps by the Zealots, who are known to have caused severe damage to Jerusalem in the period prior to its destruction by the Romans" (Avigad 1970b: 136). That possibility is not recognized at either Burnt House or the Herodian Mansion, however, even though the time span between those two possible kinds of fires—those set by Jewish Zealots and those by Romans—is too short for any dating of the ash itself to determine which event it proves.<sup>7</sup> In other words, both of these stories are *underdetermined* by the data. Each is potentially compatible with it. The choice thus rests at the conceptual level: which interpretive framework is to be brought to bear upon the archaeological evidence (cf. Kuhn 1970).

Both of those interpretive frameworks clearly rely upon an already existing story. We already have to know that there was a Roman siege and destruction of the city. We have to know that there was internal Jewish strife in the Herodian city, a conflict that precipitated the burning down of Upper City homes. No historical cause can be ascribed to evidence of fire on the basis of the material remains alone. With no prior narrative at all, ash could quite simply be evidence of an accidental (or, at least, an inexplicable) fire, or more accurately, of accidental (or inexplicable) *fires*. On the basis of the ash itself, there is no way of determin-



ing either *which* cause the evidence of fire indexes, or whether *all* the evidence of fire at a single site (the Herodian Quarter or Burnt House) points toward a single historical cause, be that a known historical event or an accident. (After all, each of these houses could have been burned more than once: by Zealots, by Romans, and by accident, partially but not wholly destroyed during each ensuing incendiary incident). In other words, such archaeological remains are only interpretable as evidence of significant and *singular* historical event(s) by privileging a specific *a priori* story (cf. Snodgrass 1987: 42).<sup>8</sup> In such arguments and interpretations, the key (historical) texts and the key (archaeological) evidence remain in a circular relationship of discovery, explanation, and proof. The history produced through this work of archaeology relies on an already-existing story, which is used, in turn, to interpret the evidence found. Once so interpreted, the empirical evidence comes full circle to stand as *independent* proof of the story itself.

The overall historical narrative produced about these periods in Jerusalem's past, whether Iron Age or early-Roman, never transcended this national quest or the broader historical paradigm implied therein. Anomalous finds (the discovery of a Hasmonean burial cave within the Second Temple period city, for example) are mentioned but not pursued.<sup>9</sup> Archaeological evidence of broader historical phenomena are recognized but sidelined. Social history is never made. For example, having hewn "a heap of waste material from a glass workshop, including large quantities of glass fragments from the first century B.C.E.," Avigad writes, "Glass fragments distorted by heat, lumps of glass and slag indicate the presence of a local industry." Considering what we could learn about the history of this craft, its potential historical significance was noteworthy. On this basis, Avigad determined that "[the] Jerusalem finds show clear evidence of glass-blowing," dating to the first century B.C.E., the earliest of its kind (1972: 199–200). He continues:

Oval bulbs of various sizes show the initial stage of blowing from glass tubes; the blowing process was discontinued for some reason. Glass tubes were also found in large quantities. Parts of blown bottles, mainly necks, indicate that glass blowing was already proceeding to the manufacture of vessels. Thus the Jerusalem discovery provides evidence for a vital turning point in the technique of glass making, a transitional period in which glass molding was still widely used and glass blowing had just been introduced. (200)

And yet, despite this recognized importance, this was the first and only recording of the finds at this site in any of the preliminary reports. Moreover, this evidence did not figure centrally in either the excavating

or postexcavating scholarly agendas of the archaeological team and, thereby, in the narrative that frames Jerusalem's early-Roman history.<sup>10</sup> The interpretive work of archaeology has rarely surpassed chronological and descriptive accounts of the city's topography and settlement patterns, of the structure and function of its architectural remains, and of the typologies and aesthetic forms of art and architecture: that the excavated Herodian street ran from west to east, leading to the Temple Mount (Avigad 1975: 45); that Avigad's excavations revealed "sumptuous private dwellings," one of which "included several dozen rooms arranged around a central courtyard" (Geva 1994: 12); that the lamps found at Site E are of two types, each known to have been in use during Hasmonean and Herodian times (Avigad 1975: 45); and that the mosaic floor found at Site F (the Herodian Mansion) displayed, in certain respects, identical patterns to one found at Masada (46).<sup>11</sup>

Writ large, the story of Second Temple period Jerusalem (like that of the First Temple period before it) is a national-historical tale—one embodied in the architectural remains of public works or aristocratic homes (and the arts and crafts found therein) and evidence of momentous (and cataclysmic) events. The nature of archaeological practice, and in particular, the relationship between material-cultural facts and textual sources that it involved-, reproduced the logic of historical reasoning that Anthony Snodgrass identifies as being characteristic of classical archaeology, which had its own relationship to European nationalism(s) and imperial ambitions, most prominently perhaps, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (cf. Herzfeld 1982; Marchand 1996):

"In the sequence of deposits on our sites, this, this, and this are the most prominent features" (referring often to architectural changes, including the destruction of buildings, but also to such features as a change in the incidence of high-quality or imported goods.) "Therefore, the episodes these features represent were the most important episodes in the history of the site. Therefore, it is right to consult the documentary records for the classical world at this time, to see which recorded events could be represented or exemplified by these features on our site." (Snodgrass 1987: 38)

The paradigm of historical inquiry that framed both the excavating quests and the conclusions deduced from them has had particular implications not only for the kinds of stories that archaeology tells, but also for the nature of the objects deemed to be of archaeological and, thereby, of historical significance. And in order to think about the character of the archaeological objects themselves, one has to focus on the specific techniques of scientific practice entailed in their production. In other words,

the practical work of excavating produces distinct bodies of empirical evidence on the basis of which history itself is assembled in material form.

### Logics of Practice

The most controversial practice in Israeli archaeology has been the use of bulldozers on archaeological sites. Among Palestinian officials at the Haram al-Sharif and the Awqaf as well as many other archaeologists—Palestinian and European or American (trained)—the use of bulldozers has become the ultimate sign of “bad science” and of nationalist politics guiding research agendas. Critics situate this practice squarely within (a specific understanding of) the politics of a nationalist tradition of archaeological research. In other words, bulldozers are used in order to get down to the earlier strata, which are saturated with national significance, as quickly as possible (Iron Age through early-Roman). During the excavation of the biblical site of Jezreel in which I participated, a bulldozer was used in order to more quickly determine the direction and structure of the Iron Age moat. In so doing, the remains above it were summarily destroyed. A joint dig of the Department of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, the research priorities of the excavation were defined by the Tel Aviv team. The aim was to study the Iron Age city.<sup>12</sup>

While this chronological focus (and its nationalist implications) provides a partial explanation for such excavating techniques, in order to more fully understand when and why bulldozers are used on excavation sites in Palestine/Israel, the practice needs to be situated within a broader set of methodological questions. The practical logic that guides archaeologists at work determines *how* sites will be excavated and *which* remains will be produced, carefully recorded, and preserved. At both the Jezreel excavations and the Jerusalem excavations, archaeologists moved through dirt rather quickly. Israeli excavators tend to use large shovels, pickaxes, and large buckets in order to move through the earth. In contrast, for example, the European (mostly British) trained archaeologists at Jezreel explained that they would prefer to excavate with smaller tools and slower digging techniques, including, for example, sifting dirt in search of very small remains: artifactual, animal, seeds, and so forth. These smaller finds are seen as essential to the reconstruction of aspects of ancient daily life. In general, however, in Israeli archaeology—and clearly, on those excavations carried out in Jerusalem’s Old City—the practical work of excavating favors larger (mostly, well-preserved architectural) remains over smaller remains. It is only after

“significant finds” have been located that specific loci are more carefully excavated for smaller remains (often pottery shards) that can illuminate the history (the chronology, the identity) of the architectural structures themselves or lend insight into the settlement patterns of specific (of significant) stratigraphic levels.

Given such excavating techniques, one cannot plausibly argue that finds are preserved *simply because* they are labeled “Israelite” or “Jewish” or come from nationally significant strata. They must also be *particular kinds* of (Israelite or Jewish) objects. To take the starkest example, smaller finds, no matter from what historical era or of what purported national purview, do not survive the onslaught of bulldozers (unless situated within the remainders of larger architectural structures that are themselves preserved). In fact, given the rules that governed these archaeologists at work, Avigad’s comments throughout his Preliminary Reports that finds from the Iron Age city were “discontinuous” and “meager” (see Avigad 1970*a*, 1970*b*, 1972) may partly be the result of excavating techniques and technologies and an a priori definition of what constitutes a (significant) find.<sup>13</sup>

I want to pursue this broader methodological question in relation to the generating and recording of archaeological remainders from more recent periods by the Mazar and Avigad teams. An analysis of such later finds provides a useful angle through which to clarify the multiple factors and dynamics that help to determine what forms of (embodied) history these excavations presupposed and made, and what kind of material culture they produced.

Reading through Avigad’s reports, it *is* incontrovertible that more recent periods received far less attention in these excavations than did earlier ones. For one thing, the term “recent periods” is used throughout the reports. It encompasses everything from early-Islamic through Ottoman times, approximately 1,300 years in the city’s history—in contrast to chronological labels for earlier eras that specify, for example, Iron (Israelite), Hellenistic, or the Herodian periods as distinctive and distinguishable moments in the city’s past. At the most obvious level, bulldozers were used again and again (mostly those of the municipality) to remove more recent remains before the work of *archaeology* was begun. To take a few examples from preliminary reports, recounting the digging of Site A during the first season of excavations, Avigad states: “Prior to our excavations the site was leveled by a bulldozer, removing the recent debris” (1970*a*: 3). Or, as he reports in the second Preliminary Report, in Site C, “Prior to excavation, the upper debris (mainly of recent

buildings) were removed by mechanical means, and a layer of large stone slab was exposed" (1970b: 140). He then clarifies that the "layer of large stone slab" is the *Herodian* street level—everything above it having been removed as upper debris.<sup>14</sup>

How many of the bulldozing decisions were made on the part of the archaeologists themselves versus how many were made by the builders is unclear. One thing, however, is indisputable: these more recent periods were often not enough of a historical *priority* for the archaeologists to intervene and demand that they be protected as historical sites, at least long enough to study and record before they were destroyed.<sup>15</sup> After all, having declared the Old City an antiquities site, the law empowered archaeologists to stop municipal bulldozers (or for that matter, those of private contractors) if they determined that significant archaeological remains were about to be destroyed. And, as the following story indicates, that was a right that these archaeologists exercised when they thought necessary. A foreign archaeologist told of having come upon Nahman Avigad in the Old City one day perched on a boulder watching a bulldozer at work. After complaining that they had very little actual authority *vis-à-vis* the developers, Avigad told him that even though construction (and destruction) was supposed to be stopped should a significant archaeological find be exposed, he did not trust the developers to do so on their own. He had therefore set up an around-the-clock watch, assigning members of his staff to sit and keep an eye on the construction work.<sup>16</sup>

That bulldozers were used to clear sites for excavation and building, however, does not mean that these excavations produced no archaeological record for the later historical periods. The major Byzantine finds in the Jewish Quarter were the *Cardo*, the main thoroughfare of the Byzantine city, and the Nea Church, its most important church.<sup>17</sup> The *Cardo*—the discovery of which Ronny Reich has referred to as "one of the most significant contributions to the study of the city's ancient topography" (Reich 1987: 163)—has been the object of scholarly debate. It was an argument over the accurate dating of its construction and first use. In fact, in unearthing remnants of the *Cardo*, Avigad argued that he had challenged preexisting historical knowledge: "The *Cardo* is generally believed to have its origin in the street system of the *Aelia Capitolina* built by the Roman Emperor Hadrian in the second century A.D." But, he points out, having traced portions of it for approximately 150 meters, the style of architecture and pottery found underneath the pavement indicated a Byzantine date: "This may be correct regarding the

northern part of the city. The southern part of the *Cardo*, however [the site of their excavations], revealed no Roman remains" (1976: 56).

For its part, the discovery of the Nea Church was also reported in relative detail; the team went to the site for a few seasons in a row to further unearth this massive Byzantine building. As noted in an initial Preliminary Report, within this site was found an "enormous fill" that contained a combination of Byzantine and Roman pottery.<sup>18</sup> "Further excavation at this site was made impossible by modern constructions, hence the plan of the building could not be determined. But it goes without saying that the uncovered building remains are the foundation walls of a church of enormous dimensions" (Avigad 1970*b*: 138). As Avigad then concludes, "The large size of this building and its location in the Jewish Quarter justify its being identified with the 'New Church of Theotokos,' commonly called the 'Nea'" (ibid.). In Geva's words, Avigad's excavations provided "a new perspective on the development and urban character of the Byzantine city" (Geva 1994: 21). More specifically, in unearthing the city's main thoroughfare (the *Cardo*) alongside several foundation walls of the Nea Church complex and its apse, Avigad's excavations led to the "conclusive identification of the exact location of the Nea Church, solving a problem long debated among scholars" (ibid.). Fitting into the wider pattern of archaeological inquiry during these excavations, it was topographical (deciphering the area's plan and identifying its major architectural remnants) and chronological questions that were resolved (via the dating of smaller finds found within the debris of larger architectural remains) regarding the city's Byzantine history.

When compared to the Byzantine period, the references in excavations to finds from subsequent periods are far more scattered and far less systematic. To take a few examples from Avigad's preliminary reports, two "Arab lamps" found in the hypocaust (a hollow space or system of channels that distributed the heat from a furnace) and additional construction in the courtyard of a Byzantine bathhouse, "pointed to the continued use of the bath-house in the early Arab period" (1970*b*: 136). In his third Preliminary Report, Avigad reports finding a "large collection of medieval Arabic glass and pottery vessels crammed into a built shaft which seems to be connected with a cistern" (1972: 200). And, to take his report in "Notes and News," in the ninth season of excavations, they uncovered both a pottery kiln of the Mameluke period and an Ayyubid defense tower underlying the present city wall (1978: 200). The defense tower was the single most monumental remain uncovered by Avigad's

team. It was evidence of fortification, after all. It is also the single find from the early-Islamic periods about which is reported any detail at all. After listing its dimensions, the report recounts:

The southern front of the tower which protrudes outside the present city-wall was uncovered previously by M. Broshi. One of the many loose stones found there had monumental Arabic inscription which relates that the fortification was built in A.D. 1212 by the Ayyubid Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam. It is noteworthy that the tower is situated exactly in line with the *Cardo* running from the Damascus gate. The site of the suggested gate of the tower has not yet been ascertained." (1978: 200)

The Ayyubid defense tower was later dismantled in order to facilitate further excavations (Rosen-Ayalon 1990: 313).

In addition to being relatively rare, and in contrast to the reports about remains from all previous periods (Iron Age through Byzantine), one of the most striking things in Avigad's preliminary excavation reports is the lack of specificity with regard to dating the archaeological strata and remains from these historical eras. While some specific and presumably more noteworthy remains were identified as Ayyubid, Mameluke, or Crusader, finds from these eras are most often categorized under the rubric of later or recent periods, as medieval, or as Arab. As Avigad writes of building activities subsequent to the Byzantine period at the site of the Nea Church: "The eastern face of the thick wall was later on incorporated into a medieval building of rubble-stone construction"—a more specific dating was never established (1970*b*: 138). And, to take just two examples of stratigraphy, at Site T2 (a site located along the existing southern wall of the Old City), Avigad writes that the "stratigraphy revealed the same history of occupation as was established in the main excavated areas in the Jewish Quarter." He then explicates further: the lowest stratum above bedrock contained "building remains and floors associated with pottery of the 8th–7th centuries B.C. This is further proof that the western hill of Jerusalem was occupied in the First Temple Period" (1976: 56). In the next stratum, they excavated "building remains and pottery of the Hasmonean period" (second through first centuries B.C.E.), proving once again "the gap in the occupation of the site during the Persian and early Hellenistic periods" (*ibid.*). Then there was the Herodian stratum, "represented by building remains of high quality"; the buildings were destroyed in A.D. 70 as determined by the numismatic evidence found on the floors (*ibid.*). There remained two stratigraphic levels at this site: the first was Byzantine (in which they found the paving

of a Byzantine street; what is noteworthy is the absence of a Roman stratum, we are told, something "which had also been observed in other excavated areas in the Jewish Quarter"), the second was Crusader (a long wall and a gate associated with it; *ibid.*). Avigad then mentions one further find, which was not at the site itself nor counted in its stratigraphy. About thirty meters north, "the substantial remains of a large Crusader building have been partly exposed. . . . This room was *later* transformed into a workshop containing numerous water installations" (1976: 57; emphasis added). What period the term "later" refers to, however, is left unspecified. In a similar fashion, Avigad gives us the following stratigraphy for Site T3: "Late Hellenistic or Hasmonean period (the Iron Age remains had been cleared from the rock surface), Herodian, Byzantine, medieval superimposed by the Turkish city-wall" (1978: 200).

The preliminary reports on the Mazar excavation present a different picture. While digging the southern slopes of the Haram al-Sharif, Mazar's team unexpectedly came upon a large architectural structure, one subsequently identified as a palace and administrative complex originally built during the Umayyad period (661–750 C.E.). These remains received far more attention than did later ones from the Avigad dig, thus forcing us to reconsider an explanation of excavating practices that presumes that all postbiblical strata are simply removed as debris in an effort to reach the biblical levels as quickly as possible, an argument in which the national interest stands as the only possible explanation for the dynamics of Israeli archaeological work.

Mazar's excavation on the slopes of the Haram al-Sharif precipitated far more political confrontation than did Avigad's. These conflicts were fueled by the fear that these archaeologists would quickly work their way down to those strata in which the Jewish (colonial-)national imagination is rooted. Given that they were digging in such close proximity to the city's most important Islamic site, many Palestinians (professionals and lay people) worried that significant Islamic remains and sacred sites, those already standing or those buried within the land, were likely to be destroyed. Once this (originally) Umayyad period complex was unearthed, the apprehension only intensified. Such anxiety was based upon a widespread conception of Israeli archaeology within the Palestinian community as tending to systematically erase evidence of other (non-Jewish) pasts in the country's history in efforts to legitimize Jewish presence in this land. It was a fear exacerbated by specific acts of destruction that had taken place in Jerusalem's Old City since Israeli victory in the 1967 war. Bulldozers and excavations had already leveled several existing Islamic monuments, for example, the Afdali and Buraq



mosques in the now demolished Maghariba Quarter, which had, until June 1967, abutted the Western Wall;<sup>19</sup> and the destruction of the Fakhriyah Hospice and its adjoining mosque after its foundations were cracked during excavations (in the summer of 1967) that aimed to clear eighty-two meters of the Western Wall (Hirst 1974: 17). Israeli archaeology was, from the perspective of many Palestinians now living under Israeli occupation, yet another act of conquest, which worked by creating facts on the ground through which the Israeli state would extend its presence within—and try and establish its legitimate claim to—Jerusalem's Old City.

In the words of an archaeologist who had lived and worked in Jerusalem for a long time, these Old City excavations were “definitely a Jewish secular culture dig. There was the problem of going down through the not very interesting stuff.” While clearly they “left some Arab and Byzantine remains,” he went on, those periods were “not very carefully excavated.” One Israeli archaeologist (someone, it is worth noting, who would not identify himself as being on the Israeli left) confirmed this account, albeit his criticism was motivated by a distinctly different concern. The Mazar dig took place in that “borderline time between 1960s and 1970s.” Thousands of volunteers, both foreign and Israeli, participated in them: “Their interest was not in archaeology but in the spiritual message of reunification of Jerusalem,” in “the messianic meaning of the Six Day War.” In this Israeli archaeologist's words, “It was one of the largest excavations and one of the worst”; it was too large to “digest scientifically.” It was too large to control: “Somewhere in there are the complexes of the Palaces of Solomon,” he insisted, “but they dug buildings with no sections and lost a lot of data that way.”

Nevertheless, while certainly a Jewish secular national-cultural—and for others, a messianic—dig, particular Islamic remains were excavated, and they *were not* subsequently bulldozed through. How is one to account for this fact?

One series of accounts ascribes responsibility or blame to the two key (and often, conflicting) personalities who ran the excavations themselves: Benjamin Mazar and Meir Ben-Dov (his assistant). Several Israeli archaeologists gave their (unsolicited) takes on who wanted to demolish the Umayyad period remains and who it was who actually “saved” them. That act of salvation is most often attributed to Ben-Dov, a far more “politically liberal” person than Mazar. As one archaeologist said, Meir Ben-Dov was “the most liberal.” Ben-Dov is “interested in Islamic archaeology.” According to this archaeologist, Ben-Dov comes from one of the oldest settler families who came to the Galilee in the late nine-

teenth century. He speaks Arabic. His uncle fought in the underground against the Ottomans. As the archaeologist then pointed out, while Mazar wanted to remove the Umayyad remains to reach the Herodian and Judaic remains of the First Temple period, Ben-Dov saved them. In other words, this archaeologist understood archaeological work to be determined by broader social interests or individual political commitments (see chap. 1). It was Ben-Dov's explicit liberal political commitments that determined the outcome of this dig. And, that liberal framework guarded professional archaeologists against the dangers of nationalist zealotry.

According to one participant in those excavations, it was Yigael Yadin who wanted the Umayyad remains destroyed. Yadin had told this archaeologist that he did not want it to be known that these remainders were Islamic. "But, scientists shouldn't talk that way," the archaeologist insisted. "Archaeology is full of politics—for Arabs and for Jews. But, stones are not an answer to politics." If one is working in archaeology, he argued, the question is simply "what happened? It is not about today." The domain of scientific inquiry is, in other words, distinct from that of political interests, the context of conquest and occupation that made these excavations possible—the question of colonialism—entirely eclipsed in this account.

Several other archaeologists I interviewed pointed to the very fact that the Umayyad remains *were not* bulldozed as proof that the archaeologists digging Jerusalem were, first and foremost, professionals. While interviewing Benjamin Mazar, a second archaeologist (also present in the room) brought up the fact that Mazar had not destroyed the Umayyad palace complex, as proof of his professionalism and objectivity. Mazar immediately intervened with a dismissive gesture of the hand; it was not even worth bringing up, he exhorted.<sup>20</sup>

Given the highly politicized and confrontational context in which these excavations were carried out, it is not surprising that such stories are still told with such frequency. In effect, Israeli archaeologists are defending themselves *as scientists*; that is what is at stake in insisting on their own professionalism, on the objectivity of some who overrode the nationalist zeal of others. It was Mazar's excavations in particular, after all, that precipitated an intense and internationalized conflict over the Israeli excavations in Jerusalem's Old City. This confrontation ultimately led to UNESCO's condemnation of the State of Israel for its actions in the Old City and Israel's expulsion from that United Nations agency.<sup>21</sup> As excavations carried out on *waqf* land and in close proximity to the most important Islamic sites in Jerusalem, employees of the

Awqaf kept a close eye on the work of the excavators, all the while keeping up the international political pressure in an attempt to put an end to the digs by demanding Israel's compliance with the various treaties of international law that govern the treatment of cultural property in occupied lands.<sup>22</sup>

There are competing accounts of the meaning and significance of those actions as well. According to one archaeologist who excavated the site, the Haram staff and the Awqaf notables became more and more "accepting" of the excavations as they watched the Israeli team "carefully excavate" the Umayyad structures, a fact of increasing acceptance and respect for the Israeli team demonstrated by the fact that "Muslim officials" began to visit the site more and more frequently and to discuss the progress of the excavations with him. According to one such Muslim official, however, it was not a growing sense of trust that precipitated this change of behavior. Instead, it reflected a gradual adjustment to the realities of living under Israeli occupation and a growing understanding of the possible parameters for resisting Israeli rule: "Whether we liked it or not," he said, "we came to realize that we couldn't achieve anything through that kind of a confrontation. We couldn't use muscles. So, we started to handle them differently, to be nice to them and to use the conflicts between the various archaeologists to get what we needed. So Ben-Dov would come, and we would be nice to him. We would then go to an enemy of his and stir things up." In other words, as was true in colonial contexts more broadly, resistance would root itself in the cleavages among colonizers themselves (cf., Comaroff and Comaroff 1991).

Such stories convey the tense political atmosphere in which these excavations were carried out. While Palestinian accounts that highlight international political pressure as the reason these Islamic remains were saved may in be part true, I want to insist on the importance of seeking an explanation within the dynamics of scientific practice itself. No matter how close a relationship the discipline of Israeli archaeology had with the colonial-national interest, the dynamics of archaeological work were not driven in any straightforward manner by ideological positions or political pressures. Instead, they were structured primarily by paradigmatic conceptions of history and methods of practice, by specific epistemological commitments and evidentiary criteria—ones that had long been put in place by the time of these Jerusalem excavations of the late 1960s and 1970s. In order to understand why the architectural remainders from the Umayyad period received the attention they did—in order to explain the treatment of these remains *in contrast to* more recent ones produced during the Avigad dig—we need to consider the kind of

history that the complex embodies and the nature of the material remains of which it is made. This is a large architectural structure (or series of structures), which signifies a monumental history that coincides with the focus of the excavations more broadly: the discovery of past magnificence and public displays of power through which the nation of Israel—and history, writ large—is produced and represented. These are *the kinds of remains* that are made through excavating practices that favor larger over smaller remains. They are the kinds of monuments in which national history is believed to be embodied and the kinds of significant finds upon which the work of excavating has long trained its techniques for (chronological) identification, as well as topographical and architectural analysis in the Israeli field. Within the context of such a project, the recording and the preserving of both the Nea Church and the Cardo also make sense. Furthermore, the Ayyubid defense tower is the one Islamic material-cultural remnant hewn by Avigad's team that fits into this broader pattern of historical inquiry. It was a remnant of fortification, and it was (relatively) better recorded (and dated) than other Islamic finds, even if it was not preserved.

The criticism levied by certain Palestinians (among others) regarding the treatment of Islamic remains by Israeli archaeological teams is not limited to the fact that excavating teams used bulldozers and otherwise dismantled and removed various finds and buildings dating to various Islamic periods. In addition, such criticism is based upon a reading of the archaeological records and excavation reports. To take Avigad's excavations, for example, for such extensive and intensively carried out excavations, there is very little recording of remains postdating the early-Roman period and, more specifically, of remains from those periods of Islamic rule in the city. Given the long Islamic history of the city itself, it is reasonable to assume that many remains were destroyed or ignored. In addition, given the general lack of adequate record keeping and extensive excavation reports, even those archaeological remains that were preserved, and the smaller finds subsequently stored at the Antiquities Authority, become problematic as sources of historical information. The lack of proper records on the stratigraphy and loci in which remains were found renders those objects unusable in archaeological inquiry. Moreover, while the discovery of this early-Islamic site could have made a major contribution to early-Islamic history, they have, as one Palestinian historian has put it, "in effect remained mute." In addition to a lack of adequate and detailed records, there is clearly a lack of any sustained interest in this site within the Israeli field.

Such criticisms are valid. Nevertheless, this question of adequate ex-

cavation reports needs to be situated within the wider context of recording practices, as carried out on these excavations, as well as in the field of Israeli archaeology more broadly. For excavations that persisted nearly year round for over a decade, there are very few preliminary reports *in general*. Those that do exist are very short and scant. A lot of what is dug up on excavation sites throughout the country is not recorded at all, and most of it is discarded before even reaching a lab or storeroom, another methodological dispute between the Israeli and the British teams at the Jezreel excavations I mentioned above. In other words, although clearly far more extensive than those for later periods, the records of even Iron Age through early-Roman remains are themselves rather meager. Good records exist primarily for those finds that were deemed a priori to be significant (most often on the basis of a story they are seen to be able to illuminate or prove). No comprehensive final report has been produced for either excavation to date.<sup>23</sup>

### *In Search of Monumental Architecture*

The catalog for the first exhibition in the newly established museum at the Citadel describes the material culture produced during Mazar's excavations in the following words: "This area adjacent to the Temple Mount was one of the focal-points of Jerusalem for much of the city's history. *The public constructions* which left their mark here are from two periods—Herodian and Umayyad" (Jerusalem City Museum n.d.: 59; emphasis added). It was precisely with those "public constructions" that not only the exhibit, but also the excavations, were most concerned.

In contrast, the Byzantine period remains excavated by Mazar and his team received far less attention than did the *Cardo* and the Nea Church. These were remains of a residential quarter—not a seemingly particularly aristocratic one—and, while they are given some attention, it is the Herodian and Umayyad period remains that are focused upon in excavating reports, as well as in subsequent accounts of the excavations' significant historical contributions. Mazar describes the architecture of the houses themselves (often preserved to a "height of two storeys"). He notes evidence of the expansion in the late-Byzantine period of the residential quarter itself—the chronology of the development of an "area plan." And, he mentions a variety of smaller finds (a wooden chest, bronze lamp, and so forth) and the "decorative architecture" of the buildings themselves. As summed up by Ben-Dov: "At the end of the Byzantine period, a residential quarter lay adjacent to the walls of the Temple Mount, which appear to have towered to their full height at that time. This quarter included public buildings, and private

houses of one and two storeys, with open areas between utilized for gardening" (1975: 97; see also Mazar 1975: 38).

Large and multiple remnants of Umayyad-period building activities were initially encountered during the first seasons of excavations. These remains were treated differently from the *less monumental* remains of later periods from the Avigad excavations. They were not bulldozed through. They became one focus of the excavating work of this team for the first two seasons of digging, as they tried to date the various building phases and to ascertain the topographical relationships of various structures to one another alongside their individual functions, and they are reported on in relative detail in the excavation's preliminary reports (see 1969a; Ben-Dov 1975). As Ben-Dov reported in 1975, "So far, six enormous buildings have been found, comprising a single complex. The plan of the largest of them, building II, closely resembles those of the palaces of the Omayyad period in this country, in Transjordan and in Syria" (97). Ben-Dov explains, "The stratigraphic picture and the finds confirm this dating. Beneath the floors of the building and beneath the associated streets—houses, installations and channels came to light together with an abundance of finds including much pottery and thousands of coins, and stamped roof-tiles of the Byzantine period—all from late in that period" (*ibid.*). The most striking indication of the difference between Avigad and Mazar's excavations with regard to post-Roman remains is the stratigraphy of the site established by Mazar and his team. As Mazar reports in his first Preliminary Report, there were "four periods" found here: the Arab, the Byzantine, the Roman, and the period from Herod the Great to the destruction of the Second Temple (Mazar 1969a: 5). The report then describes the finds and the history of settlement associated with each (sub)period. With regard to the (originally) Umayyad building and complex, the report details the plan of the building itself. Mazar tell us: "The plan of the building is generally similar to the square 'palaces' of the Omayyad period discovered in this and in neighboring countries, such as at Khirbet el-Mefjer and el-Minyeh, i.e., large, two-stories structures built around a central, open courtyard and consisting of a cloister and a series of rooms, with an ornamental gate on the eastern side." He then tell us its differences from those other palaces: "In the present case, however . . . the round towers in the corners and the semicircular towers at the middle of the walls are entirely lacking; besides the gate at the middle of the eastern wall there is another gate at the middle of the northern wall, on the side of the paved street" (Mazar 1969a: 17). As Ben-Dov wrote six years later, "This was a most important archaeological discovery, for it is the first time large

structures of the Umayyad period (660–750 C.E.) were found outside the Haram esh-Sherif" (1975: 97).<sup>24</sup> The structures were destroyed by an earthquake in 747/48 C.E. (They find evidence of destruction and correlate it with an earthquake known to have hit the city at that time). It underwent partial repairs during the Abbasid period (mid-eighth through late-ninth centuries C.E.), identified as stratum A2, as indicated by the fact that both the "paved street and the gateway of the building continued to be used . . . and the water system was modified drastically" (Mazar 1969a: 6). In addition, Mazar reports evidence of building activities in the area during the succeeding Fatimid period (strata A4–6): "The beaten-earth street and the changes in the northern wall of the Omayyad building were most likely the work of the Fatimid Caliph adh-Dhahir, who in A.D. 1033 began extensive work on the walls of Jerusalem and the Haram esh-Sharif," activities also brought to an end by an earthquake (7). He concludes that settlement in the area ended circa 1071, "the year in which the early Arab period is considered to come to an end in Palestine" (ibid.). It is to the Fatimid period that they ascribe a "hoard of eight gold coins" found within the Umayyad building (ibid.). In addition, Mazar discusses two square chambers with "large accumulations of animal bones, mostly of sheep," which is located in stratum A5 (Fatimid period). He speculates on the significance of the find: "The discovery appears to be connected with what is related by Nasir al-Khusran (who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1047) concerning the mass pilgrimage to the Haram during holidays, and the ceremonies accompanied by festive sacrifices, as well as the mass pilgrimages of Jews and Christians to Jerusalem from the Byzantine Empire and other countries" (ibid.)—material evidence of public events, which involve not only Muslims, but Christians and Jews as well.

This mention of Jewish and Christian pilgrimages to the city marks a significant shift in the interpretive work of producing Jerusalem's past once that past was no longer that of the city's First and Second Temple periods. The fashioning of the city's history in those eras of Jewish national ascent or sovereignty privileges not only a vision of Jewish cohesion as a national community, but, moreover, of Jerusalem as a *Jewish city* with no mention of the presence of "others" living in, visiting, or contributing to its daily life or industry. However, once we move to post-Second Temple times, the picture changes. On the one hand, what emerges is a far more accurate picture of the city's history, at least at the level of its multireligious composition. We have mention of Jewish and Christian craftsmen, for example. As Mazar tells us of the Umayyad period buildings, "It is reasonable to assume that in the magnificent build-

ings of Jerusalem, like at Khirbet el-Mefjer . . . Muslim, Christian and Jewish craftsmen from Palestine and the neighboring countries were employed in the various trades" (1969a: 20).

On the other hand, however, what emerges is a (teleological) narrative of Jewish continuity and efforts to reestablish the Temple itself. Take the following account of the Byzantine residential quarter excavated at this site: "This early Byzantine house is well preserved . . . with its arches for supporting the roof, doorways and windows, and many finds—shedding light on an obscure episode in the history of the city" (Mazar 1975: 36). What exactly is that obscure episode upon which they shed light? A "layer of rubble and ash" that, we are told, indicates the room was destroyed at the end of Julian's reign (mid-fourth century C.E.): "The Constantinian structures near the Western Wall may have been destroyed by Jews who, encouraged by Julian, began preparations for the reconstruction of the Temple—which project came to nought upon the emperor's death" (38)—a conclusion that, while entirely speculative, fits well into a nationalist historiography that privileges a continuous Jewish struggle to return to Jerusalem and to reclaim it as its own.<sup>25</sup>

### Archaeological Phenomena

At the most straightforward level of analysis, to argue that an archaeological tradition is embedded in a nationalist project is to maintain that archaeologists have sought evidence of those eras of "national ascendance" and "glory" in the ancient or medieval pasts in relation to which the present—the nation—is imagined (c.f., Silberman 1989; Trigger 1989). This emphasis on eras, however, (on chronology qua ethnicity, the Israelite period, for example) is only the most basic way in which archaeological traditions can be said to be nationalist. Comparing the results of Avigad's and Mazar's excavations, be they textual (excavation reports) or material (architectures, artifacts), it is evident that the treatment of specific finds during these digs was determined by two distinct criteria: their "identity," on the one hand, and their material purview, on the other. In other words, the excavations *did* prioritize, seek, and produce evidence of a Jewish national past. They were motivated by and framed within a prior historical "theory," which was composed of the minutiae of a Jewish national tale, a story of ancient ascendance, destruction, and an ongoing desire to return. But that prior theory reached well beyond the specifically *Jewish* nationalist quest. Archaeologists at work were guided by a prior conception of the significant events of which history is made and the significant finds in which it is embodied.



And it is precisely that larger paradigm of history that neither the Umayyad palace and complex remains nor those of the Nea Church or the Byzantine *Cardo* in any way undermine. This is a tale of the rise and fall of empires and peoples, of public displays of power and wealth, of architectural and aesthetic beauty, and of fortification and war. This is civilizational and not social history. It was no more *sufficient* a criterion for a remnant to be deemed Jewish in order for it to receive systematic attention than it was for an object to be named Arab or Byzantine for it to be ignored or destroyed or, quite simply, not hewn. Rather, Jerusalem's history was made at the conjuncture of historical frameworks and excavating practices: paradigms of history and of practice—inevitably enmeshed—framed the historical quest, a quest realized through the practical work of excavating, which constructed its embodied forms. And that very process of production animated “drifts,” whereby the outcome was not simply coterminous with the initial interests or aims (Latour 1988: 6). In this instance, the practical workings of archaeology assembled *some* unexpected remainders, but only specific kinds of unforeseen remains, that is, ones that could be made, given paradigmatic excavating techniques, and ones that could then be recognized as “significant finds,” given the assumptions and the rules that governed archaeological practice and historical inquiry itself.

Excavating Jerusalem produced not just a new, but, more specifically, a *particular* archaeological record, one that came to be integrated into the new Jewish Quarter's architectural design. That material culture—the new phenomena produced through archaeology's work—rendered Jerusalem's (Jewish) history visible on the landscape, generating the context and coordinates within which the practices of settler nationhood would translate this newly conquered colony into national space—yet again. Following the 1967 war, making place returned to center stage in Israeli politics. The territorial horizon of the Jewish state was being extended anew, and Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter stood at the core of the struggle to create and substantiate an ever-expanding terrain of national sovereignty.

## Extending Sovereignty

During Israel's War of Independence and the years to follow, the Jewish Quarter was destroyed. . . . After the Six Day War, when the Jewish Quarter, when all of Jerusalem came back into Israeli hands, there was a very strong desire to rebuild the Jewish Quarter and renew Jewish presence, settlement, here in the Old City of Jerusalem.

Now, when the people who came back and found the Jewish Quarter [in ruins] . . . it wasn't very pleasant for those who had memories of the Jewish Quarter. And, it's probably not very nice for me to put it this way, but it was a golden opportunity for archaeologists to come here and do very good, thorough excavations and learn a whole lot about the city's past.

This tour guide's account articulates a refrain heard repeatedly from tour guides and archaeologists alike: the destruction of the Jewish Quarter during the 1948 war produced an unprecedented opportunity for archaeological research. Because the Old City's quarters had long been densely populated, most prior excavations took place on the city's periphery. But with the Jewish Quarter found *in ruins* after the 1967 war, the problem of population density was finally resolved. The urban centers of antiquity (in particular, the presumed site of Jerusalem's Upper City) could at long last be excavated.

The larger project to build a new Jewish Quarter enabled the excavation of the area to proceed. But the relationship of excavating and building to the question of "ruins" is a complex one. Ruins were not simply found. In a variety of ways, they were also made. Following Israel's capture of the Old City in June 1967, a series of expropriation and demolition orders prepared the ground for the excavations and the colonial urbanism to come, thus adding new destruction layers to those produced during the 1948 war. In designing and building the new Jewish

Quarter, standing and partly destroyed buildings were partially restored and reconstructed *as ruins* in order to memorialize more recent histories of destruction, and older stones were integrated into modern architectural forms in order to embody temporal depth. Insofar as archaeology was an integral part of this project to build a new Jewish Quarter, archaeological remains themselves were made. Ancient ruins were subsequently integrated into the contemporary urban design. These new phenomena, produced through archaeological practice, came to restructure the real, extending the boundaries of Jewish national-territorial claims that emerged as taken for granted in the decades to come.

Revisiting many of the norms and forms (Rabinow 1989) of urban design first developed for Jerusalem's Old City during mandate times, the space expropriated and designated as the new Jewish Quarter became the site of sustained attention for city planners and architects. The debate at this time, however, did not merely engage a broader modernist architectural dilemma concerning how (or whether) to preserve the old alongside the expansion of the new. Nor did it simply mirror the situation in other colonial cities in the 1920s and 1930s, where the question of how the local population would be uplifted and modernized while maintaining their traditional spatial forms—areas that would exist alongside, and separate from, the modern European quarters—was central (cf. Rabinow 1989; Wright 1997; Abu Lughod 1980). Building the new Jewish Quarter involved establishing an exclusively Jewish settlement within a particular zone of Jerusalem's Old City, which was to stand at the symbolic center of the newly "unified" capital of the Jewish state. A particular "vision of the political order" would turn, in part, on the "manipulation of appearance before an audience" (Rabinow 1989: 284), Israeli and foreign.

### Enabling Science

During a tour organized for participants in an international conference of archaeologists and museum professionals, I stood facing the Western Wall, a massive, multiperiod archaeological remain, which includes courses of Herodian masonry.<sup>1</sup> A British and an American archaeologist, as well as an Israeli archaeologist in charge of the educational programs for Israel's Antiquities Authority stood beside me. The American asked the Israeli how much restoration work had gone into the wall. The Israeli answered, "not much. This area already existed this way." I interceded, saying that the process of restoration involved demolishing an entire quarter (the Maghariba Quarter) in order to construct the large

plaza in front of the wall. The Israeli archaeologist was silent. A few moments later the three of them walked off together leaving me behind. I overheard the archaeologist from the Antiquities Authority explain to her foreign colleagues that it was true, the Maghariba Quarter *was* demolished. But, she added, they had to understand that it had been “a total slum” anyway.

Dating back over seven hundred years, the Harat al-Maghariba (the Moroccan Quarter) was initially established in 1193 by Malik al-Afdal, Salah al-Din’s son. It was endowed as waqf land for use by scholars and pilgrims from North Africa (*al-maghreb* in Arabic).<sup>2</sup> Over one hundred dwellings inhabited by Muslim families had long stood adjacent to the wall beside a series of religious institutions established over the centuries (see Tibawi 1978; see also Khalidi 2000a). Starting June 10, 1967, only days after the war had begun and before a cease-fire was declared, the entire quarter was bulldozed. As one Palestinian Old City resident whose house overlooks the area of the former quarter remembers, the war began on a Monday. By Wednesday night, they had started the demolition. The army gave residents a few hours to leave, and then the bulldozers came in. By Friday, the quarter was gone. It was not, however, cleaned up. The houses lay in rubble, and many seemed to have collapsed whole. In that rubble were remnants of people’s daily lives. The resident I spoke with recalls seeing full water bottles standing upright in an open refrigerator. In the process of leveling the Maghariba Quarter, at least 650 people were made refugees.<sup>3</sup> Along with the neighborhood itself, two historic religious sites, Jami’ al-Buraq and al-Madrassa al-Afdaliyya (the latter established by Malik al-Afdal) were demolished [see Tibawi 1978; Khalidi 2000a]. There are no longer any physical remainders of the neighborhood itself, either of its vernacular architecture or of its religious institutions.<sup>4</sup>

That act of destruction and expulsion began the process of clearing a plaza around the Western Wall, opening up the area almost immediately to accommodate the thousands of Israeli visitors who flocked to the site. It also launched the process of reconfiguring the identity of the place itself, a redefinition that would later extend to other parts of the Old City. As we are told twenty-five years later in a curriculum used in the nation’s Jewish schools to commemorate the city’s reunification, while the Old City had traditionally been divided into four quarters “according to four religions”—Jewish, Muslim, Christian “and yes, Armenians”—that division had never been exact. The lesson takes the site of the former Maghariba Quarter as its example of these historically ambiguous spatial divisions. It was a Muslim residential neighborhood that

stood facing the Western Wall until 1967 (Gian 1992: 46). In exemplifying the inexact division between what were supposed to have been four distinct quarters by the case of the Maghariba Quarter (a characterization of the Old City that is historically inaccurate), the text implies that it stood in what is properly understood as the Jewish Quarter. Such a statement certainly made sense, at least for its intended audience, by the time of its writing in 1992. But the site of the Maghariba Quarter had never been part of the Old City's various Jewish Quarters—residential quarters situated in different parts of the Old City and circumscribed by various (and porous) boundaries—at any time in the city's history.<sup>5</sup>

The leveling of this neighborhood was the first step in Israel's policy of unification, which was to claim and seize the entire city as rightfully and exclusively, at the level of national sovereignty, its own. On June 11, 1967, (the day the cease-fire came into effect), Israeli government ministers met to decide on the future of East Jerusalem. While the nature and boundaries of its annexation to the State of Israel were debated, one thing was already clear: Jerusalem would never again be divided.<sup>6</sup> A fund had already been established to rebuild and restore the now reunited city.<sup>7</sup> By the end of June, the Knesset had extended Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem and empowered the minister of the interior to determine the city's new municipal boundaries.<sup>8</sup>

A series of expropriation orders followed. In April 1968, the Israeli minister of finance ordered the expropriation of twenty-nine acres (116 dunams) of the southern part of the Old City "to develop the area to house Israeli Jewish families and to reestablish a Jewish presence in the Old City" (Dumper 1992: 37), initiating an eviction process that would extend over the next ten years (see 37–38). Evacuated of its approximately two thousand Jewish residents at the close of the 1948 war, which had taken place concomitant with the expulsion of thirty thousand Arabs from the western part of the city (Khalidi 2000a: 26), the old Jewish Quarter, although heavily damaged, came to house Palestinian refugees who had fled other parts of Palestine that had come under Israeli sovereignty. Although many were moved to the Shu'afat refugee camp in 1964, others remained in the Old City. Furthermore, given that the boundaries of the new Jewish Quarter are significantly wider than the pre-1948 quarter (over five times larger than its original area of sixteen to twenty dunams, or four to five acres; Khalidi 2000a: 28), this expropriation order absorbed existing Muslim quarters within its boundaries. The new Jewish Quarter included not only the lands of the former Maghariba Quarter, but also those of the pre-1967 Harat al-Sharaf and Harat al-Maidan (see Fig. 7.1). Between five and six thousand Palestin-

ians were evicted from their homes, adding to the new wave of internal and external refugees produced by the 1967 war (Dumper 1992: 37–38).<sup>9</sup> Seven hundred buildings were expropriated. Only 105 of them were owned by Jews on the eve of the 1948 war. Of the remaining 595 properties, there were 111 public and 354 family *Awqaf* (the plural of *waqf*), as well as 130 properties belonging to private owners (Tibawi 1978: 47; see also Dumper 1992). Much was subsequently destroyed.<sup>10</sup>

In April 1969, the government founded the Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter, giving it the mandate to build a new Jewish Quarter. What was thereby begun was not only the making of a present, but the excavation of a past. On August 31, 1967, the Old City was declared an antiquity site. According to the antiquities law, there was to be no rebuilding of the Old City without the prior approval of Jerusalem's chief archaeologist. Archaeological excavations, alongside the project for designing and building the new Jewish Quarter, would continue throughout the decade to come. Through the specific manner in which archaeological remainders and sites were incorporated into the aesthetics of urban design, the ideology of national return would be substantiated within the quarter's public domain. Simultaneously objectifiers of historicity and signs of more specific history(ies), the presence of ruins helped to produce the new Jewish Quarter as an "old-new" (Jewish) place and the symbolic center of the unified capital of the Israeli state.

