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Archaeology and the State:

An Examination of Archaeological Practice and Official Interpretation of Archaeological Remains in Israel and the Republic of Cyprus

This thesis is submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2007

Deirdre Stritch

Trinity College Dublin

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Deirdre Stritch

Summary

This thesis examines the factors determining archaeological practice and management in the Republic of Cyprus and Israel. It thus looks at the historical background to heritage management and the specific infrastructural and policy environment in each country. Whilst acknowledging that policy and practice in this area are constantly evolving, the broad ideological and economic agendas driving and constraining policy are analyzed and evaluated in terms of their impact on archaeological site conservation, site presentation and with regard to their role as a mechanism of social inclusion or exclusion.

Given that the past informs the present and makes sense of it, modern personal or social identities are affected by the way in which we look at and understand the past, and can be either confirmed or denied by that past. Those then who control and represent the past are in a powerful political and social position (Bond & Gilliam 1994: 1). Contextualising archaeological practice in Israel and Cyprus is therefore important, for as professionals we must not separate knowledge from the context in which it is produced; archaeological narratives are not immune to contemporary political and economic idioms (Whitelam 1996: 26).

This study thus places the development of the discipline of archaeology in each country in historical, cultural and intellectual contexts. Nationalism and archaeology made a simultaneous appearance in the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries (Moliou 1996: 174-5). Archaeology had entered this arena as a tool, first of colonialist and later of nationalist policy. Archaeology, through its concern with time, culture and identity has proved invaluable in a region thought to host the roots of Western civilisation and religion. This fact is evidenced by the travel literature produced in this period. Later in the new states of Israel and the Republic of Cyprus the birth pangs of nationalism necessitated the presentation (both internally and externally), of a historic, homogenous identity rooted in the land. Through time this nationalist agenda has been enlarged to incorporate economic concerns related to the development of cultural heritage tourism.

Archaeology (and images derived from it) therefore not only informs us about the rise of Western civilisation, but those same images are the symbols of modern nations and/or peoples. In economic terms, these symbols are valuable commodities in an international

tourism market. This study examines the impact of these factors on the practice and interpretation of archaeology in Israel and the Republic of Cyprus today, and the consequences for minority cultures not represented by nationalistically inspired, archaeologically derived symbols.

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Table of Contents

Title Page ..... **i**
Declaration ..... **ii**
Summary ..... **iii**
Acknowledgements ..... **v**
Table of Contents ..... **viii**
List of Figures ..... **xi**

Chapter One – Background and Methodology **1**
1.1 Background 1
1.2 Methodology 1
1.3 Theoretical Framework 4

Chapter Two – The Emergence of Archaeological Practice on Cyprus: the Historical, Cultural and Intellectual Context **7**
2.1 Introduction 7
Historical Background
2.2 The Historical Background 8
2.3 The British Acquisition of the Island 13
2.4 The Emergence of the *Enosis* Movement 14
2.5 Independence in 1960 20
The 'Creation' of Cyprus in the Western Imagination
2.6 Cyprus in the Western Imagination: the Evidence from Travel Writing 21
2.7 Styles of Writing: the Oriental Eastern Other 30
The Beginnings of Archaeology on Cyprus
2.8 Searching for Treasures: Classical Remains and Tomb Robbing 34
2.9 The Professionalisation of Archaeology on Cyprus 40
The Impact of Imperialism and Nationalism on Archaeological Narratives in Cyprus
2.11 The Beginnings of Local Interest in Archaeology 52
2.12 The Burgeoning Academic Interest in Ethnogenesis 55
2.13 Conclusion 58
2.14 The Situation Today 59

Chapter Three – Archaeological Infrastructure and Policy within the Republic of Cyprus **60**
3.1 Introduction 60
3.2 Theoretical Background 62
The Cypriot Archaeological Service
3.3 The System: the Department of Antiquities 66
Supporting Organisations
3.4 Supporting Organisations 71
3.5 The Leventis Foundation 72
3.6 The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation 74
3.7 The Cyprus Tourism Organisation 76
The System in Action - Challenges and Case Studies
3.8 Archaeology and Tourism 78
3.9 The System in Action: the Challenges Presented by Economic Development and Cultural Tourism 80
3.10 The System in Action: Kourion and Maa Palaiokastro 87

Archaeology and National Identity
3.11 Selective Memory 92
3.12 Archaeological Signposts to National Identity 96
3.13 The Presentation of Archaeological Knowledge: a Mechanism of Social Inclusion and Exclusion 99
3.14 Archaeology as Symbolic Capital 103
3.15 The Link with Education 105
3.16 Changing Narratives of National Identity 108
Sustainable Archaeology
3.17 Additional Problems Caused by Isolating Certain Sites for Tourist Promotion to the Exclusion of Others 113
3.18 Conclusion 115

Chapter Four – The Archaeological Rediscovery of Ancient Israel 117
4.1 Introduction 117
Historical Background
4.2 Historical Background 118
4.3 Competition between the Great Powers 120
4.4 British Acquisition of Palestine: the Mandate Period 124
4.5 The Emergence and Rise of Zionism 125
4.6 The Second World War and the Birth of the State of Israel 129
4.7 The Modern Nation 130
The 'Creation' of Israel in the Western Imagination
4.8 Palestine in the Western Imagination: the Evidence from Travel Writing 132
4.9 The Organised Group Tour to Palestine 138
The Beginnings of Archaeology in Israel - Religious Fervour and International Competition
4.10 The Beginnings of Archaeology in Israel 143
4.11 Locating the Holy Sites of Christianity 148
4.12 The Palestine Exploration Fund 151
4.13 The Value of Artefacts 153
4.14 Archaeological Survey and the Political Significance of Archaeological Activity 154
4.16 The Entry of the Americans into the Field of Palestinian Archaeology 162
4.17 The Professionalisation of Archaeology in Palestine and the Opening of Foreign Archaeological Schools 165
4.18 The Department of Antiquities of Palestine 169
4.19 A British Archaeology 173
The Emergence of Imperialist and Nationalist Archaeological Narratives
4.20 Colonialism and the Early Archaeologists and Archaeology 175
4.21 The Beginnings of Local Interest in Archaeology 179
4.22 The Archaeologist as National Hero 186
4.23 The Burgeoning Academic Interest in Ethnogenesis 188
4.24 The Situation Today 190

Chapter Five - Archaeological Infrastructure and Policy within the State of Israel 192
5.1 Introduction 192
5.2 Theoretical Framework 192
5.3 Fieldwork and Methodology 194

The Archaeological System in Israel
5.4 The System – The Israel Antiquities Authority 196
5.5 The I.A.A. at Work 202
5.6 The I.A.A. - Analysis 205
Supporting Organisations
5.7 The Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority 211
5.9 The East Jerusalem Development Co. Ltd. 216
5.10 The Old Jaffa Development Co. Ltd. 219
5.11 The Old Acre Development Company Ltd. 221
The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity
5.12 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: Zionism and the Connection with *Eretz Israel*) 225
5.13 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: The Power of Terminology 227
5.14 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: the Creation of National Symbols 232
5.15 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity:The Importance of a Language – the Revival of Hebrew 233
5.16 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity:Archaeology in Education: Trends in Academia 235
The System in Action - Case Studies
5.17 The System in Action – Masada 237
5.18 The System in Action - Caesarea 248
5.19 The System in Action - Beth Shean 254
5.20 The System in Action - Jerusalem 257
5.21 The Exception that Proves the Rule - Akko 260
A Landscape Informed by Archaeology
5.22 Nature and Prehistory – the Society of for the Protection of Nature in Israel 261
The Rise of Alternative Voices
5.23 The Decreasing Public Interest in Archaeology and the Rise of Alternative Voices 265
5.24 Possibilities for the Future 269

Conclusion 273
Glossary 277
Bibliography 281

List of Figures

Fig. 1 Map of the Mediterranean and Near East (after Tatton-Brown 1997: 5)

Fig. 2 Map of Cyprus indicating current political division of the island (after Greenwichmeantime)

Fig. 3 Map of Cyprus: major archaeological sites (after Tatton-Brown 1997: 12)

Fig. 4 Marble statue of Aphrodite from Soloi (after Cyprus Museum Brochure)

Fig. 5 C.T.O. logo (after C.T.O. 2002)

Fig. 6 Reconstructed odeon: Paphos (after imagesofcyprus [a])

Fig. 7 Example of anastylosis in Cyprus: Sanctuary of Appolo Hylates

Fig. 8 Panagia tou Sinti

Fig. 9 Panagia tou Sinti

Fig. 10 Kourion

Fig. 11 Kourion – hypocaust (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 12 View across Kourion (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 13 Kourion: Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates in background (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 14 Kourion: theatre (after photos.yahoo)

Fig. 15 Kourion: theatre with tourists (after imagesofcyprus [b])

Fig. 16 Tammassos

Fig. 17 Tammassos: tomb entrance

Fig. 18 Amathus

Fig. 19 Amathus (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 20 Maa Palaiokastro

Fig. 21 Maa Palaiokastro: hotel being constructed in front of archaeological site

Fig. 22 Nea Paphos: entrance to villa of Theseus

Fig. 23 Nea Paphos: impluvium

Fig. 24 Nea Paphos: mosaic

Fig. 25 Nea Paphos: raised walkways for visitors

Fig. 26 Cyprus Museum façade

Fig. 27 Limasol/Lemmasos Museum façade

Fig. 28 Nicosia Museum façade

Fig. 29 Pollis Museum façade

Fig. 30 Kouklia Museum: converted Medieval fortress (after paphosfinder)

Fig. 31 Kolossi Castle

Fig. 32 Choirokoitia (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 33 Choirokoitia (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 34 Choirokoitia: reconstructions to side of archaeological site (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 35 Choirokoitia: close-up of reconstructions

Fig. 36 Kalavassos Tenta

Fig. 37 Kalavassos Tenta: view from inside the protective structure

Fig. 38 Kalavassos Tenta (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 39 Kalavassos Tenta: Viewing ramp to rear (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 40 Tombs of the Kings

Fig. 41 Tombs of the Kings

Fig. 42 Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI)

Fig. 43 Map of Ottoman Palestine (after Acklom 1995: xvii)

Fig. 44 Map of modern State of Israel (after Palphot: 2)

Fig. 45 View of Jerusalem to Dome of the Rock

Fig. 46 View from Tower of David Museum over new city of Jerusalem

Fig. 47 Sign outside a shop licensed to sell antiquities in Jaffa

Fig. 48 Ophel Archaeological Garden: view from road

Fig. 49 Ophel Archaeological Garden: weathered and graffitied information plaque

Fig. 50 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: Western Wall of Herodian Temple

Fig. 51 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: Herodian street at foot of temple wall

Fig. 52 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: manicured area - Byzantine complex

Fig. 53 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: overgrown area located inside Ophel Archaeological Garden

Fig. 54 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: view from entrance

Fig. 55 Davidson Archaeological Centre

Fig. 56 View west over Jerusalem Archaeological Park towards Jewish Quarter of Old City.

Fig. 57 Jaffa: Egyptian remains

Fig. 58 Jaffa: sign indicating entrance to Jaffa archaeological site and visitor centre

Fig. 59 Jaffa Archaeological site and visitor centre

Fig. 60 Jaffa Museum (closed during summer 2004)

Fig. 61 Old Acre: entrance to Old Acre Development Company Ltd. tourist site

Fig. 62 Old Acre: the Citadel

Fig. 63 Old Acre: Khan

Fig. 64 Old Acre: Khan El Omdan (after Acre brouchure)

Fig. 65 Old Acre: underground Crusader city

Fig. 66 Old Acre: the Turkish Bazaar (after Acre brouchure)

Fig. 67 Old Acre: entrance to the Templar Tunnel

Fig. 68 Old Acre: renovation work being carried out within the Templar Tunnel

Fig. 69 Old Acre: entrance to Knights Halls in Old Acre

Fig. 70 Old Acre: reconstruction work being conducted within the Crusader city

Fig. 71 Old Acre: inside Al Basha Hammam (Turkish Bath)

Fig. 72 Old Acre: inside Al Basha Hammam (Turkish Bath)

Fig. 73 Old Acre: information plaque

Fig. 74 Street in Old Acre

Fig. 75 Aerial view of Masada (after PALPHOT: 62)

Fig. 76 Masada: View across the summit

Fig. 77 Masada: sign indicating the "Discovery location of the 'lots'"

Fig. 78 Masada: sign depicting the 'lots'

Fig. 79 Masada: Information panel at visitor centre

Fig. 80 Masada: information panel at visitor centre

Fig. 81 Masada: cable car leading to summit

Fig. 82 Masada: view of Roman fort from summit

Fig. 83 Masada: bronze reconstruction of palace

Fig. 84 Masada: reconstructed storeroom

Fig. 85 Masada: public toilets built into the remains of the Administrative Building

Fig. 86 Caesarea: entrance

Fig. 87 Caesarea: theatre

Fig. 88 Caesarea: Bathhouse complex to rear

Fig. 89 Caesarea: hippodrome

Fig. 90 Manicured Caesarea

Fig. 91 Overgrown (and dangerous) remains at Caesarea

Fig. 92 Caesarea: Uncovered and water-logged mosaic

Fig. 93 Caesarea: Remains of Bosnian village and mosque converted into visitor centre and restaurants

Fig. 94 Caesarea: craft shops built into/underneath archaeological remains

Fig. 95 Caesarea: Interactive display

Fig. 96 Beth Shean: view across Beth Shean from Acropolis towards the site entrance

Fig. 97 Beth Shean: Reconstruction work on theatre

Fig. 98 Beth Shean: Close up of reconstruction work on theatre

Fig. 99 Beth Shean: Uncovered mosaic floor

Fig. 100 Wohl Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem

Fig. 101 Jerusalem Jewish Quarter of Old City: Byzantine Cardo

Chapter One: Background, Methodology and Theory

1.1 Background

I began my postgraduate research hoping to continue investigating a number of themes that had arisen out of my undergraduate dissertation. That work had looked at ethnicity and the possibility of locating ethnicity archaeologically. I focused on the Philistine settlements of the southern Levantine coast as my case study. With my PhD, I initially intended to apply a similar model in order to examine the possibility of tracing specific ethnic groups, namely Greeks in Cyprus and Israelites in Palestine, during the period of the turbulent transition from the Bronze to the Iron Ages. I chose that particular time period because this is when scholars have traditionally located the ethnogenesis of both groups in these regions. I quickly realised, however, that this was not necessarily a question that could be answered archaeologically as, at this point, insufficient evidence exists to decide the matter conclusively. My thesis then moved away from trying to establish archaeologically whether or not this ethnogenesis took place, and rather sought to examine the intellectual constructs, which had resulted in the dominance of this line of enquiry in the first place.

1.2 Methodology

As I read around the subject, the role and importance of modern nationalism in both the construction, and perhaps more importantly, maintenance of this dominant line of investigation became apparent. As a result this work traces the development of nationalism as a phenomenon both intellectually and politically, with specific reference to Israel and Cyprus, and goes on to explore the nature of the relationship between archaeology, nationalism and the nation-state. The nature of this relationship and the manner in which it manifests itself is what lies at the heart of my thesis. I seek to examine how the two interact and constrain one another and how this is absorbed at popular level through the so-called "heritage industry". I seek to move beyond a mere examination of the ideological phenomenon of nationalism, which has been carried out by a number of scholars in recent years, and instead look at the mechanisms by which the nation-state, either in the past or in the present, is a controlling factor on the discipline and practice of archaeology as exemplified by my case study countries of Israel and the Republic of Cyprus.

I chose the locations of Israel and the Republic of Cyprus for my study on the basis of their close geographic proximity and a number of common elements in their respective pasts and present. The archaeological heritage of each place testifies to the numerous invasions

and conquests endured by both. In the modern period, power was transferred from first Ottoman to British to finally Israeli and Cypriot self-rule. The archaeological infrastructure of both countries is indebted to this Ottoman and particularly British colonial past; the result being highly centralised heritage management systems centred on government antiquities departments or authorities. Since independence, the archaeological profession and academia in these two countries have been both driven and constrained by similar factors, ranging from questions of ethnogenesis to the problems caused by rapid development and urbanisation. Both countries faced enormous external and internal pressure on their territorial and ethnic integrity from the time of their formation. This resulted in an intense need or desire to confirm the Jewish or Greek character of each and professional archaeologists played a significant role, either consciously or unconsciously, in this quest. Furthermore, in both countries tourism forms a crucial element of the local economy and the archaeological heritage of each country has been commandeered as an essential component in this industry.

In this context, I examine the consequences of the close relationship between archaeology and the state; I look at the extent to which archaeology has contributed to national identity and, conversely, how selectivity in the practice of archaeology and heritage management has contributed to social exclusion. For example, in the case of Israel, the presentation of many archaeological sites encompasses multiple topographies of memory and identity, from the shaping and articulating of official Israeli identity, to the confirmation of the visitors' Jewish or Christian identity. By contrast, the Arab and/or Islamic past and present of the country is, at best, downplayed and at worst, silenced or demonised. Israel's archaeological heritage, as presented to the public, therefore functions as a mechanism of social and historical exclusion; for the way in which a heritage item, site or place is managed, interpreted and understood has a direct impact on how those people associated with that heritage are themselves understood and perceived.

My research also revealed that the particular form in which nationalism was manifested in the countries in question was largely determined by the specific colonial environment already in place, and thus this study begins in the colonial period in the nineteenth century. It was also at this time that Westerners, with varying concerns and interests, brought the emergent discipline of archaeology to bear on the remains of Cyprus and Palestine.

As a result, I examine the evidence provided by early travellers and travel writers. The flourishing of foreign travel in the Renaissance period profoundly affected the development of archaeological research. Scholars were exposed to the remains of classical antiquity, thus broadening the parameters of classical study to include art and architecture (Acklom 1995: 34). In the same vein, increased travel on the part of Westerners to Cyprus and Palestine from the late eighteenth century onwards contributed significantly to the development of the discipline of archaeology in those countries. Travellers brought words and artefacts home that inspired explorers, antiquarians and treasure hunters to seek out the physical remains of the past. As the fully-fledged discipline of archaeology emerged news of exciting discoveries in their turn, increased travel to the countries in question. The accounts left by early travel writers are significant for the insight they provide into the intellectual and cultural milieux in which early archaeological activity took place. Attitudes to native Cypriots and Palestinians and the perceived inferior nature of the modern culture to antique culture, as detailed in these accounts, are reflected in archaeological interpretation, and set the agenda for future national interpretative trends. These trends, in turn, either confirmed or attempted to refute the original colonial narratives. The parameters thus set ensured that breaking the interpretational mould would prove difficult.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The modern nation-state, as developed since the nineteenth century, seeks to bind groups of people together in a geographically and culturally defined political unit in which ethnic identity is synonymous with national identity.[1] In order to nurture a sense of unity within, and loyalty to, the state, the notion of the cultural distinctiveness and homogeneity of the group is fostered (Graham, Ashworth, *et al.* 2000; Gellner 1987: 9, 18, and Mouliou 1996: 175). Frequently this cultural particularity is linked to, or indeed presented as the direct result of, the relationship between a people and their physical environment. In this way the land, the people and the nation-state are tied firmly together in an organic entity born of 'nature' and as such above and beyond question or reproach. The fact that nationalism in its ideological development equated modern state political legitimacy with group cultural antiquity means that these characteristics of distinctiveness and homogeneity must be projected onto the past of the people and place, and as a result has a profound effect on the way that an archaeology embedded within state structures operates.

The collective memory of the group is stimulated through symbols and commemorative events such as flags, national anthems, memorial days etc. aimed at enhancing a sense of community. Collective memory, however, is not entirely fluid and adaptable as it is constrained to some degree by the actual historical past i.e. the past can be "selectively exploited" for ideological purposes but not entirely constructed (Zerubavel 1995: 5). Thus Andersen's "imagined community" of the nation (1991), can only be imagined because some real commonalities already existed; it is rarely, if ever, invented from scratch, as "imagined" implies.

I am concerned here with the problem of the transference of values, such as territoriality, nationality and continuity, from the nation state to archaeology through the mechanisms of their shared institutional bodies and as expressed in antiquities laws (Firth 1995). As Firth notes, archaeology as a discipline could conceivably question the material evidence for the state values of continuity and territoriality, but is unlikely to do so when operating within state institutions (*ibid.* 52); to question the prior existence of such values is to question the legitimacy of the state itself.

---

[1] There have been a number of recent studies which examine the relationship between nationalism and archaeology, and nationalism's use of the past. Chief amongst them are Kohl and Fawcett (1995), Diaz-Andreu and Champion (1996), Atkinson, Banks, *et al.* (1996) and Graves-Brown, Jones, *et al.* (1996)

These values are of such importance because, frequently, the international acceptance of the territorial and political integrity of a state is strengthened with the common acceptance of the ethnic/cultural unity of the group, traceable temporally in a given geographical territory. As a result, archaeology, history and the past in general are invested with especial significance by the state as the tools which can best provide the necessary evidence of homogeneity and continuity in culture and identity through time. Archaeology and the past are thus ideally placed for the provision and shaping of the narratives and symbols which will henceforth identify and represent the nation-state (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 14). Group collective memory and sense of community is then "activated and articulated" by and through these narratives and symbols (Liakos 2001: 28).

This archaeological underpinning of ideological national narratives characterises in particular the relationship between the nation-state and archaeology in the early days of the state, or in states where continued pressure on territorial borders from outside powers demands strong internal unity and solidarity. I propose that in states which are well established and lack such urgency for internal cohesion, these ideological functions are often superseded, or at least matched, on another level by financial imperatives with an equally potent impact on local archaeology. In this situation, archaeology, or the offspring of archaeological activity, now managed by state controlled agencies, becomes central to the economic prosperity of the state by virtue of the important role played by the "heritage industry" in modern tourism (Urry 1990). For many nations, both developing and developed, economic solvency is as immediate a concern as internal unity (often positively affected by economic buoyancy) or the need to prove the legitimacy of territorial and political claims. Thus simultaneous use is made of both the ideological and economic benefits of archaeology. Tourism provides the heritage industry, and thus the state, with a sizable domestic as well as international audience, while archaeology provides an effective means of transmitting ideologically generated, authoritative narratives to that audience through its provision of powerful and evocative symbols of national identity.

As noted, for many countries, especially those in the developing world, tourism plays a vital role in economic prosperity and in raising the international profile of the host country in both political and economic terms. This is a potentially crucial benefit for smaller, weaker countries which may otherwise lack such a voice. Within this context, whereby countries must compete for the attention of a frequently fickle foreign market, the development of a unique 'signature' which is easily marketed and memorable is essential.

As highlighted in the discussion on nationalism, the archaeological heritage of a region is viewed as one of the key expressions of the unique individuality and personality of that region, which, in a market driven by the quest for an experience of the novel, yet authentic and the exotic, is a key selling point. This heritage is thus perfectly suited as a tool in the fashioning of a concise and attractive 'national signature'. The natural attractions of the country in question, in terms of landscape, scenery and so on may be incorporated into this signature, thereby presenting both nature and culture as the naturally occurring, inherent twin pillars linking people and place.

These, then, are the ideological and infrastructural factors which have determined the shape of archaeological practice and management in Israel and the Republic of Cyprus. Despite many similarities in the history, structure and problems faced by archaeology in the two places, differences also exist in the ways that both countries address these issues and challenges. This thesis gives an overview of the approaches taken in archaeological practice and heritage management in both countries and assesses the benefits and drawbacks of each in terms of site conservation and the presentation of archaeologically derived information to the public at heritage sites.

Chapter Two – The Emergence of Archaeological Practice on Cyprus: the Historical, Cultural and Intellectual Context

2.1 Introduction

> "Cyprus was a very happy hunting ground for the lovers of antiquities" (Haggard 1901: 116).

In order to understand the current situation of archaeology, and its relationship with the state, in the Republic of Cyprus, we must first examine the development of both of these phenomena on the island. This requires an examination of the island from the nineteenth through to the twentieth centuries when the discipline of archaeology was tentatively emerging on Cyprus and the sets of conditions necessary for the emergence of the modern state were also taking shape. In addition to a general study of the development of archaeological practice and management on Cyprus, an examination of the international trends in travel and travel-writing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is necessary. These writings both impacted on the conceptualisation of the island and its antiquities in the West, and latterly helped shape local narratives and approaches to archaeology. Much of how we interpret ancient Cypriot history and culture stems from the experience of the past 150 years; imperialism followed by Greek nationalism, and their associated intellectual trends. In order to understand the material more objectively we need to locate and isolate these trends.

Historical Background

2.2 The Historical Background

Cyprus, as noted by many commentators, has been a much coveted and much conquered island throughout history. Occupying a logistically, politically and economically strategic position in the Mediterranean, it is often proclaimed by writers as the 'crossroads between East and West'.[2] From the Mycenaeans to the Phoenicians, to the Assyrians, Egyptians and Persians, many powers came and went with varying degrees of influence and success. During these and later periods the island was incorporated into larger political and cultural worlds under Hellenism, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Franks, the Lusignans and the Venetians, each leaving their mark on the island, its people and its culture.

The island's location has also contributed to its more recent political problems and the struggles surrounding identity and affiliation that have arisen. In 1570-71 the island was lost by the Venetians and incorporated into the Ottoman Empire (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 19). Cyprus was made an *eyelet* or *beylerbeylik* (province) by imperial order and its eight *sanjaks* (counties) included part of Cilicia. Ottoman appointees and officers responsible for the administration of the island - the *beylerbeyi* and the *sanjak beys* - all came from elsewhere in the empire (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 29). In addition, part of the invading force settled in Cyprus as *sipahis* (military landowners). They took over the estates of the former Frankish nobility as their *timars* or *chifliks* (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 167-8).

These facts had a significant impact on the ethnic and religious composition of the island as a Turkish Muslim population emerged (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 19-21). There is also evidence from tax registers dating to as late as 1825-28 that some members of the Greek community on the island converted to Islam at this time for material and social betterment (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 168; Grishin 1994: 32; Katsiaounis 1996: 50). Such conversions are further evidenced by the fact that many Turkish Cypriots,

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[2] Cyprus is located just 40 miles from the coast of Turkey (visible from the port of Kyrenia on a clear day) and 60 miles from Syria (Maratheftis 1963: 3). Though geographically, comparatively distant from the Greek world, the Greek character of the island has led to much heated discussion with regard to the island's location in the Greek or Eastern arena. Papadakis notes that Turkish maps emphasise the vertical axis, showing the Turkish, Syrian and Egyptian coasts and Cyprus' proximity to them. He claims that many Turkish Cypriot histories of Cyprus state that Cyprus, geographically speaking, "belongs" to Turkey. The Greeks, on the other hand, focus on the horizontal axis, placing Cyprus on the far right of maps, which depict far enough left to include some of the Greek islands, and in large scale maps of Greece (such as those used in classrooms), Cyprus is placed in a box at the bottom right hand corner appearing just next to Crete (Papadakis 1998: 149). See Fig. 1 for the location of Cyprus in a broader Eastern Mediterranean context.

especially in the Paphos area, spoke Greek and many Turkish villagers bore the names of Christian saints (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 168). For the most part, these Turkish Cypriots lived in peace with the Greek Cypriots, thus bringing to Cyprus the relatively harmonious relationship between Orthodox Christians and Muslims experienced elsewhere in Anatolia. According to Kitromilides and Couloumbis, this "Peaceful co-existence manifested itself in a shared folk piety and a common lifestyle that survived intact in those areas of Asia Minor that remained away from the battlegrounds of the Greek-Turkish War that raged during 1919-22 in western Anatolia" (1976: 168).

While the period under Ottoman rule is commonly now remembered in a negative light, there was in fact a general relief in Cyprus at the departure of the Venetians. The Orthodox Church of Cyprus found itself in a much stronger position under Ottoman rule than had been the case under the Venetians as it was no longer threatened and persecuted by the Roman clergy (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 29). Indeed, the Orthodox clergy found themselves in a position of greatly increased power under the Ottoman regime. From the 1700s the *Millet* system provided the basis for social and economic life in the Ottoman Empire. In this system subjects of the Empire were organised according to common religious confession or rite. Because communities were religiously defined, leaders or *Basis* of *Millets* or *Ethnarches* were often bishops and primates (Katsiaounis 1996: 1). As a result, the archbishops controlled taxation for the Greek population, even fixing the amount to be paid. This led to resentment and hatred among the local *pashas*, as it deprived them of a significant revenue from the majority Greek population (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 30-1). Tax rates remained a contentious issue on Cyprus throughout the Ottoman period as both Greek and Turkish islanders were subject to overburdening taxation debt.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire was slowly beginning to crumble, and nationalist initiatives led to revolt and irredentist movements in outlying territories. Philhellenism, and the Greek nationalist movement to which it gave birth, led to the Greek War of Independence of 1821-29. Greek victory in this war, gained with the support of western philhellenes, was a crippling blow to the Ottomans, not only for the territory lost, but for the initiative it gave to other fledgling nationalist movements and the symbol of defeat and decay it gave to expansionist Western eyes. The military importance in the War of these philhellenes is limited, but their presence was much appreciated. By contrast their political importance, which lay in the fact that they encouraged the Greeks to

Table of Contents

Title Page ..... **i**
Declaration ..... **ii**
Summary ..... **iii**
Acknowledgements ..... **v**
Table of Contents ..... **viii**
List of Figures ..... **xi**

Chapter One – Background and Methodology **1**
1.1 Background 1
1.2 Methodology 1
1.3 Theoretical Framework 4

Chapter Two – The Emergence of Archaeological Practice on Cyprus: the Historical, Cultural and Intellectual Context **7**
2.1 Introduction 7
Historical Background
2.2 The Historical Background 8
2.3 The British Acquisition of the Island 13
2.4 The Emergence of the *Enosis* Movement 14
2.5 Independence in 1960 20
The 'Creation' of Cyprus in the Western Imagination
2.6 Cyprus in the Western Imagination: the Evidence from Travel Writing 21
2.7 Styles of Writing: the Oriental Eastern Other 30
The Beginnings of Archaeology on Cyprus
2.8 Searching for Treasures: Classical Remains and Tomb Robbing 34
2.9 The Professionalisation of Archaeology on Cyprus 40
The Impact of Imperialism and Nationalism on Archaeological Narratives in Cyprus
2.11 The Beginnings of Local Interest in Archaeology 52
2.12 The Burgeoning Academic Interest in Ethnogenesis 55
2.13 Conclusion 58
2.14 The Situation Today 59

Chapter Three – Archaeological Infrastructure and Policy within the Republic of Cyprus **60**
3.1 Introduction 60
3.2 Theoretical Background 62
The Cypriot Archaeological Service
3.3 The System: the Department of Antiquities 66
Supporting Organisations
3.4 Supporting Organisations 71
3.5 The Leventis Foundation 72
3.6 The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation 74
3.7 The Cyprus Tourism Organisation 76
The System in Action - Challenges and Case Studies
3.8 Archaeology and Tourism 78
3.9 The System in Action: the Challenges Presented by Economic Development and Cultural Tourism 80
3.10 The System in Action: Kourion and Maa Palaiokastro 87

Archaeology and National Identity
3.11 Selective Memory 92
3.12 Archaeological Signposts to National Identity 96
3.13 The Presentation of Archaeological Knowledge: a Mechanism of Social Inclusion and Exclusion 99
3.14 Archaeology as Symbolic Capital 103
3.15 The Link with Education 105
3.16 Changing Narratives of National Identity 108
Sustainable Archaeology
3.17 Additional Problems Caused by Isolating Certain Sites for Tourist Promotion to the Exclusion of Others 113
3.18 Conclusion 115

Chapter Four – The Archaeological Rediscovery of Ancient Israel 117
4.1 Introduction 117
Historical Background
4.2 Historical Background 118
4.3 Competition between the Great Powers 120
4.4 British Acquisition of Palestine: the Mandate Period 124
4.5 The Emergence and Rise of Zionism 125
4.6 The Second World War and the Birth of the State of Israel 129
4.7 The Modern Nation 130
The 'Creation' of Israel in the Western Imagination
4.8 Palestine in the Western Imagination: the Evidence from Travel Writing 132
4.9 The Organised Group Tour to Palestine 138
The Beginnings of Archaeology in Israel - Religious Fervour and International Competition
4.10 The Beginnings of Archaeology in Israel 143
4.11 Locating the Holy Sites of Christianity 148
4.12 The Palestine Exploration Fund 151
4.13 The Value of Artefacts 153
4.14 Archaeological Survey and the Political Significance of Archaeological Activity 154
4.16 The Entry of the Americans into the Field of Palestinian Archaeology 162
4.17 The Professionalisation of Archaeology in Palestine and the Opening of Foreign Archaeological Schools 165
4.18 The Department of Antiquities of Palestine 169
4.19 A British Archaeology 173
The Emergence of Imperialist and Nationalist Archaeological Narratives
4.20 Colonialism and the Early Archaeologists and Archaeology 175
4.21 The Beginnings of Local Interest in Archaeology 179
4.22 The Archaeologist as National Hero 186
4.23 The Burgeoning Academic Interest in Ethnogenesis 188
4.24 The Situation Today 190

Chapter Five - Archaeological Infrastructure and Policy within the State of Israel 192
5.1 Introduction 192
5.2 Theoretical Framework 192
5.3 Fieldwork and Methodology 194

The Archaeological System in Israel
5.4 The System – The Israel Antiquities Authority 196
5.5 The I.A.A. at Work 202
5.6 The I.A.A. - Analysis 205
Supporting Organisations
5.7 The Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority 211
5.9 The East Jerusalem Development Co. Ltd. 216
5.10 The Old Jaffa Development Co. Ltd. 219
5.11 The Old Acre Development Company Ltd. 221
The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity
5.12 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: Zionism and the Connection with *Eretz Israel*) 225
5.13 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: The Power of Terminology 227
5.14 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: the Creation of National Symbols 232
5.15 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity:The Importance of a Language – the Revival of Hebrew 233
5.16 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity:Archaeology in Education: Trends in Academia 235
The System in Action - Case Studies
5.17 The System in Action – Masada 237
5.18 The System in Action - Caesarea 248
5.19 The System in Action - Beth Shean 254
5.20 The System in Action - Jerusalem 257
5.21 The Exception that Proves the Rule - Akko 260
A Landscape Informed by Archaeology
5.22 Nature and Prehistory – the Society of for the Protection of Nature in Israel .. 261
The Rise of Alternative Voices
5.23 The Decreasing Public Interest in Archaeology and the Rise of Alternative Voices 265
5.24 Possibilities for the Future 269

Conclusion 273
Glossary 277
Bibliography 281

List of Figures

Fig. 1 Map of the Mediterranean and Near East (after Tatton-Brown 1997: 5)

Fig. 2 Map of Cyprus indicating current political division of the island (after Greenwichmeantime)

Fig. 3 Map of Cyprus: major archaeological sites (after Tatton-Brown 1997: 12)

Fig. 4 Marble statue of Aphrodite from Soloi (after Cyprus Museum Brochure)

Fig. 5 C.T.O. logo (after C.T.O. 2002)

Fig. 6 Reconstructed odeon: Paphos (after imagesofcyprus [a])

Fig. 7 Example of anastylosis in Cyprus: Sanctuary of Appolo Hylates

Fig. 8 Panagia tou Sinti

Fig. 9 Panagia tou Sinti

Fig. 10 Kourion

Fig. 11 Kourion – hypocaust (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 12 View across Kourion (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 13 Kourion: Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates in background (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 14 Kourion: theatre (after photos.yahoo)

Fig. 15 Kourion: theatre with tourists (after imagesofcyprus [b])

Fig. 16 Tammassos

Fig. 17 Tammassos: tomb entrance

Fig. 18 Amathus

Fig. 19 Amathus (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 20 Maa Palaiokastro

Fig. 21 Maa Palaiokastro: hotel being constructed in front of archaeological site

Fig. 22 Nea Paphos: entrance to villa of Theseus

Fig. 23 Nea Paphos: impluvium

Fig. 24 Nea Paphos: mosaic

Fig. 25 Nea Paphos: raised walkways for visitors

Fig. 26 Cyprus Museum façade

Fig. 27 Limasol/Lemmasos Museum façade

Fig. 28 Nicosia Museum façade

Fig. 29 Pollis Museum façade

Fig. 30 Kouklia Museum: converted Medieval fortress (after paphosfinder)

Fig. 31 Kolossi Castle

Fig. 32 Choirokoitia (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 33 Choirokoitia (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 34 Choirokoitia: reconstructions to side of archaeological site (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 35 Choirokoitia: close-up of reconstructions

Fig. 36 Kalavassos Tenta

Fig. 37 Kalavassos Tenta: view from inside the protective structure

Fig. 38 Kalavassos Tenta (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 39 Kalavassos Tenta: Viewing ramp to rear (photographer: Wendy Logue)

Fig. 40 Tombs of the Kings

Fig. 41 Tombs of the Kings

Fig. 42 Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI)

Fig. 43 Map of Ottoman Palestine (after Acklom 1995: xvii)

Fig. 44 Map of modern State of Israel (after Palphot: 2)

Fig. 45 View of Jerusalem to Dome of the Rock

Fig. 46 View from Tower of David Museum over new city of Jerusalem

Fig. 47 Sign outside a shop licensed to sell antiquities in Jaffa

Fig. 48 Ophel Archaeological Garden: view from road

Fig. 49 Ophel Archaeological Garden: weathered and graffitied information plaque

Fig. 50 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: Western Wall of Herodian Temple

Fig. 51 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: Herodian street at foot of temple wall

Fig. 52 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: manicured area - Byzantine complex

Fig. 53 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: overgrown area located inside Ophel Archaeological Garden

Fig. 54 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: view from entrance

Fig. 55 Davidson Archaeological Centre

Fig. 56 View west over Jerusalem Archaeological Park towards Jewish Quarter of Old City.

Fig. 57 Jaffa: Egyptian remains

Fig. 58 Jaffa: sign indicating entrance to Jaffa archaeological site and visitor centre

Fig. 59 Jaffa Archaeological site and visitor centre

Fig. 60 Jaffa Museum (closed during summer 2004)

Fig. 61 Old Acre: entrance to Old Acre Development Company Ltd. tourist site

Fig. 62 Old Acre: the Citadel

Fig. 63 Old Acre: Khan

Fig. 64 Old Acre: Khan El Omdan (after Acre brouchure)

Fig. 65 Old Acre: underground Crusader city

Fig. 66 Old Acre: the Turkish Bazaar (after Acre brouchure)

Fig. 67 Old Acre: entrance to the Templar Tunnel

Fig. 68 Old Acre: renovation work being carried out within the Templar Tunnel

Fig. 69 Old Acre: entrance to Knights Halls in Old Acre

Fig. 70 Old Acre: reconstruction work being conducted within the Crusader city

Fig. 71 Old Acre: inside Al Basha Hammam (Turkish Bath)

Fig. 72 Old Acre: inside Al Basha Hammam (Turkish Bath)

Fig. 73 Old Acre: information plaque

Fig. 74 Street in Old Acre

Fig. 75 Aerial view of Masada (after PALPHOT: 62)

Fig. 76 Masada: View across the summit

Fig. 77 Masada: sign indicating the "Discovery location of the 'lots'"

Fig. 78 Masada: sign depicting the 'lots'

Fig. 79 Masada: Information panel at visitor centre

Fig. 80 Masada: information panel at visitor centre

Fig. 81 Masada: cable car leading to summit

Fig. 82 Masada: view of Roman fort from summit

Fig. 83 Masada: bronze reconstruction of palace

Fig. 84 Masada: reconstructed storeroom

Fig. 85 Masada: public toilets built into the remains of the Administrative Building

Fig. 86 Caesarea: entrance

Fig. 87 Caesarea: theatre

Fig. 88 Caesarea: Bathhouse complex to rear

Fig. 89 Caesarea: hippodrome

Fig. 90 Manicured Caesarea

Fig. 91 Overgrown (and dangerous) remains at Caesarea

Fig. 92 Caesarea: Uncovered and water-logged mosaic

Fig. 93 Caesarea: Remains of Bosnian village and mosque converted into visitor centre and restaurants

Fig. 94 Caesarea: craft shops built into/underneath archaeological remains

Fig. 95 Caesarea: Interactive display

Fig. 96 Beth Shean: view across Beth Shean from Acropolis towards the site entrance

Fig. 97 Beth Shean: Reconstruction work on theatre

Fig. 98 Beth Shean: Close up of reconstruction work on theatre

Fig. 99 Beth Shean: Uncovered mosaic floor

Fig. 100 Wohl Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem

Fig. 101 Jerusalem Jewish Quarter of Old City: Byzantine Cardo

Chapter One: Background, Methodology and Theory

1.1 Background

I began my postgraduate research hoping to continue investigating a number of themes that had arisen out of my undergraduate dissertation. That work had looked at ethnicity and the possibility of locating ethnicity archaeologically. I focused on the Philistine settlements of the southern Levantine coast as my case study. With my PhD, I initially intended to apply a similar model in order to examine the possibility of tracing specific ethnic groups, namely Greeks in Cyprus and Israelites in Palestine, during the period of the turbulent transition from the Bronze to the Iron Ages. I chose that particular time period because this is when scholars have traditionally located the ethnogenesis of both groups in these regions. I quickly realised, however, that this was not necessarily a question that could be answered archaeologically as, at this point, insufficient evidence exists to decide the matter conclusively. My thesis then moved away from trying to establish archaeologically whether or not this ethnogenesis took place, and rather sought to examine the intellectual constructs, which had resulted in the dominance of this line of enquiry in the first place.

1.2 Methodology

As I read around the subject, the role and importance of modern nationalism in both the construction, and perhaps more importantly, maintenance of this dominant line of investigation became apparent. As a result this work traces the development of nationalism as a phenomenon both intellectually and politically, with specific reference to Israel and Cyprus, and goes on to explore the nature of the relationship between archaeology, nationalism and the nation-state. The nature of this relationship and the manner in which it manifests itself is what lies at the heart of my thesis. I seek to examine how the two interact and constrain one another and how this is absorbed at popular level through the so-called "heritage industry". I seek to move beyond a mere examination of the ideological phenomenon of nationalism, which has been carried out by a number of scholars in recent years, and instead look at the mechanisms by which the nation-state, either in the past or in the present, is a controlling factor on the discipline and practice of archaeology as exemplified by my case study countries of Israel and the Republic of Cyprus.

I chose the locations of Israel and the Republic of Cyprus for my study on the basis of their close geographic proximity and a number of common elements in their respective pasts and present. The archaeological heritage of each place testifies to the numerous invasions

and conquests endured by both. In the modern period, power was transferred from first Ottoman to British to finally Israeli and Cypriot self-rule. The archaeological infrastructure of both countries is indebted to this Ottoman and particularly British colonial past; the result being highly centralised heritage management systems centred on government antiquities departments or authorities. Since independence, the archaeological profession and academia in these two countries have been both driven and constrained by similar factors, ranging from questions of ethnogenesis to the problems caused by rapid development and urbanisation. Both countries faced enormous external and internal pressure on their territorial and ethnic integrity from the time of their formation. This resulted in an intense need or desire to confirm the Jewish or Greek character of each and professional archaeologists played a significant role, either consciously or unconsciously, in this quest. Furthermore, in both countries tourism forms a crucial element of the local economy and the archaeological heritage of each country has been commandeered as an essential component in this industry.

In this context, I examine the consequences of the close relationship between archaeology and the state; I look at the extent to which archaeology has contributed to national identity and, conversely, how selectivity in the practice of archaeology and heritage management has contributed to social exclusion. For example, in the case of Israel, the presentation of many archaeological sites encompasses multiple topographies of memory and identity, from the shaping and articulating of official Israeli identity, to the confirmation of the visitors' Jewish or Christian identity. By contrast, the Arab and/or Islamic past and present of the country is, at best, downplayed and at worst, silenced or demonised. Israel's archaeological heritage, as presented to the public, therefore functions as a mechanism of social and historical exclusion; for the way in which a heritage item, site or place is managed, interpreted and understood has a direct impact on how those people associated with that heritage are themselves understood and perceived.

My research also revealed that the particular form in which nationalism was manifested in the countries in question was largely determined by the specific colonial environment already in place, and thus this study begins in the colonial period in the nineteenth century. It was also at this time that Westerners, with varying concerns and interests, brought the emergent discipline of archaeology to bear on the remains of Cyprus and Palestine.

As a result, I examine the evidence provided by early travellers and travel writers. The flourishing of foreign travel in the Renaissance period profoundly affected the development of archaeological research. Scholars were exposed to the remains of classical antiquity, thus broadening the parameters of classical study to include art and architecture (Acklom 1995: 34). In the same vein, increased travel on the part of Westerners to Cyprus and Palestine from the late eighteenth century onwards contributed significantly to the development of the discipline of archaeology in those countries. Travellers brought words and artefacts home that inspired explorers, antiquarians and treasure hunters to seek out the physical remains of the past. As the fully-fledged discipline of archaeology emerged news of exciting discoveries in their turn, increased travel to the countries in question. The accounts left by early travel writers are significant for the insight they provide into the intellectual and cultural milieux in which early archaeological activity took place. Attitudes to native Cypriots and Palestinians and the perceived inferior nature of the modern culture to antique culture, as detailed in these accounts, are reflected in archaeological interpretation, and set the agenda for future national interpretative trends. These trends, in turn, either confirmed or attempted to refute the original colonial narratives. The parameters thus set ensured that breaking the interpretational mould would prove difficult.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The modern nation-state, as developed since the nineteenth century, seeks to bind groups of people together in a geographically and culturally defined political unit in which ethnic identity is synonymous with national identity.[1] In order to nurture a sense of unity within, and loyalty to, the state, the notion of the cultural distinctiveness and homogeneity of the group is fostered (Graham, Ashworth, *et al.* 2000; Gellner 1987: 9, 18, and Mouliou 1996: 175). Frequently this cultural particularity is linked to, or indeed presented as the direct result of, the relationship between a people and their physical environment. In this way the land, the people and the nation-state are tied firmly together in an organic entity born of 'nature' and as such above and beyond question or reproach. The fact that nationalism in its ideological development equated modern state political legitimacy with group cultural antiquity means that these characteristics of distinctiveness and homogeneity must be projected onto the past of the people and place, and as a result has a profound effect on the way that an archaeology embedded within state structures operates.

The collective memory of the group is stimulated through symbols and commemorative events such as flags, national anthems, memorial days etc. aimed at enhancing a sense of community. Collective memory, however, is not entirely fluid and adaptable as it is constrained to some degree by the actual historical past i.e. the past can be "selectively exploited" for ideological purposes but not entirely constructed (Zerubavel 1995: 5). Thus Andersen's "imagined community" of the nation (1991), can only be imagined because some real commonalities already existed; it is rarely, if ever, invented from scratch, as "imagined" implies.

I am concerned here with the problem of the transference of values, such as territoriality, nationality and continuity, from the nation state to archaeology through the mechanisms of their shared institutional bodies and as expressed in antiquities laws (Firth 1995). As Firth notes, archaeology as a discipline could conceivably question the material evidence for the state values of continuity and territoriality, but is unlikely to do so when operating within state institutions (*ibid.* 52); to question the prior existence of such values is to question the legitimacy of the state itself.

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[1] There have been a number of recent studies which examine the relationship between nationalism and archaeology, and nationalism's use of the past. Chief amongst them are Kohl and Fawcett (1995), Diaz-Andreu and Champion (1996), Atkinson, Banks, *et al.* (1996) and Graves-Brown, Jones, *et al.* (1996)

These values are of such importance because, frequently, the international acceptance of the territorial and political integrity of a state is strengthened with the common acceptance of the ethnic/cultural unity of the group, traceable temporally in a given geographical territory. As a result, archaeology, history and the past in general are invested with especial significance by the state as the tools which can best provide the necessary evidence of homogeneity and continuity in culture and identity through time. Archaeology and the past are thus ideally placed for the provision and shaping of the narratives and symbols which will henceforth identify and represent the nation-state (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 14). Group collective memory and sense of community is then "activated and articulated" by and through these narratives and symbols (Liakos 2001: 28).

This archaeological underpinning of ideological national narratives characterises in particular the relationship between the nation-state and archaeology in the early days of the state, or in states where continued pressure on territorial borders from outside powers demands strong internal unity and solidarity. I propose that in states which are well established and lack such urgency for internal cohesion, these ideological functions are often superseded, or at least matched, on another level by financial imperatives with an equally potent impact on local archaeology. In this situation, archaeology, or the offspring of archaeological activity, now managed by state controlled agencies, becomes central to the economic prosperity of the state by virtue of the important role played by the "heritage industry" in modern tourism (Urry 1990). For many nations, both developing and developed, economic solvency is as immediate a concern as internal unity (often positively affected by economic buoyancy) or the need to prove the legitimacy of territorial and political claims. Thus simultaneous use is made of both the ideological and economic benefits of archaeology. Tourism provides the heritage industry, and thus the state, with a sizable domestic as well as international audience, while archaeology provides an effective means of transmitting ideologically generated, authoritative narratives to that audience through its provision of powerful and evocative symbols of national identity.

As noted, for many countries, especially those in the developing world, tourism plays a vital role in economic prosperity and in raising the international profile of the host country in both political and economic terms. This is a potentially crucial benefit for smaller, weaker countries which may otherwise lack such a voice. Within this context, whereby countries must compete for the attention of a frequently fickle foreign market, the development of a unique 'signature' which is easily marketed and memorable is essential.

As highlighted in the discussion on nationalism, the archaeological heritage of a region is viewed as one of the key expressions of the unique individuality and personality of that region, which, in a market driven by the quest for an experience of the novel, yet authentic and the exotic, is a key selling point. This heritage is thus perfectly suited as a tool in the fashioning of a concise and attractive 'national signature'. The natural attractions of the country in question, in terms of landscape, scenery and so on may be incorporated into this signature, thereby presenting both nature and culture as the naturally occurring, inherent twin pillars linking people and place.

These, then, are the ideological and infrastructural factors which have determined the shape of archaeological practice and management in Israel and the Republic of Cyprus. Despite many similarities in the history, structure and problems faced by archaeology in the two places, differences also exist in the ways that both countries address these issues and challenges. This thesis gives an overview of the approaches taken in archaeological practice and heritage management in both countries and assesses the benefits and drawbacks of each in terms of site conservation and the presentation of archaeologically derived information to the public at heritage sites.

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Historical Background

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Cyprus, as noted by many commentators, has been a much coveted and much conquered island throughout history. Occupying a logistically, politically and economically strategic position in the Mediterranean, it is often proclaimed by writers as the 'crossroads between East and West'.[2] From the Mycenaeans to the Phoenicians, to the Assyrians, Egyptians and Persians, many powers came and went with varying degrees of influence and success. During these and later periods the island was incorporated into larger political and cultural worlds under Hellenism, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Franks, the Lusignans and the Venetians, each leaving their mark on the island, its people and its culture.

The island's location has also contributed to its more recent political problems and the struggles surrounding identity and affiliation that have arisen. In 1570-71 the island was lost by the Venetians and incorporated into the Ottoman Empire (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 19). Cyprus was made an *eyelet* or *beylerbeylik* (province) by imperial order and its eight *sanjaks* (counties) included part of Cilicia. Ottoman appointees and officers responsible for the administration of the island - the *beylerbeyi* and the *sanjak beys* - all came from elsewhere in the empire (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 29). In addition, part of the invading force settled in Cyprus as *sipahis* (military landowners). They took over the estates of the former Frankish nobility as their *timars* or *chifliks* (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 167-8).

These facts had a significant impact on the ethnic and religious composition of the island as a Turkish Muslim population emerged (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 19-21). There is also evidence from tax registers dating to as late as 1825-28 that some members of the Greek community on the island converted to Islam at this time for material and social betterment (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 168; Grishin 1994: 32; Katsiaounis 1996: 50). Such conversions are further evidenced by the fact that many Turkish Cypriots,

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[2] Cyprus is located just 40 miles from the coast of Turkey (visible from the port of Kyrenia on a clear day) and 60 miles from Syria (Maratheftis 1963: 3). Though geographically, comparatively distant from the Greek world, the Greek character of the island has led to much heated discussion with regard to the island's location in the Greek or Eastern arena. Papadakis notes that Turkish maps emphasise the vertical axis, showing the Turkish, Syrian and Egyptian coasts and Cyprus' proximity to them. He claims that many Turkish Cypriot histories of Cyprus state that Cyprus, geographically speaking, "belongs" to Turkey. The Greeks, on the other hand, focus on the horizontal axis, placing Cyprus on the far right of maps, which depict far enough left to include some of the Greek islands, and in large scale maps of Greece (such as those used in classrooms), Cyprus is placed in a box at the bottom right hand corner appearing just next to Crete (Papadakis 1998: 149). See Fig. 1 for the location of Cyprus in a broader Eastern Mediterranean context.

especially in the Paphos area, spoke Greek and many Turkish villagers bore the names of Christian saints (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 168). For the most part, these Turkish Cypriots lived in peace with the Greek Cypriots, thus bringing to Cyprus the relatively harmonious relationship between Orthodox Christians and Muslims experienced elsewhere in Anatolia. According to Kitromilides and Couloumbis, this "Peaceful co-existence manifested itself in a shared folk piety and a common lifestyle that survived intact in those areas of Asia Minor that remained away from the battlegrounds of the Greek-Turkish War that raged during 1919-22 in western Anatolia" (1976: 168).