### Colonial Urbanism Revisited

Rebuilding the quarter raised questions and generated debates about what kind of a space it was to become. Should the quarter be a tourist site, a museum, or monument to past histories and destructions? Should it be a center for religious life and learning? Or, should it be a living neighborhood in a contemporary city? It was the latter vision promoted by the secular political establishment working in tandem with the archaeological community that won out. As recounted by E. Frankel, one of Jerusalem's city planners following the 1967 war:

We could have considered the Quarter a museum, limited new construction and restored those buildings of historic interest, national or architectural. The ruins could have been restored and planned as public gardens or archaeological sites. But we could also treat the Old City as a living organism, and it is this orientation that seemed preferable to us. Indeed there was no good reason for arbitrarily stopping the city's development. (1970: 66)

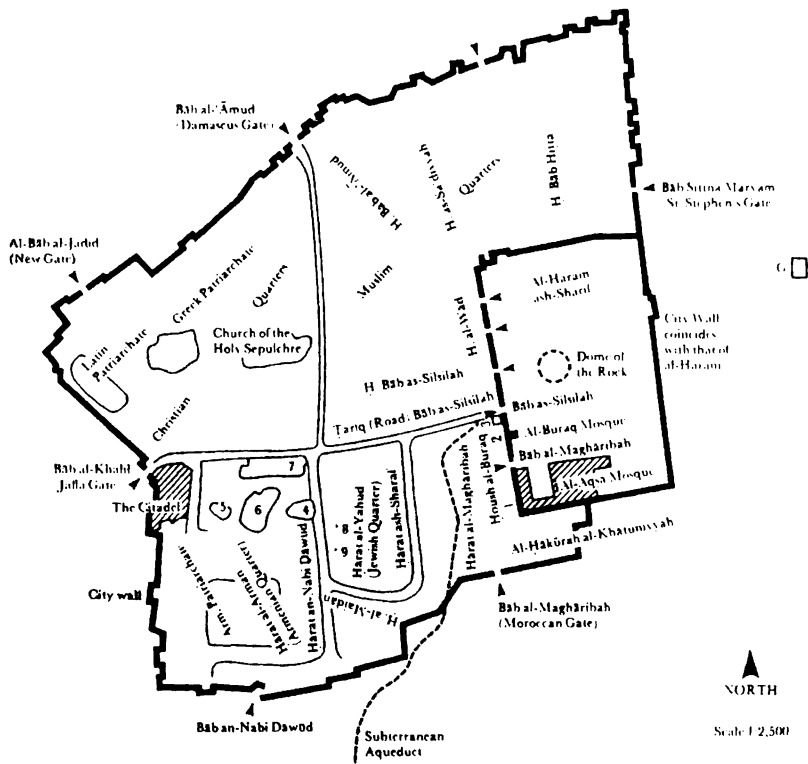
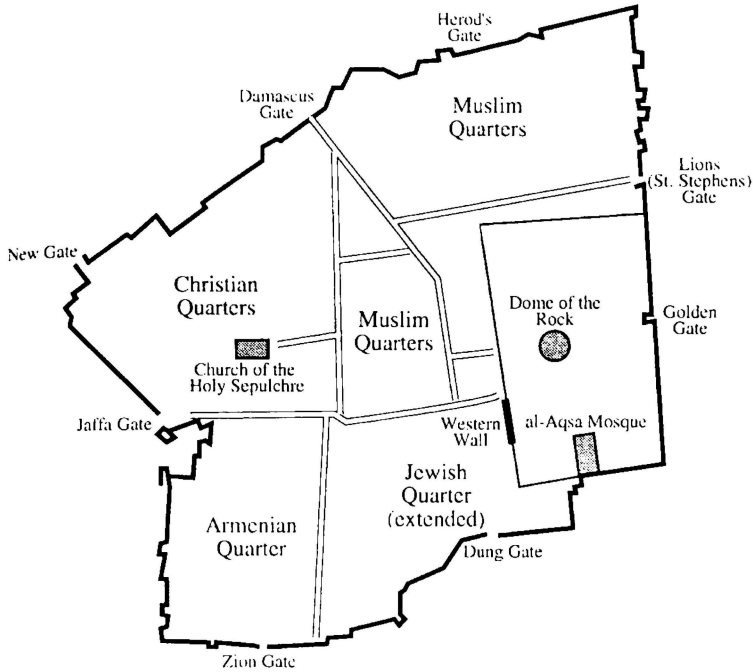


FIGURE 7.1. *Above*: Map of the Old City of Jerusalem prior to 1967; reprinted by permission from *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 4: 32–53; © 1992 by the Institute for Palestinian Studies. *Opposite*: The Old City, indicating the area of the new Jewish Quarter; reprinted by permission from Michael Dumper, *The Politics of Jerusalem since 1967*, © 1997 by Columbia University Press.

**Key to Map**

- 1. Az-Zawiyah al-Fakhriyyah and Abu Su'ud houses (demolished June 1969)
- 2. The Wailing Place (30 yrd × 4 yrd) in front of the Wailing Wall, a small stretch of the Western Wall of al-Haram ash-Sharif
- 3. Al-Madrash at-Tunkuziyyah (old Shari'ah Court) under which Jewish prayers are performed
- 4. Syrian (Jacobite) Convent
- 5. Christ Church (English, Protestant)
- 6. Harat al-Jawa'inah (Jewani)
- 7. Harat ad-Dawudiyya (Dewdyeh)
- 8. The Chorbah Synagogue (Jewish Quarter)
- 9. Sayyidna 'Umar Mosque (Jewish Quarter)
- G Garden of Gethsemane
- H Harah (Quarter)



The Old City

In treating the Old City as a living organism, these architects and urban planners in effect rejected the desire to “freeze” the Old City as a historical monument. This was a notable shift from the ideology that had guided so much of the mandate’s city planning ordinances many decades before.

But this contemporary neighborhood was not to be an entirely modern space either. After all, Jerusalem’s reunification was cast as a revival of a historical Jewish national claim to the city, and that vision of rebirth was to be embedded in the very aesthetics of the quarter’s built form. On a guided tour of the Wohl Archaeological Museum/Herodian Quarter, its original curator (an archaeologist) briefly explained the choices faced by city planners following the 1967 war. Finding a largely destroyed quarter, she said, the Israeli government decided to reconstruct



the Jewish Quarter: "The first dilemma was how to reconstruct this quarter—to make it a new one, completely a new one, and to leave the monuments in situ that were destroyed as a souvenir of what was before the Jewish Quarter, or to reconstruct it in an entirely new form, or to try to reconstruct the Quarter more or less in the spirit of how the Quarter was before forty-eight." The third option, to rebuild the quarter in the spirit of its pre-1948 counterpart, was decided upon in the end. According to Teddy Kollek (then mayor of the city), some buildings are "of great historical value" and as such should be renovated. Concerning the rest, he explained, "There is a certain desire on our part to re-create, for sentimental reasons, an atmosphere which will recall the Quarter when it was the only center of Jewish life" (Jerusalem Committee 1969: 40). This was a reference not to the pre-1948 quarter, but to an idealized image of its "original counterpart" in the ancient city.<sup>11</sup>

In order to explicate the architectural design within which this recollection of origins would be embedded and objectified, it is useful to understand the integration of past and present and the convergence of artifacts and simulacra at the Tower of David Museum of the History of Jerusalem. I understand the museum's design as synecdochic of the quarter's layout as a whole. In the very architectural conceptions of both the museum and the quarter, the objects of archaeology are signifiers of historicity. They index the historical, which is essential to the contemporary and which remains immanent within it.

In an interview, the original curator of the museum's permanent exhibition explained that there were to be two dimensions of the exhibit: "the architectural dimension" and "the story itself," by which she meant the story of the history of Jerusalem. The contrast in design between these two dimensions is crucial. The museum was designed as a "museum without objects" and placed within what she referred to as a "historical setting," that of the building and its compound, Jerusalem's Citadel.<sup>12</sup> As the curator explained, "In such a small space lies the remains from all eras of the city's history. The building and the exhibit were to be in dialogue: going in and out of the historical atmosphere."

This process of going in and out is an apt description of any visit to the Citadel's permanent exhibition. Architecturally, this is a building occupying seven hundred square meters, with a series of rooms surrounding and overlooking a courtyard. Each room depicts an era or a series of eras in Jerusalem's history: the First Temple period through the Babylonian Exile, the Second Temple period through the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., Byzantium, early Islam, Crusader Jerusalem and



FIGURE 7.2. Tower of David Museum: Ramparts and Archaeological Garden

its reconquest at the hands of Salah al-Din, and finally two connected rooms, one on Mameluke and Ottoman Jerusalem, the second on the late nineteenth century through 1948. This second room covers European rule and the history of modernization alongside that of Jewish immigration to Palestine, the founding of the State of Israel, and the war of 1948.

To proceed from one room to the next requires one to walk out of the building, along the ramparts of the Citadel's compound, which is surrounded by its fortification walls and overlooks archaeological remains. The contrast between the interior and outer aspects of the museum is striking. This, after all, was designed as a *museum without objects*. According to its curator, there were already too many archaeological museums in Jerusalem. (Many people find archaeological museums boring, she told me.) So instead, this museum sought a different way to tell Jerusalem's story.

The exhibit consists almost entirely of reproductions of archaeological relics housed in other places (the floor of the Bet Alfa synagogue, the Madaba Map), and of reconstructions or simulations of architectural forms and ritual practices of times past, including a hologram of the First Temple and a model of the Second Temple. There is a computer simulation of activities at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Byzantine

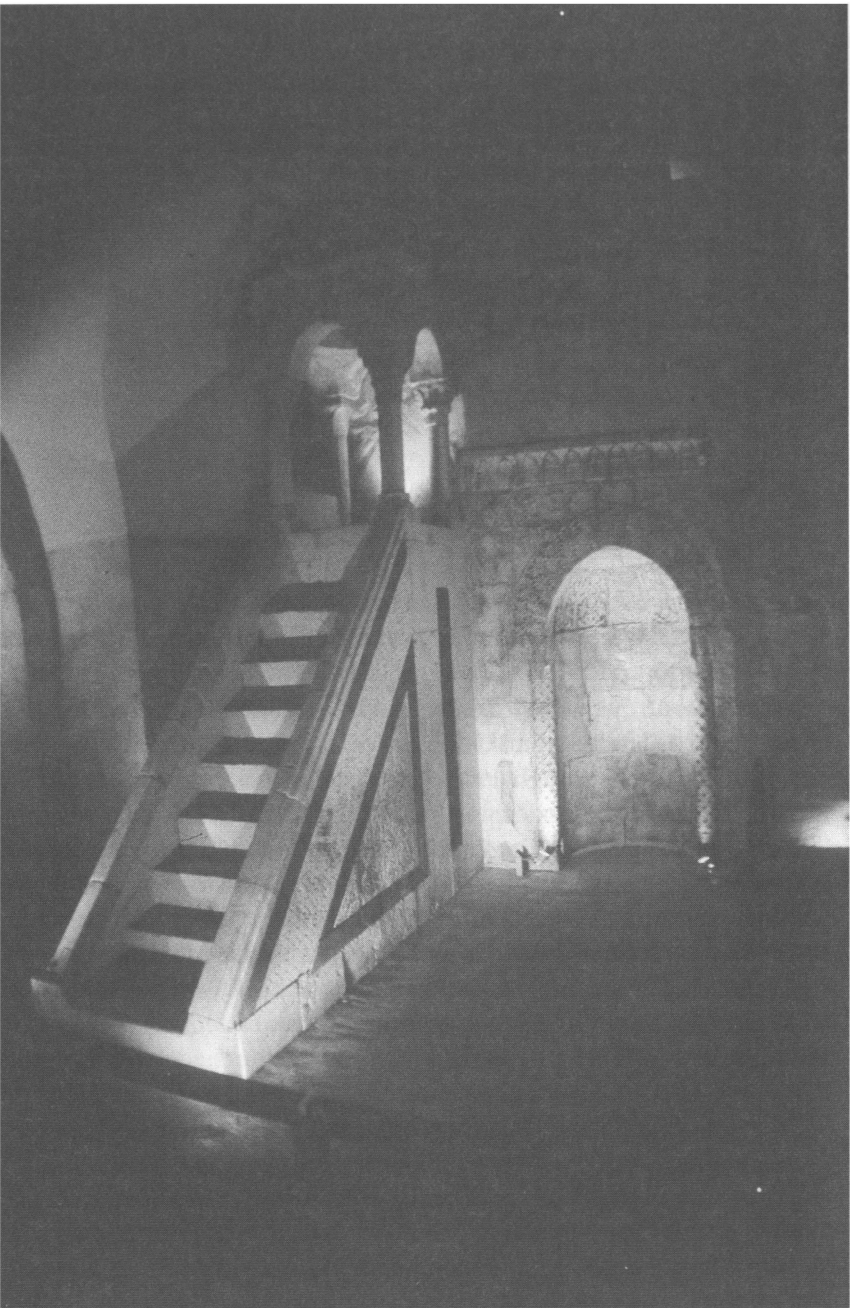


FIGURE 7.3. Tower of David Museum: Early Islamic Room with Mihrāb

Jerusalem, films of the railroad in early-twentieth-century Palestine, and, finally, a six-screen video montage of the events that led to the rise of the British Mandate in Palestine and culminated in the establishment of the Israeli state. At this final moment of the display, the Israeli national anthem is played and the Israeli flag rises to replace the British one. The only two “real” objects (objects that are neither simulations nor reproductions) are in the early-Islamic room: an inscription in Arabic and a Miḥrab (a place in a mosque indicating the direction of prayer), which are part of the architectural structure of the room and are unlabeled (both actually date to significantly later periods of the city’s Islamic history than those exhibited in the room).

But while the exhibit is composed almost exclusively of simulacra and simulations, the curator emphasized the centrality of the building to their museum design. The “main axiom” of their plan was, according to her, that the building should be its main feature: “If you take out the building, the effect of the museum is not the same. If you had a new space it would be a completely different language.”

The juxtaposition of the historical and the modern (often as replicas of things past) in the museum’s design is a venue for understanding the larger project of building the Jewish Quarter and the “language” of its design. The architectural design “wrapped” (Jameson 1991: 101) the modern within the historical, signifying historical and aesthetic continuity and rebirth within the quarter’s built form.<sup>13</sup> Throughout the Jewish Quarter, which is a living neighborhood in a contemporary city, modern buildings overlook or are built on top of archaeological remains. The presence of historical remains punctuates this modern space. They provide the quarter with a general aura of historical continuity and longevity. It is precisely that aura of historical depth that the architectural structure of Jerusalem’s Citadel and the excavated archaeological objects that inhabit its courtyard contribute to the museum design.

Archaeology plays an important role in exhibiting Jerusalem’s history, but it is for the most part a silent role. In the museum and on tours, there is very little said about either the building or the site. No architectural features are labeled. To return to the curator’s explanation as to why there are no labels next to the miḥrab and the inscription in the early-Islamic room, she explained that the idea was to “let the building . . . live [its] life.” These features were, according to her, an integral part of the function of the building itself, of *the setting* of the museum. They were not *on display*. The story told by the exhibit relies on this architecture as its shell, but it does not narrate it in any detail.

In the curator’s words, the miḥrab and the inscription “are not la-

beled because they are not part of the museum." Similarly, while there are identifying labels on some remains in the archaeological garden, there are no extensive historical explanations inside the museum. Reinforcing the background role of the site, guided tours focus on the exhibit at the expense of the Citadel's history. Museum guides talk briefly about some artifacts in the archaeological garden pointing to specific remains and labeling them "Herodian" or "Crusader" or "Arab," while tourists stand on ramparts and gaze upon them from afar. But the tour never works its way through the garden. Instead, tourists are encouraged to wander through it on their way out.

One guide for high school students took a somewhat different approach from that of the general museum guides, but she too focused on the reconstructions and the simulacra rather than the Citadel and its archaeological garden. By asking the students, "Who built this place?" she started the tour. They responded, "Herod." "Was David ever here?" she continued. "No," they answered. She told them that the site was built by Herod, "you can see the tower over there"; it was built by Muslims. She then explained that the tour was of the "museum itself." "This is not stuff that was excavated," she said. All the excavations are in the garden, she explained, and everything in the museum is a reconstruction. Each room represents a particular era. Before proceeding to the First and Second Temple period rooms upon which the tour focused, she stopped to comment on the walls. They are Mameluke and Ottoman, she told the students: "There is nothing here that is British or Israeli." Her final reference to the Citadel was to point out the gun-turrets in the walls, explaining their strategic value in defending the city.<sup>14</sup>

In the museum's design and in the format of the general tours, the architectural structure provides a shell that bestows an aura of historical authenticity upon the story and imparts a feeling of historical longevity and continuity into the atmosphere. The fact that the site's own history is not referred to in any detail, discussed only briefly as a prelude to the actual tour, is essential to the credibility of the history exhibited, which is a teleological tale that locates Jerusalem's origin, identity, and destiny in its role as the spiritual and political capital of the Jewish people. This is a story with Israelite origins and an Israeli ending.

The first exhibition room displays the First Temple period, telling the story of David's conquest of the city and his transformation of Jerusalem into the spiritual and national capital of the Jewish people. It is the telling and display of Jewish history in Jerusalem and Jewish longing for the city that forms the thread of continuity that weaves together each



FIG. 7.4. Tower of David Museum: "Arab Arch" in the Archaeological Garden

subsequent exhibition room and each succeeding epoch: the Babylonian exile or Second Temple period, Byzantium or early Islam. Although the curator told me that the exhibit ends with the year 1948 (the Tourjeman Post Museum tells the story of the divided city, she explained), that is not strictly true. While they are placed outside of the rubric of the exhibit, there are two photographs of the divided city. They are displayed at the exit from the final room and accompanied by placards that read: "Jerusalem was divided for nineteen years. The Eastern city was annexed to the Jordanian Kingdom and West Jerusalem became the capital of Israel" and "Jerusalem is an inseparable part of the State of Israel and its eternal capital." When questioned about the teleological politics of that closing statement, especially in light of her account of the museum as one designed to integrate Jerusalem's different and multiple histories and audiences into its tale, the curator answered, "But *that* is what people *believe*."

Were the museum exhibit and guided tours to engage in a sustained manner with the archaeology itself, visitors might well leave with a very different impression of Jerusalem's past. They would perhaps believe something else, that is, that for most of its history, including the Herodian period, Jerusalem was not a Jewish city, but rather one integrated

into larger empires and inhabited, primarily, by “other” communities. After all, it was not really even Herod, as opposed to David, who built this place, at least not most of what stands today. There are remains that both pre- and postdate the medieval city. But, the towers and walls of today’s Citadel are mostly Mameluke structures built upon Crusader-period foundations that form the basic outline of the site’s present plan (see Johns 1944, 1950; Hawari 1994: 114). If the history of the site were focused upon, guides would no longer be able to casually mention that to call this place the “Tower of David” is, to quote one guide, a “misnomer.” Although it has long been popularly known as the Tower of David—an appellation based upon a fourth-century “mistaken belief of Christian pilgrims that only David could have built so large and impressive a structure” (Rosovsky and Ungerleider-Mayerson 1989: 16)—the earliest archaeological remains at the Citadel are actually Hellenistic not Iron Age (see Hawari 1994: 114). And while initially that name may have been attached to a Herodian period tower at the northeast of the site (the Phasaël Tower), since perhaps the late nineteenth century, the tower that the name invokes—the structure that visually marks the Citadel and that has come to *stand for* the Jewishness of the city—is a different one. It is the Citadel’s southwestern tower (upon which stands a seventeenth-century minaret), which was, at that time, a mosque (see Johns 1950: 171–173). In the words of one English-speaking guide, “This place is called *Migdal David*, the Tower of David, and that structure over there where you see the crescent on top which is the Muslim symbol is called *Migdal David*. Well you know that David would never have put something like that there.” She explained, it was added later on by Muslims.

In using the site as the background and setting for the museum and the story it chooses to tell, the museum’s designers and curators envisioned their project in very much the same terms as did those architects and city planners whose blueprint for the newly built Jewish Quarter was ultimately realized. This quarter would integrate archaeology or, more accurately, multiple kinds of historical ruins into its contemporary architectural design. In the words of one of the city’s architects, this was to be “neither preservation nor new modern construction.” Rather, the design fashioned a reciprocity between “archaeology and architectural/urban form” (Sakr 1996: 92) that often blurred the distinction between them.

One forum in which these architectural plans were discussed and negotiated was the Jerusalem Committee. One foreign participant in that committee’s first meeting expressed his vision for the city:

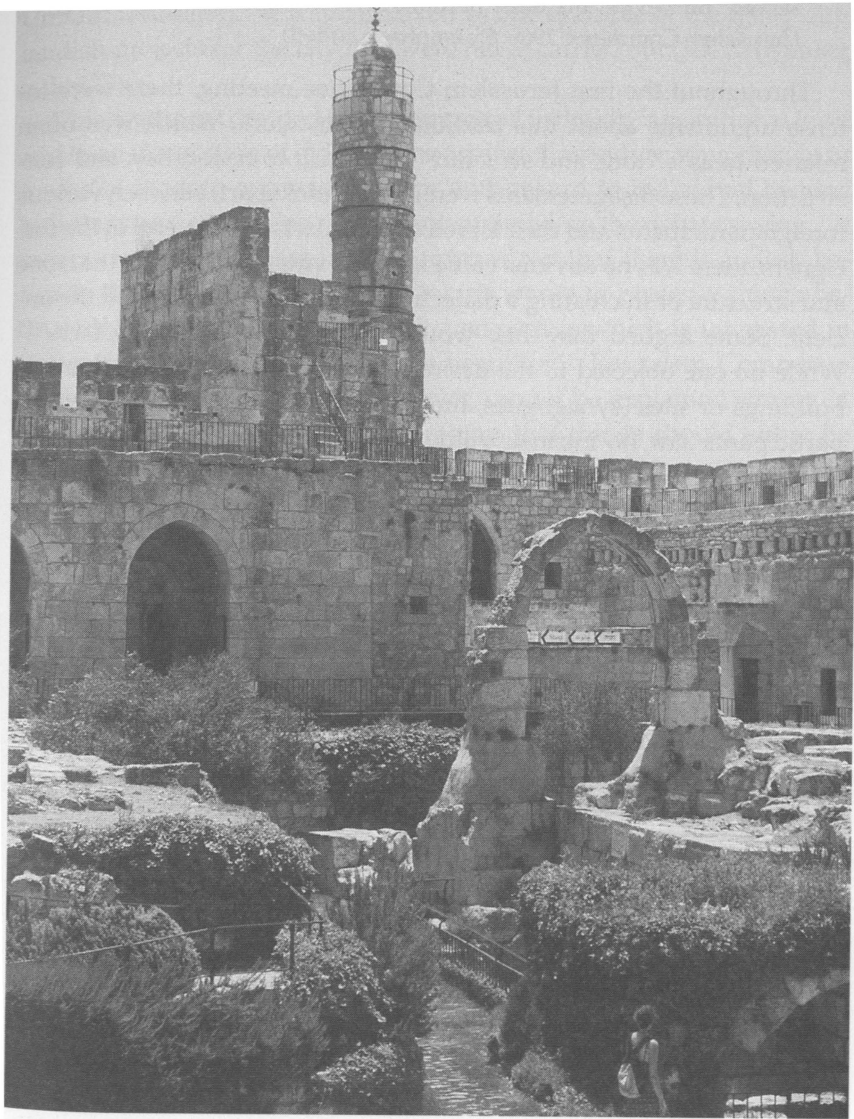


FIGURE 7.5. Tower of David Museum: "Migdal David"



I am not an architect, only a writer. To me, the experience you have had with the Hebrew language can teach us much about the construction of a city. It is the same problem: the dialectic struggle between the modern and the ancient. You have a city with a cultural life, with a human content and with a commercial life which must be developed and preserved. But all of this must be done within a *traditional framework* (Jerusalem Committee 1969: 55; emphasis added)

Throughout the first Jerusalem Committee meeting, there were intense arguments about this traditional framework, which was often referred to as a “tone and structure” approach to restoration and construction. These disagreements were, for the most part, between various foreign participants and their Israeli counterparts. For several of the foreigners, there was no obvious value in preserving or recreating that tone and structure or in creating a dialectic between the modern and the ancient. Some argued that they would quite simply create “kitsch.”<sup>15</sup> While no one objected to the desire to preserve and renovate historic buildings or sites (synagogues, the Western Wall, the Citadel), several participants saw no intrinsic value in recreating the Old City’s traditional vernacular architecture. In the words of a Dutch participant:

In a way, I regard it as a happy circumstance that the old Jewish Quarter was destroyed twenty years ago. It affords us a tremendous opportunity to build in its place something which will meet the needs of our own times. This is usually what has happened in world history—architects have almost always rebuilt old sites in the styles of their own times, and to suit the needs of their own times. (51)

This complete lack of sentimentality regarding Jerusalem’s architectural history was seconded by a reverend from New York, although he harbored a little more reverence for tradition than did his Dutch counterpart:

I want to emphasize my very positive agreement with Dr. Sandberg. For Jerusalem to be alive in an organic and viable sense requires growth and change, as well as destruction and change. Why the insistence that “everything must be stone?” Stone is fundamentally a material of stasis and normal growth is as fundamental to life as change. . . . I would hope that with the new technologies we can strengthen tradition while remaining vitally alive to the moment. (51–52)

An unequivocal commitment to the modern and to change was not proposed by foreigners alone, however. Following the 1967 war, David

Ben-Gurion suggested that the city walls be demolished. Eradicating the walls, Turkish and not Jewish (as Ben-Gurion pointed out), would be a step toward eliminating all physical signs of a divided city. His suggestion was promptly rejected, although it was later included in a temporary exhibition at the Tower of David Museum entitled "Dreamscapes: Unbuilt Jerusalem." It was displayed as one example of the many outlandish projects for the city that were never carried out (see Kroyanker n.d.: 127).

This argument divided those committed to the city's traditional form and to an integration of old and new against those advocating change or a wholly modern approach (except with regard to individual historic buildings and sites). One participant summed up the debate saying, "It seems our whole discussion has emphasized that there is a clash between the historical perspective, which wants to preserve things because they are old, and the artistic perspective which is interested in preserving things only if they are beautiful" (Jerusalem Committee 1969: 55). The disagreement, however, cannot be explained simply in terms of an artistic-historical dichotomy, that things should either be preserved because they are beautiful or because they are old. That dichotomy eclipses entire discussions about what makes something beautiful in and for Jerusalem, a notion of an appropriate aesthetic, which was itself articulated through a discourse of historical authenticity, tradition, and uniqueness, as it had been many decades before by British architects and officials responsible for the preservation of the Old City as a historic monument during the mandate.

Throughout the discussions during the Jerusalem City Council's special session on Jerusalem (July 1967), numerous council members emphasized the city's uniqueness, in terms of its history and significance, its political and social problems, and, essential to the debates on architectural design, its physical beauty and character. In considering reconstruction and future building, speakers stressed repeatedly that the beauty *characteristic* of the city had to be preserved and respected. To quote Teddy Kollek: "In terms of its facade, Jerusalem must preserve its unique character and beauty. In order to do so, a lot of renovations are needed, beginning with the wall, the establishment of a green belt and parks surrounding the walls, the preservation of historical sites, not just religious sites but also many buildings and places of beauty in the Old City and outside of it which must be preserved" (Jerusalem City Council 1967c: 3). Or, to quote the chief city planner, Nathaniel Lichfield, speaking before the 1973 meeting of the Jerusalem Committee:

In the planning of Jerusalem there are two particular aspects constantly in mind. First, this is a town, like every other town. The people here want to live, work, have education, have fun and recreation. . . . But secondly, it's a city of a special character, recognized throughout the world as such. . . . Jerusalem is unique in the special sense that there's no city like it. Now what do we do in our planning to recognize this? (Jerusalem Committee 1973: 57)

During the 1969 meeting of the Jerusalem Committee, the commissioner of the national parks spoke on plans to build a Jerusalem national park. He recounted that a few days after the 1967 war the National Parks Authority and the mayor of Jerusalem approached Prime Minister Levi Eshkol with their recommendation for establishing a park in the city. They received quick approval and had been developing its plan ever since. There were two intersecting reasons for creating this park: first, "to preserve the beauty of this ancient city" and, second, to "provide appropriate settings for shrines and monuments dating back to biblical times" (Jerusalem Committee 1969: 21). Fabricating an appropriate setting for the city's biblical monuments had a pragmatic motivation as well. The city needed wide open and shaded spaces to accommodate the massive upsurge in tourism that was anticipated. These aesthetic and pragmatic aims converged in the landscaping design for the park. In addition to extending what already existed, that is, olive groves in the valleys, pine trees on the ridges, and so forth, they planned "to introduce new planting which will emphasize the walls, conserve the soil, hide unsightly structures, and provide shade for visitors. All trees planted will be those characteristic of Jerusalem and mentioned in the Bible" (22). Elements of this plan have been realized only recently. In front of the walls adjacent to the Old City's Damascus Gate are rows of rather huge palm trees, a landscaping choice that has raised many an eyebrow in the city's Palestinian community. "Where do they think we are, in Gaza?" someone said to me.<sup>16</sup>

It is not only the nature said to characterize the city that was to be defined through biblical sources or a wider sense of the city's (historical) uniqueness. So too was its material culture—what is referred to as *Yerushalayim ha-Bnuya* (the built Jerusalem). In the opinion of the city's chief planner, those qualities that define Jerusalem's special character include the significance of the city as the capital of the modern State of Israel; the fact that it is a city with a divided people; and the city's unique "natural endowment," as well as its "built environment," which has long adapted itself to its environs (Jerusalem Committee 1973: 58). Jerusalem is a city of "tremendous diverse qualities," which "mean dif-

ferent things to different people," and any attempt at city planning must try to incorporate that reality into its urban vision: "How [do] you try and create any particular solution, bearing in mind this spirit and character which I've mentioned, but to emphasize you can't have everything all the time" (60)?

In answering his own question, Lichfield argued that there must be zones within which development is prohibited: "You're not protecting the Old City, you're protecting it from the new." In protecting it from the new, planners and architects must create "new buildings, new places, new things for Jerusalem which are worthy of it" (*ibid.*). And in this effort of urban conservation and construction, he emphasized the importance of the

preservation and protection for the manmade qualities of Jerusalem with which pre-history and history have endowed it, for example, the city walls and the religious sites. In some cases the preservation as monuments is not enough. *You've got to make it not a museum piece, but a living embodiment.* ... Indeed the Old City reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter is an attempt of this whether we all sympathize with it or not. (*Ibid.*; emphasis added)

In effect, the Jewish Quarter was to be treated as a "living monument," a category reserved for religious institutions alone under the Palestine Administration's Jerusalem city planning ordinances.

As Lichfield accurately described it, the new Jewish Quarter was designed precisely as a living embodiment of and for the select material remainders of the city's pasts. As articulated by David Kroyanker (another architect who worked on the Jewish Quarter project), "The great success of the revitalization project stems first and foremost from its having created a coexistence of a modern residential quarter and a living, effervescent museum of some 30 historical and archaeological sites" (Kroyanker 1985: 22). Or, in the words of one guide speaking to a group of university students in Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter, the quarter is a "prime example of a place that combines use with tourism." The settlement of the new Quarter made a connection: this is "not just a synagogue, but a residential neighborhood," he told them. "This area," he explained, "has a great cultural importance, a cultural or symbolic value for past and present. Why do we love Jerusalem? Because of that mixing [of past and present]."

It was that question of mixing (of the dialectic between) past and present that framed the debates on the quarter's architectural design and that ultimately determined the site's plans. Because of their ability to

*produce* historical testimony to the past—an ancient, buried past—archaeological excavations were given priority in plans to renovate the quarter. As explained by one archaeologist, throughout debates on how the Jewish Quarter should be reconstructed, “one thing was clear to everyone—before restoration, new with the old, entirely new etc. . . . the first thing to do was to make archaeological excavations.”<sup>17</sup> Louis Kahn, the designer of the initial blueprint for the new Jewish Quarter and an internationally renowned architect, envisioned the area “as an archaeological grid in which the architectural, urban forms are shaped after and in juxtaposition to its ruins.” This was an overall spatial conceptualization that was sustained by subsequent architects after Kahn’s own plans were shelved (Sakr 1996: 8).

Expressive of this overall vision was Moshe Safdie’s plan for the Western Wall plaza (the area of the former Maghariba Quarter). His design, commissioned jointly by the Jerusalem Municipality and the Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter, was, like Kahn’s design before it, never implemented. Safdie’s plan was opposed by religious authorities who feared ceding any control over the area to the archaeologists and their committedly secular political allies. As David Kroyanker later explained, “None of the planners was able to appreciate how sensitive this site is and how diverse and broad the opposition to touching it” (1985: 25). Or, as Rabbi Yosef described the fears of the religious community:

You know we have no trust in the archaeologists. . . . They have prevented us from praying at the south side of the Western Wall [the site of Mazar’s excavations discussed in the previous chapter]. Who knows what will come to pass? What if they find a mosque? What if they find an important church? What if they decide they’ve unearthed some important archaeological discovery that at all cost [should be] preserved? What about our access to the wall then? (quoted in Safdie 1996: 190)

Even though Safdie’s plan was ultimately shelved (as have been all other plans for the area since; see Kroyanker 1985: 25; see also Safdie 1996: 190), it remains a succinct conceptual articulation of the design for the new quarter as a whole. The plan captures the issues of how and why the present and the past were to inhabit the same space, each in a reciprocal relation with the other, and through which a place that is neither simply preservation nor simply modern construction was made.

Moshe Safdie’s design for the Western Wall was borne out of a feeling, shared by many others at the meetings of the Jerusalem Committee and in other fora, that the problem with having demolished the Magha-

riba Quarter was that it left an aesthetic void in its wake, completely effacing the settler-colonial politics of dispossession that that act of demolition involved. As one architect speaking before the 1969 meeting of the committee said,

Certainly some demolitions were necessary, not only to provide room for mass religious ceremonies, but also for archeological excavations. Nothing permanent can be built, or even designed, until these excavations are finished. What they are revealing is of the utmost importance, but their work will require perhaps another five or ten years, and the Western Wall can not wait such a long time to regain its scale and its foreshortened image. Something temporary can be done . . . [to] provide the Wall with a more suitable setting. (Jerusalem Committee 1969: 53)

According to Safdie, "one of the major problems of the Wall . . . was that it had lost its intimacy. It was an intimate place, and clearing away all of those buildings in front of it made it scale-less. It no longer had the imposition and the size of the Wall it had in the past" (Jerusalem Committee 1973: 69). Safdie designed a plaza which was envisaged as a solution for this aesthetic problem, one that would once again provide the wall with an appropriate setting.

Safdie imagined a tiered approach to the wall, with stepped public squares rising in elevation as each platform moved away from the grand architectural scale of the wall and toward the vernacular residential architecture of the heart of the Jewish Quarter. Each of these levels was to archaeologically express a particular historical period, starting with the Herodian city and culminating in the contemporary Jewish Quarter. These tiered squares were to be connected by a series of staircases of varied heights and widths positioned in different parts of the plaza. The new setting was to accompany and to incorporate a now fully excavated wall, which would be exposed down to its very foundations: "[I]t is important to have this meeting, or transition, from the scale of houses to the palatial scale, and that . . . must be a gentle transition" (70).

His design invoked not just a contemporary architectural aesthetic, however. It was informed by historical and archaeological knowledge of the ancient city. As Safdie explained, "according to Professor Mazar . . . the connection from the Herodian streets to the city was a climb, and this in fact brought about this plan" (74). The Western Wall plaza stood at the conceptual center of Safdie's design, which sought to integrate the entire quarter into a singular space stretching from an archaeological garden on the southeast through the vernacular architecture and heart of the

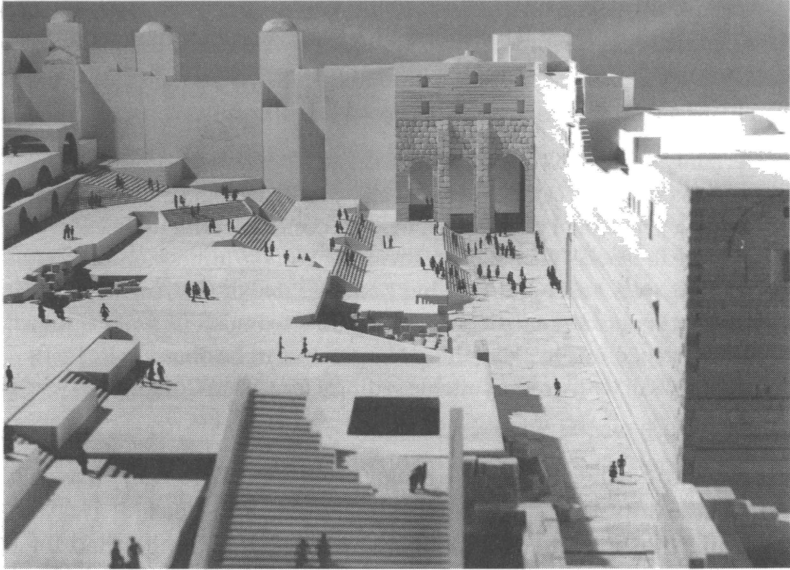


FIGURE 7.6. Design by Moshe Safdie for the Western Wall Plaza

new Jewish Quarter to the west. But the design blended the past into its present form in more than conceptual ways. It would also absorb its physical remainders:

One thing I omitted to mention, and maybe this could be seen on the model later, is that the amphitheater extends itself south of the Wall towards the City of David and as it descends further from the Herodian level we go through what I call an archaeological amphitheater. At the uppermost level we hope to refurbish some of the walls of the Omayyad Palace of the Muslim Period, then we go one level further down and we come to the Byzantine level and there we go one further down and we come to the Herodian level, and as you go from one level to another, reconstructing or refurbishing the particular period at each level and then you come to the point which looks into David's city which is the origin of the city in the first place. (66–67)

The argument over Safdie's design that ensued revolved around questions of authentic-historic versus modern architectural forms. Participants in the debate asked, do we want to recreate an inauthentic old design (to create kitsch), or do we want to respect the modern one as part of our time (i.e., the now existing wide open plaza produced by the

demolition of the Maghariba Quarter)? Do we want such a "one-dimensional, theatrical . . . approach"? How is the design to adapt itself to the ongoing discoveries unearthed by the excavations (73)? But the details of these arguments are not as important as understanding how Safdie's design evoked the larger image in which the Jewish Quarter was ultimately built. Avi-Yonah, one of Israel's archaeological founding fathers came to Safdie's defense saying, "as regards the buildings which have been planned, or rather the stairs and arches and so on, I would like to remind you that they are really the back of the whole place. I mean, hardly anyone will see them for a long time. Nobody is going to stay with his back to the Wall and contemplate what is there. He will face the Wall. He might give a short glance. But, anyhow, this is so to speak, the *back-stage*. The front is, of course, the Wall itself" (71-72; emphasis added).

Whereas at the wall the modern architecture was to be the back stage and the setting for the ancient archaeological remains, throughout the remainder of the Jewish Quarter (and at the Tower of David Museum), the relationship is inverted. Throughout the Jewish Quarter, a living neighborhood of a contemporary city, modern buildings overlook or are built over the archaeological remains. The presence of both ancient remains and more recent ruins punctuate this contemporary place, providing the quarter with an aura of historical continuity and longevity while simultaneously insinuating a specific (Jewish-national) story of ancient destruction and modern rebirth.

Whether in museums, which are preserved underneath contemporary homes or *yeshivot*, or scattered throughout the quarter as tourist sites and architectural presences, archaeological remains furnish the quarter with its historical atmosphere. The present *inhabits* the past, thereby giving one a sense that this is not merely a contemporary city, but rather one that is built upon the foundations of a past whose traditions it perpetuates and within which it remains firmly embedded. These archaeological objects embed the signs of a specific *historicity* into the quarter's environment. Archaeological objects and sites are housed in the basement levels of residential and commercial buildings and religious centers. The past is not merely monumentalized, rather, it is resurrected. Those historical remainders inhabit the quarter's public domain, including its plazas, its shopping and tourist areas, and its (open-air) museums, which are numbered and labeled by blue ceramic signs along a tour route that the Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter designed (see Kroyanker 1985: 27).



Walking through the heart of today's Jewish Quarter, one encounters a section of the Israelite Broad Wall, an Iron Age fortification wall unearthed by Avigad. This massive architectural structure is preserved in a pit that abuts the foundation walls of apartment buildings that tower over it. One also encounters the Israelite Tower, a basement-level museum that houses the remains of an Iron Age fortification tower, and alongside it a tower from the Hasmonean period. The Byzantine Cardo, an open-air tourist site, is preserved as a monument of times past and feeds into the (originally) Crusader Cardo, which houses tourist shops in its restored archways. There are also the Burnt House and the Wohl Archaeological Museum (the Herodian Quarter), which are archaeological museums that occupy the basement levels of contemporary buildings. As succinctly stated in the first sign one encounters upon entering the Herodian Quarter: "You have now descended three meters below the level of the present Jewish Quarter. You have gone back 2000 years in time to the Upper City of Jerusalem in the Herodian period." At the contemporary street level is a *yeshiva*. Students work at the entranceway collecting admission charges. As one guide summed up, the museum and the institution that is built on top of it typify the urban design of the quarter as a whole. The *yeshiva*'s foundations are dug into "the archaeological site itself." Those foundation beams are visible within the museum, framing the preservation and restoration of the remains on display.

Through their integration into its architectural design, the objects of archaeology provide the quarter with its (historical) setting. But it is not archaeological ruins alone that inhabit this space. The Hurva synagogue, for example, a site restored *as a ruin*, occupies a central place in the Jewish Quarter's main square. (*Hurba* means "ruin" or "ruins" in Hebrew). Like other "modern ruins" in the quarter, the Hurva was partially restored in order to memorialize the destruction of the site and that of the old quarter, more widely, during the 1948 war. A newly constructed arch commemorating that devastation towers over the Hurva's cleared remains and, more broadly, over the quarter's skyline as a whole. Displayed as part of a series of explanatory signs telling the history of the site and the synagogues that have occupied it over the past few hundred years are photographs of telegrams that the Jerusalem district's command sent toward the end of the 1948 war. One telegram announces the Hurva's destruction.

The quarter's architectural design integrates ruins, more precisely, archaeological relics assembled from the depths of the earth and mod-



FIGURE 7.7. Restored Crusader Cardo

ern ruins produced through the work of partial restoration, not as embodiments of a distant past, but as material signs of a tangible link with the present. That physical interlacing of past and present typifies not only its public squares and the integration of monumental or archaeological remains, it characterizes the quarter's vernacular architecture as well. As summed up by one of the architects who designed the new Jewish Quarter,

Even though the Jewish Quarter does not possess a single building of exceptional architectural value (those that were of historic interest, for example, the synagogue, had been demolished), the unique charm of the narrow alleys with their vaults and their arches deserve to be preserved. It will be difficult to restore everything, but we would like to preserve this very special ambience. (Frankel 1970: 66)

In today's Jewish Quarter, modern buildings are built in so-called "Jerusalem stone" (the limestone quarried in the area) in order to perpetuate the tradition of the city's architectural form (Gian 1992: 23–25). Contemporary architecture is created in the image of its vernacular traditional counterpart. Residential housing, for example, replicates the geometric designs, the rooftops (with small white domes), or the inner



FIGURE 7.8. Herodian Quarter: Basement-level Museum

courtyards of the older architectural schemes that it cites through its built form. But, much of the quarter's vernacular architecture does far more than just replicate the *form* of the Old City's traditional architecture. Single buildings integrate older stones (at lower levels) with newer stones (at higher levels) that complete the building structure. Those original parts remain visibly distinct, creating buildings neither simply old nor simply new. Rather, the modern city, and many of its individual buildings, is assembled upon historical foundations. It is wrapped within historical remains.<sup>18</sup>

The historicity signified through this blending of past and present, however, is not the only historical continuity suggested in the quarter's built form. Rather, it accompanies the embodied signs of more *specific histories* that the present restores and completes. In contrast to the Tower of David Museum, most of the quarter's visible archaeological remains date to First or Second Temple periods and *are labeled as such*: the Broad Wall, the Israelite Tower, remnants of Hasmonean and Israelite walls, the Herodian and Israelite period remains in Burnt House, and the Herodian Quarter. There is, in addition, the most central ruin of all, the Hurva synagogue. In other words, these very same objects simultaneously tell a particular history. It is a story produced through the choices



FIGURE 7.9. Arch of the Hurva Synagogue

made regarding which historical remainders to preserve, to label, and to display and what stories they would tell. History is fashioned through the naming of museums, of periods, and of objects according to a historical chronology that favors national identifications over other possibilities. These are Israelite, not Iron Age, remains. Museums tell the history of the Herodian and not the early-Roman city.<sup>19</sup>

There *are* other preserved and (partially) restored remains in today's Jewish Quarter. But the objects centered in the quarter's design and offered as stops on its tours are mainly those construed as remainders of ancient Israelite and Jewish national culture and sovereignty. The ob-



FIGURE 7.10. Jewish Quarter: “Old-New” Buildings

jects are presented as material signs of (the continuity of) Jewish settlement here and its violent destruction in 1948.<sup>20</sup> In centering (and labeling) *those* ruins, the quarter’s architectural form fashions the present as a revival of very specific histories in the city’s past. This is an embodied story of national origins and continuities, one with early-Israelite beginnings and contemporary Israeli endings. In fact, those Israeli endings are presupposed within the very ideology of reunification itself. To return to the words on the final panel at the Tower of David Museum: “Jerusalem is an inseparable part of the State of Israel and its eternal capital.” As the curator told me, “*That, is what people believe.*”

But even if this is a place that commences in its Israelite history and culminates in Israeli victory, it is not one without other histories in between, nor is it without other stories subsumed within its latest episode. There are other pasts that inhabit the quarter’s public domain. These pasts are also polysemic: they signify historicity on the one hand (citing a general historical authenticity or depth in connection to which the present exists) and multiplicity on the other (telling a history of Jerusalem as a multicultural place). The Cardo perhaps best encapsulates all these images in one. It is part Byzantine, and the excavated and restored Byzantine columns and road have now become a tourist site. It is also

Crusader. Into those refurbished Crusader archways are built tourist shops that sell reproductions and simulacra of historical objects. From the Crusader portion of the *Cardo*, visitors can overlook railings or peer down underneath the street (through glass-topped, vertical tunnels) to see the excavated remains of a "Hasmonean wall," of the "Western Portico of the *Cardo*," and of "a recent cistern." The Crusader *Cardo* is covered by a vaulting system that imitates the traditional roofing of the city's bazaars. The entire structure is integrated into the larger urban design, with contemporary buildings and pathways inhabiting its second floor.

The integration of past and present at the *Cardo* is an aesthetic design in which the dividing line between modern architecture and historical structures is not always clear (specifically, in the Crusader *Cardo*/tourist market). It produces a sense of historical depth and of the wrapping of the present (contemporary architecture and everyday practices) within the past. But concurrently, the multiple historical epochs visible here (Byzantine, Crusader, Hasmonean, recent, Israelite at one of its entranceways) and, moreover, *the restoration of the Byzantine Cardo itself* as a central archaeological ruin and tourist site embodies an additional story. That story recounts Jerusalem's past as one marked by a mosaic of multiple histories, religions, and communities. According to the Citadel's curator, it was that perspective that motivated their museum design. Had they exhibited the objects excavated at the Citadel, she told me, the main statement the public would get would be that "some periods are more important than others." There were, for example, more Byzantine than either First Temple or Islamic remains, so by choosing to display reproductions rather than archaeological relics, they could better introduce to their audience "the highlights of history," which incorporate these various cultural, religious, and political empires that have marked Jerusalem's past.

The *Cardo*, the Nea Church, the (originally) Umayyad Palace complex,<sup>21</sup> the minaret of a mosque that towers in tandem with the Hurva's arch over the quarter's main public square, and Saint Mary of the German Knights (the remains of a Crusader period church) all signify "other" histories and "other" religions. In fact, the often unexpected unearthing of these pasts during archaeological excavations helped to crystallize a second component of the politics of settler nationhood that would structure Israeli claims to the unified city. Jerusalem has long been inhabited by an amalgam of (religious) communities. The political claim, repeatedly articulated since the 1967 war, has held that as a liberal democratic state Israel would protect both the rights of its "minority"



FIGURE 7.11. Minaret adjacent to Hurva's Arch

*residents* as well as their historical and religious monuments, replicating the communal politics of heritage management that characterized mandate times. This was a politics of liberal tolerance, motivated in large part by Kollek, the mayor of Jerusalem, and his allies' desire to curb the potential power of the city's religious Jews, thus protecting their own right to live in a secular city.<sup>22</sup> For example, several tour guides interpreted the mosque's minaret in the heart of the Jewish Quarter as a sign of Israeli tolerance. It was, after all, preserved (although it is unlabeled and no longer open for religious worship).

As at the Tower of David Museum, this discourse of multiplicity remains firmly subsumed within an aesthetics and politics that establishes (and protects) the quarter, and the city as a whole, as an essentially Jewish-national place. Reproducing the dynamics that Gwendolyn Wright has described with regard to French policies of colonial urbanism in early-twentieth-century Morocco, the conservation of traditional architectural sites or religious monuments belonging to Jerusalem's Christian and Muslim minorities effectively displaced their "actual involvement in political life" onto "a purely visual expression of their cultural autonomy" (Wright 1997: 325).

## Spatial Apartheid

Several years after the construction of the new Jewish Quarter the quarter had been launched, Mohammed Burqan, a Palestinian of East Jerusalem challenged the demographic vision guiding that project. Asserting his right to live in the area, he contested the effort to transform this terrain into exclusively Jewish(-national) space.