While the period under Ottoman rule is commonly now remembered in a negative light, there was in fact a general relief in Cyprus at the departure of the Venetians. The Orthodox Church of Cyprus found itself in a much stronger position under Ottoman rule than had been the case under the Venetians as it was no longer threatened and persecuted by the Roman clergy (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 29). Indeed, the Orthodox clergy found themselves in a position of greatly increased power under the Ottoman regime. From the 1700s the *Millet* system provided the basis for social and economic life in the Ottoman Empire. In this system subjects of the Empire were organised according to common religious confession or rite. Because communities were religiously defined, leaders or *Basis* of *Millets* or *Ethnarches* were often bishops and primates (Katsiaounis 1996: 1). As a result, the archbishops controlled taxation for the Greek population, even fixing the amount to be paid. This led to resentment and hatred among the local *pasha*s, as it deprived them of a significant revenue from the majority Greek population (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 30-1). Tax rates remained a contentious issue on Cyprus throughout the Ottoman period as both Greek and Turkish islanders were subject to overburdening taxation debt.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire was slowly beginning to crumble, and nationalist initiatives led to revolt and irredentist movements in outlying territories. Philhellenism, and the Greek nationalist movement to which it gave birth, led to the Greek War of Independence of 1821-29. Greek victory in this war, gained with the support of western philhellenes, was a crippling blow to the Ottomans, not only for the territory lost, but for the initiative it gave to other fledgling nationalist movements and the symbol of defeat and decay it gave to expansionist Western eyes. The military importance in the War of these philhellenes is limited, but their presence was much appreciated. By contrast their political importance, which lay in the fact that they encouraged the Greeks to

believe that the Great Powers were sympathetic to their struggle, was enormous when compared with their number or their individual status (Dakin 1955: 2).

Cyprus arises only marginally in the writings on the Greek War of Independence and it seems that neither the Greeks nor the Cypriots themselves had any real conception at this time of a sovereign Greek state that would include Cyprus. When Cyprus is mentioned it is as a pawn in larger political and economic struggles, as in the case of those plans formulated by the Knights of Malta (Dakin 1955; St. Clair 1972), which were less about helping Greece or Christianity, and more about giving France a foothold in the Levant (St. Clair 1972: 131).

There is one exception to this rule of foreign rather than domestic concern for the incorporation of Cyprus into a larger Greece: in 1828, following the weakening of the power of the Orthodox prelates and massacres carried out by the Ottoman authorities in 1821, Archbishop Panaretos, supported by a group of clergy and notables, asked the Greek Governor Ioannis Capodistrias to include Cyprus in the independent Greek state that was then emerging from the War of Independence. In 1830 the appeal was less formally repeated (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 31). In general, however, the Orthodox clergy were careful to avoid conflict with the Ottomans. According to Katsiaounis, at the beginning of the Greek War of Independence, "Archbishop Kyprianos had ... taken great care to maintain a correct attitude toward the Ottomans. Hence, in an encyclical of April 22, 1821, Kyprianos asked the people to surrender their arms to the authorities and declared his loyalty to the Monarch "who simply wished to protect himself from his enemies" (1996: 12-13).

Archbishop Kyprianos did promise financial and humanitarian support for the Greek cause, but nothing more direct, perhaps as a result of Cyprus' close proximity to Turkey (Koumouldides 1971: 70), and also perhaps because of the privileged position of the Orthodox clergy in the Ottoman Empire. As noted, the Church received many privileges under the Ottoman system and in return for these privileges the Church proved a worthy ally of the state helping to suppress various revolts (Katsiaounis 1996: 12). Its role in the nationalist movement, much feted now, only arose much later, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, when the benefits of the *Millet* system were decreasing or gone. Indeed, in general, there is little evidence of widespread nationalist feelings amongst the Greek Cypriot population until the early twentieth century. H.

Vassiliades, the last Greek Vice-Consul of the Ottoman period, writing as late as July 1876, stated that,

> "I have unfortunately come across a greater evil, the fact, that is, that the spirit of Hellenism in some places is asleep and in others is totally non-existent, owing perhaps to the continuous pressure exerted by the Ottomans ..." (cited in Katsiaounis 1996: 52).

By the 1830s the old social and political equilibrium was in crisis and in 1839 an attempt to modernise the administrative and financial system was made in the form of the *Tanzimat* reforms. This was a time when new social conflicts and new classes began to emerge and dominate in Cyprus. The field of politics became more fluid, which means that 1878, the year of British occupation, cannot be taken as a starting date from which to examine the new social movements, such as nationalism, that developed during British colonial rule (Katsiaounis 1996: 2). Between the 1840s and 1870s there was general reform in the Ottoman Empire, and Cyprus benefited and prospered (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 31-4). Tax reforms, amongst other things, contributed to a slow improvement in economic and social conditions over the next fifty years. The population expanded to match its sixteenth century levels and there was improved communication and trade with Europe and the Levantine coast (Given 2000: 213).

In this period (1840-1870), trade with the island was revived as a result of the increased consular presence in the ports and their supporting infrastructure, as well as the increased prosperity of the Greek communities in the eastern Mediterranean at this time. In turn many of the prominent merchants in Cypriot society were Greeks who had emigrated from the Ionian Islands. Contacts with these Greek trading communities also contributed to the development of a series of educational and ideological links with the wider Hellenic world, and to the encouragement of local nationalist aspirations (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 36). The Greek policy of promoting Hellenic nationalism and solidarity in other Greek speaking territories contributed to these developments. Cultural clubs and education were the most important means by which this was done both in Cyprus and Asia Minor; Greek schoolteachers were sent out from Athens and, in addition to providing a Hellenic-centred education, regularly organised cultural clubs in order to socialise the youth into the Greek ethnos (Pollis 1998: 90). Soon other professionals from these Greek-speaking areas of the Ottoman Empire - lawyers, doctors, etc - began to train in Athens, as opposed to Italy or elsewhere. These professionals carried back to their homes towns the new ideology and

went on to play leading roles in revolts against the Ottoman authorities (Kitromilides 1990: 45-6).

The lack of a communication network was a hindrance to national or ethnic awareness outside of the towns in Cyprus. Roads were little more than dirt tracks, and most people did not move outside their village and its hinterland. As a result, knowledge of the outside world was almost non-existent and the situation was little better than this even when the British took over in 1878 (Katsiaounis 1996: 52-3). The result was that nationalist sentiment amongst the Greek Cypriot community was generally confined to a handful of bourgeois intellectuals, concentrated in the European consulates in Larnaca and Limassol, the two port towns (Katsiaounis 1996: 2). Epaminondas Frangoudis, a Greek from Trieste and friend of the Greek national poet, Dionyssios Solomos, illustrates this trend. He became secretary of the Greek consulate of Larnaca and a teacher in Nicosia's secondary school. In 1854, he was accused of importing and distributing revolutionary pamphlets and had to leave the island in fear of his life (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 36; Katsiaounis 1996: 20).

2.3 The British Acquisition of the Island

On 4th June 1878 at the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain signed the Convention of Defence Alliance with Turkey resulting in major administrative change in Cyprus. The Sultan agreed that the island of Cyprus be occupied and administered by England in return for a defensive alliance against Russia. Thus, while Cyprus would be governed by Britain, it remained part of the Ottoman Empire, and its inhabitants remained subjects of the Sultan (Goring 1988: 17). The agreement required British military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus was chosen as the location where the British army would be posted. Cyprus' potential use to the British was by-passed four years later when Egypt was occupied and, as a result, Cyprus became an administrative backwater with supervision transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office and with military governing officers replaced by civilians (Goring 1988: 17).

The British brought with them a number of benefits - roads and hospitals were built, malaria was eradicated, mountains were reforested, agriculture was reformed and modernised and an effective education system was set up in the Greek and Turkish languages. The Greek lower classes at first welcomed the coming of the British enthusiastically, seeing in them a Christian ruler who would lessen their burden, particularly the tithe system (Katsiaounis 1996: 67; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 21). The heavy taxation with which Cypriots had been lumbered under the Ottomans, however, continued under British administration, though the middlemen - tax-farmers, were cut out of the process. In fact, the tax burden increased under the British and despite this increase in public revenue there was not an equal increase in public spending (Katsiaounis 1996: 68-71). Greek Cypriots were resentful of the Tribute (taxes for the upkeep of the colonial bureaucracy), part of a convention imposed on them without their say. They disagreed with the manner in which the Tribute was calculated, but the British government refused to change it until 1906, when it was reduced from 92, 000 to 42, 000 pounds per year (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 46) As hardship continued through the collection of this Tribute, especially in the bad harvest year of 1887, and again in 1895, demands for unification with Greece grew (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 46-7).

2.4 The Emergence of the *Enosis* Movement

By the end of the nineteenth century Cyprus was seen as a burden to the British Empire (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 88). Many questioned whether Britain was really benefiting from the acquisition of the island considering what had to be invested in it (Stewart 1908: vi-vii). At the same time, many Greek Cypriots were beginning to seriously question the benefits of being a British colony, and this doubt began to be expressed in rising levels of nationalist sentiment. Unprecedented levels of patriotism felt by the Greek Cypriot lower classes led to nearly 1000 Greek Cypriots volunteering to fight in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 (Katsiaounis 1996: 7). The change in power from the Ottomans to the British had brought with it a change in the status of the Greek Cypriot population from subject race to majority community, and this gave them the courage to begin to assert their ethnic identity (Katsiaounis 1996: 181).

The movement for *enosis,* or union, with Greece began in the nineteenth century and was not dissimilar in character and aspiration to the Italian *Risorgimento,* the movement for German unification, and the irredentist movements in the Balkans (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 169). The nineteenth century also witnessed movements for union with Greece in Crete, Macedonia and on seven of the Ionian islands. The Cypriot movement was quiet under the Ottomans but intensified under the British, and reached its peak with the rebellion of October 1931, when Government House in Nicosia was burnt down (Given 1998: 12-13). The demand for *enosis* can be seen as part of the bigger Greek project of *ή μεγαλή ιδέα*, "the grand idea" This term was used to express Greek aspirations for the creation of a Greek state, encompassing territories that had formed part of the earlier Byzantine Empire and which now contained Greek speaking peoples. With its policy of 'divide and rule' British colonial policy played into these inter-ethnic divisions (Joseph 1997: 18). According to Pollis, by 1931, "... the British, through their divisive policies, had succeeded in restructuring the multi-religious communal identities into ethnic communities thus building on the groundwork laid by Greece" (1998: 92). Many commentators have noted the good relations between the two communities prior to this period (Vassiliou 1994: 9).

Captain Orr, writing in 1918, elaborates on other tensions in Cypriot society that escalated the progress of nationalist movements. Orr states that the Greek Cypriots, in response to the charge by Chamberlain that they would rather be ruled by a rich power than a poor state, replied that the opposite was true. They argued that despite their poverty and small

numbers now, Cyprus' disproportionate contribution to the development of European civilisation, particularly the fact that Christianity came from the East to Europe via Cyprus, should be remembered. Cyprus should also be respected for preserving its nationality through so many centuries of oppression (1918: 166-7). He claimed that the peasantry were contented under the British, but that at the same time, the rich and educated were genuine in their feelings of unity with Greece and that they attracted support from the towns and villages.

There were some among the elite who were more reticent about this union with Greece, fearing the economic downturn that would ensue. Equally, there were those that argued against this negative outcome; Cypriots would fill the administrative roles with only some of the higher places going to Greeks. Orr believed that this constituted part of the crux of the problem; that some of the educated Cypriots were angered by the fact that Englishmen filled all of the important positions within the administration, giving them little or no voice in the running of the island (1918: 168). Every chief position was held by an Englishman, few of whom troubled themselves to learn either Greek or Turkish, and government was carried out through interpreters. A key problem, he claimed, was the fact that almost a quarter of the population was Muslim Turkish and were even more venomously opposed to Greek rule than the Greeks were to British rule. This Turkish community were particularly loyal to Britain even when Turkey and Britain were at war and Britain was keen to acknowledge and reflect that fact in its actions. It was because of Turkish hostility to the idea of being ruled by a Greek state that most of the senior positions went to Englishmen (Orr 1918: 169).

Traditional Cypriot histories have been keen to stress the link between the Church and the Cypriot people and, consequently, its support of their nationalist struggle, but that has not always been the case. The Church leaders under the *Millet* system were the only permissible leaders of the Greek community and therefore fulfilled a number of usually secular functions, the most important of which, up until 1839, was the collection of tax for the Ottoman state. The Ottoman Empire had granted the Church substantial property, for which the Church retained rights to revenue. This was collected for the Bishop with the help of his escort of *zaptiye,* or policemen, thus until the loss of these lands and rights under the British, the Church was a conservative and, indeed, anti-nationalistic force in Cypriot society (Katsiaounis 1996: 11).

The social realities and daily life of Cypriots remained mostly unchanged until early in the twentieth century and the changes (and losses) brought with British rule. It was only with these changes and losses that the Church began spearheading the *enosis* movement. There was, however, no mass social movement for *enosis*; peasant identity was unchanged at this time. Priests, schoolteachers and some urban elites were the main supporters of this Hellenic movement (Pollis 1998: 91) and Cyprus remained low on Greece's foreign policy priority list. The irredentist policies of Greece were to be attained piece-meal and initially focused on territories that were physically close. After World War I Greece rejected Churchill's offer of Cyprus to Greece, an offer later retracted. The Greek government was instead focused on Asia Minor and only when this finally failed was attention switched to Cyprus. Throughout this time, however, and even when Cyprus was not at the top of the agenda, Greece proclaimed the Greekness of Cyprus, both territorially and ethnically (Pollis 1998: 91-2).

The Old Convention of 1878, between the Ottoman Empire and Britain, was annulled when the Ottomans entered World War I as an ally of Germany. Britain annexed Cyprus, a move which Turkey recognised in 1923 in the Treaty of Lausanne. In 1925, the island was declared a Crown Colony, and the role of High Commissioner was replaced by that of a Governor (Goring 1988: 38). The rebellion against British rule in 1931 was forcefully subdued and Cypriot civil liberties were suppressed. Although the Cypriots fought with the British in World War II, after the war, Cypriots demanded self-determination and decolonisation. Agitation followed, but the British refused to discuss the matter. Tensions continued to simmer and finally boiled over in the late 1950s, when inter-communal violence erupted.

The seeds of inter-communal distrust and animosity, however, had been set by the colonial power. The most important step in this regard was the establishment of a Legislative Council, representing both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, as an advisory body to the British governor. Representation of Greeks and Turks on the Council was proportionate to the community and the British held the balance of power. This not only divided the community but gave political significance to the division by putting the two groups in competition for resources and power (Pollis 1998: 93-4). Within the Legislative Council, from 1881-1931, the colonial rulers played off the representatives of both communities against each other (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 169). The new centralised system of the British presupposed a conflict between Greek and Turk and so institutional

structures and measures were formed to segregate them. The British also recruited different groups for different jobs, such as the Turks for the police. The Greeks took up bureaucratic posts and their position in society improved in direct proportion to a decrease in that of the Turks, thereby increasing tension. Population growth, urbanisation and a more diversified economy also impacted on the island's social structure (Pollis 1998: 93-4). Pollis claims that Turkey was the last of the powers to interfere in identity formation on the island, but this is because the modern Turkish nation did not itself emerge until the early twentieth century (1998: 95).

Between 1950 and 1955 there was intransigence on all sides. Between 1955 and 1959 an inter-communal guerrilla rebellion occurred led by EOKA, the underground National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters. Up until this time conflict had been between the Greek Cypriots and the British, with the Turkish community remaining to one side, but in 1957 inter-communal violence erupted on a large scale for the first time. This was a result of the increasing differentiation of the two groups; previously they had co-existed in a traditional society. According to Kitromilides and Couloumbis,

> "Socio-economic modernisation, slow but steady under the British and the spread of literacy transformed the traditional religious and linguistic differences into the bases of the development of a distinct Greek and a distinct Turkish national consciousness" (1976: 170).

This differentiation of the two communities was consolidated through the education system. The Church and members of the Greek community, without any assistance from the authorities, had exclusively maintained Greek schools during the Ottoman period. As a result of the financial support of the British administration the number of Greek schools increased considerably; from 99 in 1881 to 273 in 1901.[3] In general, these schools remained independent from state control. Their syllabi and books came from Greece and teachers were usually educated at the University of Athens (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 49). Under the British, the school system of each community continued to be based on those of

[3] Corresponding with the growth in the number of Greek schools in the early decades of British rule, was the spread of literacy in Greek society. Greek-language and English-language newspapers were published in the port-towns of Larnaca and Limassol. In socio-political terms this was an enormous development, for such newspapers facilitated the development and dissemination of public opinion. Greek newspapers criticised the English administration while the English papers justified it and this medium became an important mouthpiece for the expression of Greek Cypriot wishes and discontent, but also awakened an interest in public and political affairs (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 50; Katsiaounis 1996: 94-7). A Turkish newspaper was only established eleven years later: evidence of the intellectual and political inactivity of the Turks during the first thirty years of British rule (Katsiaounis 1996: 67).

Greece and Turkey. Integration was blocked and antagonism between the two nations was thereby transported to Cyprus (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 170).

It was only after World War II that the violent revolt for Greek nationalism could claim popular support. It is no coincidence that education only became truly universal in the same period. At this time, teachers and priests were preparing the youth for an uprising, as Greek Cypriot schools helped create patriots (Bryant 1998: 54; Pollis 1998: 94). Greek Cypriot educators and politicians saw a direct link between the transmission of nationalist ideology and the creation of young nationalists and a publication was produced for elementary schools, which "In simple and repetitive patriotic language ... vividly described heroic martyrdom, the proud history of the Greeks, and the responsibilities of the Greek youth" (Bryant 1998: 55).[4]

This nationalist emphasis on education was a response to British attempts to curb nationalist feeling through education. Just before the struggle some people began to protest against what were seen as British "dehellenizing" tactics. Both religious and political leaders sent missives to the U.N. about Britain's curbing of the expression of Greek nationalist sentiment, even though British policy was more liberal in the 1950s than it had been previously (Bryant 1998: 55). As noted earlier, education had been segregated on the island for some time, but in 1935 the government attempted to set inter-communal standards for education with the Secondary Education Law. This law instituted a common curriculum in both communities. Greek history was taught as part of Balkan history from 1935 to 1949 rather than as part of the "history of the Greek world to which Cyprus belongs historically and ethnologically" as claimed in the protest memoranda (Bryant 1998: 57). With this law the British hoped to quell nationalist feeling via the banning of nationalist symbols and nationalist histories. Furthermore, it was hoped that the increased number of university graduates and subsequent economic growth would dampen nationalist fervour (Bryant 1998: 56).

A Teacher's Training College was established at Morphou, where teachers from both communities were trained together. This met with great protest, with Greek leaders claiming that educators did not know their own history and language (Bryant 1998: 56). Clergy and teachers objected to the inter-communal standardisation of education, and the Training College was seen as a direct threat to nationalism as Greek and Turkish teachers

[4] Exceptions to this rule did exist, such as the English School in Nicosia.

were trained together. According to Bryant, many people involved in the EOKA struggle blamed the British for trying to promote a Cypriot nationality unconnected to Greece or Turkey, in which all of the islanders were called Cypriots (1998: 57). For Greek Cypriots, 'dehellenization' or the "Cypriotizing" of the youth was a rallying point, though at the same time Greek triumph was viewed as inevitable based on the history of a triumphant Hellenism. The Turks, on the other hand, did not complain of 'deturkicisation', but instead called for progress and advancement through culture and education; British education was seen as part of this linear progress (Bryant 1998: 57-8).

There was also discord between the two groups over the form and method of independence. Turkey wanted continued British rule or a partition of the island *taksim*, whilst the majority of the Greek community sought union *enosis* with Greece (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 171). Each group was supported by the 'mother' country (Joseph 1997: 18). Greece started a diplomatic and propaganda campaign for *enosis* in the mid 1950s, as Greek nationalists in Cyprus started their own campaign (Seton-Watson 1977: 116). Cyprus did not become a foreign policy concern for Turkey until the mid 1950s, when it entered the picture at the request of the British who maintained Turkey had a national interest in the island (Vassiliou 1994: 9-10). Even then, Turkey maintained previous Ottoman policy by insisting the island stay with the British or revert to Turkey; it still did not assert the Turkishness of the islanders nor did it instigate an irredentist policy. This situation gradually changed and the Turks did begin to preach the Turkishness of the population, particularly around the time of the EOKA movement and Turkey also began to refer to itself as the motherland (Pollis 1998: 96- 7).

2.5 Independence in 1960

The island emerged independent in 1960. In February 1959, the Zurich Agreement was concluded between Britain, Greece and Turkey, and determined the shape of the future Republic of Cyprus. This agreement reflected the fact that two major ethnic groups shared the island and the balance of power between them (Kitromilides and Couloumbis 1976: 171). The island was thus divided 80/20 between Greeks and Turks and comprised of some completely Greek or Turkish, and some mixed communities (Joseph 1997: 16). The Independence agreement also allowed for the involvement of both Greece and Turkey in Cypriot affairs (Pollis 1998: 98), an agreement that was to have tragic consequences. Throughout the 1960s tension between the two groups continued and at times escalated. The Turkish community felt that Archbishop Makarios, the island's president, was ignoring their rights. Turkish enclaves arose as tensions turned violent, while Greek and Turkish army officers from the mainland commanded rival militias. U.N. forces were charged with keeping an uneasy peace between the two sides (Seton-Watson 1977: 118).

In 1974 the military dictators in Athens, and their officers on the island, supported the seizure of power by a former terrorist who proclaimed *enosis*. The Turks responded with a massive invasion of Cyprus and proceeded to occupy about half the island. There were massacres on both sides and nearly half the Greek Cypriots lost their homes (Seton-Watson 1977: 118). The two groups had intermingled to some degree during the Ottoman period, but nonetheless, remained separate and distinct. The two groups were then partially separated during the interethnic fighting in the early 1960s and, since 1974, the two communities have been physically divided on either side of the island (Joseph 1997: 16-17). The result of this separation is that the two groups have been polarised politically, culturally and historically, as both sides seek to understand and justify their current situations according to their own biases. The leaders of both communities remain dependent on Greece and Turkey for support and as advocates (Pollis 1998: 98).

The 'Creation' of Cyprus in the Western Imagination

2.6 Cyprus in the Western Imagination: the Evidence from Travel Writing

The fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century C.E. almost brought about a cessation of travel from Western Europe to the Eastern Mediterranean and Levant. Only a bare minimum of travel to the region was undertaken by Westerners during the Dark Ages (Koster 1995:1). Pilgrims were the most common travellers to the East in the Middle Ages, particularly after Charlemagne revived the tradition of hospices in 789 C.E. (Eisner 1991: 37). It was a dangerous undertaking, however, engaged in by relatively few. The Crusades in the later Middle Ages increased contacts between the regions with many crusaders settling throughout the Levant and Cyprus. Venice was the key naval power and trader in the Eastern Mediterranean during this time and travel to the Levant increased greatly at the end of the Middle Ages owing to increased wealth in Europe and Venetian naval power (Koster 1995:2). From this time on increasing numbers of pilgrims set sail for the Holy Land, embarking at Venice and arriving at the port of Jaffa in modern-day Israel. It has been estimated that by the late fourteenth century between 300 and 400 pilgrims a year were making this trip, which normally entailed a short stop in Cyprus (Koster 1995: 2; Eisner 1991: 40).

The main destination of most travellers, however, was Jerusalem and Sinai, and Cyprus, or other ports-of-call, are only mentioned in travel accounts because they were on the way (Koster 1995: 2). The typical pilgrim passed through this world without noticing it; he did not speak the languages (basic phrase books in Greek, Latin, Italian and Hebrew could be purchased, but they merely contained the names for approximately thirty items and so not enough to enable conversation), and rarely went further than the port, as it was too dangerous; landscape appreciation was not yet in vogue and antiquities did not seem to captivate interest for long (Eisner 1991: 41). Though travellers of a different sort arrived in Greece from the early fifteenth century in pursuit of classical monuments, the majority of travellers passing through Cyprus up until the second half of the seventeenth century were *en route* to Constantinople for economic or diplomatic reasons, or were pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land (Koster 1995: 4). There were only a few scholars amongst their numbers, most deeming the journey too dangerous. Those scholars that did visit were there for diplomatic or commercial reasons and with instructions to also collect manuscripts and antiquities (Koster 1995: 4).

On the Greek mainland, there was a change in the composition of travellers by the late seventeenth century, as a result of the increased admiration for ancient Greek culture in Europe. Many scholars were enticed by a search for inscriptions, monuments and manuscripts and a desire to increase their knowledge of the ancient Greeks. Many were sent by the royal courts of Europe or were supported by aristocrats or their societies, the most famous being the London-based Society of Dilettanti (Koster 1995: 4). The first real antiquarian after the Romans, however, was Cyriac of Ancona, born in 1391 to a prosperous merchant family, and who at 16 was already managing the business of a rich cousin. Known as the founder of epigraphy, we owe to him copies of several inscriptions, now lost, as well as careful drawings of many ancient monuments now partly or fully destroyed (Eisner 1991: 49). He is also one of the few early travellers, and indeed later Philhellenes, who left some record of travel in Cyprus. He first travelled to the Levant in 1412, with a cargo of fruit for Alexandria, and returned through Cyprus, Rhodes, Miletus, Samos and Chios (Eisner 1991: 47). It was only later in his life, though, that he became interested in antiquities and learnt Greek. For the next three decades he continued to cross the Mediterranean for a number of purposes, and on one trip in Cyprus he traded a manuscript of the Gospels to some native monks for their *Iliad* (Eisner 1991: 48) Anticipating later Philhellenic developments, he wanted to start a crusade against the Turks in order to protect the Greek ruins from further defilement.

A few later travellers also made their way to the island and mentioned the fine archaeological remains to be found: Poracchi, writing in 1576 mentions the wonderful things found in the tombs of Kouklia, Paphos and Salamis, while Joseph de Meggen, a Swiss pilgrim, writing in 1542, provides details of digging for antiquities, saying that the dead in antiquity were buried with fine things (Goring 1988: 3). An early record of Christian antiquities on Cyprus exists in the writings of Vasyl Hryhorovyc-Bars'kyj. Bars'kyj was a travelling Ukranian pilgrim (he subsisted by begging) who travelled to Palestine via Greece and Asia Minor, including several trips to Cyprus from 1723 to 1747. Many people were making similar pilgrimages at this time, but Bars'kyj's was different in scope and by the fact that he kept an extremely detailed record of his journey, known in English as *The Travels of Vasyl' Hryhorovyc-Bars'kyj in the Holy Lands of the East* (Grishin 1994: 19).

Perhaps influenced by the Greek Enlightenment, by his third trip Bars'kyj had developed antiquarian and ethnographical interests. His accounts of his time on Cyprus provide

detailed accounts and drawings of the monasteries and Christian antiquities of the island, as well as of local dress and customs (Grishin 1994: 25-7). Similarly, the account produced by Reverend Daniel Clarke in 1812 provides a detailed account of the island, its people and the quality of the food and wine. He concludes of Cyprus, however, that "Its antiquities alone render it worthy of resort; and these, if any person has leisure and opportunity to search for them, would amply repay the trouble. In this pursuit, Cyprus may be considered as yet untrodden ..." (cited in Cobham 1902: 380-1).

That the value of the antiquities of the island, particularly the Phoenician remains, had gained attention by this time is also clear from Clarke's account:

> "A few inscribed marbles were removed from Baffa by Sir Sidney Smith. Of two that the author examined, one was an epitaph, in Greek hexameter and pentameter lines; and the other commemorated public benefits conferred by the Ptolemies. But the Phoenician reliques upon the island are most likely to obtain notice, and these have been hitherto unregarded. The inhabitants of Larnaca rarely dig near their town without discovering either the traces of ancient buildings, subterranean chambers, or sepulchres. Not long before our arrival, the English Consul, Signor Peristiani, a Venetian, dug up, in one place, above thirty idols belonging to the most ancient mythology of the heathen world...They were all sent to our Ambassador at Constantinople, who presented them to Mr Cripps" (cited in Cobham 1902: 381).

Clarke further elaborates on other artefacts dug up by the locals and states that he collected items too "tedious to enumerate" (cited in Cobham 1902: 381). There is evidence for trade in antiquities from the sixteenth century, but it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that there was a dramatic increase in the collection of, and interest in, Cypriot antiquities (Goring 1988: 3).

Philhellenism reached its peak in the early nineteenth century and the number of travellers to Greece soared, mostly from Britain (Koster 1995: 6). The European Grand Tour had come to an end with the Napoleonic Wars as continental Europe was closed to the traveller, but the Society of Dilettanti and Philhellenism ensured that classical archaeology, and trips to the Levant for that purpose, remained popular with the "Levant Lunatics" as they were known. (Tregaskis 1979: v; Eisner 1991: 89). Cyprus had not been on the Grand Tour route but it was visited in the early and especially later nineteenth century, first as a stopping point on the route to the Levantine coast or Egypt (the new fashionable destinations) and later as a destination in itself. Cyprus already had strong commercial ties with many European powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and there was a colony of foreign consuls and merchants at Larnaca, Cyprus' largest port (Eliades 1998:

16-17). However, it was not until the British took over the island in 1878, that it was effectively opened up to Western travellers.

A few intrepid travellers, on their way to Egypt and the Holy Land, did stop off at Cyprus and kept a record of their visit prior to the British take over of the island. Among them was Lady Jane Franklin who stopped off at the major ports, Larnaca, Limasol and Paphos (Baffo as she calls it), on her way to Egypt and the Holy Land in 1832: she did not travel inland (Hadjigavriel and Severis 1998: 126-33). The following comes from a diary she kept of her travels:

> "We soon arrived at Baffo, the ancient Paphos, and as we wandered amongst the considerable ruins of a place which has evidently had its palaces, churches, temples, and baths, amused ourselves by guessing the site of the famed temple of Venus, and which of the standing columns that are strewed about might have belonged to her portico. It is quite clear, however, I believe, that none of the ruins lying here are of the remote antiquity of that temple. If of the time of the Venetians, they are probably of the date of the sixteenth century ... The ruins are intermixed with gardens, which add to the beauty, if not to the interest of the place" (cited in Hadjigavriel-Loizou and Severis 1998:133).

Indeed, the island's connection with Aphrodite or Venus is a common theme in almost all of the accounts produced by early travellers to the island (Cobham 1908) though many felt the island sadly "degenerated" from the time of the goddess's birth. Annie Jane Harvey, another early traveller, stopped off briefly during a trip on her yacht in June 1861. She was unimpressed by what she found and noted, to her disappointment, the modern ruins at Paphos:

> "Monday, June 25th - Arrived off Baffo, the ancient Paphos. Near the place where we anchored, it is said that Venus rose from the sea, in a shell drawn by doves and encircled by Hours and Graces. Cyprus is sadly changed days when the dainty goddess first trod the earth. No myrtle-groves, no bowers of roses, surround the marble temples erected in her honour. A number of modern ruins strew the sea-shore, half-concealed by clumps of prickly pear, thorny acacias, and fields of tobacco; and the lovely nymphs who, with flowing hair and white feet, wandered along these golden sands, are now replaced by stout, sunburnt Greek women, whose awkward gait and ungainly movements have long ago renounced all connection with the Graces" (cited in Hadjigavriel-Loizou and Severis 1998:142).

Her disappointment with modern Greek Cypriot women was shared by many other contemporary authors (e.g. Brassey 1880: 297). In fact it was the island's reputation as the birthplace of Aphrodite and her classical and Medieval monuments that attracted and interested most visitors and not the island's contemporary culture, either Ottoman or Greek (Severis 2000: 7).

Most of the books written about Cyprus post-date 1878 - the date of the incorporation of the island into the British Empire. A tourist guide to the island was published on the promoting of the first British officials to serve there. The book was prepared by the Thomas Cook Company and provided important information on the new colony to those in Britain who would be ruling and exploiting her resources. The book thus provides a description of the island, its population and their attitudes, schools, churches, monasteries, weather, medical care provisions, commerce, imports and exports, shipping routes and their costs from London to Cyprus, antiquities and the cost of living (Eliades 1998: 20). In spite of this, Cyprus was not a popular destination for British people due to a lack of regular travel routes and definite information about the place. Those who did come were enticed by curiosity about the new and little known colony, which "whilst offering mystery, Mediterranean antiquity and exotic allure, also offered the safe protection and support of British military and civil service personal living all over the island" (Eliades 1998: 21).

Travel books on Cyprus began to appear almost as soon as the British took control of the island. Most tourists now kept journals many of which were published, and these were reviewed in the periodicals (Eisner 1991: 90). More than fifteen travel books about the island were published in the first ten years of British administration, three of which were written by women: Esme Scott-Stephenson, Lady Annie Brassey and Agnes Smith, and almost all refer to the antiquities and ancient history of the island (Hadjigavriel-Loizou 1998: 38). This was in keeping with the trends of the day, for as Serghidou points out "digging up the soil appears to be an activity which can plausibly provide an answer to questions of cultural and natural interest, a procedure which takes its roots in the enquiring minds of Renaissance antiquaries" (2001: 22).

Of particular interest to most visitors were remains from the Phoenician and Mycenaean periods as well as medieval castles and the traditions surrounding initially St. Paul and Barnabas and later Richard Couer de Lion, and sometimes Shakespeare's Othello, which is set on the island (Haggard 1901; Smith 1887; Mallock 1889; Stewart 1908). Most of the travellers were interested in the classical remains and prepared themselves by reading the ancient authors and texts (Severis 2000: 24-5). Many also note antiquities for sale even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century (e.g. Haggard 1901: 64).

Those books, written immediately after British colonial occupation, reflect the colonial and imperial perceptions and preoccupations of upper class British society of the time (Hadjigavriel-Loizou 1998: 37). Information on Cyprus was needed and desired at home during this first phase of British occupation, and visitors were aiming to satisfy this demand (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 13).

Because Cyprus did not form part of the Grand Tour, very little about the island was actually known by the British public prior to 1878. Even then, knowledge of the island was generally confined to the visit of St. Paul, that Shakespeare had set his play Othello on the island and the conquering of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart during the Third Crusade. Some may have known that the island formed part of the Ottoman Empire. The 1777 entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* tells us that the island was discovered by the Phoenicians in 2006 BC. Josephus' reference to the genealogy of the Cypriots is mentioned followed by an inaccurate history of the island down to the Ottoman conquest. The entry goes on to tell us that "The people are extremely ignorant and lascivious". This is deemed to be the result of the worship of Venus, which led the women of antiquity into prostitution, while the modern women are accused of being not much better. A new account was written in the mid 1850s, when classical rather than modern place names were used to describe the geography of the island. Once again the degenerated nature of the island forms a focus (Edbury 2001: 14-15).

The form of travel books had been established by Richard Chandler travelling from 1764 to 1766. His *Travels in Asia Minor* (1775) and *Travels in Greece* (1776) included an introduction to the history of a location, a description of the present archaeological and historical remains, references to other modern publications on the place, followed by a narration of the circumstances of the writer's own visit, in the process evoking "a sense of vivid continuity with the past" (Eisner 1991: 74). In general most of the travel books on Cyprus follow this format, and as such, we gain from them a good impression of the archaeological remains visible and known on the island, the state and nature of antiquarian activity and Western attitudes towards the island, its people and its past. This impression is helped by the fact that after the Greek War of Independence and the further opening up of travel to the middle classes, travel accounts become more personal with personal experience and opinion on every page (Eisner 1991: 128).

The end of the nineteenth century convergence between knowledge derived from travel writing and knowledge derived from archaeology is expressed in a number of the extant accounts from Cyprus, and is testimony to the way in which archaeology advanced the colonial project of narrating foreign places and people in a manner intelligible in British terms. Annie Brassey and her husband, Thomas Brassey M.P., were among the first visitors to the island following its transfer to British hands, arriving in the autumn of 1878, and her account of their visit provides an example of just such a narrative. Brassey was extremely wealthy and an accomplished Master Mariner. The Brasseys had their own luxurious yacht, the Sunbeam, and were experienced travellers having been as far as China and the South Seas (Taylor 1998: 45-6). Annie Brassey was already interested in archaeology and visited de Cesnola's excavations in Cyprus in the late autumn of 1878. She bartered up-to-date English newspapers for antiquities, mostly pottery from the tombs, with the British Commissioner, Colonel Warren, thus adding to her trans-global antiquities collection onboard the Sunbeam:

> "We had rather an amusing barter with the colonel, exchanging *new* newspapers for *old* pots and earthenware vases, some of beautiful shape, from the tombs; and after a few little delays we finally got under way again and proceeded on our voyage along the coast. Soon after leaving Limasol we passed the site of the ancient city of Amathus, and, later on, Carubio Point and Cape Kiti, where stood once the city of Citium, though some authors contend it was nearer the present town of Larnaca" (Brassey 1880: 259, original emphases).

Lady Brassey even began her own excavation at Kourion in 1884, which resulted in the uncovering of over 320 pieces of artefacts, including lamps and figurines, pottery and over 100 glass vessels. The collection was subsequently split into three, with much of it now stored in Hastings Museum Art Gallery where the bulk of Annie Brassey's collection remains. Some pieces went to the Museum at Wolverhampton, while another group was donated to the Museum of Leek, though the locations of these items is now uncertain following the closure of the Leek museum (Taylor 1998: 68).

Similarly, Basil Stewart, writing in 1908, weaves into his account of the island, its people, history and current economic status, an account of the island's antiquities. These are deemed to reflect the nature of the people of Cyprus and their ethnic background as essentially backward and Oriental:

> "The objects of native make which have been found by explorers buried in the soil are historically valuable, but they are not beautiful and betray foreign influence, and show no signs of native originality, or inspiration from the living model, and ... as far as art is concerned this still seems to be the case ... A study of such sculpture from Cyprus as has been saved to us bears out, I think, my argument ... that these

> people are more Orientals than Europeans. The influence of Phoenicia, Egypt, and Assyria is everywhere noticeable, but the perfection of Greek art, or even anything approaching it, is conspicuous by its absence. What few examples of Greek art have been found are importations" (Stewart 1908: 233-4).

Though many of the early travellers to the island had a general interest in the antiquities that they wrote about, some visitors came to the island with the explicit purpose of investigating (and sometimes profiting from) the island's artefacts. One of the first proper antiquarians to visit the island was David G. Hogarth and his writing reflects his scholarly interests; he is taken with the abundance of standing monuments and portable remains which can be bought for next to nothing from the "ignorant" natives and then resold for profit to museums and collectors in Europe (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 75).

Another early traveller to Cyprus with an interest in antiquities was the Oriental scholar, Agnes Smith, who was travelling with her friend Violet. They arrived in 1886 (Taylor 1998: 45). Smith was fluent in Arabic and Greek and an expert in Middle Eastern archaeology. Though a Philhellene, she discussed the Phoenician origins of Kition, the original site of Larnaca, with Hamilton Lang, the Consul and Manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Larnaca (Taylor 1998: 54).

Cyprus still had no hotels in the 1890s, and only one by the beginning of the twentieth century, with visitors obliged to rely on tents, and so was not effectively geared for the tourist (Haggard 1901: 59). Indeed, the majority of visitors to the island either came on official business or as a result of antiquarian interests. Captain C.W.J. Orr, in his book *Cyprus under British Rule* (1918), wrote that the English interest in Cyprus, from colonialists down to laymen, was confined to interest in the island's antiquities, and thus he avoids discussion of them altogether in the hope of providing a fuller picture of the country. He refers anyone interested in the subject to di Cesnola, who had excavated extensively on the island and published an account of his travels and finds in 1877; *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (Orr 1918: 7). Orr is also concerned about the emergent *enosis* movement and the role of schools in fostering nationalist sentiment among the indigenous population (1918: 131-2). He further claims that as a political aspiration *enosis* predates British control of the island but that it has grown in strength since that time (1918: 162-3).

Tourism increased steadily up to the 1950s, though the background of the people coming changed. There was a significant rise in the number of special correspondents visiting in order to write for newspapers, periodicals, museums and other organisations (Hadjigavriel-Loizou 1998: 38). From the 1960s onwards the island became a major international tourist destination.

2.7 Styles of Writing: the Oriental Eastern Other

According to Roussou-Sinclair, travel writing and colonialism had a reciprocal relationship. Travel itself generated narratives about the 'Other' and through these narratives "the rest of the world" was presented to Europeans, and also contributed to Europe's definition of itself. These narratives also legitimated Europe's expansionist and colonialist projects, which peaked in the latter half of the nineteenth century (2002: 21). The types of narratives that arose about Cyprus both impacted on, and were in turn impacted by, early archaeological practice and interpretation on the island.

Both neo-Classicism and Orientalism informed those participating in, and writing about, the colonial project in Cyprus. The classical ideal had been popularised in Europe since the late 1700s through sketches and engravings by travellers to the Mediterranean, thus giving only a sanitised ideal notion of the modern countries in question (Eisner 1991: 75).

As the 1800s progressed, however, an interest in Orientalism among Europeans and North Americans grew and rivalled neo-Hellenism as an intellectual and cultural force. The opening up of Egypt as a result of Napoleon's campaigns stimulated an interest in the East. There was a growing taste in London and Paris for all things Oriental from bath houses to coffee houses, and Egyptian elements were worked into furniture and buildings etc. Cyprus was obviously affected by this change (Severis 2000: 80-1). In addition, an interest in validating the Bible (further facilitated by the opening of an American consulate in Egypt) meant that travel to the Holy Land and Egypt became more popular amongst travellers (Eisner 1991: 128). Roussou-Sinclair claims that in writings about the East, imagination and reality were blended and the Orient was codified between the 1820s and 1870s by these literary conventions, influenced strongly by Romanticism. The French, in particular, associated travelling to, and writing about, the Orient with self-realization, whereas the British tended to see opportunity and career possibilities (2002: 22-3). Many, especially earlier works on Cyprus, were as much the product of this Orientalism as of Philhellenism (Serghidou 2001: 21), as the writers had as their ultimate destination, Palestine or Egypt, and Cyprus was merely a stopping off point along the way.

Many early Victorian writers viewed the Middle East as a culturally alien place, but later in the century began to see the Middle East as a sphere of English interest. This ideology is expressed in the travel literature on Cyprus produced in the later nineteenth century. For many, Britain's acquisition of Cyprus is portrayed in a highly symbolised manner; Cyprus

is exotic and the British occupation is associated with the Crusades, and Richard Coer de Lion, when the Franks went to the East to liberate the Holy Land from the infidels (e.g. Dixon 1879). Most of the writers from the end of the century point out the connection between King Richard and Cyprus. This medieval fascination may have been enhanced by the medieval ruins in the landscape and by the fact that that period was a strong feature of nineteenth century English literature (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 105-6). Again "a backwards and corrupted East falls into the hands of the powerful and civilised West" (Roussou-Sinclair 2002:82). Most writers of this time identified themselves with the Empire and the colonial project by using the pronoun "we" in their narratives (Roussou-Sinclair 2002:82).

Other writers such as Mallock represent Cyprus as an Oriental Paradise, and travel there in order to escape modernity and seek the old world (Mallock 1889; Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 87). Severis points out that paintings and other works of art produced throughout the century also reflect a divide in how the island is depicted, coinciding with increased British interest in the area; in the early part of the nineteenth century travellers and artists in Cyprus focused on the island's Christian (Catholic not Orthodox) remains, its landscape and the Crusader past (Severis 2000: 192). Thus the island remained part of Western culture. As the century progressed, visitors still reflected on these elements, but there is an increasing emphasis on the island's Oriental character and, furthermore, the Greek elements of the islands culture – Orthodox churches, Greek ethnographical scenes etc. are largely ignored (Severis 2000: 192).

There are two major reasons behind such Oriental depictions of the island; growing Cypriot aspirations for unity with Greece, which were clearly problematic from Britain's political perspective, and the moral problem for the British government of justifying the colonisation (and, ergo, subjugation) of a Christian, European people. This latter problem was exacerbated by the fact that the people in question could be claimed as the descendents of the classical Greeks who bequeathed Europe her cultural legacy. It was easier to justify such actions if "fudged with a 'benevolent' veil: that of bringing Western culture to the 'backward' orientals" (Severis 2000: 192). Thus the "slavish", "corrupt" nature of the Cypriot people is a theme popular with many writers and artists, while some compare

Cypriot patriotism and patriots with that of the Irish and men such as O'Brien, Dillon and Davitt (e.g. Mallock 1889: 146-7; Hogarth 1896: 193-4).[5]

In classifying the 'Other' in Cyprus, Victorian travellers were confronted by an 'Other' with a split identity, for there were in reality two groups on the island (how distinct these groups were remains a matter of debate), Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, separated by religion and language. Roussou-Sinclair claims that Western travellers had a tendency "not to distinguish between the two and present them as a homogenized mass, as Cypriots who simply professed different religions" (2002: 26). She further claims that while travellers were sometimes reluctant to recognise a distinct Greek identity, they had no difficulty in attributing a Turkish identity to the Turkish Cypriots. She attributes this reluctance to attribute a Greek identity to the Greek Cypriot population to British fears "in taking possession of a territory which under certain circumstances might ask for independence, as the Greeks in mainland Greece had done" (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 26). Haggard, for example, writing in 1901, notes

> "The richer and more successful class of Cypriotes have a habit of adopting Greek names, but in fact very few of them are Greeks except for so much of the Mycenaean blood as may remain in their veins. Still some of them intrigue against the British Government and affect a patriotic desire for union with Greece, that even the disillusionment of the Turkish War has not quenched. These aspirations, which, in some instances at any rate, to be not uninfluenced by the hope of rewards and appointments when the blessed change occurs, are scarcely likely to be realised" (1901: 86)

The lack of knowledge of the local languages also presented problems in terms of Western ability to identify and distinguish the populations on the island (Roussou-Sinclair 2002: 26).

Reactions to the island were equally divided with some writers focusing on the agricultural and other economic possibilities of the Cypriot landscape, while others focused on its "foreignness" and the primitive character of the people. After all, abroad was home to the savage (Eisner 1991: 152). Almost all visitors to the island marked its Oriental character, noting the domes, minarets between the house and the palm trees (e.g. Brassey 1880; Thompson 1878; Mallock 1889). Many also note the debased character of the islanders and their low morality and unindustrious nature (Brown 1979: 12; Dixon 1879).

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[5] Gallant has examined how the Ionian Greeks were also compared with the Irish by the British, and how thus characterised, the "Mediterranean Irish" were subjected to policies of social control (particularly in relation to matters of nationalism) first implemented in Ireland (2002: 41-5).

Writers, such as Orr, were concerned with the political imperative of suppressing nationalist tendencies among the local population, and, as such, frequently deny or downplay any Hellenic claims the island might have. Orr asks the following of Cypriot requests for union with the Greek "Motherland",

> "On what grounds is this claim of a section of the community based? Neither on historical nor on geographical grounds would there seem to be any real connection between Cyprus and modern Greece ... Cyprus had belonged in the past to Egypt, to Persia, to Assyria, to Rome, to Venice, to Genoa, to the Ottoman Empire, but never to Greece. Nor can it, by the widest stretch of imagination, be said to form geographically one of the Greek islands" (1918: 162-3).

Orr does concede, however, that on national grounds, the case for the Greek nature of Cyprus is much stronger. He notes that while racially the Cypriots contain the blood of all those who came to the island and colonised it, only the Greek language survived and Greek traditions dominate. He says:

> "The Greek- speaking inhabitants have learnt through their language to venerate the memory of ancient Greece and the glories of the Greek age, and to regard themselves as the lineal descendants of the race of heroes, philosophers and sculptors whose matchless contribution to modern civilisation is recognised by the whole world. That a people should be infused with ancient and noble traditions, and that its children should be educated to regard such traditions as a precious heritage, is nothing but good; ideals are powerful factors in the development of the human race. But national aspirations are wont at times to clash with political realities, and the practical idealist is not infrequently obliged to revise his idealism in the light of material considerations" (1918: 162).

In this analysis, Orr was vastly ahead of his time; sociological and anthological studies have only recently moved away from essentialist, primordial definitions of ethnicity to explaining ethnicity in terms of group self-understanding and ascription; an "imagined community" of group association. The historical truth behind the supporting narratives for such group affiliation is less important than the sense of, and belief in, the (historical) unity of the group.

In common with contemporary trends in Greece and Palestine, most of the nineteenth and early twentieth century travel accounts on Cyprus display a keen interest in the island's ancient history and antiquities, and a distaste for, or at least lack of understanding of, the island's inhabitants. A strong Orientalist trend informs much of this writing, interspersed with occasional Philhellenism, such as that of Agnes Smith. Despite this Orientalism, a firm interest in the island's classical remains also runs through the accounts of most authors.

The Beginnings of Archaeology on Cyprus

2.8 Searching for Treasures: Classical Remains and Tomb Robbing

The increase in Western economic and political activity in Cyprus in the nineteenth century, from the foreign consuls in Larnaca to the British administration of the island, resulted in the dissection and classification of the island in a manner intelligible within Western understandings of the world. Within this context, travel writers, as we have seen, played a significant role in the construction of the Cypriot "Other", and thereby helped define the Western "self". Antiquarians and early archaeologists also played a fundamental role in this process, by mapping out the terrain, both physically and historically. Roussou-Sinclair notes that "modern Western knowledge and the history of "new disciplines" are deeply anchored in the European expansionist project" (2002: 21). In this context, the landscape of Cyprus was to be understood on a vertical axis – the above ground and visible with its ruins and monuments and the equally vocal subterranean space, translated by archaeology (Serghidou 2001: 22).

Cypriot antiquities were always of interest due to the myth of Aphrodite's birth on the island and, thus, Western travellers in Ottoman times looked for ancient remains and copied inscriptions etc. The earliest information about private collections of Cypriot antiquities comes from the eighteenth century. This collecting was mostly carried out by European consuls in Larnaca and artefacts were collected primarily as souvenirs rather than for their archaeological importance. These artefacts then left the country "enriching" foreign European and American museums (Flourentzos 1982: 27; Loulloupis 1989: 23). Mr Campbell, the British Consul in Rhodes from 1854-58 said "... there is no collection of antiquities in the island of Cyprus and the antiquities have always been sold to English, French and German travellers as soon as discovered" (cited in Flourentzos 1982: 27).

Actual excavations did not start until after the mid nineteenth century and were then mostly carried out by Consuls, most notably Sir Robert Hamilton Lang (from England) and General di Cesnola (from America). Explorations were intensive and island-wide with large quantities of antiquities being uncovered (Wright 2001: 189). Sir Robert Hamilton Lang was involved in both digging and buying antiquities and made himself quite wealthy selling these objects to European museums. Thus, not a lot of financial backing was required for excavations, as their sale covered all such costs. Most of his discoveries went to the British Museum, though others went to museums across Europe, in particular to

Paris and Berlin (Balandier 2001: 6). Lang, himself, notes that he arrived on the island with no interest in "old stones and old coins", considering their study a "waste of time" (1905: 622). Interestingly, it was following frequent interaction and discussion with the Cypriot antiquarian, Demetrius Pierides, that Lang "by degrees began to take an interest in his absorbing pastime" (Lang 1905: 622).[6] Contact with other antiquarians visiting the island confirmed Lang's interest, though it was to Pierides that Lang turned in the early days to confirm the authenticity of objects offered to him for sale by local peasants (Lang 1905: 622).

On discovering the handsome profits to be made from the sale of antiquities, Lang scoured the island in search of finds, becoming known to the locals as a collector. He was thus informed of the finds made by locals whilst excavating an ancient cemetery in Dali. Lang immediately appointed an overseer to the excavations and took possession of all finds. So impressed was he with his finds, that Lang ordered a number of other excavations to be carried out and established himself as an antiquarian on the island. He conducted extensive excavations at Dali and provided detailed descriptions of the cemeteries and their contents in his later writing (Lang 1905).

When General Luigi Palma di Cesnola took up his position as American consul in Cyprus he was seriously in debt, after his stint in the Civil War. Dealing in antiquities was just one way he could alleviate his financial difficulties. He received a *firman* allowing him to conduct island-wide explorations on the condition that he first receive permission from the land-owner (Balandier 2001: 6). He began to dig in the fields around the Consulate and eventually collected material worth 15,000 dollars, which he called his "Phoenician Museum". Dixon, writing in 1879, describes a visit to the di Cesnola house as follows:

> "Heaped in the corners, [of the courtyard] lie some thousands of broken terra-cottas; vases and lamps of ancient workmanship, with gods of ancient date, and goddesses of dubious fame; all injured in the process of being dug out of dead men's graves. These heaps of vases, urns and figures, all of Tyrian or Egyptian origin, contrast oddly with a row of Chinese paper lanterns, kept for lighting up the villa at religious festivals" (1879: 99).

di Cesnola went on to open his own museum in Larnaca where he housed remains from Dali, Athienou and Amathus. This museum became quite popular with both tourists and

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[6] Pierides was one of the first Cypriots on record to take a concerted interest in the archaeology of the island. He went on to establish a sizable private collection of antiquities, which has remained in the Pierides family to the present day and is now housed, and is accessible to the public, in the Pierides Foundation Museum in Larnaca.

scholars and word of his collection spread to Europe (Balandier 2001: 6). He tried, unsuccessfully, to sell his collection to Hamilton Fish of the New York Historical Society. Failing this, he tried selling it in Europe where many papers had been written about his collecting. di Cesnola wanted to secure a position as an American Consul in Turin, and in order to do so sent gifts of antiquities to the relevant influential people in America. He had a monopoly on excavations on the island which he organised using teams of trustworthy locals, and by 1870 had sold artefacts to the Berlin and Vienna Museums and was beginning to deal with the Louvre (Napoleon III had a keen interest in antiquities) and the Imperial Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (McFadden 1971: 86-101). The collection was then destined for the British Museum, though it proved to have a competitor in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, which had considerable resources at its disposal. The Metropolitan bought the collection of 10,000 pieces in 1873 for $61,000. The Museum rented the Douglas Mansion for five years in order to display the most important pieces, before moving to the new museum in Central Park.

The Metropolitan also sent di Cesnola back to Cyprus to conduct even more excavations, but this agreement fell through. Nonetheless, di Cesnola continued to excavate for himself having his greatest success with the so-called Kourion Treasure in 1874. Despite competition from Paris and London, the Metropolitan bought this collection also in 1876 (Balandier 2001: 7-8). di Cesnola left Cyprus at this time, perhaps because of the new 1874 Ottoman law curtailing excavations and the removal of finds from the island. From about 1879, attitudes towards di Cesnola and his techniques changed and became increasingly more critical. Finally, the validity of the collection itself and its usefulness to scholarship came under fire on account of the question mark over the provenance and date of large parts of it and the alterations made to some artefacts (Balandier 2001: 9).

To prevent further scandal, Sir Garnet Wolseley, the governor of the island prohibited all private excavations. According to Balandier "The British had started to act something like the previous rulers, though not to preserve the antiquities in Cyprus, but on the contrary, in order to collect, send, and exhibit them only at the British Museum" (2001: 9). The British effectively created a monopoly on excavations on the island.

The legality of excavations carried out prior to 1874 has come into question, but as Wright points out, Sharia law (which was in place on Cyprus) makes no mention of antiquities; they fell under land law, and in the period we are concerned with many of the Consuls did

in fact own property and land in Cyprus, including both Lang and di Cesnola (2001: 189).[7] Land was legally categorised into five different types in Cyprus; private, crown, common, waste and "chanty" or mountain, with antiquities potentially lying in any of these. In Cyprus most antiquities were found on private land and a few on crown land (Wright 2001: 189). In Sharia law, the land-owner owns that which is beneath his ground and is entitled to dig it up. There is nothing illegal, therefore, in digging for antiquities. All individual rights, however, are subject to the interests of others and the state, and so a question remains as to whether there were any limitations on the excavator's enjoyment of his finds (Wright 2001: 190).

In response to increased excavation activity the Ottoman authorities instituted the first antiquities law on the island in 1874 in order to control the situation. This law stipulated that those legally carrying out excavations in Cyprus were entitled to one half of the items found while the other half were to go to the Ottoman Museum in the capital, Constantinople (Loulloupis 1989: 23). This law is one of the reasons Sir Arthur Evans did not dig at Knossos while Crete remained under Ottoman rule. Early writers, such as Stewart, expressly blame this law for the paucity of archaeological activity on Cyprus, the rewards not deemed to warrant the excavator's costs (Stewart 1908: 82-3).

The growing interest in the Phoenicians at this time also attracted antiquarians to Cyprus. In 1860, a young Frenchman, Claude Sosthene Grasset, came to Cyprus as part of his European tour. He decided to stay and make his home on the island and married a Cypriot woman of French descent. He became interested in the island's antiquities, feeling his duty was to preserve and collect them for his country; France. He wrote to many in France seeking help in this mission, the result being that Cyprus was included in the explorations of the Phoenician mission organised by Ernest Renan, under the auspices of the French government. Gasset, himself, accompanied by the antiquarian/Orientalist, Guillaume, twice went on expeditions to collect antiquities, which they sent to the Louvre. Grasset wrote much about Cyprus, including a set of illustrated articles about his life on the island, when he left around 1868 (Severis 2000: 120).

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[7] The Ottoman Empire operated under the Hanafi System which was one of the strictest in Islam, but still took account of customary and secular state law, particularly in areas where the Sharia had little relevance. *Firmans* issued by the Sultan fell under this area and characteristically were concerned with personal, rather than public, issues. If the activity in question, such as excavating or removing antiquities, was covered by a Sultan's *firman* then there was no problem, as the *firman* superseded all other laws relating to that matter, including customs laws for the prevention of the removal of antiquities from the country (Wright 2001: 188-9).

During the last thirty five years of the nineteenth century, Cyprus underwent a digging frenzy, as did the rest of the Mediterranean. Finds from this period are now located all over the world. Tomb-robbing on Cyprus, as elsewhere, had a long history, and in the early days was probably the result of chance discoveries, in contrast to the systematic searches carried out by the end of the century. Many of the early travel writers, as we have seen, also made regular references to the discovery of antiquities and to the fact that the Cypriots both sought out and sold the items found in ancient tombs. The foreign consuls and officials based on the island in the nineteenth century intensified this antiquarian search as they encouraged villagers to find antiquities for them and even began to organise their own excavations. These "excavations" were essentially treasure hunts and much damage was done in the process. By the 1860s exploring for antiquities was a regular pastime for foreign officials, and even a source of competition amongst them (Goring 1988: 3). This passion for collecting was an intrinsic part of Victorian society, as the expansion of Empire brought the British into contact with new and foreign cultures. Museum collections or arrangements were in and of themselves an ideological expression of the relationship between the colonisers and the colonised (Given 1998: 8). In addition, the rise of mass education and the desire to display the innovations and improvements of industrial society led to the opening of museums and the organising of ever more grand exhibitions. The Great Exhibition of 1851 brought all of these elements together (Goring 1988: 4-5).

The result of such attitudes was that collectors not only made a financial profit but enjoyed the status of being a discoverer. In addition to di Cesnola and Lang the British Thomas B. Sandwith, contemporary consul of di Cesnola's in Larnaca, was also active in the collection of antiquities. While de Cesnola was purely a collector, Sandwith was more. Educated at St. Catherine's College in Cambridge, he was the British vice-consul in Cyprus in 1865 and had served at Aleppo, Haifa and Damascus. He made the first attempt at classifying Cypriot pottery and understanding its relative chronology (Goring 1988: 13; Merrillees 2001). He distinguished between the Bronze and Iron Ages based on the different pottery types found in the tombs of that time, but his work, published in 1877 in *Archaeologia* had little impact on his contemporaries, and little is known about where he excavated.

The discipline of archaeology was only properly beginning in the Eastern Mediterranean in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1871 Schliemann excavated Troy and in 1880

Petrie was working in Egypt. Archaeological technique was unsophisticated, which may excuse slightly the earlier explorations, but not the activities of the last two decades of the century. di Cesnola at least had the excuse of working under Ottoman domination, later archaeologists did not. In this regard, it was actually the British Government who was sometimes the prime guilty party in the destruction of antiquities: The Ottomans destroyed the Medieval churches of Famagusta selling them as building materials in Port Said, but the British were following in the same tradition with the destruction of the sea curtain-wall at Larnaka during the course of the building of a harbour and railway project. Engineers claimed that this "vandalism" was unnecessary, but there was no one to stop it (Haggard 1901: 156). In the same vein, the British used the perfectly preserved refectory at Bella Pais as a rifle range for instructing British troops (Casson 1937: 13).

2.9 The Professionalisation of Archaeology on Cyprus

The British administration of the island brought changes to archaeology as practised in Cyprus. Notably, a ban was imposed on unauthorised excavation and an attempt was made to control tomb-robbing. This was not completely effective, but the excavation of Major Alexander di Cesnola (Luigi's brother) at Salamis was curtailed. The District Engineer, Lt. Hugh Sinclair carried out the first excavation after the British takeover, at Kition Bamboula in 1879. It was colonial officials who carried out almost all excavations over the next ten years, notably, Herbert Kitchener, supervisor of the Cyprus Survey 1879-91, and Falkland Warren (Given 1998: 11). The British also undertook a series of well-ordered and detailed excavations at select sites (Goring 1988: 17-18). Beginning in 1879, these excavations were authorised by Claude Delaval Cobham, the Commissioner of Larnaca. Towards the end of 1879, the German archaeologist, Max Ohnefalsch-Richter was charged with carrying out official excavations on behalf of the Government and the British Museum (which was in competition with the Metropolitan in New York) and explorations quickly followed at Larnaca, Salamis, Goshi, Mari, Akhna, Ormidhia and Xylotymbu (Goring 1988: 18).[8] These excavations adhered to the antiquities laws of the time, the Ottoman Law of 1874, according to which all finds were to be divided three ways – between the excavators, the owners of the land and the government. Ohnefalsch-Richter, however, under the guise of scholarly activity, also dug for profit and both sold his finds to foreign individuals and museums, and bought looted antiquities (Karageorghis 2000: 239-40).

Visiting researchers and excavators such as E.A. Gardner and J.L. Myres liaised closely with government authorities, partly out of legal compulsion, but also because of a desire to do so, and thus links between the imperial authority and archaeology were extremely close. Given claims that "As late as the 1910s, the High Commissioner Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams regularly 'granted himself an excavator's licence' and took his wife and his Private Secretary, Harry Luke, out 'unearthing and clearing ancient tombs' (Luke 1953: 212)" (Given 1998: 11). These excavations, despite their association with the ruling authority, were still little more than exercises in tomb robbing, with a particular interest in Hellenic

[8] Ohnefalsch-Richter was an adventurous character, who had studied history of art and civilisation in Italy for a short period, but came to Cyprus as a newspaper reporter in 1878 to cover the British occupation of the island. He avidly admired his fellow German, the archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann and was heavily influenced by his books on the excavations of Troy and Mycenae. On arriving in Cyprus, Ohnefalsch-Richter soon gave up his work as a reporter and followed his role-model's lead into archaeology, first excavating in the Larnaca-Kition area in 1879. He went on to publish an import work at the time, on Cypriot archaeology (Marangou and Malecos 1994).

remains, tombs and sanctuaries. No stratified site had been properly excavated. As Casson notes,

> "The record of excavations between 1880 and 1894 also is revealing. Practically all archaeological activity is that of tomb-robbing. There is no single recorded instance of the excavation of a pre-Hellenic habitation-site, none of a habitation-site of the archaic Hellenic period and only two near cities, at Kouklia in the Paphos district where research was mainly confined to the sanctuary and at Salamis" (1937: 12).

In 1883 the Cyprus Museum was founded to house the Government's share of such finds. But even up until 1893 when J.L. Myres reported on the situation, very little care was taken of the Government's share of the finds, some not even reaching the Museum, but instead lay in the out-houses of the Commissioner's Office in Nicosia (Casson 1937: 11). Many finds went missing or were badly damaged. The museum was maintained by private subscription only and despite this situation Ohnefalsch-Richter continued to excavate as Consulting Archaeologist under the Museum Committee and as Superintendent of Excavations for the Government and the Museum (Goring 1988:18).

Despite steps taken by the British authorities to regulate and improve archaeological conduct in Cyprus, matters other than the advancement of knowledge were still stimulating and directing excavations. In 1882, Kitchener, the Director of a Survey in Cyprus, approached the South Kensington Museum with an offer of antiquities from excavations, to be organised by himself. The Museum agreed to finance the excavations and it was decided that the museums in Dublin and Edinburgh would also receive a share of the finds. Kitchener was informed that he must collect "from aesthetic and decorative and not from the archaeological point of view" (cited in Goring 1988: 20). The work was supervised by George Gorgan Hake and began at a site near Salamis in 1882 and continued at Gastria and Kourion. Forty five tombs were opened and finds were sent to England in two batches. Charles Newton of the British Museum decided that the artefacts were of no interest to him or the Museum. Hake was then ordered to make up a number of collections from the material, some going to Edinburgh, some to Dublin and a third travelling around the country. The National Museum of Ireland registered its share of the collection at some time before 1903, and the collection was made permanent in 1933 (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 2004: 1; Goring 1988: 20-1).

In 1883 private excavations by foreign residents began again on the island. A commercial syndicate was formed to dig at Kourion. Ohnefalsch-Richter, in his capacity as Government Inspector supervised the situation. The next year Ohnefalsch-Richter himself

excavated on behalf of residents and also for himself. He also began work on behalf of Dr. Dummler who wanted to excavate under the aegis of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens. By 1885 Ohnefalsch-Richter was no longer digging for the British Government but continued as a consulting archaeologist. In 1885 he began excavations at Tammassos on behalf of Colonel Warren, Chief Secretary of the Government and Honorary Keeper of the Museum. In 1886 the French re-entered Cypriot archaeology with Vicomte de Castillan de St Victor excavating at Kourion (Goring 1988: 21).

In 1887 the High Commissioner saw that things were getting out of hand and banned all excavations except those conducted by public and scientific bodies (Goring 1988: 21-2). It was not a coincidence that the Cyprus Exploration Fund (C.E.F.) was founded in the same year. The idea was proposed by Dr. Guillemard after his travels around Cyprus, and was supported by the High Commissioner, the British School at Athens, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and Cambridge University. The antiquarian traveller, Hogarth noted that that main incentive for the Fund was the fact that Cyprus was the only area directly under British control where it was possible to conduct research in classical archaeology (Goring 1988: 22). The British School of Archaeology in Athens had been founded in 1879 and Oxford established a Chair in Classical Archaeology in 1885 and an outlet was needed for the pursuit of research in this area (Bowen 1989: 147). Cyprus remained important in this regard. Stanley Casson wrote almost fifty years later, "Cyprus is the only British possession which serves to illustrate the history and activities of the Greeks. Its contributions to our knowledge of Greek art and history are numerous and important" (1937: v).

E.A. Gardner, M.R. James, Hogarth and R. Elsey Smith immediately led an expedition after the Founding of the C.E.F. Hogarth himself admitted that he had no archaeological knowledge or training in *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant* (1896) and *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life* (1910), but immediately began work at Kouklia (Paphos). In *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant* he says,

> "I had gone to Cyprus as one of four to dig … Of the part I bore in the excavation of Paphos [Kouklia] I will say little. I knew nothing of the digger's art at the beginning, and very little at the end. Our leader had studied in the Egyptian school of Petrie, but the rest of us were so raw as not to know if there were any science of the spade at all … I doubt if we did much harm. But I doubt too if we found nearly all that we ought to have found on that immemorial site" (cited in Goring 1988: 22).

The Cyprus Exploration Fund conducted several excavations in the 1880s. They began at Eglenja-Leontari Vounou in order to gain familiarity with excavation conduct in Cyprus, and continued at Kouklia Xylinou, Amargetti, Limniti and Pollis (Goring 1988: 22-3). There was further work conducted in the 1890s. Most archaeological work in the 1890s in Cyprus was carried out by academic institutions, but standards did not greatly improve, nor did they for the first two decades of the twentieth century (Goring 1988: 37). From 1896 to 1913, there was a decline in the level of archaeological activity in Cyprus, as Crete came to the fore as a centre of research. General conclusions about the course of Cypriot prehistory and art were made at this time, with a particular interest in Mycenaean remains. Later on the discoveries in Crete led to a general increase of research into Mycenaean origins, and in the 1930s work resumed at Enkomi (Casson 1937: 16).

As already noted, the first museum in Cyprus was opened in 1883 at No 7 Victoria St., Nicosia, in order to house the growing quantity of antiquities produced by the ongoing excavations. Two foreign archaeologists, Max Ohnefalsch-Richter and Sir John Myres were linked to the establishment and organisation of the museum, which was maintained by subscriptions. The current museum was built between 1908 and 1924 as a monument in memory of Queen Victoria (Loulloupis 1989: 23). Additions were made to the Museum in 1935, 1960 and 1972. Two archaeologists, in particular, were instrumental to the new museum and its consolidation – the first curator in the new building, Menelaos Markides, curator from 1912-31, and Dr. Porphyrios Dikaios, curator from 1931 until his retirement in 1960 and later Director of the Department of Antiquities after Independence in 1960 until 1963 (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 31). The collections in the museum came from excavations by local and foreign teams and gifts to, and purchases by, the Museum. Particularly important to the museum were the finds from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (S.C.E.) excavations (1927-1931). The Museum was also enriched by accidental finds, mostly from tombs and sanctuaries. In 1935, in accordance with contemporary trends in museum display, Dikaios arranged the museum's exhibits thematically; covering the development of ceramics, sculpture, metalwork, coroplastic and minor art, from the Neolithic Period until the Middle Ages. In addition special rooms featured exhibits on the development of writing and inscriptions, of tombstones and reproductions of burials from various periods (Loulloupis 1989: 23). Funds for these improvements came from the Cyprus Committee in England and from the Carnegie Corporation in New York (Karageorghis 1985: 3).

The Ottoman Antiquities Law of 1874, governing archaeological activity on the island, remained in force until 1905 when the British enacted an Antiquities Law regarding antiquities, excavations, the creation of monuments and museums (Nicolaou 1963: 84; Severis 2000: 197). The Museum Committee, presided over by the High Commissioner, was responsible for the enforcement of the new law. In addition to the President, the Committee had eight other members, including the Chief Cadi of Cyprus and the Archbishop of Cyprus. There was also a Curator of Antiquities and five other members elected by the High Commissioner (Karageorghis 1985: 1). From the date of this law all antiquities became the absolute property of the government, and private collectors were required to provide lists of their antiquities to the Committee. The High Commissioner could declare any monument or structure as an ancient monument on account of associated historic or traditional value. The monument would then become subject to the new law.

The High Commissioner also sanctioned the issuing of excavation permits by the Committee, while the law dealt with the sale and export of antiquities and the setting up of museums, and refers to the possibility of setting up district museums. The law would be implemented by a body of experts appointed by the High Commissioner, though nothing as formal as a Department of Antiquities was instigated. The salaries of these experts would be paid from the Cyprus Antiquities Fund (Karageorghis 1985: 2). This law of 1905, which was progressive for its day, remained in force until 1935 when it provided the basis for the new law and the foundation of a formal Department of Antiquities. Its main problem lay in the fact that insufficient funds were available for the running of the museum, the payment of salaries, the carrying out of excavations and the acquisition of land etc.

Despite this law, archaeology as a scientific discipline really only began in Cyprus in the 1920s. This was largely the result of the methods introduced by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. In 1933, the British authorities reviewed the archaeological situation on the island, partially inspired by the attention drawn to the archaeological heritage of the island by the Swedish Expedition.[9] An effort was made to educate the British Government and public about the archaeological significance and richness of the colony and to make them aware of how badly mismanaged this resource had been in the first fifty years of British rule. Those organisations that did exist, such as the Cyprus Exploration Fund, were focused on classical and prehistoric periods, where their interests and skill lay (thereby excluding

[9] A report was produced in 1934 by Sir Charles Peers, President of the Society of Antiquaries and Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments to H.M. Office of Works, entitled *A Report on the Position of the Ancient Monuments of Cyprus* (Karageorghis 1985: 3).

the Medieval period), and even in those periods of interest they still managed to find out very little (Casson 1937: 14).

The professionalisation and schematisation of Cypriot archaeology found official recognition in 1935 when the British Colonial Government enacted the Antiquities Law which is still in place today, with amendments made in 1964 and 1973. The Department of Antiquities was established that same year and Mr. J.R. Hilton was nominated as its Director. He held the post for only a year and was succeeded by a 26-year-old architect, A.H.S. Megaw, a Dubliner educated in Cambridge, who held the post until independence in 1960 (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 30). He had previously spent one year as Assistant Director of the British School at Athens (Karageorghis 1985: 2).

The Director now controlled and managed all excavations and museums on the island; according to the 1935 Law, all archaeological activity on the island, from excavation to preservation and protection of monuments and antiquities, was now under the control of the Government who exercised its power through the newly established Department of Antiquities (Loulloupis 1989: 23). Essentially the new Department had all the powers previously invested in the Museum Committee. A series of amendments were made to the 1905 Law, however, including the creation of Monuments of the First Schedule (property of the Government) and Monuments of the Second Schedule (which were the property of the Church, the Evkaf or individuals). The sections of the law dealing with excavations, the protection of monuments and the acquisition of sites were regulated and brought up to date (Karageorghis 1985: 2).

Progress in terms of the interpretation and understanding of archaeological material on Cyprus also came reasonably late. John L. Myres of Oxford, who produced an important study of the de Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum, was the first real scholar in Cypriot archaeology. He tried for the first 20 years of the twentieth century to bring order to the chaos instigated by nineteenth century plunderers, but an understanding of Cypriot archaeological material only truly emerged with Einar Gjerstad's fundamental *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, published in 1926. Having first come to the island in 1923, he later returned to excavate with the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (S.C.E.). The S.C.E. operated from August 1927 to March 1931, during which time it excavated 25 sites and took back 771 wooden chests of antiquities to Sweden; it was thus the single biggest archaeological project in the island's history (Given 1998: 16). In fact, the majority of finds uncovered

during the four years of the expedition left the country with the team, but the finds and the preliminary reports of the excavation aroused an interest in Cypriot archaeology. Gjerstad's book *Ages and Days in Cyprus* (translated into English in 1980) recounts the activities and pioneering work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1929-1931), while the reports of the S.C.E. itself (1934, 1935 and 1937; the analytical volume for the Iron Age was published in 1948, and the entire series was completed in 1972) illuminated larger swathes of the island's history (Goring 1988: 38; Given 1998: 16; Karageorghis 2000: 240). Not everyone, however, was entirely uncritical of the S.C.E.'s work; Casson was critical of the Expedition's interpretation of Mycenaean remains on the island,

> "For the Late Bronze Age, which can be equated with the Mycenaean Age, the material of superlative quality accessible to all students has been the subject of considerable controversy: the evidence available has been treated too often rather as evidence in support of a thesis instead of being considered from a strictly Cypriot point of view" (Casson 1937: 19).

Archaeological activity on the island increased. New and newsworthy monumental sites were found, for example, the second century B.C.E. Graeco-Roman theatre at Soloi and the fifth century B.C.E. Palace at Vouni, while the collection at the previously poor Cyprus Museum was enriched by the finds of the Expedition (Karageorghis 1994: 849). Cypriot archaeology now became an international affair. Excavations were started on behalf of the British School at Athens and the French Government. Cypriot prehistory was further opened up by the discovery of the first Neolithic settlement at Petra tou Limniti by the S.C.E. By the end of the 1930s a range of the island's material culture from all periods from the Neolithic onwards was available for study and the publication of recent excavations meant that pottery and other artefacts could be classified typologically, "a prerequisite for a sound chronology and for the establishment of 'order' in Cypriot archaeological affairs" (Karageorghis 1994: 850).

The Impact of Imperialism and Nationalism on Archaeological Narratives

2.10 The Impact of Imperialism on Archaeological Narratives

The link between imperialism and archaeology is clear from the trends in archaeological interpretation that emerged at the time. In the early years of British occupation, in order to make the past reflect and promote the present imperial image of Cyprus described by travel writers, ancient Cyprus was characterised as "Oriental, primitive and subservient" (Given 1998: 11). Cyprus was perceived to be lacking in all that was good, individual, industrious, and innovative in ancient Greece and, indeed, in modern Britain. These negative traits were understood to have been inherited from the ancient Cypriots:

> "All antiquity is unanimous as to the soft, effeminate and dissolute mode of life of the Cypriots. To this copious fertility of the soil and the want of all need for great personal exertion must have greatly conduced. The desire for the best, the instinct of progress, was not readily awakened" (Perrot and Chipiez 1885: 102-3).

An emphasis was placed on the Phoenicians and their contribution to local culture (e.g. Perrot and Chipiez 1885; Haggard 1901: 89-90, notes that farming implements were probably the same as those used by the Phoenicians) and on the 'enervating' climate (e.g. Saville 1878: 127; Stewart 1908: 230), all of which contributed to the Eastern character of the island. These characteristics of the island were seen to be reflected in religious practice and in the antiquities and art of the island. Perrot and Chipiez claimed that archaic Cypriot sculpture proves revealing of the Cypriot character; the sensuality and heaviness of the features corresponds to the national character, not being as grave or honest as the Egyptians, nor as energetic as the Assyrians nor as pure as the Greeks. The female heads are softly rounded as considered beautiful in Asia and are "encumbered" with many jewels, a "hankering after Oriental taste" evident even in the late periods (1885: 138-9). Perrot and Chipiez also asserted the unimaginative and artistically primitive nature of Cypriot art as reflected in sculpture,

> "The school has nothing spontaneous or personal about it; it is without invention or power. It begins with barbarous, even childish creations, in which, however, we can trace a desire to imitate the types created in the East. In later times the statue maker turned successively to the Assyrian, Egyptian, and Greek models; he never managed to conquer his own liberty and independence; he was content to imitate. Cypriot sculpture had, then, no style in the true sense of the word; it gave no really individual rendering of the living form. But nevertheless it had habits and conventions of its own which gave its creations enough family likeness to make them easy of recognition by a trained eye" (1885: 220).

This eastern character of Cyprus could still be seen in the minarets, palm-trees and camels described by travel writers and artists (Severis 2000: Given 1998: 11). Max Ohenefalsch-Richter's *Kypros, the Bible and Homer: Oriental Civilisation, Art and Religion in Ancient Times* (1893), is an example of this trend, despite making reference to the Hellenic inheritance of the island.

The culture of the island was also viewed as stagnant, as reflected in the fact that the past had survived to the present unchanged. It was agreed that the conservative, indeed primitive, nature of the island was demonstrated in the longevity of custom, particularly language and religion. The islanders were seen to be in need of external guidance. The island's subjugation was thus a necessary response to the character of the people (Given 1991: 7-9). This understanding of the island, its people and past informed the early interpretation of the island's archaeological remains. Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of the island, wrote, "Fifty years of archaeology had demonstrated the primitive and oriental character of Cyprus during the preceding five millennia, and justified the need for superior British organisation and administration" (cited in Given 1998: 3).

The construction of an Oriental Cyprus through literature and art and was afforded scientific credence through archaeology. Such a Cyprus was convenient to the British as it legitimated British rule. Thus any Hellenic elements in Cypriot culture were down-played. This view was contested at the beginning of the twentieth century by Greek Cypriots seeking to promote the Hellenic identity (and its antiquity) as part of the demand for *enosis* with Greece. Within an increasingly anti-Semitic and already pro-Hellenic Britain these appeals were met sympathetically. In archaeological terms, a decrease in reliance on Phoenician influence as an interpretational technique began. Changes in the *Handbook of Cyprus*, edited and produced by members of the British colonial apparatus on the island, reflect these trends. The first edition in 1903 characterises Cyprus as the recipient of various cultures, all of which left their imprint, but from 1907 onwards, there is an increasing ability to see the impacts of Greek culture (Given 1991: 11).

Despite this fact a downplaying of the Hellenic character of the island continued. Since the Ionian Islands were ceded to Greece in 1864, Cyprus had become Britain's only colony with a substantial Greek population. The British education system taught that the British and the West generally, should look to classical Greece as the source of western culture, civilisation and democracy. The British, then, were the heirs to these traditions, but the

Greek Cypriots were also claiming to be the direct descendents of this culture, and so had a greater claim to it than the British (Given 1998: 9). Combined with contemporary nationalist fervour, a clash was inevitable. Archaeological interpretation was both used by, and reflected the differences between, both sides.

Storrs wrote a history of Cyprus from dawn to the present day entitled *Chronology of Cyprus.* This and Storrs' other works were not simply Orientalist in character, as they also had two other specific duties to carry out; to promote in Britain the desirability of Cyprus as a colony (it was the fiftieth anniversary of British rule on the island) and to promote the benefits of British rule to the Cypriots. Storrs' 1937 work, *Orientations,* therefore had a section contrasting the island in 1878 and 1928, and for the jubilee he promoted the ancient history in a new volume of *The Handbook of Cyprus,* which he edited with Bryan O'Brien, and in *Chronology of Cyprus* (1930). In Storrs' edition of *The Handbook of Cyprus,* the island is dehellenised; the myths about Aphrodite are removed, the Ionian immigrants are severely limited, and Solon's visit ignored. Instead, there is a greater sympathy with imperial authority, independent of the nationalities involved (Given 1991: 15). A special issue of postage stamps were launched in 1928 reflecting the myriad cultural past of the island - they carried symbols of the Christian, Muslim, and Lusignan past; Zeno of Kition; and a sixth century coin of Phoenician Amathus, the oldest city in Cyprus (Given 1991: 16).

In relation to archaeology and history, Storrs' ideology was totalising and very clear. He had a good grasp of the entirety of Cypriot history, as demonstrated in his 1930 *Chronology of Cyprus,* which covered the period from 3000 B.C.E. to 1930 CE. He felt that European monuments in Cyprus needed European guardianship, and was disappointed that he did not have the same authority as his Italian counterparts on Rhodes who undertook reconstruction work. He had his own collection of pieces which included "a few classical sculptures, Byzantine icons, Jerusalem copper trays and two ancient Egyptian wooden hawks" (Storrs 1945: 512-13 cited in Given 1998: 13). In 1929 Storrs wrote to John Shuckburgh, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State, asking him to keep from the papers, news that the Swedish Expedition had found Hellenistic antiquities in Larnaca, in case the fact would be used by the pro-*enosis* deputation who were in London at the time.

Storrs did not, however, leave Cyprus in a culture-less vacuum open to foreign occupation. Instead, he concentrated on the purely Cypriot nature of the island. In his view, Oriental

culture did not take on some Hellenic attributes or vice versa, instead a genuine amalgamation of the two occurred. Cyprus had had its own particular cultural flavour right from the beginning and this distinctiveness was retained throughout the ages (Given 1991: 15-16; 1998). This conception was designed to refute the varying claims of both sides, in an attempt to unite them to a common patriotism. Leopold Amery, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, first suggested this concept to Storrs in a minute of 1928 and the same policy was being carried out in Malta (Given 1991: 15-16). As noted earlier, Storrs sought to promote his view of Cypriot history in schools. He attempted to take the education system out of the hands of the clergies of both communities by having the state appoint teachers. The curriculum was also addressed, in that Greek history was no longer taught as a special subject and emphasis was placed instead on Cypriot history (Given 1991: 17).

Given claims that archaeologically, this archaic "Cypriot", rather than Greek or Turkish, identity was given expression in the "Eteocypriots", a term coined by the Swedish archaeologist Einar Gjerstad (1998: 3-4). This group was identified as the original inhabitants of the island who survived into the Iron Age in an area of the city of Amathus. Given contends that 'Eteocypriots' never existed, at least not in antiquity, and that there is no archaeological evidence from the Iron Age to suggest their existence (i.e. there is no distinct cultural assemblage that would indicate the existence of a distinct cultural group). Instead, he argues that the "Eteocypriots" are merely the result of a European imperialist paradigm (1998: 4). While I do not agree with his refutation of the existence of a people on the island with an identity neither Hellenic nor Phoenician that might be termed "Cypriot" or "Eteocypriot" for want of a better term, there is no doubt that the promotion of such a group on the basis of archaeologically-derived scientific fact, coincided with imperial policy and concerns at this time.

The Greek Cypriots, on the other hand, viewed the British colonialists as not only robbing the island of its resources, but the inhabitants of their identity by denying their Hellenic character, declaring them mongrels and using so-called scientific fact to back up their arguments. It was argued that Cypriots, therefore, needed control over their political destiny in order to prevent this perversion of their history and identity (Given 1991: 9-10). Educated Cypriots pointed out that the Hellenic past, so esteemed by the British, was in fact theirs, and went on to appropriate the same texts and monuments that the British had taken into their cultural field as their own (Given 1998:11). The "conservative" nature of the Cypriots, derided by the British was given a positive interpretation, as it was this

conservatism that preserved the Hellenic character of the island (Karageorghis 1963; Spyridakis 1963). The Greek Cypriots argued for continuity or "persistence" of tradition and culture in Greek history from 1400 B.C.E., and the first Greek colonization, down to the present day. Links were made with Greece, and differences from Greece in the classical period were accounted for in terms of this continuity, i.e. at that time Cyprus was more Greek than the Greece itself (e.g. Karageorghis 1963).

In this new trend, Phoenician elements were restricted to isolated areas, and even these were basically Greek (e.g. Spyridakis 1963: 20). Furthermore, as the Phoenicians were only there to make use of the trading posts they had little influence on Cypriot culture (e.g. Alastos 1955; Koumouldides 1971). The Salamis royal tombs were deemed evidence of the strengthening of the link between Greece and Cyprus in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. Despite being surrounded by Orientals and barbarians, Cyprus did not lose its Hellenic character and this is demonstrated by the fact that the Greek language in Cyprus is the closest of the modern dialects to Homeric Greek, while Aphrodite's birthday is still celebrated as a Christian holiday in Cyprus. Cypriot culture was declared strong enough not to have been assimilated into the numerous powers which tried to denationalise her (Given 1991: 18-21).

2.11 The Beginnings of Local Interest in Archaeology

The first Cypriot family to collect antiquities seems to have been the Pierides family of Larnaca (originally from Greece), who began collecting at the end of the nineteenth century. Demetrios Pierides (1811-95) founded the collection and the family have continued the tradition down to the present day. This important collection, which contains many unique and rare pieces, is now exhibited in the family house at Larnaca (Flourentzos 1982: 27). In the following years, Cypriot interest in local antiquities increased and a law concerning private collections was enacted by the Colonial Government in 1935. The law stipulated that private collectors had four months from the date of the enactment of the law, in which to provide the Director of the Department of Antiquities with a list describing the antiquities in their possession. From 1935, many artefacts were gifted to the Cyprus Museum, while others were purchased by the Museum from private collections if the artefacts in questions were deemed of "great archaeological importance" (Flourentzos 1982: 28).

The young archaeologist, Dr. Porphyrios Dikaios, was the first native Cypriot to make a major impression on archaeology in Cyprus. Inspired by the Neolithic finds at Petra tou Limniti, he decided to investigate these earlier periods and from 1933 to 1935 excavated the Chalcolithic site at Erimi and in 1936 began work at Chirokitia, Sotira, Troulli and Kalavassos in order to demonstrate the development and importance of the Neolithic period (Karageorghis 1994: 850). Prehistory eclipsed other archaeological periods in the 1930s especially the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures which produced impressive artefacts and architecture. The true wealth of Late Bronze Age Cyprus came to light through the excavation of towns such as Enkomi in 1934 by Schaeffer (who excavated on behalf of the Louvre and also excavated at Vounous in 1933), a period previously only known from tombs and tomb finds. The discovery of imported finds indicated the island's relation with its neighbours in the Aegean, the Levant and Egypt and a fuller picture of the island's economic and cultural relations in this period could now be envisaged (Karageorghis 1994: 851).

Organised archaeological activity ceased during World War II, and resumed in the late 1940s – only salvage excavations were carried out for the duration of the War. Work resumed at Neolithic Chirokitia, and Neolithic chronology was pushed back earlier, in line with neighbouring countries, due to the new C14 dating technology. The extent of the remains at Enkomi led Schaeffer to decide to join forces with the Department of

Antiquities in order to fully exploit the site. This venture then became the Joint Cypriot-French Mission, with Dikaios leading the Cypriot side. This joint excavation lasted 10 years from 1948 to 1958, though both excavators actually worked separately despite the "joint" name (Karageorghis 1994: 851). In 1947 Dikaios published a Guide to the Museum "*Guide to the Cyprus Museum*", which was in fact an account of Cypriot archaeology and ancient history and not just a guide to the museum's exhibits (Loulloupis 1989: 23). Major excavations were also undertaken at the monumental site at Salamis in 1952 where the Roman theatre was exposed. The Director of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, A.H.S. Megaw exposed a complex of Early Christian Basilicas with mosaic floors at Peyia during the 1950s. He also excavated the Crusader Castle at Kato Paphos (1957) and completed the excavations at the Early Christian Basilica of Kourion (1956) (Karageorghis 1985: 4-5).

A large portion of the Department's budget during this time was devoted to repairing and restoring ancient monuments (e.g. the pillars of the Gymnasium and the Theatre of Salamis were partly restored, as were a number of medieval monuments), an area in which Megaw as an architect, had expertise (Karageorghis 1985: 4-5). The government also became aware of the profitability of cultural tourism at this time and so access roads leading to the main monuments were constructed and amenities built at and around these sites. Land was also purchased around the location of the ancient cities of Cyprus, for example, at Amathus and Kition, in order to provide for future excavations there (Karageorghis 1985: 5). One of the most important activities of the Department in the post-war period was the systematic surveying and recording of archaeological sites on large tracts of the island. The Cyprus Survey Branch, a special branch of the Department, was created in 1955 to conduct this work. It was headed by H.W. Catling assisted by K. Nicolaou. The work of the Survey proved invaluable both to the Department and foreign mission working on the island (Karageorghis 1985: 5).

The increased archaeological activity from the 1940s onwards necessitated the opening of regional museums to house the finds from the many excavations underway around the island. In some cases, special buildings were constructed for this purpose, but in many other cases, medieval castles, such as those at Limassol (1952) and Larnaca (1948) or even Turkish Baths, as at Paphos (1954), were converted into museums. Small local archaeological museums were also established at Episkopi village (1952) for the antiquities

of Kourion, Kouris river valley and at Kouklia (1958) for those of Palaepaphos, the Temple of Aphrodite and the surrounding areas (Loulloupis 1989: 23).

The establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 gave a new impetus to archaeology in Cyprus. A whole new round of activities got underway from reconstruction to cleaning mosaics and wall-paintings, which will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter. Old museums were restored and new ones created and all were enriched by new finds from the ongoing excavations (Loulloupis 1989: 24). This increased archaeological activity, especially on the part of foreign teams, led to a change in the Antiquities Law; in 1964, the Law was amended to prohibit the removal of antiquities from the island by foreign excavators, who up until that point could still claim a share of excavated finds (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 31; Karageorghis 1985: 7). The Law was also changed to allow the compulsory acquisition of land for excavation purposes (Karageorghis 1985: 7). Cypriot archaeology was struck severely by the 1974 invasion and occupation of the northern part of the island. Most archaeological activity begun in the early 1960s ceased. The Department of Antiquities found new sites in the south for most of the foreign missions dislocated by the invasion, for example the French mission went to Khirokitia to carry on Dikaios's work. As a result, knowledge of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic chronology greatly increased (Karageorghis 1994: 857).

In addition, the government of the Republic of Cyprus established a new law in 1973 requiring any resident in the Republic in possession of antiquities to declare those antiquities to the Director of the Department of Antiquities, even if previously declared. This law further enlarged the definition of "Antiquity" in order to include objects of Cypriot Folk Art (Flourentzos 1982: 27). From this an inventory of all items in private collections was made, thus making it possible to follow the destiny of an item. As a result, 1251 collections were made known, mostly from the Nicosia and Famagusta areas (Flourentzos 1982: 27). After the Pierides private collection of antiquities (mentioned earlier), the most important private collections are the Severis collection, the Phylactou collection, the P. Neophytou collection, the P. Kolokassides collection in Nicosia; the Loizides collection – important for its medieval pottery – and the Hadjiprodromou collection in Famagusta. Some of these collections were looted and destroyed after the 1974 invasion (Flourentzos 1982: 28).

2.12 The Burgeoning Academic Interest in Ethnogenesis

With regard to archaeological interpretation, the emphasis on the Hellenic character of the island's past strengthened during the 1960s, and especially after the invasion of 1974. It was no coincidence that investigation of the Late Bronze age period, the point at which the Hellenization of the island is sometimes deemed to have begun, predominated, from the end of the 1940s to the present day (Karageorghis 2002: 852). The provision of evidence of Mycenaean immigration became particularly important and excavations were undertaken at Enkomi, Maa-Palaiokastro, and Pyla-Kokkinokremos. "Proving" the truth of the Greek foundation legends, such as that of Salamis (particularly following the discovery of the dramatic tomb remains in 1957) became an aim of international, as well as local missions working on Cyprus[10] and the discovery of a Mycenaean foundation for Kition (excavated from 1959 by Karageorghis following chance discoveries inside modern Larnaca in 1958) that was earlier than the Phoenician was considered important (Given 1991: 23-4).

It is not that archaeologists invented facts at this time, rather that they were selective in what they investigated and found to be significant. The eminent Cypriot archaeologist, Vassos Karageorghis, for example, noted that as a child and youth he was struck by the number of archaic words and expressions as well as traces of ancient Greek preserved in the Cypriot dialect. When he was digging at Meniko in central Cyprus in 1952 he heard locals refer to female statues as "Ελλήνες" (Greeks). He was so struck by this that he

> "... vowed that the purpose of my career as an archaeologist would be to investigate the Hellenic physiognomy of Cyprus and to come to a better understanding of this, in many ways, odd phenomenon of a Greek island in the far reaches of the Eastern Mediterranean, 500 miles away from Athens. I tried to find "models", as the devotees of New Archaeology would say, that were applicable to the phenomenon of Cyprus. I would say to myself: "The Indians speak English, drink tea and play cricket, and yet they're not Englishmen". It is the peculiarity of Hellenism in Cyprus that I shall endeavour to present here, simply and without archaeological riddles" (2002: 31).

The imperialist influence was clearly still very strong in Cypriot archaeology even after Independence, in the sense that all of the classificatory categories delineated by foreigners within the imperialist framework (for example, the work by Ohnefalsch-Richter, Myres and Gjerstad) were retained. Cypriots filled in the gaps in this framework. Old imperialist arguments were adopted and given a new twist; continuity and conservatism were no longer proof of primitiveness, but of the longevity of Hellenism on the island. Successive

[10] In fact, Coldstream declared in 1985 that "... thanks to recent excavations, it is now possible to argue for a general congruence between the foundation legends and the archaeological record" (1985: 47).

invaders did not prove that the Cypriot character required strong rule by outsiders, but proved the tenacity of the national character in light of these invasions. This could be done when one took a different view of the starting point of the island's culture, sophisticated Greek, rather than primitive, weak Oriental (Given 1991: 25). The histrorical symbols shifted from family icons and local saints to icons of antiquity; Aphrodite,Zeno and Kimon (Given 1991: 27).

The emphasis on the Greekness of the island and, more importantly, on the antiquity of this Greekness can be seen in both academic archaeological works and more popular compositions. The Greek Communal Chamber in Nicosia published *The Greek Heritage of Cyprus: A Handbook on the Island's Past and Present* in 1963, a volume in which many contributors referred to archaeology to substantiate claims to the longevity of Hellenism on the island, most notably the hellenization of the island following the Mycenaean colonisation and the reign of Evagoras I (411-374 BC).

In recent years, however, a return of a kind has been made the narratives of "Cypriotness" common at the time of Sir Ronald Storrs in the 1920s and 1930s. This is perhaps in response to the political situation on the island whereby, reconciliation in some form with the Turkish community, preferably the reunification of the island, is required. Nicolas Coldstream's 1986 Bank of Cyprus lecture was dedicated to a search for *The Originality of Ancient Cypriot Art* (Coldstream 1986; Given 1991: 30). Some scholars, for example, Anthony Snodgrass, have suggested that ancient Cyprus was not purely Greek, but the location of the blurring of the lines between East and West and between Greek and barbarian. He projects this blurring of boundaries onto modern-day Cyprus, concluding that,

> "It is difficult to frame the right words today, in a Cyprus where the line between Europe and Asia is literally a line, and a very tangible one; but the example of Cypriot history shows that it was not always so, and assuredly will not always be" (Snodgrass 1988: 24).

Merrillees, meanwhile, sees in Independence the reassertion of Cypriot independence, "Twenty-five years ago Cyprus regained the independence it had lost around three thousand years ago" (1985: 11). Of recent developments in archaeology, he concludes,

> "Of particular significance has been the growing realisation, and acceptance, of the originality of the island's own civilisation. More than anything else, archaeological research has shown the true mettle of the 'Κύπριος χαρακτήρ', which despite the buffeting of millennia has not only preserved its integrity but enhanced its capacity for survival. If there was one feature which has characterized investigations into

> Cypriot prehistory since the island's return to independence, it is the revelation that the nation's culture was, despite the conventional wisdom, an essentially home grown product, whose particular strength, and enduring and endearing vitality lay in the discrete and idiosyncratic form of its visible expression" (1985: 11).

Scholars are also beginning to question the antagonism traditionally believed to characterize the relationship between the Greeks and the Phoenicians (Given 1991: 31). More generally, Hamilakis has questioned the usefulness of categories such as "ethnic group" and their validity as a category of analysis. He further posits the need to scrutinize more closely the notion of identity (Hamilakis 1998: 108). Focusing on the specifically Cypriot character of the archaeological record allows one to negate the impact of foreign rulers thus decolonising history (Given 1991: 30), while positing a purely "Greek" or "Hellenic" past for the island risks mineralizing or ignoring the impact of other socio-cultural currents on the island's character and development.

2.13 Conclusion

What both imperialist and subsequently national/nationalist interpretations of the archaeological record in Cyprus have in common is the fact that they force the past into essentialist ethnic categories based on the notion of bounded social entities. The fluid, contextual, and ever-changing nature of identity and, ergo, ethnicity is thus ignored and other potential narratives waiting to be told by the archaeological record remain unheard. This is clear with regard to the history of interpretation of the Mycenaean remains on Cyprus,

> "Too often archaeologists have tried to fit the Cypriot Mycenaean evidence into a preconceived theory of Mycenaean activity in the Levant instead of drawing from the evidence the conclusions which might go to make a theory. This is the defect of much of the recent Swedish work in the island" (Casson 1937: 19).

The cultural-historical school of thought which gave precedence to racial or ethnic explanations of variety in the material culture record is thus maintained to the exclusion of other interpretational methodologies (Given 1998: 4). In addition, artificial dichotomies between Western/Greek and Oriental are created and maintained, such as that espoused by the Philhellene Stanley Casson, who stated,

> "I prefer to see the history and art of the Cypriots as those of Oriental Greeks rather than of Hellenised Orientals. For in many respects Cyprus retained many qualities which are ancient Greek, or perhaps Achaean, than any area of the Greek world. The Orient bore upon it at times with overwhelming force, but the Greek element always seemed to emerge in the end" (1937: v).

As Hamilakis points out, by continuing to accept these analytical categories, we allow them to be deployed "in the construction and negotiations of collective selfhood in Cyprus" (1998: 110) today, and the use of archaeology to this end is not unproblematic. Archaeology is, of course, well-suited to examining historical change and processes due to the time-span it can cover, but the potential for such studies is ignored when investigation is exclusively focused on continuity. As has been the case in Cyprus, one could argue for the static, unchanging, undeveloped nature of the group in question, and hence justify imperial rule, by proving continuity (of pottery types and techniques, ploughing etc.) in the archaeological record (Given 1998: 6). Nationalist voices in the same group may subsequently adopt this narrative of continuity and use it to express claims to territory through longevity of occupation.

2.14 The Situation Today

In recent decades, archaeology in Cyprus has expanded and developed, and the current situation with regard to archaeology in Cyprus will be dealt with in the next chapter. The importance of cultural heritage tourism was recognized early on in the new state and the steps already taken towards the development of this industry by the British administration were built upon. Another important concern has been the contribution of archaeology to national identity (Karageorghis 1985: 6).

The dramatic increase in the number of published excavations, particularly on the Late Bronze Age, has greatly facilitated a better understanding of the archaeological sequence on Cyprus. The opening of a foreign institute of archaeology on the island, the Cyprus American Archaeological Institute (CAARI) in 1978 has given an important boost to both local and foreign scholars researching Cypriot archaeology and has played an active role in organising seminars and conferences (**Fig. 42**). The opening of a national university and archaeological unit on the island has given indigenous research on the island's past a significant boost. Having explored the development of archaeology on the island, and its attachment to the state, I now examine its current management infrastructure and interpretational framework.

Chapter Three – Archaeological Infrastructure and Policy within the Republic of Cyprus

3.1 Introduction

Having traced the emergence of both the discipline of archaeology and the nation-state in Cyprus, I want to examine the implications of this application of archaeology within the nation state. Through an exploration of the archaeological infrastructure and method of presentation of archaeological material and knowledge in Cyprus, I seek to highlight the circular and mutually reinforcing nature of the relationship between archaeology and the state and how this is absorbed at popular level through the so-called 'heritage industry'.

The discipline of archaeology currently occupies a place within the framework of the nation-state. This fact proves to be problematic for a number of reasons that I will elaborate on in this chapter. The relationship between archaeology and the state is characterized by a number of complex and often seemingly competing and contradictory features. Viewing any of these in isolation runs the risk of skewing our understanding of how this multifaceted web of interrelations and dependencies function. I attempt here initially to separate these strands in order to understand them on an individual basis and then, later, explore how they enhance/constrain one another as part of the bigger picture. In order to do this I will examine the results of fieldwork carried out in Cyprus in the summer of 2003. This fieldwork entailed exploring examples of the influence of state policy and/or nationalism on archaeology in that country. Specifically, I looked at museum and site display and any other significant interface between archaeology and the public. This involved visiting archaeological sites and museums from all periods, both those open to the public and those where public access is restricted. I also examined whether or not tensions existed between the economic exploitation of archaeological remains and academic or intellectual interest in them and whether this was reflected in the sites' preservation and study.

In this regard, I look at time and space as social constructs and the role of both the archaeologist and the government-appointed, heritage manager as the producers of expert knowledge on how to intellectually and physically manage this space. The resulting power struggles and/or incorporation of archaeology and cultural heritage into already existing political and social power struggles within society are also explored. Furthermore, I

examine the current institutional and legal framework, both national and international, within which archaeology operates in these locations.

3.2 Theoretical Background

Nationalism in its ideological development equated modern state political legitimacy with group cultural antiquity, and this correlation has a profound effect on the way that an archaeology embedded within state structures operates. Archaeology, and the past in general, are often used to bolster notions of homogeneity in culture and identity, and to validate claims to territory and modern political legitimacy. An undue emphasis is placed on the notion of the importance of continuity and the ability to trace ethnic groups temporally (Liakos 2001: 28), which is a theoretical and physical anomaly. [11] I argue that these functions of archaeology characterize in particular the relationship between nationalism and archaeology in the early days of the state or in states where continued pressure on territorial borders from outside powers insists upon strong internal unity and solidarity.

In states which are well established and lack such urgency for internal cohesion, however, these ideological functions are often superseded, or at least matched on another level, by financial imperatives with an equally potent impact on local archaeology. Here archaeology, operating within state controlled agencies, plays a vital role in the "heritage industry", which, as a key element in modern tourism (Urry 1990), is regularly a lucrative and crucial source of revenue for the state. Indeed, many developing and developed countries make use of both the ideological and economic benefits of archaeology right from the state's inception, as their need for economic solvency is just as great as their need for internal cohesion or their need to legitimize their territorial or political claims. And, in any case, ideologically generated, authoritative narratives, as manifested in the choice of archaeological remains for conservation and their subsequent presentation, can be promoted through the heritage industry (and thus tourism), through its access to a large domestic and foreign audience.

We end up with a circular situation whereby these features, as well as the current archaeological practice and infrastructure, become mutually reinforcing and seen as self-evidently correct and thus above and beyond question or reproach. As we shall see,

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[11] That archaeology is inculcated into this search for temporal continuity is expressed in Merrillees' linking of prehistoric and modern Cypriot peasant culture, "The artefacts of the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early and Middle Bronze Age periods all betray native forces at work, whether or not they were influenced by or even inspired from abroad, and demonstrate that remarkable continuity, and persistence, which have been the hallmarks of Cyprus' traditional way of life. With the now accelerating eclipse of the practices and superstitions of Cypriote peasant society, archaeology has an even more important role than before to illustrate the dynamics and uniqueness of the island's cultural heritage and values" (1985: 11-12).

ideology and economics are simultaneously at play in Cyprus in its management of archaeology, owing to its continued political problems with the Turkish occupied north of the country and its position as a physically and demographically small, resource poor island.

Archaeology traditionally, and in Israel and Cyprus in particular, deals with the subject of archaeological interpretation through a historicist approach to the material record whereby race, language and culture are seen as consubstantial phenomena which evolve together (Chapman, MacDonald & Tonkin 1989: 3) and are taken to be directly and transparently represented in the material record. This view is one that sees ethnicity or social identity as static, monolithic, inherent and historically constituted. Questions of ethnogenesis then, take on especial importance, as does documenting the progress, trials and tribulations of the ethnic group under investigation.

An important point about both of the locations in which I have chosen to conduct my research, Israel and Cyprus, is that the archaeological academy and research interests in both places have long been driven by the needs of a particular people and therefore there is, on the whole, a closure to readings which might undermine this scenario, thus leaving archaeology in these areas somewhat under-theorized. This problem is not specific to Israel and Cyprus and indeed, until recently, changing trends in archaeological theory have been slow to penetrate the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East in general. This is reflected in the way in which archaeology is taught in universities in both Israel and Cyprus. For example, archaeological theory courses have only recently been made available to students in Israel and are not a compulsory part of an archaeological degree and in Cyprus they are not offered at all (at least not as distinct courses). In this way traditional methods of approaching and interpreting the past become entrenched.

Such an ethnocentric focus leads to the problem of the use of archaeology for the exclusion of unwanted cultural forms and identities both in the past and in the present. The practice of archaeology is further affected by the fact that for many archaeologists, the investigation of culture-bearing units and associated concerns are perceived to be of obvious natural importance and most of their archaeology is carried out with this assumption as a starting point. As Shennan points out, some archaeologists have even "regarded the definition of such entities as one of the few legitimate goals which prehistoric archaeology can pursue, given the data at its disposal" (1989: 9). These archaeologists fail to take into account the

origins of such assumptions and related methodological practices in the nineteenth century (as outlined in the previous chapter). The continuing importance of issues related to ethnicity in the public domain (related in and of itself to the nature of the modern nation-state) further promotes their presence on the archaeological agenda.

Whilst superficially independent, and sometimes incongruous, the aforementioned characteristics of the relationship between archaeology and the state are in fact interlinked and mutually reinforcing. In both the case of ideology and economics, important decisions about archaeological practice, and the preservation and public display of archaeological sites are taken out of archaeologists' hands and placed in the hands of the state whose primary concern is often one of economic gain or the promotion of certain ideological agendas. This poses major problems for archaeological practice, site preservation and management. Again, both raise important and difficult questions about the ownership of the past and its material remains. For example, if we argue that though modern Cypriots are not the "direct" descendents of the Bronze or Iron Age inhabitants of the island in a literal sense, their belief in their Hellenic identity, inherited from the Aegean settlers in the island during these prehistoric periods, is something that should be acknowledged and respected, how does this impact on the preservation of archaeological heritage?

If we introduce the language of inheritance and ethnic association, do we imply that modern Cypriots are the "owners" of some archaeological remains located on the island, and the "caretakers" of those not pertaining to their self-identification as Hellenes and Christians?[12] In turn does Turkey have "rights" to archaeological remains in the Republic that pertain to the Turkish and Muslim past of the island? What implications does this have for the issue of the export of cultural remains or their repatriation from abroad? Silberman raises similar questions in relation to Israeli claims to archaeological remains lying in the Palestinian Territories;

> "Are the Israelis justified in mounting an effort to retrieve documents and artefacts of direct and demonstrable relevance to their culture and tradition-even if those artefacts lay in disputed territory [the West Bank]? Do Palestinians, on the other hand, have a right to claim ownership of ancient Jewish artefacts in their part of the country, even if those artefacts are of relatively little significance to them? And if the antiquities of the country are to be partitioned by cultural association, do the Palestinians thereby have a right to custodianship of Muslim holy sites within Israel?" (1996:134-5).