In February 1978, Burqan responded to an "Offer of Flats to the Public" issued by the Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter. He submitted his application for long-term tenancy despite the stipulation in the company's advertisement that the offer was open to "either a citizen of Israel who is resident therein and served in the IDF (or received an exemption from service in the IDF, or served in one of the Jewish organizations prior to 14.8.48), or a new immigrant who is resident of Israel" (al-Haq n.d.: 1). He applied to rent an apartment in a building in which he and his family had resided (beginning in 1947—the date of their departure was unclear). Whether his prior status was that of tenant or owner was in dispute.<sup>23</sup> His application to rent a flat was refused. Burqan took his case to court, and the ministers of housing and of finance joined the company as corespondents.

Burqan's lawyers argued that the company's refusal to rent to him and his family constituted illegal discrimination on the grounds of religious preference and of nationality. The High Court disagreed. On June 14, 1978, the Israeli High Court issued its ruling that Burqan had no right to live in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. In handing down their decision, the judges articulated two specific arguments. First, they advocated a policy of segregated pluralism (of Jerusalem as a mosaic of distinct and separate communities) as the appropriate form of Israeli democracy. Second, they asserted that on the basis of both historical right and the space's own historical character, non-Jews had no right to live in the Jewish Quarter.

In addition, the court argued that the term "Israeli citizens and residents" was not limited to Jews. It also included Muslims, Druze, and Christians who are *citizens* of the state. Therefore, the provision restricting applications to citizens, they argued, cannot be seen to constitute discrimination on the basis of religious preference. Of course, the second part of this clause in the original offer requires that these citizens must either have served in the Israel Defense Forces, or its historical predecessors, or received exemptions from military service. In practice, that effectively excludes the vast majority of Israel's non-Jewish citizens from eligibility. Only the Druze are conscripted into the Israeli military.



The justices dismissed this problem in their ruling on the grounds that the specific provision in the offer was a matter of “*simple security considerations*” (al-Haq n.d.: 7–6; emphasis added).

Taking up Burqan’s second objection that excluding noncitizens from eligibility constitutes discrimination on national grounds, the court ruled that conferring differential rights upon citizens versus noncitizens is a legal prerogative accorded to all states. As their point of reference, the justices cited Article 2(3) of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: “Developing countries, with due regard to human rights and their national economy, may determine to what extent they would guarantee the economic rights recognized in the present Covenant to non-nationals” (Israel Yearbook on Human Rights [IYHR] 1990: 375). Citing this particular article is, however, problematic. First of all, it refers to *developing countries*, a category with which the Israeli state does not generally identify itself. Second, we can safely assume that the term “non-nationals” was used in this article to refer to *foreigners* (protecting developing nations from having their national economies overrun by foreign investments, although clearly abusable vis-à-vis migrant labor) and not to a population living under military occupation, which had been *rendered* foreigners in their own homes through an act of war.

The High Court argued, moreover, that there was no illegal discrimination “in preserving the existence of separate quarters for different religious communities” (IYHR 1985: 374–75). Furthermore, they asserted the right of the Israeli state to restore and develop the Jewish Quarter to its prior state. I quote from Justice Cohen’s ruling:

The need for the restoration of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City arose because Jordan’s armed forces invaded it and expelled the Jews, plundered their property and destroyed their homes. It is in the nature of things that this restoration comes to renew the Jewish settlement in the Old City to its original splendor so that the Jews will again have, as was the case in the past, their own special quarter alongside the Muslim, Christian and Armenian Quarters. There is no invalid discrimination in the particularization of these quarters: *each quarter and its own community*. (al-Haq n.d.: 7; emphasis added)

There are two overlapping historical arguments embedded in this ruling. The first concerns a more recent history, which includes the war of 1948 in which the Zionists/Israelis lost the Jewish Quarter to the Jordanian military after a protracted battle. In light of that historical wrong (a historical wrong memorialized in the preservation of the Hurva as a

ruin), the justices maintained that the state would be entitled to discriminate if it so desired (even though they do not consider the actions of the company actually to be discriminatory). Any discrimination against Jordanian citizens (i.e., residents of East Jerusalem and the West Bank) who “owe allegiance to the Government of Jordan . . . [would be] . . . justified and proper” (7).

The second historical argument contained in this ruling has more temporal depth. It is based upon the judges’ perception of the Jewish Quarter’s own identity, which was established in and through a much longer history. As Justice Shamgar explained, this case is “not a matter of equal rights to housing as the plaintiff sought to present it, but a matter of the rights of the governmental authorities and of the public associations assisting them to restore out of its ruins the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem” (al-Haq n.d.: 9), a “public aim” for which the expropriation of an individual’s property, given adequate compensation, is “justified” (10). That right of restoration is part of a historic struggle to maintain the Jewishness of the city, a battle that stretches back to ancient times. Invoking ancient history, Justice Shamgar wrote: “Ever since Hadrian (130 C.E.) tried to alter its identity and change Jerusalem’s name to Aelia Capitolina, there have been repeated attempts to remove the Jews from their capital” (9). Those repeated attempts to remove the Jews from their city, however, were not successful. As early as the eleventh century, a Jewish quarter had taken its place alongside the other quarters. Thus, according to Shamgar, the government’s decision following the 1967 war to restore the quarter “to its original splendor and [to] inhabit it with Jews” was a legitimate assertion of a historical claim. That decision would allow the Jewish Quarter to “once again . . . take its place in the mosaic of the other community quarters in the Old City, as was the case during the many centuries until the expulsion of the Jewish population by the Jordanians in 1948” (10).<sup>24</sup>

On the basis of that historical argument, Justice Shamgar questioned Burqan’s very desire (as a non-Jew and as a “non-Jerusalemite”) to live in the Jewish Quarter:

Moreover, in light of the *historical character of the Quarter*, it is surprising that the plaintiff saw place to compete in the tender and to put forward his demands, when his and his family’s *attachment* to the Quarter (a family originally from Hebron) stemmed from residence in return for rent, beginning in 1947, in one of the buildings in the Quarter—a building in which one-quarter ownership was purchased by the family in 1947 and 1948, and which, until 1938, had been, as noted, *inhabited by Jews*. (11; emphasis added)

He added, "by the way, were the appellant's request to be granted and the aim of restoring the site as a Jewish Quarter abandoned, one can see no apparent way how any similar request by anyone else could be refused" (*ibid.*).

Such legal arguments raise a number of questions about the justices' claims concerning the character of the pre-1948 Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. First of all, Shamgar emphasized that Burqan's family was originally from Hebron. Implicitly, the Burqans' origin juxtaposes that of Jews who presumably truly belong to Jerusalem (whether or not they actually do or have ever resided there). Burqan's attachment to the city is therefore a lesser one, as it stems from residence. Nevertheless, this recognition of Burqan's residence in, and part ownership of, a building in the pre-1948 Jewish Quarter raises questions about the very historical character that the justices presupposed in the first place. So too does Shamgar's statement that the building had been inhabited by Jews prior to 1938. What were the pre-1948 Jewish Quarter's boundaries? And who, in actual fact, lived within it or owned its properties?

Prior to 1948, the old Jewish Quarter was not exclusively Jewish, neither in residence nor in ownership. According to Ben-Arieh, 20 percent of the quarter was owned by Jews prior to 1948 (1984: 327–28). Of the area now designated as the Jewish Quarter, Jewish properties in the pre-1948 period were even less, around 12 percent (Sakr 1996: 85). Moreover, those Jewish-owned properties consisted "for the most part of three large synagogue complexes, their enclosures, and associated *yeshivas* and other religious institutions" (Khalidi 2000a: 28). The rest of the quarter was either in private (non-Jewish) Arab ownership or endowed as Islamic (or less commonly Christian) *Awqaf*, under which tenants held long-term leases (*ibid.*). Furthermore, in the pre-1948 ethnic constellation of the Old City, none of these quarters were exclusively Jewish, Christian, Armenian, or Muslim, nor, for that matter, were there clearly discernible boundaries between one quarter and the next. In fact, many Christians and Muslims lived in that Jewish Quarter. Following the 1967 war, all that changed.

The new Jewish Quarter was to be exclusively Jewish, in both residence and land ownership. A variety of legal means and pressure tactics were used to rid the new Jewish Quarter of its Palestinian residents. As described by David Hirst, then Middle East correspondent for the London *Guardian*:

Ostensibly, the 5,500 [Palestinian inhabitants of the lands expropriated for the new Jewish Quarter] left of their own free will with what the municipal booklets described as "handsome" compensation. When I

suggested to an official responsible for "reconstruction" that this was untrue, he came close to losing his temper. "Do we shoot them," he asked, "do we drive them across the river, do we deny them work?" They don't. What they do, when they cannot persuade some obstinate tenant . . . to accept the inadequate compensation they offer, is to make his life unbearable by demolishing everything around him, even part of the house itself, the entrance steps or an outside lavatory. The walls crack, the roof leaks, water gets cut off, the rooms are choked with dust. They use intimidation. . . . They cynically exploit municipal regulations. A housewife showed me the order she had received to evacuate her house for her own safety's sake. If her house was unsafe, it was, of course, because the Municipality, bulldozing all around it, had made it so. (1974: 22)

Through a combination of outright expropriation, intimidation, and questionable sales (mostly from tenants who "owned" the long-term leases but not the properties themselves), the new Jewish Quarter was forged as a novel terrain of settler nationhood. A space of homogeneous Jewish settlement, today's Jewish Quarter is a national-cultural and a physical place quite distinct from the Old City's other neighborhoods. As one guide stopped to note on a tour of the Old City's four quarters, pointing to a building in which on one side the facade is older Jerusalem stone, and on the other, recognizably new Jerusalem stone, he said: "This is the border."

### A History for the Future?

Making the new Jewish Quarter involved fashioning the historical as the basis of the present. History emerged as the legal, cultural, and material ground of national-historical rights to the space, the visible referent that was embodied in architectural structures, aesthetic forms, and urban design. As Doreen Massey has written of the spatial politics of nationalist, regionalist, and localist movements, such maneuvers are attempts "to fix the meaning of particular spaces, to enclose them, endow them with fixed identities and to claim them for one's own" (1994: 4). But efforts to stabilize spatial meanings are not, as Massey insists, simply the "endpoint of" social relations. The making of space, as geographers and others have long argued, is implicated "in the production of history" and of social relations themselves. They generate political possibilities, which have "effects on subsequent events" (268). In the context of Jerusalem, the social relations of settler nationhood were effectively fashioned and realized in and through the creation of a particular spatial form.



FIGURE 7.12. "The Border"

Overlapping fields of practice—legal, military, political, and scholarly (archaeology, architecture, urban planning, museum design)—fabricated both history and historicity. Jerusalem was fashioned as a Jewish national space, a city in which other religious communities also reside. And, as the High Court's ruling made clear the Israeli state would uphold a hierarchy of rights. Succinctly stated by the Jerusalem City Council in the summer of 1967, "The Jerusalem City Council proclaims the establishment of the 'Jerusalem Fund' . . . for the restoration of all parts of the City . . . as the political and spiritual capital of the Jewish people within whose boundaries are located the holy places of people of other religions" (Jerusalem City Council 1967b: 8). Whether or not the Tower of David Museum's design sought to incorporate the highlights of Jerusalem's history throughout the ages without privileging one epoch over another, as the curator told me, the story it tells nevertheless remains very much a teleological Jewish national tale. Only *certain kinds* of rights for Jerusalem's non-Jewish communities can be recognized within this ideology of settler nationhood. The organization of space itself, moreover, segregated the city's different population groups (Arabs [or, Christians and Muslims] and Jews) into their own distinct and enclaved domains.<sup>25</sup>

The specific historical meanings produced and fashioned in and for the Jewish Quarter have been fundamentally dependent upon the polysemic nature of the ruins and historical remainders incorporated into its built form. As in the Citadel's design and exhibition, were the histories of all the objects themselves *always* brought into focus, one could leave with very different understandings and questions about this place. What other stories could the mosque's minaret, visible in the heart of what is identified as the historic Jewish Quarter, tell? What about the alternative tales recalled by a second mosque also within its boundaries—a structure sandwiched between modern apartment buildings built in the post-1967 wave of reconstruction? And what is the *more specific history* of the area's so-called traditional vernacular architecture?<sup>26</sup>

A Palestinian archaeologist once said to me, "If you go to 'Acca or any other place in the country, you don't need to imagine Arab architecture. It is a fact in each village, in each area." Once renamed traditional, however, it is no longer a fact, at least not for everyone. Those old stones recall the continued (material) presence of earlier times. Modern buildings that replicate traditional designs recuperate and perpetuate the historical architecture of the city's built form. But, denuded of their *specific* history, neither the old Jerusalem stones nor the modern simulacra are necessarily recognized as remainders or reproductions of Arab architec-

ture or as signaling a very particular indigenous, Arab history. Instead, once these objects as signs of historicity are interlaced with (their life as) artifacts that tell more specific histories (a Jewish national past alongside religious diversity), the quarter's material culture—artifactual and architectural, historical and contemporary, traditional and modern—coalesces to produce a visibly old-new quality and a distinctively *Jewish* national-cultural space, although one within which inhere the traces of other histories, now officially repressed.

The new spatial form thus contains elements of the "chaotic," that is, unintended consequences, wherein certain spatial and material juxtapositions remain visible, opening up a space for contestation (Massey 1994: 266). Nevertheless, I want to emphasize the durable and the ever-expanding effects of this spatial form, which has made a particular configuration of social relations and politics possible, plausible, and from the perspective of the vast majority of Israeli-Jews, given. Form may well be "dynamic through and through," as Doreen Massey has argued, but specific forms shape and enable particular dynamics, rendering increasingly unlikely a whole array of alternatives. The archaeologists, like the urban planners and architects with whom they cooperated, are perhaps best understood as "artificers," practitioners who made "meanings anew" (Hollinger 1994: 28). They engaged in the production of various forms of ruins, which were subsequently incorporated into the Jewish Quarter's contemporary design. These newly fabricated "things-in-themselves"—architectures and artifacts, the Old City's new spatial organization, and the social relations (the expulsions and segregation) it has brought about—have had powerful efficacy in the world. One enduring consequence may well prove to be the successful Judaization of this specific terrain. In fact, as negotiations in the late summer of 2000 between Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat over questions of authority and sovereignty in East Jerusalem made clear, the new Jewish Quarter is now fully and legitimately, from the perspective of the Israeli state and its U.S. ally, Jewish-national space.<sup>27</sup>

## Historical Legacies

There is a small chamber along the lengthy, narrow tunnel excavated to reveal the remains of the walls enclosing the Temple Mount (the Haram al-Sharif). Here, with lamps illuminating the space and prayer books placed on a table, Ultra-Orthodox Jewish men and women come to pray. As they face the wall in prayer, large tour groups squeeze by, accompanied by guides who recount the history of the site—the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel. Tour guides explain that this chamber is the closest place to the ancient Holy of Holies and that is why people come here to pray.<sup>1</sup> One English-speaking guide explained that she would pause in that chamber in order to give everyone a chance to pray, using this discourse of prayer in an attempt to integrate us all as members of a cohesive Jewish community:

*bet ha-Miqdash* [the temple] has not been there for over two thousand years. But the Holy of Holies functions for us today no matter where you come from, because the purpose of the Holy of Holies for us is, we pray, right? . . . We all pray. . . . And when we do, our wishes come from our hearts, we bring them to our lips. . . . We read them and we say them. What happens to the words when they leave our lips? Where do they go? . . . They go up to the Almighty. How do they get there? . . . They come to the Western Wall. They climb up the mountain in prayer. They go to the Holy of Holies and that place is the gateway to Heaven. That's how the Holy of Holies works. It still works today.

As in other museums in today's Jewish Quarter,<sup>2</sup> guides at the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel engage in a practice of heritage tourism. Tour guides encourage visitors to connect, emotionally, visually, and physically, with material objects. But in construing those objects (existing or imagined) as incarnations of a *sacred* past and as a site for ongoing reli-



gious practices (a site that “still works today”), this guide highlighted the ways in which the tunnel is distinct. Unlike other archaeological sites, the tunnel, and the Western Wall of which it is an extension, is controlled by the Ministry of Religious Affairs rather than the Antiquities Authority.<sup>3</sup> As with the quarter’s other archaeological museums, this is a museum dedicated to the teaching of Jewish national heritage. But here that heritage is understood to be sacred, not secular. A very different kind of practice exists alongside the teaching of that sacred national history: the chants and words and movements of Ultra-Orthodox Jews praying at an excavated extension of the Western Wall and in the chamber believed to be closest to the ancient Holy of Holies. The nature of religious practices and heritage tourism at the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel contest the commitment to *secular* nationalism, which has long been essential to Israeli archaeological practice and characterizes most of the Jewish Quarter’s other archaeological museums.

I will examine the multiple historical understandings and national communities that are enacted within the designs of archaeological museums and sites. And by focusing on museum designs and archaeological tours, the distinctions, tensions, and continuities between sacred and secular (colonial-)national-histories, between living and dead monuments will be made apparent. It is important both to consider signs of struggle that disquiet the impression of a (more) singular and coherent project of settler nationhood and, at the same time, to trace historical legacies that endure in myriad ways: the legacy of scientific work for the truth of Jewish national return; the legacy of ancient history for modern nationhood; and the legacy of a long tradition of biblical and Israeli archaeological practice for the manner in which nation, history, artifact, and text articulate in sacred conceptions of Jewish peoplehood. In this reconfiguration, the distinction between science and tradition that the discipline long struggled to stabilize and that most Israeli archaeologists remain committed to defending has begun to collapse. These museum designs and tour guide practices can be read as part of ongoing public arguments about the nature of the Israeli nation-state. The arguments are not principally about Jerusalem’s past and present. They express, rather, far more fundamental disagreements over what is the appropriate space for secularism and religiosity in the Jewish nation and state. To return to the words of Yigael Yadin (as quoted at the start of this book), for young Israelis a “belief in *history*” can no longer be read in any simple sense as “a substitute for *religious faith*” (quoted in Silberman 1993; emphasis added). To borrow one archaeologist’s phrase, the discipline is no longer simply a “*secular religion*.”

## A Secular Modern National Tale

Burnt House is a small museum preserved at the basement level of a building in the heart of today's Jewish Quarter. Upon entering, one goes down a steep stairwell to enter the museum. On the wall facing the stairwell is a large picture of the site being excavated. Turning right at the bottom of the stairs, one enters a room with vitrines displaying smaller finds unearthed at the site: pottery vessels, stone weights, glassware, and a spear. The room itself is shaped as an amphitheater, with a semi-circle of ascending stairs designed as seats for an audience to watch the museum's film. Through the visual telling of its story, the film embeds what were motionless, encased, and in situ artifacts within dynamic historical processes, which reanimates the objects and imposes a set of meanings on them. The screen hangs on a wall situated over the archaeological remains of the basement-level rooms of Burnt House. The museum is a small space, which preserves the floor plan uncovered by the Avigad team. Remnants of walls divide the rooms, and smaller archaeological finds, for example, stone tables and jars, are exhibited within them.

Viewing the archaeological remainders is one element of a visit to the museum, but it is sidelined by the film that dominates the experience. During the fifteen minutes between each showing of the film, visitors get cursory glimpses of the artifacts and architecture. Then they sit down to watch the film and hear the story of Burnt House and the residential quarters of Herodian Jerusalem, of the project of archaeological excavations and discovery, and of the Jewish Quarter's renewal. The film incorporates the archaeological remains into its very telling. At different moments in the narrative, various portions of the basement-level rooms and specific finds are spotlighted, thereby drawing one's visual attention away from the screen and onto the archaeological remains on the floor beneath it.

Like Burnt House, the Herodian Quarter museum is preserved at the basement level of a contemporary building (a religious school, Yeshivat ha-Kotel). Upon descending the stairs to enter the site, visitors face a panel informing them that they have gone below the contemporary street level and returned 2,000 years back in time to the Herodian period in Jerusalem. Here, in the midst of remnants of six large dwellings displayed in this site (the largest spanning 2,000 feet [Rosovsky and Ungerleider-Mayerson 1989: 70]) stand the remains of rooms, ritual baths, cisterns, stone tables, jars, and a mosaic floor. The remains are displayed to emphasize the impressive size, wealth, and beauty of upper-class

homes. While walking through the museum, one experiences the grandeur of what these houses must have been. One sees the beauty of the ancient furniture and housewares, now restored. And one is struck by the tremendous size of these ancient houses. Excavated rooms and dwellings are visually framed by the white foundation beams of the contemporary yeshiva housed in its upper stories.

The overarching message produced by this (and other) museums is not “conveyed and mediated through verbal renderings in the form of written labelings, and/or museum guides’ oral performances” (Katriel 1994: 6) alone; the physical remainders and architectural designs are just as important. How they are preserved and arranged, as well as the nature of their preservation and the architectonic relationships fashioned within them, structure the museum experience in fundamental ways. They produce a particular ambiance and set of relationships to the past as visitors make their way through the museums and sites. In tandem with this display of architectural opulence and aesthetic beauty at the Herodian Quarter is evidence of its destruction. In one corner is a rectangular plastic encasement that holds the remnants of ash excavated by archaeologists. It stands below a wall scarred by marks of fire. The accompanying sign tells us that the archaeologists were able to date this ash to the day of its destruction, the eighth of Elul in the year 70 C.E.—the day the Roman army burned the Upper City of Jerusalem to the ground.

Architectural questions figured prominently in planning decisions regarding this museum. As explained by the museum’s curator,<sup>4</sup> in designing the Herodian Quarter they wanted to produce “an ambiance that you were going through houses.” They wanted to leave the “excavations alive and not . . . go with artificial elements into the [remains] themselves,” in effect promoting the idea (and experience) of unmediated access to original—“alive”—objects, or material-historical facts. The result is a museum with multiple dimensions: “objects . . . [left] alive in the perimeter” of spot-lit rooms, most of which are well restored (and to which have been added other small finds, also restored) and additional rooms containing unreconstructed excavation sites designed to display the sections as they looked upon the close of excavations. As explained in one guide book, “The southernmost house in this residential section has not been restored. Next to it is an untouched heap of stones and ashes, evidence of the destruction and fire brought on by the Romans in A.D. 70” (Rosovsky and Ungerleider-Mayerson 1989: 72). Visitors gaze upon all these displays as they stroll along newly built walkways lining the mansions’ perimeters. The restored and quite strik-



FIGURE 8.1. Herodian Quarter Museum: Room Displaying Mosaic and Household Wares

ing remains and rooms give visitors a sense of the grandeur of these homes before their destruction, and they are viewed in comparison to those that remain in their “untouched,” excavated state.<sup>5</sup> The explanatory panels are not inserted into the sites themselves but placed on the adjacent new walls (as the curator called them), which are the basement-level walls of the contemporary building housing the ancient objects. Placed throughout the museum, the curator explained, well-lit vitrines display “the other objects that were beautiful and connected to the site.” Artifacts excavated at the site of the Herodian Quarter and in its vicinity are displayed chronologically in the display cases along the museum walls. The earliest finds date to the eighth and seventh centuries (jars, plates, oils lamps, terra-cotta fertility figurines, etc.), with the most recent finds dating to the Herodian period.

As with most other archaeological museums and sites in the heart of today’s Jewish Quarter, this museum categorizes objects on the basis of the periods of their production, the materials of which they are made, their ancient use, and possible meaning or significance to our knowledge of Herodian Jewish or Israelite culture, religious practice, and history. Through the precise descriptions and classifications provided by



FIGURE 8.2. Preserved Excavation Site

explanatory panels, and through the geometric display of restored in situ remains and smaller artifacts, these objects are ordered and given meaning. The actual objects, be they ritual baths or mosaic floors, are exhibited as articles of knowledge, ones discovered through excavations. Most of these have been restored in order that we might get a better picture of a time and place now reified in the museum's design. As in museological designs elsewhere, artifacts are classified and displayed in relation to one another (see Sherman and Rogoff 1994; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991)—here as the cultural heritage of a returning modern nation. As articulated in a catalog for an Israel Museum exhibition of Herodian period remains ("Discoveries in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem," spring 1976), "The picture obtained is far from being complete; rather, it is still fragmentary. But in contrast to the previous total ignorance, we now possess a wealth of material harvested from the depths of the earth. Ancient Jerusalem as the *home* of a people is coming to light and is again taking on tangible form" (Avigad 1976: 7). Separated "from the world of lived experience" (Sherman and Rogoff 1994: xii), these are artifacts upon which visitors gaze. Excavated, collected, classified, and labeled, they are exhibited as "triggers of ideas" (x), historical specimens that typify grand architecture and signs of ancient religious practice. These architectures and artifacts testify to eras of na-

tional ascendance and moments of national demise, and they teach us something about the actual work of archaeology and historical reconstruction itself. The story of Herodian Jerusalem is a national-historical tale composed of two central components: its splendor and its destruction (see Avigad 1976: 2). "Chronicled in the spatial language of objects" (Katriel 1994: 6), these museums aim to teach a specific set of historical facts related to those two themes.

According to the film at Burnt House, "this mansion of the noble Jewish family" (the Herodian Mansion) is "an example of the glory that was destroyed and of the type of residence Burnt House might have been . . . 600 square meters in size, arranged around a central courtyard. In a manner commensurable with wealth and good taste, they decorated their wall with brilliantly colored frescos." Like the Herodian Mansion, Burnt House was also the abode of a priestly family. As recounted in the film: "From this stone weight unearthed in rooms of Burnt House, and bearing the Hebrew inscription 'Kathros,' we learned that this house belonged to the family Kathros. But even more remarkable is that this same family is known to modern scholars because they are remembered in the Talmud as a family of high priests who had served in the Second Temple."<sup>6</sup> After giving a layout of the plan of the house, the narrator recounts that within the house there was "an extraordinary series of finds: exquisite stones, pottery, and even the nails that once anchored the wooden beams in furniture." He goes on to tell about the Upper City, which "housed Jerusalem's wealthy class," made noticeable by "the grand style of its architecture."

These were not just homes of Jerusalem's *wealthy* class, however. They were the homes of Jerusalem's *priestly* class. And embodied signs of the sacred are indeed recognized by the narrator: "While Upper City residents enjoyed the material pleasures of life, they were also observant of Jewish ritual and customs, especially of those laws pertaining to ritual purity," thus the ritual baths and stoneware vessels. "To this day, according to Jewish law, an observant Jew is obliged to periodically immerse himself in a purification bath, a *miqve*, as were the Priests, such as the residents of Burnt House. . . . The purity laws extended also to the size, shape and material of vessels and utensils used in the home," the narrator continues. In addition, the archaeologists concluded that the basement of this house was "probably a workshop laboratory for the manufacture of incense for use in the rituals of the Temple."

Nevertheless, it is not the life of these artifacts understood specifically as manifestations of the sacred that the film or exhibit designs emphasize. Such recognitions are quickly eclipsed by a narrative and ar-

chitectural design that emphasizes wealth and opulence, beauty and splendor:

Though considerably more expensive than earthenware, stone utensils enjoyed widespread use in Upper City homes because they conformed with these laws. They were also extremely beautiful. These large and small vessels of soft stone, part of a wide selection of stone artifacts found in the Upper City excavations suggest that Jerusalem enjoyed a highly developed stone industry.

The narrative then turns to the constancy of Jerusalem stone (those building blocks of the city's architecture) in order to return to the present: "To this day, stone remains the timeless material from which the city of Jerusalem is built. By municipal law, all Jerusalem residences must be constructed from stone. And in Jerusalem, the ancient art of stone cutting has survived through the ages to the present day."<sup>7</sup> Wealth, opulence, beauty, and continuity in material and craftsmanship are the primary elements framing the continuity between past and present.

The second essential element of Herodian Jerusalem's tale is also displayed and told at both Burnt House and the Herodian Quarter, that is, the city's destruction at the hands of the Roman army. The Herodian Quarter displays ash as evidence of the war with the Romans. As for Burnt House, "Among the rooms of Burnt House, an even more amazing bit of archaeological evidence: the skeletal arm of a young woman, preserved exactly as it clutched the stairs of the burning house 2,000 years ago. Just within reach of her arm, this spear was found." (This story is accompanied by rather dramatic music. The spear was actually found within the remains of a separate room [see Avigad 1975: 46–7]). The Israelite Tower, for its part, tells an earlier story of national destruction. It displays a history of fortification and war and evidence of the battle that brought down the First Temple period.

Upon entering the Israelite Tower, a museum inhabiting the basement story of a school, one descends a steep and winding stairwell down to the display of the remains of two towers: one Israelite and one Hasmonean. The museum emphasizes the former remainder. In the words of one tour guide,<sup>8</sup> "Now, right over here where this white pillar comes down, the white pillar supports the school above us, there is an L-shaped section of a tower. . . . This is a section of the tower we will be referring to as a Hasmonean Tower. . . . It is from the Second Temple period, sometime around the year 120. Over here is the tower referred to as the Israelite Tower, and that is the name of this site." The Israelite Tower

is used to tell of the first episode of national destruction: the end of the First Temple period which, according to biblical accounts, brought on the Babylonian exile.

On the way down into the museum, there are pictorial depictions of the Babylonian siege of the city in 586 C.E. hung along the walls of the winding staircase. In the actual display room, there are panels that place the tower in its historical context, that of the Babylonian siege of the Israelite city. These panels also recount the work of the Old City's excavators. Pointing toward the Israelite Tower is the simulacrum of a battering ram, which was allegedly used in breaching the ancient walls and fortification towers, ultimately enabling the capture and destruction of the city. The battering ram is positioned as if staging an attack on the Israelite Tower.

Through the manner in which these museums are designed and the manner in which their material remainders are conserved, displayed, and labeled, specific histories are fashioned through archaeology's objects. Repeated tales of fortification, war, and national loss and of splendor, wealth, and national ascendance are being told here. That is the message, though not always fully articulated, that frames the displays as localized in specific "object-narratives": the mansions, the Israelite Tower, the ash, the stone tables and jars, the spear, the arrowheads. Those objects, in turn, "stand in a metonymic relation to the master-narrative and the ideological world associated with it" (Katriel 1994: 10). Moreover, it is upon such histories that the present builds *and is itself built*, as suggested by photographs exhibited alongside those ancient remainders. Snapshots of a post-1967 "ruined Jewish Quarter" show bulldozers clearing the rubble and archaeologists at work, offering images of historical continuity and national commitment. As narrated in the film at Burnt House:

With the decision to rebuild the Jewish Quarter after its liberation in 1967, archaeologists were offered an unprecedented opportunity to search for and find the buried secrets of Israel's ancient past. On one of the houses excavated, archaeologists found this candelabra, or menorah. Until its discovery, it was commonly believed that the menorah depicted on the arch of Titus in Rome was an authentic facsimile of the menorah which stood in the Second Temple. This menorah, found in a Jewish home, is a truer representation of the ancient symbol of the Jewish people.<sup>9</sup>

And if the archaeologists are right, there is a certain injustice righted with this recovery of the true face of the ancient past in a modern, re-



born Jewish nation. And today, the Jewish Quarter is the center of Jewish life and learning. A symbol of the vitality of modern Israel. And with the many archaeological wonders, the stronghold for a heritage both rediscovered and secure.

Recovering this ancient past was the outcome of an active engagement. It was an act of *making place* in which the archaeologist emerged as hero—scientific and national.<sup>10</sup> The guide on the aforementioned tour of First Temple period Jerusalem, for example, told us the following story:

The story of its discovery [the Iron Age city wall] was rather emotional and surprising. You see, as scholars who debated about Jerusalem and what Jerusalem looked like going back thousands of years ago, they split into two groups—one that advocated that there was a very big city here. (They were mostly Jewish scholars). The others, mostly British scholars, claimed it was a rather small city. But because no one was ever able to dig in this part of the city because it was so heavily populated, nobody could ever come up with hard evidence. What happened was in . . . the fall of 1969, at the very end of the excavation season, an archaeologist named Nahman Avigad discovered a large platform—perhaps the platform of a house—and on the basis of the pottery he found inside he said it was from the eighth century B.C.E.

Subsequent to further excavations, the guide explained, Avigad concluded this was not a house but the remnant of a wall. Nevertheless, he had established ancient Jerusalem as a large, not a small, city. What were initially emotions and surprises had given way to scientific conclusions.

This discourse of recovery, like that embodied in remains at the Herodian Quarter (some restored and juxtaposed to those untouched), invokes the work and effort of archaeologists and indexes the very authority of science itself. It is not just a specific historical tale that these museums and tour guides aim to teach. They impart an understanding of *how* that national history was actually recovered. In all three museums, the displays, explanatory panels, or films continually summon the work of archaeology in enabling us to know this objectified history, the truth of nationhood recuperated in material form. This is a history produced by archaeologists, a place recovered through their *effort*, and a knowledge authorized by their expertise. As “knower,” to borrow David Hollinger’s term, the archaeologist emerges as “cultural hero,” “the professional scientist, in whom is most fully embodied our [modern] belief in our ability to *know*” (1994: 35). That belief in our ability to know is premised on a “referential” conception of knowledge (see

Hollinger 1994: 30). In this instance, it is grounded in the quest to “find” material-cultural objects that represent the past to us in an observable, tangible, and incontrovertible form. As visitors are told by the film at Burnt House:

Examination of the pottery and coins found enabled archaeologists not only to link Burnt House to a general time period but actually to pinpoint the day of its destruction. The coins were of two types: monetary commission of the Roman commissioners who ruled over Judea, and coins minted by the Jewish fighters in the second, third, and fourth year of the revolt. Since no coins dating later than the fourth year of the Jewish revolt were found in Burnt House, archaeologists could conclude that it was destroyed in the final year of the revolt: A.D. 70. And as to the exact date, for the first time clear evidence of the destruction of the Upper City of Jerusalem, following the destruction of the Temple, was uncovered. These slipcovered vessels and here, these char covered beams, clearly show that Burnt House was destroyed on the 8th of Elul in the year A.D. 70 when the upper city was captured and destroyed by the Roman army.

Once found and properly witnessed, objects are represented as credible documentation of historical events. While “to the *untrained eye*, these foundations tell little about the foundations of the house that once stood here, . . . when you piece them together, they reveal a priceless look at the world of Jerusalem as it was twenty centuries ago” (emphasis added). And it is precisely via that appeal to the credibility of visible facts and expert witnessing that the weight of scientific authority and certitude are brought to bear upon the work of historical recuperation. This past is instantiated as national history, not national tale or historical myth.

On the aforementioned tour of the Herodian Quarter led by its original curator, I stopped in front of the display of the encased ash with a British archaeologist and an American anthropologist. We were discussing the representation of this find. Is it really possible to date a fire, on the basis of ash, to a particular day? The British archaeologist pointed out that one cannot date ash that precisely; the most exact dating would have come from fresh wood (so that one could count the rings), and even that would not enable one to ascribe a day, month, or even a particular year to it. Furthermore, she said, “In the end, most cities burn every twenty to twenty-five years.” One would need “a lot more evidence than the burning of this particular house, or even of a few sites, to claim that the whole city burned down.” (In fact, excavators did not find material evidence to support the claim that the *entire* site succumbed to a

fire).<sup>11</sup> She proceeded to give her account of how she imagined an archaeologist would justify the conclusion argued for here:

Now there are two stories on why they can say it. One story is, supposing the guy who had done it was here and I was challenging him, he would say, but, let's be reasonable about this. There is certainly a good chance that that is what the pile of debris is. We want a good story to show the public. It's so likely that we might as well say it; it brings it to life, and after all we are just wasting our time as archaeologists if we are just doing it for ourselves for academic ends. . . . That is the official line. Now the unofficial line is, you could stand here all day and say you are doing this because you have a political agenda here and he would say I'm not, you would say you are, and it would go on and on. . . . That is as far as you can get with that. And, he would admit, if really pressed, that it's pushing the evidence to say that this dates from the 10th of July or whatever. He would admit it to another archaeologist. He would just say but it's likely, and *it's a better story*. (emphasis added)

We moved along to join the rest of the group. An American writer who has authored several books and articles on the politics of archaeology in Israel challenged the original curator. He objected to the story they chose to tell in the museum: "There is a point I want to make about a different interpretation of this place . . . a question of the interpretation of the story." What is displayed here "is on the one hand the opulence of this Upper City and how these people lived in elegance overlooking the Temple. And that ends with the completeness of the destruction in 70 at the hands of the Romans. And that is really the story that is told here, of which the arm of the woman found at the Burnt House is a part." But what happens, he asked, when scholarship comes up with a new reading of a period? How should that be integrated into museum displays? Take the following example:

In the history of the Second Temple period there is starting to be more and more attention [paid] to the tension that was growing in Judean society. . . . Jerusalem was not only those living on the hills. . . . What happened when Herod started to construct the Temple [was] a big change . . . across the Judean countryside, with thousands and thousands of people coming in from villages to begin to work on the Temple. From about the middle of the first century C.E., when the construction finally stopped and money ran out and so forth, historians are now beginning to point out how much tension there began to be within the city of Jerusalem between poor people living in the slums who had worked on the Temple and the rich people living in the Upper City who were the landlords, landowners, and Temple functionaries, and so forth. . . .



FIGURE 8.3. Ash: Evidence of Roman Destruction of Jerusalem in the First Century C.E.

In fact [vis-à-vis], the beginning of the revolt in 66, Josephus (a rich person himself) tends to downplay the social aspects of the revolt. . . . [But] people came up from the City of David, which is Silwan, and burned the municipal records office and then the villas of the rich in the Upper City. . . . So this may be evidence of the rage and anger in Jerusalem, and the destruction you see here was not done by Romans but by Jews themselves.

A long discussion ensued over how best to interpret the archaeological evidence. For one thing, the curator argued, the discovery of a coin post-dating 66 C.E. is compelling evidence that this house could not have been burnt down in 66 C.E. (In so arguing, she assumed that the entire site had to have been burned in a single fire.) The argument escalated into a dispute over whether or not museums could incorporate alternative historical narratives into their displays and messages. With the exception of the American writer and the British archaeologist, participants concurred that it was impossible (and, for that matter, not particularly desirable). The Herodian Quarter's original curator argued that the public could not absorb multiple messages. They need to be told one story. In her opinion, museum displays are not the appropriate settings for such disputes. The argument over the various possible historical interpreta-

tions of this evidence of burning continued, getting more and more heated, until a second Israeli archaeologist brought it to a rather abrupt end: "*But, it's a better story.*"

Such stories are actively made, but their status as "stories" and as but one possible interpretation of the material-cultural evidence is effaced in the displays and labels and occluded by the films shown and the anecdotes tour guides tell. Material evidence is presented as transparent, as that which recuperates a past made visible once more. In narrating the history of Jerusalem, the labor of recovery is constantly brought into view. Explanations of what it is that archaeologists do and how it is they reconstruct history saturate the narratives of museums and tour guides.

The intimate linking of knowledge *production* with material-cultural objects and Jewish nationhood was made quite manifest by a guide giving a tour of First Temple period Jerusalem. In continuing his account of the history of the Israelite city, he explained what had been learned from Avigad's excavations, such as the dating of the Israelite city's settlement patterns and fortification walls, thus substantiating historical claims of its early expansion and of its defeat by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. In addition, this guide insisted on explaining over and over again *how* archaeologists had reached the specific conclusions they had. He gave us lessons in the archaeological lexicon and excavation methods, teaching us the procedures through which archaeologists build a corpus of accurate historical knowledge. In accounting for the discovery of what has come to be known as the Broad Wall (the Iron Age city wall excavated by Avigad), for example, he said: "an archaeologist named Nahman Avigad . . . was making small trial pits. . . . What he would do was make a small trial pit, something that archaeologists refer to as a locus. This was about two meters square and would go down as far as bedrock. He went down as far as bedrock because by going down to bedrock he could find the earliest remains of whatever civilization existed." He also explained how archaeologists dated both the Hasmonean Tower and the Israelite Tower and the date of the latter's subsequent burning. (His account of how historical causes are ascribed to ash was far more accurate than those provided in the museums.)<sup>12</sup> "They uncovered both of these towers. They were able to date both relatively quickly on the basis of the pottery inside the towers themselves. They simply took apart the towers a little bit, and they found a very high concentration of pottery from the sixth century in the Israelite Tower and from the second century (both B.C.E.) in the Hasmonean Tower." He then explained the significance of the dates ascribed to the Israelite Tower's destruction: "The sixth cen-

ture, which is the date given to the Israelite Tower, has a very important [date] in Jewish history . . . 586 B.C.E. But in the meantime, all they had found was the tower. Now, when they dug down here, the archaeologists found something very peculiar: a large pile of ash." Ash, he explained, "is very good stuff. It can be taken to a lab, tests can be run, and a reasonable date reached." He continued:

We have a couple of archaeological discoveries. A tower from the sixth century B.C.E. We have a very mundane pile of ash. But, as mundane as it is, it can be dated scientifically. And from the scientific dating, we came up with a date contemporary with that of the tower. Now next to this tower, in that pile of ash, we found the remnants of a battle between two important peoples in this part of the world—the Israelites and the Babylonians [five arrowheads—four that were red in color and identified as Israelite, and one green in color and identified as Babylonian]. And here, in *this ancient Near Eastern text known as the Second Book of Kings*, we have a description of the same battle and destruction of the city of Jerusalem by this very same fire. (emphasis added)

The guide pointed out that the account of Jerusalem's destruction in the Second Book of Kings, the ancient Near Eastern text that he treated as a reliable historical document, does not say "that the Babylonians (the people with the green-colored arrowheads) came, and they knocked down the stone walls, or they came, and they kicked the King out. It says here that [they] . . . 'burned the house of the Lord and the house of the King, and all the houses of Jerusalem and every great house was consumed by fire.'"<sup>13</sup>

In referring to the Old Testament Book of Kings as an "ancient Near Eastern text," the words of this tour guide demonstrate, perhaps in its most radical form, the secularizing effect of the historical-scientific practice that has long characterized the field of Israeli archaeology, one instantiated in these museum designs, explanatory panels, and films and reinterpreted, reproduced, and reenacted by the many guides who give tours of the quarter. The Bible had become a historical document. Past "events" were gleaned from its mythological narrative, and its sacred connotations were elided within the hegemonic form of archaeological practice and modern Jewish nationhood. Through the design and multiple uses of the museum, alongside the interpretive work of its guides, the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel challenges and reconfigures precisely that belief that history simply replaces or stands as being distinct from religious faith and that monuments or documents are either historical *or* sacred. In so doing, the tunnel does far more than transform some of the

fundamental contours of the decidedly secular commitments of Israeli archaeology and the form of settler nationhood with which it has long been conjoined. This site challenges some widespread anthropological arguments regarding the nature of museums, heritage, and public culture in the “modern” world.

### Making Sacred National History

As national-cultural and tourist sites, the Western Wall and the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel are quite different from the other archaeological sites in Jerusalem’s Old City. Spatially set off from the central residential and commercial neighborhoods of the new Jewish Quarter, the control over the Western Wall and the newly built plaza was handed over to the Ministry of Religious Affairs following the 1967 war. Subsequently, the tunnel excavations in which the northern section of the wall was dug were also carried out under the ministry’s authority until the mid-1980s when an archaeologist from the Antiquities Authority was put in charge. This was long a source of tension between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Department of Antiquities, the latter objecting to the fact that the ministry conducted its excavations without the department’s involvement. As recounted to me by one archaeologist, “It was another disaster dig-wise” (the first being Mazar’s). That changed in the mid-1980s when the ministry finally submitted to political pressure and put an archaeologist in charge. The “dig was done better, more professionally” after Dan Bahat’s appointment. The excavations exposed the northern stretch of the Western Wall (approximately 320–40 meters long). These excavations, following upon Charles Warren’s 1867–69 underground explorations, involved tunneling below the street level of contemporary Palestinian neighborhoods and along the perimeter of the Haram al-Sharif.<sup>14</sup>

As a tourist site, the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel is controlled by the Holy Sites Authority (*ha-Mirkaz ha-Artsi le-Pituaḥ ha-Maqomot ha-Qdoshim*). The general public can visit the tunnel only on organized tours, and, in order to enter the tunnel, men must don *kippot* (skull-caps). The tunnel, including the museum, is thus marked as a sacred place.

Tours begin with guides providing a detailed description of the Temple Mount’s history and of the tour to come with reference to a diagram situated in the site’s entranceway. Upon completing that initial explanation, tour groups go through a gate and into a long corridor. Once the entire tour group enters the “secret passage”—as Charles Warren

named the site's first corridor during his nineteenth-century excavations (Bahat 1994: 180)—the gate is slammed shut. Groups of about thirty tourists pass en masse through long, narrow pathways, which are dimly lit and oppressively damp. One guide, an Orthodox Jew who revealed his national-religious political commitments early on the tour, gave us some background on the tunnel excavations. He explained that they were conducted under the authority of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and that they had unearthed amazing remains of First and Second Temple period architecture. He pointed out that we were standing underneath today's Muslim Quarter, a much later addition to the city. The guide proceeded to tell us rather angrily of all the opposition to the excavations that they had faced from "the Arabs." (Although the guide did not offer this information, the Palestinian community had opposed this tunneling operation not only because of its proximity to the Haram al-Sharif, but, quite crucially, because it was undermining the structural foundations of homes above it.) The guide was not only unsympathetic to such opposition, he went so far as to blame Israeli authorities for having yielded to "Arab demands." He told us that we would have to retrace our steps at the end of the tour and come all the way back to the entrance in order to exit (a walk of approximately 5–10 minutes). This was because "the Arabs" had not let them dig an exit at the other end onto the Via Dolorosa.<sup>15</sup>

That the guide referred to the Muslim Quarter as being a later addition points to the central theme of origins that frames both the museum's design and the narrative performance of tour guides. (Tours engage the question of origins with varying degrees of subtlety, depending on the guide.) For example, a second guide, also an Orthodox Jew in his early 30s, gave a somewhat different account of how the Muslim Quarter was built. He told us the following story while we were standing in front of the diagram at the entrance to the tunnel, before we passed through the iron gate. First, he explained that during the Second Temple period a bridge had connected the Upper City to the Temple Mount (so that *cohanim*, priests who served in the temple, could easily pass from one to the other). He then explained that during the Roman siege of the city the bridge was destroyed by Jews in an attempt to delay the Roman onslaught. The city then came under the control of various rulers: the Byzantines, the Muslims (who "in the year 680 built here on the Temple the Dome of the Rock, and the bridge that had been destroyed they built anew"), and then the Mamelukes ("also Muslims but a mixture of peoples who had converted to Islam"). The Mamelukes



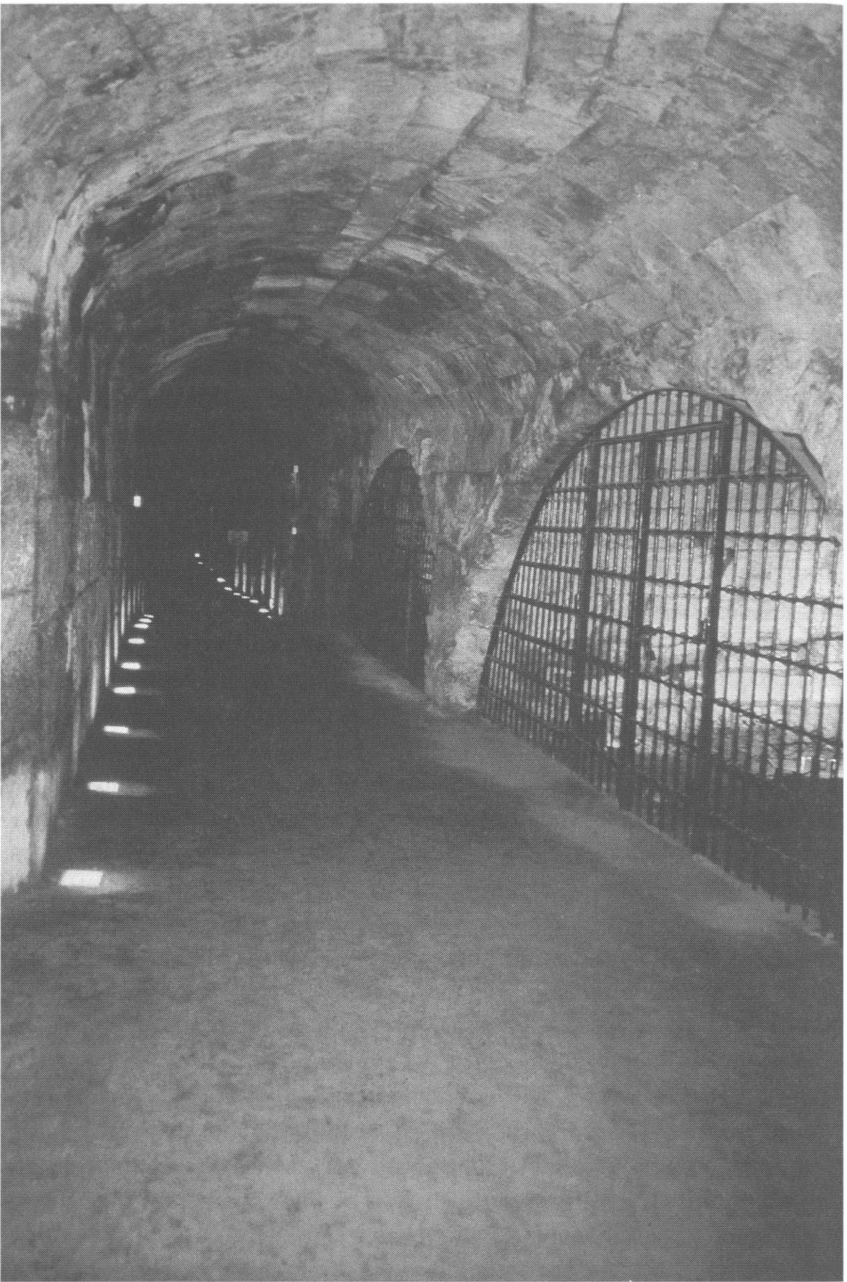


FIGURE 8.4. The "Secret Passage"

wanted to build their houses “as close as possible to the Dome of the Rock, to the Temple Mount. How do they do such a thing? They turned this bridge [the one originally built during Herodian times, destroyed and rebuilt in the seventh century] into a road.” The Mamelukes then widened the bridge, built arches, and, on top of those arches, they built “the houses that are today called the Muslim Quarter.” Once we entered the secret passage, the guide pointed out the actual remnants of these multiple bridges: “These foundations [are the] foundations of the ancient bridge, but that bridge was destroyed, and the Muslims built it anew. This piece here is a fragment of the bridge rebuilt by the Muslims. The fragment of the *original bridge*, from the time of Herod, is here” (emphasis added).