[12] As demonstrated in this thesis, neither the Cypriot nor Israeli administrations have been especially good caretakers to date of archaeological monuments and artefacts of periods of little interest or anathema to state definitions of self and self-interest.

While I do not profess to have the answers to these difficult questions, I suggest that part of the problem lies in the current focus on tracing ethnic groups temporally and misunderstandings of the role of continuity in cultural production and reproduction. Most modern theorists of ethnicity agree that ethnic identity, "... is based on shifting, situational, subjective identifications of self and others, which are rooted in ongoing daily practice and historical experience, but also subject to transformation and discontinuity" (Jones 1997: 13-14).

Therefore, while maintaining a respect for people's ethnic self-definition, one should not necessarily encode this definition in legal standards (especially retrospective ones), given its proclivity to change. A more useful proposition might be to acknowledge discontinuities and changes wrought with time and enshrine custodial rather then ownership status over all archaeological monuments, landscapes and artefacts. This would not merely require changes in the relevant Antiquities Laws, but fundamental changes in attitude to the past and our relationship to it - viewing it as not merely as a resource to be selectively exploited for either economic or national/ethnic purposes, but as a valuable endangered species in our care. Warren, who does not see the issue in terms of property and ownership, has made the 'non-renewable resource argument' stating that,

> "So-called cultural properties are like environmentally endangered species. First, they are non-renewable resources; once exhausted or destroyed, they cannot be replenished or replaced. Second, they are not anyone's property and no one can properly be said to own them. Our relationship to them is more like that of a steward, custodian, guardian, conservator, or trustee than that of a property owner. Since these cultural properties ought to be preserved yet are no one's property, no one has a right to them ... Their protection and preservation is a collective responsibility of all of us as stewards" (Warren 1989: 19).

The Archaeological System in Cyprus

3.3 The System: the Department of Antiquities

Protection of the archaeological and physical, cultural heritage of Cyprus operates within a highly centralized system. The Department of Town Planning and Housing and the Ministry of the Interior have responsibility for architectural heritage, while archaeological remains are under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities. Whilst retaining control of different elements of the inherited built environment, the two departments have worked together on various projects where the presentation or promotion of antiquities is concerned. An example of this is in the organization of the annual European Heritage Day, first held in Cyprus in 1995. The Department of Town Planning and Housing is the Council of Europe Committee for Cultural Heritage's official government representative on the island, but works together with other organizations in Cyprus such as the Department of Antiquities, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Cyprus Tourism Organization, in the planning and hosting of the European Heritage Day. These days revolve around exhibitions and presentations on the year's theme as well as guided tours and walks around various buildings and monuments in a selected area. Archaeological remains play their part in the Heritage Day and various past themes have included; "*Walk in Traditional Kaimakli*" (1996) and "*In the footsteps of Aphrodite*" *(in the Paphos district)* (1998) (Department of Town Planning and Housing 2002: 7).

The Department of Antiquities came into existence with the Antiquities Law of 1935, and is now over 70 years old. It is a direct branch of government falling (along with the Departments of Postal Services, Merchant Shipping, Civil Aviation, and Public Works) within the Ministry of Communications and Public Works. The benefits of reorganizing the Department of Antiquities or its transfer to the Ministry of Education and Culture are being considered in an effort to enable the Department of Antiquities to modernise and make the Department more effective, though no decision has yet been reached (mcw.gov.cy). Regionally, the District and Municipal Authorities are obligated to co-operate with central public bodies in the conservation of cultural heritage located within their municipal areas or districts, and must take appropriate measures to prevent loss, destruction or deterioration of that heritage.

Despite making numerous enquiries it was not possible to find detailed information on the funding of the Department of Antiquities and the subsequent destiny of funds generated at

archaeological sites thorugh entrance fees. At a fundamental level, budget proposals are submitted by the Department to Government annually. Parliament discusses the submission and then decides on what is to be allocated, but I am not sure if this in turn comes from a fund allocated to the Ministry of Communication and Works, which is then, at the Minister's approval, divided between the Departments within his remit or if the money is allocated directly from Parliament to the Department of Antiquities).

The Department is headed by a director. Under him are two senior officials who head the two major branches of the Department; the Curator of Museums (& Surveys) [Surveys is not usually quoted nowadays as proper surveys are no longer carried out by the Department, only rescue surveys etc.][13] and the Curator of Monuments & Sites. Other senior posts include that of Archaeological Officer A, of which there are only two; one supports the Curator of Museums (& Surveys) and the other supports the Curator of Monuments & Sites. When the position of Curator becomes vacant, it is filled by one of the Archaeological Officer As - there are no interviews for these positions; appointments are based on an internal decision. Then there are archaeologists who are assigned a range of duties, for example, in museums and regions (Paphos region and Limassol Museum have an Archaeologist, but not Larnaca or any of the other smaller museums), and contract archaeologists appointed on short terms (normally less than a year at a time) who are assigned specific tasks, for example, the cataloguing of private collections.

All archaeological work in the Republic of Cyprus is undertaken by the Department of Antiquities or by expeditions with a formal permit, issued by the Department of Antiquities. Permits are limited to established scholars in conjunction with a university or research institute to provide institutional support. Publication is required and permits will be withheld if publication is not timely. Conservation of material is required as part of the permit and should be budgeted for. Usually rescue/salvage excavations within Cyprus are carried out by the Department of Antiquities, though occasionally the University or foreign teams are asked to assist if willing and able. Reports from rescue excavations are published by the Department in the Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. The government of Cyprus owns all registered archaeological sites, though excavation work is often undertaken on land leased from a

[13] According to Greene "... there are only limited formal intra-governmental mechanisms for coordinating development planning and cultural resource preservation, and the work of the Cyprus Survey, the primary means in the past by which the Department gathered information on antiquities outside the major known sites, has been curtailed since the 1970s" (1999: 50).

landowner. If the site is not then considered a registered site, it reverts to the owner. The government also undertakes site conservation or tenders contracts for it (Davies pers. comm. May 2006).

Within this centralized system, much authority over and responsibility for antiquities policy lies with the Director of the Department and much rests, therefore, on the personal character and aims of this individual. Hadjisavvas acknowledges that the work of the Department has in the past reflected the person of the director (1995: 1). For example, the Director of Antiquities for the last 25 years of British rule, A.H.S. Megaw, was an architect by training and the work carried out by the Department at the time reflects this fact. The main concern within the Department at that time was the conservation of the medieval castles and the Nicosia fortifications. Much work was done on this, but other archaeological sites received much less attention as did Byzantine remains, though listed in the Antiquities Laws (Hadjisavvas 1995: 1)[14]. This fact probably also reflects British colonial interests at the time, which placed an emphasis on the Crusader period in particular, owing to the obvious pre-existing British connection with the island, as reflected in the English travel and government policy writings discussed in the previous chapter.

Greene also acknowledges the centralisation of the Department's activities in the office of the Director of Antiquities, a fact which he says "... in many ways shaped the Department's response to the dilemma of cultural resource management" (1999: 47). He gives the example of the rescue of the Late Bronze Age site at Ayios Dhimitrios, threatened in 1979 by the construction of a multi-lane divided highway between Nicosia and Limassol. The discovery came too late to realign the road so the Department had to rescue as much of the site as possible before it was destroyed by the construction of the road. The Department, however, did not respond by initiating its own excavations; instead, at the personal request of the Director of the Department, Vassos Karageorghis, the *Vasilikos Valley Project* (an independent group researching the prehistory of the area) were called upon and accepted the challenge of excavating the site. According to Greene, there is a more uncoordinated response to the cultural resource management problem in Cyprus than in other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, though the situation with regard to rescue excavations has been improving steadily over recent years. In Cyprus, the allocation of sites for rescue often occurs haphazardly, depending, according to Greene, "... on what

[14] Megaw, though not trained as such, was in fact a Byzantinist, and this interest on his part ensured that this period did not remain entirely neglected.

was found, where and by whom" (1999: 48). The intervention of the Vasilikos Valley Project in the rescue of the site at Ayios Dhimitrios is a case in point. Were it not for the presence and willingness of this project team to take on board the rescue excavation, the road construction would undoubtedly have resulted in the loss of much important archaeological information.

In this case, I suggest that the personal interest of Professor Karageorghis in this particular site and period ensured the site's rescue and preservation. As already noted, the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus operates within a highly centralized and indeed pyramidal system, within which the role and personality of the Director of the Department becomes very influential. As Director of the Department from 1963 until 1989, it was inevitable that the personality of Professor Vassos Karageorghis would have an overwhelming influence on the nature of archaeological conduct in Cyprus. Every aspect of Cypriot archaeology, from practice to research interests and conclusions were affected by his personality and management style. His influence was further extended through his founding of the Archaeological Research Unit of the newly-established University of Cyprus in 1992 and through his role as director of that Unit until 1996. Cypriot archaeology is undoubtedly indebted to this individual's vigour and enthusiasm in promoting Cypriot archaeology at home and abroad and in striving to achieve best practice in the field. Most notable in this regard, is his zeal to ensure that all excavated sites are published in a timely fashion and his efforts in the area of site preservation, exemplified in his organising, with the Department of Antiquities, of the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) conference *"Conservation on Archaeological Sites"* in 1983.

Unfortunately, such a pyramidal structure within the Department meant that, inevitably, a void was created on Professor Karageorghis' retirement, that has proved difficult to fill, and poses the question of whether or not it is beneficial for one person to wield such influence over the profession, both academically and in the field. During his tenure the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age horizon received disproportionate attention in the area of academic research, as is evidenced by a brief glance at the themes of the major international conferences hosted on Cypriot archaeology during this time. This reflects the personal interests of Professor Karageorghis and the profession in Cyprus has only recently

begun to move towards a chronologically more holistic approach to its archaeological heritage.[15]

The role of the Department is made clear in its mission statement:

> "The Department of Antiquities was formed in 1935 and has since been responsible for all archaeological sites, Ancient Monuments, Government Museums and all archaeological activity, in general, on the island of Cyprus. Its main functions include the excavation of archaeological sites ranging from the Neolithic period, ca 9th M.B.C., to the 19th century, the conservation and restoration of archaeological remains and ancient monuments of Schedule A΄ and B΄ as defined in the Antiquities Law, the maintenance and expansion of archaeological museums as well as the creation of new ones and the use of ancient monuments for educational purposes and for the promotion of cultural tourism. For this purpose it organizes conferences, lectures, and exhibitions in Cyprus and abroad" (mcw.gov.cy).

The chronological remits of the Department's work in relation to archaeological excavations are stated slightly differently, however, on another official government information webpage:

> "The Department of Antiquities is responsible for the excavations, in many sites. Foreign missions are carrying out such work at a number of sites. All this aims at discovery and study of the remnants of older phases of the island's civilisation, dating from the pre-neolithic period 10.000 B.C. to the Middle Ages." (cyprus.gov.cy 2004a).

The implications of the limitations of this chronological framework will be discussed later in the chapter. Ancient monuments and antiquities dating from periods up until 1940 are protected by the Department, but as indicated on the aforementioned government webpage and by the results of my fieldwork, later periods have traditionally received far less attention.

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[15] To be fair to Professor Karageorghis, he is also a product of his time and his personal interests were perhaps dictated by the agenda of the day. By centralising so much authority in one person, rather that distributing it amongst a team, the direction of influence becomes cyclical, and little room is left for innovation arising from the active airing and negotiation of different perspectives.

Supporting Organisations

3.4 Supporting Organisations

There are a number of other organizations, which though not directly responsible for archaeological excavation, site preservation or promotion, play a role in cultural heritage preservation, promotion and management in Cyprus. Most prominent among them are the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation (Cyprus), the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and the Cyprus Tourist Organization. The archaeological and cultural heritage activities of both the Leventis Foundation and the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation are philanthropic in nature, while the Cyprus Tourist Organization is a statutory body and, as such, its activities can be claimed to be directed by government policy. Nonetheless, all three of these organisations play an important role in the promotion of Cypriot archaeology both nationally and internationally and in promoting the specifically Hellenic character of the island.

3.5 The Leventis Foundation

The Leventis Foundation was established in 1979, the year after the death of its namesake, Anastasios Leventis, a Cypriot businessman and philanthropist and Cyprus' honorary Ambassador and Permanent Delegate to UNESCO from 1966. The philanthropic activities of the organisation focus on culture and education with particular interest in issues of Hellenic or Cypriot concern. The Cypriot Branch of the Foundation, dealing solely with Cypriot affairs, was founded the following year, in 1980. As set out in the Foundation's mission statement, it

> "...specialises in the preservation and promotion of the historical and cultural resources of the island. Of particular concern is the rescue of the cultural heritage of the occupied territory from looting and trading. Numerous important objects of ancient Cypriot art have been purchased by the Foundation in the antiquities market abroad and donated to the Cyprus Museum. Particularly noteworthy is the repatriation of antiquities stolen and exported abroad from the Hadjiprodromou Collection in Famagusta, occupied by the Turkish army since 1974. The Foundation finances the preservation and enhancement of archaeological sites and historic monuments of all periods, as well as examples of vernacular architecture in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus"(leventisfoundation.org).

The Foundation has been active in the creation of a number of museums in Cyprus, including the Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, and the Museum of Mycenaean Colonisation, associated with the archaeological site of Maa-Palaiokastro (which will be discussed in detail later in the chapter). Its other large area of concern is the upgrading of Cypriot collections in international museums - for example the "Leventis Gallery of Cypriot Antiquities" created in 1987 at the British Museum where the museum's most important Cypriot pieces are exhibited - and in some cases, the publication of these collections or parts thereof (Karageorghis 1998: 117). One of the most important collections of Cypriot archaeological material outside of Cyprus is the di Cesnola collection housed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. This controversial collection was upgraded in recent years with the aid of the Leventis Foundation as part of the rearrangement of the museum's Greek and Roman material. Professor Karageorghis was made a consultant to the project in 1997 and four permanent galleries for the "masterpieces of the di Cesnola collection" were created (Karageorghis 1998: 117). Out of the 6000 strong collection about 1200 items dating from c 2500 B.C.E. to 300 CE have been selected to cover the "main" periods of Cypriot archaeology (Karageorghis 1998: 117), thus defined as the Bronze Age, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman

periods with later periods ignored entirely.[16] This was perhaps in keeping with the notion of the Cypriot gallery as part of the "Greek and Roman" exhibit and not as an independent entity bearing witness to an autonomous cultural assemblage. The galleries, located on the second floor were opened on 5th April 2000. The Leventis Foundation endowed the Classical period gallery, lending it its name as in the case of the British Museum. A "lavishly illustrated handbook" of more than 500 objects was also published before the inauguration (Karageorghis 1998: 117).

Permanent exhibitions in many other locations, Cambridge, Copenhagen and Stockholm, to mention just a few, have been made possible with the financial assistance of the Leventis Foundation (normally following the personal intervention of Professor Karageorghis). Furthermore, the Foundation has been active in the controversial activity of buying illegally exported cultural material for repatriation purposes (Karageorghis 2002: 68 n. 1).

Some question whether this practice, as opposed to legally pursuing repatriation of objects through the courts, in and of itself encourages further looting. Herscher claims that there is evidence that it does. She gives the example of the Kanakaria mosaics, a case in which the smuggler involved knew that the mosaics were too well known to be sold on the open market. Instead, he expected the Cypriot government to buy back the mosaics as they had done in the past, or have someone buy them on its behalf, as had happened when the Menil Foundation of Texas purchased some frescoes (Herscher 2001: 48).

The Foundation also has a Publications Programme, again mostly concerned with the cultural heritage, history and archaeology of Cyprus. In addition to having its own imprint facilities, the Foundation also makes grants to other publishers and academic institutions. The overall result is that the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation plays a vital role in the promotion of Cyprus' cultural and archaeological heritage, both at home and abroad.

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[16] di Cesnola's enormous collection contains nothing pre-Bronze Age, thereby delimiting the starting point of the exhibition in the Bronze Age. Stanley Casson, writing in 1937, notes that the early failure to find Neolithic remains is a distinct curiosity of Cypriot archaeology, and this absence of mention of pre-Bronze Age sites and finds lasts up until, and includes, Gjerstad's 1926 *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*. All supposed megalithic remains proved to be later, except in the case of those at Hala Sultan Tekke, which in light of government regard for religious feeling could not be investigated. He finds it extremely strange that di Cesnola's workers and even the Swedes had "virtually failed" to find any trace of Neolithic life (1937: 19-21). Furtehrmore, by extending its remit to 300AD, the collection extends further than most of the books published on the archaeology of Cyprus.

3.6 The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation

The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation was founded in 1984, the tenth anniversary of the Turkish invasion and occupation of the north of the island. According to the Foundation's website, the organization was founded out of a concern for the cultural remains in the Turkish occupied territory and (in response to this situation) to promote the Hellenic character of the entire island:

> "The Foundation was born out of the Bank's growing concern to assist in the rescue of the island's cultural heritage, which has been pillaged or stolen by the Turkish forces from the occupied areas, and to promote the Hellenic culture of Cyprus at a professional and scholarly level. Thus, while the context of all projects undertaken by the Foundation is meant to be Cyprological, i.e. pertaining to Cyprus (art, history, literature, etc.), the philosophy and policy of the Foundation is to promote the Hellenic character of Cyprus, in as much as this is an island of the wider Hellenic world. This assessment does not by any means detract from the unique, historical development of Cyprus from antiquity to the present" (bankofcyprus.org 2003a).

A branch of the foundation was opened in Greece in 2000, its aim being the strengthening of "... cooperation between the Cultural Foundation and foundations in Greece and to contribute on a nation wide level, with regard to cultural issues concerning the Hellenic world as a whole" (bankofcyprus.org 2003a). It is in this light then that we must understand the activities of the Foundation. For example,

> "In 1991 the Cultural Foundation invited the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece (IEEE) to exhibit, in Cyprus, the "Relics of the 1821 Greek Revolution", comprising items from the large collections of the National Historical Museum. In 1995 the Foundation invited the same society to bring to Cyprus another exhibition, the "Jewellery of Greek Traditional Costumes of the 18th and 19th centuries". In the same year the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece presented the Cultural Foundation with an honorary award for its contribution to Hellenism in general" (bankofcyprus.org 2003b).

Since its inception, the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation has been involved in the promotion of cultural tourism in Cyprus. During the 1980s it undertook, in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities, the publication of a series of short, high quality, illustrated guidebooks to a number of selected ancient monuments and archaeological sites of Cyprus. The Foundation also organizes an annual lecture on the history and archaeology of Cyprus which is open to the public and which is given by scholars of international standing and then published. In this way, efforts are made to maintain the high profile of Cypriot archaeology in international academic, as well as public, circles.

There is no doubt that the work carried out by the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, and also the Leventis Foundation, in relation to Cypriot archaeology and cultural heritage

is of enormous importance; but embedded within this beneficial philanthropy is the nationalistic ideological agenda previously outlined and the effectiveness of that agenda is directly related to the real contribution to archaeology brought about by these activities. This is not to say that the Foundations' activities are not motivated by a genuine interest in, and desire to facilitate, the advancement of Cyprus' archaeological heritage, but that the two ends of this corporate citizenship can not be entirely separated from one another or understood in isolation.

3.7 The Cyprus Tourism Organisation

The third major player in the promotion of archaeology in Cyprus is the Cyprus Tourism Organisation (C.T.O.). Unlike the two independent organisations already discussed, the C.T.O. is a statutory body established by the Government of Cyprus in 1969. It is responsible for the promotion and marketing of tourism to Cyprus and provides assistance to organizations and individuals related to tourism on the island (Cyprustourism.org). As part of its efforts to attract tourists to the island and to ensure that their stay is as interesting and pleasing as possible, the C.T.O. attractively and vigorously signposts Cyprus' archaeological monuments to the visitor in its brochures, guidebooks and website as well in the numerous and well-stocked tourist offices run by the Organisation located throughout the island. The Organisation makes a conscious play on the mystique of the island accentuated through its antiquity and archaeological remains (their current slogan is "irresistible for 10,000 years") and Cyprus' association with classical mythology, particularly that of Aphrodite.

In fact, the goddess is rather difficult to escape in any of the material produced by the C.T.O., though, as shall be seen later in the chapter, this may have as much to do with new twists in the national narrative, to which she is central, as with her timeless allure. She is also part of the "unique image and identity for Cyprus" that the C.T.O. is promoting as part of its aim to maximize income as set out in the "Executive Summary" of the "Strategic Plan for Tourism Development 2003-2010". With regard to how this is to be done, the summary proposes that the C.T.O.,

> "... take advantage of advertising and the various promotional and public relations tools to systematically project a coherent and unique image on the basis of repositioning. It will also attempt to target selected markets and market segments in the most effective possible way" (visitcyprus.org.cy: 6).

Archaeological artefacts provide the concrete expression of this 'unique identity' and much of the promotional material produced by the C.T.O., and, indeed, the main logo on their website features Aphrodite. In the case of the C.T.O. logo a stylized image of the Aphrodite of Soloi has been used (**Figs. 4-5**). This marble statue of a nude female dating from the first century B.C.E. was found at Soloi on Cyprus and is now housed in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. The statue was chosen by the C.T.O., despite being a rather poor Roman copy of a Classical original. Presumably, the 'Aphrodite link' is sufficient cause for its adoption by the company.

Besides advertising the archaeological and cultural heritage attractions of Cyprus as part of the allure of the island for tourists, this organisation has been directly involved in the funding of projects for the conservation and promotion of certain archaeological sites.[17] In the 1990s plans were prepared and contracts tendered by the Department of Antiquities for the upgrading and promotion of a number of archaeological sites in Cyprus. 50% of the funding for the work on the sites of Kourion, Kouklia and Choirokoitia was provided by the Cyprus Tourist Organisation. This is not surprising given that the terms of reference of the "Master Plan" for the sites of Kourion and Kouklia states,

> "The development objective of this project is to increase the economic benefits derived from international tourism in Cyprus through the improvement, for tourist presentation purposes, of two archaeological sites in Cyprus, so that they can make a greater contribution to the overall tourism product" (cited in Hadjisavvas 1995: 6).

Different criteria were set out for the upgrading of the Neolithic site of Choirokoitia, the nature of the remains requiring special treatment. A Visitor's Centre was created beside the archaeological site and contained reconstructions of some of the Neolithic round houses giving visitors an idea of how the site would have looked originally, but without disturbing the ruins. Other facilities were also added, including a new car-park and new access to the excavated remains (Hadjisavvas 1995: 6). The implications of investment of this sort for archaeology are dealt with in detail later in the chapter and with particular reference to the site at Kourion.

These then are the major players involved in the management of cultural heritage in Cyprus and in the promotion of that heritage both nationally and internationally. The ideological and economic content of the cultural activities of these organisations and foundations is clear and obviously impacts on the archaeological narratives available at a popular level to both national and international audiences. I shall now look at how the system operates and the implications for archaeology and archaeological interpretation.

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[17] The Organisation's interest in archaeological site promotion extends back to the early 1980s when it was one of the financial sponsors of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) conference on "Conservation on Archaeological Excavations" held in Nicosia in August 1983.

The System in Action: Challenges and Case Studies

3.8 Archaeology and Tourism

World-wide, the tourist industry is big business generating billions of dollars annually and as a case in point provides 13% of total employment in Cyprus alone (Cyprus.gov.cy 2004[b]). According to the data released in June 2002 by the Secretariat of the World Tourism Organisation, international tourist arrivals amounted to 693 million in 2001; 0.6% down compared to 2000 due to the weakening economies of major tourism-generating markets and the impact of the terrorist attacks of September eleventh (World-tourism.org 2002). Such numbers have an enormous effect on the economies of tourist destinations. Besides the hotels, restaurants and catering sector, there are the travel agencies, rent-a-car agencies and innumerable other small businesses that depend on the tourist trade. Much depends, then, on its development and sustained success.

As a result of the enormous economic benefits of tourism to a given country, governments and regional authorities are keen to promote those resources at their disposal in order to attract as large a slice as possible of this highly lucrative market. These resources include anything from the natural environment, sand and sea etc. to local culture, or at least a stylized stereotyped version of it, to archaeological resources. Doumas, in a study on the interpretation of the past in modern Greece, noted that in recent years it was perceived that economic growth was dependent on tourism, in turn dependent on archaeology and museums and, thus, every village sought to have its own archaeological attraction and related museum (2001: 79-80). It is understood that the development of the historical pedigree of an area will enhance tourism and employment and, of course, also play a part in boosting civic pride. A similar process can be noted in Cyprus as my fieldwork revealed, whereby everything, from old churches to traditional oil presses, was promoted for tourist consumption. The tangible past is thus not only a country's culture but essentially also its economic mainstay; in many countries tourism has been the driving force behind the development of archaeological and heritage sites (Sivan 1997: 51). As cultural tourism grows annually, "artificial" archaeological sites such as replica ancient farms and Iron Age villages are being constructed in order to cater to this ever-expanding market (Fowler 1981: 67). In the words of Lowenthal, "If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it 'the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all'" (1985: 4)

Archaeological remains, and cultural heritage generally, are important to tourism for a number of interrelated reasons. Primarily, they add an element of perceived *high culture* to a holiday itinerary. It is understood that such amenities attract a higher calibre and therefore bigger spending class of tourist. A report from the Guardian from May 1978, on efforts made by the Cypriot government for the promotion of the tourist industry states:

> "There has been a conscious effort to attract the higher economic range of tourists - the A. B. C1 groups who are interested in the history and culture of Cyprus as well as the beach. Criteria have been set out for how best to do this; hotels "should also "bear the stamp of the Cypriot character" in their use of decoration. Some use old stones for instance. Others use replicas of Cypriot mosaics; Cyprus art, weaving and furniture feature in others" (Khan 1978).

Despite these efforts, Cyprus had become synonymous in recent years with mass tourism and sea-side resorts. In an effort to create a counter-balance, the government recently backed a number of eco-friendly agrotourism projects (Wright 2003) and the Cyprus Agrotourism Company was founded to deal exclusively with holidays in the Cypriot countryside. That Cyprus is still aiming for the A. B. and C1 visitors interested in culture is clear,

> "The Cyprus Tourism Organisation, having considered this new trend of visitors wishing to experience a new, alternative way to holidaymaking, has set in motion a programme of restoration of traditional houses and enhancement of the traditional element in Cyprus villages, within the framework of the philosophy of agrotourism" (agrotourism.com.cy 2004).

3.9 The System in Action: the Challenges Presented by Economic Development and Cultural Tourism

Since independence in 1960, Cyprus has invested heavily in tourism as a vital source of revenue. The Cypriot economy was boosted enormously by the growth in tourism in the 1970s and 1980s. It was also a major contributor to the increase in *per capita* income and standard of living and, as an industry, grew several times faster than other sectors of the economy (Vassiliou 1994: 10). After independence, the Director of the Department of Antiquities was directly involved with government in the development and promotion of so-called cultural tourism. According to Hadjisavvas,

> "New large-scale excavations were undertaken at the most attractive archaeological sites while an ambitious program of reconstruction of the three known theatres was initiated. The excavations resulted in the uncovering of substantial archaeological remains including villas adorned with mosaic pavements and public buildings" (1995: 2).

Hadjisavvas ackowleedges that many of these remains were in urgent need of conservation and consolidation, but the Department lacked the necessary services and skills: the first conservator was appointed in 1968, some years after the discovery of the famous Paphos mosaics, while the first architect was appointed in 1972. This was a result of a new vernacular architecture a preservation program which the Department was undertaking (Hadjisavvas 1995: 2).

The Department's financial resources at the time were even more meagre than their specialized service expertise, and the reconstruction of theatres, perceived to have the greatest earning potential, was a management priority. In 1963 there were 245 listed monuments and expenditure for the year was CY£24 146. Of this, the majority was spent on the reconstruction of the Salamis, Kourion and Soloi theatres. Only CY£697 was spent on fresco conservation, while CY£6102 was spent on land acquisition for the preservation of archaeological sites. Included in this sum was the plot of land on which the "House of Dionysos" at Paphos had been found the previous year, 1962, which contained a number of impressive mosaics (Hadjisavvas 1995: 2). Within the framework of the promotion of cultural tourism, theatres are a natural choice for the direction of conservation funds. They have the same potential for use in the present as they did in antiquity, thus there is reason for reconstructing them even when a similar amount of surviving material would not warrant reconstruction in another type of building (Wright 1994: 2). It is now widespread practice in Cyprus for dramatic productions to be staged in these reconstructed theatres; for

example, the International Festival of Ancient Greek Drama held its performances at the ancient theatre at Paphos throughout the month of August 2003.

Visitors to sites and museums in the same year, 1963, numbered 285 295, while the three most popular sites were St. Hilarion Castle: 47 673, Salamis site: 47 238 and Belapais Abbey: 39 986 (Hadjisavvas 1995: 2). All of these sites are, or include, impressive standing stone monuments which had undergone restoration and promotion of some sort by the Department of Antiquities. Reconstruction of stone monuments had been a practice of the Department of Antiquities since its inception in 1935. The major periods that underwent archaeological work in the 1930s were the Neolithic and Chalcolithic,[18] Late Bronze Age (thirteenth to twelfth centuries B.C.E.) settlements and the Graeco-Roman period, including the Ptolemaic conquest (Wright 1994: 1). In each of these periods stone construction of some sort was prominent, which made preservation issues easier to solve practically than if the material at issue were mud brick. When, after World War II, large scale remains were uncovered, as at Choirokoitia and Enkomi, the policy according to Wright

> "... was to inspect the structures after each winter's rains and for a team of masons and assistants to replace, re-erect and repoint all displaced stone masonry. In this way archaeological ruins continued to exhibit their characteristics clearly to the visitor" (1994: 1).

Further considerations were necessary for the Graeco-Roman ruins. In the case of remains from these periods, it was often clear how the fallen remains were originally pieced together and thus plans could be made for their reassembly. This process of re-assembling the existing but dismembered parts of a monument is known as *anastylosis*. The re-erection of columns is the simplest form of *anastylosis*, but even this has a huge impact on the appearance of the monument (Schmidt 1997: 45). In contrast to 'reconstruction', which is the partial or full-scale duplication of a monument (e.g. **Fig. 6**), *anastylosis* aims at avoiding the introduction of modern building materials into the restored monument. In contrast to northern Europe, *anastylosis* is popular in the Mediterranean as a restoration technique and was widely adopted in Cyprus. The advantages of this policy are that it

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[18] Cypriot prehistory was further opened up in the 1930s by the discovery of the first Neolithic settlement at Petra tou Limniti by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The young Cypriot archaeologist, Porphyrios Dikaios, was inspired by this find to investigate these earlier periods and from 1933 to 1935 excavated the Chalcolithic site at Erimi and in 1936 began work at Khirokitia, Sotira, Troulli and Kalavassos in order to demonstrate the development and importance of the Neolithic period (Karageorghis 1994-5: 850). The attraction of these periods have been summarised by Karageorghis, "*The island's robust Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures were very impressive, both with regard to their artefacts and architecture*" (1994-5: 851).

clears up the site revealing its ground plan and prevents those individual pieces from being damaged on the ground and, of course, gives an idea visually of how the structures would originally have looked. An important example of this in Cyprus is the Gymnasium at Salamis and, more recently, the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates near Kourion (**Fig. 7**). In addition to *anastylosis*, however, many monuments in Cyprus underwent quite considerable reconstruction for which large amounts of new material were sometimes required (Wright 1994: 2). This fact proves controversial in conservation circles where it is held that the addition of new material be kept to a minimum and when added, be clearly indicated and differentiated from the original material. These principles were given binding authority in the Charter of Venice which was adopted by ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites) in 1965 (Sullivan 1997: 15).

The misuse of reconstruction or *anastylosis* can destroy the integrity of the structure as a historical document. As a result, the Venice Charter only allows *anastylosis* and not reconstruction on excavation sites (Schmidt 1997: 46). There is a visual difference between the results of the two, the clearest example being between the Library of Celsus in Ephesus on which *anastylosis* was practiced and which is still partially in ruins and the fully restored Stoa of Attalos in Athens (Schmidt 1997: 42-6).[19]

Full-scale reconstruction of a monument affects not only the monument itself, but impacts on the entire site. Reconstruction of buildings which were originally in harmony with their surroundings may now jar with other low rise remains or modern structures, for example, as is the case with the Stoa of Attalos in Athens or the Roman Forum (Schmidt: 1997 41). The physical dominance now given to one monument over others on the site automatically gives precedence to this structure in the mind of the visitor in historical as well as modern terms, thus potentially presenting a skewed or incorrect image of the role and importance of the monument in the past. Furthermore, once a building has been reconstructed in its entirety, one interpretation of how that building would have appeared in antiquity is privileged and becomes authoritative, at least in terms of public understanding of the monument. It is rarely the case that archaeologists are fortunate enough to have been provided with enough evidence from antiquity to be entirely sure of how many monuments would have looked originally and often several competing interpretations may exist simultaneously or, indeed, an individual interpretation may change over time, as the

[19] The Stoa of Attalos underwent reconstruction or rebuilding prior to the Charter of Venice endorsed *anastylosis* as a restorative technique and so to judge it by such later criteria is unfair. It does, however, serve as one of the clearest examples of the end results of reconstruction work.

famous case of the Palace at Knossos demonstrates. Equally, the monument in question may have served several purposes during its lifetime and accordingly changed physically over time. Any reconstruction necessarily privileges one period in the life of the monument over others, thereby privileging that period over others in the historical narrative being presented at the site.

In general the guidelines set out in the Charter of Venice have not always been followed in Cyprus, most obviously in the case of the theatres already mentioned. The resulting damage to the theatres will be highlighted later in the chapter in reference to the situation at Kourion. Furthermore, the reconstruction of these monuments ensured their prominence both in the physical landscape and in the topos of public imagination, thus promoting and giving permanence to the narratives associated with them.

Returning to the work of the Department of Antiquities in its first two decades, the Department was not only constrained by the financial limitations previously mentioned, but had to contend with the problems wrought by the increasing number of visitors. According to Hadjisavvas, the archaeologically rich area of Famagusta was threatened most by the rapid surge in the tourist industry, but at the same time was the focus of further developmental plans involving archaeological sites,

> "A UNESCO expert, CM Musso, was commissioned in 1973 to prepare a study for the presentation and development of archaeological sites for tourist purposes. As a basis for this undertaking the Department, with the technical assistance of UNESCO, organised the "Bureau for the Establishment of the Inventory of the Cultural Property of Cyprus". The Famagusta District received priority and was included in the Pilot Project" (1995: 2).

The Bureau's activities were halted with the Turkish invasion of July 20th 1974. Musso's report, published in 1974, entitled "Study for the preservation and mise-en-valeur of the cultural heritage of the eastern region of Cyprus for cultural and tourist purposes", was the first such to be produced in Cyprus (Hadjisavvas 1995: 2).

In 1973, 70% of tourists to the island were attracted to the Famagusta and Kyrenia districts (Hadjisavvas 1995: 2). With the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974 and subsequent occupation of the northern half of the island, the Department of Antiquities had a whole new set of problems with which to contend. The tourist trade, previously absorbed by Famagusta and Kyrenia, and the problems it engendered now emerged at Limassol, Paphos

and Agia Napa. In the post-invasion years the Department had to deal with hurried development as well as the burden of normal conservation and funding issues.

Development and economic growth escalated at a rapid pace with huge increases in construction, particularly in the hotel and tourist apartment sector, which saw a rise in the number of tourist beds from 13,000, in 1980, to more than 73,000 in 1993 (Vassiliou 1994: 6). This was accompanied by large-scale government investment in infrastructure as more roads, electricity and water were needed to cope with the increase in tourist numbers. The 1974 invasion meant that development on the island was one sided and drove even further development in the south which in turn put pressure on the cultural resources of that part of the island, both urban and rural, particularly in its south-western corner (Greene 1999: 47).[20]

This construction boom was such that the Cypriot coastline was transformed, while some urban centres were changed beyond recognition as a result of the hasty growth of the tourist industry (Vassiliou 1994: 16). Powell claims that in 1988 whole new villages had appeared along the south coast, built since her map had been printed in 1986 (1988: 7)[21]. The subsequent higher cost of land in these areas brought about by such rapid development and economic growth, proved to be another obstacle for the Department in its efforts to save and protect monuments.

That the Department of Antiquities was complicit in the development of this area through investment in certain types of sites for tourist consumption is acknowledged by Hadjisavvas:

> "After the invasion all efforts of the Department were directed to the regions of Paphos, Kourion, and Amathus situated near the new tourist destinations. Paphos gradually became the focus of archaeological activity particularly after its inclusion by UNESCO in the World Heritage List. The urgent and increasing need for holiday accommodation to replace that of Famagusta and Kyrenia led to a frenzied and unplanned construction of hotels, often at the cost of archaeological sites and the environment" (1995: 3).

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[20] For a discussion of the effects on the Cypriot economy and environment, and of the dependency of the economy on the tourist industry see Vasilliou 1994.

[21] Powell also notes how, in an effort to make the capital Nicosia more attractive to tourists, Famagusta Gate, one of the three entrances to the old city through the sixteenth century Venetian city walls, was converted into the Municipal Cultural Centre (1988: 7), thus demonstrating the perceived appeal of monumental antiquities to tourists.

Hadjisavvas claims, however, that UNESCO recognition of the importance of sites such as Paphos through its inclusion on the World Heritage List in 1980, along with pressure from the Department and UNESCO has led to a greater awareness of conservation and presentation issues on the part of the government, which, he says, has now "become more organized in its approach" (1995: 3). As shall be seen later in the chapter, recent projects undertaken at Paphos and Kourion would seem to undermine this claim. In 1982, the Department was reorganized and a new branch was created to deal with traditional buildings listed in the Antiquities Law and both singular houses and compounds of vernacular architecture were declared ancient monuments (Hadjisavvas 1995: 3).

The Monastery of Panagia tou Sinti is a good example of the impressive work carried out by the Department of Antiquities on more recent remains (**Figs. 8-9**). The monastery, dating from the sixteenth century, though in use until the twentieth century, underwent a programme of limited restoration based on up-to- ate and informed plans. An exhibition inside one of the rooms within the complex gives an account, not only of the history of the monastery, but also, of the restoration process. Plans, drawings, sections and photos of the monastery before, during, and after restoration are provided. Some pottery that was found while work was being carried out is also displayed in this room. The information provided states that the monastery is an archaeological site and a museum in one. The high quality of the work on this site as well as the manner of presentation was acknowledged by a Europa Nostra award in 1997.[22] Despite this however, the monastery is not sign-posted locally, and at a national level, is only mentioned in the "Cyprus 10,000 Years" guidebook. To reach it one must drive down a narrow and dangerous dirt-track for which a four-wheel drive or similar vehicle is necessary. The dearth of measures taken to stimulate and facilitate public interest in this site after so much was invested in its conservation is puzzling indeed, and one wonders whether its upkeep can be maintained in the absence of such interest. It is clear that a balance is required between creating archaeological parks with unmanageable and unsustainable numbers of visitors and not attracting any visitors at all, so that a monument and all that it may have to offer, educationally, aesthetically etc., is lost to the public.

[22] Europa Nostra is a federation of more than 200 non-governmental heritage organisations, representing 35 European countries and is presided over by H.R.H. the Prince Consort of Denmark. Since 1980, the Europa Nostra Heritage Awards scheme has given annual awards of Diplomas and Medals for outstanding restoration work on completed projects of European significance (europanostra.org). To date Cyprus has won nine Europa Nostra Awards: two Medals and seven Diplomas.

To its credit the Department has since won a number of Europa Nostra awards for its efforts on other such buildings, but as already noted, such awards do not necessarily guarantee long-term management plans for sites. Hadjisavvas claims that "The ICOMOS slogan a 'future for our past' has, for the most part, been realized in Cyprus". As my fieldwork highlighted, however, it is a specific past that has, and is, being saved. In the current situation monuments and artefacts are conserved and protected if they fit one of the two criteria set out at the beginning i.e. if they are ideologically or economically viable. The result is that a large part of the past, and the people who created it, are unevenly represented or in some cases, not represented at all.

3.10 The System in Action: Kourion and Maa Palaiokastro

Much of what archaeology is about is the presentation of knowledge within the tourist industry. Yet, at the same time, professionals work in a world in which a museum or an archaeological site is not always rated on the quality or quantity of the information it provides, but on how economically viable it is. It is no coincidence therefore, that the two most highly visited archaeological sites in Cyprus; Paphos Mosaics and Kourion, with a combined visitor total of over half a million for 1993 alone were, and are, the focus of a developmental 'Master Plan' conceived of by the Department of Antiquities in 1989 and since put into action (Hadjisavvas 1995, 5-6). The main aim of the master plan was the protection of the sites while at the same time promoting and facilitating tourist visits. While the aims themselves were commendable, the reality has unfortunately proved quite different, demonstrating the difficulty in reconciling site preservation and the demands of large visitor numbers. This is particularly the case, when large scale promotion and 'beautifying' of sites occurs, in the absence of long-term, well-conceived conservation and management plans, devised by professionals, in oncjuction with other stakeholders.

Similar plans were also envisaged for the sites of Kouklia and Choirokoitia. Millions of pounds were allocated for the development of these sites with, in the case of Kourion, Kouklia and Choirokoitia, 50% of funding being allocated by the Cyprus Tourist Organisation. The participation of parties with such vested interests clearly has implications for the selection and subsequent presentation of archaeological sites. This money has to be recouped with interest, and while such high visitor numbers is great news financially, it is one of the main factors leading to site destruction through wear and tear and deliberate damage. This is not to argue that sites should be closed off from visitors entirely and forgotten, for this would contradict the very reasons behind conservation in the first place: i.e. the preservation of the values invested in these sites by the public for the public. These values, however, can only be conserved when the integrity of the site, be it physical, aesthetic or educational, is not damaged by that same public or by measures taken in order to attract that public. A fine balance needs to be created, therefore, between granting the public access to archaeological monuments and the protection of those monuments, and this balance is often not struck as a result the current planning and management environment.

A pertinent example of the problems arising from such a situation is the site of Kourion in western Cyprus (**Figs. 10-15**). This large classical city incorporates several phases and

impressive visible remains including a theatre and a number of mosaics. The aforementioned government 'Master Plan' for Kourion was submitted in 1991 and in 1994 an agreement was reached between the Department of Antiquities and a Cypriot firm of consultants for the preparation of plans and tender documents for its implementation (Hadjisavvas 1995: 6). The CY£3 million project was scheduled to begin in October 2001, having already been delayed and was expected to take 18 months. Work included the construction of a large on-site car-park, souvenir shop and cafeteria, the installation of raised walkways, mosaic covers and information panels, all part of what the Director of Antiquities, Sophocles Hadjisavvas, referred to as the "beautification" of the site (Cyprus-mail.com 2001). By the following spring, tourists and tour-guides alike as well as politicians from the Green Party and other various concerned environmentalists and archaeologists were protesting due to damage being inflicted on the archaeological remains. Of particular concern was the theatre, from which plaques set in concrete on seats in the 1950s[23] were being removed and other stage structures added. It was further claimed that the mosaics were being damaged by the use of heavy on-site equipment and the laying of the walkways (Cyprus-mail.com 2002).

By January 2003, the government had succumbed to opposition pressure and agreed to freeze the year's budget for work on the theatre at Kourion, though in reality, and much to the concern of many, work continued on the site. Roxani Coudounari, a member of the Green Party and an architect specialising in monument restoration and conservation, objected to work on the site on the basis that it contravened international conventions, in particular the Charter of Venice to which Cyprus was a signatory. The principles enshrined in that charter of minimal intervention, the ability to easily distinguish new additions from the original and the ability to reverse all new additions were all being flouted at Kourion (Kadar 2003). Anger was directed at the government, however, for a completely different and conflicting reason by tour-guides, who claimed that delays to work meant that the theatre was out of bounds to tourists (Mita 2003).

It could also be claimed that at this point the site had become a pawn of inter-party power struggles, in that while the Green Party had genuine concerns about the future of the archaeological remains at Kourion, at least some of their vociferousness on the subject was borne of political manoeuvring. Whatever the cause of their protest, however, it cannot be

[23] This is a good example of how the introduction of new building materials in the course of the reconstruction of ancient monuments directly contributes to the physical deterioration of the monument.

denied that damage was being caused at the site. In November 2003 Kritonas Makriyiannis, President of the Cyprus Mosaics Research Centre, claimed that mosaics and other artefacts were disappearing from the site. The Director of Antiquities, Sophocles Hadjisavvas admitted that indeed one mosaic was missing (Cyprus-mail.com 2003). Work at the site continues. It is also worthy of note here that while millions of pounds were and are being spent on the 'development' of these major sites, many smaller, though no less important sites in Cyprus remain with little or no basic site information provided for visitors. As a result, the overall value of these sites, such as Maroni and Tammassos (**Figs. 16-17**) is severely diminished, as their potential to provide a meaningful educational, or merely pleasurable, experience is decreased or removed.[24]

It is not only archaeological remains that are affected in a scenario such as that just described, but the narratives created to elucidate their history and importance. As Silberman points out;

> "Needless to say, when market share and market orientation influence government decisions to "create" archaeological attractions, a nation's archaeological narratives are deeply affected ... In addition, ephemeral prehistoric sites and mudbrick constructions that are difficult to preserve for public viewing will often be excluded, leaving the emphasis on large-scale, impressive, masonry constructions" (1995: 259).

In Cyprus, this means an emphasis on large Classical sites like Paphos, Kourion and Amathus (**Figs. 18-19**), which of course also have the bonus of being linked to a modern national self-consciousness dependent on the ability to prove direct kinship with the ancient Hellenes (and thus modern Europe) (Argyrou 1995: 198). As the case of Cyprus proves, however, decisions to promote certain archaeological sites for public consumption are not always based on economic, but on ideological principles, which may well seem to contradict the criteria outlined for economic success.

The twelfth century B.C.E. site of Maa Palaiokastro is a case in point. This relatively small and physically unimpressive site was the subject of enormous investment in presentation and promotion on the basis of the ideological propaganda value it contained. The meagre physical remains at the site were left more or less untouched but a museum known as the Museum of the Mycenaean Colonisation on Cyprus was built nearby. The internationally renowned architect, Andrea Bruno, was commissioned to design the museum. When one

[24] As is clear from Fig's 16 and 17, discrepancies even exist in terms of how different monuments at the same site are treated – with a distinct emphasis being placed on visually impressive, structural monuments. At Tammassos, the monumental tombs are well presented and signposted, while the nearby low-level architectural remains are left overgrown and without visitor-information.

visits the site, it is not the low lying stone walls, but the large green copper dome of this museum building, designed to blend in with local vegetation of large dark bushes (Bruno and Karageorghis 1996), that grabs one's attention. Indeed, the physical remains at the site were in rather poor condition on my visit in 2003, being overgrown in places, with stones from walls dislodged by visitors' feet (**Figs. 20-21**).

This tiny site, inhabited for no more than fifty years, enjoys such prominence in the archaeological landscape of Cyprus owing to the interpretation of the site by its excavator, Professor Karageorghis, as one of the first landing posts of Mycenaean refugees following the collapse of the Mycenaean 'empire'. The site is thus associated with the 'Hellenisation' of the island. The museum itself consists of one, almost bare, circular room, 13m in diameter. Metal panels display the route taken by the Aegean refugees. The exhibition is comprised mostly of maps, photographs and diagrams. This apparent starkness has a purpose, however; Professor Vassos Karageorghis is cited on the official website of the Government of Cyprus Press and Information Office as saying that,

> "... this is a museum of nothing, a place for reflection and memory. But for Cyprus the significance is much greater. This is where the Hellenisation of the island started, a process which lasted more than 100 years. There we can put our finger on the protagonists of this historical moment and prove with indisputable evidence when and how the island became Greek" (kypros.org 1997).

By misleadingly conflating ancient Mycenaean with modern Greek identity, the archaeological data provided by this site are manipulated to produce a narrative of ethnic continuity spanning over three millennia on the island. The evolving, external nature of social identity, contingent not only on historical but on social circumstances precludes such an interpretation (Rowlands 1994: 132).

It should be pointed out here that a number of other factors were at play in the selection of this site by the Department of Antiquities for such large scale investment. This had been Karageorghis' last major excavation and one which was of great importance to him due to its ideological connotations. As an individual, he was instrumental in first persuading the Department of Antiquities to commission the project and then in securing funding from the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation (Cyprus), for the on-site museum and accompanying guide book (not part of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation collection). The choice of this site for promotion, and the nature of that promotion, clearly reflects not only a particular government policy, but Karageorghis' interests and influence. It is hard to imagine, however, that his influence would have permeated as far as it did/does were his

ambitions not shared by the rest of the establishment. The same government webpage, in an accolade to Professor Karageorghis, states:

> "Through his archaeological findings he has established, in a scientific way, the Greek character of Cyprus and the enormously significant role Cyprus played in the development of Mediterranean culture, as well as the very ancient connections of Cyprus with the Aegean and Crete, going back to prehistoric times" (kypros.org 1998).[25]

The same argument could also be applied to the cultural activities of the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation (Cyprus), the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and the Cyprus Tourism Organisation, as outlined earlier in the chapter. In each of these cases, nationalistically-inspired, ideological and economic agenda influence their support of archaeological activity. If not actively sought, this was, and is, permitted by the government as a result of a communion of thinking with state authorities on such issues. No independent regulatory body, comprised of archaeologists, local people directly affected by these projects and other interested parties including government, exists to ensure that all competing voices are heard and taken into account in the conduct and management of archaeology in Cyprus, whilst at the same time ensuring the integrity of the archaeological remains and associated knowledge. I suggest that it is only with the existence of such a body that the profession of archaeology can hope to flourish and move beyond the current, all-pervasive constraints of the nation-state, for as Karakasidou says in describing the link between the production of intellectual knowledge and power in society,

> "In the present world context, where nation-state boundaries are being challenged under a reorganization of international capital, national ideologies provide fertile ground in which intellectuals beholden to the interests of national capital are compelled - voluntarily or not - to rework their knowledge, reimagining history, for example, in ways that service the needs of the custodial classes which dominate their nation-states" (1994: 37).

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[25] However, while both Professor Karageorghis, and more latterly the Cypriot Government, have promoted this site for ideological reasons, many Cypriots were unhappy about the choice of site for promotion. This is clear form the fact that it has low visitor numbers and that a major hotel has now been built in front of the site, blocking its view from the road. Perhaps this reflects a growing cynicism on the part of Cypriots with such overt top-down nationalist narratives, especially when separated from any major economic possibilities.

Archaeology and National Identity

3.11 Selective Memory

In contrast to this concentration on certain periods of prehistory is the lack of attention paid to monuments and artefacts from periods conceived as negative or painful in the national consciousness, in particular the Ottoman period. The Department of Antiquities of Cyprus has an impressive collection of resources from the Neolithic period through to the Crusader period, but the collection becomes meagre thereafter. Of the more recent artefacts housed by the Department of Antiquities, the majority are Ottoman period clay tobacco pipes (Baram 1995: 126). The same is true with the Israeli Antiquities Authority and according to Baram, who conducted a study of the pipes, this has been the case since both departments were founded during the time of British rule. Indeed, very little from the Ottoman period on Cyprus has been recorded in the archaeological record. There are two reasons for this; the current political situation and archaeological aversion to the modern (Given 2000: 209). The modern Cypriot state is here engaged in a rather precarious political and cultural strategy; that of validating their modern European identity and right of access to Europe by virtue of a supposed thread of ethnic continuity with the ancient Hellenes.

As outlined in the previous chapter, the modern West in its development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sought for itself a source in ancient Greece (Herzfeld 1982: 5; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996: 121; Hamilakis 1999: 308). For a variety of reasons, political, economic and cultural, a boundary was created with the Oriental Eastern Other and this was reflected in the emerging discipline of archaeology. This nineteenth century Eurocentric ideology held the promise for Greeks and Cypriots of their inclusion into modern Europe on the grounds of the circular argument that if the roots of Europe were in Classical Greece, then surely the modern Cypriots and Greeks were European (Argyrou 1995: 198). In an effort to prove the validity of this claim, the Greeks and Cypriots set out to "de-Ottomanize" themselves and dispel the doubts about their ethnic identity (Argyrou 1995: 198; Calotychos 1998: 15), as this continuity with the ancient Hellenes was being questioned by some in the West, who felt that more than four centuries under Ottoman rule had led to the degeneration of local culture (Argyrou 1995: 197; Given 1991; Herzfeld 1987). [26] As a result, Argyrou states that "... there is perhaps nothing more offensive to

[26] As discussed in the previous chapter, the Austrian intellectual Fallmerayer first suggested in 1830 that there was no link between the ancient and modern Greeks, arguing on the basis of toponyms that the Greeks were Slavs since the sixth century and Albanians since the fourteenth century. His arguments spurred Greek

Cypriots and mainland Greeks than the suggestion, however subtle, that they might not be true descendents of the ancient Greeks" (1995: 198).

An effort has thus been made to whitewash the physical testimonies to the island's more 'embarrassing' cultural elements. Similar whitewashing through destruction of 'barbaric' remains was carried out by the Greek authorities as early as the mid nineteenth century in Athens, particularly on the Acropolis (Hamilakis 2001: 7), so there is a clear precedent within the greater narrative of Hellenism for such actions. Hamilakis refers to the notion of the pollution of sacred space and the subsequent purifying of that space, through the destruction of post-classical remains. In a context whereby the classical period was viewed as a 'golden age' of the new nation-state and of Western civilisation, the state through its Archaeological Services provided the tangible evidence of this 'golden age' (Hamilakis 2001: 7).