Throughout the tour, the guide continually returned to that notion of origins, pointing to the original architectural fragment. This particular guide’s invocation of origins, however, was much less explicitly about the present than were the appeals of several other guides. Most of the other guides repeatedly pointed out the “recent” arrival of Arabs here but gave very little detail about that later history, and many did not recognize it at all. Instead, this guide used a language of origins that invoked the site’s own stratigraphy, as he visually moved us through ascending strata of history and of materiality. For example, upon entering “the room,” the guide explained that there had been a bridge of two stories. The upper story had been destroyed, with only the lower one remaining. This room has fragments from “Muslim times, but the original pieces are from the Herodian period.” He said: “Pay attention, this column is not an original column, [but] a column approximately one thousand years old.” Having found the Herodian room, the Muslims “built a section that is supported by the Herodian section, that rests upon this piece here.”

Clearly, there is nothing either historically or architecturally inaccurate in this guide’s statements. Nevertheless, such information can just as easily be narrated without framing it within a discourse of origins and original fragments, one which all tunnel guides invoke in various ways. That narrative of origins is essential to establishing not merely a national narrative of return, but, even more fundamentally, a *priority of right*. By being (chronologically) later, Muslim claims are, by implication, weaker and less compelling. By way of contrast, consider Dan Baha’s account of the remains in that same room:

The hall is known today colloquially—but incorrectly—as the Hasmonean Hall. Since the Muslim architects found no earlier structural

remains upon which they could build in this space, they erected a new lower vault on the occupational level of the Second Temple period, and above this constructed an additional vault to bring it up to the height of the entire complex supporting the bridge. (1994: 179)

The original fragments are contrasted to those more recent remains and developments in the city's history. This is a narrative made possible by the structure of the site itself. Most Palestinians and Israelis I interviewed understood the dynamics of archaeological work through a sort of science and social interests framework, believing that politically liberal archaeologists (who are defined as *secular*) are more likely to preserve non-Jewish remains than are more right-wing (read, *religious*) ones. Contrary to that analytic frame, however, no simple outline of scientific, political, and religious alignments is possible in understanding this site. The fact that the site is a *tunnel underneath the contemporary street level* made digging through almost any more recent, larger structures impossible. Revealing earlier structures would have caused the neighborhoods above to collapse in upon the tunnel, burying even those earlier remains in search of which the ministry dug.<sup>16</sup>

It is not through the discursive practices of guides alone, then, that the figure of the original stones composes the frame through which the museum displays the past. The nature of the site's own structure, conservation, and design is also essential to that tale and experience of contact with origins. Contrary to what we often expect from museums, the walls of this site are not replete with panels providing exact description about what it is that one is seeing. In fact, very little detail in the way of explanatory panels is presented at all. The design of much of the site renders it authentic, constructing the historical as transparent. But in contrast to the Herodian Quarter and Burnt House, that transparency is not achieved by invoking the work of historical reconstruction. The tunnel does not juxtapose restored sites to excavated sites, which are represented, in contrast, as being untouched, nor does it display in situ remains side by side with artifacts displayed and labeled in vitrines. Rather, the historical is produced as transparent *by eliminating as much as possible any signs of the production and restoration process itself*.<sup>17</sup>

Throughout the first corridors and chambers of the site, the hallways are dimly lit, just enough to let visitors navigate their way through. The floor is bedrock, as some guides point out. Some gates forbid entry, and some signs designate the period of particular archways, bridges, or passageways. But the gates themselves seem somehow integral to the architecture of the site as a whole. And the information on the few panels that do exist is neither accurate nor detailed, thus rendering visitors depen-



FIGURE 8.5. A Descriptive Panel

dent upon the historical explanations given by guides.<sup>18</sup> (Such explanations tend to be quite variable, in terms of both their content and their level of accuracy. For example, one guide told us that a particular structure dates to the Mameluke period, another said the same edifice was Herodian, and a third said it dated to the Crusader period.) The few panels hung around the site are made of clear, translucent plastic. They do not disrupt the visual continuity of the ancient stones, and the appearance of the site as an integral and original whole remains undisturbed. Like Jerusalem's Citadel, which houses the Tower of David Museum, the tunnel's architecture serves as a setting for the museum, one that instantiates an aura of historical depth. Tourists pass through layers of history. They stand upon bedrock at one moment and walk on a Herodian street the next. In contrast to the Tower of David Museum, however, some of the architectural remains do not just furnish a historical atmosphere. They become the focus of the tour itself.

Throughout much of the site, the museum's design and the practices of many tour guides work to produce an experience of contact with the original stones and significance of this place. Upon entering a room that interrupts the long, narrow passageway abutting the excavated extension of the wall, guides stamp their feet upon the floor, pointing out that

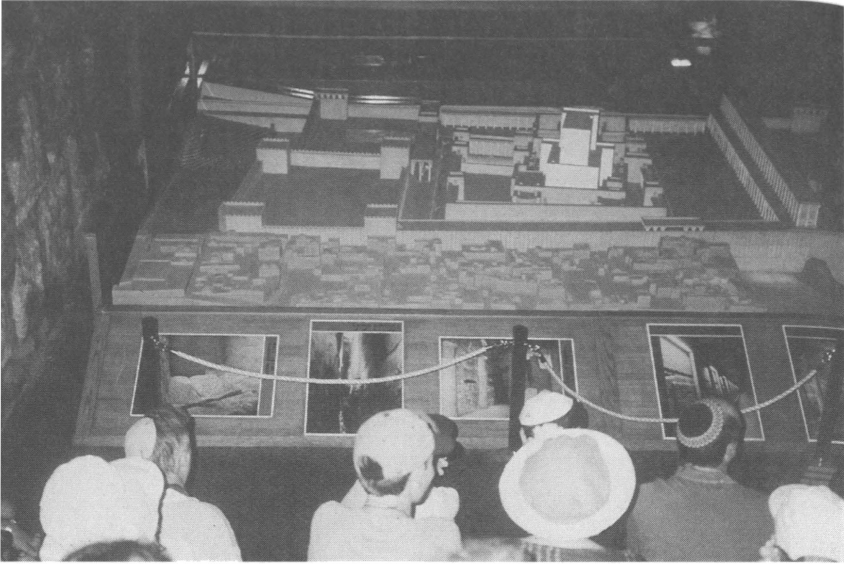


FIG. 8.6. Model of the Herodian Temple with Muslim Quarter

we are all now standing upon an original Herodian street. One guide demonstrated: "Here it is. I promised them to you [stamping her foot on the floor]. Roman sidewalks, from the time of the Second Temple period, exactly where it was in those years." Another example of such an attempt to construct an active connection between visitors and the site came from an English-speaking guide. As she approached a part of the excavated wall, she told us that this wall was built by the tribes of Benjamin and Judah. She turned to a boy of about ten and asked if he was a Cohen. No, a Binyamin, he answered. She asked him to come and help her trace the borders of one particularly huge stone: "So, it was the people of Binyamin and the Judean tribes who built this wall. And now today, you, a Binyamin, can help me to find the end point of this massive stone."<sup>19</sup>

Standing in sharp contrast to the passageways and tunnels through which one walks, there is a room in which Israeli flags fly and a mechanical model of the Temple Mount is displayed. As depicted on the model, the ancient Herodian Temple towers over the rest of the city, which, in comparison, is dwarfed in both size and significance. (As depicted on the model, the temple stands on the spot where in actuality the Dome of the Rock is located). It is here that we get the most detailed description of the site. We also learn about the efforts of both archaeologists and bib-

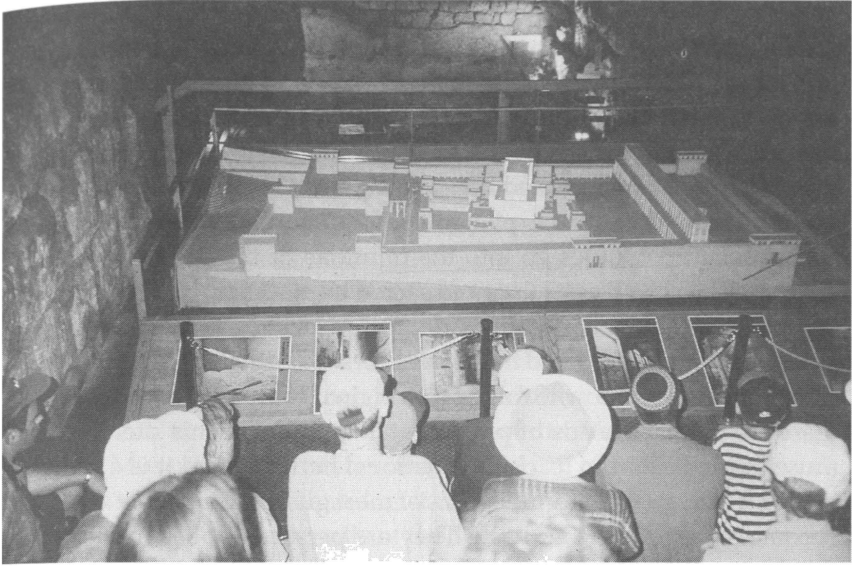


FIGURE 8.7. Model of the Herodian Temple without Muslim Quarter

lical scholars to reconstruct it (as an excavated site and as a model). In addition, it is at this point that the site's exclusionary practices are most apparent. All guides point out that the Muslim Quarter is rather new, that it was not originally here. This explanation of the Muslim Quarter's more recent origin accompanies the workings of the model whereby the ground opens up and swallows that quarter and then closes back over it to reveal the environs as they originally appeared (that is, during the Herodian period). On one tour, a participant asked the guide how much of the wall we can see today. The guide responded by indicating on the model how much is currently visible: "about one-sixth of the entire length of the wall. The wall is 480 meters in length, and we have about 80 meters for prayer. What happened to the rest of it," he asked rhetorically? "Well, it disappeared. Let me tell you what happened." With that comment, the model started its mechanical clamoring, bringing the Muslim Quarter back up: "Okay, the Old City, as old as it is . . . looks different than it did two thousand years ago. Look, see that? The whole neighborhood rose up, and now instead of having the wall free-standing and so impressive, we only have this small section available to pray at and all the rest is hidden."

The model renders the site's stratigraphy, and thus the distinction between the original and the recent as well as the architectonic relationship

between the two, visible and mechanically demonstrable. A series of colored lights distinguish the bedrock, Herod's building projects, that section of the wall visible from today's street level, as well as that hidden underground, which is now revealed in the tunnel. Pavements and entire neighborhoods disappear and reappear, making visible structural relationships that are buried beneath the earth's surface. All this is accompanied by a detailed explanation of the site, archaeology, and biblical scholarship. Guides go into the minutiae of the site's history and architecture, as well as its uses and sacred importance.

But visitors do not only encounter historical knowledge, information about the life of Herod and the Mamelukes' building activities, what archaeology does, or how to follow the original course of bedrock. Rather, there are multiple kinds of practices taking place at this site. This is a museum dedicated to teaching a national heritage, and it is a place of prayer. Through the interpretations of most guides, the people at prayer become a part of the tour itself. They are persons to be identified, and their activities are explained. They are not reenacting the behavior or dress of times past or foreign places (see Handler and Gable 1997). On most of my visits to the tunnel, the tour was intermittently interrupted by the movement of individuals struggling to squeeze around the large tour groups impeding movement through the site's narrow corridors. These individuals are Ultra-Orthodox Jewish men and women on their way in and out of the tunnel as they come to pray at a specific locale. A chamber that interrupts a narrow tunnel (a long expanse of the Western Wall) has prayers books at its entrance and lanterns in its midst. During my first tour, our guide stopped telling the history of the site in order to explain why Ultra-Orthodox Jews come here to pray. He then returned to his historical-archaeological narrative, pointing out various aspects of the remains from Jerusalem's ancient wall, describing their architectural structure, explaining the basis for their dating, and so forth. Another guide drew our attention to the sound of those praying at another point along the wall, as various members of the tour looked through an iron gate, trying to see the men praying below. "We are now facing the Western Wall . . . The men are there praying. Ah, you hear it? [We stopped to listen]. They are facing the Western Wall, and we hear them sing." In contrast to the museums of Burnt House, the Herodian Quarter, or the Israelite Tower, this is a site of ongoing use in some people's daily lives. These are not conserved archaeological remains or embodiments of national heritage that inhabit the basements of buildings in which contemporary life continues apace upstairs.

But it is not only through reference to the practices of its other visitors

that the sacredness of this site is invoked or experienced. In fact, the very biographies and training of the guides makes quite evident the integration of the historical, the sacred, and the national at this site. According to the person in charge of guides at the tunnel, approximately 60 percent of tunnel guides are religious; there are “lots of Yeshiva kids.” And the course designed to train those guides incorporates the site’s significance as a sacred place, not just an archaeological site, into the very heart of its program.<sup>20</sup>

The tunnel course lasts six days, twelve hours a day. Dan Bahat, the archaeologist in charge of the tunnel excavations, is brought in for the archaeological point of view, and Rabbi Yitzhak Levi for the religious point of view. The rest of their training includes, among other things, meeting with a rabbi who built the model of the site, visiting the Tower of David Museum for a refresher on the history of Jerusalem, and spending a day with another archaeologist who teaches them about the southern, eastern, and western walls of the Temple Mount. They learn about the history of the Herodian Quarter from Michael Ben-Ari of the *Midrasha* at Kefar Etzion (a settlement), and they listen to lectures on the Via Dolorosa and the City of David. Finally, it is Matti Dan of Ateret Cohanim who teaches them about the Muslim Quarter. Ateret Cohanim is a radical settler group based in the Old City. It has pursued a policy of property acquisition in the Old City’s Palestinian neighborhoods. Matti Dan’s central role in teaching guides, as well as Michael Ben-Ari’s of Kefar Etzion, makes clear the close affiliation that exists between the radical settler movements and the administration of the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel.

Both the archaeological and the religious points of view are integrated into this training program. And that blending of the historical and the sacred saturates all visits to the tunnel. As mentioned before, men have to wear kippot in order to enter the place, and throughout the tour the authority and precision of scientific knowledge and scholarly work are not the sole bases upon which truth claims about the past or present are made. This is not a history devoid of sacred acts and divine will. And it is not a narrative devoid of the language of belief—of what “we believe,” for example, with regard to a variety of practices and material remains. Or, to quote one guide in a conversation with a young boy participating in the tour,

TOUR GUIDE: Do you know what archaeologists do?

BOY: Dig.

TOUR GUIDE: Yeah, what is he looking for?

BOY: Artifacts.



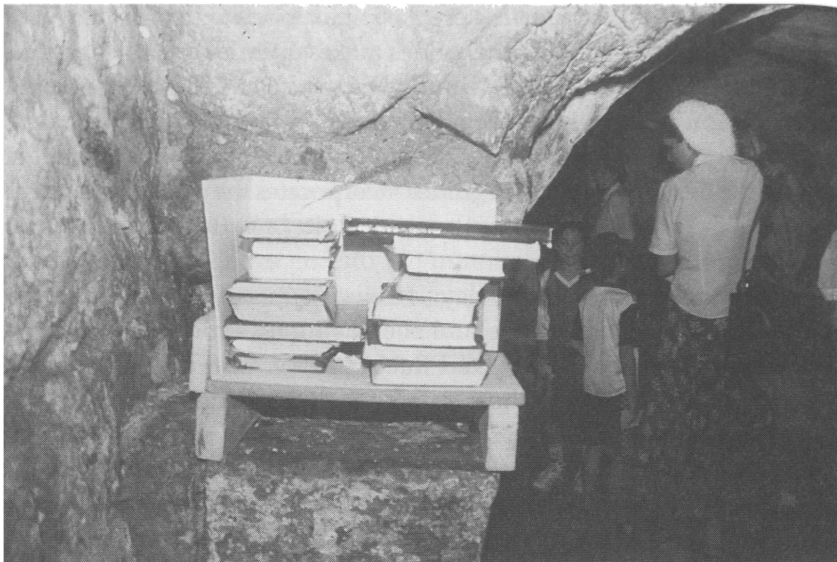


FIGURE 8.8. Chamber for Prayer

TOUR GUIDE: Yes, artifacts that are lost from some society, from some civilization way back. The further down you dig, the longer back the civilization was. . . . You get to a point where you cannot dig anymore because you have come to the very bottom of the earth. You hit what is called bedrock—*natural rock that God put there so that human beings could build on top of it.* (Emphasis added)

This guide returned again and again to the concept of bedrock—that which marked the moment of origination, by virtue of an act of divine will, not of a particular civilization (as it had for the aforementioned guide from the Society for the Protection of Nature), but of humanity itself. It is that most fundamental moment that the work of archaeology reveals. It is the stones of ancient times that archaeology has exposed. And in so doing, science has produced not only a national heritage site that is firmly rooted in the religious—presumably, in what we, collectively, believe. It has also assembled a new site for sacred practice for those religious Jews into whose everyday lives this space has been integrated as a place of prayer.

There are many kinds of visitors who come to this place: museum audiences (students, soldiers, tourists) who come through only on guided tours, Ultra-Orthodox Jews who come on their own to pray, and the oc-

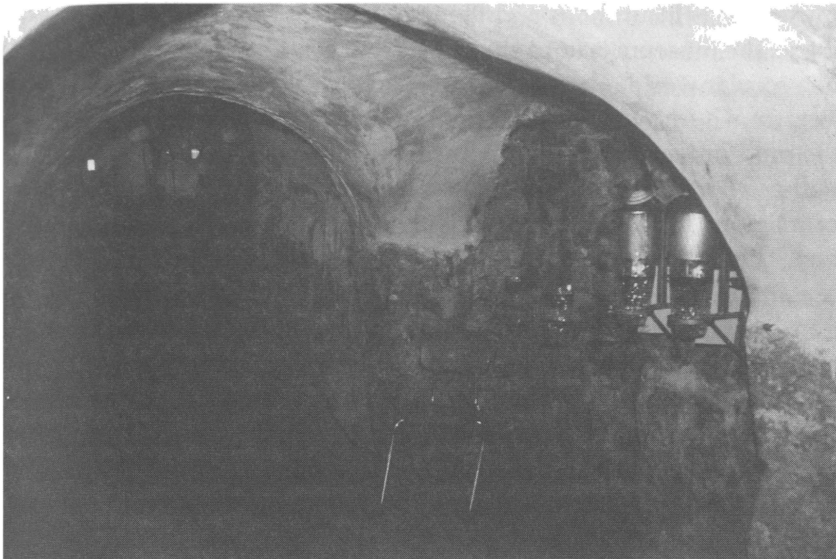


FIGURE 8.9. Chamber for Prayer

casional archaeologists and museum designers who are taken through on special tours. Religious practice is an integral part of the museum. The objects of national heritage remain firmly embedded within “the world of lived experience” (Sherman and Rogoff 1994: xii), which is, for many, a world of national-religious practice. The tunnel is a reconfiguration of the museum form, an institution of modern public culture long presumed to be *secular* in its very conception, its objects severed from their organic contexts of use. As argued by Ivan Karp, museums are an integral part of civil society. They are institutions of public culture that provide one of “the relatively formal settings for definitions and experiences of identities” (Karp, Kraemer, and Lavine 1992: 19). That public culture, however, “is only one form in which people experience who they are. Identities are made and experienced in settings that differ from the social spaces of public culture in many ways. These other settings can include the intimacy of the family or *the social quality of religious worship*” (19–20; emphasis added).

There are a variety of ways in which the tunnel’s multiple and concurrent uses and meanings, as well as the practice of archaeology through which it was produced, challenge this understanding of the museum form. This is a site that forces us to reconsider the nature of

museums as institutions and the role of science in the making of heritage. The museum is not a site of a historical authenticity firmly rooted in a secular world. The work of archaeology did not simply detach objects from a “*dynamic context*” and produce “*static tendencies* inherent to the museum environment” (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992: 37).<sup>21</sup> Rather, science created a site that is integrated into the ongoing practices of religious life and that grounds a sacred-national-colonial imagination. This is a place that challenges the hegemonic interpretation, representation, and control of archaeology’s objects. It thereby reconfigures a dominant model of *history itself*, which has long been fashioned through the work of Israeli archaeology and which was an integral and constitutive part of the cultural politics of a committedly modern, secular settler nation. As a sacred heritage site, the tunnel fashions its own distinctive historicity, one in which archaeological phenomena embody the historical and the living, the national and the religious, at one and the same time.

### A Grammar of Continuity

In September 1996, violent confrontations rocked the streets of Jerusalem and spread to cities, villages, and refugee camps throughout the occupied territories and the newly autonomous Palestinian zones. Those confrontations were ignited by the opening of a new exit for the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel onto the Via Dolorosa, the exit that one tunnel guide had complained was as yet still closed. While Israeli officials described their decision to open the new exit as practical since it would enable more tourists to visit the museum each year, Palestinians understood this act as yet one more instance of colonial expansion. The tunnel became the latest epicenter of the ongoing conflict over East Jerusalem’s status, at the heart of which stands the struggle over the Old City.

Neither the conflicts over the tunnel nor the controversies over opening an exit onto the Via Dolorosa were new in the fall of 1996. This dig had long been a catalyst for conflict at both local and international levels.<sup>22</sup> A Palestinian engineer who works at the Haram al-Sharif recounted an incident that had occurred many years before when he discovered excavations going on underneath the Haram al-Sharif compound. Convinced that this subterranean opening would be used by religious Jews as a place of prayer and as a site from which to encroach upon the Dome of the Rock, he devised a plan to resist. The Haram al-Sharif staff decided to “clean up the area.” Using a deluge of water, employees flooded the cisterns beneath. An Israeli archaeologist came to

complain. He asked why they were filling the cisterns and flooding the tunnel. The engineer responded disingenuously, "Oh, we didn't know it was an open space." Ultimately, an agreement was reached, and that part of the tunnel was closed. But since the Israelis shut it off with only "light-weight blocks," the Haram al-Sharif staff went back in at night and closed it with reinforced concrete: "They are still trying to figure out the depth of that block," he told me.<sup>23</sup>

"The issue of an exit from the tunnel is a political minefield," a member of the Jerusalem City Council told me in 1992. Awqaf officials objected to opening such an exit, while religious Jews on the council had long been actively pushing for it. When the question came before the Jerusalem City Council, "perfectly fine secular Jews who were not aware of the political implications of opening such an exit voted to support it," the council member said. That decision got blasted in city and national papers: "Luckily, these papers are very liberal. They have a way of influencing public opinion." I described for the council member how one tunnel guide had incorporated that conflict into his narrative. She replied that it was a good way to rouse public opinion against the Muslim authorities and population. "Why can't they build there? Clearly, because the land doesn't belong to them" (see also Schwartz 1992: 17).

We had a long conversation about how this council member understood the relationship of various groups of religious Jews to archaeology. She told me that for nonreligious Jews, archaeology is "part of history and not part of the religious establishment." It establishes a historical connection to the country. "So, archaeological finds are extremely important." There "aren't many specifically *religious* archaeological sites: no synagogues" (presumably she meant in Jerusalem), thereby imparting a rather narrow definition of what could be understood to count as sacred ground. The council member continued, saying that the pools of Solomon and the shafts of the City of David "have no religious significance." She then noted a few exceptions, including some tombs and the Western Wall. "I'm just developing a theory with you," she said. Take the Western Wall, "a remnant of the Temple Mount," which was "a central place for secular Zionists in the prestate period. It was used as a place to put posters against the British mandate, to call for fighters in the War of Independence." Between 1948 and 1967, because Israelis could not go there, it became a "focus for everyone." After 1967, it was an "emotional experience" as crowds gathered at the wall: "it had nothing to do with the religiousness of the person or site." The famous picture of a soldier crying at the Western Wall "was not because it was a remnant of Temple but because it is of enormous significance to everyone," *historical*

significance, she implied. The national government, she told me, turned the site over to the Ministry of Religious Affairs. "They turned it into one big synagogue. Secular Jews no longer go there."

As with the tunnel, the significance of the wall is far more complex than her words suggest. It is at once a national and a religious site and symbol. For many Israelis, those are not seen as alternative identities or ones that stand in conflict with each other. Don Handelman has argued that, "As in other major national or quasi-national symbols of Israel, it may be very difficult to disentangle signs of statehood attributed to a symbol from those of peoplehood, and those of peoplehood from those of religion" (1990: 207). Moreover, there are various kinds of state ceremonies held at the wall, including the opening ceremonies for Remembrance Day (in honor of Israel's war dead), the swearing in of recruits for particular divisions of the military (who swear their oaths of allegiance on the Bible), and the graduation ceremonies for members of Gadna (the Israel Defense Force's youth movement). Clearly, in the context of such ceremonies, secular Jews *do* go to the wall.

Nevertheless, the words of this council member capture both a sentiment and analysis that were widespread throughout the archaeological community. Archaeologists repeatedly proclaimed their alienation from the national-religious appropriation of not only specific sites, but, more broadly, of archaeology as a meaningful national-cultural practice. As many archaeologists argued, in contrast to settlers who simply use it, archaeology had been a *genuine* part of the cultural ethos of secular Zionists. In the words of one archaeologist, archaeology was important in the 1950s and 1960s because that was "an era of nationalist euphoria." But that "Israeli ethos" has changed. Materialism rather than Zionism dominates Israeli culture today. "Bourgeois culture" has taken over, the centrality of agriculture and the kibbutz has declined, and "archaeology has become irrelevant." He argued that archaeology is now used in an artificial way—at best it is an object of curiosity. He brought up one Tel Aviv museum that gets students to make clay models. That is their philosophy of teaching: "It is teaching about archaeology on the comic book level . . . [it does not carry] the mythical sense that it had back then." In contrast to today, he told me, "In the old days, it was going to forge your personality." Archaeology *is* used by "the whole right" today; that is the discipline's "main political driving force." In contrast to secular Zionists of old, settlers may well use it for political purposes, but they "don't *need* archaeology" (emphasis added), he insisted. In the words of a second archaeologist, for settlers, "the Bible is their justification." They do not care about archaeology. In his argument, he drew an implicit contrast be-

tween the importance that *texts* have to the national-religious movement and that *material objects* had to secular Zionists. To exemplify his point, he noted that settlers want to build on top of the City of David, the very heart of biblical Jerusalem: "When it comes to Jewish remains, there are some sentiments for them but not enough to preserve the City of David"; as to non-Jewish remains, the settlers' attitude is "very negative."

In October 1991, settlers turned the City of David into a site of political confrontation between archaeologists and national-religious Jews who, with the financial and political backing of the Likud-led national government, sought to revive modern Jewish settlement on this ancient site. Through the organization of El-Ad, not only did the settlers take over several Palestinian houses in the village of Silwan, they also sought to build houses over the ancient archaeological remains. Following the architectural model of the rebuilt Jewish Quarter, they intended to preserve the archaeological remains at the basement level of contemporary housing units.<sup>24</sup> While some archaeologists did not take this move seriously ("It is just a publicity stunt on part of El-Ad to raise money"), others were outraged. This is equivalent "to building on the acropolis: taking the core of ancient Jerusalem and building on top of it." It was "inconceivable." The archaeologist who protested that the settlers' move was inconceivable also complained that the archaeological community was slow to organize its response, even though key figures (including Jerusalem's district archaeologist) were against it. Since they were unable to fight Ariel Sharon (then minister of housing, who was funneling money to El-Ad) on the local level, this archaeologist suggested, perhaps their battle could be waged internationally.

A notably left-wing archaeologist argued that the legal status of the City of David as an archaeological site provided a means to wage a battle against settler politics more generally. In taking the issue to the High Court, archaeologists sought an injunction against El-Ad's actions, one that could be used as a way to fight Ariel Sharon's (and El-Ad's) expansionist-settlement agenda. After all, the City of David had long been legally registered as an archaeological park. Its legal status would have to be changed in order for it to be built upon, something he doubted the High Court would agree to. Ultimately, the High Court froze all further developments until after the elections, during which the government changed hands—from Likud to Labor—and the settler's project for Silwan temporarily lost its government support.

The relationship between radical settlers, such as those followers of El-Ad, and the Labor Party-led municipality is more complex than this

stark dichotomization suggests. Teddy Kollek, who was then mayor of the city, had long promoted a vision of a united Jerusalem composed of a mosaic of segregated neighborhoods, Arab and Jewish, the latter encroaching upon and encircling the former. A new scheme was developed under the Likud national government after its rise to power in 1977. Under that new political program, Jews were encouraged to intrude into the heart of Palestinian neighborhoods by seizing specific properties. They gradually extended their presence in Palestinian neighborhoods throughout the Old City, appropriating properties and thus dispossessing increasing numbers of Palestinian residents. The High Court's previous ruling on the Burqan case, which decided that there was no illegal discrimination "in preserving the existence of separate quarters for different religious communities" (Israel Yearbook on Human Rights 1985: 374–75; see chap. 7) and protected the Jewish Quarter as an exclusively Jewish space, was never enforced when it came to the Old City's Muslim or Christian quarters. In actual *practice*, Kollek and his municipal government supported the reconstituted settlement agenda that was led by settler groups such as Ateret Cohanim, Atara le-Yoshna, and El-Ad. The municipality extended municipal services and provided police protection for the (armed) Jewish settlers as they encroached more and more into the heart of Jerusalem's Palestinian neighborhoods (see Schwartz 1992; Dumper 1997, chaps. 3–5).

Most members of the archaeological community, however, saw no resemblance between this radical-*religious* settler movement and their own professional practices or individual political beliefs. According to most in the archaeological community, the settlers represented the last people in Israel to use archaeology for political ends. That use, however, was not comparable to how it had been utilized by a previous generation of archaeologist, who represented a different type of nationalist. They considered the settlers' deployment of archaeology to be something separate from the role it had played in Israeli society during archaeology's heyday in the 1950s and 1960s, and which extended through the Jerusalem excavations, well into the 1970s, following Israel's victory in the 1967 war. Some argued that the composition of the professional community itself indicated a stark difference between then and now. As one archaeologist pointed out, the importance of archaeology to secular Zionists, compared to its lesser significance for today's national-religious movement, can be read from the fact that there are only a few "right-wing ideologues" who are archaeologists today. He named one individual, someone he described as "consciously right-

wing, like the Gush Emunim types"; he "is digging for his heritage." But "these types are a real minority in the archaeological establishment of Israel."

Other archaeologists offered more nuanced understandings of the relationship between national-religious politics and archaeology, however. As one noted, you can see that things are changing. There are more and more religious students in archaeology today. "You never saw an archaeologist with a *kippa* before." This is an outgrowth of post-1967 developments. There arose "a religious phenomenon in Israel." Religious Jews became "interested in the land and therefore in archaeology." These religious Jews followed Rabbi Kook's ideology, comprehending the return to Israel in religious terms. This was the beginning of the process of *sacred* redemption. Within that framework "everything in the country . . . becomes part of the messianic concept: the country, archaeology." Or, as another archaeologist described it, the right-wing orthodox nationalists are "a hybrid of orthodox religiousness and a Zionist ethos. . . . They are the last people who actively use archaeology for political purposes." Nevertheless, he insisted, there are very few orthodox archaeologists, and those who do exist do not come from the right-wing "political stream." This absence of right-wing individuals from the profession indicated to him that their commitment to archaeology as national-cultural or political ethos was not terribly strong.

It is precisely in the absence of such a "genuine cultural ethos" that "politics" was understood to enter wholesale into the realm of archaeology. During both interviews and informal conversations, archaeologists insisted that it was within the domain of settler, "staunchly nationalist," *religious* politics that archaeology and its products were used and abused. One archaeologist told me of a right-wing colleague who was constantly labeling Christian sites Jewish. Another said there were settlers who destroyed churches, and he knew of a specific "church that had been eliminated in the Territories." This same individual told of how he found a tenth-century mosaic, while excavating Jerusalem's city walls, which explained how the walls of Jerusalem were reconstructed. This was an "important find," he emphasized. He said that an army colonel who had been recovering from a heart attack walked around the Old City everyday. He heard about the mosaic. The colonel asked him why he did not destroy it, complaining, "Do we have to tell the world this country was settled by Muslims?" The archaeologist continued, "This was not an illiterate man . . . not evil, but a super-nationalist." It was a "stupid position"; after all, "everyone knows this country was settled by



Muslims." It was, in the words of yet another archaeologist, settlers who turned Burnt House into a "nationalist shrine." That transformation was not something Avigad would have supported. Avigad was not the "worst" kind of nationalist. He was more of a mainstream archaeologist. This same archaeologist offered more evidence of the distinction between secular and religious archaeologists. He described a recent controversy over the discovery of a mosaic, dated to the mid-sixth century, which was inscribed in Armenian. There was a question about whether it should be preserved in situ or moved so that the planned road work could continue. "*Normal* archaeologists" (emphasis added), he said, are against moving it. He made it quite clear that he considered archaeologists who are right-wing ideologues to be not normal.

Of interest in this discussion of settlers and archaeology is not what it might reveal about the commitment of settlers to archaeology as a scientific and political practice, a detailed consideration of which is beyond the scope of this study, but how archaeologists argue for the distinctions between the work of archaeology and the settlement project and process, between politics and archaeology, and between the consequences of a secular-nationalist versus those of a national-religious commitment for the workings of science. Why, for example, are El-Ad's designs on the City of David any different from the physical transformations that took place in the Old City in the post-1967 period? Those transformations also led to the expulsion of thousands of Palestinian residents. And those post-1967 activities brought about the establishment, on top of archaeological remains, of a new Jewish Quarter. Why, indeed, is a model of segregated settlement, with each community relegated to its own neighborhood, less expansionist, less colonial, than is the model that El-Ad is pursuing? Where are the boundaries of national sovereignty to be legitimately drawn? Within the Old City? Around its surrounding Palestinian villages? Around the various Jewish neighborhoods (French Hill, Giv'at Zeev) built on the northern parts of the city's municipal boundaries? And, on what grounds is the distinction between sovereignty and settlement, between the national and the colonial-expansionist projects—which is so crucial to the "liberal" politics of most of these archaeologists—going to be drawn?

If one is to truly comprehend the resistance of most members of the archaeological community to ceding their national-cultural symbol—*archaeology*—to today's settlers, one must turn to the issue of religiosity rather than settlement. It is in terms of the contrast between secularism and religiosity that the *discontinuity* in national values and scientific

norms are experienced most profoundly. For many archaeologists, the ideological commitment to a sacred view of the nation and national space, which has increasingly (*although far from exclusively*) driven the process of settling the territories in the post-1967 period, represents a profound cultural break from the secular Zionism in which they believed and which they, for the most part, recognized archaeology as helping to promote in the early decades of statehood. In the words of one archaeologist, quoted earlier, archaeology is still a “secular religion.”

The concept of *secular* religion signals a number of national and scientific values these archaeologists seek to uphold. Secular commitments are seen to enable a space of “tolerance” within which minorities are allowed to exist within the Jewish state. It constitutes a domain in which “everyone knows this country was settled by Muslims,” as an archaeologist quoted above mentioned offhandedly. It is within that “tolerant” political space that the Tower of David museum can recognize the religious—but not national—diversity of Jerusalem’s past and present. But as Gauri Viswanathan has so eloquently argued with respect to imperial England, the space of tolerance, which many argued secularization would produce, was not without its contradictions. Secularization and tolerance created an arena in which “formerly excluded religious groups are duly given the rights of citizenship,” but this was “no more than conditional in colonial societies . . . [where] religion continue[d] to be an unassimilable and resistant marker of political difference” (1998: 13).<sup>25</sup> In the context of Palestine and Israel, religion as a marker of persistent colonial difference is only accentuated. Israel’s “national majority,” after all, was and is a religious group remade (emancipated in the context of Europe) by transforming religious difference into national form. Moreover, that liberal, secular space is understood by many archaeologists to provide them with an ethos of detachment within the contours of which a truly *scientific* practice can occur. The knower of this modernist scientific tradition is committed to finding, not making, to demystifying, not myth constructing. His knowledge is referential, not generative (Hollinger 1994: 30).

Archaeology’s relationship to the settlement process, however, is far more complex than such accounts and their implicit distinctions imply. The convergence of archaeology and settlement should be considered not with regard to the content of ideological claims and disagreements. Rather, their symbiosis can be understood better in relation to the question of terrains, the power of facts, and a long-standing paradigm in which historical claims and contemporary rights have articulated in the

practice of archaeology. While archaeologists seem largely unable or unwilling to recognize their own complicity in or contribution to this political project, archaeology has been very significant and powerful in producing presence (Kimmerling 1992), from the time of the Yishuv, well up through the conflict over the territories in the post-1967 period. For most archaeologists, however, secular-nationalist commitments never violated, at least not *fundamentally*, their ability to know. Facts, as opposed to myths, form the foundations of a secular ethos and scientific practice alike.

I asked one archaeologist, did he not think that archaeological practice in the post-1967 Old City was part and parcel of the Judaization of that place? No, he answered: "Many archaeologists recognize Jerusalem as also Christian and Muslim; not only Jewish. For example, archaeologists supported the preservation of the Armenian church, for archaeology, for culture. Many don't agree with the more politicized vision of archaeology. . . . Now, with five years of the intifada people know Jerusalem is not one city." Some archaeologists, he continued, are "horrificed with the use of archaeology for settlement purposes." For example, Yigal Shiloh (the City of David's excavator) never intended "his dig to be used as it is being used today." Perhaps he was naïve, the archaeologist then suggested. Similarly, he pointed out, it was a rather left-wing archaeologist who dug the biblical site of Shilo, the locale of a Jewish settlement on the road to Nablus. Clearly, this is an archaeologist who does not support the settlers' activities, he insisted.

These comments express a widely espoused scientific epistemology that depends upon a philosophical commitment to facts as being distinct from their invocation as evidence. That commitment enables archaeologists to fail to recognize their own complicity in a settlement project many do not actually support (at least outside the parameters of Jerusalem's Old City and the city's now long-standing "new Jewish neighborhoods" such as French Hill)—at least not today. By definition, facts are not political, and their collection has no necessary relationship to ideological disputes or political realities. These arguments, in other words, demonstrate an understanding of the collection of data as being independent of its incorporation within a political framework that substantiates and extends specific claims to the present. Consider, for example, that many archaeologists have participated, since the 1967 war, in extensive survey projects in the West Bank in order to resolve the long-standing debate about the character of "Israelite settlement."<sup>26</sup> That project of fact collecting substantiated the West Bank as the biblical heartland, materializing its identity as Judea and Samaria in archaeolog-

ical facts. And that territorial conception, in turn, is cardinal to settler claims that the region is rightfully an integral part, and, in effect, the most fundamental part, of the Jewish state. *Arguing over details*—in this instance, whether or not ancient presence legitimizes contemporary rights to territory, insisting that the past should now be “detached” from present claims—cannot simply alter or efface a grammar of colonial-national practice and historical understanding that has long been operative in Palestine and Israel. Israel’s ideological commitment to being *a national and not a colonial state* was and is empowered by a historical practice that substantiates the ancient nation and its homeland in empirical form. The religious nationalists who control the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel are engaged in practices deeply commensurable with a long tradition of Israeli archaeology practice, even if, simultaneously, their commitment to making sacred both history and the nation *is* a significant reconfiguration of key elements of that alternative colonial-national frame.

There are, moreover, certain commensurabilities between a largely secular, professional archaeological project and settler appropriations of the field that go well beyond acts of making place. As the design and tourist practices at the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel make clear, a long tradition of linking biblical texts to empirical facts finds form and articulation at this site. Perhaps in a manner that best parallels the British Christian biblical scholars and explorers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, material evidence is brought to bear on textual traditions in order to prove—to substantiate—tenets of faith. Now, those sacred tenets are intricately linked to the origins of the “holy” peoplehood of the Jews (Paine 1992: 156).

The long history of archaeological practice in Palestine/Israel has naturalized the use of the Bible in scientific practice and empirical quest, as intuition, as historical source, and as setting the range of plausible interpretations of empirical data. This scientific epistemology opened up the possibility that the Bible and belief could be articulated with *scientific* objects, with artifacts. Guides at the tunnel engage in practices that extend that now long-standing epistemic culture. Their practices are in no way “resoundingly post-Biblical” as the “humanist principles of authority” embodied in modernist traditions of science and knowing have often been argued to be (see Hollinger 1994: 42). Nevertheless, in extending those epistemological principles, this national-religious vision does transfigure an essential hierarchy. Scientific objects no longer stand as both empirical evidence and national-cultural icons that are autonomous of the biblical texts upon which their recovery was initially

dependent. The Bible is not simply culled for historical facts that are to be substantiated in empirical form. In the context of tourist practices at the tunnel, the biblical narratives are often prior, and they are always present. It is archaeology's *objects*—the visible presence of bedrock, of particular archaeological fragments and structures—that illuminate and embody *textual* traditions and that facilitate (national)-*sacred* practices. They enable “belief,” and they render what we, presumably, believe demonstrable. They also produce new sites for religious practice. Those texts contain sacred traditions from which events can no longer be culled simply as *secular*-historical facts (for contrast, see chap. 5).

# Archaeology and Its Aftermath

By the 1990s, neither the practice of archaeology nor the particular configuration of politics and polity to which it had long been bound remained hegemonic in Israeli society. Not only had a national-religious agenda partially hijacked the formerly labor-Zionist national hobby, as exemplified by the practices at the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel, but broader assumptions that archaeology had helped to produce had begun to unravel in the face of challenges from various quarters, including critical Israeli scholars and journalists, Palestinians opposing the Israeli occupation, and Ultra-Orthodox Jews fighting against the secularism of (much of) the Israeli state. No longer a discipline in the making, nor one that, for the most part, engaged in any systematic way in a project of creating new political realities on the ground, archaeology found itself facing challenges to its practices and to the realities it had helped to create—at times from members of its own community. As some members of the archaeological community began mounting a defense of their discipline, far more than a protection of archaeology was at stake. The legitimate contours of territory, polity, and society were assumed to hang in the balance.

Several struggles over the rightful ownership of archaeology's objects will be considered here. First, I explore a set of arguments dealing with Palestinian rights to archaeological artifacts and sites and regarding the kinds of claims that Palestinians can and cannot, do or do not, make to the ancient past and thus to a distinctive national history of their own. Second, I analyze a challenge from Ultra-Orthodox Jews demanding the right to control some of archaeology's (Jewish) artifacts. This is a struggle to redefine specific classes of objects, human bones and, increasingly, specific artifactual remains, as sacred and not archaeological. Each of these groups stands as outsiders to a Zionist state and national cul-

ture, although in radically different and largely incommensurable ways. The first set of arguments harkens back to foundational questions in the establishment of the Israeli state: Is it a colonial *or* a national state? The second revolves around mainstream Zionism's long-standing secular commitments and its effacement of forms of Judaism understood to have characterized the "abnormality" of diasporic life. While analyzing some of the arguments and objections put forth by Palestinians, on the one hand, and Ultra-Orthodox Jews, on the other, I focus primarily on responses to such challenges through which the archaeological community engages in an energetic reavowal of its discipline's epistemological and cultural-political commitments, and, at times, in critical reflections thereupon. Such maneuvers reconfigure specific aspects of that cultural and political horizon, all the while avowedly defending and sustaining others. And through this analysis of the manner in which archaeology was deployed and buffeted about in public discourse and street battles alike, questions of nationhood and colonialism, of secularism and religiosity, and of science and knowledge that have all saturated and characterized the by now lengthy history of the work of archaeology in Palestine and Israel can be revisited.

### **Relics, History, and Peoplehood: The Colonial Question Returns**

On November 14, 1993, one month before the scheduled Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank town of Jericho, the Antiquities Authority (in cooperation with Yitzhak Magen, the Israeli antiquities staff officer for the West Bank) launched a survey and excavation project named "Operation Scroll." These were salvage excavations that involved approximately sixteen teams of archaeologists, accompanied by Palestinian laborers. They combed an area spanning a sixty-mile stretch of the lower Jordan valley and the western shore of the Dead Sea (see Yossi Torpstein, "Mivtsa le-Giluy Mimtsa'im Arkheologim ba-Gada," *Ha'aretz*, 15 November 1993: 5a; Oyediran 1997: 51). The operation was designed to discover "additional Jewish scrolls from the Second Temple period and other finds" before the area was turned over to the Palestinian authorities in the first stage of Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank (*ibid.*). Operation Scroll sparked a conflict between the Palestinian authorities set to take over the Jericho area and the Israeli authorities still in control. It precipitated a debate in the press and among Palestinian and Israeli archaeologists and others over the rightful ownership of archaeological finds uncovered in territory slated to be turned over to Palestin-

ian rule. "Just whose Heritage is it anyway?" asked the *New York Times* (Clyde Haberman, "The Holy Land 'digs,'" 22 September 1994: A4).

What should happen to those artifacts excavated in the West Bank and Gaza once the territories are turned over to some form of Palestinian control? After decades of struggle, the Palestinian nationalist movement, and its most recent incarnation in the intifada (the popular uprising), had forced the Israeli state to the negotiating table. The occupied territories were to be turned over, at least in part, to some form of Palestinian authority or rule. Within the context of those negotiations over land and possible statehood, the Palestinian negotiating team put the question of antiquities on the table.

According to the Declaration of Principles, a provisional agreement reached between the State of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (September 13, 1993), the future status of the antiquities from these territories would be dealt with in the negotiations over final status. In the meantime, with regard to particular areas to be handed over to Palestinian control (in this agreement, the Jericho area and much of Gaza), Israel was to provide a list of archaeological sites for which excavation licenses were granted since 1967 and, where available, a general description of artifacts excavated at each site (Declaration of Principles 1993: 20). The Oslo II Agreement (signed in Washington, D.C., on September 28, 1995) further developed guidelines for dealing with questions of cultural property. Following the terms of that earlier Declaration of Principles, it transferred jurisdiction over archaeological sites in the territories under their control to the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). It established a Joint Committee of Experts to deal with "archaeological issues of common interest," and it required that Israel provide the Palestinian National Authority all "archaeological records for sites" under their jurisdiction along with a "detailed list and description of artifacts found at such sites since 1967." In addition, the agreement mandated that both sides enforce a prohibition on the transfer of cultural property out of the West Bank and Gaza—whether to Israel or to other countries (Oyediran 1997: 38–40). As summed up in a report on cultural property produced by a Palestinian human rights organization: "The transfer of information on archaeological excavations conducted in areas under PNA jurisdiction will be of great assistance in pursuing Palestinian claims for the return of cultural artifacts removed from the OPT [Occupied Palestinian Territories] since 1967" (40).

There is an international legal context for these negotiations over antiquities. In demanding the return of cultural property excavated in and



transferred out of the occupied territories since 1967, the Palestinian negotiators were calling for an enforcement of international law.<sup>1</sup> But legal compliance would require a clear and agreed-upon definition as to *whose* cultural property particular archaeological objects really are. From an Israeli perspective, the international treaties that govern control over cultural properties may not apply to the Palestinian and Israeli case. Those treaties do ban occupying powers from transferring cultural property out of an occupied territory. But the Hague Convention defines “cultural property” as “movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people” (quoted in Oyediran 1997: 7; emphasis added). In other words, the prohibition against seizing cultural property is cast in the terms of protecting one people’s cultural heritage from being plundered by the occupying army of another. The language of national or cultural heritage saturates this international legal convention. Given the long history of demarcating attachments and claims to archaeological sites and objects, the question of who actually is the legitimate *national-cultural* heir to specific archaeological relics is precisely what is at stake in determining what will happen to artifacts excavated by Israeli archaeologists or seized by the Israeli state since the 1967 war.

The very distinctive form of Israeli settler-nationhood returns to haunt the cultural property debate. The ongoing work of archaeology, after all, was constitutive of the territorial self-fashioning of Jewish nativeness out of which a settler-colonial community emerged as a national, an original, and a native one, which would thereby have legitimate claim not just to the land as a whole, but, more specifically, to particular ancient artifacts that embody the Jewish nation’s history and heritage. As argued by a professor of international law at Hebrew University, while “removing cultural properties” from occupied lands “clearly contradicts the Hague treaty,” the application of that law to certain archaeological artifacts uncovered in the occupied territories may not be quite so clear (Felice Maranz, “The return of the shards,” *Jerusalem Report*, 18 November 1993: 19). That lack of clarity takes a very particular form in this case. For example, the Israeli-Palestinian dispute does not replicate the terms of legal battles within North America or Australia, which pit the rights of science and archaeologists against those of heritage and the Native American and Canadian communities demanding the repatriation of artifactual and human remains (see Gathercole and Lowenthal 1994; Layton 1994; McLaughlin 1998; Messenger 1989). In Palestine/Israel, the dispute involves demarcating the contours of legitimate *heritage ownership* itself. “Israel may have the right to

keep synagogue mosaics and other Jewish artifacts," the professor of international law explicates, "The preamble of the Hague convention talks about cultural property as part of a *people's heritage*" (Maranz, *Jerusalem Report*, 18 November 1993: 19; emphasis added). While most of the archaeological finds excavated since 1967 and transferred into Israel proper will surely be returned to the Palestinian National Authority if a final agreement on the status of the territories is ever reached, what will happen to objects of "clear Jewish character" (Torpstein, *Ha'aretz*, 15 November 1993: 5a) is not entirely clear. That is, what will happen to those objects defined by the Israeli negotiating team as being of great importance for the cultural heritage of the Jewish people?

Specific sites have already been placed under special jurisdiction in the Oslo II Agreement. The agreement requires both sides to respect and protect sites regarded as "holy or which hold archaeological value." Each side is empowered to raise concerns relating to such sites before the Joint Committee of Experts. But with regard to specifically named sites, the Palestinian National Authority *must* refer all decisions regarding any actions on their part to the joint committee for "full cooperation." That list includes twelve sites deemed by the Israeli negotiators to be of particular "archaeological and historical importance to the Israeli side," mostly synagogue remains (Oyerdian 1997: 38). (There is no comparable list of sites of special significance to the Palestinian side, a testament to the asymmetrical power relations of these negotiations).<sup>2</sup> The rights of control over those twelve archaeological sites remain ambiguous. While under the territorial jurisdiction of the PNA, they are not unequivocally theirs to manage. It is precisely the question of their proper ownership that is in question. Any resolution of that question depends upon the ability of both sides to agree on the rightful ownership of such sites or objects.

As James Clifford has argued, while "repatriation" is one "possible, appropriate route," it is not always clear, or agreed upon, "where home is for collected objects" (1997: 211). In this instance, is an object at home within the territory from which it was hewn (the local inhabitants thus being its rightful owners)? Or is it at home when in the hands of a population whose own national culture and identity the objects are believed to represent, even if that means rendering the objects "diasporic" by transferring them to a state or territory other than the one in which they were found? So, the question returns: Just whose heritage is it anyway?

In the wake of colonial regimes, demands have been made by newly established states and indigenous peoples throughout the world for the repatriation of cultural property that had been collected by colonial

scholars and transferred to European and American universities and museums. In writing of the terms of this debate, Richard Handler argues, not only have proponents of repatriation insisted that museums have “misrepresented other cultures, they have oppressed and plundered them. From this point of view, no appeal to scientific necessity can justify the removal of what has come to be called, tellingly, cultural property: only the people who created artifacts, or the people whose ‘identity’ they represent, can place them in a proper context” (1988: 193). The question of whose identity such objects represent, however, is itself an effect of the very projects and practices of collection and classification. Objects, after all, do not inherently represent anyone. Claims to ownership depend on the practical entanglement of objects in a long history of cultural, political, scholarly, and, often, market practices that come to circumscribe them *as heritage*—as objects with a specific cultural-historical significance as emblems of identity (cf., Dominguez 1986; Handler 1988; Clifford 1988; Fabian 1983). What is at stake in the dispute over Jewish objects from the occupied territories is not so much who it was that created specific objects but what *kind of a relationship* those ancient inhabitants have with the land’s present population groups. The very incompatibility of understanding Zionism as a colonial *versus* a national project stands at the argument’s very core.

The project of inventory, of acquisition, and of enclosure began almost immediately upon the seizure of the territories in the 1967 war. Archaeological surveys were conducted in the West Bank, in Gaza, in East Jerusalem, and in the Golan Heights.<sup>3</sup> A similar preliminary archaeological survey was carried out in southern Lebanon on the heels of Israeli troops in 1982. Except for in the latter case, excavations and more extensive surveys soon followed. An ancient historical geography was gradually substantiated on the contemporary landscape, incrementally extending the expanse of territory considered (by many) rightfully historic Jewish land. Particular Jewish relics unearthed from those sites, together with other artifacts seized with the capture of the Palestine Museum during the 1967 war (most notably the Dead Sea Scrolls), were currently, or potentially, objects of contention.<sup>4</sup> These artifacts were the source of a political disagreement that erupted into public debate with the launching of Operation Scroll in November of 1993.

Operation Scroll was attacked by Palestinian archaeologists and political figures as last-minute plunder on the eve of Israel’s withdrawal from the Jericho area. They argued that this operation was illegal, but one more instance of colonial pillage (see Silberman 1994). They were joined in their critique by a few prominent Israeli archaeologists and

journalists. According to Aharon Kempinski, chairman of the Association of Archaeologists in Israel (*Agudat ha-Arkheologim be-Yisrael*, an organization founded in the 1980s as a counterpart to existing archaeological institutions), this operation was “an attempt to conduct an archaeological coup before the area [was] handed over . . . to the autonomy authorities or the Palestinian Administration in Jericho” (quoted in Oyediran 1997: 51). For Kempinski, there were no legitimate national-heritage grounds on which these excavations were justifiable. Or, as Tom Segev, a prominent Israeli critic argued in his weekly *Ha'aretz* column, Operation Scroll involved “tens of archaeologists rushing about like Indiana Jones from cave to cave in an effort to discover more scrolls.” It was the realization of “Amir Drori’s life-dream,” the director of the Antiquities Authority and a former IDF general who led Israel’s invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and was given directorship over the Antiquities Authority upon retiring. Operation Scroll is “the final madness, rather pathetic, of a dying colonial administration” (19 November 1993: 7b).

It was in the face of such public criticism, which brought the colonial character of the Israeli occupation to the fore, that the Antiquities Authority and participating archaeologists defended their decision to launch this, initially secret, operation. The terms of their defense were twofold: legal and cultural. First, it was argued that the Israel Antiquities Authority had the legal responsibility, as defined under international law, to protect archaeological objects from destruction. Far from taking part in “organized robbery,” as one participating archaeologist explained, everything was “being done according to international law.” All discoveries would be passed to the Civil Administration (i.e., the military administration that has ruled the territories since the 1967 war). The idea was that, in the future, it may be possible to turn everything over to the Palestinian state, “But in the beginning the Palestinians will have other worries: by the time they have time to search for scrolls—antiquity robbers will not have left any trace of them” (ibid.). The Antiquities Authority’s official spokesperson similarly appealed to the special status of artifacts as objects of science that had to be protected: “The Operation is conducted in accordance with the Jordanian law and in accordance with international law and the Hague Convention which states that archaeological artifacts in an occupied area must be preserved, and that it is the purpose of the operation: to protect the archeological artifacts from antiquity robbers” (quoted in Oyediran 1997: 51).

But an enforcement of international law was neither the sole nor the most important grounds upon which participants in the operation de-

fended it. This was Jewish national-cultural patrimony, and that meant the Jewish state, and certainly not a Palestinian one, had legitimate ownership rights over ancient *Jewish* objects. As explained by Neil Silberman, an American author who has written extensively on issues of politics and archaeology in the Middle East:

“The French did the same thing before they left Algeria,” charged Nazmi Ju’beh, a technical advisor to the Palestinian delegation to the Washington peace talks.

There were, of course, some significant differences. The most important artifacts in the Operation Scroll dispute were not artworks or treasures, but ancient Hebrew and Aramaic documents whose emotional importance was considerably greater [for Israelis] than any attachment felt by the Palestinian people to them. (1994: 27–28)

“Are the Israelis justified,” he asked, “in mounting an effort to retrieve documents and artifacts of direct and demonstrable relevance to their culture and tradition—even if those artifacts lay in disputed territory? Do Palestinians, on the other hand, have a right to claim ownership of ancient Jewish artifacts, even if those artifacts are of relatively little significance to them?” (28). Or as explained by the *Jerusalem Post* reporter, Abraham Rabinovich, “The fact that one of the main objects of the operation is to uncover remains of the extensive Jewish presence in the Judean desert in antiquity clearly overrides for the Israeli participants the legal niceties raised by the objectors” (“Uncovering a priceless national heritage,” *Jerusalem Post*, 26 November 1993). As summed up in a *Ma’ariv* article entitled “Le-mi ha-Aretz?” (Whose land [is it]?): “The Antiquity Authority’s operation is [according to Aharon Kempinski] a last minute attempt to rob the Palestinians of historical treasures. . . . Indeed, what could be more Palestinian than the Hidden Scrolls” (Yoseph Lapid, 17 November 1993)? In other words, from this *nationalist* perspective, Jewish objects belong quite simply to the Jewish state. The colonial question is occluded.

It was on the basis of a very different demarcation of ownership and a very different perspective on the Israeli state, however, that Palestinian negotiators at the Oslo accords demanded the repatriation of captured and excavated archaeological remains. The territory in which objects were found determines rightful ownership, regardless of its religious or cultural purview (see Oyediran 1997).

Competing conceptions of rightful ownership were operating here. One perspective articulated an anticolonial politics that regarded the Is-

raeli state as an occupying power with no legitimate national claims as heir to either the territory itself or to any of its material-cultural objects (even if as a compromise, a two-state solution must now be accepted). This anticolonial challenge, moreover, entailed rereading the history of the land (or country) as a whole, a historical reinterpretation that is fundamentally incommensurable with Zionist historical claims. As argued by one Palestinian archaeologist, while “Jewish culture” existed in Palestine during “*specific periods . . . it would not be right to emphasize the history of one people among the many peoples who invaded Palestine and settled there*” (quoted in Yossi Torpstein, “Bonim ‘Atid la-‘Avar ha-Falastini,” *Ha’aretz*, 21 August 1992: b7; emphasis added).<sup>5</sup> The second conception of rightful ownership expressed a commitment to an ethnonational identity believed to inhere in the objects themselves. That heritage conception has long been an essential component of a national grammar that reconfigured practices of colonial settlement and seizure within a language of national return. From that perspective, modern Israelis/Jews are the rightful inheritors of an ancient homeland whose own national identity is substantiated in particular archaeological sites and artifacts (even if parts of that land were now worth ceding in return for peace). In essence, this argument over Operation Scroll was just one round in a long-standing battle over the legitimacy of the Jewish state—in this instance, as seen through the prism of its rule over the occupied territories—and it was accompanied by a significant political shift.

By the late 1980s and 1990s, Palestinians, through their active resistance to the state, and Israeli critics had raised the question of Palestine in Israeli public discourse. The *settler* character of Israeli nationhood, at least as it applied to the Israeli state in the post-1967 period, was coming to the fore, and the taken-for-granted legitimacy of the Israeli state as simply one more democratic nation-state was beginning to unravel, at least for certain sectors of the Israeli-Jewish public. That unraveling, however, was but partial. Fundamental colonial commitments continued to endure.

“Commonsense assumptions about history and nationhood persisted, ones evident in the ethnonationalist conception of heritage ownership that characterized the Israeli discourse. Arguments concerning the rightful ownership of Jewish heritage are situated squarely within what Virginia Dominguez has argued to be a specifically modern historicity, one imbricated in the project of scholarly practices of “collecting.” Objects are collected “as metonyms for the people who produced them” (Dominguez 1986: 548). These objects are not simply of market

value, but, moreover, of historical value. They serve as vehicles for historical understanding. Particular objects emerge as emblems of heritage, a fundamental category for societies—for nations—“intent on finding legitimacy through history” (550).<sup>6</sup> Of course, to produce ancient objects as the heritage of the modern Jewish nation requires the assertion, or *belief in*, a connection (perhaps even a genealogical relationship) between “the people . . . who created [the] artifacts” in the first place and those whose identity they are seen to represent (Handler 1988: 193). That is a national-cultural conception that maps ethnicity onto artifacts in a manner that replicates the long-standing (Israeli) archaeological practice of equating pots and peoples. But while within an Israeli heritage discourse, certain objects seem to be quite obviously of “direct and demonstrable relevance” to Israeli-Jewish “culture and tradition” (Silberman 1994: 28), it seems much harder for Palestinians to lay claim to an ancient national heritage of their own, at least within the terms of that same discourse.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to (Israeli-)Jews, Palestinians seem to be neither a truly fully formed or authentic nation nor a fully modern one. In considering such arguments about the state of Palestinian nationhood, it is worth contemplating what it is that “science” signifies and what role it plays in demarcating Palestinian and Arab otherness.

What is it that is understood, by many Israeli archaeologists, to distinguish Palestinian (or Arab) historical claims from Israeli ones? In an article entitled “Religion, Ideology, and Politics and their Impact on Palestinian Archaeology,” Magen Broshi, an archaeologist and former curator of the Shrine of the Book Pavilion at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, gives an account of Israeli and Arab archaeological traditions. Summing up the history of the Israeli tradition, Broshi argues that during the prestate period and up through the first generation of Israeli archaeologists the discipline “concentrated on Jewish subjects.” Quoting Amos Elon, an Israeli historian who Broshi suggests “slightly exaggerat[es]” the case, but is “not much off the mark,” he argues that the early decades of archaeological practice were characterized by “The patriotic archaeologist who directs his efforts to the exploration of the country’s Israelite past. . . . Archaeological excavations, as opposed to the restoration of existing sites, have largely been restricted to Jewish objects” (1987: 27). According to Broshi, “The Israeli phenomenon, a nation of immigrants returning to an old-new land, for historical reasons, is without parallel. It is a nation *in the process of renewing* its acquaintance with its land. Here archaeology plays a major role. For the pioneers of the Third Aliyah, who were moved by the Beth Alpha synagogue mosaic and the giant blocks of the Third Wall [in Jerusalem], these dis-

coveries weren't merely of scientific interest" (28; emphasis added). As *science*, however, Israeli archaeology has now matured. It has moved beyond that initial search for Jewish objects, and it has become "assiduous in studying all periods" (27). The discipline of Israeli archaeology has, in other words, progressed.

Contrast that account with Broshi's description of "Arab Ideologies and Archaeology." After clarifying that there is not much that can actually be said on the topic since "Arab archaeologists have not as yet taken their proper place in the study of archaeology on either side of the Jordan" (30),<sup>8</sup> he writes:

However, we should note that there is an archaeological-historical argument that looms very high in Arab ideology and is marshaled frequently in political polemics: the assertion that almost all the peoples of the ancient Near East were Arabs. . . . Because it is important to Arabs to prove their early origins here, it is often stated in modern Arabic literature that the Hebrew tribes conquered the land from the Arabs who preceded them. To buttress their assertion they identify almost all the ethnic groups who appear in the history of the land as Arab. . . . From such genealogies it would naturally follow that the Arabs were settled in the land much before the Jews, as well as after the Arab "reconquest" in 636 C.E. Such arguments lack any scientific basis, and even in the political sphere hold no respectability. (31)

There is a striking difference in Broshi's analysis of a Jewish search for roots that characterized the early decades of Israeli archaeology and of a more recent Arab quest for early origins in the archaeological record. Jewish objects *moved* Jewish settlers who had returned to Palestine. In so arguing, Broshi asserted both that the Jewish interest in archaeology was intrinsic and that it generated genuine national emotion. By way of contrast, he portrayed the Arab quest for early origins in the archaeological record as being pure political polemic. In the former instance, the question of roots and return was understood as real and true, even if *as science* the practice of archaeology had to move beyond that search for Jewish origins and had to focus on other periods as well. In the latter instance, it was pure fabrication. In relation to Arab archaeologies, science and politics stood as distinct and, moreover, as incompatible realms of discourse and practice. In developing his argument, Broshi never challenged the underlying nationalist assumptions upon which the earlier tradition of Israeli archaeological practice was based: that in searching for an Israelite and Jewish past, archaeologists were uncovering ancient origins upon which modern nationhood would be built anew. The implications for Arab archaeology were fundamentally dif-



ferent, however. A simple expansion of the chronological agenda would not solve the problem of bias. That would require a more basic challenge. Arab archaeologists would have to disavow a paradigm that presupposes any genealogical and ethnic connection between Palestine's ancient tribes and its contemporary Arab inhabitants. In the words of a second archaeologist, after describing a book on her archaeological work on a Philistine site, she said, there are, of course, "the political implications" that "the Philistines are equivalents to modern Palestinians. . . . [you] have to kill that [conception] before it grows."

While by the early 1990s, virtually all archaeologists argued for the need to disentangle the goals of their professional practice from the quest for Jewish origins and objects that framed an earlier archaeological project, the fact that there is some genuine national-cultural connection between contemporary (Israeli-)Jews and such objects was not itself generally open to sustained questioning.<sup>9</sup> That commitment remained, for the most part, and for most practicing archaeologists, fundamental. (Although archaeologists argued, increasingly, that the archaeological past should have no bearing upon contemporary political claims). In other words, the modern Jewish/Israeli belief in ancient Israelite origins is not understood as *pure* political fabrication. It is not an ideological assertion *comparable* to Arab claims of Canaanite or other ancient tribal roots.<sup>10</sup> Although both origin tales, Arab and Jewish, are structurally similar as historical claims, Broshi's argument betrays a "hierarch[y] of credibility" in which "facticity" is conferred only upon the latter (Cooper and Stoler 1997: 21). And Broshi's argument was not uncommon. To demonstrate but one more instance of the fictitiousness of Arab claims to ancient tribal origins, I quote the following description of the state of Palestinian archaeology from *Ha'aretz's* regular reporter on archaeology:

The Palestinian search for national historical depth pushed Palestinian researchers and politicians to fashion a direct connection, *virtually impossible*, with peoples who lived in the land before its conquest by the Hebrews, on the one hand, and to deny or ignore the prominent Jewish presence in the history of the country, on the other. From this perspective, the Canaanites, the Jebusites, and yes the Adomites and the Nabateans were Arab tribes. "Herod, the king of Judea for example," maintains Ju'beh, "was in effect Adomite-Arab." (Torpstein, *Ha'aretz*, 21 August 1992: b7; emphasis added)

Reproducing the terms of Broshi's argument regarding the scientific maturing of the Israeli discipline, the reporter then noted that things are changing in Palestinian archaeological practice. Palestinian archaeolo-

gists are pursuing a more scientific approach by maintaining that “the living inhabitants of the country are a direct continuation and product of the sum total of the cultures that existed here—Canaanite, Jewish, Islamic, and others, and hence the attachment (*ziqa*) of Palestinians to the country is not open to question” (ibid.).

A progressive dynamic is understood to inhere in the history of science and, by implication, in the development of the nation itself. One archaeologist explained that in their infancy, all archaeological traditions are nationalistic. As they “mature,” they become more objective, more truly scientific. Practitioners gradually realize that the past should not be invoked to resolve contemporary political disputes. Palestinian archaeology, this archaeologist argued, is going through its nationalistic phase. Jewish archaeology has already passed through it. Then after transitioning to a discussion of the wider question of Palestinian national-historical consciousness, he noted that there used to be a complete lack of interest among Palestinians in archaeology. It was seen only as a source of income, through the selling of antiquities or illicit digs: “But they are beginning to realize that they are part of the country, [there is] a beginning of an interest in archaeology.” The link between archaeology and nationhood was, for him, a significant one. Paralleling the contrasts between recognizable Jewish claims to a particular archaeological past and spurious Palestinian ones, arguments about the state of Palestinian historical consciousness demarcate colonial difference. They point to a presumed distinction between the fact of a genuine and Jewish historic nation and the character of a still incipient Palestinian one and between a modern Jewish society and a traditional Palestinian one.

On November 16, 1993, *Davar*, a Hebrew daily, published an article entitled “*Kovshey ha-‘Avar*” (Conquerors of the past). The article was a critique of the practice of Israeli archaeology. Arguing that it had been central to the Zionist political project, the reporter interviewed a few critics of the field’s politics. In particular, critics focused on the discipline’s concentration on Jewish subjects at the expense of the country’s other periods, which had characterized disciplinary practice during the early years of statehood. Amnon Ben-Tor, a professor of archaeology, wrote a letter to the paper in response:

Agreed: it is true that the study of the remains of the people of Israel in its land attained a central place in the departments of archaeology throughout the country. It is true *and natural* that it would be so because, where is this going to happen—at Bir Zeit University [the most prominent Palestinian university]? Likewise, I agree with pointing the

finger of blame at Palestinian researchers: the study of the remains of the Muslim past in the country is today in approximately the same place that was the study of the Jewish past in the country several decades ago. The difference is that the Israeli researchers did not seek scapegoats, but rather stood up and did something. I am sure that Palestinian researchers will be harnessed in the near future—and with enthusiasm—to study the remains of their past in the country. (“Arkheologiya ve-Politika,” 12 December 1993; emphasis added)

Ben-Tor expressed a few commonplace assumptions regarding heritage and archaeological practice. First, he argued that it is *natural* that the field of Israeli archaeology focuses on the remains of the people of Israel (clearly no Palestinian university would do so). Taken from his perspective, archaeological practice is about digging up heritage. Archaeologists, for their part, “naturally” excavate in search of their own. Second, for Ben-Tor, the appropriate Palestinian past (“their past”) is a Muslim past. It is *that* past with which they should concern themselves and for which they should dig.

Another archaeologist laid bare the very same assumptions in his response to the paper of an American colleague during the international conference “Interpreting the Past” (see chap. 8, n. 4). The American archaeologist had concluded his analysis of cultural property and heritage management in Jordan, Cyprus, and Tunisia. He pointed out that in contrast to Israeli society, there is very little popular Jordanian interest in the country’s archaeological sites and discoveries. An Israeli archaeologist, someone who had participated in the excavations at Masada, offered what he saw as a rather straightforward “solution” to what he immediately defined as a “problem”: “Why not dig a more recent, Muslim past,” he asked? In one fell swoop he summarized his most basic assumptions about how people relate to the archaeological past. Public interest is a matter of heritage. In order to elicit the former, one has to dig up the latter. Moreover, paralleling Ben-Tor’s comments quoted above, this archaeologist did not conceptualize those heritage pasts territorially (i.e., that all the periods and population groups in a given territories’ history are part and parcel of a collective past). Rather, heritage was understood to be a nationally, religiously, or ethnically demarcated category, just as it had been defined within the terms of the communal politics that characterized British Mandatory rule. Specific heritages and specific identities are inherent in particular archaeological objects. Those objects are, in turn, characteristic of specific “eras.” One traces one’s ancestry genealogically, in relation to clearly circumscribed population groups

whose religion, identity, and culture (and perhaps, biological substance) one presumably shares.

Ben-Tor was not alone in his criticism of Palestinian archaeologists and others, be they Israeli citizens or from the occupied territories. In the original *Davar* piece, scholars critical of the practice of Israeli archaeology leveled a similar critique. In the words of one archaeologist, described in the article as a specialist in the Arab-Muslim period, "The period of Israel in its land attracts more funding and publicity than the history of the Arabs." But it is also the responsibility of Arabs to look for their own past: "The lack of interest amongst Arabs in their archaeological heritage is simply disappointing." He ascribed that lack of concern to the fact that Arab society is "traditional." A second archaeologist (himself an Israeli-Palestinian) concurred. He "does not only point to the Israelis as guilty in the existing situation." He noted a lack of "consciousness" among Israeli Arabs regarding archaeology, something which he too ascribed to their traditionalism. Their disregard for archaeology—for *heritage*—was but a sign of the population's "backwardness."

In this discourse, expressing and acting upon an interest in one's archaeological past is taken to be the norm. What then *requires explanation* is the absence of such interest. What has become taken for granted is not just that one digs in search of one's past and of one's heritage, but, more fundamentally, that a noninterest in one's archaeological past signifies a *lack* of modernity (the society is too "traditional") and, as we shall see below, the absence of a commitment to, and perhaps even the existence of, "the nation," be it a Palestinian or a Jewish one. The particular manner in which the practice of modern Jewish nationhood came to articulate with archaeological practice had emerged as nationalism's "modular form" (Anderson 1991).

References to the lack of a Palestinian interest in their past were recurrent in interviews and newspapers alike. For example, one archaeologist at the Israel Antiquities Authority recounted the following incidents in order to demonstrate that Arabs were not interested in the past. In the late 1970s, the Rockefeller Museum in East Jerusalem tried to develop a program of art classes for Arab and Jewish school children. The aim of the program was to develop an Arab "awareness" of a past "older than Salah al-Din and Mohammed." But they could not get the Arab school children to come. His interpretation? "They don't realize its importance, that it is their heritage too." (Here, of course, he defined "their heritage" far more broadly than did the archaeologists I quoted

above). Shortly thereafter, this same archaeologist recounted a second story. The Antiquities Authority had organized groups of volunteers (what he described as “amateur archaeologists, mostly”—a lot of kibbutzniks) to watch out for the theft of antiquities. If they caught someone stealing from antiquities sites in any part of the country, they were to report it to the authorities. In spite of great efforts, they never succeeded in getting Arabs (in the territories) interested in launching a similar project.<sup>11</sup> It was like “talking to a wall.”

A wider context within which such refusal to cooperate with Israeli authorities on matters of archaeology needs to be understood. In his analysis, this archaeologist completely sidestepped the political question of occupation. As an example, consider his concern with the problem of looting: It is a “real problem.” “Every *fellah*” (peasant) engages in it “on weekends.” He stated that the battle against looting was “a military operation,” involving “intelligence” gathered by “paying people off” and then “ambushing” the looters. It is not just that such operations were quasi military in their character—and this in the context of a military occupation—that may have made Palestinians refuse to cooperate, however. The entire regulation and control over antiquities in the occupied territories were under the rubric of military power and its institutional structures: those of the so-called Civil Administration.<sup>12</sup>

The looting of antiquities is addressed at length in an article published in the daily *Ha'aretz*. Through an interview with one Palestinian archaeologist, the journalist contextualizes the fact of noncooperation within larger questions of an anticolonial politics of resistance, if only through the decision to withdraw cooperation and consent. The article explains that Palestinian archaeologists do not excavate in the territories for “political-legal reasons”: “According to international law, they argue, it is forbidden to excavate in occupied territory,” and the Palestinians have no interest in conferring legitimacy on Israeli archaeological activities (Torpstein, *Ha'aretz*, 21 August 1992: b7). But the reporter qualifies, “many Palestinians have, for many years, been doing such excavations in the territories. Most of them are villagers who find antiquities in the depths of the earth and sell them.” It is said that “the plunder of antiquities” is wide in scope, based upon both the ability of villagers to identify objects of value and a network of middlemen and antiquities dealers, Israeli and Palestinian. The reporter then points out that while Nazmi Ju'beh (a Palestinian archaeologist and lecturer at Bir Zeit University, and a member of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks) “just like the majority of Israeli archaeologists,” opposes such excava-

tions, he is only willing to cooperate with the Israeli authorities on the matter in strictly circumscribed terms: "If the Israelis give me information about a specific place in which the robbing of antiquities is taking place, I am prepared to go there immediately in order to convince the Palestinian antiquities robbers to desist from this and to explain to them the great damage that they are causing to the historical research of their people. But, as is clear, I am not prepared to be used as a policeman or informant." (Although never argued by Ju`beh, looting could well be analyzed as a form of resistance to the Israeli state and an archaeological project, understood by many Palestinians, to stand at the very heart of Zionist historical claims to the land. In James Scott's words, looting is perhaps a "weapon of the weak" [1985].) In his interview with Torpstein, Ju`beh shifted the focus off the problem of Palestinian looting. He insisted on the activities and the responsibilities of the Israeli authorities and insinuated that there was another sort of theft going on. It was the responsibility of the Israeli authorities to protect "our antiquities," Ju`beh asserted. Moreover, in the future "they must transfer all the finds that they discovered in the illegal excavations in the territories to us and *not hide them inside* Israeli museums." That is what was being demanded in the negotiations (Torpstein, *Ha'aretz*, 21 August 1992: b7; emphasis added).

This explicitly political and critical perspective was rarely proffered as an explanation in repeated questions about and commentary upon an alleged lack of Palestinian (usually "Arab") interest in their heritage. As recounted by one archaeologist, for example, an Arab antiquities dealer once handed him a handful of "Arab coins" for free. The dealer was not interested in them at all. They were bronze, after all. It is only in the silver and gold ones that the Arabs are interested. This is in marked contrast to the (monetary) value placed on "Jewish coins." Some bronze coins, he said, are worth "more than what I will make in the next five years." Another archaeologist told the following story, which took place while she was excavating at Jerusalem's Citadel, as evidence of the fact that Palestinians (synonymous here with Muslims, as is often the case) have "no concern for their history." She noted that there were very "few ancient Muslim monuments" in the city and that most of the knowledge of those early periods was from the historical records, which "you cannot always prove." So when she and her colleagues unearthed an important remain from the early-Islamic period while excavating (she did not specify what it was), she hurried off, quite excited, to share the news with her "Muslim colleagues" at the Awqaf in the Old City.

But she could not get them to come and see it. A few days later, one person finally came to visit the site. This lack of interest taught her something: "They weren't moved. It implied nothing for them. That is what I mean by culture."

While at this moment she was not sure what one should be attached to in having a culture, in an earlier point in the interview she had clearly articulated that what one needed to be connected with is one's past and one's historical roots. Those historical roots were embodied, most reliably, in material-cultural objects, which, in contrast to historical records, are incontestable proof of the past. In other words, "To 'have' a culture . . . is to be a collector," as James Clifford sums up Richard Handler's argument (Clifford 1997: 219). And to be a nation, it seems, one has to collect one's material culture. She had often asked herself, "Why don't Palestinians have a historical memory? People who want to be a people have to have a historical memory." I suggested that if there was such a lack of interest in archaeology it might not signify a disregard for their history but instead a lack of excitement about *archaeology*. There are, after all, other ways of relating to one's past and other ways of constructing or practicing nationhood; moreover, the need for roots, that which she had identified as the source of Jewish interest in archaeology, were not problematic for Palestinians. She disagreed. This disinterest was partly a function of the "culture of this area." It was a problem that stemmed from a lack of education, such that Muslim youth still "don't even know their own history." And it was partly a result of the lack of historical depth in Palestinian nationalism itself. Palestinians "don't have a historical memory" or rather, they have "a very short and a very selective one." Even if that were true, was it not also true that Zionist memory is not all that different: very long perhaps, but equally selective? She disagreed once more and pointed out that Zionist memory has "a logical sequence":

All along historically we considered ourselves a nation. Throughout the ages, who came to Palestine? The poor and the rich. . . . But, a large part of what is called the Palestinian people are not more than five generations Palestinians. How many families were there here? In fact, if one looks at names most are Iraqi, Syrian, Kurdish families . . . *as a people with a historical feeling*, Palestinians are quite recent. . . . Jewish people are quite different. We have a *belief in the history of the Jews*, history in which culture, history, and religion are all mixed up. Our cultural and historical consciousness is related to King David, related to the Bible, also to other religious books. (emphasis added)

In her words, "Palestinians are using Zionist tools . . . [but] we have more tools to express ourselves."

She was not alone in this argument. This purported lack of Palestinian interest in archaeology was correlated over and over again with the issue of historical consciousness, a problem that seemed to lead to a far more fundamental question: What was the state of the Palestinian nation? There is, thus, a third terrain on which history and the nation converge. It is not only around framework decisions through which the past is read or with regard to the status of facts as explicated at length in previous chapters.<sup>13</sup> In addition, history and the nation converge in terms of the importance of historical consciousness for the existence of nationhood itself. Within this modern grammar of nationhood, being a nation means being the *subject* of history (see Prakash 1992 and Chatterjee 1993).

The above comments were considered not in order to demonstrate the attitude of various persons toward the political question of Palestinian statehood. These were individuals who would not necessarily have agreed with one another on the right solution to the question of Palestine. Rather, it is interesting to analyze what all this talk discloses with respect to far more fundamental assumptions: about a Jewish national past and thus the depth of Jewish peoplehood (that which stands, often implicitly, in contrast to Palestinian nationhood); about the terms through which the nation and its proper relationship to the past and to archaeology has come to be understood; and about the relationship of history to nationhood, writ large.

Much has been written about the importance of history to national imaginations and subjectivities. Within nationalist historiography, the nation is understood as an ontological entity believed to have existed and endured through time (cf., Anderson 1991; Brubaker 1996; Chatterjee 1993; Hobsbawm 1990; Duara 1995; Calhoun 1997). That the modern conception of the nation entails affirming historical agency is a far more specific element of that argument that is worth highlighting. It is only in "asserting . . . [one's] . . . claim to history" (Prakash 1992: 353) that the Palestinian population as an authentic or mature—a *modern*—nation can be recognized within the colonial grammar of Israeli national ideology. Palestinians, like groups marked traditional elsewhere, are cast as a "people without history" (Wolf 1982). The credibility of their claim to nationhood depends quite fundamentally on their capacity to produce a recognizable historical claim, particularly in a colonial context in which historical practice emerged as a cardinal and *self-conscious* mode of



(settler-)nation making. In other words, the general struggle over the right to narrate *history* that colonized groups faced in anticolonial struggles throughout the world has distinct salience in the context of Israel and Palestine. Israeli settler nationhood, after all, displaced the colonial question onto one of national return through the production of historical facts and their attendant political claims. What becomes evident in all this talk about Palestinians, archaeology, and heritage is the manner in which the epistemic culture produced at the juncture of archaeological practice and settler nationhood has produced archaeology as the most appropriate form of historical practice, of temporal and territorial consciousness, and of nationhood itself. Archaeology's objects most credibly substantiate and signify the connection between national persons and national places. One's relationship to archaeology signals the state of one's nation and of one's commitment to it. It is from that perspective on nations and (their) histories, as embodied in scientific facts and as represented in collections of demonstrable and visible national-cultural things, that we can begin to untangle the various meanings that have saturated the battles between archaeologists and the Ultra-Orthodox over digging Jewish graves.

### The Sanctity of the State of Science

The same archaeologist from the Antiquities Authority who lamented the lack of Palestinian interest in their past and the problem of looting also recounted stories about *haredi* Jewish opposition to archaeology.<sup>14</sup> During the conflict over the digging of Area G at the City of David, one of the most protracted conflicts between Ultra-Orthodox and archaeologists to date, the *haredim* "got a lot of their information from Arab workers" whom they paid, implying in both tone and words that these Jews had committed quite a transgression of national loyalty. A second incident he recounted involved an excavation on a kibbutz in the Shephelah: "There were no Arab workers on this dig." The kibbutz and the excavators had taken great caution to keep publicity away from the dig. Much to their surprise, a group of *haredi* Jews showed up to protest one day. The kibbutzniks were quite baffled as to how the *haredim* found out. It turned out that a sixteen-year-old kibbutznik had been paid 700 shekels by a *haredi* boy. That was "equivalent to treason for a kibbutznik to be bought off by *haredim*." Members of the kibbutz even discussed throwing the boy off the kibbutz, although the archaeologist did not think that ever actually came to pass.

These stories capture the way in which Ultra-Orthodox opposition to archaeological excavations, specifically, to the excavation of Jewish

cemeteries and graves, is understood to violate boundaries. It violates the boundaries of a secular-labor Zionist culture (which the kibbutz epitomizes) and the boundaries of national loyalty, writ large (through the solicitation of information from Arab laborers), and, of course, it violates the resonance between the two. Since the early 1980s, Israeli newspapers have been replete with images and stories of violent confrontations between Ultra-Orthodox demonstrators, archaeologists, and the police. As summed up in the title of one *Ha'aretz* article, this is "The battle over the grave" (ha-Qrav 'al ha-Qever, *Ha'aretz*, 8 January 1993]). It is a struggle to limit the rights of archaeologists in excavating Jewish grave sites, which, according to a strict Ultra-Orthodox interpretation of Jewish religious law, should not be disturbed. More broadly, this conflict is but one axis of a wider national-cultural and political battle over the character of modern Jewish identity and of the Israeli state.

The first major battle over the excavation of Jewish graves erupted in the streets of Jerusalem in the summer of 1981. The dig at the City of David was led by Yigal Shiloh, a professor of archaeology at Hebrew University.<sup>15</sup> The conflict was precipitated by a disagreement over whether or not a specific locus was the site of a Jewish cemetery. The dispute focused on Area G, a two-dunam section containing remains from the tenth century B.C.E., the same area upon which El-Ad had planned to establish a new settlement in the early 1990s (see chap. 8). According to the archaeological community, there was never a Jewish cemetery in this area of the site. The Ultra-Orthodox disagreed. Using their own (*textual*) sources of historical evidence, they maintained that the site contained a 400-year-old Jewish cemetery. Archaeological excavations needed to be stopped. The Ultra-Orthodox opposition was mobilized and led by Atra Kadisha, an organization established several years beforehand in order to prevent the violation of Jewish graves on Jerusalem's Mount of Olives and which has since continued to protest archaeological activity around the country.

Sorting out the facts of the dispute is beyond the purview of this discussion. What I want to consider are the ways in which archaeologists have articulated their opposition to Ultra-Orthodox attempts to disrupt digs. This is an opposition that was initially framed in defense of a secular Zionist state and society, but later shifted to a defense of science and academic freedom. The once fundamental and *explicit* link between archaeology and nationhood was receding, if not entirely displaced, by the time of renewed battles over grave sites that rocked Jerusalem's streets in the 1990s.

In an article published in the *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Yigal Shiloh explained what he understood to be at stake for those who fought the Ultra-Orthodox over Area G at the City of David:

The dispute with the ultraorthodox . . . involved a larger question connected with the state of Israel itself. . . . The main reason [for standing up to them] for us—myself, my family, my colleagues, my staff, Hebrew University, and Israelis generally—was larger [than a defense of archaeology per se]. Here we have a group of very fanatic Jews who believe that Zionism is the most dangerous thing in the world, that the creation of the state of Israel is a crime . . . and they're trying to do everything they can to destroy it. . . . *They want to determine what it means to be an Israeli and what kind of a country Israel is to be.* Is it to be a theocratic state or a state of law? This was the main dispute. (quoted in Shanks 1988: 39; emphasis added)

The participation of Israeli volunteers in these excavations was repeatedly represented in the press as an overtly political act, one engaged in defending the nation. As described by David Frank, the author of an article titled "Of grave concern," which appeared in the *Jerusalem Post*:

When I decided to work at the City of David dig, I had little interest in archaeology. Scrapping in the dirt for little bits of broken pottery had always seemed to me to be a rather odd way of earning one's living.

But when Dr. Yigal Shiloh . . . appealed for volunteers to help uncover the past, it was an offer I couldn't refuse. Thinking of all the Friday evenings spent with friends round the coffee table bewailing the state of the nation, I decided I was finally "as mad as hell and wasn't going to take it any more." (31 August 1981)

Shiloh, his colleagues, and many of the volunteers understood excavating as a defense of an Israeli society and polity that was committedly both nationalist and secular. They repeatedly invoked the question of loyalty or opposition to Zionism in public arguments about the Ultra-Orthodox opposition to archaeological excavations, this despite the fact that the National Religious Party (unequivocally a Zionist party) and Israel's chief ashkenazi rabbi, Rabbi Shlomo Goren, sided with Atra Kadisha in the dispute. As stated by Benjamin Mazar at a news conference called to respond to the conflict, "Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren's contention that the site was a Jewish burial ground was . . . a 'fabrication' threatening to undermine a major national enterprise" (quoted in Abraham Rabinovich, "Noted academics blast Goren," *Jerusalem Post*, 31 August 1981; emphasis added).

As two archaeologists told me during an interview:

FIRST ARCHAEOLOGIST: "We have a small, marginal, extreme antisocial group that denies any view other than their own. They will exploit any opportunity to be antisocial. Their opposition is posited prior to any rationalization for it. Before the state, no one even opposed excavating tombs. It is a recent phenomenon."

SECOND ARCHAEOLOGIST: "This is recent, this extreme orthodoxy is now a common occupation."

FIRST ARCHAEOLOGIST: "This is a recent affair; it has nothing to do with archaeology or with bones. The latest round is about a certain Rabbi in Bnei Brak who wants his party out of the coalition and so is doing anything he can to embarrass them out of the coalition."

SECOND ARCHAEOLOGIST: "Fifty years ago, there was only one small group of these groups. The Naturei Karta. As a larger social phenomenon, it has developed over the last years."<sup>16</sup>

Sidestepping the question of whether or not such protests are nothing more than Ultra-Orthodox communities playing party politics, these two archaeologists concurred not only that the haredi opposition represented extreme antisocial and marginal groups, but they invoked the Naturei Karta as representative of that political position: a small and clearly not representative, staunchly anti-Zionist (as distinct from non-Zionist) group, which has explicitly allied itself with the Palestine Liberation Organization against the State of Israel. Such Ultra-Orthodox protests represented, for these archaeologists, a clear violation of the boundaries of national loyalty. They signaled, even more fundamentally, a transgression of the contours of the modern secular nation and of its modalities of knowledge.

In contrast, an archaeologist who had participated in those City of David excavations offered a sympathetic reading of the conflict between the Ultra-Orthodox and the archaeological community. Today, he would be far less categorical than he had been in the early 1980s, he told me. In part that was a pragmatic decision. Given the increasing political clout of religious parties in local and national governments, archaeologists have less of a margin of maneuver today. Nonetheless, his change of mind was not only a practical decision. In the United States and Canada, he explained, there have been similar battles over bones and grave digging. Thinking about those conflicts, he began to reconsider his earlier uncompromising position. He had realized that the Ultra-Orthodox opposition represents a legitimate claim. When asked if this fight was not significantly different than the conflicts in the United States and Canada, he responded that it was really not that dif-

ferent at all. Even though Native American communities in North America were demanding the repatriation of human remains excavated and seized by Euro-American archaeologists, and such demands were rooted in an anticolonial critique and an indigenous postcolonial politics, if Bedouins came with the same objection, both on religious grounds and on grounds of colonization, they would be recognized. He explained, Haredim in a sense, feel “occupied by Zionists.” It may be far more similar to what is going on in the United States than we would immediately assume.<sup>17</sup>

Undoubtedly, this archaeologist was far more critical of the practices and the often unquestioned scientific hubris of his professional community than many other archaeologists. He understood the alienation of the Ultra-Orthodox from the nation-state as being so profound that one could talk about them as being colonized. In so arguing, this archaeologist challenged a far more widespread response from secular Israelis to the increasing political clout of Ultra-Orthodox communities in general—and to their opposition to archaeology more specifically—in which the most fundamental values and commitments of the state and society are believed to be at stake. As Avishai Margalit (a professor of philosophy at Hebrew University) has written, many secular Israelis find the expanding power of the Ultra-Orthodox (increasingly through their alliance with orthodox political parties such as the National Religious Party)<sup>18</sup> as being just “as menacing as the . . . [conflict] . . . between Jews and Arabs” (1998: 73). He quotes one prominent Israeli artist as having said, “When you see [the Ultra-Orthodox] you understand why there was a Holocaust and why the Jews are hated” (54). The Ultra-Orthodox are often called “blacks” in Israeli society, as Margalit points out, a label purportedly referring to the black clothes that the men wear. But that label and the forms of social stratification and marginalization that it evokes have a far longer genealogy and a much deeper significance than such a simple explanation would indicate. The term was first used by secular Ashkenazi Jews to refer to their Mizrahi compatriots who supported Menachem Begin and brought the right-wing Likud Party to power in 1977: through their easternness and traditionalism (associated most widely with intolerance, violence, and religiosity), “Oriental” Jews were believed to have hijacked the state. They were, increasingly, reconfiguring its normative liberal values.<sup>19</sup> By the 1990s, secular Ashkenazim (joined by some secular Mizrahi compatriots) some used the name “blacks” to refer to the haredim, a population that includes *both* Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jewish communities and political

parties. Like the Mizrahim before them, "The religious 'blacks' are seen to be stealing" the country (Margalit 1998: 55).

What such public discourse indexes is the extent to which specific forms of Jewish existence and identity were violently effaced—or *forgotten*, in Ernest Renan's terms—in the process of forging a unified, modern, *secular* Jewish state and polity (Renan 1996; see also Connolly 1999: 76).<sup>20</sup> The rise of the public presence and political power of the Ultra-Orthodox communities challenges cardinal national-cultural and political values. This is, in the words of one archaeologist, "a deep cultural battle." During the height of this confrontation, one used to see graffiti throughout Mea She'arim (one Ultra-Orthodox neighborhood in Jerusalem). It read: "Death to Archaeology," or "Drivers be careful: Pathologists and Archaeologists are hungry," a second archaeologist recounted. This is a battle to define "Who represents the true Jewish position? For them, it is disconnected with earthly things." Or in the words of a different archaeologist, the Ultra-Orthodox "don't need any objects. . . . The written letters are in the books, and the books can be carried with us. Ideas can carry; land and stones can't be carried with us"—the contrast between a diasporic and a territorialized-national consciousness starkly drawn. Although that distinction cannot capture what was really at stake *for the Ultra-Orthodox* in this ongoing battle—they are, after all, trying to seize control of the state by controlling important institutions—this archaeologist continued to cast their opposition in terms of his own dichotomization of a diasporic Jewish community versus a rooted Israeli nation. That discourse makes sense within an epistemic culture in which the practice of archaeology produced a historical attachment to *the land* of Israel, creating a new Hebrew person defined in relation to his or her connection to it. As explained by one former Jerusalem City Council member, the opposition of secular Jews to this attack on archaeology was a defense of "a value attached to the land, [a value] revealed through archaeology." For both sides of the conflict, archaeology has become a symbol of both the values and power of the secular Jew. It has become a site of contestation over *their* political and cultural power. The discipline of archaeology, and some classes of its specific sites and individual artifacts, are "boundary objects" (Star and Greisemer 1999) circulating among several communities of practice who are fighting to maintain or to reshape its meanings, uses, presence, and power in their battles over the legitimate and desirable contours of Israeli society and polity today.

The relationship of the Ultra-Orthodox to the boundaries of nation-

hood was revisited on the front pages of the country's newspapers in the early 1990s. At that time, the conflict was over the excavations of alleged Jewish grave sites at Mamilla and French Hill. These two sites in Jerusalem were salvage excavations carried out in order to enable building projects to proceed (the former an underground parking lot, the latter a road).<sup>21</sup> As announced in one newspaper headline, this was a "Mini-Intifada of Haredim with rocks" (Herb Keinon, *Jerusalem Post*, 8 January 1993). These riots erupted over five and a half years into the Palestinian uprising, and it was with that uncompromising and often violent opposition to the Israel state that Ultra-Orthodox practices would be compared, and not by their opponents alone.