Selective memory, however, extends beyond the types of sites chosen for preservation and public presentation, to the nature of information presented at those sites and museums. The archaeological heritage of a region is one of the key expressions of the unique individuality and personality of that region, which, in a market driven by the quest for an experience of the novel and exotic, yet authentic, is a key selling point. This heritage is thus perfectly suited as a tool in the fashioning of a concise and attractive 'national signature'. Urry argues that one of the key features of organized tourism is the difference between the tourist destination and the visitor's normal place of residence or work. The seeking of authenticity in the destination, or elements thereof, derives from this contrast with everyday experiences (1990: 11). I suggest that this sense of difference, however real or imagined, stems in part from the manner in which nationalism has traditionally sought to promote certain characteristics of the state and its people as a way of differentiating itself from other peoples in other states, thus reinforcing the sense of familial connection within the "imagined community" of the nation (Andersen 1991).

These characteristics are seen as inherent and visibly manifested. Tourism both plays a role in, and feeds off this scenario, as is evidenced, for example, in the Cyprus Tourism Organisation's "Strategic Plan for Tourism Development 2003-2010" (highlighted earlier in the chapter), which seeks to promote a "unique image and identity for Cyprus"

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nationalists into a quest for proof of continuities with antiquity and the creation of an unbroken 2500 year Hellenic history (Beaton 1988: 103).

(visitcyprus.org.cy: 6). As Urry argues, the tourist searches for manifestations or "signs" of the other whom he has come to "gaze" upon.

> "All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs" (Culler 1981: 127, cited in Urry 1990: 4).

Referring to the implications of this phenomenon in the context of globalisation, Silverman, states that the site of Cusco in Peru highlights the fundamental contradiction of global tourism; one the one hand cultural differences are diminished through international contact, while on the other, tourism requires and produces "authentic" experiences of the Other as a motivation for travel (Silverman 2002: 888).

Studies in nationalism and archaeology have shown how the past and its physical manifestations can become essential tools in the self-imaginings of groups of people bound together by the political and geographic binds of the nation-state. Such studies reveal that nationalism, in an effort to inculcate a sense of unity and solidarity, promotes the nation-state as a culturally homogeneous community with a shared history and as distinct from other nations on the basis of that culture and history. An emphasis is placed on the origins of the group and myths of origin are duly provided. These are commonly succeeded by a 'Golden Age', followed by a period of decline, to be ended by the current rejuvenation of the group (Hutchinson 1994: 123; Silberman 1995: 253). In Cyprus this cycle is reflected in the focus on Mycenaean colonisation, the Classical and the Byzantine periods and, of course, the modern state, concurrent with an amnesia or at least avoidance of 'the period of decline' i.e. the Medieval to Ottoman periods. Individual and group esteem is thus boosted and the pedigree of the state is delineated. This coming full circle implies that the past has no meaning without the present and the present no meaning without the past. A thread of ethnic and cultural continuity is thus woven from the dawn of prehistory to the present glorious renaissance. The collective memory of the group is altered through the selective highlighting and suppressing of perceived important events and their physical manifestation (Zerubavel 1994: 73).

That nuances exist in the popular internalisation of such narratives is also evident. Many authors have commented on the construction, at this popular level, of anti-hegemonic narratives or the subversion of hegemonic narratives (cf. Herzfeld 1991; Silverman 2002). In the case of Cyprus, it can be argued that while the government might favour imagery of the Mycenaean past and Greek mythology for a host of economic and ideological reasons,

for most Cypriots, it is the Christian past that has a much more immediate resonance on a personal 'everyday' level and which, along with language, creates a more tangible link with the contemporary population of the Greek mainland. This does not deny the potency for ordinary Cypriots of official narratives in other contexts where, for example, the desire is felt to defend or promote the 'Greekness' of the island, particularly in relation to Turkish claims in the north, or make use of the economic potential inherent in such narratives.

3.12 Archaeological Signposts to National Identity

The power of the simplicity of the nationalist argument is not to be underestimated; it ensures ease of transmission and intelligibility to a mass audience. Through its reliance on visual metaphor it dispenses with the need for mass literacy and a common tongue, and in the process monumentalizes the landscape, and its archaeological content, as physical illustrations to the nationalist text. Physical objects can thereby stand as symbols representing either the group as a whole or some trait or historical episode pertaining to the group or its collective identity. This fact is central to the functioning of modern tourism. As Urry notes, the tourist gaze is

> "... constructed though signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is 'timeless romantic Paris'. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the 'real olde England'" (1990: 3).

In this way, these symbols can then be promoted for sale to both an international as well as domestic audience. Urry claims that considering "how social groups construct their tourist gaze is a good way of getting at just what is happening in the 'normal society'" and that this gaze is "socially organized and systematized" (Urry 1990: 2).

Nationalism, as already noted, draws attention to the differences between cultural groups. The tourist industry reinforces this sense of difference via the construction and marketing of a 'unique' national package based largely on the cultural heritage of the area in question (as witnessed in the recent decision of the C.T.O., noted earlier, to promote a "unique image and identity for Cyprus", as part of its marketing policy (visitcyprus.org.cy: 6). It is my contention that, through an examination of the nature of manufacture and promotion of that package, one can access the underlying concerns of the state and the building blocks with which the identity of the social group in question has been/is being constructed. Thus, for example, the concern with promoting the Greek nature of the island is expressed in the selection of archaeologically generated symbols from the Classical and Hellenistic period, and as will be seen later, concerns with recent entry into the European Union are reflected in the expansion of that symbolic repertoire to include visual representations of Cyprus' perceived cultural pre-eminence in Europe.

At the same time it is assumed that the promotion of local heritage, and international interest in it, will boost national pride. A recent *Newsweek* headline encapsulates this idea effectively, "It is often thought that civic pride can be bought and cultural tourism can pay

for it" (Plagens: 2002). As a case in point, Sophocles Hadjisavvas claims that the inclusion of Paphos and Palaeopaphos on the World Heritage List in 1980 was an event of huge significance for the Department of Antiquities and for its Heritage Management policy, that besides the honour and the upgrading of the site, it contributed enormously to local appreciation of the archaeological record. He states:

> "People who would never have had an understanding of their immediate man-made environment and archaeological sites, at last realized through international recognition what they actually possess" (Hadjisavvas 1995: 3).

As anyone who has ever visited the site and town of Paphos can attest, it may not be unfair to suggest that the increased local appreciation lay more with the economic possibilities arising from this honour than the archaeological knowledge it promoted. As noted earlier, the site, like Kourion, was effectively transformed into an 'archaeological park', designed by a landscape architect commissioned by the Department of Antiquities in 1988 as part of its 'Master Plan' for the site (**Figs. 22-25**). The contract for the implementation of the 'Master Plan' was signed in 1994 and cost CY£3 023 000, with construction beginning in 1995 (Hadjisavvas 1995: 5-6). As with the case of Kourion, many within the archaeological community in Cyprus have expressed concern about the damage being inflicted on the site, in particular the mosaics, since the implementation of the Master Plan.[27]

For the purposes of tourism such neatly packaged, concise symbols are easier to market and sell than the more complicated and nuanced reality of the continuously evolving nature of our knowledge of the past and the historical process. They are more readily digestible in a climate which promotes and succeeds by the sound-bite. The danger inherent in this environment is that such reliance on simplified symbols and metaphors can mean that a stereotyped and one-dimensional image of the nation is presented and promoted. This is in large part due to the nature of successful, modern advertising. Thus, Cyprus becomes the island of Aphrodite, home of mythology and inherently Greek in nature. Furthermore, authoritative narratives which seek to promote certain groups/periods to the exclusion of others, or to stake territorial claims, are bolstered, and archaeological remains become a commodity to be bought and sold to the highest bidder, in this case, the tourist industry. Clearly, much of the public face of archaeology is concerned with the representation of knowledge within the tourist industry aimed at both a domestic and international audience.

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[27] UNESCO is currently reviewing the status of sites on the World Heritage List owing to the deterioration of some site since their inclusion on the List and the failure of relevant authorities to maintain high conservation standards (Michaelides pers. comm. 13th August 2005).

This industry is further fostered and financed by government, and thus archaeology becomes a far reaching and versatile vehicle for the transmission of authoritative narratives.

3.13 The Presentation of Archaeological Knowledge: a Mechanism of Social Inclusion and Exclusion

The selection of particular archaeological sites for promotion to the public is only one side of this situation, as we have already seen at Kourion and Maa Palaiokastro, but the wording of information provided at sites and museums is another important factor in the transmission and maintenance of such narratives. At an official level, feelings on what information should be provided and how, is well expressed in the following excerpt from an address by the then Minister of Education, Mrs. Claire Angelidou, at the opening of the international academic symposium "Cyprus in the 11th Century BC", held in Cyprus in 1993:

> "This is why the present symposium reminds us of the Greek origins of the island, which we should struggle to preserve intact. Moreover, our foreign guests have a unique opportunity to get to know and love our island and its people, to live the drama of our uprooted people and of our country divided by the Turkish invaders, and to become ambassadors for our just cause in their own countries. We do not ask for anything other than justice. We want to return to our homes: there, where we first saw the light of the sun; there, where we buried our ancestors; there, where we christened our children. There, where the archaeological remains bear witness to the Greek character of the island; in Salamis, Soloi and Lamboussa" (1993: xv-xvi).

Research into site and museum presentation in Cyprus that I carried out in summer 2003 confirms that the views expressed by Mrs. Angelidou are represented in the visitor information provided at sites and museums in Cyprus. It should be noted here that in contrast to Israel, where the majority of archaeological museums are privately run, most museums in Cyprus: the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, and the district museums at Larnaca, Limassol, Paphos, Episkopi and the other archaeological site museums are run and financed by the Government through the Department of Antiquities (Stewart 1981: 39). Most other museums such as the Ethnological Museum in Paphos, the Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia and the Pierides Foundation Museum in Larnaca are privately run, though the kinds of information provided and the manner of presentation in reality differs little from that at the larger government-run museums.

Across the board an emphasis is placed on the arrival of the Mycenaeans associated in some academic circles with the arrival of Hellenic colonizers from the Greek mainland.[28] An information plaque in the Cyprus Museum tells the visitor:

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[28] Leriou (2002) provides an overview and a critique of the archaeological narratives of the Mycenaean colonisation and hellenization of Cyprus.

> "After the fall of Knossos, just before 1400 BC, the Mycenaeans expanded to the Eastern Mediterranean and established themselves in the large commercial centres mainly Cyprus, from where they traded with the neighbouring countries".

It goes on to describe various pottery types and when discussing Mycenaean IIIC I pottery, says that it "coincides with the arrival of Mycenaean colonists". The arrival of the Mycenaeans or Achaeans is a common thread running through most of the information displays at sites and museums. The guidebook to the Larnaca Museum, which houses remains from the Neolithic to the Roman period, states;

> "During the Late Bronze Age and, especially around 1399 BC the first signs of change in the cultural substratum may be perceived, a phenomenon also observed in other regions of Cyprus. Mycenaean elements are predominant in this period, witnessing the Mycenaean colonisation of the island which in itself constituted a radical change in the history of ancient Kition, the modern-day Larnaca" (Flourentzos 1996: 4).

On the layout of the museum, the guidebook states that the second of the three rooms

> "... is dedicated entirely to the Late Bronze Age; special emphasis was placed on Mycenaean finds. Some unique specimens may be viewed in this room, such as the Mycenaean craters from Kalavassos and Pyla" (Flourentzos 1996: 21).

Sometimes, as at Palepaphos/Kouklia (a World Heritage Site) ancient sources are quoted recounting the legends of the arrival of these groups and it is stated that archaeology proves the validity of these myths. The official guide book to Kourion site states:

> "The foundation legend current in antiquity and recorded by Herodotus claimed that Kourion had been founded by Argives and indeed, excavations have yielded evidence of an Achaean settlement on the slopes of the Bamboula ridge. There are indications that Achaean colonists settled here during the first wave of Mycenaean expansion, in the 13th century BC and that others followed them in the 12th century as a result of the Dorian invasion in Greece. Earlier house remains and tombs in this area indicate that the Greeks established themselves in an existing Bronze Age town" (Department of Antiquities 1987: 9).

The validity in archaeological terms of the 'facts' stated here is a matter of much current debate, while the use of the term "Greeks" to describe any people at this point in time is untenable. One cannot project modern ethnic classifications retrospectively onto past cultural units, especially not those in existence more than three millennia ago for whom we have no evidence with regard to their own perception of self. However, the ethnogenesis of the Greek identity on the island is not only a political concern, but one which has penetrated the research goals of academia, and this ethnogenesis is to be found at the end of the Bronze Age.

This view is held by such eminent scholars in the Cypriot archaeological profession as Professor Karageorghis, who says in his address to the symposium "Cyprus in the 11th Century BC", that the eleventh century was chosen for discussion because: "The fact that Cyprus forms part of the Greek world has intrigued people for about three thousand years" (1994: xi). He proceeds by discussing the founding of the city states by Greek heroes at the end of the Trojan War and the importance of the role of Greek foundation legends in understanding this period. This Hellenic-centred understanding and presentation of the past is further reinforced by the fact that information, where provided at sites and museums in Cyprus, is in Greek and English only, though guidebooks in other European languages can also occasionally be bought. This practice is one of the most subtle yet profound manifestations I encountered of the exclusion and denial of not only Ottoman, but modern Turkish Cypriots, both in the past and, perhaps more significantly, from the right in the present to engage in the heritage of the island.

The nature of the museum building itself is also part of the totality of the visitor's experience and reinforces the narrative (or sets of narratives) being presented by the museum. Stewart notes that there are three types of architecture used for museum buildings in Cyprus; classical, as at the National Museum in Nicosia; modern as at the district museums; and reused older buildings, such as Yeroskipos, Omodhos, the Pierides Collections and the castle fortifications at Larnaca and Kyrenia (**Figs. 26-28**) (Stewart 1981: 39-40). The district museums tend to be set away from the street in their own gardens and entered via a wide staircase, giving an air of exclusivity (Stewart 1981: 39-40).

The new museum at Pollis has also been constructed in a neo-classical style, reflecting the predominant nature of the remains housed within and that of the nearby archaeological sites (**Fig. 29**). As noted by Stewart, a number of museums are housed in older buildings, re-used for this purpose. An interesting feature of the World Heritage Site at Paelopaphos/Kouklia is the fact that the museum is housed in the onsite medieval and later Ottoman fort which has been reconstructed (**Fig. 30**). Despite the fact that the fort too is an archaeological site, nothing on the site or in the building tells of its history or its role over time in the shaping of the local community.

The same is true of Kolossi castle (**Fig. 31**). This medieval castle was built in the Crusader period and remained in use right up until the British colonial period. While it is advertized

well both in pamphlets and brochures and on the roadways, the building is left to speak for itself, with absolutely no on-site information provided about the building, its grounds or history. A booklet can be bought for an additional CY£2.50. It provides good information especially on the debate surrounding the original date of the building of the castle and about the nearby medieval sugar factory, but it provides little or no information for the subsequent Venetian to modern periods. This is a chronological gap found at many sites with phases from later periods. Limassol Medieval Museum, a branch of the Cyprus Museum, for example, is housed in a restored medieval castle with prison cells added in the Ottoman period, the story of which is ignored in the narrative of the building and enclosed museum. In this way the physical historical environment is manipulated and transformed to promote concrete evidence and reminders of a particular authoritative text, whilst eclipsing unwanted pollutants to that text.

This dynamic becomes all the more palpable on reading Loulloupis, then Curator of Archaeological Museums and Surveys, who states that "... the museums are the best sources of the national identity of a people such as the Cypriot who have struggles and are still fighting so hard for their freedom and survival in the land of the fathers and ancestors" (Loulloupis 1989: 27). According to Loulloupis, the museum introduces the visitor to his distant ancestor and his recent forefather. The visitor will thereby become aware of the greatness of his ancestry. It is only with this awareness that he can intelligently plan his and his nation's future (Loulloupis 1989: 27).

3.14 Archaeology as "Symbolic Capital"

Calotychos has spoken of the buttressing of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot "ethnonationalist ideologies" by the media and education through the use of "compelling ... symbolic and metaphorical capital" (1998: 16). In an effort to minimize the impact of foreign culture, to which Cypriot society is increasingly exposed via travel, tourism and education abroad, the Cypriot Government pays for Greek television programs to be aired in Cyprus. According to Persianis,

> "The aim is to offer people the opportunity to experience Greek culture daily and, consequently, strengthen their Greek identity subconsciously. This is one of the means used to contribute to a change in mental states" (1994: 106).

In the same way that exposure to Greek television programs has a subliminal effect on people's sense of self identity, so too does daily exposure and interaction with the physical landscape around them. Here, it can be argued that the choice of certain archaeological sites, not only for preservation but reconstruction, has a similar affect.

For the same reason that Greek television programmes are aired in Cyprus, Cypriot artefacts in foreign museums are used to promote the country of origin. Archaeology and archaeologists thus become cultural and political ambassadors abroad. As noted earlier, the tireless efforts of Professor Vassos Karageorghis with the financial assistance of the A. G. Leventis Foundation have ensured that Cypriot antiquities have found a spot at the forefront of many foreign museums. These new or refurbished exhibitions are usually accompanied by high quality, glossy guides and brochures and. in many cases, previously unpublished material is catalogued and thus made available for research.

The country of origin and any ideological issues thereby promoted are thus maintained at a high level in international public awareness and further tourist interest and revenue are generated. As noted earlier, in relation to the activities of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation and the Leventis Foundation, these exhibitions and conferences *both* promote scholarly knowledge *and* also serve as very effective ambassadors of Cypriot identity for both ideological and touristic purposes; neither factor exists in isolation, and the success of the latter is frequently dependant on that of the former.

There are further examples of archaeology having been used as "symbolic capital", i.e. while the objects themselves are not for sale, their meaning and symbolic value are available to negotiate, sometimes equally intangible, benefits such as power, prestige, the

international recognition of a country or national issue etc. (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). The identity of the island and the centrality of the goddess Aphrodite, and the Greek nature of the island, in the national 'signature' being promoted by Cyprus internationally, is further evidenced in an exhibition at the Onassis Cultural Center in New York entitled, "From Ishtar to Aphrodite: 3200 Years of Cypriot Hellenism". Here again, archaeology is the emissary of choice.

The exhibition, which was presented under the auspices of Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and organized by Dr. Sophocles Hadjisavvas, Director of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, ran from 23rd October 2003 until 3rd January 2004 and comprised art and artefacts from Cyprus dating from the Late Bronze Age (circa 1400 B.C.E.) to the end of the Hellenistic period (c. 100 B.C.E.). The signature piece of the exhibition was a large torso of the goddess Aphrodite, known as Aphrodite Anadyomene, pulled from the sea-bed in Nea Paphos in Cyprus in 1956. The main focus of this exhibition, as with a previous exhibition on the Cyclades, was the island's "contribution to the development of Hellenic culture in antiquity" (helleniccomserve.com), and her importance as the "easternmost bastion" of that culture (onassisusa.org). As will be demonstrated later in the chapter, the Cypriot goddess Aphrodite is presented as being the epitome of this contribution.

3.15 The Link with Education

At this point it is pertinent to look at the links and parallels between the educational and archaeological systems in Cyprus and the roles played by both in creating and sustaining nationalist ideologies. In 1993, while Minister for Education, Mrs. Angelidou stressed a "Greek" centred educational policy, with special emphasis on Greek the language of instruction, and took measures to promote this policy (Persianis 1994: 94-9). Her opponents argued that such nationalism was inappropriate at a time when Cyprus was seeking to join the multi-cultural EU and was in the process of inter-communal discussions under the aegis of the secretary-general of the UN. Those in favour argued that pursuing national aims was normal in European countries and did not violate the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 i.e. the Treaty on the European Union (Persianis 1994: 91).

As noted in the previous chapter, the education system in Cyprus first shaped the forces of nationalism, and was in turn shaped by them, and has changed only marginally in over 100 years. As elsewhere, nationalist ideology influenced educational policy and in turn perpetuated itself through that policy (Avdela 2000: 239). As Bryant points out,

> "Greek Cypriot educators and politicians perceived and repeatedly claimed a direct correspondence between the transmission of nationalist ideology [in schools] and the creation of young Greek nationalists" (1998: 54).

As noted in the previous chapter, Greek Cypriot clergy and teachers protested British educational reforms in the 1930s such as the inter-communal standardization of education and the founding of a teacher training college in which Greek and Turkish teachers were trained together, seeing such changes as part of a 'dehellenizing' process (Bryant 1998: 57).

As argued throughout this thesis, such nationalist ideologies can also be both constructed and perpetuated through archaeological practice. Archaeological practice in Cyprus had its roots in the same period as the archaeological system and was shaped by similar forces. The goals of the education system, the promotion of the Hellenic character of the island and its people (Bryant 1998: 54), have remained constant though the political situation has changed (Persianis 1994).[29] To a lesser extent the same might be said of archaeology,

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[29] In a similar vein, Silverman, speaking of the role of education and its use of the past and archaeology in the fostering of a particular identity among school children in Cusco, Peru, states, "Schoolteachers are instructed to inculcate a discrete Cusco identity and culture in their kindergarten, primary, and secondary school students, "sensitize" them to tourism (treat tourists well), and teach them to value the cultural patrimony (protect rather than vandalise it). Teachers speak of the importance of these festivals (revived folkloric and

which functions within frameworks, both structural and methodological, put in place at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Nationalist ideologies may silently, and sometimes more vocally, infiltrate the discipline not only in terms of the selection of sites for conservation, or the information provided at sites and museums, but on a more fundamental level in terms of the shaping of academic research agendas and the conclusions thereby drawn from available data. This is attested in the overwhelming interest in recent decades in the question of Greek 'ethnogenesis' on the island and consequent research into the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age in an attempt to address this issue.

Loizos argues that it is highly problematic when students/academics/intellectuals within a country devote themselves to writing about the ethnic nation, for if people see and understand themselves primarily in terms of their ethnic or national identity "then the tendency to see everything and everyone else restrictively, is very great" (Loizos 1998: 40-1). A propensity to ignore internal diversity within the nation and the concerns of other groups within that nation develops. This is particularly problematic when these other groups are presented as the enemy, in this case either Turkish Cypriots or the Turks of the mainland. Loizos further claims that "the intellectual ethos of Cyprus encourages precisely an obsessive focus on ethnic issues" (1998: 41). Archaeological 'knowledge' produced in this context, and subsequently presented in the public domain, has the aim of educating the public, but like the actual educational system, institutional biases can affect the nature of the information provided. Greek Cypriot education is Hellenic centred, and traditionally, its archaeology has also been driven by a Hellenic-centred approach. To teach regional history in such a way so that ethnic history does not become distorted is a challenge, but one worth taking on, as often nationalist tellings of history can incite a new generation to further conflict (Loizos 1998: 41).

This also has implications for knowledge produced within the discipline of archaeology. There is now support for a Cypriot centred education system. There is a call for pluralism in education to reflect the actual nature of Cypriot society (Persianis 1994). Such a multi-vocal approach is also required within archaeology, which is after all (and is acknowledged by the Department of Antiquities as such), one facet of education through its provision of "knowledge" of the past to the public, and through its creation and maintenance of potent

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Inca festivals) for inculcating "the ancestral cultural values of Cusco by means of traditions, costumes, and dances as part of the educational process" (see El Sol, June 13, 1999)" (2002: 890).

national symbols, a powerful tool in the shaping and promotion of local and national identities.

3.16 Changing Narratives of National Identity

Like culture and identity, nationalism too is fluid and dynamic, adapting to circumstantial needs and demands. As an ideology, its advocates believe and promote the primordial 'truth' of the concepts and 'facts' inherent within it, although like other "closed intellectual systems", it runs the risk of collapse if it fails to accommodate these concepts to an ever-changing world (Knauf 1991: 31). Nationalism, as expressed in Cyprus, has shown an awareness of, and ability to, respond to these changing political, social and economic realities. There has always been an archaeological interest in the idea of Cyprus as the place where East meets West. The Cyprus Tourist Organisation is still marketing the island in this way, as the unique "crossroads of three continents" as stated in the CTO's Strategic Plan for Tourism Development 2003 – 2010 (visitcyprus.org.cy).

The changing political reality means that national and nationalist narratives have also had to adapt. Perhaps in response to the desire for E.U. entry (recently achieved), this image of Cyprus as the crossroads between East and West is taken even further in some quarters and Cyprus is projected as the place where the East was transformed to become the (Greek) West. As a result, a greater emphasis is placed on the uniquely Cypriot character of the island, though care is taken not to diminish the importance of the Greek component in that character. In some (influential) quarters, Greek Cypriot nationalism has shifted from a desire for *enosis* with the Greek mainland, to a desire for a separate state with its own Hellenic cultural identity (Calotychos 1998: 16).

An example of this is the recent utilization of the Europa myth for a series of postal stamps issued in 2002 by the Cypriot Government in anticipation of the island's entry into the European Union. The stamps feature a number of Cypriot artefacts all related to the theme of the abduction of Europa by Zeus in the guise of a bull. Four of the stamps were designed by Glafkos Theofylaktou and depict a scarab seal, two clay lamps and a pottery figurine, while the others reproduce silver coins from the kingdom of Marion in the fifth century BCE (stampmart.co.uk). They were launched in October 2002 at the pan European philatelic exhibition-competition CYPRUS-EUROPHILEX 2002 with the aim, according to Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, "... of emphasising the contribution of Cyprus to the Myth of Europa and to European civilisation" (kypros.org 2002). According to this new narrative, Cyprus is not merely the farthest flung of the Greek islands by virtue of Mycenaean colonization, but as the Republic of Cyprus Press and

Information Office states, "... a meeting place of ideas and civilisations", which inspired the Cypriot artists of antiquity to great achievements (kypros.org 2002).

The myth of Europa and the Bull is utilized to represent the role of Cyprus in the emergence of the modern West. The site goes on to discuss the poem "Evropi" by the second century B.C.E. grammarian Moschos the Syracusan. In this poem, "the Cyprian" (here interpreted as Cypriot Aphrodite) sends a dream to Europa in which two women quarrel over the princess. One is called Asia while the other is nameless. The nameless one wins and takes the name "Europe" at the behest of the gods. From this it is concluded that Cyprus is integral not only to the myth, but to the creation of (Greek) European civilisation,

> "Cyprus, as the European Greek area closest to Asia, could not help but become intrinsically involved in all this. She herself fell victim on many occasions in ancient times to attacks from Asia Minor and the Near East. However, her position also gave her the privilege of resistance and victory, thus establishing values and virtues of the spirit and heart. Cyprus, therefore, as a genuine part of the wider Greek world, as a crossroads of civilisations, as the birthplace of Aphrodite and the most important centre of her worship, and as the starting point of the Myth of Europa - both with the prophetic dream and the love that brought Zeus and Europe together - can rightly claim her role not only in the shaping of the Myth but also in the creation of the basis of European civilisation" (kypros.org 2002).

Thus, according to this official narrative, the Hellenic roots of modern Europe can be found in Cyprus. Contemporary conflicts with modern Turkey are perhaps echoed in the demonization of Eastern Asia. In this way, national artefacts with considerable symbolic capital, by virtue of their link to European as well as Cypriot identity, are used to promote Cyprus' cultural pre-eminence within Europe. It may be suggested that by stressing this pre-eminence, the Cypriot government is here engaged in an attempt to increase the island's political clout within the European Union, where, as a demographically and economically minor member, it could be argued that its ability to influence events and policy is relatively small. [30] This theme of a Greek Cyprus acting as a noble 'bulwark' for the West against the East has had even earlier expression, though in the context of the promotion of the Greek heritage of the island, thus showing a precedence for the use of

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[30] An official survey, carried out by the Directorate General Press and Communication of the European Commission, in the candidate countries, indicated that the 6 out of 10 Cypriots expected benefits from EU membership, a number higher than in the other new member states (europa.eu.int 2004: 4). Fears did exist, however, that EU membership would have a negative impact on the Cypriot economy and on employment (europa.eu.int 2004: 2). Despite this generally positive attitude towards the European Union, there is nothing to suggest that the Cypriot government, as any other, will not be seeking to promote and raise the profile of their country in an enlarged Europe, for political as well as economic purposes.

such narratives now, albeit in a different context. The following extract comes from a 1963 publication by the Department of the Greek Communal Chamber, Nicosia,

> "Throughout its long history, in fact, Greek culture in the island has been continually on the defensive against successive attacks from the East. The island's culture was saved, however, and Cyprus has retained its position as the bulwark of western culture in this corner of the world" (Maratheftis 1963: 3).

In fact it is argued by some academics that Cyprus became "Greek" before Greece did. According to Maria Iacovou, "... the [eleventh century B.C.E.] immigrants of Greek tongue developed a collective definition of their ancestry centuries before this was to become a conscious ideal on the Greek mainland" (Iacovou 1999: 1). Iacovou, who is Associate Professor of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology at the University of Cyprus,[31] goes on to argue for the culturally pre-eminent position of Cyprus in relationship to the Greek mainland in the Iron Age. She states that until "... the end of the Dark Ages (ca. 900 BC), it was Cyprus that assumed the role of a cultural centre vis-à-vis a destitute Aegean world which remained on the periphery of Mediterranean contacts" (Iacovou 1999: 1).

Repositionings of Cypriot identity and place in the world are not confined to official government rhetoric. There has been another interpretation of the Cypriot identity and nation current in Cyprus since the 1960s, but it is one which has in general received far less attention than its Hellenic cultural counterpart. This narrative has focused around issues first of independence in the 1960s in opposition to the *enosis* movement, and later of rapprochement in the 1970s following the division of the island and its people. Calotychos describes this understanding of Cypriotness as an "ideological and cultural bent - often called Cypriotism - that foregrounds citizenship of a Cypriot state over the ethnic demands of the respective motherland or metropolitan nations" (1998: 16). It does not, however, deny the respective Greek or Turkish character of either community. On the Greek Cypriot side this alternative understanding of Cypriotness was mostly associated with the communists and often ended up emphasising the rural and regional aspect of Cypriot ritual and practice in opposition to mainstream Hellenic Cypriot nationalism (Calotychos 1998: 17).

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[31] Iacovou was also Chief Editor of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation Archaeological Guide Book Series, mentioned earlier in the chapter, from 1987 to 2000.

Some see this new focus on the distinctive Cypriot character of the island as part of the movement towards rapprochement with Turkish Cypriots (Papadakis 1998: 152) and as a step towards ending the conflict and reunifying the island. Papadakis argues that an internal conflict exists in Cypriot identity: because of Cypriots' perceived dependence on Greece and their belief in their Greek origins (1998: 152). Greece was commonly viewed as the island's only ally in the international political community but especially in the EC. It was also hoped that Greece would protect Cyprus from any future Turkish invasion, a real fear as a substantial and strong Turkish army remained on the island. The new policy of 'rapprochement' or became a major political doctrine for some Greek Cypriots. The Corfu statement of June 1994 supported the movement for Cypriot membership of the EU and it was hoped that through EU membership the island could be reunified (Bahcheli 1988: 108). A recasting of memory was necessitated and as Papadakis points out:

> "Greek Cypriots thus began to appeal to a previous state of co-existence in order to justify their vision of a united Cyprus cohabited by the two ethnic groups and to counter official Turkish Cypriot claims that a history of relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is one of pure conflict (thereby proving that they can never live together)" (1998:152).

The result is that while on the one hand Greek Cypriots emphasize the 'Greekness' in their identity, on the other hand, the political expediency of the policy of rapprochement with Turkish Cypriots requires an emphasis on a common 'Cypriot' element in that identity. As Papadakis says "this means Greek Cypriots must choose to situate themselves somewhere on a continuum between an exclusively Greek and an exclusively Cypriot extreme" (1998: 153). This division was radicalized after 1974 when symbols of 'Cypriotness' began to appear more noticeably and officially alongside those of 'Greekness'. This was evidenced most clearly in the simultaneous flying of the Cypriot flag and playing of the Greek national anthem. In addition, since 1974, the Cypriot flag increasingly appeared alongside the Greek one and now normally does so (Papadakis 1998: 153).

These changes in direction in national narrative have perhaps also been inspired, or at least intensified, by recent entry into the European Union, hoped to be the answer to many, if not most of the island's problems, particularly that with Turkey (Persianis 1994: 112). A moderation of fears regarding national security and survival, inspired by E.U. membership may allow a weakening of nationalist ideology (Persianis 1994: 112). Certainly, it was seen by many in Cypriot Republic and within the European Union that a settlement to the current crisis on the island (hoped to be achieved through reunification) was of paramount importance for EU entry (Bahcheli 1998: 108-9), and this naturally had an impact on the

domestic dialogue of history and identity. As the Republic's recent entry to the European Union has proven, no such settlement was in the end required and this in turn may again direct a change in domestic narratives.

Perhaps it is in light of the changes in the direction of nationalist narratives (or at least modification of those narratives) – Cyprus, not just as a meeting place between East and West, but as a transmitter of ideas *to* East and West, and Cyprus as a place with its own unique Cypriot identity - that we can best understand the investment in, and promotion of, Neolithic sites such as Choirokoitia and Kalavassos. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Choirokoitia was one of the sites subject to massive investment on the parts of the Department of Antiquities and Cyprus Tourist Organisation in the 1990s. It was also the third Cypriot site to be included on the World Heritage list by UNESCO, being nominated by the Department of Antiquities and the French Archaeological Team excavating the site in 1996 and inscribed on the List on 15th April 1999. The fact that an island the size of Cyprus had so many sites deemed worthy of international recognition and significance was considered a great achievement for Cyprus (Clerides 1999: 1). In addition, such rewards were considered further motivation for the protection of the island's cultural heritage. The then President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Glafcos Clerides, in his opening address on the occasion of the inscription of Choirokoitia stated that

> "In our case, the preservation of our heritage assumes great significance, as it is another motive in our efforts to maintain our identity as a nation during this troubled period we are going through" (1999: 1).

The then Director of the Department of Antiquities, Sophocles Hadjisavvas noted in his addresses at the inscription ceremony that

> "The World Heritage Committee at its 22nd conference in Kyoto, Japan, unanimously decided that Choirokoitia should be inscribed on three, rather than two criteria - the additional criterion (II) concerns the role of Cyprus in the interchange of human values/ideas and the transmission of these values/ideas to the Near East and Europe" (1999: 3).

This contribution on the part of Cyprus to, especially, Western culture along with the great antiquity of human occupation on the island and thus the great antiquity of Cyprus' contribution to world culture is seen to be manifested in sites such as Choirokoitia, which are thus now permitted to share the stage with the traditional stars of Cypriot archaeological heritage.

Sustainable Archaeology

3.17 Additional Problems Caused by Isolating Certain Sites for Tourist Promotion to the Exclusion of Others

The sites of Kalavassos and Choirokoitia also demonstrate some of the purely practical problems arising out of the institutionalisation of archaeology as a branch of the civil service. One such problem was pointed out to me by Dr. Alison South, excavator of the Neolithic site of Kalavassos Tenta (pers. comm. July 2003). According to her, this site, despite having received quite substantial investment in order to make it ready for public presentation, has lower than expected visitor numbers. This fact stems in part from the correlation between civil service working hours and site opening times, i.e. 9 am until 4 pm Monday to Friday, resulting in the limiting of access to the site both to tourists, and, more importantly, to native Cypriots for whom such times clash with regular working hours. A similar situation is found at a number of other sites and is a problem I too encountered as someone wishing to visit more than one or two sites in the course of a day.

Choirokoitia, on the other hand, receives high visitor number, and thus generates a high income, and so its opening hours are extended from 9am until 7.30pm daily in summer and 9am until 5pm in winter (**Figs. 33-35**). The extended visiting hours is a response to increased visitor numbers, but in turn generates higher numbers, as tour operators and private individuals are allowed greater flexibility in their itinerary. While the extended opening hours of this one site are clearly an advantage to all potential visitors, the fact that such a service is selective and applies only to popular, high status sites is problematic for a number of reasons. Along with Choirokoitia, a number of other major tourist attracting site also have extended opening hours, for example Tombs of the Kings is open daily in summer from 8.30am until 7.30pm and from 8am until 5pm in winter (**Figs. 40-41**); similarly Nea Paphos World Heritage Site is open daily in summer from 8am until 7.30pm and in winter from 8am until 5pm. The result is that highly fragile and sensitive sites are subject to huge visitor numbers, the final result being site degradation (Hester 1994: 211).

As noted previously, cultural sites have economic potential through tourism, but unmanaged large numbers of visitors will lead to site deterioration or destruction. If the values of a site are eroded its commercial value is diminished as well (de la Torre and Mac Lean 1997: 10). As noted by de la Torre and Mac Lean there is more awareness of this fact in relation to natural habitats than to archaeological sites – people prefer clean, uncluttered

beaches, but do not seem to mind cluttered or unmaintained archaeological sites (de la Torre and Mac Lean 1997: 11).

In fact, the more overcrowded the site the more tourists that come, no matter how deteriorated the site becomes. Knowing that it attracts large numbers tour organizers make it a 'must-see' on their itineraries. At the same time, nearby sites may go ignored by visitors (de la Torre and Mac Lean 1997:11). This is clearly the case at Choirokoitia (and at the other major tourist sites in Cyprus), which receives busloads of tourists daily, as organized by local tour guides, the majority of whom ignore the nearby and equally interesting and well presented site of Kalavassos (**Figs. 36-39**). Over time this can only lead to the deterioration of both sites, as Kalavassos receives less money for upkeep on account of its lack of popularity and Choirokoitia suffers at the feet of countless tourists. De la Torre and Mac Lean blame this situation on a lack of communication between the cultural and tourism sectors of government, but as already indicated in the case of Cyprus it can happen that both agencies are actually working together in the promotion of certain sites to the potential exclusion of others. This highlights the need for professional conservators, archaeologists and, indeed, local communities to be involved at all stages of the decision-making process in order to ensure that the best interests of the sites (and therefore all parties with vested interests in them) are preserved.

3.18 Conclusion

It was made clear to me through my fieldwork that the tensions between the interests and concerns of a government department and the preservation and presentation of archaeological material and knowledge can be overwhelming. Archaeologists produce the raw material for an industry which at the same time supports the archaeologists' endeavours. It seems to me now that this is a cycle from which it would be very difficult to extricate archaeology and so we must find ways to retain the beneficial elements for both parties whilst protecting each component from the negative impact they might have on the other. Modern technology and the demands of a global economy for progress and development have led to rapid economic growth in many countries. Internationally, destruction through excessively hurried change has occurred at a faster rate than an awareness of the needs of, and policies for, preservation. As noted by Greene, economic growth moves faster than under-funded archaeology and its rewards are more immediately tangible than those of archaeology, which are often seen as irrelevant to the needs of daily life (Greene 1999: 43-4).

The problem thus faced is the need to develop for the future whilst also preserving the past for that future. The lack of available time, money and personnel means that inevitably managers have to make difficult decisions about which sites to preserve and which to leave to destruction. Not classified as a developing country, Cyprus does not receive high levels of development aid that is sometimes used for cultural resource protection. UNESCO has given money for some projects, such as the protection and preservation of the Roman mosaics in Nea Paphos, but in general Cyprus has had to fund its own cultural resource preservation efforts (Greene 1999: 54). Naturally, it utilized the income borne of international interest in its past and the remains thereof to fund this endeavour. However, as demonstrated in the case studies discussed in this chapter, a problem then arises when these archaeological remains become exploited to meet the needs of the all-consuming tourist industry, to the detriment of both current and future interest in their study and preservation. Problems also arise when archaeological remains are used to uphold the needs and claims of certain ethnic voices and associated pasts whilst silencing other less palatable ones.

Furthermore, the archaeological service in Cyprus is woefully under-funded, under-staffed and under-resourced to meet the demands placed on it by such rapid economic development and tourism interest in archaeological sites. If Cyprus is to continue to reap

the economic and cultural benefits of its archaeological heritage, then immediate modernisation and expansion of its archaeological services is necessary. One country, which came from a similar base and faced similar problems in the 1980s, but which transformed its archaeological services through re-designation of its Department of Antiquities as an Authority, is Israel. In the following chapters, I will examine the historical context and modern archaeological policy and practice in Israel. Many similarities with Cyprus continue to exist, but the modernisation and expansion of the Israeli archaeological service has greatly aided the country's ability to meet the demands placed upon it.

Chapter Four – Western Exploration of an Antique Land

> "To possess the Land of the Bible is to interpret its history. This fact has remained constant. Only the interpreters have changed" (Silberman 1982: 202).

4.1 Introduction

The modern Israeli nation shares much in common with the nearby island of Cyprus, from prehistory to the present day. Similar groups have occupied both territories throughout the ages and, in the modern period, Ottoman rule was replaced by first British, and later, self-rule. Israel differs, however, in that the modern Israeli state is one based predominantly on *aliyah* - the return to Israel of Jews from the Diaspora. The contested nature of the territory between Israelis and Palestinians, and the need to create tangible links to the land for Israel's new citizens, means that the country's past, particularly those elements which pertain to previous Jewish presence in the land, becomes vitally important. The question of ethnogenesis, as in Cyprus, assumes a forceful principle in archaeological investigation, but as in Cyprus, this quest is not informed simply by national needs but by the methodological and cognitive frameworks established in the colonial period.

Historical Background

4.2 Historical Background

The territory of Palestine comprises a narrow land-bridge separating the Mediterranean Sea and the Great Syrian Desert, which throughout antiquity served as a highway of empires. As Silberman notes, "Its fertile coastal plain provided the only convenient military route from Africa into Asia, and Egyptian pharaohs, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian kings, and even Alexander the Great recognized its importance to control of the entire region" (1982:14). The Romans too, recognized the importance of the region and incorporated it into the Roman Empire in 63 B.C.E. Antagonistic relations between the Jewish community and the Roman authorities culminated in the Jewish Revolt of 66 C.E. The Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed and the city around it burnt in 70 C.E. The Second Jewish Revolt, which ended in 135 C.E., (partially inspired by Hadrian's ban on circumcision) resulted in further destruction. From then on the Romans referred to the territory as Palaestina, a Latin form of the Greek *Philistia*, i.e. of the Philistines. An imperial edict banned Jews from visiting Jerusalem, now named Aelia Capitolina and rebuilt as a Roman garrison town (Silberman 1982: 5).

Palestine, as well as the rest of the Levant, went on to form part of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire, and an Orthodox Christian presence was established in the area. The Islamic conquest of the land occurred in 638 CE, and formally introduced the third of the three great monotheistic religions to Palestine. The Christian powers did nothing to oppose Muslim rule as long as Christian pilgrimage was allowed to continue. This all changed with the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Fatimid caliph, al-Hakim, in 1009. The medieval popes and princes of Europe now became obsessed with recovering the ancient shrines of Palestine, resulting in numerous wars and crusades. There were eight great military expeditions, all failing - the Crusaders only managed to take Jerusalem briefly. Despite this, the memories and legends of the Crusades added another layer of myth to the Holy Land, becoming part of the national epics of England and France. The Islamic victory intensified the need for the Christian protection of Palestine's sacred sites (Silberman 1982: 7).

The Crusader Kingdom fell in 1291, when the land was conquered by the Mamelukes. Mameluke control of Palestine lasted until the region was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. Sultan Selim I conquered Jerusalem in 1516, and divided

Palestine into several administrative districts, which were in the charge of official tax collectors serving as provincial governors with the rank of *pasha* (Silberman 1982: 8; Abu el Haj 2001: 29). During the Ottoman period, the territory of modern Israel, parts of Jordan and the Sinai Peninsula had no single official designation, forming part of the larger province of Syria administered by the governors of Acre and Damascus (Silberman 1982: xv; Shepherd 1987: 13).

4.3 Competition between the Great Powers

Christian links with the Holy Land had weakened under Ottoman rule. Napoleon's invasion of Palestine in 1799 changed this and brought Palestine to the forefront of the world's attention (Khatib 2001: 209; Sachar 2000: 20); soon the crumbling of the Ottoman Empire led to a scramble for territory on the part of other rising Western empires. Many with varied interests and backgrounds vied for political advantage in Palestine and the emergent discipline of Biblical archaeology was frequently both the means and expression of this competition (Silberman 1982: 9- 11).

Napoleon defeated the Hapsburgs in 1797 in Italy, gaining for France important territories in both Europe and the Mediterranean. It was expected that Napoleon would proceed with further aggression against Great Britain, but instead of attacking the British mainland as was expected, Napoleon's aim was to disrupt Britain's vital trade by establishing a French colony in the Middle East. As Egypt was the sultan's most vulnerable territory, it was there that Napoleon struck first (Silberman 1982: 11-12). Napoleon had taken with him teams of scientists, naturalists, orientalists and antiquarians and is claimed to have shouted at his soldiers that forty centuries of history was looking down upon them as they fought the Mamelukes in sight of the pyramids.

In 1797 Napoleon sent back crates of confiscated artwork from Italy to the museum being created in the palace of the Louvre, including the Mona Lisa, and now he hoped for even greater treasures in Egypt. For the first time in European history, military power cleared the way for antiquarian exploration. Artists were sent to draw the temples at Karnak and Luxor, while in Lower Egypt, temples and palaces were unearthed, topographical maps compiled, and collections of ancient artefacts assembled. These included the Rosetta Stone, which would shortly unlock understanding of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Thus the modern science of Egyptology was born, and lasted, in the form of large-scale excavations, long after Napoleon was gone (Trigger 1989: 39; Silberman 1982: 13).

In order to create a buffer for his Egyptian enclave, and encourage rebellion in other Ottoman territories, Napoleon sent a force of 13,000 men into Palestine from Egypt in January 1799. His immediate intention was the destruction of the local Ottoman army before reinforcements could arrive from Syria. His troops made their way through the Sinai, past Gaza and further north, defeating garrisons along the way (Silberman 1982: 14-15). Napoleon claimed to be following in the footsteps of the Crusaders but with more

success. Napoleon, however, was at a disadvantage, in that at the time of his invasion there was almost no scientific information about conditions in Palestine. Little was known of the topography, population, and natural resources of the country. In need of this strategic information, Napoleon brought with him a collection of scientists and mapmakers, who moved with the invading force up the Levantine coast and branched off into the inland hill country where they collected artefacts and sketched prominent landmarks. Supervised by Colonel Pierre Jacotin, the team compiled the first scientific map of Palestine, which included a survey of the Palestine coastline and the interior around the towns of Tiberias and Nazareth and the hill countrya round Nablus (Khatib 2003: 55). For the first, but not the last time, archaeological survey and activity occurred concomitantly with (and in the service of) military action.

As with his Egyptian campaign, Napoleon's campaign in Palestine symbolized "romantic notions of national rebirth" (Silberman 1982: 15). Napoleon marched his forces to Acre, the last stronghold of the Crusaders, and now residence of the infamous Bosnian *pasha*, Ahmad al-Jazzar (commonly known as "the Butcher of Acre") (Shepherd 1987: 11). The city walls there were a bigger problem for Napoleon than those of Jaffa,[32] but the biggest problem facing the French was the English ships that had arrived first and seized Napoleon's siege equipment. For the English too, the city of Acre had romantic connotations of glorious times: Englishmen had fought there during the Crusades under Richard Coeur de Lion (Shepherd 1987: 12). They were now led by Commander Sidney Smith, and though not caring for either the inhabitants or the Turks, they were determined Napoleon would go no further. Five months later Napoleon was forced to abandon the siege and after recalling his various explorers, retreated back to Egypt (Silberman 1982: 15-16; Sachar 2000: 22).

The strategic region of Palestine was to remain in the eyes of the great western powers from that point onwards. In a show of force Smith landed a detachment of sailors and marched to Jerusalem where the British accepted the appeals for the "protection" of the Catholic and Orthodox communities. It was thus the British, and not the French, who bore the Christian flag into Jerusalem for the first time since the Crusades (Silberman 1982: 17). British ships now regularly stopped at the coast of Acre for supplies and the number of

[32] Napoleon had his headquarters at Ramla and appealed to Jews, Christians, Muslims and Druze to unite in rebellion against the Ottomans, urging them to claim their independence under benevolent French protection; however, the atrocities carried out by Napoleon's men at Jaffa (in which four thousand Turkish prisoners were massacred and where the French camp was also struck with bubonic plague) ensured that the population remained wary of French protection (Shepherd 1987: 12).

curious visitors increased. Smith had only explored the interior of Jerusalem, but now British officers toured the country on their own and many wrote journals and made sketches and watercolours of their visits to holy sites. Both the victory of Acre and these accounts generated a public interest in Palestine, which had long been idealized, but seldom visited, in the preceding centuries. Part of the fascination derived from the divergence between the modern reality of the place and Biblical descriptions. Malarial swamps, barren rocky land and sand dunes replaced the wooden hills and the milk and honey described in the Biblical texts. Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth were much diminished, while other Biblical towns and cities had disappeared as evidenced by the sixth century Madaba Map. Amateur explorers were soon followed by those conducting scientific research, encouraged by the presence of the British fleet in the eastern Mediterranean (Silberman 1982: 18).

In 1831, the *pasha* of Egypt, Mehmet Ali, took the provinces of Syria and Palestine from the Sultan, and the change of power allowed Westerners to come to Palestine in even greater numbers (Shepherd 1987: 43). In 1841, a combination of British, Austrian and Ottoman forces defeated the Egyptians and the Sultan once more regained Palestine, which from this time onwards was opened up to the West in an unparalleled manner (Silberman 1982: 45). Great Britain established a permanent consulate in Jerusalem in 1839, the first western power to do so. France, Prussia, Sardinia, Austria and Spain also opened consulates shortly after the Ottoman re-conquest. These consuls were granted a status equal to that of the *pasha* of the city and controlled the legal and administrative rights of their fellow countrymen within their geographical jurisdiction. This was a change from former centuries when few Westerners were allowed residency in Jerusalem. Now international diplomats came to promote the interests of their home countries (Silberman 1982: 46). The result was the founding of a number of new churches and, later, the financing and support of archaeological activity.

During the mid-to-late 1870s, Christian revolts in the Balkans led to brutal suppression by the Ottomans, which caused outrage in Britain. The Russians, under the pretext of protecting their Slavic brothers, invaded the Balkans in 1877. They defeated the Sultan and Romania and Bulgaria were detached from Ottoman rule, quickening the pace of dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire (Silberman 1982: 123). The conflict between the Ottomans and Russians was concluded with the Treaty of San Stefano in March 1878 in which the Ottoman Empire recognized the independence of Romania, Serbia, Montenegro,

and the autonomy of Bulgaria (Levy 1992: 102). The Western powers were alarmed, however, by the extension of Russian power into the Balkans, and forced Russia and the Ottomans to modify the treaty at the Congress of Berlin. At this Congress, Great Britain confirmed the independence of Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and pledged to protect the territorial integrity of the remaining regions of the Ottoman Empire in the future. To enable this, Britain was given occupation rights to the island of Cyprus, a strategic military base in the eastern Mediterranean and, importantly for Britain, a base from which to guard Britain's freedom of passage through the Suez Canal (Glenny 1999: 120-51; Silberman 1982: 124).

In 1888, Jerusalem was detached from the administration of the *pashalic* of Sidon and transferred to the direct control of the Sublime Porte (Silberman 1982: 154), indicating the increased significance of the city to the Empire, though this significance was largely derived from the interest in it of the other Great Powers. For the next two decades the weakening Ottoman Empire began to align itself with Germany (Sachar 2000: 47), culminating in an alliance with the Germans and Austro-Hungarians in World War I, thus placing the Ottomans on the opposing side to the British - Palestine once more became a strategic location in the unfolding of the war and the new national and international configurations that followed.

4.4 British Acquisition of Palestine: the Mandate Period

The British conquered Jerusalem on the 9th of December 1917 (Mazza 2005: 47). For the British, all of Palestine, but specifically the coastal cities, were considered of particular strategic significance on the Middle Eastern front during the war. Jerusalem became a prize to be captured for the nation, and the personal target of David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister (Mazza 2005: 47). General Allenby, the Commander of the Egyptian Expeditionary Forces, was commandeered by Lloyd George in summer 1917 to conquer "Jerusalem for Christians". Allenby did so on 11th December that year and the incoming British force was greeted enthusiastically by many of Jerusalem's residents of each ethnic and religious group, Arab, Jewish and Christian, seeing in the British, fulfilment of its national aspirations (Silberman 1982: 197).

The British popular press represented the capture of Jerusalem as the final end to the Crusades and comparisons were drawn between Allenby and Richard Coeur de Lion, who had not succeeded in reaching the city. A smaller group of educated British, including Lloyd George "saw the conquest of Jerusalem as a step towards some sort of eschatological design" (Mazza 2005: 47).

At the end of World War I, Palestine was ruled by a military administration and Britain was formally granted Mandate over Palestine in 1920. The Mandate officially commenced in 1921, confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922, which reiterated the 1917 Balfour Declaration of British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and impelled the British to "secure" this aim. The Mandate, however, made no mention of "Arabs" in Palestine, whose other inhabitants were collectively described as non-Jews, though English, Arabic and Hebrew were all recognized as official languages of the country. Each community could also maintain its own school system (Sachar 2000: 129). The Mandate lasted until the formation of the State of Israel in 1948.

4.5 The Emergence and Rise of Zionism

The situation of European Jews at the end of the nineteenth century led to the founding of the Zionist movement (see Glossary for definition). Earlier hopes of emancipation in an enlightened Europe faded. Both anti-Semitism, characterized by the Dreyfus trial in 1894 on the one hand, and fear of Jewish assimilation into European society on the other, were the major concerns of western European Jews. But it was the Jews of eastern Europe and their political and economic plight that really exerted the impetus for Zionism (Zerubavel 1995: 13). The Jewish religious and cultural tradition had held the concept of Jerusalem as the home of the Jews and the idea of return there one day as central. In the nineteenth century Jews such as Rabbi Hirsh Kalisher (1795-1874) and Moses Hess (1812-1875) suggested the idea of a revived Jewish state (Seton-Watson 1977: 394; Sachar 2000: 10-11). [33]

Other nineteenth century nationalist and irredentist movements provided inspiration for the cause (Sacher 2000: 10). An association of Lovers of Zion (*Hovevei Zion)* was formed in 1821-1822, with branches in Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine and Romania (where anti-Semitism was worst). Some of the organisation's members established agricultural settlements in Palestine, the first of which was located south of Jaffa and was known as *Rishon-le-Zion* ('First to Zion'). A Jewish doctor in Odessa named Leo Pinsker published a pamphlet called *Auto-Emancipation* in Berlin in 1882, in which he argued that Jews would never be accepted in their host nations and so must become their own masters in their homeland, though not necessarily Palestine. But neither *Hovevei Zion* nor Pinsker had much effect on the wider Jewish community, not even in Russia, where the situation of the Jewish community was worst (Seton-Watson 1977: 395; Sacher 2000: 14-15).