A few months after violent confrontations over the excavations of one grave site at French Hill, the Antiquities Authority carried out an operation in the middle of the night that sparked a new round of riots. The authority wanted to complete the salvage excavations of a burial cave at Mamilla, the site of a private development project. Like Operation Scroll, these Mamilla excavations had begun in secret. Over time, however, the haredi community found out about the project and assigned a guard to watch over the site. This guard's role was to prevent the Antiquity's Authority from completing the excavation and removing the human bones. The police informed the Antiquities Authority that they would make it possible for them to complete the excavations. They named Sunday night as the time, justifying their decision to provide such protection on the grounds of the security situation. (The invocation of security reasons in relation to fear of haredi Jewish opposition is but one more indication of their marginalization from mainstream Israeli society: those regulations have been used, almost exclusively, to control Palestinian citizens of the state or those Arab populations living under Israeli occupation, including the Syrians in the Golan Heights [see Jiryis 1976]). Gideon Avni, the archaeologist in charge, arrived at the site with workers at two in the morning. They completed the excavations, removed all the finds, and "quickly destroyed the cave." Eradicating the object of controversy, the grave itself, produced a fait accompli—yet another fact on the ground. Now, one reporter explained, the parking lot could be built. The building project was once again underway (see Shahar Ilan, "Mehumot ha-Haredim be-Yerushalayim Nimshekhu Kol ha-Yom: Ha Mishtarah Yarta Kadurey Gumi 'al ha-Mafginim," *Ha'aretz*, 4 January 1993: 5A).

Confrontations rocked Jerusalem for days to come. Once informed by the haredi guard, Atra Kadisha mobilized the haredi community to take to the streets. "'They are plundering the graves of our Fathers'

could be heard throughout streets of Mea She'arim. . . . Thousands came out of their houses" (ibid.). But those protesters never made it all the way to Mamilla. Blocked by police, they threw stones and ignited trash cans at one of Jerusalem's main intersections. They impeded traffic in several parts of the city throughout much of the next day. The streets of Mea She'arim were impassable. Large stones and garbage were strewn throughout. By the end of the day, *Ha'aretz* reported, six policemen alongside an unknown number of haredi demonstrators had been injured. Rubber bullets had been used on haredi demonstrators for the first time. A vote of no-confidence was threatened in the Knesset. Yehuda Moshe Zahav, nicknamed according to the article, the "'training officer' of the Haredi community in Jerusalem" asked, "What would have happened if a Jewish boy had an eye put out?" His question invoked the very immediate presence of the intifada in Israeli society and consciousness in the early 1990s: five and a half years into the Palestinian uprising, rubber bullets and live ammunition were being used as a matter of course on Palestinian protesters (often boys). The moral contrast between shooting a Jewish versus an Arab child rang out loud and clear in his question. Zahav then warned: "If the antiquities authority continues to desecrate Jewish graves, five years of the intifada will be dwarfed in comparison to what will happen in Jerusalem from the point of view of the Haredim. What has happened so far, this is just the beginning" (quoted in Ilan, *Ha'aretz*, 4 January 1993: 5A). Or, as reported in the *Jerusalem Post*, "A haredi youth running from the police on Rehov [road] Mea Shea'rim on Sunday shouted '*intifada yahud*' [Jewish intifada in grammatically incorrect Arabic] at two Arab laborers watching the rioting." This is a community, the reporter explained, "that prides itself on insularity," one that has successfully kept out "the likes of Spinoza, Herzl, the Rolling Stones and drug abuse. But, as the youth said, this week a decidedly outside influence—the intifada—seeped in. And it was ugly" (Herb Keinon, "High Court extends French Hill injunction," 15 January 1993).<sup>22</sup>

There were conflicting opinions regarding the identity of the burial site. Was it or was it not a Jewish grave? According to archaeologists, these were, *unequivocally*, Christian bones. As explained by Gideon Avni:

It all begins, it seems when the Persians conquered Jerusalem in the year 614 c.e. Different sources, most of them Christian, teach that the Persians slaughtered thousands of the Christian residents of Jerusalem, and that the Jews helped them in that. Perhaps yes, perhaps no. Who knows. Gideon Avni . . . told me this week about one man . . .



like the men of Atra Kadisha today, this man worked to collect the bones of the victims of the slaughter and to bury them. Several thousand of them . . . were buried in the cave that was said to be located next to the pool of Mamilla. Avni believes that this is the cave that was found. ("ha-Qrav 'al ha-Qever," *Ha'aretz*, 8 January 1993: b7)

That conclusion was reached by dating material evidence excavated within the cave to the Byzantine period: glass, pottery, and coins. But the haredi community had its own interpretation of the matter. Rabbi David Schmidl, a member of Atra Kadisha's management committee, told the same reporter that this could well be a Jewish cemetery. First of all, it is well known that there are many Jewish cemeteries in the region. In addition, "The Christian finds found in that cave could have come also from Jewish burial caves." Schmidl challenged the evidentiary logic that was being used to ascribe ethnicity and religion to human remains. In sum, if pots equal peoples, then pots found with people are a reliable basis for establishing their ethnoreligious identification. In contrast, he maintained that "The Christian coins are not proof of the identity of the dead: in Switzerland . . . today they use coins that have crosses on them, the Jews of Switzerland use those coins as well. Perhaps then—the dead buried in Mamilla were 'Jews who used Christian coins.'" The Atra Kadisha, according to Schmidl, "works with regard to this matter as does a court of law: They demand that archaeologists convince them beyond a reasonable doubt" (*ibid.*). He insisted that reasonable doubt certainly still existed.<sup>23</sup> At the end of a very violent week, one *Ha'aretz* article questioned whether or not it really was worth it. This left-of-center newspaper that represents Israel's Ashkenazi secular elite advocated a more conciliatory stance: "The destruction of the cave was done at night, in a secret project, like a military one, that brought to Jerusalem what the expulsion of Hamas members brought to Israel: the wrath of God":

There was something terroristic in the project this week that brought the destruction of the burial cave in Mamilla. In the two years that have passed since its discovery there was enough time to think about engineering alternatives that would have made its preservation possible. There is something very arbitrary and very arrogant in the assumption that building projects or archaeological excavations take precedence over people's religious sentiments in all circumstances. . . . I would have planted green grass on them. (*Ibid.*)<sup>24</sup>

As other journalists forewarned, the "Mamilla skirmish" was but "a warm-up for the main event on French Hill." French Hill was the site of "indisputably intact graves from the Second Temple Period and clearly

Jewish" that had gotten in the way of a road construction project (Abraham Rabinovich, "City of the dead grips the living," *Jerusalem Post*, 1 January 1993). And the battle over the French Hill graves was not to be confined to Jerusalem's streets. Parties to the conflict appealed to the High Court to rule on jurisdiction over those sites. That legal dispute was, moreover, not limited to a conflict between archaeologists (joined by residents of Pisgat Ze'ev, the Jerusalem Municipality, and private developers whose construction projects were being held up), on the one hand, and the Ultra-Orthodox, on the other. It extended to a fight within the archaeological camp. The chairs of the country's four university-based archaeology departments sued the Antiquities Authority over Amir Drori's decision to hand over ossuaries, along with the bones found within them, to the religious authorities for reburial. Are these graves and the objects found within them archaeological or sacred sites and objects? Who is it who has rightful jurisdiction over them?<sup>25</sup>

What was perhaps most significant about the battle over the graves at French Hill was that it extended from bones to ossuaries for the first time. The archaeological community had, by and large, come to accept some limitations on their access to Jewish bones. They had come to accept, if only out of a pragmatic compromise, that given the religious salience of human bones, they may need to be ceded to the state's religious authorities. Ossuaries, however, are *material-cultural artifacts*. They are unequivocally "archaeology's objects." They must be legally protected if the work of this historical science is to proceed. This was not a dispute that could be resolved with reference to the "identity" of the objects themselves, however. In other words, even if one were to accept that only "the people who created artifacts, or the people whose 'identity' they represent, can place them in a proper context" (Handler 1988: 193), the Jewishness of these artifacts, and the distinct connection they have to contemporary Jews, is not what was up for grabs. In that regard, Ultra-Orthodox and archaeological frameworks as they play out in this ongoing battle over graves are entirely compatible. It is with respect to the legal-scientific category of "artifacts" that the incompatibilities, and more fundamentally, the incommensurabilities, emerge. In the words of a rabbi and member of the Knesset for the United Torah Judaism Party, "The body is the cover for the soul. . . . And as the soul is holy so is the body. For us, the boxes are like a part of the body" (quoted in Clyde Haberman, "Jerusalem Journal," *New York Times*, 30 January 1992).

Upon discovering ossuaries within one grave site at French Hill in the fall of 1992, Atra Kadisha and the chief rabbinate insisted that turning over the bones alone would not be enough: "The Chief Rabbis said it

was against Halacha to take the bones out of their receptacles" (Herb Keinon, "Ancient bones are reburied after settlement in week-long dispute," *Jerusalem Post*, 22 November 1992). As a gesture to calm the situation, the Antiquities Authority handed those ossuaries over to a burial society (Watzman 1993). Subsequently, the ossuaries "containing 2,000 year old bones" were buried "in a ceremony full of religious significance for the estimated 150 haredim who took part."<sup>26</sup> For archaeologists, re-burying those ossuaries, with the human remains inside, epitomized the dangers to science of the ever-increasing political clout of the Ultra-Orthodox: "Many people feel that if you give up the ossuaries today, why not some other item tomorrow?" (Haberman, *New York Times*, 30 January 1992). Those sarcophagi had inscriptions on them, the archaeologist continued. They "were needed for study." It was the importance of these objects for science, and no longer for the nation, that framed this renewed archaeological resistance to Ultra-Orthodox political power. As stated by another, "If we were to avoid excavating grave sites, all the archaeological work in the country would come to a halt" (Watzman 1993: 33).

In practice, the fear of archaeological activity coming to a halt—of a specific excavation getting embroiled in a conflict with the Ultra-Orthodox—has effectively circumscribed what many archaeologists are willing to excavate. Archaeology's domain, in other words, is being increasingly reined in. The disruption of excavations by Ultra-Orthodox demonstrators happens virtually every year. As a consequence "researchers sometimes refrain from excavating an ancient cemetery out of fear that the resulting controversy will delay work on an entire site" (Watzman 1993: A32). Given the increasing power of religious Jews, brashly violating their sensitivities is no longer a political option. But reaching such a pragmatics of coexistence, whether by avoiding excavating grave sites or, if necessary, hiding the evidence of human remains even when they are considered clearly non-Jewish (as was done on one excavation in which I participated), was not to be tolerated if that peace was to be achieved at the expense of handing over more than human remains. In the names of the chairmen of the country's four university-based archaeology programs, a suit was filed against the Antiquities Authority "charging its director with illegally handing over archaeological finds to one of the city's burial societies" (Watzman 1993: 33).

The High Court ruled on the dispute over the French Hill graves. It upheld the legal distinction between sacred and historical objects, reproducing the mandate-era distinction between "living" and "dead"

monuments (see chap. 3). According to the High Court judges, the site at French Hill was an "antiquity site." It was *not used* for "religious purposes." As such, it could not be considered "a sacred site" as the representatives of the Atra Kadisha Society and their copetitioners had argued. The authority and discretion regarding the burial caves hampering road work at French Hill was given to Amir Drori. Nevertheless, the court was not quite as unequivocal in its ruling as its strictly legal interpretations would suggest. The judges were concerned that the violent confrontations rocking Jerusalem's streets be resolved. Thus, they asked Drori to reconsider whether or not to continue excavating these caves—especially the four (out of five) burial caves that remained "undisturbed." These were salvage excavations tied to the building of Route 1 (a road that today extends from the heart of Jerusalem out to the Jewish settlements in the northern West Bank). Members of a special Ministerial Committee, which had convened to find a solution to the conflict, had already developed proposals for alternative routings of that road, which circumvented the four still-intact burial caves. The court ordered that, pending Drori's decision regarding the proposed compromise route, "the [four intact] burial caves will not be destroyed and no ossuaries found in them will be removed, if ossuaries are found in them'" (D. Shehori, "Ha-Atar ba-Giva'a ha-Tsarfatit: Atar 'Atiqot she-Eino Qadosh," *Ha'aretz*, 28 January 1993). In other words, while the court was clear in its *legal* demarcation of these sites as "antiquities," *politically*, the judges called upon Drori to seek some compromise in this battle over graves. With Benjamin Netanyahu's electoral victory, the political power of the Ultra-Orthodox was only to increase, thus continuing the shift in control over archaeology and its objects even more in their favor.<sup>27</sup>

In an effort to form his ruling coalition, Netanyahu promised the Ultra-Orthodox parties far more power over archaeological activity in the country than they had ever had before. That promise began to materialize in earnest in June 1998. In an effort to resolve a coalition crisis, Netanyahu pledged that he would appoint a new Archaeological Council (the Antiquities Authority's management council whose job it is to supervise the authority's activities). The new council's membership would better reflect and represent Ultra-Orthodox views regarding the excavations of grave sites. Netanyahu also promised to replace Amir Drori. The next director would "be congenial to" the interests and positions of the Ultra-Orthodox (Yitzhaq Bar-Yosef, "Ovdey Reshut ha-'Atiqot Yafginu Neged Hishtaltut ha-Ḥaredim, *Yedi'ot Aḥronot*, 30 June 1998). If implemented, he would have handed the Ultra-Orthodox par-

ties effective control over archaeological activity in the country with those two decisions. Ultra-Orthodox demands did not end there. They also asked that the government submit a bill to the Knesset that would give a newly appointed Ministerial Committee the power of “religious supervision” over any excavation in the country (Ilan and Sheri, “Prime minister to fire dig boss,” *Ha’aretz*, English ed., 29 June 1998; see also Shalom Yerushalmi, “Rotzim et ha-Rosh,” *Ma’ariv*, 29 June 1998). In the words of Haggai Merom, the chairman of the archaeology lobby in the Knesset, “We are talking about a liquidation sale of Israeli archaeology. . . . If the conditions of the ultraorthodox are met . . . it will spell the end of archaeology in this country” (Ilan and Sheri, *Ha’aretz*, 29 June 1998; see also Yerushalmi, *Ma’ariv*, 29 June 1998). As reported by one journalist on the following day, “In the Antiquities Authority they refuse to believe that this indeed will happen. The Antiquities Council is a scientific council that brings together the best researchers in the country. ‘Now come the haredim and demand to appoint people of science on the basis of political criteria’” (Yerushalmi, *Ma’ariv*, 29 June 1998). Amir Drori, for his part, wondered what kinds of experts would indeed be appointed to the council. People from burial societies, experts in Christian tradition? Muslim graves? And, he asked, “How are politicians going to reach scientific decisions?” (*ibid.*).

This ongoing battle over the grave—over human remains and, increasingly, over the objects found with those remains and the very grave site itself—is very much a dispute over ownership. It is a dispute over ownership in a literal sense: Who should have control over particular sites and objects, the Antiquities Authority or the Ministry of Religious Affairs? It is also a dispute over ownership in a figurative sense: How should one “relate to” such sites and objects? Are these graves, human bones, and ossuaries objects of science, *or* are they sacred places and remains? While the archaeological community is fighting hard to prevent Ultra-Orthodox control over archaeological artifacts and over the practices of science, the Ultra-Orthodox are battling to have particular archaeological sites and artifacts (and no longer just human remains) subject to “religious supervision” [Ilan and Sheri, *Ha’aretz*, 29 June 1998]). As understood by one journalist, compromise between the two sides is seeming less and less likely. The conflict has taken a “direction that will not make an agreement between religion and science possible” (Yerushalmi, *Ma’ariv*, 29 June 1998). Betraying his own secular commitments, Yerushalmi understands science and religion to be fundamentally at odds.

Drawing a stark distinction between religion, on the one hand, and

science, on the other, does not accurately convey the shifting terms of this ongoing battle over graves. Unquestionably, Israel's liberal and mostly Ashkenazi secular elite (formerly the backbone of Labor Zionism) have become increasingly indifferent to archaeology, at least as a fetishized national-cultural practice. As explained by one journalist, while during the first years of statehood, archaeology occupied a "special place in the young Hebrew culture," over the years, it has descended from its position as a "national hobby" to become "*just another science.*" Most secular types no longer care, the journalist continues. The Israeli state has been "normalized," something Netanyahu seems not to have absorbed:

For a long time archaeology has not been the point of our connection to the country. . . . A person does not delude himself that this or that find, dramatic as it may be in the eyes of archaeologists, will determine our final border with the Palestinians. With regard to the question of our right to the country—we are here, no? The approximately 800,000 immigrants who came to Israel in the last decade did not rush to the archaeology departments in order to clarify if in fact they had the right to live here with us. The answer was already given. And for the majority of the sons of the country (*bnei ha-Aretz*) that is understood at least as well as it is understood by the immigrants. (G. Hareven, *Mi Mefahed me-Arkheologiya*, *Ma'ariv*, weekend supplement, 26 July 1998: 26)

While clearly no longer a national hobby in the way that it was during the early decades of statehood, the salience of archaeology in Israeli society had not been entirely lost by the 1990s. Values other than a defense of the nation were increasingly understood to be at stake in a defense of the discipline. Moreover, different social groups, members of the national-religious movement along with their secular settler allies, had begun to harness archaeology and archaeological sites for their own aims.

In an article published in *Ma'ariv*, a journalist warned the Ultra-Orthodox that they failed to realize that "a long time ago they crossed the border of good taste, and not just in the eyes of secularists . . . but in fact, in the eyes of groups for whom Judaism is not a bad word" (Ben-Dror Yemini, "Horssim 'od Helqa Tova," 1 July 1998; emphasis added). "Archaeology," he continues, "provides us with the connection between nation and country more than does any other field. These excavations that incited the wrath of haredim, they are still the most important historical document that connects [*mehaber*] the ancient people of Israel with the Land of Israel." There is a shift in the alliances and various interests invested in archaeology, as Yemini's article suggests. In June 1998, for ex-

ample, the archaeological lobby in the Knesset included representatives from the Labor Party, Meretz (generally considered Israel's "civil rights" party, supportive of the peace process and avowedly secular), alongside a representative from Moledet (a radical, settler party). This is perhaps a rather unholy alliance. Each party's investment in archaeology falls along a spectrum that ranges from a radical commitment to settler nationhood (Moledet) to a radical commitment to secularism (Meretz). Whether as an object to defend or as one to contest, archaeology continues to be a powerful symbol in Israeli society. The discipline of archaeology is perhaps not quite as "normalized," or, irrelevant, as the *Ma'ariv* journalist would like to suggest.

### Salvaging Science and Secularism

There were significant differences between the nature of public debates regarding archaeology and Ultra-Orthodox opposition in the more recent protests over graves—those beginning with French Hill in 1992 and continuing in 1998 with Netanyahu's latest promise—than in earlier confrontations over Area G at the City of David. There remain profound cultural-political visions at stake here. But it is no longer clear either that secular Israeli-Jews are the only players in the struggle for archaeology. Nor is it clear that the most important issue, for archaeologists and their secular political allies, is archaeology's national(ist) role. As articulated by the chair of Haifa University's archaeology department, "It is Drori who is doing our work and defending the real scientific interests of the academy" (quoted in Meirav Sari, "Haver ha-Knesset Merom: Netanyahu Hivtiah la-Haredim Lefater et Mankal Reshut ha-'Atiqot," *Ha'aretz*, 29 June 1998: 3b). In the words of another archaeologist, this battle is about protecting "important values and principles to us, such as *scientific freedom and the preservation of ancient artifacts*" (Bar-Yosef, *Yedi'ot Ahronot*, 30 June 1998; emphasis added).

The reavowal of Zionism and nationhood that dominated the responses of archaeologists and their allies to the conflict over Area G of the City of David during the early 1980s is strikingly absent here. In its place, a post-Zionist archaeology is being articulated, one that maintains a commitment to the principles of secularism and science. And, given the realities of Israeli politics today, those principles might best be sustained by relinquishing the nationalist frame.

Post-Zionism is a label generally used to refer to a group of Israeli intellectuals and political critics who have become disenchanted with the Zionist commitments of their elders. Quite literally the children of those

Labor Zionist elites of a generation ago, these critics have begun to re-think the history of the state and its consequences for the existing Arab population in 1948, the policies of the state toward its Palestinian citizens, and the Israel occupation of the territories since 1967. While clearly not a consensual political stance, these scholars and public figures have developed trenchant critiques of some of the central commitments and myths of Zionism and the state and society it produced (cf. Pappé 1995a, 1995b; Kimmerling 1983; Shafir and Peled 2000; Shalev 1992; Rubinstein 2000; Segev 1998; *Ha'aretz*, 19 November 1993; and Sternhele 1998; for a review of the literature, see Silberstein 1999). Most post-Zionists cannot be described as either truly postnationalist or fully anticolonial, however. They do not, in general, advocate a vision of a polity and society that would parallel that of the postapartheid South African state, for example, that is, that Jews would live as a minority in a country whose population is mostly Palestinian. Rather, as a political vision, post-Zionism can perhaps best be described as the struggle to create a more fully liberal, less ethnonational nation-state than the Israeli state has been thus far. It would be a state that would withdraw its troops, and at least some of its settlers and settlements, from the Palestinian territories to which it had allowed some form of statehood. And it would be a state that protects the civil rights of Israel's Palestinian citizens. But to understand post-Zionism only in relation to the question of Palestine is, perhaps, to misrecognize one of its most important if sometimes less explicit commitments, that is, to salvage the secularism of the state in the face of the increasing power of the Ultra-Orthodox in its public domain.

It is not just the Ultra-Orthodox who are reconfiguring politics in accordance with religious practices and beliefs. Zionism itself, and, in particular, its commitment to historic right and its practices of settlement and territorial expansion (of "making place"), has been increasingly appropriated by the settler movement. For most settlers, national and religious commitments and practices are inextricably enmeshed (see Neuman 2000). In letting go of the former, the formerly Labor Zionist elite may be better able to rescue Israeli society from the latter, possibly through an alliance with the state's Palestinian citizens whose own civil rights, these critics maintain, will better be protected in a secular state less and less committed to Jewishness as its primary and overriding criterion of political inclusion. *Post-Zionism*, in other words, may well be even more fundamentally and enduringly about secularism and the effort to rescue or, more accurately, to *create* a liberal, modern nation-state than about the question of Palestine at all. And as evidenced in the re-



curing and increasingly violent and acrimonious conflicts over Jewish graves, archaeology, the discipline and practice that once both epitomized and helped to shape a Labor Zionist vision of state, polity, and citizen, has become but one symbolic terrain upon which this battle for the future is being fought.

As the two disputes tracked in this chapter indicate, science—in this instance, *archaeology*—operates as a metaphor for specific national and political values and commitments. In the dispute over archaeological artifacts from the occupied territories, and in arguments regarding an alleged lack of Palestinian interest in their archaeological heritage, archaeology, and *science*, have signified both the modern nation and the forms of knowledge upon which it was built. In the eyes of its defenders, Operation Scroll was legitimate within the terms of a national-heritage discourse. Those salvage excavations ensured that the Jewish nation would “own” some of its (potentially) most cherished objects of national heritage, that is, additional Dead Sea Scrolls. Moreover, it is in the presumed absence of such knowledge or *interest* in their archaeological heritage that Palestinians are understood to be a less than fully developed nation. “To be a nation” perhaps really is “to be endowed with science,” as Prakash has argued with respect to (post)colonial India (*ibid.*). In this instance, it is to be committed to a historical science through which the truth of nationhood is revealed.

The disagreement over the future status of archaeological remains from the (formerly) occupied territories is a dispute over the legacy of settler nationhood and the specific forms it took in Palestine and Israel. On that level, Palestinian nationalist politics and rights are incommensurable with Jewish nationalist commitments and historical beliefs. Nevertheless, if a two-state solution is ever reached, a long-standing political and scholarly dispute over whether or not Israel is most fundamentally a colonial or a national state will be set aside via some form of political and geographic separation between Israel and Palestine. The two sides may never actually have to agree on the history and meaning of Jewish settlement in Palestine as a whole. As *nationalists*, however, archaeologists and officials on both sides of this divide hold entirely compatible conceptions of history and heritage. They demarcate artifacts as objects of scientific and historical value in commensurate ways. While some “Jewish” objects are and likely will remain in dispute, Palestinian archaeologists and negotiators partake in the same historical-scientific paradigm as do “the majority of Israeli archaeologists” (Torstein, *Ha’aretz*, 21 August 1992: b7), as demonstrated by their shared disapproval of looting.

The battle over the graves is a dispute over the character of modern Jewish identity and the contemporary Israeli state, and it may well prove intractable. Once again, science *stands for* something in this ongoing confrontation. More accurately, archaeology and the specific objects of dispute signify a series of shifting and contested values and commitments concerning Jewishness, nationhood, secularism, and modernity. All is not cohesive within the Israeli-Jewish polity. The Ultra-Orthodox, long alienated and marginalized by the Jewish majority, are gaining political power, and they are using their political clout to unsettle some of the key elements in a long, relatively stable social and political frame. Handing over ossuaries for burial and giving Ultra-Orthodox religious authorities the right of control over scientific research represents a very fundamental challenge to the kind of state and polity that Zionists of a variety of political persuasions struggled to build. Moreover, if archaeologists are deprived of access to their objects of knowledge, the scientific work of historical reconstruction will become impossible. Archaeological practice requires that ancient remains be recognized as objects of science, empirical evidence through which past societies can be known. The Ultra-Orthodox are demanding that archaeology's objects be allowed to circulate entirely outside the realm of scientific practice, a demand that is incommensurable with the epistemological commitments and epistemic culture upon which archaeological practice depends.

As James Clifford has rightly noted, museums can become "lending libraries," loaning "art and culture" to local museums, community centers, or even for "current ritual life" beyond their walls. But can they really "allow art to travel in and out of the 'world of museums'" altogether? Can they permit the repatriation of particular properties to communities who do not share the same commitment to "conservation"? "Shudders were surely felt by many museum professionals over the recent repatriations of Zuni war god figures, *Ahauutas*, which are now rotting on secret mesa tops, completing their interrupted traditional life journey" (Clifford 1997: 212).

It is precisely such a move that the Ultra-Orthodox community, through street battles, party politics, and legal judgments, is demanding. It is a struggle to redefine artifacts as something else, that is, as sacred remains no longer subject to excavation, no longer the alphabet in a material-historical text to be deciphered and read. In that move, a fundamental component of archaeology's epistemological architecture and institutional possibility is being undermined. Less and less are these objects recognized as dead monuments, rightfully subject to archaeolog-

ical tampering alone. They are, moreover, no longer understood as objects of heritage, building blocks of a contemporary national culture that can be collected, classified, and displayed (see Handler 1988), and through which the nation's history can be revealed as factual and demonstrable and made visible to the naked eye. Through this battle over the grave, artifacts and human remains have increasingly emerged as remainders with ongoing sacred life histories of their own, ones that demand to be protected from the practices and institutions of the science of archaeology. Insofar as this battle over archaeology is but one terrain of a much larger battle *for* the state itself and its forms of knowledge and of power, far more is at stake here than the future status of archaeology as a scientific discipline. The discipline has emerged as a "salient object" (Daston 2000) of political cultural scrutiny. Fighting over archaeology is part and parcel of a battle over the very manner in which state, polity, society, and territory will be configured in the decades to come.

## Conclusion

This book has been a study of what archaeology has done in the context of Palestine and Israel. Beginning with the work of the London-based Palestine Exploration Fund's project of archaeological-cartographic "recovery," examining the work of discipline building in which the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society and the British Mandate authorities both engaged, and scrutinizing specific excavations and scholarly debates that emerged as key projects in the Israeli discipline, I have analyzed archaeological practice, the objects and landscapes it made, and the broader institutions and social and political fields, which both enabled and were transformed by archaeology's work. In so doing, I have traced processes and practices out of which particular configurations of settler nationhood and its territorial locales were continuously substantiated and repeatedly extended, as well as practices and conflicts through which aspects of its commonsense assumptions and its ideological commitments have been gradually reconfigured, contested, and partially undermined. This has been a study of how archaeology *intervened* in the world, creating new phenomena that shaped the "material-semiotic" (Haraway 1991: 200) objects and the political, territorial, and national-cultural realities within which claims to and struggles for the present and the future have come to be framed.

To focus on what it is that archaeology *did* and *does* is, in effect, to insist that we pay attention to the matrix of specific and variegated local practices through which such scientific work effected particular transformations in the world. It is, in other words, to insist on the *disunity* of the *sciences*.

The "unity of science" indexes various kinds of commitments. It can refer to a belief in the metaphysical, the methodological, or the logical unity of science. And it can mean something different to practicing sci-

entists than it does to philosophers of science (see Hacking 1996). But underneath the diversity in conceptualizations, "unity" implies a commitment that there is "one standard of reason, and one method or style of investigation," however the latter is ultimately defined (Hacking 1996: 68). That singular standard of reason, often subsumed under the term "enlightenment rationality," has become the object of study and criticism in various fields of the humanities and social sciences over the past few decades, notably in (post)colonial studies.

Deeply influenced by the writings of Michel Foucault and often mediated through Edward Said's pathbreaking book, *Orientalism* (1979), questions of knowledge have become central to debates over the nature of colonial rule and its modes of power. An expanding literature that focuses on questions of knowledge and power in the constitution of European nation-states and their colonial regimes has levied two fundamental challenges. First, as Edward Said has eloquently argued, the objectivity of knowledge and the "alleged universalism" of its modern disciplines was "Eurocentric in the extreme" and rooted in a specific history of imperialism and its attendant imagination and institutions (1992: 22; see also 1979). The growth of science was made possible within a history of colonial expansion, which provided "a theater for the Enlightenment project, the grand laboratory that linked discovery and reason" (Dirks 1992: 6). It was within that colonial domain that "the scientific imagination" was "exercised" (*ibid.*), and in relation to which particular (social) scientific disciplines and their bodies of knowledge were assembled. Imperial expansion, in other words, "was deeply implicated in the reconfiguration of European culture and science in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Cooper and Stoler 1997: 13).

Second, building upon that more general insight, and the much earlier writings of Bernard Cohn, which engaged similar questions in relation to the British Raj (see Cohn 1996), historians and anthropologists of colonialism have tracked the more specific ways in which particular European discourses or discursive objects (e.g., the law, medicine, architecture, race, hygiene) articulated with and often crystallized within the context of particular colonies. Far from simply imposing metropolitan discourses and categories already in place, colonial discourses took shape and were transformed in the confrontation with local realities and social actors. Concepts like caste and the tribe, for instance, were ways of organizing social and political relationships through which colonial regimes would ultimately rule. They were not, however, concepts simply borne of a European imagination (*cf.* Dirks 1987; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In turn, those colonial discourses often returned home, re-

shaping the bourgeois social order, its conceptions of domesticity and class, and its urban forms (cf. Stoler 1995; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Rabinow 1989; Wright 1991). The colony and the metropole were, in other words, inextricably intertwined.

At one level, this colonial studies literature insists on the specificity and multiplicity of colonial discourses. At the same time, however, a language of unity persists. This quest for coherence enables scholars to examine the extent to which the “knowledge of individual empires” became a “collective language of domination, crossing the distinct metropolitan politics and linguistic barriers” (Cooper and Stoler 1997: 13). It is the basis of a shared conversation about the nature of colonialism and modernity, writ large, and about what it is that unified these various projects across disparate European states and the various “local” instantiations of colonial regimes that were established (see Dirks 1992; Stoler 1995; Prakash 1995, 1999; Said 1979; Mitchell 1988). Clearly, there is value in establishing these patterns of what colonialism was and how colonial regimes were organized. Nevertheless, I want to entertain briefly insights we might gain if we bracket an analytic commitment to unity, however thin the coherence has presumably become.

The commitment to unity has a variety of consequences worth considering. Most generally, it can produce engagements at a level of abstraction that makes it difficult to develop fuller accounts of *how* scientific knowledge and (colonial) power actually *articulated*—or, to put it another way, to more adequately demonstrate *how* knowledge actually *is* power. I want to suggest that we borrow from science studies scholars the “intuition” that “there is something [fundamentally] local about scientific knowledge” (Galison 1996: 2). We can then proceed to examine how *specific* sciences created their own authority, often based in the fashioning of coherence across scientific fields and of the *value* of specific epistemological commitments and scientific disciplines within society, writ large. Moreover, we might be able to develop more nuanced accounts of how particular sciences became powerfully efficacious in social and political worlds.<sup>1</sup>

In order to do so, it might be useful to shift the conceptual and methodological focus away from “discourse,” which has characterized much (post)colonial scholarship of late, and instead incorporate sustained analysis of other kinds of practices in which (social)scientists also engaged. First, it might make more sense to approach “colonial discourse(s)” not in terms of the categories of knowledge that colonial officials and scholars made (what they “*found out*” [Hacking 1996: 73]), but rather in terms of what they actually *did*. In other words, a detailed ac-

count of the actual practices of communities of (social) scientists, the institutions in which specific sciences were located and imbricated, and the ways in which that work articulated with other social fields and actors provides a different starting point for studies of the power of knowledge, one that allows us to consider more fully both the *dynamics* of scientific *work* and the actual networks through which that work helped to reshape social and political worlds. It was out of specific practices and institutional locales that the categories and classifications of population groups, the spatial knowledge of territories, or the historical claims and racial distinctions so crucial to various colonial regimes were actually produced. A more complete account of knowledge needs to grapple with distinct epistemological, ontological, and practical commitments and, with the techniques and technologies, as well as the materialities or the “phenomena,” that (social) scientific practice actually creates. And, such an account should examine the institutional sites through which that work produces both occlusions and entitlements and through which it expands its domain of influence, incorporating or interpellating particular social actors into its web, all the while constituting and validating particular categories of identity and their attendant political claims, while effacing and excluding others.

Moreover, insisting on the local character of scientific knowledge allows for an analysis not just of how it is that even the “same” sciences or discourses are configured differently across time and space (cf. Stoler 1995; Camaroff and Camaroff 1991; Lock 1993; Cohen 1998), but also why certain scientific disciplines had particular salience in one place and less in another. It is at that level that the specificities of particular colonial regimes come most clearly to light: if knowledge and power were intimately connected in the history of empire, then the specific configurations of imperial rule or colonial settlement that developed in particular places were intertwined with the knowledge-making practices of some disciplines more than with those of others.

While at one level archaeology was a colonial discipline practiced in the British Raj, colonial America, and Palestine/Israel alike, it was not equally salient in the history of each of these colonies. In the context of Israel and Palestine, archaeology emerged as a central scientific discipline because of the manner in which colonial settlement was configured in a language of, and a *belief in*, Jewish national return. In producing the material signs of national history that became visible and were witnessed across the contemporary landscape, archaeology repeatedly remade the colony into an ever-expanding national terrain. It substantiated the nation in history and produced Eretz Yisrael as the na-

tional home. It is within the context of that distinctive history of archaeological practice and settler nationhood that one can understand why it was that “thousands of Palestinians stormed the site” of Joseph’s Tomb in the West Bank city of Nablus,<sup>2</sup> looting it and setting it alight during the renewed intifada that rocked Palestine and Israel in the fall of 2000 (Amos Harel, “Palestinian mob sets fire to Joseph’s Tomb after IDF pulls out,” *Ha’aretz*, English ed., 8 October 2000). Joseph’s Tomb was not destroyed simply because of its status as a Jewish religious shrine. The symbolic resonance of its destruction reaches far deeper than that. It needs to be understood in relation to a colonial-national history in which modern political rights have been substantiated in and expanded through the material signs of historic presence. In destroying the tomb, Palestinian demonstrators eradicated one “fact on the ground.” Archaeology remains salient in this world of ongoing contestation. It is a sign of colonial presence and national rights, of secularism and science, as various groups in Palestine and Israel engage in struggles to (re)configure the Israeli state and polity and to determine its territorial limits.





# Notes

## Chapter One

1. The Masada myth holds that in 73 C.E. a group of Jewish rebels fled Jerusalem after its destruction by the Roman Imperial Army and took shelter in a desert fortress called Masada, near the Dead Sea. There, besieged by the army, this group is supposed to have committed “collective suicide rather than surrender to Rome and become slaves or die in some strange and painful way.” This legend, symbolizing heroism and the love of liberty, was central to the formation of Israeli identity (Ben-Yehuda 1995: 5).

2. I use the term “Israeli society” to refer to Israeli-Jewish society. I do not do this in order to re-create the nationalist commitments of so much of Israeli social science, which has long marginalized the presence of Palestinian citizens of the state (approximately 18 percent of the population; for a critique, see Kimmerling 1992). Instead, I demarcate that boundary around Jewishness quite consciously. Such a demarcation was, and for most Israeli-Jews still is, the reigning conception of the Israeli state, society, and its national-culture, and those boundaries of belonging are central to understanding questions of rights, marginality, and (post)colonialism in the Jewish state. (See Dominguez [1989].)

3. There are a few important articles written by Israeli archaeologists that engage critically with the work of the discipline, especially in the early years of statehood (Geva 1992; Kempinski n.d.; Ze'ev Herzog, “Deconstructing the Walls of Jericho,” *Ha'aretz*, English ed., 29 October 1999). The few more-sustained studies of the national-cultural and political significance of archaeology in Israel, however, do not focus on the work of archaeology itself. For studies of Israeli collective memory as it draws upon archaeological sites and ancient events, see esp. Zerubavel 1995. (See also Schwartz, Zerubavel, and Barnett 1986; Zerubavel 1994; Paine 1995; Ben-Yehuda 1995; Silberman 1989.)

4. Cf. Bar-Yosef and Mazar 1982; Ben-Yehuda 1995; Broshi 1987; Elon 1994; Geva 1992; Glock 1985; Kempinski n.d.; Paine 1995; Shavit 1987; Silberman 1989, 1991, 1993; Zerubavel 1995. As far as I know, there is no sustained study of archaeology per se (as opposed to particular sites and ancient tales as venues for constructing national memory).

5. The question of whether the history of Jewish settlement in Palestine is best understood as a national or a colonial project has long been the subject of rather acrimonious (scholarly and, of late, public) debate. For early articulations of the colonial framework, see Rodinson 1973; Jiryis 1976; Zureik 1979. For examples of revisionist historical works by Israeli scholars that place the question of Pales-

tinian dispossession on the table, see Pappé 1995a; Morris 1987; Shafir [1989] 1996; Sternhell 1998. See Kimmerling 1995 for an account of the debate and also Finkelstein 1995 and Lockman 1996.

6. At the start of the Zionist movement Palestine was not the only place suggested for the Jewish national home. Uganda and the Northern Sinai, for example, were also considered as viable options in the early twentieth century (Rabinowitz 1994: 834).

7. In analyzing the new Hebrew/Israeli culture and citizen in Palestine/Israel, historians, anthropologists, and sociologists have long identified the Diaspora Jew and diaspora culture as the most important (and, often, the *only*) relevant Other. See Katriel 1986. Her second book (1997a) does integrate the question of Arab presence and the place it occupies in the narrative performances of history in Israeli settlement museums; Zerubavel 1995; Ben-Yehuda 1995; Handelman 1990. Handelman's recent article on state and citizenship, however, brings the question of Israel's Palestinian citizens center stage (1994). For analyses of "Israeli society" more generally and their exclusion of serious consideration of the state's Arab minority as being in any way constitutive of that society, see Eisenstadt 1954, 1967; Krausz 1980; Weingrod 1985. The tendency to marginalize the question of Palestine—and more specifically, Israel's Palestinian citizens—from any discussion of Israeli *society* was so prevalent until recently that to cite the literature would be, effectively, to cite virtually all of Israeli anthropology and sociology from the 1950s well into the 1980s. For exceptions, see Carmi and Rosenfeld 1980 and also Lustick 1980. For a critique, see Kimmerling 1992; for scholarship written by Palestinian citizens of the state, see Makhoul 1981 and Zureik 1979; and for one important revisionist sociological account, see Shafir 1996.

8. In the post-1967 period, it becomes plausible to draw a spatial distinction between the colony and the home (or the nation-state), even though the colonized territories over which Israel rules are contiguous with its national territory. It is precisely that demarcation of Israel *from* Palestine that the Palestinian nationalist leadership accepted and that the Oslo Accords mandated as a territorial and political solution to the "Palestinian problem." Nevertheless, the argument between those Israelis who advocate a withdrawal from the territories (*ha-shatahim*) and those who are committed to retaining all of Greater Israel (*Eretz Yisrael ha-Shlema*, literally "complete" or "whole")—which includes biblical Judea and Samaria as its heartland—is an argument over this colony/home dichotomy: Are the territories occupied (or colonized) and the nature of Jewish settlement therein fundamentally different than it was during the Yishuv and the struggle to establish the Jewish state? Or, are those territories an integral part of the Jewish national homeland, as much an inseparable part of Israel as is, say, Tel Aviv?

9. For important challenges to that framework, see Boyarin 1996; Slymovics 1998; Rabinowitz 1997. See also Yiftachel (1998, 1999), who, in analyzing the contradictions between nationality and citizenship, has challenged the nationalist framework that long delimited sociological and anthropological accounts of Israeli society and its assumptions regarding the nature of Israeli democracy. See also Handelman 1994.

10. Michel Foucault's work and, in particular, his engagement with the relationship between knowledge and power has had a considerable impact on colonial studies in the past decade or more, in part, via Edward Said's seminal book *Orientalism* (1979). (For notable earlier work that pursued questions regarding colonialism and regimes of knowledge, see Bernard Cohn, *An Anthropologist*

among the *Historians and Other Essays* [1987] and *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* [1996]). Colonial studies composes such an extensive range of work that I cite but a small fraction of the literature here: Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Cooper and Stoler 1997; Dirks 1987, 1992; Mitchell 1988; Prakash 1995, 1999; Scott 1994; Stoler 1995; Wright 1991. While certainly less of a reigning paradigm in the nationalism literature, the relationship between different forms of knowledge and the creation of national culture has certainly been engaged there as well. See Dominguez 1989; Handler 1988; Herzfeld 1982; Ivy 1995; Verdery 1991.

11. For reviews of the science studies literature, see Traweek 1996; Shapin 1982; Golanski 1990.

12. For early examples of ethnographic accounts of the production of knowledge, see Knorr-Cetina 1981; Latour and Woolgar 1979. For a historical approach, see Galison 1987. For a more recent ethnography of scientists, see Traweek 1988. For attempts to extend and modify that notion of culture in relation to specific sciences, see Galison 1997; Knorr-Cetina 1999. See also Kuhn ([1961] 1970), which was foundational to these subsequent developments in science studies.

13. See, for example, Shapin and Schaffer 1985; Latour 1988; Lenoir 1997; Hacking 1990, 1995; Rabinow 1999. For the most part, studies that focus on the broader relationship between science and society or culture do not highlight the nature of scientific *practice*. Such works are highly suggestive of the ways in which the work of science might produce new possibilities for politics and identities. But they do not develop sustained and compelling arguments for *how* such transformations are effected and realized (nor is it often their intention to do so). Cf. Haraway 1989, 1991, 1997; Martin 1991, 1993; Helmreich 1998. For studies of technology, see Traweek 1993 (a review article of the field). For a collection of suggestive articles regarding new reproductive technologies, see the collection of articles in *Feminist Studies* (1997, vol. 23, no. 2). See also Rapp 1999.

14. Studies of the human sciences do not generally replicate the microsociological focus on the practices and processes of knowledge "in the making" (Latour 1987) that characterizes much work on the natural sciences. They are mainly intellectual histories. This literature is clearly quite extensive, and so I cite but a tiny fraction of it here. See esp. the extensive works of George Stocking (1968, 1987, 1989, 1995). See also Kuklick 1991a, 1991b, 1997; Poovey 1998; Ross 1991, 1994. For a study of archaeology and philhellenism in Germany that analyzes the relationship between scientific research, discipline building, and the creation of social value, see Marchand 1996.

15. For debates about the politics of Israeli archaeology generated from within the Israeli discipline of late, see Geva 1992; Kempinski n.d.; Harif 1995. While all are interesting and insightful analyses of disciplinary practice or debate, none grapples critically with scientific epistemology. Instead, the authors call for a detachment of politics (read, national ideology) from scientific work, with the aim of engendering a more objective and thus truly *scientific* practice.

16. Most recently, this commitment was the hallmark of the New Archaeology that emerged in the 1960s. For a discussion of the New Archaeology, see Trigger 1989. For a somewhat different perspective on the "early new archaeology," one that defends its initial goals as shaped by radical political commitments, see Wobst 1989.

17. See, e.g., Gero 1989; Wylie 1989; Hodder 1989; Patterson 1986; Kohl and Fawcett 1995. As even these limited citations make evident, however, classifying such writings under the unifying rubric of critical traditions implies far more consensus than actually exists in the literature. All share the belief that archaeo-

logical practice is inherently political and also a commitment to some sort of critical practice. Nevertheless, there are significant disagreements between the postprocessualists, on the one hand (cf. Hodder 1989), and the Marxist/critical theory types, on the other hand. The most heated disagreement centers around the question of the extent to which knowledge is socially constructed—whether out of “whole cloth” (Wylie 1989: 75) or within limits imposed upon interpretation by the archaeological record.

18. David Bloor’s *Knowledge and Social Imagery* (1991) is one early formulation of that school. As the title indicates, it was not so much social “interests” as social “imagery” upon which Bloor drew in his analysis of scientific knowledge. The turn to social interests was one direction that the “strong programme” took in its further development. (See Woolgar 1981. For classic formulations of the interests argument, see Barnes 1977; Shapin 1979).

19. This literature is quite extensive, so I cite only selections here. In addition to the references in n. 17, see Pinsky and Wylie 1989; Gero, Lacy, and Blakey 1983; Trigger 1984, 1989; Arnold 1990; Harke 1995; Hall 1984; Dietler 1994. The latter piece complicates the relationship of archaeology to social ideology by demonstrating the way in which the very same sites can be reinterpreted to support very different ideologies: national, regional, and transnational. For a consideration of the role of law in constituting archaeological practice, see McLaughlin (1998). For studies of archaeology that engage directly with a history and sociology of science tradition and that do not rely on straightforward social interest–driven explanations, see Kuklick 1991a; Marchand 1996. See also Murray 1989.

20. Cf. Haraway 1989; Martin 1993.

21. I use the term technology in its most basic sense, as a set of tools and machines (pickaxes, shovels, bulldozers, and so forth).

22. See Bar-Yosef and Mazar (1982), Broshi (1987, 1996), and Elon (1971) who argue that the Jewish/Israeli interest in archaeology was motivated by a search for their historical “roots” in the land. Kempinski (n.d.), Geva (1992), and Silberman (1993) provide more critical readings of Israeli archaeological practice during its early years, arguing that there was a congruence between state ideology and the content of archaeological knowledge. In Shulamit Geva’s words: “Archaeology did not determine the national interest but it devoted itself to it; archaeology did not try to influence it or to propose new paths for it to follow, but was instead pulled after it and supplied it with historical illustrations and confirmations” (1992: 97).

23. In his discussion of the making of scientific culture (the cultures of science as distinct from culture, writ large), Andrew Pickering (1995) juxtaposes the work of “extending” to that of “reproducing.” While his own focus is quite different from mine (trying to understand, through “real time” analyses of scientific practice, the nature of “material agency,” rather than human agency, in the workings of science), I find his distinction between producing and extending useful to my engagement with archaeology.

24. Cf. Trigger 1984; Leone and Handsman 1989; Kohl and Fawcett 1995. For sustained engagements with the nature of archaeological argument and evidence, see Wylie 1992, 1996. Also see Embree (1992: 13), who calls for analysis of “the activities of data collecting and analysis that are parts of how archaeology is actually done.” He emphasizes “observation” as that which needs to be brought into analytic view, which is a different focus than the one I want to argue for here.

25. This argument descends into rather acrimonious debate. For what could

be described as the mitigated realist position, see Wylie 1992, 1993, 1996; Trigger 1999; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Chippendale 1989. For the relativist position, see Hodder 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Leone and Handsman 1989. See Hodder (1991) for a clarification of his earlier position.