The first great wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine began in the late 1800s and was later known as the first 'ascent' or *aliyah* to Zion, and was largely inspired by intensified anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and Russia (Seton-Watson 1977: 395; Sachar 2000: 12-13). Between 1882 and 1903 about 25,000 Jews left Europe for Palestine (Seton-Watson 1977: 395). By 1905, Jerusalem had a population of 80,000, two thirds of which was Jewish (Codacci 2001: 136). These early Jewish immigrants faced many difficulties, but were greatly supported by wealthy Jewish philanthropists such as the British Sir Moses Montefiore; the French Jewish Baron, Edmond de Rothschild and the English millennialist,

[33] Hess's book *Rome and Jerusalem,* in which he argued for the necessity of the Jewish return to Palestine, appeared in 1862, though had very little success at the time of its publication (Sachar 2000: 11).

Lawrence Oliphant, who bought agricultural land in Palestine and gave professional guidance to many early Zionist settlers (Sachar 2000: 24-8; Codacci 2001: 136; Khatib 2003: 51).

Zionism, as an international political force, was launched by Theodor Herzl. He was born in Budapest but lived in Vienna as a journalist and writer (Sachar 2000: 37; Codacci 2001: 136). While in Paris in the 1890s he witnessed growing anti-Semitism and the Dreyfus Affair. He became convinced that Jews could be safe nowhere and needed their own country (Sachar 2000: 38). Herzl travelled throughout Europe looking for support from kings and governments and created the World Zionist Organization at the First Zionist Congress, held in Basle, in 1897, which met every year up until World War I. The aim of the Organisation and the Congress was the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine (Seton-Watson 1977: 397; Sachar 2000: 41-7). The results were slow at first. The best offer was from the British who offered a partition of Uganda for settlement. The offer was turned down after being discussed at the 8th Zionist Congress in 1904 (Seton-Watson 1977: 397).

In the meantime, there was continuous small scale immigration to Palestine, including many socialists who set up *kibbutzim*. During this time Hebrew was developed as a modern spoken language. Eliezer Perlman, later known as Ben-Yehuda, developed and popularized the language in Palestine (Seton-Watson 1977: 397; Sachar 2000: 82-5). Before this the language of the Jews of Eastern Europe had been Yiddish. Despite these developments, most Jews in Western Europe were content to assimilate rather than emigrate to the Middle East (Seton-Watson 1977: 397), while most Russian Jews at this time chose two other options over Zionism - socialism (mostly chosen by intellectuals, workers and the poor middle-class in Poland, Lithuania and the Ukraine) and immigration to the United States - about two million Jews immigrated to the U.S. between 1881 and 1914 (Seton-Watson 1977: 395).

The orientation of Zionism at the time of the First World War was decided by Chaim Weizmann. He was born in Lithuania in 1874, but lived in Britain for ten years. He worked as a chemist for the British ministry of munitions in World War I and gained prestige, which he used to win support from the British government for the Zionist cause. In a bid to gain the support of international Jewry and out of a desire to establish a strong British position in the Middle East after the war, the British gave Weizmann an opportunity. The

result was the Balfour Declaration of November 1917, which declared British Government support for the creation of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine (Seton-Watson 1977: 397; Sacher 2000: 97-109).[34] The Declaration "was designed to further the aims both of Jewish nationalism and of British imperialism, which at that moment coincided with each other" (Seton-Watson 1977: 397).[35] Other British imperialists, however, believed that supporting Arab nationalists was a better way of promoting British interests and negotiations were simultaneously opened with Arab groups (Sacher 2000: 99). In the end, as Seton-Watson notes, "vague but essentially incompatible promises were given to both sides" (1977: 397).

The British Mandate over Palestine was confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922, and was expected to promote both British and Jewish interests. A major obstacle to both existed, however, to which little attention had been paid: over one million Arabs already lived in Palestine: some of these Arab communities had prevailed for longer than the whole period of the Old Testament, and while a few Jewish immigrants were acceptable to this Arab community, large-scale Jewish settlement was not (Seton-Watson 1977: 397). The Arab community feared yet another form of foreign rule, while the Jews argued that there would be room in Palestine for all. The British for many reasons - oil interests, the security of the Eastern Mediterranean and Suez Canal area - favoured the Arabs and tried to minimize Jewish immigration. Throughout the Mandate period, both Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine were represented by their own institutions in their dealings with the British (Seton-Watson 1977: 388; Moore and Troen 2001: 21).

Immigration continued apace under the Mandate. Immigrant Jewish society in Palestine became known as the *Yishuv* (Settlement), and the youth there were particularly admired. This is not uncommon; many revolutionary movements place an emphasis on youthfulness and on symbols that revolve around young people (Zerubavel 1995: 27). The idea of nationalism being a revitalising rebellion, focusing around the youth who are the hope of the community, is seen in the titles given to many nationalist movements: the Young Turks, the Young Arab Party, Young Italy etc. (Kedourie 1994: 53-5). Nationalism has a

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[34] The term "Jewish state", previously suggested, was not used; nor were the borders of such a homeland mentioned, thus retaining a level of ambiguity necessary to accommodate British interests (Sacher 2000: 109).

[35] European interest in supporting a Jewish homeland in Palestine had its first serious outing in the late 1830s when Mehemet Ali invaded Palestine and Syria. It was considered that Jewish wealth would aid the Sultan against any future designs of the Egyptians. Again during the Crimean War, some in France felt that the country's foreign policy would be bettered by the creation of a Jewish buffer-state in Palestine. Further interest in the idea was provoked at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 (Sachar 2000: 22).

huge emotional draw and mobilizes people so radically because it provides, as Philip points out, "an all-purpose framework into which popular grievances can easily be fitted" (1980: 4). Herein lies part of its appeal to young people. Philip further argues that nationalism appeals to the psychological need of the young to identify with a group larger than the family which they are outgrowing and that within secular society, nationalism functions as a substitute religion (1980: 4-6). There are multiple reasons then why Zionism and its message became popular among a predominantly secular Jewish youth, and the emergent Hebrew education system in Palestine played a significant role in fostering Jewish nationalism and, in particular, an attachment to the land (Zerubavel 1995).

4.6 The Second World War and the Birth of the State of Israel

The Balfour Declaration had promised Jews a "national home" in Palestine, but not a Jewish state. Jewish leaders initially accepted this "limited and indefinable aim" though this changed with time (Seton-Watson 1977: 398). Tension existed, however, between the new Jewish immigrants and the native Arabs. Talks were held to reach agreement between the two sides but neither was very interested in the other's perspective. After Haj Amin al-Hussaini became the Grand Mufti in Jerusalem in 1921, there were riots against the Jews in Jerusalem the following year. Increasing anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe led to further Jewish immigration to Palestine, which in turn increased tensions between the Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine. Between 1922 and 1926, 60,000 Jews came to Palestine mostly from Poland. Between 1934 and 1939, almost 225,000 left Hitler's pre-war Germany. Many of these immigrants were not committed Zionists, but refugees fleeing persecution and calls for Jewish settlement in Palestine were now made on humanitarian as well as nationalist grounds. Palestine's Arab inhabitants responded that they were not responsible for European crimes and therefore should not have to pay the cost (Seton-Watson 1977: 400).

Jewish opinion grew more radical and urgent, even by the 1920s when Jabotinsky called for a Jewish state and army (Sachar 2000: 184). This increased Jewish immigration was met by a large-scale armed Arab insurrection in 1936 (Sachar 2000: 199-201). The division of Palestine between the two groups was suggested by a Royal Commission (the Peel Commission) in 1937. Neither Jews nor Arabs were happy with the suggestion, while the latter group rejected it outright (Seton-Watson 1977: 400; Sachar 2000: 201-8). In 1939, the so-called "White Paper" prohibited the sale of land to Jews in most of the country and set a maximum figure of 75,000 for Jewish immigration in the next five years, after which point it would cease entirely. The Paper also proposed the creation of a single Palestinian state in which the population would be three quarters Arab and one quarter Jewish (Seton-Watson 1977: 400; Sachar 2000: 222-6). Following World War II, the British continued to vacillate between the Jewish and Arab sides, but increased Jewish immigration following the Holocaust brought the matter to a head.

4.7 The Modern Nation

Jewish communities in the *Yishuv* demanded the abolition of the Mandate at the end of hostilities in Europe in 1945. In the same year, organized Jewish military groups began systematic attacks on British installations in Palestine. Fighting continued until 1948 and drew in the Arab community as well (Sachar 2000: 257, 264-78, 304-9). Following intense fighting and the intervention of the United Nations, the State of Israel was declared on the fourteenth of May 1948 in Tel Aviv by the provisional parliament, the Zionist National Council (Seton-Watson 1977: 401). The birth of the new nation was quickly followed by a short-lived War of Independence with Israel's Arab neighbours. Arabs fled or were expelled, both in the period when the British Mandate was coming to an end and in the fighting which followed (Yuchtman-Yaar and Shavit 2004: 348). All Jews were given the right of 'return' to Palestine (Seton-Watson 1977: 402; Sachar 2000: 315-53). At first mostly European Jews 'returned' and in the 1950s they were joined by immigrants from Asia and Africa. In more recent times immigrants from America, Russia and the former Soviet states have added to Israel's ethnic pool.

From the beginning there was intense hostility within the Arab world to the new Jewish state, particularly from Egypt, Jordan and Syria and wars instigated by Israel's Arab neighbours followed in 1967 and 1973. Tensions with Israel's northern neighbour, Lebanon escalated after Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 in support of the Christian South Lebanese Army who were fighting Syrian forces in the Lebanon. As Seton-Watson notes, "This hostility proved to be the single most important factor in welding the Jewish people of Israel, of such diverse origins, into a single nation" (1977: 402).

The second uniting factor was the Hebrew language. This common language helped all Israelis to identify themselves with the land and the Middle East (Seton-Watson 1977: 403). From the early days of Jewish nationalism, language became a crucial factor in nation and culture building in Israel helping to separate the Diaspora or 'Exilic' period from that of Zionism.[36] Hebrew needed to be turned into a national language, but that was a slow, gradual process that required enormous commitment, as the existing vocabulary was insufficient for everyday use. The first and most important stage of this process was

[36] Commentators in the Jewish world have been using the term 'Exilic period' to refer to the Jewish Diaspora, begun with the destruction of the Second Jewish Revolt, and I use the term here in deference to this common usage. The term is not without problems, however, as it has traditionally been used to refer to the Babylonian Exile in the sixth century B.C.E. and its use to refer to this later period, spanning almost 2000 years, implies that Palestine remained the true home of the Jews throughout this period, regardless of the others who continued to live and make their home in the area.

the establishment of schools where Hebrew was the language of instruction.[37] This Palestinian Hebrew, different from that of either Europe or the Middle East, helped differentiate this new generation of Hebrews from the Diaspora and the language became a major factor in the creation of a new uniform national culture based on Zionist ideology and values (Zerubavel 1995: 80). The final uniting factor was a common past and historical memory perpetuated by archaeology (dealt with in detail later in the chapter).

[37] The first Hebrew secondary school was opened in Jaffa in 1906, with just seventeen pupils, but quickly increased to 800 and was followed by others in Jerusalem. By 1913, there were 2,600 pupils enrolled in sixty institutions where Hebrew was the only language of instruction (Landau 1993: 64).

The 'Creation' of Israel in the Western Imagination

4.8 Palestine in the Western Imagination: the Early Travellers

Christians had been making the journey to Palestine since the third century out of a desire to "follow in the footsteps of Christ", as recommended by Saint Jerome, and as a belief in the miraculous power in the graves and bodies of Early Christian saints and martyrs developed. The Arab conquests of the seventh century had made this journey perilous and few who made it managed to see the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed to be built over the tomb in which Jesus was buried in Jerusalem, despite the fact that the Church was the traveller's ultimate destination. It was only the Byzantine re-conquest of parts of Anatolia and Crete that opened up the possibility of travel once more, and soon religious and lay notables began making the voyage as one gained a certain level of kudos from having made the trip by virtue of the danger and difficulty involved (Frankopen 2001: 89-92).

The Crusades, beginning in the eleventh century, further increased travel to Palestine and from the twelfth century onwards, hotels and inns were established along the route, sometimes by Westerners, but often by Byzantine monks, for pilgrims making the journey (Frankopen 2001: 93-4). Few accounts, however, remain from this time.[38] The numbers of Christian pilgrims increased steadily through the centuries, with a falloff only occurring in the sixteenth century: the Reformation was one of the biggest reasons behind the decline in Christian pilgrimage. For Protestants, the journey to Palestine was now characterized as another empty ritual. Pilgrimage was to be a spiritual journey from now on, not a physical one. As a result there was no need for Protestant nations to claim shrines in Palestine as other sects were doing (Silberman 1982: 8). Within Protestant circles, the Bible, the land in which it was set and the names associated with it took on new symbolic importance. The Puritans had always had a unique veneration of the Holy Land seeing themselves and their activities in New England as the true successors of the ancient Israelites. They named their towns and children after places and people in the Old Testament (Silberman 1982: 30-1). Thus, as Silberman notes, "The Protestant world took a logical step: it transformed the land of the Bible into a metaphor" (1982: 9).

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[38] The Holy Land, and Jerusalem in particular, was also the focus of Islamic pilgrimage, and accounts of such travel survive. These narratives, written by Muslim pilgrims from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, display standardisation in form and content; the narratives formed part of a literary tradition that always described travel as a hardship undertaken for religious enlightenment and following the strict guidelines of the Qur'an (Searight and Wagstaff 2001: xiii).

Travel to the region became even easier from the late sixteenth century onwards; an infrastructure was established for travel in the Levant for the needs of the military, commerce, and post and this was exploited by pilgrims and other travellers.[39] The increase in pilgrim volume led in turn to an improvement in the quality of these facilities (Searight and Wagstaff 2001: xi). It is from the nineteenth century that we begin to get more detailed accounts from Western travellers and the genre of the exotic oriental tale was developed by writers at this time. In addition to a documentary account of his own travels, *Le Voyage en Orient,* Gérard de Nerval for example, wrote two romantic oriental tales, *Histoire du Calife Hakem* and *Histoire de la reined du Martin et de Soliman prince des Génies,* which he used to present his philosophical and aesthetic ideas (Searight and Wagstaff 2001: xiii). Nerval used modern Turkish and Druze characters to narrate his stories; thus as Taymanova points out "... Nerval achieved a double effect: a genuine nineteenth century Orient served as a frame for the picture of Biblical Palestine and eleventh-century Egypt" (2001: 214).

Nerval, however, was not attracted by the ancient Orient nor the Bible, but by the modern Levant, its cities, culture and people, so different from Europe (Taymanova 2001: 213). In this, he was rather an anomaly: for it was a quest for a deeper knowledge of the Bible that had begun to stimulate travel to the Levant from the end of the eighteenth century (Wells 2001: 71), while later scholarly debate over the accuracy of the Genesis creation accounts and Mosaic chronology increased popular interest in Palestine and the other lands mentioned in the Bible. In the 1830s, the Tuebingen School of Biblical scholars in Germany pointed out the inconsistencies and chronological impossibilities in the Bible, which made it difficult to understand it in a literal sense. They also argued that the Bible was not one document, but a collection of texts from various periods. This was the first reasoned criticism of the Bible's authenticity, and inspired two responses; an outright rejection of such claims or a desire to counter the claims with alternative scientific evidence, which inevitably entailed the exploration of the "the Land of the Bible" (Shepherd 1987: 77-8).

In addition, the tumultuous changes at the end of the eighteenth century led many in Protestant circles in America and Britain to believe that the cataclysmic events described in the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation would take place imminently in the Holy

[39]From this time, Western commercial activity expanded in this area. The British Levant Company, for example, was established in the 1581.

Land, where the Antichrist and his forces would be defeated at Armageddon (Sachar 2000: 21). There was a concurrent increase in missionary work to Jewish communities, and indeed Palestine, attempting the conversion of the Jews and their return to the homeland, as these were considered signs of the coming of Jesus Christ and the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem on earth (Silberman 1982: 28-30; Fox 2001: 57-8; Acklom 1995: 19). In 1838, Lord Shaftesbury persuaded the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, to establish a British Consulate in Jerusalem, which would also protect local Jewish interests and grant Palestinian Jews British citizenship (though after 1880, citizenship was only extended to those Jews who could prove prior claims to citizenship or protection) (Shepherd 1987: 118; Sachar 2000: 21). Shaftesbury's lobbying also resulted in an Anglican bishopric established in Jerusalem a few years later, first led by a converted Jew. That the emergent discipline of archaeology was mobilised as yet another tool in such religio-national projects can be seen in the election of Shaftesbury as President of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1875. His first address to the Fund announced his support for the return to Palestine of its "ancient possessors". (Fox 2001: 58). The cumulative result of these trends was greatly increased Western travel to the Near East and several published accounts of such journeys became bestsellers (Stiebing Jnr. 1993: 86).

Travel literature exploded in the nineteenth century as Mark Twain noted on his sea voyage to the Holy Land, where almost everyone on board took pen to paper in the evenings. Conditions for travelling were now sufficiently easy for even the middle classes to take vacations abroad (Eisner 1991: 125). Regular steamer services and the laying of the railways tracks all helped facilitate this trend.

The attitudes of such travellers to Palestine can be summarized in Mark Twain's description of the area, at the end of his journey to the Holy Land in 1869, as not of this world but a "dream-land", "sacred to poetry and tradition" (cited in Silberman 1982: 3). Twain could claim this despite the fact that what he found contrasted hugely with what he had previously imagined the place to be. He travelled on horseback from Beirut to Jerusalem faithfully describing Old and New Testament sites in a series of newspaper dispatches. These were later published in *The Innocents Abroad* (Naveh 1990: 44-5). Twain, like most other travellers of the time, had no interest in the land's modern (degenerated) inhabitants or the contemporary political situation, only in the area's glorious past, though he sought to differentiate himself from those travellers who only saw

the area through the prism of their religious traditions (Silberman 1982: 3; Naveh 1990: 46-7).

The idea of the Mediterranean basin as the "cradle of civilisation" emerges strongly in *The Innocents Abroad,* reflecting the American belief that the 'Old World' had stagnated and degenerated and that America was the new home of progress. Both spiritually and physically, America was the new Promised Land – "mankind's vehicle of progress and liberty" (Naveh 1990: 45-6).

Western tourists, such as Twain, were making "a pilgrimage of the imagination" (Silberman 1982: 3), and their accounts are testimony to the widespread Western assumption of Christian inheritance, and thus ownership, of the shrines and relics of the Levant with little thought or concern for the region's modern inhabitants and their relationship with such remains. These assumptions informed the fledging discipline of archaeology, which followed the travellers to the region.

It was generally felt that after the Crimean War the safety of Christians visiting the Holy Places was no longer in doubt (Codacci 2001: 134), and as a result the volume of people making this journey dramatically increased. These travellers expressed a desire to go to the places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, thus their journey can be considered a pilgrimage (Codacci 2001: 121). In fact, there was little difference between pilgrims and tourists to the sanctified territory of Syria and Palestine in this period, with Jerusalem and its Christian sites the focus for both categories of visitor (Searight and Wagstaff 2001: 85). Most of the trips took place in the latter part of the nineteenth century with a marked increase from the 1870s to 1890s when organized groups of pilgrims began to travel to Palestine. The first organized tours of pilgrims to the Holy Land began in the early 1850s: the Lloyd Triestino steamship line carried groups of Roman Catholics from Italy, as well as parties organized by the order of Saint Vincent de Paul. It sailed bi-annually from Marseilles, at Easter and in August. The prohibitive cost of this journey from France meant that the numbers travelling was still relatively small and women were not admitted to these tours until after 1868 (Kark 2001: 163).

The accounts written by the lay people and clergy who participated in these tours are markedly different from the classic, fashionable oriental tour narratives produced earlier in the century. Instead the lay and clerical accounts are taken up with Biblical references, and

a search for traces of the Bible in the faces and places of Palestine. Frequently, the land's modern inhabitants are not seen as contextualized living humans but as Biblical fossils, thus a shepherd boy may be described as David, or a rabbi in Jerusalem as a Pharisee. The perceived primitiveness of the people was also thereby illustrated. In other cases, the local inhabitants were viewed as the cause of the area's desolation; no Biblical connection was seen with these backward enemies of prosperity and enlightenment, in need of improvement. It was viewed that the country had declined from the Byzantine period onwards, the result of the decadent "Arab mentality", but could be restored through beneficial, civilising Western influence (Silberman 1991: 81-2; Shepherd 1987: 79, 90-1).

The origins and history of each holy site was also commonly provided in travellers' accounts. One early traveller, writing in 1902, summarized the pilgrimage as follows:

> "We are travelling through the heart of the Old Testament ... The ancient kingdom of Israel is like an enormous open Bible, on which we wander around like library mice" (Barzini cited in Codacci 2001: 123).

The pilgrimage generally began in Jaffa, as this was the nearest port to Jerusalem. Jaffa like most other villages and towns in Palestine, with the exception of Bethlehem, which was mostly Christian and had been recently rebuilt, was described in negative terms as dark and squalid (Codacci 2001: 123-28). When pilgrim groups arrived from Europe, they were often greeted by Franciscan Friars, familiar with the major European languages, who took care of them immediately on their arrival in Jaffa, and who frequently acted thereafter as guides on tours to Judea and Galilee (Codacci 2001: 124). According to Codacci, "Every aspect of this friendly reception seems to confirm the pilgrims' expectation that they have found themselves in Jesus' homeland" (2001: 125). Touring itineraries differed only in the sequence of places visited - Jerusalem (many pilgrims went straight to the city), Judea, the Jordan river, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem, Bethany, Jericho and Hebron. Having visited the south of the country, visitors went north to the Galilee, Nazareth, Cafarnao, Mount Tabor, Tiberias (village and lake) and then Mount Carmel (Codacci 2001: 129).

Jerusalem was obviously the key destination for pilgrims, and there is a density of travel literature on the city. Many pilgrims, however, are disappointed with what they find – Jerusalem, they claim, was full of squalor, desolation and sadness. It is not the expected culmination of their desires (Codacci 2001: 129-31). Edward Lear, in a letter to Lady Waldgrave in 1858, described Jerusalem as follows:

> "Oh my nose! O my eyes! O my feet! How you all suffered in that vile place! For let me tell you, physically Jerusalem is the foulest and [most] odious place on earth. A bitter doleful soul-ague comes over you in its streets. And your memories of its interior are but horrid dreams of squalor & filth, clamour & uneasiness, hatred & malice & all uncharitableness" (cited in Khatib 2001: 209).

Lear is, nonetheless, impressed with the archaeology and history of Jerusalem:

> "But the outside is full of melancholy glory, exquisite beauty & a world of past history of all ages:-every point forcing you to think on a vastly dim receding past, or a time of Roman war & splendour, (for Aelia Capitolium was a fine city) or a splash of Moslem & Crusader years, with long long dull winter of deep decay through centuries of misrule. The Arab & his sheep are alone the wanderers on the pleasant vallies and breezy hills round Zion:-the file of slow camels all that brings to mind the commerce of Tyre & other bygone merchandise" (cited in Khatib 2001: 209).

This privileging of the past of Palestine over its decayed present is uniform amongst travel writers of the time and the other towns and villages are described by visitors in a similar vein - as gloomy, dark and dirty.

A visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the highpoint of the trip, and the Church receives many pages of description. The Mosque of 'Umar (Dome of the Rock) was the next most discussed monument. According to Codacci, Italian pilgrims approach the mosque with both fear and curiosity (2001: 131). They also describe the various groups they encounter on their journey, but tend to confuse Turks with Arabs or at least make no differentiation between the two. Most travellers seem happy to see Biblical faces in the faces of the locals, though in general terms the Turks and Arabs are viewed as bad and menacing, ready to cheat, while the Bedouin are viewed more favourably (Codacci 2001: 132-3; Shepherd 1987: 28-30).

4.9 The Organized Group Tour to Palestine

The organized tour to Palestine, so common in the present day, came about in the latter half of the nineteenth century. An American group, Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church, planned the first known "pleasure trip" to Palestine in 1867. The trip was part of a huge package deal for 150 Americans, taking in a tour of Europe and from there a voyage to the Holy Land and Egypt (Kark 2001: 163). By the end of the nineteenth century Thomas Cook's "Eastern Tours" "helped to transform Palestine from being a *Terra Sancta* for pilgrims, as it had been for generations, into a destination for mass tourism" (Kark 2001: 155-7): between 1881 and 1883 four fifths of all British and American visitors to Palestine were brought by the Cook Agency, including the second *Shayara* ("Convoy") of British Jews belonging to the Order of Ancient Maccabians (1897) and British and German royalty (Kark 2001: 155-7).

Palestine in the nineteenth century had become a "must see" for many British and American travellers, and though Protestants were less concerned with pilgrimage than Catholics, they were, nonetheless, keen to trace the footsteps of Christ and visit other Biblical places as an act of faith. Others went for the exotic culture, and, following the publicity surrounding the discovery of the Moab Stone[40] and Warren's excavations in Jerusalem, many travellers dreamed of making their own amazing archaeological discoveries (Silberman 1982: 131). The result was that the trade in travel grew, especially after the start of Cook's tours, which were advertised from the Mandate period onwards (Kark 2001: 163). Cook's clientele were mostly middle-class English and American Protestants - Cook designed *Biblical Educational* and *General Tours,* which were aimed at ministers, Sunday-school teachers and others involved in teaching or promoting scripture, as well as organising educational tours for men (Kark 2001: 164; Shepherd 1987: 180). The itineraries on Cook's Tours were, accordingly, largely confined to well-known Old and New Testament sites. By 1891, when the company launched *Cook's Tourist's Handbook for Palestine and Syria,* twelve itineraries were included (Kark 2001: 165).

Cook's missionary background influenced his running of the tours, and he was deeply affected by his first trip to Jerusalem. His tours were a combination of visits to Holy Places, the missions and their schools, and "Biblical excavations". The parties carried bibles and hymn books with their maps and guide books and sang as they went, for these

[40] The Moab Stone was found by Bedouin in 1868, and contained an independent account, in the Moabite language and written in the Phoenician script, of the aftermath of the defeat of the armies of Judah and Israel who had attempted to subdue the Moabites and King Mesha (Silberman 1982: 101-8).

tours were of deep spiritual significance to both organizer and participants (Kark 2001:169).

Other similar companies were being established in America, such as the one in New York by Frank C. Clark, and so the number of tourists continued to increase. Cook brought about 4,500 travellers to Palestine between 1869 and 1883. He claimed that this accounted for about two-thirds of the total number of tourists arriving from the West, but this was still much lower then the number of eastern pilgrims coming from Russia, the Balkans and the Near East (Kark 2001: 165). According to Kark, a total of 5,759 tourists and 20,000 pilgrims were reported in 1910-1911, 28% percent of whom (1,625) were American (2001: 166).

Both the locals and the Ottomans benefited economically from this trade, and Jerusalem and Jaffa, in particular, developed a tourist infrastructure - hotels, hostels, restaurants, tour guides, money exchanges, souvenirs etc (Kark 2001: 165). The building of the first carriage road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the improvement of steamship communications, and the onset of group tours transporting wealthy Western tourists to Palestine all facilitated the development of a tourism industry in the country and the tourist trade became an important element in Jerusalem's economy (Silberman 1982: 131).

Another result of the emergence of these organized package tours was that by the late nineteenth century there was a great deal of uniformity in tourists' itineraries - what tourists saw and expected to see (Searight and Wagstaff 2001: xii). What they expected was an encounter with the heart of Christianity, now accidentally in the hands of Muslims. The Jewish past is rarely considered, or if so, in light of Jesus' activities (Codacci 2001: 124).

The reality of Palestine in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was far different from this expectation; both the present and the physical remains of the past spoke of the presence and history of the other monotheistic faiths in the land. Furthermore, the majority of Christians present in the Holy Land and in control of the holy places were members of the Orthodox Church (Codacci 2001: 125), which was almost as alien as the non-Christian faiths to European Protestants (Shepherd 1987: 13).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Italian travellers, particularly those to Jerusalem, noted the growing Jewish community in Palestine. This Jewish presence

disconcerts many pilgrims, who assume a Christian Palestine, though nobody argues that the Jews are out of place (Codacci 2001: 134-5). The practice of Jews coming to Israel to die and thus be buried there had been noted by many earlier travellers, but from 1889, many travellers comment upon the growing number of new Jewish immigrants, although the aim of a Jewish return to Palestine had not yet been declared in the Zionist agenda. The role of wealthy American and European Jewish families in helping the new immigrants was also noted (Codacci 2001: 136). De Gubernatis, writing in 1889, also notes the difference between the Oriental Jews and the new Jewish immigrants from Europe, and the tension caused by their arrival, as they upset the delicate balance of respect and rights between these Eastern Jews and their Muslim and Christian neighbours (Codacci 2001: 136). Other Westerners had a more positive view of Jewish immigration to Palestine: Thomas Cook, for example, supported the Balfour Declaration of 1917 (Kark 2001: 172). The company's *Traveller's Gazette, Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* noted that the Declaration was of international importance and would allow Jews a home where conditions suited their religious precepts and their Biblical heritage (Kark 2001:170-2).

Cook also used the tours to support philanthropic work in Palestine and was involved in supporting schools as well as the Palestine Exploration Fund (P.E.F.), an organisation dedicated to the archaeological exploration of Palestine (the activities of which are discussed later in the chapter). The P.E.F., established in 1865, began a long-standing connection between tourism and archaeology in Palestine (Kark 2001: 169-72). The Cook Company publication, *The Excursionist,* published a report of the annual general meeting of the P.E.F. in 1869. *The Excursionist* also reported on the progress of the *Survey of Western Palestine* and, later on, the *Survey of Eastern Palestine,* which were conducted by the P.E.F. Cook's support also made possible the P.E.F.'s geological expedition to Arabia Petraea (Jordan), the Arabah and Western Palestine in 1883 to 1884. Cook made all the travelling arrangements, provided tents, food and attendants, and advanced money when needed without profit to the company (Kark 2001: 170-1).

This association of pilgrimage with archaeology was not new: the first Christian pilgrims to Palestine in the second century CE travelled in small groups and stopped and prayed at sites associated with the life of Christ. But these pilgrimages had to take on an air of archaeological inquiry, as the land was already so different from the time of Jesus. After the first Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 325 CE, Empress Helena went to Palestine (Silberman 1982: 5-6). She set out to determine the exact locations of the major events in

Jesus' life and enshrine them for eternity. Constantine ordered that basilicas be built to mark these spots. The name 'Jerusalem' was returned to the city, which now became a site of religious worship, but not for Jews. During the Byzantine periods numerous other shrines arose throughout the country, marking both New and Old Testament sites, which were visited by increasing numbers of pilgrims. Christian "protection" of these sites was ensured with Charlemagne's eighth century contract with the Abbasid caliph Harun ar-Rashid (Silberman 1982: 6-7).

Modern Biblical archaeology and the activity of organisations such as the P.E.F. further affected the nature of pilgrimage to Palestine and the associated infrastructure and economy of tourism in Jerusalem. A local branch of the P.E.F. was founded in Jerusalem in 1892. This branch quickly opened a shop inside the Jaffa Gate where tourists could purchase P.E.F. publications and attend lectures by P.E.F explorers. The popularity of this venture led the P.E.F. to train tourist guides. These guides were so successful that the municipal council of Jerusalem decided to upgrade all guides in the city, resulting in the emergence of a scientific consciousness alongside traditional pilgrimage (Silberman 1982: 155).

This increased travel to the Levant was a contributory factor in the development of Orientalism. The translation into English and French of *"A Thousand and One Nights"* had primed a taste amongst the public for a particular set of manipulated exotic images from the Near East (Searight and Wagstaff 2001: 175-6). Searight and Wagstaff argue that "Real and imaginative worlds were often confused for past travellers to the Levant ... They described what they expected to do and see, though servants helped to shelter them from too much reality" (2001: xiii). Much of the travel writing on Palestine, however, is imbued with religious sentiment to the extent that it obscures the Orientalist discourse that colours so much of European writing about the rest of the Middle East and Egypt. The *harem,* veiled women, the *kief, dervish, cibuk* and *narghilé,* all so common in Orientalist literature, are largely absent from descriptions of Palestine. Instead travel narratives are infused with faith, religious testimony and discussion of places holy to the three major Abrahmic religions.

The accounts are filled with Biblical and classical quotations; indeed the Bible is ever present as the aim of most visitors is to retrace the footsteps of Christ (Codacci 2002: 124). What is also clear from these accounts is the sense amongst writers that Western Christians

are the true inheritors of these shrines and relics, which the emergent discipline of archaeology was increasingly bringing to light. As shall be examined, attitudes to the local population, widely viewed as degenerated from Biblical times, fed into, and supported, nascent archaeological narratives, which saw the modern West as the true inheritor of the spiritual and cultural traditions of the country's Biblical past, and, by extension, the physical remains of this period.

As noted by Alcalay, "If the 'natives' amount to nothing more than romantic landscape … then it stands to reason that the *land* of the natives is of no particular value unless that value is invested by someone else: namely, the colonizer, imperial power, corporate shareholder, or tourist" (1993: 67). To this list could be added "archaeologist". An exception to this rule was the 1788 work *Travels Through Syria and Egypt, 1783-85* by the French Comte de Volney. De Volney recognised that despotic and corrupt regimes were responsible for the current sad state of life in Palestine and not some inherent degeneracy in the Arab or Muslim population and tradition (Shepherd 1987: 14-15).

The Beginnings of Archaeology in Israel – Religious Fervour and International Competition

4.10 The Beginnings of Archaeology in Israel

Up until the nineteenth century, there had been little interest in antiquarian circles in the Ancient Near East, Palestine in particular, as it had no obvious great monuments (Shepherd 1987: 17). A few early travellers attempted to evaluate the evidence for the authenticity of the traditional sites assigned to Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. Richard Pococke, for example, carried out a topographical study of Jerusalem in 1738, attempting a historical-geographical analysis of the ancient city and there are a number of reports dating from the late 1600s to the early 1800s on the Pools of Solomon, located close to Bethlehem, but work such as this was generally uncommon in Palestine (Acklom 1995: 39-40).

This situation changed with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and Palestine in the early nineteenth century, thus turning the attention of French and English scholars to the region (Stiebing Jnr. 1993: 86). Following Napoleon's defeat, the British took advantage of the opportunity to officially explore the land. The British were in their period of empire expansion and conducted explorations in their Asian and Pacific territories. These explorations gathered information that would be of use to empire, on the flora, fauna, topography, geology and increasingly on the antiquity of the territory in question. The African Association conducted such research in Africa and in 1804, a private organisation for the exploration of the Holy Land, known as the "Palestine Association" was founded in London by a small group of wealthy Englishmen (Silberman 1982: 21-2; Shepherd 1987: 45).[41]

Other individuals were also interested in gathering such information. For example, Edward David Clarke, an English geographer and explorer went to Galilee and Jerusalem in 1801. He published two volumes describing his travels and the most up-to-date archaeological report on Palestine (Stiebing Jnr. 1993: 87; Silberman 1982: 18-20). Clarke was not a religious pilgrim in the Holy Land, yet the religious significance of his journey was clear when he stated that he was there to study "all those places rendered remarkable by the life and actions of Jesus Christ" (cited in Silberman 1982: 19). Clarke was dismayed to find

[41] The Palestine Association was disbanded only a few years later as the hazards of travel in this part of the world became clear: the harsh reality of the desolate terrain had shocked many out of further exploration, at least for the time being (Silberman 1982: 27).

the spirit of the Gospels weaker in the Galilee than even in America. He found it difficult to distinguish Christians from Jews and Muslims in Galilee and observed the fraudulent identification of "holy sites" that Christian pilgrims had been visiting for centuries (Shepherd 1987: 22-4).

Some earlier British travellers, such as Leake, had also believed the majority of the traditional holy sites were mere inventions, bought into by "credulous pilgrims" (Acklom 1995: 77). Clarke, however, was the first to actively seek out alternative locations using semi-scientific techniques. Much early "archaeological" writing, or comments made by travellers referred to the topography of Jerusalem and the location of Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, both associated with events fundamental to Christianity (Acklom 1995: 102).

In keeping with contemporary Protestant thought, Clarke's sensibilities were insulted by the primitive and seemingly pagan traditions associated with the Christian holy sites (Fox 2001: 51). He questioned the antiquity of the birthplace of the Virgin, a mere grotto full of icons, and while impressed with the outward walls of Jerusalem, he was aggrieved to find that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was no different from "any common Roman Catholic church" (cited in Silberman 1982: 19). He could not find any evidence of an ancient tomb within the church and thus began the abandonment of the traditional pilgrim route in Jerusalem in favour of a scientific search for "true" sites of events mentioned in the Bible (Silberman 1982: 19). As part of his quest he identified one of the rock-cut tombs on the north side of the hill known as the Mountain of Offence as the Holy Sepulchre (Acklom 1995: 40). His theory was later proved false, but despite this Clarke's importance lies in the fact that he was the first to use secular learning rather than ecclesiastical tradition to examine the ancient remains of Palestine (Silberman 1982: 20).

While the discovery of new trading routes to the Orient, competition amongst explorers and patriotic pride were all key motivations for British travel and exploration in the Levant, it was the elucidation of the Biblical texts that was the prominent inspiration for archaeological activity.[42] Theological debates raging in Europe and America about the accuracy of Genesis and other Biblical chronologies led scholars to Palestine in order to

[42] Silberman's seminal work on the Western "discovery" of the Holy Land in the nineteenth century, published in 1982, provides intimate details of the early travellers to this part of the world whose activities had archaeological overtones: they are too numerous to discuss or even refer to in detail here and so I will confine myself to only those whose activity was pioneering or especially important to the advancement of archaeological activity, infrastructure and interpretation.

find proof of their beliefs. A number of scholars from Europe and America took advantage of the improved conditions in the 1830s to come and search for evidence of the country's past (Silberman 1982: 37-40). Edward Robinson, professor of Old Testament at Andover Theological Seminary in New York was a staunch defender of the historicity of the Bible, under attack at the time by the Tuebingen School, and came to Palestine in 1838, accompanied by Eli Smith, a Protestant missionary. They set out from Cairo following the presumed route of the Israelite Exodus through Sinai to Palestine and Jerusalem, and then up through Galilee to the Protestant station in Beirut (Stiebing Jnr. 1993: 87; Silberman 1982: 40).

Like Clarke before him, Robinson was annoyed by the Orthodox clergy's incorrect identification of holy sites (which he could discern from his knowledge of the texts), and their concern with making money by guiding gullible pilgrims to such places (Silberman 1982: 41-2; Fox 2001: 52). By contrast he set out to locate the true sites of Biblical antiquity and, as Silberman notes, "retrieve for the world the lovely vision of the Holy Land, so revered in his native New England, snatching it, if he must, from its present filth, degradation and poverty" (1982: 42). As for most travellers of the time, Jerusalem was Robinson's ultimate destination, and he viewed it apart from its current condition and setting:

> "From earliest childhood ... I had read of and studied the localities of this sacred spot; now I beheld them with my own eyes. And they all seemed familiar to me, as if the realization of a former dream. I seemed to be again among the cherished scenes of childhood, long unvisited, indeed, but distinctly recollected" (cited in Silberman 1982: 42).

Robinson's background in Biblical and post-Biblical literature meant that he was better placed to critically judge the remains of the city than Clarke had been. In Jerusalem he found the base of an arch of the monumental entranceway to Herod's temple, now known as 'Robinson's Arch', and identified the platform of the Haram ash-Sharif as the foundation of the Herodian Temple (Stiebing Jnr. 1993: 88-9; Silberman 1982: 43). He also made many important observations on the journey through Palestine to Beirut, especially in terms of identifying Biblical sites based on the similarity with modern Arabic names, for example Bir es-Seba - Beersheba (Fox 2001: 53). Smith had made a list of the Arabic names of the villages of Palestine during the course of his missionary work and Robinson could compare this list with Biblical names. By identifying the two, he could locate numerous ancient sites. As Robinson and his followers saw it, a map of Biblical Palestine could thus be imposed on this unindustrious, backward Ottoman province

inhabited by ignorance. The riches of Palestine lay in the past and this was the starting point of later Biblical geography and archaeology (Stiebing Jnr. 1993: 88-9; Silberman 1982: 43-5). The personal and spiritual significance of the new discipline was revealed in Robinson's own words. The excursion to Judea,

> "... had led us through scenes associated with the names and historic incidents and deeds of Abraham and Jacob, of Solomon and Saul, of Jonathan and David, and Samuel; we had been able to trace out the places where they had lived and acted, and to tread almost in their very footsteps" (cited in Silberman 1982: 44).

In 1841 Robinson returned to the United States while Smith stayed in the American mission in Beirut. Their excursion was brought to the attention of the whole Christian world with the publication of their book, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838* in 1841, which caused great excitement (Silberman 1982: 46).

The return of Palestine to Ottoman hands in 1841 meant that her European allies had greater access than ever and the search for Biblical sites and relics began in earnest. There was now a flood of Western travellers following the path of Robinson and Smith. By the 1860s, museums in the West were collecting Biblical antiquities and "curiosities" for public display. Protestant exploration of the land also began in earnest - in 1852 Robinson returned to Palestine rejoining Eli Smith in more researches; the travels in Palestine of the Dean of Westminster, A.P. Stanley, resulted in a comprehensive work on Biblical geography and Dr. William Smith compiled the enormous *Dictionary of the Bible* in 1884, into which were incorporated the latest archaeological discoveries, as well as theological definitions and articles on Church history.

This Protestant rediscovery of the sacred sites of the Holy Land through scientific activity also had a religious significance; allowing the Protestant world to stake its own claim in the Holy Land. Roman Catholic and Orthodox control of the recognised holy sites in Palestine had been established for centuries and was linked to national interest and prestige at home. France's claim to the holy sites, for example, was central to its prestige in the Holy Land, where all Westerners had been known as Franks since the Crusades. Now that France was once more struggling for economic advantage in the Middle East it, realised the importance of its control over the Holy Sites and reasserted its claims. In addition, both Catholic and Orthodox circles now had to respond to the allegations from Protestant circles

and the new discipline of archaeology, that the traditional Holy Sites were, in fact, nothing but frauds (Silberman 1982: 63-4; Acklom 1995: 20-4).

4.11 Locating the Holy Sites of Christianity

During the course of the 1840s a number of theories emerged with regard to the true location in Jerusalem of the sacred sites of the Bible. This inspired the British consul in Jerusalem, James Finn, to establish a forum for meetings and discussion between all those involved in Biblical archaeology. This forum was the Jerusalem Literary Society, established in 1849. At the same time honour was being brought to the French Republic through archaeological discoveries throughout the classical and Ancient Near Eastern worlds; the French government, for example, sponsored Paul-Émile Botta's Assyrian excavations, artefacts from which filled the Louvre. In 1848 Botta was transferred from his position as Consul of Mosul to Consul of Jerusalem, reflecting the growing French interest in Biblical archaeology (Silberman 1982: 65). He would now be in charge of the French and Catholic inhabitants and as well as the city's holy sites. Not long after an official French archaeological expedition was sent to the Holy Land, led by Louis-Félicien Caignart de Saulcy. The team headed to the Dead Sea where they disputed the findings of Lynch's expedition; they too (inaccurately) believed that they had located Sodom and Gomorrah, and disputed the Biblical identification of numerous scatted ruins.

French influence, as well as interest, in Palestine grew after the Crimean War in the mid 1850s. This fact was reflected in a new wave of French exploration and a growing collection of "Biblical antiquities" at the Louvre. An official archaeological mission was sent to Lebanon in 1860 as part of the force to suppress the war between the Maronites and the Druze. French soldiers were also sent to the Phoenician cities of Byblos, Tyre, and Sidon. This was the biggest archaeological expedition to the Holy Land so far and resulted in a flood of artefacts for the Louvre, as well as information about the Phoenicians; the neighbours and allies of King David and King Solomon (Silberman 1982: 68-9).

The French continued to try to strengthen their claims to the traditional sites and the British scholars became even more determined to prove them false - the search for Biblical antiquities and the fledgling discipline of archaeology became an arena in which international competition could be played out (Silberman 1982: 72). At this time the Germans founded their own Palestine society called the *Deutscher Palästina Verein*, though it did not conduct excavations (Silberman 1982: 165). Throughout the 1860s debate raged back and forth between British and French scholars over the true location of sacred sites, the Holy Sepulchre, in particular. Professional reputations, as well as national prestige, were now at stake. Several scandals followed in which the claims of individual

scholars were not only rejected but the scholars in question accused of plagiarism and details of their personal life brought to public attention.[43]

In 1864 the Jerusalem Water Relief Society was formed, with the aim of improving the city's water system. Before the new system could be implemented, however, an accurate topographical map of the city was required. Previous maps compiled by travellers were often hastily drawn and contradictory. For this new aqueduct, modern equipment and competent surveyors would be needed (Silberman 1982: 80-1). A party of Royal Engineers was requested to carry out the work.[44] The mission began in 1864, headed by Captain Charles Wilson, and received the assistance of the *pasha*. As the project involved the installation of a new water system, the remains of ancient water systems would also have to be taken into account. Wilson was aware of the cisterns beneath the Haram ash Sharif and gained permission from the *pasha* to explore them (Silberman 1982: 82-4). In addition to the cisterns the team sketched all the surface features of the platforms. Under the Haram and the surrounding jumble of houses and buildings, Wilson traced the channels and aqueducts of an ancient water system - making Wilson and his men the first to explore subterranean Jerusalem.

In the process of these explorations, Wilson discovered previously unknown traces of the Biblical period, including another entrance to the Herodian temple in the form of another monumental archway (Wilson's Arch) attached to the exterior wall of the Haram, parallel to Robinson's Arch. Excited by his discoveries and in anticipation of further revelations, Wilson ordered a vertical shaft to be excavated into the layer of debris beneath the modern city. Wilson's team, however, were ill-equipped to conduct such extensive digging and to such depths and so excavations were left for future teams (Silberman 1982: 84). Wilson and the Royal Engineers spent ten months conducting the survey of Jerusalem and on their return to Britain the official *Ordinance Survey of Jerusalem* was published. It included precise architectural plans of a number of monuments in the city including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and The Dome of the Rock (Silberman 1982: 87). The plan for the new water system for the city, however, was quietly abandoned. The City Council of Jerusalem

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[43] Silberman provides a detailed account of the various theories and counter-theories put forward at this time for the location of the sacred sites in Jerusalem and the personalities involved (1982: 72-8).

[44] Royal Engineers' maps set the standard of the day and their work on roads and damns etc. was vital for the administration of the empire. In this case, however, the cost of using the engineers and the private costs of the officer in command had to be provided by the society as it was a private and philanthropic enterprise (Silberman 1982: 81- 2).

had ruled it out, but this was of little interest to the British public who were more interested in ancient discoveries (Silberman 1982: 87).

4.12 The Palestine Exploration Fund

Back in Britain, the *Times* was informed of the success of the expedition and appeals for public support for the exploration of Palestine were made. One of Britain's most prominent Jewish citizens, Sir Moses Montefiore, who was on a tour in Palestine at the time consulted with several leading rabbis in Jerusalem to allow Wilson to explore the remains beneath the Jewish Quarter of the city. Montefiore supported a Jewish return to Palestine (Sachar 2000: 25), and gave a hundred pounds to Wilson's survey (Silberman 1982: 85). Taking advantage of the high levels of public support for the official exploration of Jerusalem, George Grove, the secretary of the Crystal Palace Company, decided to establish a permanent society, which would unite British efforts in, and establish a British claim to, the exploration of Palestine. The resulting "Palestine Exploration Fund" (P.E.F.) was officially founded on May 12th 1865 and was the first foreign archaeological institute in Palestine (Auld 1993: 23; Broshi 1987: 17).

Underscoring the religious undertones of the Fund, its first President was the Archbishop of York. Various influential government ministers supported the Fund including the British Foreign Minister Earl Russell, who would negotiate on the Fund's behalf with the Ottoman government (Silberman 1982: 85-6; Broshi 1987: 20). Queen Victoria became the official patron of the Fund, and the hope was expressed that it would counteract the French government and their activities in the area (Silberman 1982: 87). Local P.E.F. chapters sprang up throughout the U.K. where it was considered a noble cause. Wilson and another party of Royal Engineers returned to Palestine in November to conduct a complete survey of the country and find spots for the Fund to investigate (Silberman 1982: 88). The link between religion and politics in the role of the P.E.F (Fox 2001: 54) was highlighted by the Archbishop of York, the Fund's President:

> "This country of Palestine belongs to you and to me, it is essentially ours ... It was given to the father of Israel in the words 'Walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for I will give it unto ye.' We mean to walk through Palestine, in the length and breadth of it, because that land has been given unto us. It is the land from which comes news of our Redemption. It is the land to which we turn as the fountain of all our hopes; it is the land to which we will look with as true a patriotism as we do to this dear old England" (cited in Silberman 1982: 86).

The P.E.F. now needed spectacular discoveries and it was deemed that Jerusalem had the most potential for such finds, as well as opening the possibility of resolving the true location of the holy sites of Christianity and clarifying the topography of ancient Jerusalem (Silberman 1982: 89; Davies 1988: 37). The War Office provided another party of Royal

Engineers, this time led by Charles Warren, a twenty seven year old lieutenant. In 1867, Warren led the first British excavation in Palestine (Davies 1988: 37; Silberman 1982: 90-1). Using hired local workers, Warren began to excavate in a spot against the southern wall of the Haram ash Sharif beneath an ancient gate which de Saulcy had first examined. The site reflected Warren's interest in locating the Second Jewish Temple, a project for which there was much popular enthusiasm in Britain (Fox 2001: 60-1). Warren's archaeological technique differed little from military mining, at which he was expert. The excavating disturbed prayers in the al-Aqsa mosque above and as a result of the ensuing religious uproar, the *pasha* halted proceedings (Silberman 1982: 91-2).

After many false starts, Warren then moved to the unoccupied slopes on the south of the city where he hoped to determine "the southern extent of Jerusalem in Biblical times" (Silberman 1982: 92). Among the team's successes there were the locating of the southern and northern limits of the city; the investigation of an ancient subterranean aqueduct on the southern slope and the unearthing of a number of pottery jar handles stamped with the words "Belonging to the King" in ancient Hebrew - these were the first genuine Biblical artefacts scientifically excavated in Jerusalem. The rampart of the Haram was found to extend another 100 feet under-ground and at the corner, traces of ancient letters were found painted in red on the foundation course. Warren believed that these were Phoenician masons' marks, and therefore that the Haram platform itself was the foundation of the Herod's Temple.[45] When the excavations were closed down and information gathered, elaborate plans, cross sections, and architectural studies were sent to London in the hope that their publication would increase support for, and funding of, the excavations and persuade the Ottoman authorities to allow Warren to expand his work (Silberman 1982: 94-5; Fox 2001: 59).

[45] Warren's quest for the location of the Solomonic Temple was in part inspired by his experience as a Freemason and many Masonic Lodges donated money to the P.E.F in the years when Warren's reports were published. Warren named a subterranean hall he discovered "the Masons' Hall", and shortly after it was discovered, a group of American Masons conducted an initiation ceremony there (Fox 2001: 59-60).

4.13 The Value of Artefacts

Competition between the consuls (now including the Prussians) in Jerusalem grew over the purchase and discovery of antiquities, which as activities were charged with patriotic fervour, and this competition lasted into the following decades.[46] In the course of this competition many important artefacts, such as the Moab Stone (the discovery of which brought Western politics more directly to the fore of Palestinian archaeology), were found and the question of who should have priority over the discovery of such finds and to which nation they belonged inevitably arose, with the result that the civil relations between foreign archaeologists in Jerusalem soured (Silberman 1982: 101-12).[47]

The local population were now also aware of the monetary value of strange stones and broken sherds and the commoditization of artefacts began in earnest. A new type of Holy Land souvenir developed in tandem with the influx of wealthy tourists to the country, who provided a substantial and lucrative market for the ancient pottery, coins, and figurines gathered from local peasants for a pittance. Specialized relic shops developed especially around the "Pool of Hezekiah," in Jerusalem, selling photographs of the holy sites, carved olive wood souvenirs and archaeological artefacts, while guide books highlighted the best of these establishments for the benefit of tourists. Some of these shop-owners even ran their own small scale excavations, staffed by peasants, to ensure a steady supply of merchandise for sale (Silberman 1982: 131-5). Though the Ottoman authorities had traditionally paid little attention to archaeology, the trade in artefacts in Jerusalem, contributed to the instigation of strict new laws to control and tax this trade in antiquities there. In instituting these laws, the Ottomans were motivated by more than economics; "The preservation and display of archaeological finds had come to symbolize the cultural appreciation of modern nations for their own history", and the Ottomans hereby demonstrated their modernity (Silberman 1982: 155)[48]. An Imperial Museum was also founded at Constantinople under the directorship of Hamdi Bey (Silberman 1982: 155) and choice finds from excavations in Ottoman lands were sent there, as Turkish officials now became a feature at excavation sites (Reich 1993: 28).

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[46] Silberman (1982) provides a number of examples of this competition, which involved colourful personalities and often resulted in many intrigues as well as the salting of sites and manufacturing of false antiquities in a bid to win prestige as well as money.