26. My discussion of experimentation and laboratories skirts over much of the debate and complexity of the field. As both Galison (1997) and Knorr-Cetina (1992, 1999) argue, experiment is not a unitary thing. What counts as an experiment (and as an empirical fact) differs both between different sciences (or subfields within them) and within a particular science over time. For a discussion of the important analytic difference between experiment and the laboratory, see Knorr-Cetina 1992 and 1999, chap. 2.

27. There are two distinct kinds of entities that I have conjoined thus far, and I want to desegregate them now, especially in light of this book's focus on a historical and not a natural science. There are nonhuman entities (i.e., natural entities, say, scallops [see Callon 1986]), and there are technological artifacts (say, a garage door opener [see Callon and Latour 1992]). That distinction is key. Technological artifacts are material culture by definition, and their power in the social realm is hard to deny even from a staunchly social constructivist perspective on scientific practice that resists yielding any role to nature in the resolution of scientific experiments or disputes. (Callon and Latour's ascription of "interests" to nonhuman entities [natural or technological] remains deeply problematic, however.) See Collins and Yearly (1992) for the strong social constructivist position and for a critique of the ascription of what is understood to be "agency" to nonhuman "actants." See Callon and Latour (1992) for a response.

28. The demarcation of excavating as the distinctive technique and expertise of archaeologists is something that develops over time, part and parcel of the establishment of the discipline (see chaps. 2–5).

29. In developing a "social understanding of material culture" (here, specifically, of pottery), Dietler and Herbich argue that it is important to think about both the things ("physical entities that occupy space" and which are recorded by archaeologists) and the techniques ("those human actions that result in the production or utilization of things" [1998: 235]). I draw upon their distinction here.

30. On the development of positivist thought, see Kolakowski 1969. See also Hacking 1983: 41–57. Richard Bernstein may well be right when he says that there has long reigned a "primitive myth" in the social sciences that "the real business of science is the collection of data and the advancing of empirical generalizations based on it" (1976: 10). Nevertheless, that is precisely the form that scientific method took in this tradition of historical practice.

Rejecting culture-historical archaeology as preparadigmatic (Kuhn 1970) and distinctly *nonscientific*, the new archaeology (which emerged in the United States in the 1960s) sought to develop a more rigorously scientific-archaeological practice. Even though many contemporary archaeologists would deny that culture-historical archaeological traditions were scientific, I maintain that we must take seriously the explicit scientific commitments (methodological and epistemological) of such disciplines and analyze the paradigms of practice that they developed. (For a critique of the interpretation of culture-historical archaeology as preparadigmatic, see Trigger 1989).

31. Born in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Labor Zionism consisted of a number of groups and political parties committed to developing "nationalist socialism" (Sternhill 1998) in Palestine. (see also Lockman 1996; Shafir 1996).

32. For excellent studies of the ways in which Jewish space is both constituted and contested in Israel, see Rabinowitz 1997; Slymovics 1998.

33. On the ways in which presence has created “a situation whereby the territorial expanse is settled and ‘facts’ are established on it,” see Kimmerling 1977: 157. I would also like to thank Tamara Neuman for her insights on questions of presence and the Judaization of land.

34. The most insightful study of Israeli national memory to date is Yael Zerubavel’s *Recovered Roots* (1995), which analyzes “the role of commemorative narratives and rituals in contemporary social life, and their impact on the political sphere” (3) through a focus on three historical events and legends. Framing collective memory as that which negotiates between “available historical record and current social and political agendas,” however, Zerubavel does not attend to the making of the historical records, one of my central concerns in this book. Moreover, she does not engage the colonial question. See also Ben-Yehuda 1995; Schwartz, Zerubavel, and Barnett 1986; Zerubavel 1994; Paine 1995.

35. On the ways in which only particular *parts* of the Israeli landscape are constituted as truly Jewish space, see Rabinowitz 1997. Space, in other words, is not uniformly Judaized, a pattern that becomes particularly powerful in the post-1967 period. As is clear in the peace negotiations that issued from the Oslo Accords, for example, parts of East Jerusalem and segments of the West Bank and Gaza have been and may be passed over to Palestinian jurisdiction. Within those regions, however, there are specific “Jewish spaces,” which will be much more difficult, if not impossible, for the Palestinian Authority to control.

36. For an important article on Israeli national memory that does not emphasize either contestation or reception, see Handelman and Shamgar-Handelman 1997.

37. For an insightful discussion of the history and social and epistemological significances of fieldwork in anthropology, see Kuklick 1997.

38. See Kuklick’s discussion of the contrast (1997: 22). For a more detailed consideration of questions of both replicability and (a)temporality made possible in the context of laboratories, see Knorr-Cetina 1992, 1999.

## Chapter Two

1. The fund’s founders included members of the British aristocracy and political elite (the duke of Argyll, Queen Victoria [who was official patron], the foreign minister, Earl Russel), along with representatives from various scholarly societies (the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Architectural Society), wealthy industrialists who contributed the financing, and representatives of the Church of England. The archbishop of York was nominated the fund’s president (see Silberman 1982: 86–87).

2. Wilson was an officer in the Royal Engineers who had previously served as secretary to the North American Boundary Commission, which oversaw the survey work that had established the border between the United States and British Columbia (see Silberman 1982: 82–85). He became a key figure in the fund’s survey work, initially of Jerusalem, and, subsequently, a key architect of the Survey of Western Palestine (see Silberman 1982; Watson 1915; Conder and Kitchner 1881).

The Eastern Question refers to an ongoing debate and political juggling act between European powers in the nineteenth century as to how to best secure European interests within the Ottoman Empire. While the fundamental premise of European policy was to maintain the integrity of that empire, the ongoing problem, and thus the Eastern Question, was how much of the Ottoman Empire needed to be preserved, and in what form, if the interests of the various European powers were to be protected and balanced.

3. See Foucault (1975) for a discussion of the epistemological commitment to

“seeing” as “knowing.” For an interesting article on the question of reliable witnesses, see Schaffer 1994.

4. There were two separate surveys of Palestine. The fund’s extensive work focused on the “west” and was published as the Survey of Western Palestine. The survey of the eastern part of the country (east of the Jordan river) was to be conducted by the American Palestine Exploration Society, which was founded in 1870 in order “to compete on equal footing with the Palestine Exploration Fund” in the investigation of Palestine (Silberman 1982: 115). When the Americans did what the fund considered to be an inadequate job, the British society carried out their own survey, albeit a far less extensive one than they had done of the western country.

5. In practice, this survey work was *intertextual*. The survey party began their work in Palestine with a skeleton map produced on the basis of previous British and American maps, including the Admiralty Charts of Palestine’s coastlines done in the 1930s by the British Navy and the survey of the Jordan River and Dead Sea conducted by the American Lieutenant Commander William F. Lynch in 1847 (see PEF Archives, WS/3; on the American mission, see also Obenzinger 1999). But those maps were understood to be literal (if only partial) representations of the existing landscape (see Cosgrove 1999). As such, their reliance on charts and maps was not considered to mimic the (unreliable) intertextuality of “existing Christian tradition” in any way.

6. As was made clear on some of the War Office maps, only the portions that covered Western Palestine (those sheets that by and large reproduce the maps produced by the PEF) were considered accurate and complete—in contrast, for example, to maps of Eastern Palestine or large parts of the Sinai. See PRO FO/925/41070, “Palestine—Ottoman Empire 1916.”

7. Cf. the following maps of Palestine: “Palestine, showing Railways,” printed in 1911 (PRO FO 925/41066) and “Palestine,” printed in 1915 (PRO FO 925/41092). The latter map was issued in two sheets with an attached booklet that was an index to names. The index’s introduction instructs users on how to look up names (e.g., as the “el” prefix means “the,” go alphabetically to the suffixed word, thus, el-Quds would be listed under “Quds, el”) and the meanings of common words (*Khirbet*, *Tell*, *Wadi*, etc.) that were often attached to place names.

8. One map used by the British delegation to the Peace Congress in 1919, now housed in the Public Records Office in London, has notes penciled into its margins showing the maximum (just below Sidon), the intermediate (just north of Tyre), and the minimum (at Ras el-Nakura) borders the British were willing to accept. (They got the minimum.) See “Palestine, Showing British Delegation’s Proposals for Frontiers,” issued by the Foreign Office in 1919 (PRO FO/925/41259). This map was compiled by the Royal Geographical Society and initially printed by the War Office in 1916 and reissued in 1918. The Royal Geographical Society’s maps of Palestine, however, were assembled from those produced by the PEF.

The reports of the Directory of Surveys, 1926–27 (PRO CO/814: 3–4), make quite clear that the purpose of such survey work, made possible by the earlier PEF maps, was property demarcation (throughout the country) and urban taxation (to be made possible by town surveys).

9. “Natural history, geology, and physical geography were also to be studied as far as circumstances and the aptitude of the observers allowed” (Conder 1874: 254).

10. In her definition of colonial science, Susan Lindee emphasizes a key aspect of what I discuss here: “colonial science as science, conducted by outsiders, that depends on local knowledge, particularly when that knowledge is invisible



to the colonizers themselves" (1994: 20). The relationship of outsiders to "natives" is far more complex in the historical process that I discuss here (and clearly, it is not, at least initially, invisible). Part of the project and process of colonization involved reconfiguring precisely those boundaries of belonging, of what and who was to count as native. Nevertheless, the very dependence upon what Lindee identifies as local knowledge—local from the perspective of the European scholars—was crucial to the work of archaeology.

11. In the fund's own origin story of the birth of modern scientific research in Palestine, Edward Robinson is considered the founding father. As written in one account, the first "successful impulse toward scientific examination of the Holy Land is due to the American traveler, Dr. Robinson," the first to conceive of "the idea of making a work on Biblical Geography, to be based, not on the accounts of others, but on his own observations and discoveries. He fitted himself for his ambitious undertaking by the special studies of fifteen years, mastering the whole literature of the subject. . . . He went, therefore, knowing what to look for and what had already been found" (Conder 1873: 8).

12. There were many discussions about the problem of multiple local names in the correspondence from the field back to the committee of the fund. It was rarely mentioned in published reports, however. The existence of multiple names, of course, meant that these officers and scholars had to determine which one they deemed historically authentic or *prior* and thus worth recording on the map.

13. Drake reported the following dialogue, supposedly an account of an interaction he had with a man plowing in a valley:

Drake: "What do you call this wady?"

Man: "Which Wady? Where?"

Drake: "Why the one we are in: here."

Man: "What do you want to know for?"

Drake: "To write it down on the maps . . ."

Man: "Oh this is called El-Wad" (the valley)

Drake: "Nothing else?"

Man: "No."

Drake: (Well the men here must be illiterate donkeys!) "Why when you go home and say that you've been ploughing in the 'wad' perhaps they'll think you've been on their side of that hill yonder."

Man: (in a tone of pique) "Oh no! I should say I've been in Wadi Serár."

Drake: "Then you call this Wady Serár."

Man: "Yes, that's what you call it."

(PEF Archives, WS/Dra/63).

14. For example, in Drake's account of the Christian population of the region between Nablus and Jerusalem, he explained that the majority were Greek Orthodox, along with some Latins, particularly in the region surrounding Ramallah and Bir Zeit: "Where the Latins have established monasteries and churches, about one-fourth to one-third of the population adopts their rituals, *purely as a matter of policy, for with dogmas or tenets they are quite unconscious.*" He then argued that the prospects for Protestant conversions were not good, for it would require the development of a native clergy (see PEF Archives, WS/Dra/69; emphasis added).

15. A tension runs through this effort to classify the land's various inhabitants and conquerors by virtue of racial descent, particularly with respect to the relationship of contemporary inhabitants to the ancient Israelites and Jews.

These ethnographies simultaneously assumed that there was some distinguishable Israelite race, on the one hand, and yet argued for a historical process of conversion, on the other. In other words, the Israelites conquered the land, met resistance, and expelled native inhabitants, but, in the end, they had to “allow the bulk of the primitive inhabitants to remain in the country.” In turn, those primitive inhabitants adopted the religion of Israel, they ended up by “*being mingled though not confounded*” with their conquerors (Clermont-Ganneau 1875: 205; emphasis added).

This ethnohistory recognized that ancient Israelite society constituted itself largely on the basis of absorbing the land’s native races into its religious and social system, and yet, simultaneously, it insisted on keeping those two races distinct, in good tautological form, precisely because Jews are a distinct race, *by definition*. For example, “The Union was, nevertheless, not so complete as to prevent the Assyrians from easily picking out for deportation *the families of pure Israelite race*; and thus depriving the country of *its foreign aristocracy*” (206; emphasis added). As this quotation makes clear, it was not the Israelites whom Clermont-Ganneau considered to be truly native. A little further on in the text, the writer identified the Israelites as an “unstable amalgam of races which, on the return from exile, endeavored to reconstitute itself into a nation” (206).

16. On Petrie’s contribution to the development of pottery chronology in Palestine, see Moorey 1981. In applying stratigraphic method to Palestinian tells, Petrie built on the work of Heinrich Schliemann at Hissarlik (Troy) in 1870. For a discussion of Schliemann, a key figure in helping to validate “the late nineteenth-century articulation of archaeology as an independent science of objects” (specifically, in Germany), see Marchand 1996, chap. 4.

17. Subsequent scholarly consensus identified Tell el-Duweir, and not Tell el-Hesi, as the correct site of the ancient city of Lachish (Negev [1986] 1990: 215).

18. For an extensive discussion of the question of Israelite conquest, which dominated the Israeli discipline of archaeology in the first decades of statehood, see chap. 5.

19. This manual (designed for travelers to the Near East and authored by Petrie) proceeded to give specific instructions in proper recording methods, making it clear that accurate sketches, and not the objects themselves, should be brought home for proper study (British Museum 1920: 14–18).

20. While officially they were advocates of laws protecting antiquities from private looting, the PEF did a lot of “looting” of its own, violating the Ottoman Antiquities Law’s prohibition of the export of *any* antiquities found within the Ottoman Empire. See, e.g., the following correspondence regarding the transfers of antiquities out of Palestine, as well as announcements of exhibitions in London of archaeological finds from Palestine: PEF Archives, WS/363, “List of Artifacts sent to South Kensington Museum”; WS/417, “Louvre to PEF: acknowledging receipt of the fragments.” The fund’s committee did object rather vociferously when they thought others—generally, *other* Europeans—were doing the looting. See PEF Archives, WS/Mac/335–414.

21. See Watson (1915: 100) for an account of both the need for permits and the problems that such restrictions produced for the fund: while good in theory, the terms of the Ottoman Antiquities Law (or so it was argued) created problems for “scientific explorers.”

22. For a discussion of the increased popularity and circulation of the fund’s work in Palestine among the British public and its effect on increasing support for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, see Schölch 1993.

### Chapter Three

1. The statement that members of the JPES were engaged in discipline building needs some qualification. The discipline of biblical archaeology was not a novel field by this time, although its institutional boundaries and research agendas were not as yet clearly circumscribed. The epistemological transformation involved in seeking material proof of biblical stories, and the conviction that the Old Testament stories could be read as historical accounts that such a quest entailed, had occurred much earlier. What was at stake in this period was the development of a discipline of *Jewish* archaeology (later to become Israeli archaeology) and its institutional, national-cultural, and political significance and power within the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine.

2. The Palmach was formed during World War II as an illegal Jewish unit to provide a strategic reserve of soldiers to the Haganah (a Jewish defense force under the aegis of the General Federation of Hebrew Workers in Eretz Israel, or Histadrut, control). The Palmach acted as commando units in Palestine, and later as shock battalions in the Israel Defense Forces.

3. The word *yedi'a* does not simply translate as “to know”; rather, it means to know *intimately*. In modern Hebrew, the term has sexual connotations, that is, to know in “the biblical sense.”

*Yedi'at ha-Aretz* and archaeology can be understood as distinct movements and fields of knowledge, albeit ones that overlapped, including institutionally. As I show in this chapter, practitioners of each did not always agree in either their cultural and intellectual conceptions or their practical commitments (i.e., what it is that the JPES should be focusing on or what kind of a society it should be). I only deal with the *yedi'at ha-Aretz* movement insofar as it concerns a debate within this JPES conference and helps to elucidate the development of archaeology. As a field and movement in its own right, it is beyond the scope of this study.

4. For other accounts, see Elon 1971, 1994; Bar-Yosef and Mazar 1982; Kempinski n.d.; Geva 1992; Silberman 1993; Shavit 1987. These scholars (archaeologists and nonarchaeologist) explain the emergence of Israeli archaeology as a scholarly and national-cultural quest in terms of the following factors: the need or search for roots, the reality of an old-new homeland, a *secular* Jewish nationalist community, the problems facing an immigrant society, and the ideological needs of the state. None ever entirely escapes a nationalist analytic framework. Histories of the *yedi'at ha-Aretz* movement rely on similar frames of reference (c.f., Benvenisti 1986).

5. For a more critical perspective, see Yaacov Shavit (1987). According to Shavit, the importance of archaeology in the prestate period has been highly exaggerated, its growing significance dating to the mid-1930s at the earliest, a time when “archaeological finds were made use of in political arguments.” For example, they were made use of in arguments over regions that were to fall outside the jurisdiction of the Jewish state as agreed upon in the partition plan (54). (He never does, however, fully abandon a nationalist analytic frame, e.g., the public interest in archaeology was “awakened” by the discovery of the synagogue remains at Bet Alfa.)

I want to point out, however, that Shavit assesses the development and significance of archaeology in the prestate period in terms of a definition of the field that is more appropriate to the post-1948 period. He insists on the distinction between historical geography and topography, on the one hand (including the project of the “identification” of sites “of historic value”), and archaeology, on the other.

6. For a critique of modular forms of nationalism, see Chatterjee 1993. For arguments that reproduce the logic of an essential, perhaps inevitable, turn by nationalists to archaeology see Trigger 1984, 1989; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kohl 1998.

7. I discuss the intellectual and historical foci of the society's work in chap. 4.

8. With the founding of the Civil Administration in 1920, the Government of Palestine developed a national educational system for Palestine: "Since 1920 a dual system of national education has gradually developed, formed on a linguistic and racial basis, according to the language of instruction, Arabic or Hebrew" (Government of Palestine 1946: 636). (The schools administered by foreign bodies—Jewish and Christian—remained independent of this system). But while there were two parallel systems of education, the Arab one differed significantly from the Jewish one in terms of administration, finance, and control. Arabic public schools were directly administered and financed by the British Mandate Government of Palestine (with the aid of money from local councils). Their curricula were developed by the Ministry of Education. The Jewish public school system, on the other hand, was semiautonomous and was not directly administered by the Government of Palestine. It was largely financed from its own sources. And while it was subject to supervision (administrative as well as curricular), it was initially the Palestine Zionist Executive, later to be replaced by the Va'ad Leumi (the National Council), that actually developed the school curricula. As such, the Hebrew public schools system became a context for developing national consciousness, for fostering "citizens," which the leaders of the Yishuv understood to be essential to their political and cultural project in Palestine. (On the centrality of education to the national project and its efforts to fashion a new Hebrew/Israeli person [especially, early childhood education], see Handelman 1990. For an articulation of how best to develop and structure national education for Palestine's Jewish population, see Va'ad Leumi 1945. See also, *Maḥleket ha-Ḥinukh* [1922–23], which outlines the curriculum of that era. This document illustrates the pivotal role the study of *moledet* (the homeland), historically and in the present, was to play in national education. For a more comprehensive study of Hebrew education in Palestine, see also Elboim-Dror 1986.

9. Yeivin was chair of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society from 1944–46 and the first director of the Department of Antiquities following the establishment of the Israeli state (1948–61).

10. It is not clear why he believed that having one centralized museum would resolve this problem. Even from his own account, it is evident that much was being sold to researchers and not just to private or regional collectors or collections. Moreover, as conveyed in Richard Hamilton's speech before the conference (Hamilton was director of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine), there had long been such a market, perhaps since the very beginnings of a sustained European interest in Palestine's material-cultural past.

Introducing a new exhibition at the Palestine Museum, the Exhibition of Forgeries, Hamilton recounted the story of the most famous of archaeological forgeries in Palestine—"the so-called *Moabitica*": "About 70 years ago there was discovered, in a remote ruin in Trans-Jordan, the famous moabite stone, an original historical literary document contemporary with King Ahab." The following year "another notable inscription was found, the Temple Stele" (Yeivin 1944: xx). He explained their *local* significance:

These two discoveries drew local attention not so much to the existence of antiquities as to the fact that Europeans were interested in them. This im-

portant discovery, opening up attractive vistas of commercial opportunity, soon had a remarkable sequel. Barely a year had passed when the Beduin of Trans-Jordan, so the story was told, by an astonishing coincidence began finding in caves and holes, and I don't know where, enormous collections of pottery jars and statuettes of wonderful variety and grotesque appearance, many of them adorned with inscriptions in what appeared to be similar characters to the Moabite stone. (Ibid.; emphasis added)

To make a long story short, many of these discoveries were bought by a German Orientalist who "gave the Moabite potteries a first class introduction to the world of art and letters." M. Clermont-Ganneau, a French archaeologist, later discovered that they were fakes. Scholarly and national prizes were wounded, the dangers of enthusiasm revealed, and the reality of market conditions worth contemplating. Today the forgeries "are themselves monuments which carry with them the evidence of the time and place and circumstances which caused them to be made. . . . Who invented that peculiar style? Where did it come from and for what market was it intended?" (xxi–xxii).

11. While the sustained work of excavating was carried out in 1963–65, preliminary excavations had taken place in 1955–56.

12. Vilnay was subsequently a founder of the Greater Israel Movement (ha-Tnu'ah lema'an Eretz Yisrael ha-Shlema), which was a secular organization influential in propagating the trend toward territorial maximalism after Israel's 1967 conquests. It pushed for the permanent incorporation of the occupied territories, and although it was dominated by members of the Labor elite, the movement found support in all the main political parties (Masalha 2000: 28–29). His son, Matan Vilnay, a retired general, was a minister on Ehud Barak's cabinet (in the fall of 2000). (I thank an anonymous reviewer for the University of Chicago press for pointing out Matan Vilnay's position to me).

13. Given his presentist vision of the role of *tiyulim*, Vilnay considered them to be venues for inculcating in Palestine's Jewish population far more than his or her attachment to the land. *Tiyulim* should also forge a connection between "men." And within this category, he emphasized the importance of focusing on Arab residents of the land: "You don't have any better means of creating neighborly relations, not in assemblies or in meeting halls or in every sort of newspaper, but only on *tiyulim* and if the *tiyul* is successful, if the travelers are educated in a successful *tiyul*, not just to value a broken potsherd but to value the human being and the neighbor, then we can suppose that there is nothing like the *tiyul* for cultivating the relations between neighbors. How important it is to always visit Arab villages or Bedouin encampments" (Yeivin 1967: 45–46). A second speaker whose take on the role of the society approximated that of Vilnay also brought up the presence of Others in the land of Israel. He called upon the society (and the public) to have more regard for existing villages and for the remains of the former settlements of Others. He believed there was much to be learned, and much that could be reutilized, from such existing or former settlements: "We are destroying all the treasures of the existing culture, together with wells, and afterwards it will be necessary to establish everything . . . anew." (54). He then pointed out the hypocrisy of such acts of destruction: "We feel strongly about the desecration of our antiquities, tombs [for example] . . . [but] very often we disparage the antiquities of others, and in this way we are also causing harm to ourselves" (55).

14. He was the father of Meron Benvenisti, the archaeologist and former curator of the Shrine of the Book Pavilion at the Israel Museum whom I quote earlier in the chapter.

15. While in this memo (dated 22 September 1931) Hamilton only mentioned the presumed ignorance of the fellahin (as opposed to also including the problem of the Jewish public's disregard for antiquities, as was the primary focus of the JPES discussion), this says more about the nature of British administration and the letters, memos, and reports that were written in this period than it does about any distinction regarding respect for antiquities between the two publics. Aside from documents that deal specifically with Arab-Jewish relations or with demands from the Zionist leadership or organizations, in mandate documents, Palestine's public is understood to be a primarily Arab one (as in fact, was the case) and, more specifically, a *peasant* Arab population.

16. Antiquity as a category also included "(b) Human and animal remains of a date earlier than the year 600 A.D." and "(c) Any building or construction of a date later than the year 1700 A.D. which the Director may by Notice published in the Official Gazette declare to be an antiquity" (PRO CO 733/159/7: 1).

17. For a discussion of the status quo as it relates to a long history of Ottoman "capitulations" to European powers, see Hourani 1991; Schölch 1993.

18. The provisions read as follows:

12(6): "No person shall make alterations, additions or repairs to any historical monument without the permission of the director."

12(7): "No person shall erect buildings or walls abutting upon an Historical Monument without the permission of the Director."

13(1): "Where any historical monument of historical site is registered in the Land Registers as private property, the Director may . . .

c) acquire the site or obtain compulsory a lease thereof in accordance with the provisions of the Expropriation Ordinance in force from time to time."

13(2): "Where an Historical Site is not registered in the Government Land Registers as private property, it shall be registered forthwith in the name of the government; provided that any person claiming to be the owner may within one year from the date of such registration institute proceedings for the rectification of the Register." (PRO CO 733/159/7: 11–13)

Such exemptions, however, did not mean that religious bodies owning such properties could simply do as they saw fit. Listing a property as a historical monument was within the power of the director of antiquities, and once so ordered, the decision was "final" (2). Certain restrictions were then imposed whether those monuments or objects were in governmental or nongovernmental possession. For example, no one could demolish such a monument without the director's permission (11).

19. Movable objects in religious use were subject to similar exemptions, but they did require licenses for export (PRO CO 733/159/7: 9–10).

20. In restricting all building activities in this inner protective belt, the plan would facilitate government acquisition in case it should require such lands for public amenity. This zoning regulation effectively limited the market value of properties under its jurisdiction. As such, if the government decided to expropriate, it would be able to afford to pay "reasonable compensation" (PRO CO 733/339/4).

21. Authored by Professor Bentwich, this article appeared in *The Times*, 4 March 1937; a second article expressing similar dismay—"The New Destruction of Jerusalem"—appeared in *The British Weekly*, 26 May 1937, written by Louis Katin (see PRO CO 733/339/3).

22. As decided by the walls' subcommittee, "the word 'encroachment'

should be interpreted in a broad sense. In their recommendations therefore they have proposed the demolition of huts, sheds, etc, which are in the *vicinity* of the walls and in some cases do not actually encroach upon the walls." Squatters were removed under the authority of the Public Health Ordinance (PRO CO 733/467/9).

It was not actually until 1937 that the high commissioner approved the implementation of some key proposals in the original 1918 plan. As expressed by W. H. McLean,

The clearing of the mote and the removal of the Old Shops masking the beautiful Damascus gate . . . is the realisation of a dream of nearly 20 years—it will be much [more] valuable and spectacular, and the High Commissioner is to be much congratulated on having got the Municipality to take an interest and move in the matter. (PRO CO 733/339/3)

23. The archaeological zone included the Old City, as well as the villages of Tur and Silwan. Initially drafted in 1921, the Town Planning Ordinance was later (1926 and 1928) subject to revisions, particularly with regard to the power of local commissions over town planning schemes. As delineated in an explanatory note on the Town Planning Amendment Ordinance in 1928, there were two principal matters on which legal modifications were focused: first, the relationship of local town planning commissions to the municipality and, second, "the preparation and contents of town planning schemes." This document focuses on the second point. Rather than empowering the central commission to prepare town planning schemes (in consultation with the director of antiquities and the local commission), the revised law required that local town planning authorities submit an outline scheme to the central authority (see PRO CO 733/162/3).

24. While the file is titled "Repairs to the Dome of the Rock," in a letter authored by Richmond and contained within the same file, he reported on the completion of the Aqsa Mosque, a second mosque contained within the Haram al-Sharif enclosure (PRO 733/160/12).

25. For a similar account given by a second colonial officer, see PRO CO 733/160/12.

26. There were two new categories of claimants: (1) "occupants whose land had already been registered in the Land Registry" and (2) "outside claimants neither registered as owners nor in possession." The first were recognized as having legal standing; the second, as having none (see PRO CO 733/350/19).

27. In place of the proposal that the government should have first right of refusal to all objects, discovered objects were to be owned by no one "unless and until the Government either a) acquires them from the person in whose possession they are, or b) renounces them in favour of that person" (PRO CO 733/159/7: 16). A similar concern to not encourage either destruction or concealment emerged in relation to antiquities dealers (see PRO CO 733/159/7: 21).

28. The term "alneuland" was initially coined by Theodor Herzl, widely regarded as the founder of political Zionism.

#### Chapter Four

1. Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister (1870–1950) was a leading figure in Irish archaeology who excavated at Gezer, an important site in Palestine (1902–9), and became director of excavations for the PEF in 1901. Yeiven maintained that there was large element of "spiritual anti-Semitism" found in some "scientific traditions" for the study of the Bible and Palestine: Germans saw Babylon as

most important, others found the “origin of origins” in Egypt and “Macalister ‘discovered’ the Philistines” (1935: 44).

2. Tell el-Duweir (Lachish) was excavated by J. L. Starkey on behalf of the Wellcombe-Marston Research Expedition in the Near East (1932–38), Tell el-Muteselim (Megiddo) most recently (1925–35) on behalf of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (by C. S. Fisher, P. L. O. Guy and G. Loud), Tell Beit-Mirsim (Dvir) on behalf of the Xenia Theological Seminary (Pittsburgh) and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (by W. F. Albright, 1926, 1928, 1930, 1931). (Recently, there has been some doubt cast upon that original identification of the site as that of biblical Dvir; see Negev 1990: 55).

3. Jewish archaeologists participated in some of those excavations, which focused on sites of biblical importance and were done on the behalf of European- and American-based institutions. For example, E. L. Sukenik, Nahman Avigad, and Immanuel Ben-Dor all participated in the excavations at Samaria, which were initially a joint expedition of Harvard University, Hebrew University, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the British Academy, and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1931–33) and were continued in 1935 under British School of Archaeology auspices alone (see Crowfoot 1942).

As is made evident in virtually all of the reports of the society published in their bulletin, a lack of funds was a pressing problem, which often hampered their ability to do, or to complete, excavations. See, for example, Press (1925) reporting that the excavations at the City of David for which the society had received a permit had never begun.

4. For the criteria distinguishing the early from the late synagogues, see Sukenik 1967: 69. For a more extensive discussion of synagogue remains, see Maisler n.d.: 123–28.

5. Mazié is pursuing an argument with an unnamed scholar who had opposed his earlier assertions of the existence of such Hebrew art (Mazié 1925: 68, 71).

6. As reported by Slousch, “The chief obstacle in the way of examining these remains was the fact that they were in the Sephardic cemetery. . . . Not only were the monuments in question in themselves held in popular veneration, but the eastern Jews were in the habit of burying their most honoured dead close to these memorials of ancient worthies” (1925: 7). But while Slousch had anticipated resistance from the Sephardic community given that “previous attempts by archaeologists to excavate in this area in Turkish times aroused such vigorous popular opposition,” in this instance the leaders of the community “courteously consented” to their plan of work. He did note a little further on, however, that upon working near the Tomb of Zechariah (one of the adjacent monuments), “serious opposition [was] encountered from more extreme members of the orthodox community; but these, on the whole, proved amenable to reason” (8–9). This site provides one early instance of a (potential) conflict between competing understandings of the site, as historical and as sacred, which emerges as a source of rather violent confrontations in a much later period (the 1980s and 1990s) in Jerusalem (see chap. 9).

7. For similar engagements with tombs, compare: S. Klein (1925), who deals specifically with the general problem of dating ancient tombs; E. L. Sukenik (1925), who details the plan of one specific tomb and identifies it “like so many other Jewish tombs” as “a family vault” (45).

8. On behalf of the JPES, Brandenburg did a survey of rock architecture and caves in the Jerusalem area. And in a summary of his work in the Society’s journal he not only critiques the current state of affairs but challenged—for one—



the original dating and function of the Tomb of the Sons of Hezir. More generally, he offered a wider developmental perspective on the history of such tombs, tracing the development from “heathen” to “purely Jewish” tombs by documenting similarities and transformations in structure and style. (See Brandenburg 1925).

9. According to Kuhn, “in the absence of a paradigm or some candidate for a paradigm, all of the facts that could possibly pertain to the development of a given science are likely to seem equally relevant. As a result, early fact-gathering is a far more nearly random activity than the one that subsequent scientific development makes familiar” (Kuhn 1970: 15). But as he subsequently clarifies, even such seemingly random fact collecting has to be governed by some set of interpretive frameworks: “This is the situation that creates the schools characteristic of the early stages of a science’s development. No natural history can be interpreted in the absence of at least some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation, and criticism. If that body of belief is not already implicit in the collection of facts—in which case more than ‘mere facts’ are at hand—it must be externally supplied, perhaps by a current metaphysic, by another science, or by personal and historical accident.” “Initial divergences”—in descriptions and interpretations of phenomena—characteristic of preparadigmatic science begin to disappear with “the triumph of one of the pre-paradigm schools” over another (16–17).

In the postscript to *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn reconsiders the implications of the term preparadigm and clarifies his argument further. He maintains that all scientific communities operate with at least some of the sorts of elements associated with a paradigm; it is the nature of that paradigm that changes with the shift to “normal science” (see Kuhn 1970: 179). It is in terms of that later clarification that I use the term preparadigm here.

10. Donna Haraway discusses cartography within the context of genetic map-making games: “Cartographic practice inherently is learning to make projections that shape worlds in particular ways for various purposes. Each projection produces and implies specific sorts of perspective” (1997: 132). In writing about genetic map making as a “non-innocent practice,” Haraway chooses to do so from the point of view of the gene: “the chief actors and point of origin in the drama itself” (133).

11. See also Kenaani 1935, 1937; Brasalawski 1936.

12. “All Ordinances, official notices and official forms of the Government, and all official notices of local authorities and municipalities in areas to be prescribed by order of the High Commissioner, shall be published in English, Arabic and Hebrew. The three languages may be used in debates and discussions in the Legislative Council, and, subject to any regulations to be made from time to time, in the Government Offices and the Law Courts” (Palestine Royal Commission 1937: 148).

13. Yellin was a member of *Va’ad ha-Lishon* (the Hebrew Language Committee), chair of the Va’ad Leumi (1920–28), and a member of the Jerusalem Town Council as well as being deputy mayor of the city (1920–25). (See *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. “Yellin”).

14. The high commissioner overrode Yellin’s objection as well. In addition to the practicalities cited above, he argued that in light of the objections on the part of the Arab community as to the addition of the letters *Aleph Yod* to the Hebrew name, this was the compromise position: “Dr. Salem wanted to omit ‘Aleph’ ‘Yod’ and Mr. Yellin wanted to omit ‘Palestine.’ The right solution would be to retain both” (Government of Palestine 1937: 158), reinforcing the British admin-

istration's ideology of preserving "the status quo with 'mild impersonal British rule'" (Atran 1989: 724).

15. In contrast, the document reported, Hebrew names presented no similar problem. Those in current use were "modern names" and still "retain their purity in common speech," i.e., they still corresponded with their ancient Hebrew origins (Government of Palestine 1931: 3). More accurately, contemporary Hebrew names were *revived* names and were consciously chosen to correspond with their "ancient Hebrew origins."

16. This correspondence between British officials in Jerusalem and London contains additional objections to the official list of place-names in Palestine, ones having nothing to do with Jewish national interests but rather articulating Christian and English ones. The initial letter (18 September 1931) cites a colonel (the name is indecipherable) as having "raised quite a separate point . . . that in determining what Biblical names should still be recognized, in place of Arabic names, preference has been given to the New Testament names. I am surprised that it should be suggested that such a procedure—if adopted—would be distasteful to Christians of any denomination. It is news to me that Protestants of any sect regarded the Old testament names as of such great importance as compared with places of specially sacred significance in the N.T." Or, as demanded by Colonel Wedgwood of the secretary of state for the colonies, he should "state for what reasons official action has been taken in Palestine to change the spelling of places named in the Old Testament from that familiar to English culture to an Oriental Form" (PRO CO 733/209/19).

17. This is a reference to the 1922 list generated by the society.

18. The remaining four suggestions have to do with the transliteration of letters or European personal names into Hebrew. The inclusion of personal as well as geographic names in the government's *Transliterated Lists* indexes the second aspect of this renaming project, one which foregrounds its role in creating a new personal or individual national-cultural identity. Upon coming to Palestine, many Jews took on Hebrew names, either entirely changing their names or giving their names a Hebrew form. Going through the *Palestine Gazette*, a publication of the Government of Palestine, one finds from the 1920s through the 1940s an ever-increasingly large list of Jews officially registering their new Hebrew names.

19. The B and C mandates referred to those areas of Africa that contained significant settler populations (Atran 1989: 720).

20. For an interesting argument regarding both the centrality of British support in facilitating Jewish settlement in Palestine and the role of Britain's labor party in consolidating that support, see Atran 1989. I find Atran's argument regarding Zionism as a form of "surrogate colonialism"—that in a world "newly made safe for democracy. . . . Palestine [could not] be colonized outright with settlers from the home country. But it would seem reasonable to have *another* people colonize the territory for Europe's sake (1989: 721)—somewhat problematic. These were two distinct, if deeply intertwined, colonial projects—one clearly initially less powerful than and facilitated by the other. Nevertheless, the difference between Britain's imperial project and Zionism's commitment to settler nationhood is key to understanding both the independent dynamics of the latter and the tensions that arose between Jewish settlers and the British administration under mandatory rule.

21. Among the members of this initial committee were M. Avi-Yonah, I. Ben-Zvi, Y. Braslawski, A. Brawer, Z. Vilnay, S. Yeivin, B. Maisler, and Y. Press (Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 1).

22. In this initial mandate, the work of this committee was limited to determining geographical names, as distinguished from names for settlements. The latter work had been assigned to a separate committee. In 1951, however, those tasks were joined under the auspices of a single, overarching committee (see *Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 2–4*).

23. This process of colonization did not end by the close of 1949. More and more Arab lands were taken over in the decade to come, and new Jewish settlements were established upon the lands of earlier Palestinian villages (see Khalidi 1992; Rabinowitz 1997).

24. The numbers are disputed. Morris argues that 350 villages were depopulated during the 1948–49 period, most of which were subsequently demolished (1987: 155–56). Khalidi puts the numbers at 418, one of which (al-Latrun) lay in no-man's land until the 1967 war (1992: xx). For a study of one such transformed village, see Slymovics 1998.

25. By 1952, the committee had “a wide public and scientific basis,” incorporating alongside historians, archaeologists, geographers, and lecturers in *yedi'at ha-Aretz*, a “linguist of Arabic,” together with members of the Knesset and representative of the Department of Interior and a few other such figures (*Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952a: 3*).

26. One-fourth of the remaining names were derived from the names of settlements or names of other geographical forms and antiquities sites in the area, and half of the names were chosen “according to the names of plants spread out in the area, according to the names of animals, and after personal names in the Bible and the Talmud and according to other criteria” (*Va'adat ha-shemot 1956: 4*). The report goes on to point out that the names of animals used as the basis for geographical names are biblical ones (*ibid.*). The report does not give any examples of these names.

27. Again, no examples are listed.

28. The report does not mention the existing Arabic name, thus giving no indication by what means they arrived at the current identification.

29. It is not clear from these documents how they decided the names of Arab villages that were still inhabited. All that is mentioned is that “the names of Arabic villages” were discussed. There are only two things that I know for certain were discussed in relation to these village names: first, the names as a source for “historical identification”; and second, that those names were a source for creating equivalent names in Hebrew forms.

30. I thank Rashid Khalidi for pointing this out.

31. Many of the names initially adopted after the 1948 war were later changed by the committee. For example, in 1949 the Arab village of Al Qubeiba was settled by Jews who retained the same name. It was only in 1955 that the name was changed to Lachish (Morris 1987: xix). Another example is the name Ganot Yehuda, which was changed by the committee to its correct Hebrew grammatical form, *Ganei Yehuda* (*Va'adat ha-Shemot 1952b: 3*).

32. Although strikingly effective over time, this effort was not quite as smooth or fully encompassing as the committee would have liked. For example, Israelis who cite old Arabic names of landscape features in the Negev are regarded today as possessing a singularly authentic knowledge of the terrain—something which is very highly regarded within the *tiyulim* movement. (I thank an anonymous reviewer for the University of Chicago Press for bringing my attention to that point).

33. On nationalism and standard languages, see Silverstein 2000; on Hebrew as the domain of Jewish and not Arab citizens of the state, see Hever 1987; on the

distinction between nationality and citizenship in the Israeli state, see Shammas 1988; Yiftachel 1999; Shafir and Peled 2000.

### Chapter Five

1. There has been endless debate about Kuhn's conceptualization of a "paradigm," the problems that inhere in it, and in the various uses to which it has been put (c.f. Bernstein 1976: 84–106; see also Fuller 1992). Nevertheless, I use it here pace Helen Longino's very specific definition of the term: a paradigm is "characterized by consensus regarding basic assumptions and methods and consists in the working out of puzzles using the tools provided by that paradigm" (1990: 33; see also Rorty 1979).

2. I borrow the term, "epistemic culture," from Karin Knorr-Cetina, which she defines as "those amalgams of arrangements and mechanisms, bonded through affinity, necessity, and historical coincidence, which, in a given field, make up *how we know what we know*. Epistemic cultures are cultures that create and warrant knowledge" (1999). Moreover, as she elaborates, one of the key "epistemic features" with which she is concerned is "the meaning of the empirical," which is central to my argument here. I focus on the *making*, meaning, and significance of the empirical, which juxtaposes, and can confirm or disprove, textually based historical claims, thus stabilizing the Bible itself as a historical document.

3. To give a sense of scale, the annual *yedi'at ha-Aretz* conference in 1948 had approximately three hundred participants (Silberman 1993: 238). The IES's "annual conventions" (as they are denoted in English) are referred to in Hebrew as *yedi'at ha-Aretz* conferences.

4. One other forum in which the two had an ongoing debate was then Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's biweekly Bible Circle. During the fall of 1958, the chosen topic was the Book of Joshua, with Yadin and Aharoni both invited to attend (see Silberman 1993: 238–42).

5. In this period, the Israelite settlement debate focused on the Galilee. After 1967 and Israel's occupation of the West Bank, the focus of the debate shifted geographically to the so-called "hill country."

6. Given inconsistencies in the biblical tales—that Hazor was destroyed in the time of Joshua (Book of Joshua), that Canaanite-Hazor reigned in the time of Deborah (Song of Deborah), which presumably postdated Joshua's conquest—the dating or sequencing of these different biblical events or accounts had to be grappled with.

7. Aharoni relied on Benjamin Mazar's resequencing of the War of Deborah and the Battle of Merom. Aharoni, like Yadin before him, was Mazar's student.

8. As Aharoni pointed out, most of Upper Galilee resided in Lebanese territory and, as such, he could not extend his survey there (see Aharoni 1957a, 1957b).

9. As site-based archaeological practice, such remnants were not recognized as signifying settlement levels. The history of a site—and of settlement more broadly—was understood to begin with material evidence of at least somewhat permanent structures, a historical conception that paralleled wider intellectual and political currents of the time that failed to recognize the claims of nomadic populations to any sort of territorial claims or rights.

10. While in Hebrew, the term Iron Age was rarely used, this article was written for an English-speaking audience. Amiran and Aharoni suggested that the English term "Israelite period" replace the former usage "Iron Age" as a way of

signaling the new internal temporal demarcations they proposed. (See Amiran and Aharoni 1958).

11. It is probably worth saying a few words about archaeological method. The excavating practices that emerge as paradigmatic in the Israeli field focus on architectural structures, digging sections so as to reveal the contours of walls, floors, rooms, buildings, and so forth. Pottery finds found within specific cross-sections and strata are used to *date* those architectural structures, thus the centrality of pottery to tracing and dating the process of Israelite settlement in ancient Galilee. I deal with questions of method in more detail in chap. 6.

12. If there is any truth to the argument that successful scientific arguments and theories must display “logical consistence” and simplicity (see Richards 1994: 158), the internal contradictions in Aharoni’s evidentiary reasoning and consequent historical argument may well be one reason why Yadin “won” the debate—at least temporarily. By the late 1980s, Aharoni’s argument and evidence had been reconsidered, largely on the basis of the differences between this pottery assemblage and that of the “hill country,” to which I turn below. A new scholarly consensus emerged that these Upper Galilean sites were not early-Israelite at all, nor, therefore, was the pottery. This is a revisionist argument that nevertheless accepted a pots equals peoples paradigm, but I leave that question aside.

13. An additional season was carried out in 1968; I do not deal with that season here.

14. Those other schools—British, French, German, American—were all located in East Jerusalem and came under Jordanian jurisdiction upon the close of the war. It was in relative isolation from those other institutions and biblical archaeologists that the Israeli field developed in the 1950s.

15. The first modern scholar to have identified the site was J. L. Porter in 1875 (Yadin 1972: 13)

16. In addition, Yadin wanted to check whether or not the enclosure Garstang had identified north of the tell was indeed a “fortified camp” and not, in fact, “a proper city” (Yadin 1972: 27). Yadin’s team concluded that it was a proper city rather early on in the excavations.

17. Stratum XI was absent in Area A but was found in Area B and dated as an era of settlement that occurred between the first Israelite settlement and the Solomonic period (see Yadin 1972; Ben-Tor 1989).

18. While this report was compiled nearly three decades after the excavations took place, it is based upon the field diaries of the excavating archaeologists. The report on Area A reproduces Aharoni’s diary, with editorial notes indicating the points of chronology and stratigraphy about which Yadin and Dunayevsky (an architect and key figure in determining excavation methods) disagreed with Aharoni.

19. From the evidence available in the preliminary reports (Yadin 1956–59) and the final report (Ben-Tor 1989), there does not seem to have been evidence of conflagration in the appropriate strata (Stratum XIII, Upper City; 1a, Lower City) found in all (or even most) excavated areas or loci. Such evidence is scattered. For example, if one focuses on the tell proper, in Area A, evidence of destruction by fire is found in four clearly identified loci as well as “in the area of the Orthostat Temple . . . and to its N”—the exact expanse or distribution of that evidence is unclear (Ben-Tor 1989: 24). The mentioned loci cover only a fraction of the expanse of Area A. In Area B, the second area in the Upper City excavated during all four seasons, there is no mention of evidence of conflagration in Stratum XIII or, for that matter, in Area BA, which was excavated in 1958 only. (See Ben-Tor 1989: 73–75, 128–30.) It should be noted that scattered evidence of fire is

not a sufficient basis for assuming the entire site was destroyed at one particular moment or by a single historical cause. (The difficulty in identifying the moment or moments of destruction is compounded by the problem that the excavated area itself covers *only part of* the ancient city). For a more extended discussion of evidence of fire and the attribution of historical cause, see chap. 6.

Moreover, as Yadin explained over a decade later, unlike in the Lower City, which was never reoccupied following the end of the Canaanite city (i.e., in the late-Bronze Age), “the remnants of Strata XIV–XIII were found in many cases completely destroyed. This was due mainly to the constant robbing of the fine basalt ashlar and orthostats, found reused in most of the Israelite buildings.” He is referring here to the Iron II period. “Furthermore, the one area in which we actually uncovered a larger area of these periods was Area A, precisely under and in the very vicinity of the Solomonic fortifications. The builders of the latter leveled the area, and while doing so, destroyed, and sometimes completely removed, the remains of the latest strata below. Indeed, were it not for the excavations of the Lower City it would have been quite impossible to get a clear picture of the Upper City in the 14th–13th centuries, except to say (to judge by the abundant pottery) that the area was occupied in these periods” (Yadin 1972: 126). In other words, the reasons for Stratum XIII’s laying in complete ruins may have been, at least in part, due to the nature of subsequent building activities (which Yadin ascribed to Solomon).

20. By the time of Yadin’s 1970 lecture to the British Academy (under the auspices of the Schweich Lectures series), the relevant chronological periods are named as follows: the Bronze Age, the First Israelite Settlements, and the Solomonic period (1972: xi–xii).

21. While I will not deal with it here, the logic of archaeological reasoning on the basis of which the “Solomonic strata” and its material-cultural correlates (“Solomonic gates”) were identified was quite similar to the one I trace for pottery remains and the Israelite I levels. For a critique of the existence of Solomonic cities, based on evidence of specific architectural forms, see Thompson 1992; for a rereading of the evidence (that there was perhaps no Solomonic city at all at Hazor) and a redating of the strata, see Finkelstein 1999.