[47] Warren resigned from the P.E.F. in 1871 as a result of the conflict that arose with regard the ownership of the newly-discovered Moab Stones (Silberman 1982: 110).

[48] The first High Commissioner for Palestine under the British Mandate, Herbert Samuel, stated that on the eve of his departure for Palestine in July 1920, he saw it as the "duty of an enlightened, progressive Western administration to give the utmost facilities to the prosecution of archaeological research and to the better investigation of the history of earlier periods" (cited in Gibson 1999: 135).

4.14 Archaeological Survey and the Political Significance of Archaeological Activity

The regional instability in the 1870s led the P.E.F. to reconsider how it should proceed. Captain Charles Wilson suggested the compilation of an accurate and comprehensive map of Palestine, which would be even more important if Ottoman rule was about to end (Abu el Haj 2001: 23). Wilson's own survey had been called off in 1866 and he had gone on another mapping expedition to the Sinai in 1868, an area which, because of Suez, was of both strategic and religious significance to the British (Silberman 1982: 112-14). A Survey of Western Palestine was established. There was widespread support for the plan, even from the Archbishop of York, who said that in order to understand the Bible one must also understand the land in which it was written; this study was, therefore, an obligation as it would help illuminate the Bible. Also of importance, though unmentioned, was the map's strategic significance to the Suez Canal (Silberman 1982: 115).

There was also a growing interest in the United States in mapping Palestine. With the new prosperity that followed the end of the Civil War the US, a renewed interest in the exploration of the Holy Land developed. In 1870 an independent American Palestine Exploration Society was founded in New York with the aim of competing on the same level as the British P.E.F. The American Fund also had a religious under-current: The constitution of the A.P.E.F. stated:

> "The work proposed by the Palestine Exploration Society appeals to the religious sentiments alike of the Christian and Jew: it is of interest to the scholar in almost every branch of linguistic, historical, or physical investigation, but its supreme importance is for the illustration and defence of the Bible. Modern scepticism assails the Bible at the point of reality, the question of fact. Thus whatever goes to verify the Bible history as real, in time, place, and circumstances, is a refutation of unbelief" (cited in Broshi 1987: 20).

The A.P.E.F. established a periodical and recruited subscribers and in 1871 announced plans to launch their own mapping expedition to Palestine (Silberman 1982: 115). The American Press had been equally excited about the discovery of the Moab Stone and the A.P.E.F. wanted to take advantage of this fact, and perhaps find more inscriptions. Conflict with the P.E.F. was avoided by the working out of an accommodation whereby the country was divided along the boundary of the Jordan River (Abu el Haj 2001: 29). This actually made the work of the Royal Engineers much more manageable and their area still included by far the greatest number of important Biblical sites, as well as being of strategic importance to the British government (Silberman 1982: 115-16).

The British team set out in autumn 1871, eventually led by Lieutenant Claude Conder, assisted by Royal Engineer Lieutenant, Horatio Herbert Kitchener. The Americans took longer to prepare and raise funds and left in 1872. The American team was led by Lieutenant Edgar Z. Steevers, a recent graduate of West Point, with little experience of surveying. With initial surveying conducted and reports published, the American society abandoned its work as funds were not forthcoming and the lack of headlines generated by its work had a negative impact on the sustainability of the project. Government interest was low, given that the US had not developed major strategic interests in the region, and so the work of mapping was left to the British (Silberman 1982: 116-20), indicating the contingent nature of archaeological activity on other vested interests. There were strategic reasons for the British urgency in finishing the mapping at this time; there was growing unrest throughout the Ottoman Empire and the situation was looking bleak in the Middle East.

The British survey lasted six years. The mapping was carried out by the Royal Engineers. In addition to surveying, onomastica were collected, geological, botanical, and zoological notes kept and tentative excavations carried out where necessary.[49] The collecting of names was an important aspect of the Survey as they "tended to throw invaluable light on the geographical passages in the Old and New Testaments, and especially in the early Books of Joshua and Judges ... " (Conder, cited in Abu el Haj 2001: 33). In total, 9000 onomastica were collected, but only those of "real" (i.e. Biblical) value, were published (Abu el Haj 2001: 34). Throughout 1876, Conder and Kitchener worked on the material gathered in the first four years of the survey in an office loaned to them by the government and preliminary maps were prepared. By October 1887, the entire survey of Western Palestine was complete and was published in 1878 as *Memoirs of the Palestine Survey* More popular accounts were also published in the form of Lt. Kitchener's *Guinea Book of Bible Photographs,* and Conder's *Tent Work in Palestine: A Record of Discovery and Adventure,* winning the P.E.F. enthusiasm and admiration. In this context future plans for exploration were made (Silberman 1982: 122-3).

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[49] As Hodson notes, "The team evolved a detailed scheme for the survey, the main purpose of which was to collect materials to illustrate the Bible: the whole country west of the Jordan was to be submitted to the surveyor's scrutiny. Every named place: town and village, saint's tomb, sacred tree and heap of stones, was to be meticulously recorded at the scale of one inch to the mile. As if this were not enough, provision was also to be made for large scale plans of important localities and ruined cities, plans and detailed drawings of buildings and tombs; interesting sites were to be excavated; place-names were to be collected, photographs taken and collections of geological and natural history specimens and antiquities were to be made" (1993: 7).

The maps produced by the *Survey of Western Palestine* were not only important in locating antiquities and sites for excavation, but became the basic topographical representation of Palestine until 1936, when new maps were produced, and proved invaluable to British activity in the country during World War I (Abu el Haj 2001: 30-1). More importantly, however, with the work of the Survey, future political realities were mapped – the shape of future state of Israel was delineated perfectly in the terrain covered by the survey (Abu el Haj 2001: 28; Silberman 1982: 123).

The close association of state interests, military professionals and archaeology was confirmed in the region: the increased British presence in the Middle East, which followed the Congress of Berlin and Britain's occupation of Cyprus, required the services of experienced officers and administrators, and members of the P.E.F. were well placed to fulfil these roles: Kitchener was appointed to conduct a survey of Cyprus and was later appointed military vice-consul on Cyprus. Despite its loss of high level staff, the P.E.F. continued its activity in Palestine, though on a greatly reduced scale. Conder surveyed the region east of the Jordan abandoned by the Americans until 1882, when the increasingly suspicious Ottoman authorities stopped his activities (Silberman 1982: 124). In 1883, Kitchener briefly returned to Palestine to conduct an additional survey for the P.E.F. Kitchener was later crucial to the formulation of British strategic policy in the Middle East: As secretary of state for war during World War I, he laid the groundwork for the conquest of Palestine (Silberman 1982: 127). From here on out, however, the exploration of Palestinian would remain mostly in civilian hands - that is until the early decades of the Israeli state when military men would once more lead the way in terms of archaeological activity and exploration, renewing the mutually beneficial relationship between the two pursuits.

4.15 Increasing Archaeological Sophistication and the Discovery of the "Tell"

By the mid 1880s, archaeological technique, as demonstrated at Troy, was developing - archaeological investigation could do more than appear to prove or disprove texts, it could supplement them. The successes of Schliemann at Troy inspired the P.E.F. to apply such techniques to a site specially chosen in Palestine (there had been no excavations in Palestine for nearly 20 years (Davies 1988: 37)). The Palestinian tells had been ignored until now, but the work at Troy pointed to the fact that these were ancient cities destroyed and rebuilt several times (Silberman 1982: 147-8; 1993: 546-7). Many of the tells had names similar to Biblical places and were located in remote areas, thus providing the P.E.F. with an opportunity to conduct extended excavations without encountering the kinds of problems faced by Warren in Jerusalem. From a scientific perspective, the development of the Biblical period could be better elucidated through the careful excavation of the layers of a tell (Silberman 1982: 148).

The P.E.F. chose a mound named Khirbet Ajlan, in grazing land east of Gaza, to excavate. They associated the mound with the Canaanite city of Eglon, conquered by Joshua and incorporated into the Judean monarchy. The P.E.F. had to look externally for an expedition leader as the new archaeological techniques developed by Schliemann had never been used in Palestine. They choose William Matthew Flinders Petrie, a British archaeologist who had worked in Egypt since 1880, to lead their expedition. He had a reputation as an archaeological innovator and as a director and manager of large crews of local diggers (Davies 1988: 37-8; Silberman 1982: 148).

Having established himself as an Egyptologist, Petrie set out from Egypt for Palestine in the spring of 1890, but was shocked at how little was actually known about the artefacts of Palestine where dating remained haphazard. The Bible was still being used as the primary chronological guide and no systematic attempt had ever been made to correlate Palestinian finds with those from other sites in the Middle East. This lack of knowledge was demonstrated in the choice of Khirbet Ajlan as a site for excavation. Petrie immediately saw from pottery scattered across its summit that the site had not been occupied before the Roman period (Silberman 1982: 148). Luckily the *firman* also allowed the excavation of nearby sites and Petrie settled on Tell el-Hesy, a mound near a deep ravine, which he mistakenly identified as Lachish (Loughlin 2000: 6). Like others after him, Petrie tried to directly associate Biblical texts and archaeological evidence (Bartlett 1997: 7). Nonetheless, he was to become one of the most important figures in the development of

archaeology in Palestine as a scientific discipline, moving it away from mere treasure hunting: he introduced two of the most important elements of archaeological field techniques; pottery typology and stratigraphy (not his inventions, but his introductions in this region) (Silberman 1993: 547).

Most dating up until this point was carried out on the basis of inscriptions, and small, less glamorous finds such as unpainted pottery, were paid no attention at sites in Israel and throughout the region (Loughlin 2000: 5). Petrie saw that pottery was key to dating and recognized, but did not understand very well, that there were different occupational layers or strata at a site and that each stratum had its own pottery type. This pottery could be cross-referenced with Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptional evidence to provide dates for the strata (Bartlett 1997: 6-7). Petrie viewed each stratum as distinct and uniform by comparison to the other strata, thus allowing him to provide absolute dates. In reality, it allowed the arranging of artefacts according to family groupings.

Though there was still a long way to go, Petrie brought a morsel of science to treasure hunting (Loughlin 2000: 6-7). By comparing pottery at Tell el-Hesy with pottery from his sites in Egypt, Petrie helped bring Palestinian archaeology into the cultural context of the rest of the Ancient Near East, and not just that of the Bible (Silberman 1982: 149). Petrie, however, found both Tell el-Hesy and Palestine very unpleasant and it was 30 years before he could be persuaded to return. He was replaced at Tell el-Hesy by an American, Frederick Jones Bliss, who first trained under Petrie in Egypt (Silberman 1982: 149-50).

Despite the scientific developments at Tell-el-Hesy, it was still religious or political concerns that drove archaeology in Jerusalem; the European and American public were vastly more interested in the discovery of monuments with religious significance. A number of religious groups undertook excavations on religious sites owned by them, while the former A.P.E.F. explorer and U.S. consul in Jerusalem, Reverend Selah Merrill, excavated anywhere he could (Silberman 1982: 151). The question of the authenticity of the traditional sacred Christian sites still motivated most of the digging; the Russian excavations at the Holy Sepulchre had done much to rekindle the debate. Another battle raged over the location of the original City of David and the royal tombs of the Hebrew kings (Silberman 1982: 153).

The P.E.F. now also turned their attention back to Jerusalem, where excavations also offered the possibility of promoting national pride and honour. In 1894, a two year *firman* for Jerusalem was granted, following the intervention of Lord Kimberley, the British Foreign Secretary. The idea was to solve some of the outstanding questions surrounding ancient Jerusalem (Silberman 1982: 154). An American scholar, F.J. Bliss was sent by the P.E.F. to excavate in an area south of the current Old City (Davies 1988: 38). When Bliss got his *firman* for Jerusalem it was on the condition that all artefacts were the property of the Ottoman Empire and would be sent to the Imperial Museum at the end of the excavation. An imperial "commissioner" also had to be present at the excavation to supervize the work, as was the case at Tell el-Hesy. The P.E.F. accepted these conditions, as their quest was now for historical fact and not just artefacts (Silberman 1982: 155).

Work began on the southern slopes of the city in May 1894 and ran until June 1897. Bliss set out to follow the course of a vertically hewn rock slope, believed to be the base of an ancient southern wall of Jerusalem and locate the extent of the ancient city (Davies 1988: 38; Silberman 1982: 155). He traced the scarp eastwards for 700 ft. and the remains of an ancient tower and gates were found along the route of the excavations. The wall then ran through private property and the cost of buying excavation rights was such that Bliss decided that instead of thoroughly excavating the wall he would use Warren's technique and trace the course of the wall underground (Davies 1988: 38-9; Silberman 1982: 155-6).

By the time the excavation finished, Bliss had traced the southern perimeter of the ancient city, while trial probes had revealed fortification walls, paved streets, water installations and the ruins of a fifth-century church (Davies 1988: 38-9). The full complexity of Jerusalem's archaeology had finally been demonstrated: the continuous occupation of the southern slope of the city from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine period had resulted in confusing, overlapping stratigraphy, thus diminishing the possibility of finding an individual monument there. Tracing the historical development of the city, in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the various periods and their associated remains, was now more important and would require intensive work carried out over several generations by trained professionals: the discipline was slowly becoming more scientific (Silberman 1982: 154). The P.E.F. abandoned the search for individual sites in Jerusalem and instead began work on four tells south of Jerusalem, hoping to shed light on the development of Biblical civilisation and, of course, expose new finds (Silberman 1982: 163; Davies 1988: 39). Bliss was joined by the young R.A.S. Macalister, son of Professor

John Macalister of the University of Dublin (who had introduced the study of cultural anthropology to Cambridge), on this expedition, thus introducing one of the future leading lights of Palestinian archaeology to the field (Davies 1988: 39; Silberman 1982: 163).

Macalister had trained as a field archaeologist in England and Germany, and not as a Biblical scholar (Davies 1988: 39; Silberman 1993: 549). He later published a general work entitled *A History of Civilisation in Palestine,* in which he presented an imperialistic view of chosen races and cultural stagnation. He discussed the "uncreative" nature of the "Semitic" population of the land, claiming that Palestine "was perhaps the most unprogressive country on the face of the earth" (cited in Silberman 1993: 550). His work anticipated that of the hyper-diffusionists of the Manchester School at Beth Shemesh and Ashkelon where they focused on the "civilising" influence of the Western Philistines, pre-empting modern Western civilising influence in the region (Silberman 1993: 549-50). Bliss and Macalister, in addition to developing and refining archaeological technique, uncovered important remains from the Canaanite to Crusader periods at the sites south of Jeruslaem,[50] and unintentionally set up the parameters of most future archaeological excavation in Palestine and subsequently in the new state of Israel.

Others also became interested in the archaeology of Palestine at this time, and soon the P.E.F. could count among its subscribers Jews from the newly established agricultural settlements in Palestine. As Silberman notes, "Archaeological activity in Palestine was becoming a part of [the] cultural landscape" (1982: 155). By the early years of the twentieth century German archaeologists also began to make an appearance on the scene, beginning a survey of Eastern Palestine in 1901, thus reflecting the changing political climate and increasing friendship between the Porte and the Kaiser. Austrian entrance into Palestinian archaeology was marked by the excavation in 1902 of Tell Ta'annek (Canaanite Taanach) by Professor Ernest Sellin with the support of the Vienna Academy of Sciences and the Austrian Ministry of Education (Weippert and Weippert 1988: 90). Sellin's aim was to disprove the Wellhausean School gaining ground in Germany, which viewed "the 'prophetic' stage of Israel's religion[51]... as the unique point of origin of modern Western religious belief" (Silberman 1993: 548). Sellin, a conservative and opponent to Higher Criticism, argued that Israelite religion had been uniquely monotheistic

[50] At Gezer, Macalister found evidence of Neolithic culture, though he identified these people as racially non-Semitic. The Semites were cast in the role of usurper and, according to Silberman, thus anticipating the return of non-Semites from the West (1993: 549).

[51] i.e. the period before the codification of the Law and the professionalisation of the priesthood (Silberman 1993: 548).

from at least the time of Moses, and thus sharply differentiated from Canaanite paganism. He argued for the historicity of the Bible, and used the material from Ta'annek to disprove large-scale Babylonian influence on Israelite religion (Silberman 1993: 548-9).

The Ta'annek excavation produced impressive finds and this competition for archaeological influence in Palestine was not viewed favourably by the British, who were experiencing financial difficulties by comparison to the well-funded Germans and Austrians, whose work represented the expansion of Kaiser Wilhelm's interests in the Middle East (Silberman 1982: 165-6). The P.E.F. responded by opening excavations at Gezer led by Macalister. The Germans, in turn, began work at Megiddo, the famed location for the battle at the end of days – the Armageddon of the New Testament. The Kaiser contributed a large sum of government money to this excavation, which like Ta'annek was located next to a railway line being constructed by German engineers for the Ottomans. The German flag billowed proudly over the excavations. The Germans were also taking full advantage of their new friendship with the Ottomans and removed large quantities of important antiquities, including marble remains from the Ummayid remains at Khan Mashetta, to the Imperial Museum in Berlin. In 1905, the Germans also began excavating ancient synagogues in Galilee, opening up the world of New Testament remains, and in 1907 Sellin began excavating at Jericho; the P.E.F. grew increasingly nervous (Silberman 1982: 167-70). The only major P.E.F. expedition to take place before the War was a survey of the Negev by T.E. Lawrence and Leonard Woolley in 1913, which was really military reconnaissance in the guise of archaeology, further blurring the military and scientific elements of the P.E.F. The information obtained by the P.E.F. in the various Surveys of Palestine was to become invaluable in the First World War (Silberman 1982: 191-5; Broshi 1987: 20).

4.16 The Entry of the Americans into the Field of Palestinian Archaeology

The penetration of German interests had far-reaching effects on Palestinian archaeology tipping the balance of archaeological power in the Holy Land away from the British (Silberman 1982: 170). It was also at this time that the Americans finally entered the field of Palestinian archaeology in a real sense. The American School of Oriental Research (A.S.O.R.) was established in Jerusalem in 1900, the result of a collaboration of American universities (King 1988: 16). During the first decade of the twentieth century many American scholars came and stayed at the School in Jerusalem and deepened their knowledge of Biblical archaeology, but as of yet the majority of American archaeology activity in the Middle East was conducted, with great success, outside of Palestine (Silberman 1982: 171).

The New York banker, philanthropist and leader of the American Jewish Reform Movement, Jacob Henry Schiff was particularly interested in the excavation of Biblical cities. He wished to see Biblical antiquities included in the Harvard Semitic Museum and in 1905 contributed the enormous sum of fifty thousand dollars for the conduction of a large-scale, high-standard excavation by Harvard. The site chosen was Sebastiyah (Greek Sebaste or Biblical Samaria), capital of the Biblical northern kingdom of Israel. The excavation was led by the Egyptologist George Andrew Reisner (King 1988: 17; 1993: 15), who went to Constantinople armed with a recommendation from President Theodore Roosevelt, though the permit to excavate did not eventuate until 1907 and the excavation was eventually headed by the German excavator of Megiddo, Dr. Gottlieb Schumacher.

This excavation was better funded than any prior excavation in Palestine and though standards continued to improve, Schumacher, to the chagrin of his American employers retained the old school fascination with quantity rather than quality, exposing large areas and collecting large numbers of finds but paying far less attention to context (Silberman 1982: 172-6). Schumacher was dismissed and Reisner resumed control. Reisner developed better excavation techniques, such as the study of trench walls or balks and the identifyication of debris layers, for the better understanding of stratigraphy in Palestinian archaeology, notoriously so complicated and confused. This analysis of debris-layers became known in Palestine as the Reisner-Fisher technique (Fischer brought the technique to bear from the 1920s to 1940s), and was not dissimilar from the Wheeler-Kenyon method developed by the British archaeologists Mortimer Wheeler and Kathleen Kenyon. The Wheeler-Kenyon method was introduced to Israel at Jericho in 1951 by Kenyon and entails

less exposure of a site (work is carried out in 5m x 5m squares) and working at a slower pace (King 1993: 15; Loughlin 2001: 9). In addition, the workforce was better trained in order to carry out the new more intensive and scientific techniques. Furthermore, Reisner understood the destructive nature of archaeology and thus kept meticulous accounts, drawings, plans and photographs of all work conducted and all findings (Silberman 1982: 176-8). Samaria was the only excavation taken on by the Americans in Palestine before World War I (King 1993: 14-15), but the path was laid for large scale, well-funded, foreign, particularly American, exactions in Palestine, which continues to this day.

The Americans remained active in archaeology in Palestine under the British Mandate and increasingly in the new Israeli state, where they have dominated the foreign scene. William F. Albright played the most influential role in the history of A.S.O.R. (he was Director of the Jerusalem School from 1920-1929 and again from 1933 to 1936, and he edited the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (BASOR) for 37 years), and indeed in the history of archaeology in Israel. Starting out, Albright, like his mentor, Paul Haupt of Johns Hopkins University, was sceptical about the historicity of the Biblical traditions, but later he became more conservative and distanced himself from Haupt (King 1993: 15). In addition to establishing the pottery chronology of Palestine from his own excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim and elsewhere, Albright embraced a more positive attitude to the historicity of the early Biblical traditions and "became more confident about the value of the Biblical tradition for historical reconstruction" (King 1993: 15). Albright, and his work, influenced American and Israeli scholars alike - Israeli scholars expressed their indebtedness to Albright by dedicating to him Volume 9 (1969) of *Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies,* while the City of Jerusalem declared Albright *Yaqqir Yerushalayim,* "Notable of Jerusalem" A.S.O.R. paid their respects by renaming the Jerusalem School in his memory (King 1993: 15).

Another notable American archaeologist working in Palestine was G. Ernest Wright who also "saw as archaeology's task the recovery of the historical foundations of the Judaeo-Christian tradition" (King 1988: 24). Wright excavated at Shechem in the period after World War II, and the techniques he employed there influenced, directly or indirectly, every subsequent American excavation in Palestine (King 1988: 24-5). These American teams have generally directed their focus to sites pertaining to early Judaism, the beginnings of Christianity and the Graeco-Roman period, and since the 1980s there has

been a renewed interest on the part of American archaeologists in the Philistines (King 1988: 33).

4.17 The Professionalisation of Archaeology in Palestine and the Opening of Foreign Archaeological Schools

Most archaeological activity in Palestine had been suspended since before World War I and did not resume until the declaration of the British Mandate in 1920. By contrast, the Mandate period is generally regarded as the Golden Age of archaeology in Palestine. The difficulties in negotiating with the Ottoman authorities experienced by earlier explorers and archaeologists were replaced by a more liberal, specialized and professional administrative apparatus in the hands of the British (Gibson 1999: 136; Reich 1993: 28).

Archaeological practice became more scientific with greater concern shown for the use of more exacting stratigraphic methods. Chronological terminologies were also adopted at this time. On the 14th of July 1922, Garstang, Phythian-Adams, Vincent and Albright had a a meeting in Jerusalem where they agreed upon a classification system of chronological terms. The aim was compatibility with systems used in archaeology elsewhere (Gibson 1999: 136). Improved infrastructure opened up previously inaccessible areas for excavation (and also site protection and preservation), and up until the outbreak of World War II ethnographic studies focusing on the traditional way of life of the locals could be carried out in conjunction with archaeological expeditions (Gibson 1999: 136). This was a tradition that had lasted from Napoleonic times and had frequently associated the Bedouin with the Biblical Patriarchs. Robert McEnery, writing in 1857, summed up the aim of such studies:

> "Just as the excavated remains of Ninevah or Shushan or Persepolis enable us to admire the beauty or marvel at the grandeur of those ancient cities, so do the unfading customs of the East lead us to an accurate and satisfying knowledge of the times most influential upon eternity of all the ages that are past" (cited in Shepherd 1987: 89).

The P.E.F. continued to excavate some major sites during the Mandate period, including Ashkelon, Samaria and the Ophel in Jerusalem (the last was a collaborative project involving French archaeologists and the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society) (Reich 1993: 28). The P.E.F. excavations at Ashkelon, directed by Garstang, were the first allowed in Palestine under the new British administration (Gibson 1999: 126-8), and the British naturally retained a privileged position in the archaeology of Palestine given their control of the both the political and archaeological administrative frameworks in the country.

In 1918, with fighting over, but before a British mandate was declared over Palestine, a group of individuals from the British Academy and the Palestine Exploration Fund met in the British Museum to form an Organising Committee to found a British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (henceforth the B.S.A.J.) (Gibson 1999: 115). The group wanted to ensure the preservation of archaeological remains in Palestine, as well as guarantee that when archaeological activity resumed in the country, Britain would be at the forefront (Gibson 1999: 126). This concern was also expressed in the establishment of the Pro-Jerusalem Society by the Governor, Ronald Storrs (who later served as Governor of Cyprus) to protect Jerusalem's buildings and monuments (Gibson 1999: 135). On the other hand, Flinders Petrie simultaneously proposed the demolition of the Old City of Jerusalem arguing,

> "By far the most satisfactory thing would be to establish a new business town a mile or two out and gradually clear the historic city. Thus the whole of the Medieval Jerusalem could be removed in the future, and the Jewish condition of the town brought to light and restored ... The first thing to be done is to get it as clear as we can of human habitation, and preserve it as a sanctuary for the three faiths" (cited in Gibson 1999: 141).

Fortunately he was not heeded.

In addition, Britain had been the only country before the War without a school in Palestine. Other foreign archaeological schools in Palestine included the *Stadium Biblicum Franciscnum* sponsored by the Franciscan Custody of Terra Sancta (which combined Biblical and archaeological studies as many schools did), founded at the beginning of the century; the *American School of Oriental Research;* the *Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes* (Archaeology in Germany, up the present day, has been more Bible orientated than in any other country and its practice is still institutionally related to church organisation (Weippert and Weippert 1988: 87), and the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française* (it was first called the *École Pratique d'Études Bibliques*, with the title, *École Archéologique Française* added by the French government in 1920) established in 1890, making it the oldest permanent school for the study of the Bible and archaeology in Jerusalem (Benoit 1988: 63): Many of the Schools published periodicals and combined the study of the geography and ancient history of the Near East with the study of oriental languages, archaeology and epigraphy etc. (King 1993; Puech 1993; Piccirillo 1993; Strobel 1993).

The first job of the British School was to appoint the incumbent director of the British Museum, Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, as Chairman. The Honorary Secretary of the British

Academy, Professor Israel Gollancz was appointed Honorary Secretary, while Robert Mond was appointed Honorary Treasurer; the calibre of the committee indicates the importance placed on the archaeological investigation of Palestine (Auld 1993: 24).

The national press were informed about the new organisation and its intentions, while a preliminary prospectus stated that the School's aims were to facilitate scholarly research, to provide instruction and guidance to students, to train administrators and excavators, and to assist the explorations of the P.E.F. (Gibson 1999: 126; Auld 1993: 23). Close connection were also maintained with the British Academy and the British Museum, and later with A.S.O.R and the new Hebrew University represented by Eliezer Sukenik (Auld 1993: 24). In addition, the Committee stated that:

> "... no modern religious or political question nor any personal matter of religious persuasion will be allowed to affect the policy of the School, which is conceived on the broadest lines in an organized effort to cope with an existing national need" (cited in Gibson 1999: 126).

John Garstang (1876-1956) was the first Director of the School, appointed in 1919. Garstang was a distinguished field archaeologist as well as a skilled teacher and administrator and had excavated not only in Palestine but also in Egypt, Nubia and Asia Minor. He was rather less proliferous with his publication of excavations - none of his excavations in Palestine, which included Ashkelon, Tanturah-Dor, Hazor and Jericho, were ever fully published. From the beginning it was agreed that a spirit of cooperation should be fostered with the American School of Oriental Research, which was about to reopen having closed in 1914, and with other foreign missions in the country (Gibson 1999: 115-18).

Lt. Colonel William J.T. Phythian-Adams was appointed Assistant Director and joined Garstang in the winter of 1919 (Gibson 1999: 117). Close connections were maintained with the British authorities and other British organisations in Palestine - Field Marshal Viscount Allenby and Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner for Palestine, were elected by the Organising Committee as Vice-Presidents of the British School in July 1920, while preliminary excavations were instigated at Ashkelon on behalf of the P.E.F. (Gibson 1999: 118). The notion of the "School" was promoted through the training of students who would then assist "in the preservation and excavation of ancient monuments for the country" (Minutes of the British School, 8th of February 1921, cited in Gibson 1999: 118). Furthermore, the newly created Palestine Oriental Society held its meetings at the School,

which regularly acted as a forum for numerous, extremely well-attended public lectures (Gibson 1999: 118).

4.18 The Department of Antiquities of Palestine

In 1920, Garstang, following a proposal by the High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, undertook the organisation and direction of the Government's Department of Antiquities in Palestine (henceforth the D.A.P.). Having established the Department in merely ten days, Garstang retained the title of Director of the Department for six years (Gibson 1999: 129). One of Garstang's first tasks was the establishment of an Antiquities Ordinance to replace the earlier Ottoman Antiquities Law.[52] He also created an Archaeological Advisory Board with representatives from all the principal local and foreign national archaeological institutions in order to help alleviate concerns that the British might try to monopolize Palestinian archaeology, given their new-found power. The Board first met in August 1920 when a draft of the Antiquities Ordinance drawn up by Garstang was discussed (Gibson 1999: 129-30).

The resulting Antiquities Ordinance was published by the Government of Palestine in October 1920 (with amendments in 1929) and stipulated, as the Ottoman Law before it, that all antiquities were the property of the Government, though in this case the property of the Civil Government of Palestine, and not the British Government. A clause of the Ordinance, however, did allow the excavator to retain some artefacts; the D.A.P. had the power to select from the artefacts uncovered by an excavation those which were desired for the Palestine Museum, while the rest were divided between the Museum and the excavator. Such a clause was naturally welcomed by archaeologists and seen as conducive to encouraging excavations in Palestine. The principle of state 'ownership' lay behind all other clauses in the Ordinance, which also published a Schedule of Historical Sites (excluding religious buildings) in Palestine (Gibson 1999: 137).

The Ordinance provided the new D.A.P. with the authority to grant licences to trade in antiquities and permits to excavate, which could only be granted to recognized archaeological institutions. The new Department thus controlled and supported all legal archaeological activity in the country, including that carried out by individuals and schools of other nationalities and affiliations (Gibson 1999: 135). The speed and thoroughness with which the Department and the Ordinance were established, highlights the level of official British interest in Palestinian archaeology at the time: for example, the Mandate articles

[52] Gibson claims that Garstang would have consulted the following documents in drawing up the new Law: the former Ottoman Law of Antiquities, a draft Law of Antiquities put together by the Organising Committee of the British School before 1920, the Egyptian Law of Antiquities of 1912, Sir Stanley Maude's Proclamation on Antiquities for Mesopotamia and the Ancient Monuments Act of 1913 used in England (1999: 137).

went into greater detail on the preservation of antiquities than on the legal status of Palestinian Arabs. Fox notes that "The control of archaeological activity in the Holy Land became the symbol of authority in Palestine" (2001: 69).

A small number of staff members were appointed to the Department, in the roles of Chief Inspector, Assistant Inspector, and Junior Inspector of Antiquities, with work organized district by district. Guards were posted at important archaeological sites, notably, Tiberias, Athlit, Caesarea, Ashkelon, and Jerusalem. Data about archaeological sites in Palestine was systematically collected and stored in the form of typed cards, which later became the basis for the official Archives of the Department of Antiquities, and were of immense help to both Inspectors and scholars. The Department spent a lot of time during the Mandate period compiling records on archaeological sites and two very comprehensive schedules of antiquity sites, on which the Antiquities Ordinance was dependent, were published in 1929 and 1944, and were one of the Department's biggest achievements (Gibson 1999: 130). The Antiquities Ordinance later served as the basis for both the Israeli and the Jordanian Antiquities Laws,[53] while the D.A.P. was also the model on which the later Israeli and Jordanian Departments of Antiquities were based (Gibson 1999: 131).

Foreshadowing later Israeli neglect of more recent periods, the lack of attention paid in archaeological terms to the post Crusader past, but in particular the Ottoman past, was enshrined in the Ordinance, which had no jurisdiction over remains dating later than 1700 CE. The material culture of the modern population was not worthy of European investigation (Silberman 1991: 82). While identifying parts of the country with Biblical nomenclature and history, and naming settlements and streets accordingly, had been a function of Zionist activity since the resettlement of Palestine had begun (Moore and Troen 2001: 10), it was the British Mandatory Government, who in 1929, linguistically and historically approved and adopted Biblical place-names. This step was subsequently confirmed by the Names Committee of the Academy for the Hebrew Language in the State of Israel (Silberman 1991: 79). Ancient Israel was thereby transplanted onto the face of modern Palestine and a tangible geographical focus was provided for nationalist aims: ancient history was privileged over the concerns and culture of modern Palestinians.[54]

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[53] The Jordanian Antiquities Laws are also used by the present-day Department of Antiquities of the Palestinian Authority (Gibson 1999: 131).

[54] As Abu el Haj notes, "No longer mere mythical or textual claim, Palestine's terrain emerged as the ancient-modern Jewish national home. In other words, archaeological data helped to make real the truth of (settler) nationhood" (2002: 35).

The Department also conducted emergency excavations at endangered sites, including those not related to Biblical history. This was a precedent followed by the subsequent Israel Department of Antiquities and Israel Antiquities Authority. Research based fieldwork was also conducted at Athlit, in the Citadel in Jerusalem and at Khirbet al-Mafjar, the results of which were mostly published in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* (QDAP), which first appeared in 1931, and lasted for fourteen volumes (Gibson 1999: 131). The conservation and repair of archaeological sites was also of interest to Garstang,[55] as was the education of the local community with regard to the importance of the country's archaeological remains.

There had been a museum in Jerusalem, the Turkish Archaeological Museum, organized by F.J. Bliss and H. Vincent in a building in the Old City. The antiquities in this museum had been boxed and stored at various locations after the military events of 1917, with the intention of eventually transporting them the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul, which already housed important Palestinian Antiquities. Garstang revived this museum, renaming it the Palestine Archaeological Museum and placed it in the charge of Phythian-Adams. The new museum was inaugurated on 31 October 1921 by the High Commissioner, Herbert Samuel, and was housed together with the D.A.P. in 'Way House' in Jerusalem. Phythian-Adams catalogued these artefacts for the first time, though determining the provenance of each object was often difficult. The collection included material from Beth Shemesh, Beth Shean and from the P.E.F. excavations at Ashkelon as well as artefacts purchased by the D.A.P. from various sources and donations from private collections. It continued to be enriched with objects from new projects in Palestine. Local museums were also planned for Acre, Athlit, Ashkelon and Caesarea, though the Department's policy was to preserve, where possible, very large and heavy sculptures and architectural fragments *in situ* (Gibson 1999: 132).

The number of finds soon outgrew "Way House" and in March 1929 the American John D. Rockefeller, Jr., visited Jerusalem and was persuaded by the American Orientalist

[55] The Old City of Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings were to be preserved. The two guiding principles in this mission were that the Old City was to be very limited in size, and that development within it should be strictly regulated in order to maintain its aesthetic and Medieval character, thus the Old City became a "dead space" while the adjacent modern city became the "living space". The human needs of each space were seen as radically different, with the preservation of the past prioritised in one and development in the present and future prioritised in the other (Abu *el Haj* 2002: 42-3). According to Abu *el Haj*, the field of archaeology was thereby being demarcated and defined, and the result was that "The landscape of Palestine was divided up into discrete zones: historical and modern, archaeological and non-archaeological, secular and sacred" (2002: 46).

Professor James Breasted to provide two million dollars to build and maintain an archaeological museum in Jerusalem (Reich 1993: 29; Gibson 1999: 132). The Civil Government of Palestine gifted a site for the museum in the north-east corner of the Old City. The museum was opened to the public on 13 January 1938 as the Palestine Archaeological Museum, though after 1967 and the recapture of this area by the Israelis from the Jordanians, the museum became commonly known as the Rockefeller Museum (Gibson 1999: 132). The Museum and its collections had been cut off from Israeli scholars from the establishment of the State of Israel on 15 May 1948, as it came under Jordanian control (Reich 1993: 29). The museum also contained administrative offices, laboratories, a library, a lecture hall and the offices of the D.A.P.

4.19 A British Archaeology

Initially British policy was to try to combine the work of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine with that of the British School, "reserving particularly to the Government the protection of the antiquities and monuments of the country, and to the School, with the associated Foreign Schools, all questions of study and research" (B.S.A.J. Annual Report, 1920 [March 1921], cited in Gibson 1999: 118). The Organising Committee of the School was replaced by the Council of the British School, chaired by Dr. David G. Hogarth (who had previously been active in Cypriot archaeology), which held its first meeting in London on May 18 1921 and the School was awarded a grant of £200 by the British Government's Foreign Office. From the beginning of 1922 until World War II the School suffered from limited funds.

Archaeological activity in Palestine had its highpoint in the early 1930s (Gibson 1999: 136). In the early 1930s the British School conducted important excavations in Samaria and later conducted an Archaeological Survey of Palestine, though this has remained largely unpublished except for some material from the Negev (Gibson 1999: 123). The discovery of the prehistoric "Galilee Skull" by F. Turville-Petre in 1925 brought international attention to the School's work. From then on, the School showed a greater interest in the prehistory of Palestine, which was later boosted by the work of Dorothy Garrod's on prehistoric material in the Carmel Hill caves and elsewhere (Gibson 1999: 121; Davies 1988: 42). Political disorder in the country disrupted and slowed down work from the late 1930s, though work continued until hostilities came to a head in 1947 (Gibson 1999: 136).

The School's activities were temporarily suspended in 1947 due to the unsettled political situation and the chronic lack of funds, though resumed in December 1950. Money was provided by the British Government through the British Academy with excavations resuming in 1952 and a new building founded in 1957. The School continued to play a role in the archaeology of the region following the establishment of the State of Israel, and provided some of the luminaries of Israeli archaeology with their training experience, including Kathleen Kenyon in the 1930s and 1940s (who later became Director of the School and led an expedition to Jericho). In the 1970s, the School led the way in the study of the non-Biblical periods of the region's past, conducting a survey of Mameluke Jerusalem, which prompted an interest in restoration within the Muslim Quarter. In the 1980s the School conducted excavations at late-Roman/Byzantine (Upper Zohar) and

Crusader sites (the Red Tower and Belmont Castle) and initiated a country-wide survey of Medieval and Ottoman architecture (Auld 1993: 24-5). The School still operates today, though on a greatly reduced scale.

The Emergence of Imperialist and Nationalist Archaeological Narratives

4.20 Colonialism and the Early Archaeologists and Archaeology

The current besiegement of the history of this part of the Levant for the construction of a narrative which seeks to express the continuity of the Jewish presence in the area and validate Jewish claims to the territory, began not with the formation of the modern state or even with Zionism, but with western colonialist ascription of this area's past. The wave of Western travel to the Palestine, discussed earlier, was different from the pilgrimages of earlier times: science and archaeology opened up new possibilities for the discovery and preservation of the past of the Bible and the result was the biggest western invasion of Palestine since the Crusades. The entire land was explored and rival archaeological societies set up to conduct excavations and acquire artefacts for European museums. A scientific chronology of the history of the land was devised and Biblical sites were brought to light (Silberman 1982: 4).

The increased archaeological activity conducted along national lines both contributed to, and was a reflection of, the intense rivalry between the European powers, each with their own interests and goals in the region (Silberman 1982: 4). The changing political realities - the crumbling Ottoman Empire, the question of the fate of the Middle East, and the competing European powers vying for influence in the region - all contributed to the intensity of archaeological activity and the search for Biblical antiquities in Palestine. Furthermore, the nationalism of nineteenth century Europe saw Europe's colonial powers look not only to their own pasts for glory, but to the regions which they saw as pertaining to their own cultural and spiritual inheritance, i.e. the classical and Ancient Near Eastern worlds. Based on the prevailing intellectual dependence on the theory of cultural diffusion to answer the question of why some societies were more advanced than others, these Western powers saw themselves and not the modern inhabitants of these territories (who to their mind were clearly too backward and uncivilized to have received or made use of this culture) as the true inheritors of this illustrious past (Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 15). In archaeological terms, this intellectual trend found expression in an Orientalist approach to the interpretation of the past: Israelite monotheist religion was considered superior to Canaanite fertility based religion, Israelite culture was considered more advanced and, thus, superseded and silenced Canaanite and other surrounding (and indeed, internal) cultures.

This quest for the origins of Western society in the remains of the Ancient Near East found expression as early as the late eighteenth century in the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder who was convinced that social, technological, cultural and religious inventions had come from the Near East via Europe to the rest of the world.

In the late nineteenth century the idea that European prehistoric culture had come to Europe from the Near East was developed in Sweden by Oscar Montelius and his ideas soon spread to Britain. British acceptance of this view can perhaps be understood in light of recent trends in British history, which attributed British pre-eminence in world affairs to the successive waves of invaders and settlers to Britain who brought with them fresh and innovative ideas (Trigger 1984: 364), Following this line of thought then, Near Eastern achievements and culture were appropriated by the West for themselves and in the process the native peoples were disinherited of this past (Trigger 1984: 366).

Funds were generously allocated to excavations and the collection of antiquities for museums in the West. Later these new branches of study were included in university research and educational programmes. Many of these new programmes operated on the philosophy of a search for the roots of modern culture and religion (Larsen 1988: 232). The artefacts discovered during the course of these excavations were arranged into, and understood within, a system of unilinear cultural evolution, from savagery to civilisation. Marxist scholars added an economic dimension to this model so that progression was seen from egalitarian to feudal to capitalist societies (Stiebing Jnr. 1993: 254).[56] A little later, Gordon Childe advanced the thesis of Near Eastern influence on European civilisation based on diffusionist theory, using the metaphor of the running river to explain his argument (Larsen 1988: 233).

Another metaphor used was that of the torch of civilisation passed from the Ancient Near East though Greece to modern Europe. The differences, however, between modern, individualistic, democratic and entrepreneurial Europe and the monolithic, despotic Ancient Near East had to be taken into account and so what was really sought was an explanation for the uniqueness of the modern West in world history (Larsen 1988: 233-4). Near Eastern influences were therefore *transformed* in Europe; technologies were used in

[56] The influence of this Marxist dimension can be seen in, particularly, early German interpretations of the development of early Israel; for example in Wellhausen's theory that Israelite religion in the pre-exilic period was natural, simple and vital and became stifled in its legalism in the post-exilic period (Marblestone 2000: 24).

different ways in new social and political contexts. The decadent, despotic Orient was contrasted with democratic Athens. The West thus became the West with the Greeks. The Orient was alien, monolithic and unchanging and symblomatic of 'the Other'. Greece and Rome were and are studied in isolation from the Ancient Near East, the two categories believed to have few meaningful points of reference (Larsen 1988: 234; Kohl 1988: 240).

Neither school, however, displayed any interest in the history of the Ancient Near East after the period in which the "torch of civilisation" was passed to the West and left behind it "stagnant pools" (Larsen 1988: 237). Thus for many scholars, the modern territory of the Middle East and Egypt and their inhabitants constituted a modern laboratory in which to examine the conditions under which the Ancient Near East operated. Napoleon, for example, ordered the scholars he had taken with him on his invasion of Egypt in 1778 to study the Egyptian peasantry in order to reveal something of the social order of Pharaonic times (Kohl 1988: 240). The "degenerate" nature of the local populations further contributed to the notion of the passing of antique culture to the West, who was thus the guardian of the remains of this culture. This view was in keeping with traditional European characterisation of the Arabs as "God's chosen agents of desolation" (Silberman 1991: 81).

The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, one of the most important institutions in the field, then and now, opened its new building in December 1931. This impressive building also housed a large museum containing artefacts from excavations conducted by the Institute, especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt. James Henry Breasted, the Director of the Institute designed a large relief located over the main entrance to the new building, depicting an Egyptian scribe handing a fragment of a relief with a hieroglyphic inscription to a semi-naked Westerner. Breasted said that the relief depicted "the transition of civilisation from the ancient Orient to the West" (cited in Larsen 1988: 229).[57] This transference of civilisation from East to West was the ideological underpinning of much of the work carried out by Near Eastern scholars and institutions up until this time, and indeed, even in more recent periods. For Breasted, Orientalists bridged the gap between the

[57] The relief also depicts the major symbols and achievements of each civilisation: at the feet of the Egyptian is a Near Eastern lion, while an American bison lies at the feet of the Westerner. Other figures and monuments which represent the traditions of each lie in the fields behind the two men – behind the scribe are Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Sasanian and Persian kings, the palace at Persepolis, the Sphinx and the pyramids at Gizeh. Behind the Westerner are Herodotus, Alexander, Julius Caesar, a crusader, a field archaeologist leaning on a spade, a scholar in his study handling an excavated vase, the Acropolis, a European cathedral and the US State Capitol at Lincoln, Nebraska, a skyscraper built by the same firm who built the Institute (Larsen 1988: 230).

work of palaeontologists with their revelation of archaic savage man and historians tracing "the career of civilized man in Europe" (Breasted, cited in Larsen 1988: 230).

The Orientalist/archaeologist thus traces man's evolution, Darwinian style, not just in technical terms but in terms of man's soul, from prehistoric savagery (in Europe as elsewhere) via the Near East to modern Europe and finally, America. A unilinear, diffusionist model of world history was created and the crucial and central role of the Ancient Near East stressed to the exclusion of other cultures and civilisations around the world (Larsen 1988: 231). Closely linked with this search for the roots of Western civilisation was an interest in the background of the Bible, the root of Western religion (Larsen 1988: 231). Both of these concerns helped structure the way in which the archaeology of the Near East was and is conducted. The modern preoccupation with statehood was read into Israelite history, with the view emerging that Israel had been the first true modern state.[58] This resulted in the isolating of "Israelite" sites for investigation in an attempt at recovering a political and religious spiritual past, and a pattern was set, which exists to the present day, in the almost exclusive selection of "Israelite" or "Jewish" sites for excavation.

Some schools were more interested in the religious aspects of this quest than others: prior to World War I in Germany, the new scholarly field of Assyriology hosted a major debate known as "Babel und Bibel". The aim of this school of thought was to locate the Old Testament, and thus Judaism, within a larger Near Eastern cultural context, the increased friendship between the Kaiser and the Porte, allowed German scholars to test their theories archaeologically in the Middle East (Silberman 1993: 548). The school was in part informed by the anti-Semitism of the time and denied the value of the Old Testament for Christian faith. Judaism became one religion among many - a parochial monotheism contrasted with Christianity's universal monotheism (Larsen 1988: 231-2; Silberman 1993: 548). Either way, the land of Palestine hosted evidence for the foundation and evolution of Western culture and religion and was therefore the inheritance of the modern West.

[58] This preoccupation continued in the Israeli state and was promoted in the secular school system, in which the ancient Israelite "kingdoms" were referred to as "*ha-medinah*" – "the state", which is of course an anachronism. In the same vein, the reclamation of the Promised Land by an earlier generation of Jews, recounted in the Book of Joshua, was seen as a precedent for modern events (Troen 2001: 33).

4.21 The Beginnings of Local Interest in Archaeology

During the early part of the twentieth century, and especially under the British Mandate, many Jewish scholars were exposed to archaeology through the work of foreign missions in the country. They were, therefore, exposed to the methods and techniques of men such as Petrie, Albright and Crowfoot, who as a result exerted a significant influence on the emergent discipline of Israeli archaeology. These Jewish scholars went on to train the first generation of Israeli archaeologists (Mazar 1988: 108-9) and thus the methods and concerns of early Western archaeologists became established in the new state.

One example of the adoption of early archaeological methods, which has lasted until the present day, is the excavating of large areas of a site in order to uncover complete architectural units versus the trenching approach used by archaeologists elsewhere. In some cases this has resulted in the exposing of entire sites (Mazar 1988: 120), and while there are certain advantages to this technique - it offers the possibility of greater understanding of stratigraphic development, especially on sites occupied over long periods - it can also pose severe problems in conservation terms, though this will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 5, particularly in relation to Caesarea. Furthermore, in some extreme cases, this technique resulted in the use of bulldozers to remove the upper layers on a site and to cut through massive earthworks, for example, Middle Bronze Age earthen ramparts (Mazar 1988: 121). It has also resulted in the large-scale removal of later period remains, including entire buildings such as the Ummayad Palaces in Jerusalem, in order to conduct wide-scale excavation of deeper strata (Mazar 1988: 122). Such actions further contribute to the erosion and "forgetting" of remains from these periods.

The biases introduced by foreign archaeologists to the practice and interpretation of archaeology in Palestine were also continued by early Israeli nationalists; firstly, as a way of providing political legitimacy, and secondly, and perhaps more importantly, as a means of creating a sense of national unity through common identity in a culturally diverse community. This was done through the shaping of a new group memory; the tangibility of archaeology enhanced the new national historical narrative and memory and allowed it to speak across ethnic divides (Ilan and Guval 2005).[59] Particularly in the early decades of the new state archaeology proved to the world, " ... that ancient Israel was the predecessor of

[59] Shavit notes that archaeology "provided young Jewish immigrants with local historical roots to replace the pseudo-roots of the Diaspora. It also supplied a local folklore (*Volkskultur*)" (Shavit 1997: 56).

modern Israel, and that modern Israel was therefore the legitimate owner of the land: not a foreign transplant, but a restoration" (Fox 2001: 70).

Judaism in reality, however, has never been reducible to a single geographical unit and the unit now chosen was never exclusively Jewish. Not all Jews were happy with the idea of modern reclamation or recreation of ancient states. Yusuf al-Kabir, for example, a prominent Jewish lawyer from Baghdad, said the following of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, in a letter to the Iraq Times in 1938:

> "Reconstruction of historical geography, if accepted as practical theory, would for instance bring the case of Ulster to ground, and provide a recognized legal basis for German claims on Eastern Europe. In a certain influential section of the German press, the theory is now being held out that Eastern Europe, up to the Volga, was in some remote time wholly occupied by Germans ... Moreover, if one goes reconstituting history two thousand years back there is no reason why one should not go still further back, say four or five thousand years, and presently have the world ruled by militant archaeology" (cited in Alcalay 1993: 48).

Jewish interest in the archaeology of Palestine was first represented in the establishment of the Society for the Reclamation of Antiquities in 1914 by a group of Jewish intellectuals. The Society was renamed the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (J.P.E.S.) in 1920, having been revived in 1919 by Nahum Slouschz, a romantic nationalist, and later became the Israel Exploration Society. Schlouchz outlined the role of the Society in its first publication:

> "The creation of a Hebrew institute for the study of the land of Israel is needed not only from a cultural-Hebraic perspective, but also for national-political reasons. Coming to build our national home and to make it the center for Israel culture, we can not stand idle against the industrious and purposeful competition of other nations and their sages in researching the land of our fathers" (cited in Feige 2001: 89).

The Society's contribution to state and society was recognized by the Government in 1989 with a prestigious Israel Prize (Aviram 1993: 32). In the pre-state period, the Society sponsored research and publications and held conferences where the results of this research could be presented to the public as well as the academic community (Aviram 1993: 32).

In 1920, the J.P.E.S. had their first opportunity at actual excavation in Palestine, when John McKay, Inspector of Antiquities with the new Department of Antiquities, allowed the Society to excavate remains found by accident by Jewish workmen at a site south of Tiberias. The site, identified as the ancient town of Hammath-Tiberias was excavated by the J.P.E.S. during the winter of 1920-1921 by Slouschz. The remains of a Byzantine Jewish synagogue were uncovered and a large stone menorah was found lying on its floor.

Neither the excavation nor its finds attracted much scholarly attention; their significance lay in the appetite for further excavation aroused in the J.P.E.F. who promptly presented plans for further excavation to the British authorities (Silberman 1982: 200). In the following decades the J.P.E.F. quietly continued to excavate at Jewish sites across Palestine, mostly at synagogues and tombs. Emblems of continuity were sought in Jewish artistic forms and achievements (Broschi 1987: 27; Abu el Haj 2002: 46-8). Evidence for continuity of Jewish communities in Palestine from the Second Temple to at least the Byzantine period was also sought (Abu el Haj 2002: 46-8). Abu el Haj has claimed that the collecting of ever more examples of Jewish antiquity was never part of a larger more cohesive scientific strategy, however, rather it was the collecting and the collection itself that were important, so that a critical mass of evidence could be pointed to in the creation of an old-new Jewish homeland (2002: 50).

The early Zionists leaders had had little interest in archaeology, but soon came to realise its potential for rallying and supporting Jewish nationalism. Even after the creation of the new state, creating tangible links with the past of the nation and establishing the validity of the modern state were important tasks. A "Committee for the Designation of Place-Names in the Negev Region" was constituted at the behest of the Prime-Minister, David Ben-Gurion, in 1949, and comprised nine scholars of geography, cartography, archaeology and history. All were associated with the Israel Exploration Society. Their task was to assign names to the places of the Negev - to establish proprietorship over the region: "They had been asked to draft a deed of ownership for more than half of Israel's territory" (Benvenisti 2000: 12). Two of the team members had previously acted as advisors to the British Mandatory authorities on matters regarding the replacement of Arabic place-names with Biblical Hebrew ones (Benvenisti 2000: 12).

The overt Jewish nationalist use of archaeology began properly in December of 1928, when a group of young Zionists, recently arrived from Russia, found a sixth century synagogue mosaic while working on Kibbutz Beit Alpha (Ilan and Guval 2005). Some of the young *kibbutzniks*, as part of their rejection of religion, wanted to cover the find up and ignore it, while others (the majority) argued that the religious aspect of the mosaic was not important; what was important was its testimony to the existence of the Jewish people in the land throughout the ages. As such, it was a Zionist monument, as it confirmed the legitimacy of Zionist claims. A Jewish archaeologist, Eliezar Lipa Sukenik (father of the famous Israeli general and archaeologist, Yigael Yadin, and founder of the Institute of

Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1929), was called in to excavate the site.[60] Sukenik had studied in Berlin at a time when that university, like the German intellectual climate generally, was obsessed with ideas about the Volk and ethnocentrism. Sukenik, in his turn, wanted to create a Jewish archaeology. Sukenik excavated the site, seeing it as an opportunity to illuminate the links between the Jewish people and their homeland. For Sukenik, as for many others to follow, Jewish history in the eighteen centuries of life in the Diaspora was but an interval between the loss of national independence in the first century C.E. and this century when independence would be regained (Elon 2000: 300).