22. Albright’s initial development of “the ceramic history of the country” (from the early-Bronze Age through the late-Iron Ages) is attributed to his work at Tell Beit-Mirsim (conducted 1926–32). See Lance 1981. Rather than engaging with that broader scholarly feat, I want to focus on his identification of that pottery type that becomes crucial to the future identification of early-Israelite sites.

23. For a parallel argument regarding the practices of naming and state ideology in “mainstream Israeli sociology,” see Baruch Kimmerling 1992.

24. I borrow this distinction from W. T. Mitchell in his work on “images.” (Lecture to the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, October 1999).

25. As explained by Lester Embree, within archaeology “time is conceptualized like space in homogenous units analogous to spatial areas and change is a physical rather than an historical relation of events, such as is found in the biological theory of evolution” (1992: 5).

26. The question of whether or not one could assert, unequivocally, that such pottery is ethnically Israelite in the sense of being used *exclusively* by Israelites was one about which at least some reservations were expressed. (See Yadin’s discussion of his reservations on this point [1972]. His practice at Hazor during the late 1950s, however, suggests that his reservations did not affect his work either methodologically or in terms of his historical reasoning.) Nevertheless, *in practice*, the equation of ethnicity with pottery use was the operative paradigm.

For example, in the introduction to his book on the Galilean survey, Aharoni explained the purpose of the survey to be to (a) determine the area, density, and character of the process of Israelite settlement and (b) determine the main types of pottery the tribes brought with them. He named that pottery Israelite pottery, which was not, however, intended to imply that it was used *exclusively* by Israelites but “that these are the vessels characteristic of the Israelite tribes that settled in the Galilee and there are no such vessels found in other regions of the country” (1957a: 1). The effect of that clarification, however, was lost through the very use of the ethnic label for identifying the pottery and, moreover, in the *methodology* of the survey work in which such pottery forms are the most important criteria for identifying sites and strata as Israelite.

27. Amiran’s initial work at Tell el-Ruweisa and in Upper Galilee more broadly was a reference point that framed Aharoni’s subsequent survey. Their cooperation continued, as they were on the same side of this argument.

28. With respect to an analysis of pottery forms—that they displayed *similarities* with the preceding Canaanite assemblages—it is the Aharoni/Amiran school that gave a far more plausible account. The scales of logical consistency and simplicity in scientific arguments thus tips in their favor with respect to this aspect of the debate (see n. 12). In fact, by the 1980s, it was the model promoted by Amiran and Aharoni—the peaceful infiltration model—that emerged as the more widely accepted historical argument. The territories then opened to Israeli archaeological research—the “biblical heartlands” of “Judea and Samaria,” i.e., the West Bank—ultimately proved crucial to reframing the historical narrative. (See Finkelstein [1988] for a critical overview of the debate; for a discussion of the wider field of biblical archaeology, see Whitelam 1996 and Thompson 1999).

29. It is Amiran who states this point most clearly. Once “a preponderance of new shapes” was recognized in Iron I pottery repertoires, the Bible aided in “identifying the bearers of this new culture in most of the regions of the country as the Israelite tribes, and the makers of the peculiar pottery in the coastal plain a the Philistines” (Amiran 1969: 205).

30. To complicate matters more, Dothan explained, archaeologists discovered in the Lower City that a Canaanite occupation continued, for a specific time period, after its fortifications were destroyed. “How [can we] reconcile this with the account in the Book of Joshua?”

31. See Trigger (1989) on cultural-historical archaeology.

## Chapter Six

1. Clearly, this use of the term “theory” is far closer to what Ian Hacking refers to as “commonplace assumptions”—e.g., that tables are brown—than to those generally referred to by philosophers of science (see Hacking 1983). These are not large causal explanations of a generalizable nature relating to broad phenomena of social organization, of evolution, and so forth. Rather, they range from specific stories supposed to have taken place in the city’s past to more general conceptions of what is to count as history. Indeed, Israeli archaeology (and biblical archaeology, more generally) can be understood in the terms that processual archaeologists understood (and critiqued) “traditional archaeology,” that it never really did rise above the level of “systematic description and classification of the contents of the archaeological record” (Pinsky and Wylie 1989: xvi). Nevertheless, that systematic description and classification is theory-laden in the sense of being shaped not only by particular textual sources, but, more profoundly, by shared tacit assumptions, which are acquired through practice and cannot always be either articulated as a set of rules or even explicitly recog-

nized (Kuhn 1970: 43–51). Those assumptions concern the nature of history itself, and thereby, of the archaeological project, writ large, and determine what it is that archaeologists are looking for, what it is that they are trying to explain, what they will recognize as significant, and how particular remains will be absorbed into their overall interpretive framework. (For discussions of theory-laden versus practice-focused approaches to science, see Hacking 1983; see also Pickering 1992; Lenoir 1997; Galison 1997; for a discussion of the non-preparadigmatic nature of such culture-historical traditions of archaeology, see Trigger 1989).

2. Some additional information (what Mazar refers to as “a very few additional data”) came from Kathleen Kenyon’s excavations in the area in 1961 (Kenyon 1967). Her Jerusalem excavations were conducted on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

3. For example, “The most decisive developments to take place in the topography of this region [the site of his excavations] are related to Herod’s enormous expansion of the Temple Mount by building up the surrounding slopes and valleys on the east and west, leveling the resulting platform, enclosed within mighty supporting walls founded on the very bedrock. According to Josephus, Herod built a Royal Stoa towering over the southern part of the Outer Court, the entire length of the Southern Wall (about 280 m); in his quite detailed description of this building, he states that it ‘was a structure more noteworthy than any under the sun’ (*Antiquities* XV, 412). He also relates of two gates in the Southern Wall, mentioned also in the Mishna: ‘the two Huldah Gates on the south, that served for coming in and for going out’ (Middoth I: 3). These gates led to tunnels beneath the Royal Stoa, emerging to the north, the present ‘Double’ and ‘Triple’ gates (today blocked and as yet incompletely investigated)” (Mazar 1975: 25).

4. This group of minimalists included the British archaeologist Kathleen Kenyon, the main excavator of the Old City and its environs prior to the 1967 war.

5. Avigad’s excavations laid bare no remains from the Persian period (586–332 B.C.E.) and only limited remains from the Hellenistic period (332 B.C.E.–63 B.C.E.). It is starting with the late-Hasmonean period (first century B.C.E.) that “extensive building activities subsequent to the Israelite period took place,” but the most “active period as far as building was concerned” is concluded to have been from “the time of the Herodian dynasty” (37–4 B.C.E.; Avigad 1975: 44–45). On the basis of an absence of material remnants from those periods, the conclusion was reached that settlement was “once again confined only to the traditional boundaries of the City of David, the Ophel, and the Temple Mount” (Geva 1994: 9).

6. Contrary to Avigad’s representation of the site, the fact that the “rest of the skeleton seems to have been . . . swept away” implies that the remains *were* “disturbed” by later activities in antiquity. It is not clear from these reports on what basis Avigad identified this arm as female, let alone young. Avigad simply reports that Dr. B. Ahrensburg determined that this skeletal remain was the arm of a young woman (see Avigad 1983a).

7. In subsequent accounts of the finds at Site E, this possibility is no longer recognized. Avigad simply explains that the building is “destroyed late in Herod’s reign,” with no specific reference to cause, after which time a road is built over its ruins (see Avigad 1975: 45). There is one other context in which Avigad recognized the possibility of internal Jewish strife, although not in relation to his reading of the material signs of fire. On the basis of an inscription found at Burnt House, he explains that the Kathros family “abused their status in grant-



ing their kind positions in the Temple, expoting [*sic*, exploiting] the people” (47).

8. In his critique of the field of classical archaeology, Anthony Snodgrass fabricates a humorous and telling example of the dangerous tales that can be spun out of such modes of evidentiary reasoning:

Imagine the reaction of the future excavator of Geneva in, say, 3,000 years’ time. He uncovers the ruins of the Grand-Théâtre de Genève, which was in point of fact destroyed by fire on May 1st, 1951. He forms tentative hypotheses, which he tests by excavating some 250 meters away. Here he strikes the ruins of the Bâtiment Electoral, burned by another fire on August 4th, 1964. His hypothesis hardens; it would be perverse to deny that both destructions were caused by the same historical event; he has the chronological evidence to show that they occurred close together in time; he knows too, the dates of World War II. We can safely predict the conclusions to which (at least if he follows the practices of twentieth century classical archaeology) he will come. (Snodgrass 1987: 65–66)

9. This was reported as a surprising discovery (the dead were not supposed to be buried within the city limits and, thus, as I mentioned above, the limits of the Iron Age city are determined by the location of cemeteries and burial tombs). Although Avigad admits that this anomalous find is in need of “further consideration,” it has not been pursued in any sustained manner (Avigad 1972: 197).

10. Beyond its reporting in the Third Preliminary Report and in Avigad’s book *Discovering Jerusalem* (1983*b*, chap. 3, sec. 10), I have located two other references to this glassblowing workshop. The first is in an article written for the popular magazine, *Biblical Archaeology Review* (Avigad 1983*c*). After describing the various finds—stone, pottery, and glass—which includes some reference to the techniques used for creating particular kinds of objects, Avigad concludes: “Much research still needs to be done on this material [the glass]. From it, glass experts will no doubt be able to clear up many of the longstanding questions relating to the earliest history of blown glass. *One of these questions concerns the part played by the Jews in the production of glass in antiquity, for it is commonly thought that their role was a major one.* Though this has not been proved conclusively, our finds from Jerusalem may well be a valuable contribution to that discussion” (65; emphasis added). Second, there is a scholarly article on early glassblowing techniques, which incorporates Avigad’s finds into the overall argument (Spaer 1987).

11. The effort to describe and typologize Herodian period art typifies the treatment of such remains: “In the realm of art and architecture of the period of the Second Temple, we can point to several impressive finds, which open new vistas in our knowledge of these crafts in Jerusalem” (Avigad 1975: 47). The knowledge of crafts that we gain, however, never surpasses such classificatory and descriptive efforts (see Avigad 1975).

12. This bulldozing incident occurred a week after I stopped participating in the excavations and was recounted to me after the fact by several participants, both archaeologists and student volunteers. The decision to use bulldozers precipitated quite an argument between the British and the Israeli archaeologists digging the site, I was told. With one exception, the former strenuously objected. The exception was a British archaeologist who was a Ph.D. student in the Department of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University, a student of the Israeli archaeologist leading the dig.

13. I do not want to dwell on this argument, however. As a city that has been

continuously occupied for a few thousand years, building activities of later periods in the city have largely destroyed the remains of the earlier cities upon which they were built. Thus, in contrast to undisturbed sites, much less evidence is likely to be preserved particularly when we are talking about smaller finds, which may be essential to a reconstruction of daily life of other times.

14. For references to the use of bulldozers on Mazar's excavations, see Ben-Dov 1982.

15. Ottoman period as well as medieval buildings were standing buildings, not ones that needed to be excavated. As such, these bulldozing decisions transformed the contemporary landscape, obliterating an existing architecture.

16. The political pressure to build a new Jewish Quarter as quickly as possible compelled these excavators to complete their work rapidly. Thus, excavations were carried out year round, something rather uncommon in archaeological work. That political pressure clearly contributed to the use of bulldozers—whether those of contractors or those of archaeologists. Nevertheless, such external pressure can only partially account for the use of bulldozers on these Old City excavations. Bulldozers, after all, are commonly used on excavation sites in Israel, a practice which raises questions about the larger methodological and historiographical perspectives within which bulldozing is deemed an acceptable excavating technique (within specific circumstances).

17. Avigad's team also excavated a Byzantine bath house, although it receives far less attention in scholarly accounts of Byzantine finds (see Avigad 1975: 51).

18. It is not only on the basis of the pottery but also on numismatic evidence that Avigad dated and thereby identified the structure as the Nea Church—thus, once again, treating small finds as a means for establishing the chronology of larger architectural structures (see Avigad 1970*b*: 136).

19. See Dumper 1992. I discuss the destruction of the Maghariba Quarter in chap. 7.

20. I got an entirely different perspective on the conflicts precipitated by this excavation from another archaeologist: it was a conflict over professional etiquette. The area had already been excavated by Kathleen Kenyon, and she was not happy that Mazar was going to continue "her excavation." These were objections "from a scientific [point of] view"; "this isn't how things are done in archaeology." But, he continued, there was no strong resistance from the archaeological community in Israel. There may have been "some rumors" that it was Kenyon's site, but nothing in writing ever appeared against the excavation.

21. There was a second excavation—one technically partially under the control of Mazar but in practice carried out under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs until the mid-1980s—that was also implicated in precipitating international condemnation. I discuss the Western Wall Tunnel in chap. 8.

22. There are a variety of treaties that prohibit both the excavations in and removal of cultural properties from occupied lands: the Hague Convention of 1907 and its regulations (Hague Regulations of 1907); the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949; and the Hague Convention, Protocol and Regulations of 1954. In addition, there are two applicable UNESCO Conventions. (For a detailed discussion of these treaties and conventions and their relevance to the situation of Israel and the occupied territories, see Oyediran 1997).

Israel has never recognized East Jerusalem as an occupied territory. Rather, the areas taken in the 1967 war are considered "administered," although in the case of East Jerusalem, Israel extended its municipal authority and law effectively annexing it to the State of Israel. In official Israeli legal logic, neither Jor-

dan nor Egypt were internationally recognized as the sovereign powers in the West Bank and Gaza, respectively, and as such, as a technical matter of law, Israel *could not* become an occupier. As a consequence, Israeli law does not recognize these treaties—particularly the Hague Treaty and the Geneva Convention—as legally applicable to what are “administered” and not “occupied” territories. (I thank Lisa Hajjar for helping me clarify this point of law).

23. For a final report on the remains of “biblical Jerusalem,” see Mazar and Mazar 1989; for a discussion and critique of recording techniques and the wider pattern of not publishing extensive preliminary and final reports by Israeli archaeological teams and the impact that has had on scholarly inquiry in the Israeli field, see Geva 1992.

24. More information than this is gleaned regarding the history and function of Umayyad-period structures, see Ben-Dov 1975: 99–100. (Ben-Dov points out that the “five other buildings around building II [of the Umayyad structures] have only incompletely been excavated, and thus their full study remains for the future.”)

25. For a similar narrative of material evidence of Jewish desire to return, see also Mazar 1969a: 9.

### Chapter Seven

1. *ha-Kotel ha-Ma'aravi* in Hebrew, the wall includes in its lower courses remnants of the enclosure that surrounded the Herodian Temple Mount. The same site also holds religious significance for Muslims as the place at which the Prophet Muhammed tethered his winged steed (*al-Buraq*) on the night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem. (The following quotations, as well as others below, are from transcripts made of tape-recorded tours and interviews.)

2. Generally translated as “pious foundation” or “religious endowment,” *waqf* refers to properties that are held in trust—in perpetuity. There are two sorts of *waqf* properties. *Waqf khairi* (public trusts) are used for institutions (mosques, schools, hospitals, etc.) and the poor. *Waqf dhurri* are private trusts held by families and passed down to descendants. Such properties are often leased to tenants. (See Tibawi 1978).

As described by Tibawi (on the basis of a fourteenth-century account by Mujir el-Din), Malik al-Afdal “dedicated the whole area outside the western walls of the Haram ash-Sharif, and known as Harat (Quarter) al-Magharibah, as *waqf* for the benefit of all Moroccans, male and female. Apart from being religious and charitable, Al-Afdal’s foundation was also educational in that he established on the site a *madrassah* (school for higher religious studies) which was called al-Afdaliyyah after him” (1978: 12). Additional lands were added to this trust in the early 1400s by Moroccan immigrants. (For a detailed history of the Maghariba Quarter, see Tibawi 1978: 9–15).

3. The estimates range from about 650 to approximately 1,000 persons (see Dumper 1992; Tibawi 1978).

4. Between 1967 and 1969, several other historic Islamic structures were destroyed: Maqam al-Shaykh (the tomb of the first director of al-Madrasa al-Afdaliyya in the twelfth century), the Zawiyat Abu Madyan (a sufi hospice and convent), and a segment of al-Zawiyya al-Fakhriyya. (See Tibawi 1978; Khalidi 2000a).

5. Moreover, as Rashid Khalidi points out, “The first records of public devotion focusing on the Western Wall date from about three hundred years ago. Surprising though it may seem in view of the importance which has since come to be attached to it in recent years, before the late sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

ture, the Western or Wailing Wall appears not to be been the focus of public or private Jewish devotion.” Even by the late nineteenth century, Jewish worshippers were few. (Khalidi 2000a: 24; see also Ben Arieh 1984: 314).

6. For an extended account of this process, see “*Eikh Hirḥavnu et Yerushalayim*” (How We Widened Jerusalem) *Qol ha’Ir*, 12 June 1992.

7. For a description of this fund, see an article entitled “United Jerusalem Fund Established,” published in the *Jerusalem Post*, 9 June 1967.

8. The legal absorption of East Jerusalem, with much-extended boundaries, was enacted in June 1967 through two amendments to existing laws. (1) The Law and Administrative Ordinance of 1967 (Amendment No. 11), which amended the Law and Administrative Ordinance of 1948 by stating that “the law, jurisdiction and administration of the state shall extend to any area of Eretz Israel designated by the government by Order.” (The previous law stated that Israeli sovereignty applied to any areas that were de facto under Israeli control.) (2) The Municipalities Ordinance Law (Amendment No. 6), 5727–1967, under which the minister of the interior is authorized to enlarge the area under the jurisdiction of a municipality.

After the adoption of these amendments, the government issued an order that applied the state’s law, jurisdiction, and administration to East Jerusalem, thereby empowering the minister of the interior to delimit the municipal boundaries of the now reunited city. The new municipal boundaries were drawn with the aim of absorbing as much territory and as little (Palestinian) population as possible. Seventy thousand Palestinians were incorporated into the new Jerusalem municipality. (See the article “*Eikh Hirḥavnu et Yerushalayim*,” above n. 6).

9. In the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, “internal refugees” refers to those Palestinians who were forced from their villages or towns to other parts of Palestine/Israel; “external refugees” are those who were expelled altogether from the boundaries of the state in 1948 and from territories under Israeli control subsequent to 1967.

10. The eviction of Palestinian residents from the entire space of what became the new Jewish Quarter was a much longer process, which encountered far more sustained resistance than had the earlier expulsions from the Maghariba Quarter, which were executed by the military as an integral part of the 1967 war (see Hirst 1974).

11. The Jerusalem Committee was an international conference that convened three times in the late 1960s and early 1970s to discuss the future of the city of Jerusalem. In convening an international group of architects and city planners (and some Israeli archaeologists), these meetings were held as part of an effort to build an international consensus over Israel’s right to control the unified city, such that the Jewish state would also thereby become protector of Christian and Muslim religious sites. Throughout the minutes to these meetings, the distinction was constantly drawn between a Jewish national right to the city and other nonnational cultural or religious claims to specific sites and monuments, reproducing the terms of heritage management that had framed mandate policies decades before.

12. The Citadel is not located in what is designated as the Jewish Quarter. It stands along the city wall, adjacent to the Jaffa Gate.

13. Jameson describes the phenomenon of “wrapping” (a term he borrows from architects) in the following manner: while abandoning the notion of “context,” or the distinction between figure and ground, “it retains the essential prerequisite of *priority* or even *hierarchy*—the functional subordination of one element to another . . . but makes that now reversible. What is wrapped can also

be used as the wrapper; the wrapper can also be wrapped in its turn" (1991: 101).

14. One of the museum's general guides pointed to these turrets as well. She made us gaze through them to the road below (which had formed no-man's land between 1948 and 1967) and the adjoining neighborhoods. She informed us that Jordanian soldiers had used these openings to shoot at civilians going about their daily life in the western half of the divided city. She then emphasized the strategic importance of Israel retaining control over the entire (united) city.

15. One such critic was Bruno Levy, an Italian architect who was head of the Italian Town Planning Institute. As quoted in David Hirst (1974: 29), he criticized the plans for the Jewish Quarter in the following words: "Resurrecting old slums and installing rich people there is the architecture of cowardice. . . . You can reproduce anything, even the Parthenon, but the picturesque can only come out of life."

16. As happened during the mandate, the establishment of a green belt around the Old City walls has not been realized. Particularly on its northern and western sides, the surrounding area has been heavily built up—by roads (Route 1 ends close the wall itself, a highway built along the former dividing line between east and west Jerusalem going out toward the West Bank) and by commercial and (wealthy) residential projects in the old Mamilla neighborhood. Both of these projects were completed in the mid-1990s. Route 1 has effectively fulfilled Ben-Gurion's dream of eliminating any visible sign of a division between East and West Jerusalem.

17. In addition to the work of excavating, in drawing up plans for the national park and restoration work in and around the Old City, a survey was done of all existing archaeological, historical, and architectural sites in the area (a list of 1,101), and a suggestion was made during the Jerusalem Committee meeting that a special committee be formed in order to decide which of these sites should be preserved (Jerusalem Committee 1969: 50). The landscaping design for the park, like the architectural design for the quarter, was to incorporate these remnants of times past.

18. The notion that Jerusalem's old-new character is unique to the city and must be signified in its architectural forms (at least in the design of public buildings and spaces) has become a hackneyed archaeological discourse by now. For example, in designing the new High Court building, its architects explained their desire to integrate the old with the new (now just in form, not in terms of the reuse of older remnants or stones):

We were influenced by Jerusalem in the sense that there are many contradictory elements in the city, conflicts between the green and the desert, for example, and between the layers of history, where each period's builders built on top of the preceding age with no consideration for what went before. We did not intend to resolve these conflicts; this is a building that originates from conflicts.

We sought an uncompromising combination of old and new, a design that did not seek a common denominator, but a dialogue between autonomous parts. We created a situation in which old and new each has its own right to exist; we allowed each to attain its maximal presence, without creating an architecture of in-between. (Freeman 1993: 76–77)

19. I will provide a more detailed description of the museums and their exhibitions in chap. 8.

20. The one clear exception to this statement is the Byzantine Cardo, which is

discussed in more detail below. The main museums in the Jewish Quarter are the Herodian Quarter, the Burnt House, the Israelite Tower, and the “One Last Day” Museum, which displays the final day of battle when the quarter fell to Jordanian forces in 1948.

21. The Nea Church and Umayyad Palace were left dilapidated and unrestored for decades. It was only in the mid-1990s that work began to develop an archaeological garden along the southern and southwestern walls of the Haram al-Sharif, which includes, alongside early-Roman and Iron Age remains, those of the Umayyad Palace complex.

22. See Jerusalem Committee 1969, 1973, 1975. See also the minutes to the Jerusalem City Council meetings over the summer of 1967, especially the special session on Jerusalem (Jerusalem City Council, 1967a–d). It becomes evident in the city council minutes that the political discourse that the Jerusalem municipality is the protector of a multicultural and multireligious city had its own internal Israeli-Jewish agenda. This liberal discourse of tolerance is aimed primarily at Teddy Kollek’s and the Labor Party’s staunchest Israeli-Jewish opponents, representatives of the religious parties on the Jerusalem City Council who were pushing to make this city a truly Jewish city, one subject to the dictates of religious law. The defense of the cultural and religious rights of “minorities” (Arab, or Christian and Muslim) became one way to protect secular Jews from having to live according to religious law.

23. Burqan claimed to have owned the building. One justice argued that he was a tenant, not an owner, and a second argued that Burqan had only one-fourth ownership of the building. At the time, Burqan and his family were residing in Beit Hanina, and the question of whether or not this move was by choice or the result of forced removal during efforts to build the new quarter was also in dispute between Burqan and the High Court justices.

24. In defense of such communal segregation, Justice Shamgar took issue with U.S. Supreme Court rulings that had struck down the legality of a separate but equal approach to race relations in U.S. politics and society. Responding to the arguments for the plaintiff in which his lawyer cited the prohibition of segregated housing and education under U.S. law, Justice Shamgar wrote:

It may be remarked here, in general, that the automatic transfer from site to site of the entire diversity of ways and means in which the rules of equality are to be applied, without any consideration of particular circumstances and conditions, is to no small extent misleading. For example, the enforced integration of pupils which imposes the English language and Anglo-Saxon culture on every pupil and which is considered in the U.S. to be the height of equality, in this context is liable to be seen as forced assimilation if, for example, an Arab pupil is compelled to forgo a separate school in which studies are conducted in his language and in line with his culture. (al-Haq n.d.: 13)

As a legal system modeled after the Anglo-American legal tradition, it is not unusual for lawyers to cite U.S. cases in legal arguments.

25. For a discussion of the segregation of space in East Jerusalem as a whole, see Dumper 1997.

26. These other stories are, of course, told repeatedly and in great detail. It is such material evidence of other histories that many Old City Palestinians (a few of whom have taken me on personal tours) point out. As one foreign archaeologist said of the history of the space that is today the Jewish Quarter, what needs to be looked at is, “What kind of material evidence exists to testify to a . . . Muslim presence in the area historically?”

27. See Jane Perlez, "Impasse at Camp David: The overview; Clinton ends deadlocked peace talks," *New York Times*, 26 July 2000.

### Chapter Eight

1. According to tradition, the Holy of Holies was the innermost sanctum within the ancient Jewish temple. It is believed that this chamber contained the Ark of the Covenant in which were kept the tablets that the Ten Commandments were inscribed upon. Entrance to this sanctuary was forbidden to all throughout the year. Only the high priests could enter it on Yom Kippur.

2. The tunnel was developed in the post-1967 period as part of building the new quarter. Its entranceway is situated next to the Western Wall and thus clearly within the boundaries of today's quarter. Most of the tunnel, however, passes underneath Palestinian neighborhoods of the Old City, exiting onto the Via Dolorosa in the Muslim Quarter.

3. Technically, the Western Wall and the tunnel are under the joint jurisdiction of the Antiquities Authority (formerly, the Department of Antiquities) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In practice, however, it is the latter authority that has final say over the sites.

4. The museum's original curator conducted a tour of the site for participants in a conference entitled "Interpreting the Past. Presenting Archaeological Sites to the Public," an international conference for archaeologists, museum curators, and designers. This tour was held on June 3, 1993. The following quotations from this tour, as well as the others I discuss in the chapter, are from transcripts made of tape-recorded tours and interviews.

5. As one German archaeologist participating in the conference pointed out, there is nothing untouched about excavated remains: "Untouched remains would in fact be meters underground." An argument then ensued between conference participants as to what exactly would count as "untouched" remains: only those left unexcavated and underground? Those excavated? Those preserved in their excavated state for archaeologists to study?

6. For a less flattering description of the Kathros family, see Avigad's remark about their exploitation of "the people" (1976: 13).

7. An early scene in the film provides the most striking visual representation this temporal continuity. The image is of a person, viewed from the waist down, wearing stereotypical Roman garb. The individual is walking in a wide open plaza toward the center of the screen. When the walker reaches the middle of the screen (marked by a line splitting the image down the center), a second person, also shown from the waist down, continues in the first person's steps and proceeds toward the other side of the screen. This second individual is wearing typically modern garb, walking on a modern Jewish Quarter street. The narration accompanying the image informs the audience that this is "a plaza in today's Jewish Quarter [which] marks where this ancient [Herodian] street once stood; these hewn stones from that road remind modern Jerusalemites that ancient Jerusalemites once walked here."

8. The tour was organized by the Society for the Protection of Nature and focused on First Temple period Jerusalem. The tour began in the Jewish Quarter, visiting its various Iron Age archaeological remains, and ended in the City of David (in the adjacent Palestinian village of Silwan), with an examination of the excavations carried out by Yigal Shiloh.

9. Tour guides at the Israel Museum's archaeological wing give a similar account: "After the Six Day War, a lot of excavations went on in Jerusalem and we came across this inscription on a piece of wall plaster that was a few meters

away from the Temple Mount. And, what did we find? We find a seven branch candelabra, and what is interesting here is the foot of the candelabra—a double-octagon base—because from the arch of Titus you see the Romans bringing back the booty and they are carrying a huge, seven branch candelabra and the foot of it is a double stick. So, for many years we believed the menorah had a double stick. . . . But now we see it has an octagonal base. . . . And as I will show you . . . we learn [more] from mosaic floors from the early centuries that were decorated with the menorah.”

10. This discourse is similar to one discussed by Tamar Katriel in her analysis of tours at pioneer settlement museums (see Katriel 1997b: 153).

11. “*Evidence of the fire was found only in several rooms on the west; in the other parts of the building, this evidence was lost through later building activities*” (Avigad 1976: 12; emphasis added).

12. The fact that guides produce interpretations that do not simply replicate those of archaeologists is quite clear in the stark variety of tour guides, their approaches to their work, and the information they offer. While all seem to concur on the master narrative, different guides appeal to different degrees of factual detail, and they provide varying kinds of information about scientific method. This guide, for example, presented a rather standard account of the First Temple period city, but he never explicitly invited his audience to participate actively in the tour. He was the teacher, and we were the students engaged in a traditional classroom dynamic. Furthermore, only once did he refer to the present, saying that, over the past few years, the intifada had made tourism in and around the city much harder, although that seemed to be abating. (The tour itself, however, entered very much into that present. It ended in the City of David, which is in the middle of Silwan, a Palestinian village that was active during the uprising. We were accompanied by an armed guard, which is standard practice on organized tours in Israel. At one point, en route to the site of the City of David, a few kids wandered away from the group. The guard yelled at them and asked them where they thought they were going, clearly worried about the dangers that awaited these Israeli children in the streets of Silwan.)

In addition to distinctions between individual guides, there are also institutional differences. The Society for the Protection of Nature and another group called Archaeological Seminars both organize tours that are best described as intellectual tourism. The tours tend to be quite long (between two and four hours), with an emphasis on historical and archaeological detail. Museum tours, such as those at the Tower of David and the Western Wall Heritage Tunnel, are also quite long, although they rarely exceed two hours. There are substantial differences in the guides’ levels of knowledge and in how they present their information to audiences.

13. His tale, like those told about the Herodian city, privileged the story of national battle between the Israelites and the invading Babylonians. He contrasted Hezekiah, a good king who successfully protected the city from an earlier Assyrian onslaught, with a subsequent king, who weakened the city and thus contributed to its fall. One tour participant, however, had a different take on these historical events:

PARTICIPANT: “So, the destruction of Israel [the Northern Kingdom that was destroyed by the Assyrians] was because of Hezekiah’s actions.”  
[The guide had explained to us that Hezekiah had rebelled against the Assyrian kings, refusing to pay the required tithes. He thus knew they would try and come down and conquer his kingdom; en route they



conquered the Kingdom of Israel precipitating the flight of refugees from that kingdom to Jerusalem, many of whom settled on the city's western hill. It was in response to their demands that Hezekiah fortified the western hill—and had done so at an “emergency pace.”]

GUIDE: “No, Hezekiah successfully prevented the Assyrians from entering the city by building . . .” [The participant cuts him off.]

PARTICIPANT: “But, what about the Northern Kingdom?”

GUIDE: “The Northern Kingdom in part . . . was because the Assyrians came down to conquer Judea, and they conquered everything else that was in their way en route as well.”

PARTICIPANT: “So, in some way the fall of the Northern Kingdom was not because of the Northern Kingdom's actions but because of what the Southern Kingdom did.”

GUIDE: [in a voice conveying some unease with this interpretation, or at least some doubt about it] “Yes.”

14. For an overview of the excavations, see Bahat 1994.

15. This exit was subsequently opened in September of 1996.

16. For an overview of the sites' excavated remains, see Bahat 1994. Despite the fact that much of what is excavated and reported on by Bahat postdates Herodian times, his article appears in part 2 rather than part 3 of *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*. It appears under the heading of “Jerusalem—Second Temple Period” and not “Jerusalem—Later Periods.”

17. Certain structural realities make complete elimination of the evidence of restoration impossible. Visible retainer columns have been erected next to the large museum-type display in the middle of the tour. Most of the columns bolstering the tunnel, along the length of the western wall, are wooden beams and are obviously additions to the original site.

18. A Palestinian working on the restoration of the Dome of the Rock had a very particular take on the tunnel's labeling practices: “Muslim structures are being labeled as Jewish ones. Or, they label them as from the ‘Middle Ages,’ not noting that they are Islamic. Or, [they are labeled] Fatimid, Ummayyad, or Mameluke [thereby] denying any unity to those eras, as if they are all different periods and histories.” I find his interpretation of the latter practice most interesting. It is actually quite rare that anything Islamic is labeled with such historical specificity in the tunnel. Moreover, I would consider that to be a far more accurate means of historical dating and thus a much more serious engagement with the city's Islamic history (in contrast, for example, to labeling them “Muslim” or “Arab” or “recent”—as is done in Avigad's stratigraphy as discussed in chap. 6). For this informant, however, such labels signified quite the opposite. It was an attempt to undermine the coherence of an Arab Muslim community and an Islamic history in the city, something not changed or interrupted by the comings and goings of specific Muslim regimes and rulers.

19. Hebrew- and English-speaking tour guides share the same master narrative, although they tend to perform it in quite different ways. Most important, the former often leave the overall framework unarticulated and inexplicit, as they assume most museum visitors already know it. (For a comparable case and argument, see Katriel 1994.) In contrast, English-speaking guides are far more explicit, often giving extensive polemics on Arab political claims and obstructions, articulating in a variety of ways the primacy of Jewish claims to the city.

Furthermore, Hebrew-speaking tour guides presume a shared historical and religious knowledge among tour participants, which many guides attempt to

correct. For example, one guide opened the tour by asking the audience (which included many young children): “Anyone know what the Western Wall is?” Without giving anyone time to respond, he continued, “It seems like an easy question but it isn’t. There are a lot of people who say that the Western Wall is a remnant of the Temple itself. That is quite simply wrong.” He then provided the correct historical knowledge, saying that it is a remnant of the wall that surrounded the Temple Mount. In contrast, English-speaking tour guides often make conscious efforts *to promote* a collectivity, eliciting from the audience examples of shared “Jewish knowledge,” that is, knowledge of the Bible and broader religio-cultural frameworks. As part of an extensive network of trans-state tourism, these guides often work to bring non-Israeli Jews into an interactive relationship with the material remnants of an ancient Jewish past and a modern Israeli/Hebrew culture. (The tours are conducted with the assumption that the audience is Jewish.) Consider, for example, how one guide opened her tour: “I look at the group and *I notice that most of you probably know at least a few Hebrew words*, which I will be introducing to you and translating once or twice. Then I will just use the Hebrew word. So, for example, *ha-Kotel ha-Ma’aravi* means the Western Wall. *Kotel* means wall and *Ma’aravi* means western. We often use just the word *Kotel* to speak about the Western Wall . . . that [I] think we are familiar with” (emphasis added). She then continued in a way similar to the aforementioned Hebrew-speaking guide, pointing out what it is the audience supposedly did not know or had misconceptions about. After this introduction, she referred to the wall only by its Hebrew name. Through her narrative, the guide fashioned an essential connection between precise Hebrew words and specific sites, objects, and persons who were presumed to be part of a Hebrew/Jewish people. Presumably, after all, that is what she noticed at the start of the tour.

20. Tunnel guides are not volunteers and have already had some training or guiding experience. They are paid for their work, and their training and selection is quite rigorous. In one round of training, 112 guides entered the course, and only seven or eight were actually chosen to guide at the tunnel. As of August 1998, there were eighty guides trained by the Western Wall Foundation giving tours of the tunnels. They are not required to be Israeli citizens in order to be guides, but, according to Dov Rabinowitz, who is in charge of the guides, all of them are Jewish: “We have no reason to take non-Jews.” (In response to a specific question, he did say there had not been any non-Jewish applicants). Most of the guides are either students (especially Yeshiva students) or professional guides. (This information is based upon an interview with Dov Rabinowitz conducted by Kaylin Goldstein in August 1998).

21. For discussions of the making of heritage as it involves detaching objects from contexts of use, see also Handler 1988, Dominguez 1986.

22. For a summary of Palestinian and international opposition to these digs, see Oyediran 1997: 45–48. As this report points out, these excavations violated both international law (see chap. 6 n. 28) and Israeli law. What is more, the excavations were carried out on land owned by the Islamic waqf that “owns the property which lies above and enjoys legal title to the sub-soil” (Oyediran 1997: 47). In addition, due to this work of tunneling, several buildings, residential, as well as the Othmaniyya School and its adjacent mosque, were structurally damaged, some of which collapsed (see Schwartz 1992: 17–18; see also Oyediran 1997: 46). It is also important to point out that causing structural damage to Palestinian and Muslim properties in the Old City means not only are the buildings unsafe, but, according to municipal law, they can be expropriated by the Israeli government once deemed structurally unsound.

23. An Israeli archaeologist told me a very similar story from a somewhat different perspective. He recalled that the secret police called him in 1973 or 1974, some six or seven years earlier than when the Haram al-Sharif employee remembered the incident occurring. Without being clear about who his interlocutors were, he said “they” had found tunnels under Solomon’s stables; these were the same stables that had been dug by Warren. The Awqaf wanted them blocked. The archaeologist asked why, because he did not think they needed to be blocked. So he tried to come to an agreement with the Awqaf officials. During that meeting, “the Sheikh” revealed to him that he had his own problems with Arab radicals who had sneaked into the tunnel in order to discredit him politically. Those tunnels needed to be blocked in order to protect the Sheikh’s reputation. They came to an agreement, and the Israeli archaeologist brought in the necessary workers, while a Haram al-Sharif engineer oversaw the work itself.

24. The City of David was excavated by a team led by Yigal Shiloh (1978–87) under the auspices of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (along with the Israel Exploration Society, the Jerusalem Foundation, and various financial sponsors). This is the site of the earliest settlement of the city of Jerusalem and the place upon which, according to the Bible, David established his reign. (For an overview of the excavations’ results, see Jane M. Cahill and David Tarler 1994). As I discuss in the next chapter, these excavations had been the occasion of an earlier conflict between archaeologists and Ultra-Orthodox Jews. Some Ultra-Orthodox Jews opposed the archaeologists’ digging of an area (Area G), which they believed was once a Jewish cemetery. It was in precisely that same location—Area G—that El-Ad proposed to build their new settlement in the 1990s.

25. For a critical discussion of liberalism and tolerance with respect to religious minorities, see also Asad 1993, chap. 7.

26. See Israel Finkelstein (1988) for a discussion of the significance of those West Bank surveys to opening up new radical reconsiderations of the whole debate. See also Whitelam 1996 and Thompson 1992. It is interesting that while Whitelam levels a rather harsh critique against the transnational field of biblical archaeology and scholarship and its reduction of the history of ancient Palestine to a search for the origins of Israel, he does not make mention of the fact that the evidential basis for his own reconsideration of that Iron Age history is drawn from archaeological research conducted during the occupation, which required getting permits from the archaeology branch of the occupying military administration.

## Chapter Nine

1. For a discussion of the international laws and conventions that prohibit both excavations in and the removal of cultural properties from occupied lands, see chap. 6, n. 22.

2. In a similar vein, there is a lack of symmetry with regard to rights of scientific access and academic freedom. The agreement requires that the PNA “respect academic freedom and . . . grant excavation licenses to archaeologists on a non-discriminatory basis.” A similar requirement is not imposed upon the Israeli state.

3. The preliminary surveys of the Golan, Samaria, the Region of Benjamin; Judean Desert and Jordan Valley; Judean Hills (in the West Bank) and the Northern Sinai are reported in “Notes and News,” *Israel Exploration Journal* (1971).

4. In its definition of cultural property, the Hague Convention includes museums and the collections that they house (see chap. 6, n. 22, above). Consequently, Israeli ownership over the Dead Sea Scrolls, which was established

through their seizure of the Palestine Museum (subsequently renamed the Rockefeller Museum) is also in dispute.

5. For sustained engagements with this question of reframing Palestine's ancient history, see Whitelam 1996 and Thompson 1992.

6. Dominguez is referring, however, to ethnological collecting, which is a different sort of collecting that entails gathering the objects of (primitivized) "others." These objects, she argues, became constitutive of a modern Euro-American sense of self (1986: 548).

7. In considering this issue, I will not delve deeply into the perspectives of the Palestinian population regarding heritage and national memory. That topic is well beyond the scope of this study. For studies of Palestinian historical memory, see Swedenburg 1995 and Slymovics 1998.

8. Broshi explained that on the west of the Jordan river (that is, in the land under Israeli control) most research was done by Israeli scholars, and some by American and Europeans; and on its east, by foreign scholars (1987: 31). In the case of the former, he made no mention of the political context—the virtual impossibility of getting permits to excavate inside Israel, the refusal to participate in illegal excavations in the West Bank/Gaza—that could explain this lack of an Arab archaeology west of the Jordan.

9. For a recent and quite fundamental challenge levied against claims of an ancient Israelite state and biblical historicity more broadly by an Israeli archaeologist, see Herzog 1999. His argument precipitated considerable debate, in a variety of public forums, regarding the political implications of such historical revisionism.

10. See also the introduction to Benvenisti 1996.

11. Throughout the interview, the archaeologist never spoke of Palestinian citizens of Israel. "Arabs" referred to those living in the occupied territories.

12. For a discussion of the laws and regulations that governed antiquities in the West Bank and Gaza since 1967 (up until the Israel's relinquishment of control over parts of those territories), see Oyediran 1997: 31–35. In brief, "Israeli military orders vest responsibility for archeology in the hands of two Israeli 'antiquities staff officers,' one for the West Bank, excluding East Jerusalem [as annexed territory it is covered by Israel's antiquities law] and one for the Gaza strip" (41). Military Order no. 1166, which amended the Temporary Law on Antiquities of 1966 (introduced under the Jordanian regime) and all previous amendments to it, empowers the staff officers "to arrest, confiscate materials, search individual etc." (35).

13. See especially chaps. 5 and 6.

14. *Haredim* is the Hebrew term for the Ultra-Orthodox.

15. For reports on those excavations see Shiloh 1984.

16. While clearly far more widespread today, this phenomenon is not new. There is at least one mention of religious demonstrations against archaeological excavations in the journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society during the prestate period. Another archaeologist I interviewed told me of such opposition to De Saucy's work in the late nineteenth century.

17. The question of whether or not Bedouin—or for that matter, other Palestinian communities—have enough political clout to make an issue out of the excavation of grave sites remains another matter, however. For example, there is a *Jerusalem Post* article entitled "Ben Gurion University Denies Digging up Jewish Graves" (14 August 1986) in which the university spokeswoman defended the university's position by arguing that the graves being excavated were "definitely those of Bedouins and Turks." She justified such excavations by noting that

“The sanctity of Bedouin graves lasts some forty years.” This was no longer sacred ground. Bedouin leaders protested arguing that “Even walking on graves is considered desecration, and certainly their removal is unacceptable. Graves are graves and must not be desecrated, whether they belong to Jews or Beduins.”

Grave sites of Bedouins and other Palestinian communities have not entered into the fray of public debate or of the public imagination, although I have heard many a Palestinian complain about the desecration of Muslim grave sites by archaeologists and others. Given the lack of Palestinian political power within the state, archaeologists are much less cautious with the treatment of non-Jewish cemeteries. For example, while volunteering at an excavation, the human remains from a nineteenth-century Muslim cemetery were excavated, and one archaeologist discarded them without noting them in any record. Several volunteers complained of similar treatment of the human remains from a Muslim cemetery the summer before. According to one such student-volunteer, the bones were piled outside of the office for a long time the previous summer; no one wanted to deal with them, until she finally did.

The haredim have been able to challenge the right of archaeologists to excavate Jewish graves far more effectively because of their growing power in government and on the streets, itself testimony to the important difference between the nature of the marginalization of certain sectors of the *Jewish* public (in this instance, the haredim, in others, the Mizrahim [categories that are not mutually exclusive]) and that of the state’s *Palestinian* citizens. As *Jews*, it has been far easier for them to gain political power in the Jewish state.

18. For a more extensive discussion, see Margalit 1998, pp. 52–76.

19. For considerations of “Oriental ethnicity” and its attendant politics in Israeli society, cf. Ben-Rafael 1982; Cohen 1980; Eisenstadt 1985; Kressel 1984; Shokeid 1985.

20. For the forms of marginalization and violence that Mizrahi Jewish communities faced upon their arrival and integration into the state, see citations in n. 19. See also Shohat 1988; Alcalay 1993; Smooha 1978; Swirski 1978. It is important to emphasize once again, however, that there is a large Mizrahi Ultra-Orthodox community, the political base of the Shas Party, which has wielded enormous power in recent Israeli governments. In a similar vein, it would be wrong to assume that the settler movement does not draw upon a Mizrahi population base. I make these points in order to emphasize that while I have not explicitly engaged the Mizrahi/Ashkenazi split in this book, it would be wrong to assume, a priori, that that is always the most salient division and conflict within Israeli-Jewish society. Instead, there are times and contexts in which other forms of division—between settlers and left-wing Zionists or post-Zionists, between secular Jews and Ultra-Orthodox—are far more salient, political divides and disagreements in which Mizrahi Jews partake, even if not always or necessarily as *Mizrahim*.

21. Both of these building projects had quite different resonances within Jerusalem’s Palestinian community. In pre-1948 Jerusalem, Mamilla was a main artery of Arab commercial life. The project to rebuild it (including a luxury apartment complex nicknamed after its architect: David’s village) represented for Palestinians one more instance of the transformation of formerly Palestinian lands and neighborhoods into Jewish space. French Hill, for its part, is a Jewish settlement built on land confiscated after the 1967 war. In Israeli circles, it is generally considered to be just another Jerusalem neighborhood. (For a discussion of French Hill as part of the politics of unification in post-1967 Jerusalem, see Dumper 1997.)

22. He did, however, immediately qualify that there is a key difference in this

Jewish intifada, thereby bringing Haredi youth back into the national fold: they are throwing rocks and not “concrete slabs”; the police fear injury and not death. (Herb Keinon, “High court extends French Hill injunction,” *Jerusalem Post*, 15 January 1993).

23. Several years later, Rabbi David Schmidl pointed to a potential basis for extending such fights to any grave sites, regardless of whether or not they are Jewish: “in ancient Jewish traditions, these beliefs [about not disturbing graves] related to Jewish graves only. However . . . many Jewish legal scholars of recent generations have extended the prohibition on harming graves to those of non-Jews as well. In practice . . . Atra Kadisha has not protested the violation of graves it considers non-Jewish, ‘but only because we don’t have the resources to fight every battle’” (Watzman 1996: A32).

24. These excavations were quite different than the academic dig at the City of David. They were all salvage excavations carried out in order to enable building projects, private and public, to proceed. In fact, the battle over archaeology was increasingly drawn into a far larger transformation going on in Israeli society: the emergence of a neoliberal economy. (On neoliberalism and the peace process, see Beinon 1998).

25. For a discussion of the criticism of Amir Drori and his reign over the Antiquities Authority from mostly *university*-based archaeologists, see Meirav Sari, “Ha-Rashut Netuna,” *Ha’aretz*, 1 July 1998: 3b.

26. This was not the first time that human remains from archaeological sites were reburied. The most famous of such events is the state ceremony for reburying the remains of the Bar-Kochba fighters in the hills of the West Bank that took place in 1982 under Menachem Begin’s regime. (On the ceremony, the controversy surrounding it, and its political significance, see Liebman and Don-Yehiya 1983). The remains of the Masada fighters met a similar national-ceremonial fate in the 1960s.

27. According to Avishai Margalit, Netanyahu won the 1996 elections with 98 percent of the Ultra-Orthodox vote. Overall, the power of the “religious camp”—an alliance of orthodox and ultra-Orthodox parties—increased its electoral base from 13 percent in the 1992 elections (which brought Yitzhaq Rabin to power) to 19.5 percent in the 1996 elections (Margalit 1998: 73).

## Chapter Ten

1. Insisting on disunity is not to deny a family resemblance across the sciences. It is to suggest that it is, in part, through the assertion of unity that the power of scientific knowledge is produced and sustained. As such, the question of unity is one that needs to be subject to empirical investigation and demonstration.

2. The site is believed by many Jews to be the burial place of Joseph, one of the biblical patriarchs. Most historians, however, doubt that claim.



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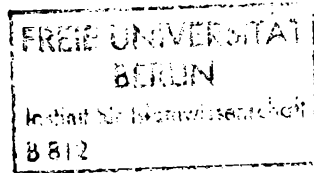
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