Sukenik claimed that "Jews were a community of memory" (cited in Elon 2000: 300), and he along with a succession of Israeli archaeologists, notably his son, Yigael Yadin, through his excavation of the fortress of Masada (dealt with in Chapter Five), were going to play a substantial role in the cultivation of that memory in the new state. The memory to be cultivated, however, was very specific and the process entailed lots of forgetting. Amongst the elements to be forgotten was the "Arab" or "Eastern" and, ergo, "debased" nature of Levantine Jewry. This resulted in discrimination against Jews of North Africa and the Middle East, including those already living in Palestine. Their traditions and practices were frowned upon as backward and they underwent a process of cultural and social assimilation to Western Ashkenazi Judaism (Paine 1989; Alcalay 1993). In the pre-state period, this process saw the adoption by early Zionists, the methods of earlier Western colonialists, which saw in the people and practices (particularly agricultural) of the country, direct connections with the Biblical Patriarchs. At first many secular Zionists looked with admiration to these modern Patriarchs; one early settler noted that he felt closer to the *fellahin* (local Arabs) than to the Jewish immigrants because "being the descendents of the Jews of Palestine the fellahin (italics) have preserved the ancient Hebrew way of life" (cited in Selwyn 1995: 118). The *fellahin* thus served as a model of true farmers and people of the land to the European immigrants. This admiration, however, soon turned to distain and hostility and these native Jews and particularly Arabs were characterized by their fellow Western Jews using the kinds of racial stereotypes used by anti-Semites against Jews in the West (Alcalay 1993: 52-3).

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[60] Amos Elon recounts, in detail, the story of the discovery and excavation of the Beit Alpha synagogue mosaic in a number of publications: See Elon 1994; 1997and 2000.

"Faith" in history and the archaeology of the land were transformed into a kind of religion in the new state, with archaeology truly becoming a national pastime. Volunteering to work on excavations was common among the young (which had the added benefit of easing financial strains for excavators), while the media of the new state sensationally voiced the results of these excavations, popularising them and allowing them to be given subtexts by schoolteachers, nationalist historians, tour guides, youth leaders and politicians (Elon 1994: 15). In the 1950s and 1960s, the annual congress of the Israel Exploration Society was held in development towns populated by mostly Arab-speaking Jewish immigrants, drawing thousands of listeners. The meetings were held during the holiday of Sukkot, a time when it was convenient for school-teachers to attend (Feige 2001: 87-9). Each lecture was relevant to the host town or region in which it was held, and incorporated field-trips to local historical sites and active archaeological excavations. These meetings interpreted and communicated scientific findings to the general public, placing them in a national context (Feige 2001: 90-2).[61]

Continuity was emphasized and links were made between the Biblical past and the present - the tenth meeting, for example, held in Beer Sheva (in the northern Negev) began with Biblical archaeology and ended with a series of lectures on the new Israeli settlements in the Negev (Feige 2001; 92-3). It was thereby hoped that the meeting would give meaning to these spaces and places and provide the building blocks for the construction of local identities (Ilan and Guval 2005; Feige 2001: 88). Immigrants could encounter their ancestors through these meetings and in the process, otherwise-marginalized and peripheral groups, became pioneers in the reclamation of the ancestral homeland (Moore and Troen 2001: 10; Feige 2001: 94-5). Israeli Arabs, meanwhile, were excluded from the meetings, and while the Muslim past was discussed, the country's Arab inhabitants "were seen as part of the past, not of the present or future" (Feige 2001: 100).

The link between the excavator and the excavated was a crucial element in the new narrative. The excavators themselves expressed a non-rational, emotional and psychological response to their work, many seeing their role as linking modern Israeli culture with its ancient roots. This role ensured broad public support for archaeological activity (Mazar (1988: 127). Public interest in archaeology was expressed in membership of, and high attendance at, various archaeological society meetings, something that was encouraged from even before the formation of the State.

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[61] The broader implications of the Society meetings are discussed in Feige (2001).

In 1943, The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society held a "Knowledge of the Land" (*Yedi'at Ha'aretz*) conference in Jerusalem. For European Jews entering an unfamiliar environment, but one which they claimed as a birthplace, a process of gaining first hand experience of, and familiarity with, the land was required. This process was termed "knowledge of the Land" or *Yedi'at Ha'aretz.* It included youth movement field trips and learning songs and reading modern literature about the land. The Hebrew language was another factor linking the people and the place and so was increasingly turned to by early Zionists. Most importantly, archaeology helped the settlers discover their ancient roots in the land and to use those roots in the shaping of a modern national identity (Moore and Troen 2001: 9-10).

Itzhak Ben-Zvi, who was to become the second President of the State of Israel, said in his opening remarks that the society was not just an academic institution, but a context in which academics "scientists" and the public could meet; a society in which Jews could participate in researching the history of the country, and become acquainted with the "homeland" (Abu el Haj 2002: 36). Indeed, in Israel archaeology still plays a huge role in reacquainting people with the land (Broshi 1987: 28).

The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, and later the Israel Exploration Society, promoted itself as both a popular and an academic society and argued that archaeology was a national-cultural as well as scientific endeavor. Of the Society's 1920 excavations at Tiberia, Ben-Zvi said work had been a "collaboration between researchers and the Yishuv, between the past and the present" (cited in Abu el Haj 2002: 36). A different note was sounded at the fourth session of the conference, where concern was expressed that Jewish settlers working the land were destroying antiquities and a way needed to be found of reaching out and educating them as to the value and importance of these antiquities (Abu el Haj 2002: 37). This conflict between preservation and antiquities and the needs of economic development have continued to be a strain in Israel to the present day, as is the case in many other countries world-wide.

The result of this popularising of the discipline was that archaeology was not, as is often the case elsewhere, confined to a closed circle of academics as it served the needs of the people so well. Furthermore, academics do not always stand outside the society of which they are a part and may be motivated by the same driving forces of patriotism and national

need as other members of that society. Cold, impartial, scientific objectivity is rarely adopted by all, or even a majority, of academics in any country, despite what is commonly believed by both academia and the public. The cumulative result of this convergence between academic and public interests is a "historical amnesia" that has led to events and people from the distant past being far more vivid and vital in Israeli consciousness than anything between then and the present (Elon 2000: 308-9).

4.22 The Archaeologist as National Hero

Archaeological excavation in Israel intensified in the new state and had a massive public appeal and following. The archaeologists of the new state were respected and admired as they were involved in work for the nation. Many excavations were large-scale, long-term projects on impressive and well-known sites such as Hatzor, Masada and Megiddo, and were initiated by the universities, often in collaboration with the Israel Exploration Society, or in some cases with foreign missions (Mazar 1988: 110-11). Efforts were also made to make this work known and intelligible to the general public. As already mentioned, the annual congress meetings of the Israel Exploration Society were held in immigrant development towns.[62] These meetings fell into two major categories, defined by Shavit as Lesser Archaeology and Greater Archaeology, Lesser Archaeology referring to the more scientific lectures dealing with the detail of material culture, while the Greater Archaeological lectures were used to promote national identity and were often presented by esteemed politicians or high-ranking army officers (for example in 1964, General Yitzhak Rabin lectured on the 1948 War of Independence) (Shavit 1997; Ilan and Gadot 2005). During the first decade of the new state, the Prime Minister himself often gave speeches at these meetings (Feige 2001: 90). These lectures were, as Ilan and Gadot note "... not archaeology *per se*, but the topic was installed in a series of archaeology lectures as part of Israel's national heritage" (2005). Regardless of the theme of these meetings, the summary always emphasized the bond of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel (Ilan and Gadot 2005.).

Within the context of the new state, national archaeologists became national heroes: Pearlman describes these early archaeologists and their task as "brilliant minds" with a "spirit of adventure "on the greatest hunt in history" and a "formidable quest, requiring erudition and physical endurance (Pearlman 1980: 7-8). Pearlman talks of "treasure" but acknowledges that the real treasures for Biblical archaeologists, as he terms them, are not gold and silver, but material which may in some way illuminate the Biblical narrative. He uses very militaristic language: in advance of digging scholars study texts in order to

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[62] It should be noted that not all Israelis subscribed to this secular, archaeologically supported national narratives: Sephardic religious Jews did not need archaeology to support or confirm either their cultural identity or attachment (or claims) to the land (Ilan and Gadot 2005). This is seen in that fact, that in 1987, in contrast to the numbers of Christian religious involved in archaeological activity in Palestine, there were practically no religious among the more than 200 practising Israeli archaeologists with Masters or Ph.Ds and there were no rabbis. A large sector of Israeli Jewish society is not represented by the profession despite Orthodox contribution to other areas of the humanities and technology. This absence stems from the fact that for religious Jews there is no need for spiritual sustenance from anywhere outside of the Scriptures (Broshi 1987: 26).

"prepare the strategy and tactics of their expeditions. They then proceed to the target areas" (Pearlman 1980: 7- 8). Pearlman argues that texts are the biggest treasure for these archaeological hunters and it is these texts, which "form the basis of western civilisation", that make the archaeology of this area so much more important than archaeology conducted elsewhere in the world (Pearlman 1980: 13-14).

The Bible is also important, however, because it testified to, and kept alive, the Hebrew language and identity during the millennia in exile. Thus, Biblical archaeology is of importance for its contribution to the Hebrew nation. The land of Palestine hosts evidence for the foundation and evolution of the Jewish people and religion and is therefore the inheritance of the modern Israeli state (Pearlman 1980: 14-15).

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As already mentioned, many early leading Israeli archaeologists such as Moshe Dayan and Yigael Yadin were also high ranking army officers. The army provided logistical support for some excavations, notably that at Masada (discussed in detail in the next chapter). [63] Archaeological debates also spilled out into the public and political arena: for example, the National Religious Front proposed a vote of no confidence in the Knesset on May 18, 1960, on the basis of a press conference given by Ben-Gurion in which he posited that the Biblical exodus from Egypt had consisted of 600 families, not 600,000 adults of army age as stated in the Bible (thus making the total number of Israelites coming out of Egypt over two million). During the course of the Knesset debate, Menachem Begin, leader of the opposition, drew parallels between Ben-Gurion as a poor historian and Ben-Gurion as a failing statesman. He also drew a parallel between the Biblical Exodus and the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai that had taken place three years earlier. Though the vote of no-confidence was defeated, it is doubtful that such a heated debate over prehistory would have happened anywhere else (Broshi 1987: 28).

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[63] Though Yadin was a serious archaeologist, he introduced the practice of the swearing in of troops on Masada, and encouraged soldiers to see themselves as the direct descendents of the ancient Israelite warriors. He said during one of these ceremonies: "When Napoleon and his troops stood by the pyramids of Egypt he told them that 4000 years of history were looking down on them. What would he not have given to be able to say: 4000 years of your own history look down on you ... The echo of your oath this night will resound throughout the encampments of our foes. Its significance is not less powerful than that of all our defensive armaments" (cited in Elon 2000: 305).

4.23 The Burgeoning Academic Interest in Ethnogenesis

Israeli archaeology, as conducted in the first 50 years of the state produced a nationalistic and monolithic narrative, a narrative already begun by earlier colonial and imperialist archaeologists (Ilan and Gadot 2005). The debate over the emergence of "Israel" or the ethnogenesis of the Israelite tradition in Palestine became a central element in this narrative, although for different reasons for both groups - one was searching for the roots of Western religious thought, while the other, legitimating proof of Jewish rights to the land. In the course of this quest, special attention was paid to specific issues and periods, in particular, the Late Bronze and Iron Age, the period in which the ethnogenesis was archaeologically considered to have happened - Mazar, writing a review in 1988 of the current state of archaeology in Israel, as conducted by Israelis, confined his study to the Bronze and Iron Ages (1988: 109). Mazar further states that "Quite naturally, every opportunity is taken to relate archaeological evidence to the Biblical text" (1988: 127).

There has been a concomitant lack of attention paid to other periods, but the post-Crusader period in particular. While some Crusader and Nabatean remains were expensively restored by the government, this was for economic benefit from tourism. Excavations themselves, as opposed to restoration, focused on Jewish remains (Broshi 1987: 27). Much debate surrounded (and still surrounds) the Israelite settlement of Canaan, and whether conquest, immigration or revolt were involved, and archaeological interpretation of the physical evidence was invariably influenced, or even driven by, the diverging accounts in the Books of Joshua and Judges (King 1988: 27).

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 in a cave in the Judean Desert had electrified Near Eastern archaeology and drew international attention to the nascent Israeli state. A dedicated search of the rest of the caves in the area ensued in pursuit of more manuscripts and the nearby, fortified settlement at Qumran, identified as an Essene site and source of the documents, was subsequently excavated by the British archaeologist G.L. Harding and the French Roland de Vaux (King 1988: 23). Within the context of a search for a secular identity in Israel, secular Jews were very excited about the Dead Sea Scrolls, which did not bother the Orthodox community at all (Elon 2000: 303).

In Yadin's *The Message of the Scrolls* (1957) he tells of how his father bought the first of the scrolls on the day that the United Nations voted for the "recreation" of the Jewish state, and gives extra significance to this fact stating: "It is as if these manuscripts had been

waiting in caves for two thousand years, ever since the destruction of Israel's independence until the people returned to their home and regained their freedom" (cited in Elon 200: 306).[64] Yadin spoke all over the world and was one of Israel's best publicists. Parts of the Scrolls are now housed in the "Shrine of the Book" in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Here the main scroll is laid on a round altar housed in a building shaped like a chapel (Elon 2000: 308), where visitors can come to worship the icons of the modern state.

[64] Sukenik, the Scrolls' discoverer, declared in an address to the Israel Exploration Society in 1948 that "Here in the east there is only one people, the Jewish people, that has a connection to the past and to the antiquities that are being discovered every day. The archaeological reality instils a feeling in the heart of the individual and the public that every inch of this country is ours and it is our obligation to defend and to fight for it. This science is our spiritual weapon and an important buttress for the Sate in its path to the future" (cited in Fox 2001: 77).

4.24 The Situation Today

The Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums was established in July 1948, taking over the apparatus of the previous Department of Antiquities of Palestine. Shmuel Yeivin was its first Director (Gibson 1999: 136; Reich 1993: 29). The new state witnessed rapid and intensive development, putting archaeological sites and remains in danger and the young and under-resourced Department under enormous pressure, especially given that its main task was the protection of antiquities (Reich 1993: 29). In order to cope with this pressure the Department enlisted volunteers as "Trustees of Antiquities" (still in existence today) who acted as antiquities inspectors to check on the state of archaeological sites in the country. Initially the Department fell within the Department of Public Works, but was moved in the 1950s to the Ministry of Education and Culture, a more prestigious location. Modern Israeli archaeologist, Ronny Reich, feels that this was a disadvantageous move:

> "Instead of placing the Department on the same side of the barrier with the developers of the country, and providing it with higher budgets and free use of expensive auxiliary support, the Department was put into confrontation with developers and placed with severe educational problems" (1993: 29-30).

The loss of the Rockefeller Museum meant that a new home had to be found for the nation's artefacts. In the early days they were stored in a room on the premises of the Department of Antiquities and in 1965 were moved to the new Israel Museum. The Department also continued the survey work initiated by the P.E.F. establishing the Archaeological Survey of Israel in 1964, with the aim of conducting a comprehensive survey of all Israel. The incorporation of new territory into the state after the 1967 War and the signing of the Peace Treaty with Egypt in 1977 opened up new possibilities for archaeological activity, particularly in Jerusalem and Sinai. The strong army presence in the Negev intensified the need for the Survey to be completed. In the same vein, the Survey, which is published in 10km x10km squares, "provides vital data for the proper planning of the future development of the country" (Reich 1993: 30). A new antiquities law was inaugurated in 1978, regulating all activity concerning antiquities in the country, and in 1989 the Department was transformed into the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Archaeology has been revolutionized in the last three decades, both in concept and method. The influence of anthropology means that there is more of an interest in social and environmental archaeology than in purely political history. A.S.O.R. has broadened its geographical boundaries and chronological horizons to match these interests (King 1993: 16). An expanded tourism industry and a slowly expanding research agenda have all had

their impact on the practice of archaeology in Israel today; progress, though slow, is clearly happening. That said, the discipline's umbilical cord connecting it with colonial/nationalist concerns and Biblical studies has to be fully cut.

Chapter Five - Archaeological Infrastructure and Policy within the State of Israel

> "The Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people ... Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world" (the opening and closing sentences of the first paragraph of Israel's Declaration of Independence, cited in Troen 2001: 33).

5.1 Introduction

I will now examine the situation in Israel today with regard to the management and presentation of archaeological sites and museums. The current situation of the discipline of archaeology and heritage management in Israel is not too dissimilar from the situation, previously described, in Cyprus. There are several important differences however, and each of these, and their impact on the archaeological narratives constructed at sites, museums and in the arrangement of urban spaces, will be examined in this chapter.

5.2 Theoretical Framework

As noted throughout this thesis, modern concerns and interests, particularly those of a political nature, frequently set the agenda for, and influence the results of, historical research. The discipline of archaeology is enmeshed, at both an intellectual and an institutional level, with the most potent political force in our age, nationalism. Archaeology, as a discipline and as an activity, operates almost exclusively within the framework of the nation state, to the extent that its management structure is embedded within that of the state. Almost all modern nations exercise their sovereignty over the archaeological record (and thus over the representation of the past) through the establishment and running of state departments of antiquities, national museums, national parks and heritage sites, university archaeological departments, history curricula in schools, through the inclusion of the above in town and city planning and through the celebration of elements of the past in various patriotic commemorative events and festivals (Abu el Haj 1998; Fowler 1992). In this way, one dominant and frequently linear narrative of the past or mode of knowledge can both be presented and preserved (cf. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000; 19, 32, 37).

The notion of continuity in culture and identity is promoted through this supposed historical linearity, thus marginalising and silencing the complexities and nuances of cultural development through time. Israel is no different from other modern nations who thus seek to control, manage and own the remains of the past located within their borders.

An investigation into the manner in which this is done may prove instructive regarding the concerns of Israeli society. From a purely archaeological point of view, questions are raised about the effectiveness of such approaches for the conservation of archaeological remains, and about the intellectual and ethical integrity of the narratives thereby constructed.

5.3 Fieldwork and Methodology

My Israeli fieldwork was conducted in April and May 2005, with some preliminary work carried out in the summer of 2004. As with the fieldwork conducted in Cyprus in 2003, I examined the interfaces between archaeology and the public and the impact of both nationalistic and economic agenda (primarily via the tourist industry), on the conservation and presentation of archaeological remains and the narratives created around and through them. There was one methodologically significant difference, however, in the manner in which fieldwork was carried out in Israel: in this instance I did not visit all sites and museums from all periods. In the summer of 2004, I had begun such a study using the same methodology as I had applied in Cyprus, but it soon became clear to me that under current circumstances, such a task was impossible and that a rethinking of how to approach the nature of the transference of messages from archaeological remains to the public in Israel was required.

This decision to adopt a different investigating methodology was necessitated by a number of factors: firstly, the physically much larger territory of Israel and its vastly greater number of archaeological sites made such a quantitative and qualitative analysis of all sites physically and financially impossible within the remit of this study. This situation was not helped by the political situation in Israel, where the Second Intifada[65] was raging for most of the time during which I was conducting my research, made such an investigation difficult; secondly, the nature of tourism in Israel, which is geared towards the organized group tour rather than the individual tourist, means that within the context of the heritage industry, the vast majority of tourist interest in archaeological remains is directed at a comparatively small number of archaeological sites.

Since foreign, rather than domestic visitors, generate the bulk of revenue at archaeological attractions in Israel (as anecdotally, may be the case in many other countries also), it is those sites which attract the largest numbers of foreign tourists that receive the greatest financial investment in terms of site preservation and presentation to the public. These sites are thus prominently placed to transmit messages to both a domestic and foreign public. In light of Urry's claim that an investigation of how societies construct their "tourist gaze" is a good way of exposing the concerns of society at large (1990: 2), an investigation into the

[65] The Second Intifada broke out at the end of September 2000 and is generally agreed to have ceased, despite intermittent on-going violence, on the 8th February 2005 with agreements reached at the Sharm el Sheikh Summit attended by the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, the President of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, the Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak and King Abdullah II of Jordan.

types of sites chosen for such intense promotion should prove revealing of Israeli society and the building blocks with which Israeli group identity is being constructed. As a result, I chose to examine a select number of sites and museums prominent in the Israeli cultural landscape and conducted an in-depth study of their presentation to the public and also of the history of presentation at, and management of, these sites. Many of these sites and museums were located in and around Jerusalem, while the other major sites selected for study were Akko, Beth She'an, Caesarea and Masada as well as the city of Jaffa.

The Archaeological System in Israel

5.4 The System – The Israel Antiquities Authority

In theory, Israel, like Cyprus, supports a state-controlled, highly centralized system for the management of archaeological heritage. In reality, however, a number of organisations and groups in Israel have decision making responsibility and control over the archaeological heritage at various stages in the production process from discovery, investigation to long-term management and presentation. It is the Israel Antiquities Authority, however, an independent government authority (Baruch and Vashdi 2005), which has primary responsibility for Israel's archaeological heritage.

The common Ottoman and British heritage of both countries meant that the modern Israeli state inherited, in 1948, an already existing system of archaeological management similar to that existing in Cyprus. As outlined in the previous chapter, the first Department of Antiquities to exist in Palestine was founded in the 1920 by the British Mandate authorities. A list of antiquities sites was drawn up and laws enacted to protect them (Silberman 1997: 67). The current Israel Antiquities Authority (henceforth the I.A.A.) was founded 15 years ago in the spring of 1990. It was restructured, in accordance with the new Antiquities Authority Law [1989], out of the former Department of Antiquities which was a direct branch of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The I.A.A. is still affiliated with the Ministry of Education and Culture, but is now a more autonomous body in its actions and decision making, as was the aim.

The former Department of Antiquities was only one of 35 departments within the Ministry of Education and Culture. It was physically removed from the rest of the ministry as it was housed in the Rockefeller Museum in East Jerusalem (where the main offices of the I.A.A. are still housed, though regional and district offices are located throughout the country), and was equally isolated from the ministry's budget. According to Rabinovich, the Department had an ivory-tower atmosphere, and by the late 1980s was drifting and lacking in direction and energy (1994). The Dead Sea Scrolls were located in the storerooms of the Museum. An international committee, on which no Israeli sat, researched and controlled the scrolls, but the delay in the publication of the scrolls was being blamed on Israel.

The Department enforced the Law of Antiquities [A.L. 1978], which protected any man-made object dating from before 1700. Prior to 1978, the Department's activities were

based on British Mandate Antiquities Ordinances dating from 1920 [A.O. 1920], with amendments in 1929 [A.O. 1920] and restructuring in 1960 [A.O. 1960] (Braun 1992: 31). The Department also conducted salvage excavations where required, but the tiny budget on which it operated meant that there was a limited number of inspectors available, and as a result, contractors frequently destroyed graves and remains without ever reporting them in order to avoid the delays incurred by excavation. Equally, it was Israeli universities and foreign expeditions who carried out the prestigious large-scale research excavations at major sites (Rabinovich 1994).

The restructuring of the Department allowed the new I.A.A. to expand its apparatus both administratively and professionally and to retain independently earned revenues (Silberman 1997: 74). According to Rabinovich, between 1990 and 1994, the Authority quadrupled its number of full-time staff, and its annual operating budget increased from $2 million to $22 million (1994: 44). The Authority also extended its activities in other areas such as laboratory work, with staff again increasing from one metal specialist to a dozen experts working on areas from glass to water-logged wood in a well-equipped laboratory. According to Rabinovich the reorganisation of the Department of Antiquities was in part inspired by two things; a realisation on the part of government of the potential of archaeology to attract tourists and "the personal orientation of a goal-oriented military man turned loose on a sleepy government department" (1994). Drori has said that on becoming Director of the Department of Antiquities, he assessed his objectives and concluded,

> "... that antiquities are the biggest natural treasure in this country; they are also an economic asset. A tremendous physical development was going on in this country, yet we had to find a way to preserve our antiquities" (cited Rabinovich 1994).

Up until the appointment of General Amir Drori to the position of Director of the Department of Antiquities in 1988, the post had always been held by a professional archaeologist, and his appointment caused some concern at the time. Drori, however, brought his military skills to bear on the structuring of the new I.A.A., turning it into a highly organized body.

The internal structure of the Department, rather like in Cyprus, is pyramidal, with much power vested in the hands of the director. On the advice of the Minister of Education and Culture, the Archaeological Council (discussed below) appoint the director. To date, the two individuals who have held this post, Amir Drori and Shuka Dorfman, have come from the upper echelons of the army. The director is not required to have any archaeological

training or experience, and to date this has been the case. The Authority's first director, Amir Drori, did have a personal interest in archaeology; he had an undergraduate degree in archaeology from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, gained in the 1960s. Having trained with many of the leading lights of Israeli archaeology, he maintained contact with many of them including Yoram Tsafrir and Yigael Shiloh and so was not entirely in unfamiliar territory on taking up his appointment (Rabinovich 1994). Within the department, the director is all powerful. He is responsible for policy formation and retains the ability to change the law, to the extent that he can have entire areas rezoned as either archaeological or non-archaeological, should he choose. To date, no director has made use of these sweeping powers, but the ability to do so exists.

Directors are appointed for a period of five years, but this period can be extended and this has been the case in the past. During the first two years he takes courses in archaeology and management etc. and throughout the tenure, he is supervised by the Authority Council. This council, comprising sixteen members, is directly appointed by the Ministry of Education and Culture and includes the Director-General of that Ministry. Members of this council can be loosely divided into two groups of eight, the first comprising government officials and the second, academics and representatives of other interested groups. In specific terms the council is comprised of

- the Director General of the Ministry of Education and Culture;
- the Head of Cultural Administration in the Ministry of Education and Culture;
- the Director of Economic and Budgetary Administration in the Ministry of Education and Culture;
- the officer-in-charge of budgets in the Ministry of Finance;
- the Accountant General;
- the Director of Planning in the Ministry of the Interior;
- the Director of the Planning and Economics branch in the Ministry of Tourism;
- a representative of the Minister of Agriculture, to be appointed by the Minister of Agriculture;
- two representatives with archaeological background from two different Israeli institutions of higher education, to be appointed after having had consultations with the Minister;
- one member from among the members of the Israeli National Academy of Sciences, to be appointed by the Minister after consultations with the Academy, who will serve as the Council Chairman;

- the heads of two local municipalities to be appointed by the Minister after consultations with the chairman of the local central government;
- the head of the regional council, to be appointed by the Minister;
- the director of the museum that will display the antiquities to be appointed by the Minister after consultations with the Chairman of the Museums Council, in accordance with the Museums Act, 5743-19834;
- a representative from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to be appointed by the Minister of Religious Affairs (antiquities.org.il 2005a).

According to the Law of the Israel Antiquities Authority the function of the Council will be to:

(1) establish the general [operating] policies of the Authority in the area of duties;

(2) approve the budget of the Authority;

(3) follow up on the continuity of policy implementation, the programs and budgets of the Authority;

(4) deliberate over the financial reports provided to it by the Director (Law of the Israel Antiquities Authority, Paragraph 2, Sections 1-4 cited in antiquities.org.il 2005a).

General Council Rules stipulate that, "The Council, with the approval of the Minister, shall establish general rules for the operation of the sites, their administration and supervision" (Law of the Israel Antiquities Authority, Paragraph 2, Sections 1-4, cited in antiquities.org.il 2005a). The Director of the I.A.A. meets with this council every two months, but is not obliged to implement any of its suggestions, indicating the lack of power held by the Council in real terms. This fact, as well as the non-requirement of the I.A.A. Director to have an archaeological background, has caused conflict in and amongst the Council members.[66] As is also clear from the composition of the Council and its remit, various government braches, particularly Religion and Finance have (when allowed) an inordinate say in how the I.A.A. is run, which, when combined with the fact that the Director-General of the I.A.A. itself is not required to have archaeological expertise, is

[66] Ephraim Stern was named chairman of the Archaeological Council in December 2000, following the resignation of the former chairman, Moshe Kochavi, in protest at the appointment of Shuka Dorfman, a military man with no archaeological training, as Director of the I.A.A. On the appointment of Dorfman, Stern said that a non-archaeologist in the role was a problem, though not an insurmountable one for him. According to Feldman, Stern claimed that the Archaeological Council will have more influence on Dorfman than it had on Drori "because Dorfman will need to look to others for their expertise in archaeology" (2001). Feldman was also of the opinion that Stern would make the Archaeological Council more active than it had been; in the brief period he had held the post he had already convened two meetings of the Council in two months whereas in recent years the Council had met only occasionally (2001).

worrying. The ramifications of this fact can be seen in the increased say of the religious right in archaeological matters, such as the excavation and reburial of human remains (Shavit 1997: 59; Hallote and Joffe 2002: 98)[67] and in the overt introduction of economic concerns into archaeological procedures such as the intense excavation of certain sites, for example, Beth Sean for the explicit purpose of providing employment locally and the generation of tourist revenue.

Beneath the director are three vice-directors in charge of the specific operational divisions of the I.A.A. One vice-director is in charge of all of the archaeological functions of the authority.[68] Within his remit are the Department of Survey and Excavations, the Department of Conservation, a Department of Museum and Storage and a Publication Committee responsible for I.A.A. reports and other publications by the Authority. These departments each have further internal sub-divisions. The second vice-director is in charge of the internal needs of the I.A.A., for example, manpower, buildings etc. and statutory positions such as regional archaeologists and regional inspectors whose job includes dealing with property owners on whose land archaeology has been found and negotiating the future of such sites.

Israel, for the purposes of the I.A.A., is divided into four regions based on geography; the Northern Region, Central Region, Jerusalem Region and Southern Region, while there is also a Marine Archaeology Unit. In addition there are regional officers in the Occupied Territories. They are in the direct charge of the Chief-of-Staff of the army, but are also answerable to the director of the I.A.A. Funding for the Officers and the work carried out in the Occupied Territories is from the army, though licences are granted, and decisions are made, by the I.A.A. The chief officer in the Occupied Territories, Itzak Magen, has held this position since the 1960s and he has a team working with him. Persons in these positions are directly answerable to the second vice-director though they work in close conjunction with the departments under the first vice-director.

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[67] The recent radicalisation of the ultra-Orthodox in Israel, has led to violent protests against many areas of secular activity, including archaeological investigation. According to Shavit, "Their rage against excavations is only secondarily about the excavation, and primarily about announcing to secular Israel that they have become emboldened and are willing to use new measures to promote their agendas" (1997: 59). Not all religious Israelis are anti-archaeology, however, as the growth of certain sectors of nationalist-religious Jews, collectively known as the *Gush Emunin camp*, demonstrates (1997: 60).

[68] Except where otherwise indicated, the following information was provided by Hamoudi Khalaily of the I.A.A., in a personal interview conducted on April 13th 2005. Opinions expressed, and all interpretation of the data, are the author's own.

The third vice-director is a financial officer. He does not have to be an archaeologist and at present, is not. This sector of the I.A.A. estimates the annual budget and submits it to the director who presents it to the Authority Council discussed earlier. It is then presented to the Minister of Education and Culture for the approval of both the Minister and the government (antiquities.org.il 2005a). Money is allocated to the I.A.A. on a three-monthly basis. Finances are allocated from a number of Ministries including Education, Environment and Tourism. Despite this fact, planning for I.A.A. activities is carried out independently of, and often for periods beyond, the quarterly budgets.

5.5 The I.A.A. at Work

As indicated earlier, members of each of these three divisions of the I.A.A. work in a tightly planned and highly coordinated manner. An example of this system in operation is the model for dealing with the chance finds of archaeological remains on private property. The owner of the property on which a site is located is first dealt with by an area archaeological monitor. If a site is under construction, then these monitors communicate with the Department of Survey and Excavations, who evaluate and develop demands for the site. For example, testing may be carried out on the site and a recovery excavation deemed necessary. These proposals are then sent to the financial department, who arrange the order of requirements for the site according to available facilities; this applies to everything from trowels and buckets to cars.

For the purposes of archaeology, Israel is grided into $10km^2$ units and each unit is served by a group from the I.A.A. If a company wishes to undertake construction work, for example, the building of a new road, then plans must be submitted, and permission sought, from the government at least one year in advance. The I.A.A. carries out a GIS survey of the area and may dig small test trenches along the proposed route. If nothing is found then permission to build is granted. Regional inspectors visit the site while construction is under way and if anything is found, construction is halted and an assessment made of both the damage already done and the nature, scale and importance of the remains. Test trenches may be dug to determine the scope of the site and, depending on the findings, a number of options are presented; the rerouting of the road or the carrying out of a rescue excavation.

In the case of a rescue excavation, the I.A.A. then draw up a plan outlining what is required; not in terms of shekels, but in terms of weeks/months of work, labour, depth of remains and so on. A price list exists for different periods, so for example, excavating 5m squared of classical remains would be expected to cost in the region of 35,000 shekels. This report as well all other relevant data on the site, such as a report on the testing, old activity on the site and so on are presented to the constructor. The constructor then has the ability to choose any qualified company, including the I.A.A., to carry out the excavation. This in theory should prevent criticism from other companies that the I.A.A. is creating work for itself, and ensures that the maximum information about the site is retrieved.

There are a small number of private rescue archaeology companies in Israel, mostly connected to university archaeology departments. This institutional link arose out of the

need for publication facilities, as without prompt publication no licence to excavate in Israel will be granted. On the completion of excavation the site is once again examined by the I.A.A. to determine that no further work is required. The project cannot end until the I.A.A. sign it off. Private companies are allowed to retain artefacts from such excavations for a period of ten years to allow for analysis and publication but they must be returned to the I.A.A. at the end of that period. The I.A.A. retains a vast but exceptionally well catalogued and organized centre for the storage and study of artefacts at Har Hotzvim in Jerusalem.

Re-routing or re-locating of projects and excavations are not the only options available to constructors on whose property a site has been found. The I.A.A. has a small unit which advises companies on alternative non-destructive solutions. In a recent example where a site was discovered on the route of a road being constructed from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, it was decided that rather than reroute the road or carry out large scale excavations, the road would be raised above the level of the site i.e. a road bridge would be created. This solution not only reduced the cost to the company and saved the remains, but allows for future archaeological research to be carried out on the site.

The all-pervasive power of the Director-General within the I.A.A. has the potential to make this system less fair and unbiased than is currently the case. This point is made quite clearly on the webpage of the I.A.A., which states,

> "When a conflict exists between the demands of development and the needs of science, history and tourism, a professional subcommittee of the Archaeological Council, composed of archaeologists, architects and planners, advises the Director-General. He can either accept or reject the subcommittee's recommendation. It is ultimately the Director-General's prerogative to determine the fate of each site. He may decide to preserve the antiquities on the site and call for an alterative development plan. He may order the site to be covered over, thus allowing development to continue; or conclude that the site should be documented in its entirety before its destruction by the completion of the unmodified modern project" (antiquities.org.il 2005b).

Given that there is no requirement for the Director-General to be an archaeologist or have undergone archaeological training, it is clear that the placing of so much decision making power over questions of archaeological practice in his hands may on occasion prove problematic. It could happen that in such a situation, financial or other concerns, rather than archaeological derived imperatives, come to dominate with regard to decision and policy making criteria.

The I.A.A. also grants permits for research excavations. Only qualified, experienced archaeologists working with recognized academic archaeological institutions may be granted licences and the licensee must take scientific, administrative and financial responsibility for the excavation (antiquities.org.il 2005b). In the last few years the Authority has taken a growing interest in the issue of the post-excavation care and maintenance of sites. In the last three years, persons applying for permits must allocate a minimum of 20% of their budget (in real, not theoretical terms) for post-excavation work. Those already working on long-term projects were also asked to allocate money for this purpose. Short-term projects must also allocate money for the processing of finds. A committee from the Department of Conservation visits active projects and provide recommendations on the minimum required for the ongoing maintenance of the site. The director of the excavation may carry out the initial treatments himself, such as the covering of mudbrick with plastic, but must seek the assistance of those with relevant expertise for more intrusive or complicated conservation work. Any plan for such treatments must meet with the approval of the I.A.A. and while independent conservators may be contracted for such work, the I.A.A. has its own conservation department who increasing carry out this work themselves.

This was in part a response to the growing financial burden on the Authority of caring for the huge numbers of excavated sites and their artefacts in Israel. These new budgetary requirements are also a precaution in light of cases where excavators decided to abandon projects prior to their completion. For this reason also, all foreign missions working on prehistoric and classical period projects must have a local partner actively involved in the project. This measure provides an element of local responsibility for the publication and future of the site. So far the policy has been very successful and there is a desire to see the measure extended to those working on other time periods. The I.A.A. also has strict publication requirements; long-term projects have ten years in which to produce a substantial publication on the excavation, while in the same time period, two preliminary reports should be produced, one at the end of each five year period. If at the end of this ten year period, no publication has been produced, the licence to excavate is revoked. The I.A.A., however, does not produce an annual report of its own.

5.6 The I.A.A. - Analysis

It is my impression, on the basis of interviews and research conducted, that the Israel Antiquities Authority is a highly coordinated, well-run organisation, within which nationalist ideological agendas are curtailed as much as possible. A number of Arab Israelis are employed at all levels, and sites of all periods receive, for the most part, equal attention. It is claimed by Braun, that the I.A.A.'s salvage policy and work, has created a significant counter-weight to the traditional Biblical-oriented approach to archaeology in Israel, which had created a significant, but extremely subjective body of archaeological information (1992:29), colouring our understanding of the entire archaeological record. The salvage work conducted by the I.A.A., and the Department of Antiquities before it, draws no distinction between Biblical and non-Biblical remains in its decision-making with regard excavation, salvage and rescue,[69] thus, greatly expanding the body of information available from other periods in Israel's past.

Braun, who worked for 14 years in salvage archaeology in Israel, claims that while there is definitely some bias in the system, it is still by far the most objective approach taken institutionally to excavation in Israel. He claims that a list of salvage projects undertaken by the Department in the last 70 years would prove this objectivity and that such a list would include every type of site from every period, even early modern material relating to the major ethnic groups still in the country today (1992: 32). There is a negative bias, however, in the sampling method, i.e. those areas not undergoing major development do not get represented adequately in the primary data base. In Israel this is well demonstrated in terms of our knowledge of the Chalcolithic period; the Chalcolithic sites best known to us are from the Golan Heights, the Southern Jordan Valley and the Negev. Evidence is lacking from the coastal plain and the Hill Country, both places one would expect to find settlement sites. However, this lack is more a function of an incomplete database than of the non-existence of such sites (Braun 1992: 33).

Research archaeology obviously introduces further bias, which is intensified in the literature. If one were to depend on the literature alone, one would assume that the 'Biblical periods' were the most populous in antiquity and the most prominent archaeologically. This is not always the case (Braun 1992: 33).

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[69] 'Salvage' being defined as the recovery of data through excavation prior to the destruction of a site, versus 'rescue' which implies the preservation of some part of the final result of excavation (Braun 1992: 30)

The I.A.A. is making major efforts to change this situation. Long over-due excavation reports are being published and a new policy requires minimal reporting to the Authority in the periodical *Hadashot Archaeologiot* [News in Archaeology]. The Authority also retains tight connections with the Cypriot, Turkish and Jordanian Departments of Antiquities and has a number of programmes which allow for staff members to undergo specialist training, in various areas of archaeology and heritage management, overseas.

Criticisms have been directed at the I.A.A., however, from a number of sources and for a number of reasons. Professor Dan Barag, a noted numismatist from the Hebrew University is quoted by Rabinovich as saying of the I.A.A.'s first director, Amir Drori,

> "Why should a person who obtained [only] a B.A. in archaeology and never pursued the career be appointed to this post 25 years later? ... He has very tense relations with the academic institutions. Until he took over, the archaeological community in Israel was one community. It isn't anymore. The Authority will not accept that anyone else has a say about antiquities" (1994).

Others have criticized the growing rift between the I.A.A. and the rest of the Israeli Academy. Shanks claims that during his tenure, Drori brought order and efficiency to a place which had been noted for being disorderly and inefficient, but on the other hand he treated the archaeologists who worked for him as 'junior officers' rather than professionals (1998). These archaeologists, he claims, are in a particularly vulnerable position, as there is little if any work for them professionally outside of the I.A.A. I.A.A. archaeologists have to publish their reports in the Authority's publications. This prohibits the possibility for I.A.A. staff of contributing to prestigious publications such as the Israel Exploration Journal (the Journal of the Israel Exploration Society) and Tel Aviv (the Journal of the Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology) and other international publications, without the director's permission. This results in the isolation of these archaeologists from the rest of archaeological scholarship. Furthermore, before I.A.A. archaeologists can publish an article, they must get permission from one of the director's committees, thus giving the director control not only over where I.A.A. archaeologists publish, but what they say (Shanks 1998).

Furthermore, many concerns rest on the financial orientation of the I.A.A. This is best exemplified in the ongoing excavations carried out in the Old City of Jerusalem by the I.A.A., but on behalf of Ateret Cohanim, a right wing religious group with the aim of 'reclaiming' the Old City for the Jews (Rapoport 2005). These excavations are being

carried out by the I.A.A., as contractor, in the basement of the Ateret Cohanim administrative building in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City at the request and expense of the group. So far the excavations have reached a depth of 12m. and have dug through significant remains from more recent periods, including a large bathhouse from the Mameluke period, in order to reach the strata from the First and Second Temple periods. Concerns have also been raised about the fact that along with digging downwards, the excavations are extending in width, to the east, in the direction of the Temple Mount, beneath the houses of Palestinian residents whose permission for such activity has not been sought. The excavators have already advanced 20m eastward, while "clearing away earth" from subterranean spaces. Only 60m separate the excavators now from the walls of the Temple Mount, a highly sensitive area, as excavations carried out here in the past on the Western Wall tunnel by Jewish groups sparked violent scenes between Jews and Muslims (Rapoport 2005).

Questions are being asked by many as to how the I.A.A. could take on board this excavation and on the legality of conducting the excavations underneath the homes of Palestinians, not to mention what is to happen to the site once excavations cease. The head of Ateret Cohanim, Matti Dan, has close connections with a number of government ministers including the Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, who was also housing minister in 1992, when the Klugman Committee exposed the direct link between Matti Dan and Sharon in an investigation of how Jewish organisations took over property in the Old City and in Silwan (Rapoport 2005). Many in the archaeological community in Israel would now like similar links in archaeology and in how the I.A.A. operates to be investigated.

At present 40% of the I.A.A.'s budget, which is slightly over NIS 100 million, comes from private sources such as building contractors, but also from institutions such as Ateret Cohanim. It could therefore be argued that the I.A.A., in gaining efficiency and increased autonomy through its restructuring, did so at the cost of close ties with the greater academic community and entered into a precarious economic dependency on private groups with their own vested interests. These are all thoughts to be borne in mind by those responsible for the structuring or restructuring of archaeological heritage managemnet organisations both in Israel and elsewhere, such as in Cyprus, where a resturucting of the current Department of Antiquities is being considered. That a restructuring might prove beneficial is not in question but these benefits should be sought without compromising the integrity of the Department.

The inclusivity of the I.A.A. in relation to representing the full spectrum of Israel's past in its working activities is not reflected in the Law of Antiquities in Israel [A.L. 1978]. The Law of Antiquities only provides for the protection of remains dating earlier than 1700. 'Antiquity', as defined by this law, refers to,

1) Any object, whether detached or fixed, which was made by man before the year 1700 of the general era, and includes anything subsequently added thereto which forms an integral part thereof;

2) Any object referred to in paragraph (1) which was made by man in or after the year 1700 of the general era, which is of historical value, and which the Minister has declared to be an antiquity;

3) Zoological or botanical remains from before the year 1300 of the general era; (antiquities.org.il 2005c).

Conservation laws enacted in 1978 provide for the protection of buildings dating from later periods, but in general it is only the façade of such buildings that is retained while entire interiors have been, and continue to be, gutted in modernization processes. Official destruction of remains from later periods has been stopped as a result of this law, but in large part, the damage was already done in the 1960s and early 1970s in particular. Accompanied by a widespread apathy in preserving or promoting the remains from later periods, the result, as in Cyprus, is a dearth of physical testimony to the country's more recent, and in particular, Ottoman past.

The Law of Antiquities also provides for the legal trading in antiquities in Israel, excluding finds from active excavation projects or finds excavated later than 1978 (the date of the Law). To avoid these restrictions, dealers have been known to present illicitly acquired antiquities as family heirlooms or as coming from the Occupied Territories or Gaza from whence it is legal, under Israeli (though not international law), to remove such finds; the Palestinian Authority is currently drafting legislation to address the legal sale of antiquities within its borders. The sale of antiquities is not endorsed within the Occupied Territories, but existing legislation from the British Mandate period [Palestine Antiquities Ordinance 1929] and Jordanian Antiquities Law [Jordanian Antiquities Law 1966] does support such activity (Kersel and Luke 2004: 38). It was estimated by Platthy in 1993, that of the 100,000 antiquities sold by licensed dealers in Israel annually, about 85,000 of them were stolen, coming mostly from the 8000 robbed tombs and burial caves of the Judean hills,

west of Jerusalem (1993: 46). A licence is required to deal in antiquities and such licences are granted by the I.A.A. Dealers are obliged to renew their licence annually and artefacts for sale must be catalogued. A stamp from the I.A.A. confirms the authenticity of the artefact, but representatives of the I.A.A. may not classify or identify the object in any other way. Consequently, dealers may, and do, promote artefacts in any way they choose, frequently praying on the predilections of their customers. Kersel and Luke provide an example of a shopkeeper in Jerusalem promoting an Islamic period artefact as Herodian, as artefacts from that period were more popular with his customers (2004: 38).

Dealers operate out of shops found throughout the old cities of Jerusalem and Jaffa and even within archaeological and museum compounds, as in the case of the underground site and museum complex at Qedumin Square in Jaffa (**Fig. 47**). Amidst claims that these shops further foster a market for antiquities, there are still some, such as Hershal Shanks, the editor of *Biblical Archaeology Review*, who argue for the expansion of the antiquities market through the sale of 'surplus' or 'duplicate' artefacts, for example clay oil lamps, in the I.A.A. stores (2001: 135). The trend within the I.A.A., however, is to reduce such shops. Many within the I.A.A. wish to permanently cease the activity of dealers amidst arguments that the legal dealing in antiquities actually leads to an increase in looting as there is "an infinite supply of antiquities legitimately available to trade [and] ... as objects move into non-circulating collections, the sanctioned supply diminishes" (Kersel 2005: 79).

Nationalistic and economic agenda further enter the archaeological picture as a result of the fact that, in many cases, the post-excavation management of archaeological sites is frequently conducted by organisations other than the I.A.A. Officially all archaeological sites are protected by law in Israel and currently there are roughly 20,000 archaeological sites of various sizes and periods under protection (antiquities.org.il 2005d). The I.A.A. shares guardianship of a number of these sites with other authorities. Archaeological activity, including preservation work at antiquity sites which are also religious sites, for example, requires the authorisation not just of the Director-General of the I.A.A. but of the Ministerial Committee for Holy Places, which consists of the Ministers of Justice, Education and Religious Affairs (antiquities.org.il 2005e).[70] Sites located within national parks or those deemed to be of particular value to the state, can be scheduled as Israel

[70] Religious buildings had stood outside of the remit of Antiquities Laws since the time of the British Antiquities Ordinances under the Mandate.

Nature and National Parks Protection Authority sites. If this occurs, the Law of the Israel Antiquities Authority states that the "administration, maintenance and operation" of the site is the responsibility of the National Parks Authority or the Natural Reserves Authority, depending upon whose lands the site is located (Law of the Israel Antiquities Authority, Paragraph 1, Section 12(b), cited in antiquities.org.il 2005f).

Other interested parties may also submit proposals for the running of archaeological sites and development companies have been created for this purpose on a number of occasions, examples of which will be discussed later in the chapter. A number of sites are co-administered by more than one of the organisations and groups already mentioned. While the approval of the I.A.A. Director-General is required for any change to be made to a protected site, problems of various kinds, from interpretation to matters of physical conservation, still arise and these will be discussed later on. The Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority is the largest organisation, outside of the I.A.A., responsible for the preservation, maintenance and promotion of archaeological sites as well as the presentation of archaeological knowledge in Israel.

Supporting Organisations

5.7 The Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority

Up until recently, two separate organisations, the Israel National Parks Authority and the Israel National Reserves Authority, managed national parks and natural reserves in Israel, but following the passing of legislation in April 1998 these merged to form the Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority (I.N.N.P.P.A.). This measure came about as a response to the increasing threat to natural resources from rapid urban development. According to the official website of the authority, the new organisation,

> "... constitutes an effective framework for enforcement and conservation, dedicated to developing, protecting and promoting Israel's natural, **historical** and recreational sites that have been, and are currently, in the process of formally becoming, national parks and nature reserves" (parks.org.il, author's emphasis).

This inclusion of historical as well as natural sites within the remit of I.N.N.P.P.A. activities is part of a holistic approach to landscape current in Israel since early Zionist times. This approach is integral to the view of the Jewish people as intimately connected to the physical land of Israel, having shaped and been shaped by it. The policy of inclusion of historical and archaeological sites within national parks was not new, however, but was inherited by the I.N.N.P.P.A. from the National Parks Authority (N.P.A.), which was established by Parliament in 1963. One of the N.P.A.'s most important aims was the fostering of a common identity and a sense of attachment and belonging to Israel among new immigrants. One of the ways in which this was done was through the preservation of historical sites which were made into national parks. A unifying common past could thus be presented to all citizens, while this "historical connectedness" could link the modern state and its inhabitants with both the past and the land. These factors featured heavily in the choice of which sites to develop (Killebrew 1999: 19).

Another factor determining the choice of sites for development by the I.N.N.P.P.A. is economics. This is not an entirely new phenomenon, in that the attraction of tourists to sites was always an aim of the old National Parks Authority. The Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority falls within the remit of the Ministry of the Environment but also receives funding from the Ministry of Tourism. This is a legacy of the original division of the authority into a National Parks and a National Reserves Authority and the differing funding and duty policies of each. National Parks were defined as 'places that have natural, historical, anthropological, architectural, or visual importance that will be developed for the public sake' and nature reserves were defined as 'places of

natural importance in which the public has a scientific and educational interest that will be preserved to ensure nature's diversity and variety' (cited in Killebrew 1999: 19). The National Parks Authority thus operated on behalf of the public and the National Reserves on behalf of nature. This division was further manifested in the nature of funding for both authorities; The N.P.A. was autonomous, dependent on revenue generated from visitors to the parks and on private donations of various kinds. Government money was also provided, usually by the Israel Government Tourist Cooperation, which allocates Ministry of Tourism funds earmarked for the development of tourist sites, or by the Jewish National Fund. The N.P.A. thus had an urgent incentive to keep visitor numbers high and this impacted on decision making and planning.

On the other hand, visitors were less welcome from the perspective of the National Reserves Authority, which was government funded and which could thus focus on the preservation and protection of the landscapes and species in its care (Killebrew 1999: 19). The need to maintain high visitor numbers to sites, affected not only the nature of sites selected as national parks, but the manner in which they were presented to the public. The National Parks Authority has, thus, always placed a high priority on large classical sites. Beth Shean which is both a Biblical and a classical site was one of the first to be declared a national park, shortly followed by Caesarea with its monumental Roman to Crusader remains (Killebrew 1999: 23). In the course of the life of the N.P.A., more than sixteen archaeological parks administered by them were opened. Masada, which is the second most visited archaeological site in Israel with an average of approximately half a million visitors annually, was added after the Yadin excavations in 1965/1966.

The Ministry of Tourism still provides funding for archaeological sites in the care of the Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority, but has no official say in how these sites are to be presented or managed. It can, however, stipulate that work on a given site should be carried out by local unemployed people. This has occurred on a number of occasions (as at the sites of Beth Shean and Caesarea, discussed in detail later in the chapter) and began as early as the 1950s, as in the case of Yadin's excavations at Hatzor which primarily hired new immigrants settled at Rosh Pinna (Silberman 1997: 74-5). The idea behind using unemployed people in this way is that not only will the local community benefit through the increased revenue from tourism, the training of local people and the direct provision of jobs, but a local loyalty to, and respect for, archaeological heritage will be fostered (Khalaily, pers. comm. 13th April 2005).

The process by which decisions regarding site conservation and presentation are made by the Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority is as follows: The I.N.N.P.P.A. decides that it would like to develop a site for the purposes of tourism. [71] The excavator of the site, if still alive and available, is asked to become an advisor to the project, while architects, conservators and other specialists are also consulted. A development plan for the site is produced incorporating issues of conservation and site presentation, although it was acknowledged to me by members of the I.A.A. that the primary concern of these development plans has frequently had more to do with presentation than preservation, and indeed as will be indicated in the case studies examined later, this would indeed seem to be the case. While presentation can function as a form of protection, for example, by limiting access to more vulnerable areas of the site, preservation must be a priority when one is dealing with such high visitor numbers.

The I.A.A. plays a formal role in the formation of this development and management plan, but the I.N.N.P.P.A. implements it, and the concerns of the I.A.A. and/or the excavator are not always heeded. For example there have been many conflicts between the two groups with regard the placement of car-parks and other facilities at sites and the nature of site presentation where conflicts with site preservation might arise (such as the placement of viewing ramps and pathways etc.). The I.A.A. do have the right to request further modification of the plans, or in the case of a conflict of interest with regard the construction of new buildings on archaeologically sensitive areas, the I.A.A. can request that further excavations be carried out. Before being implemented, the plan should be agreed by the vice-director of archaeological activity and the overall director of the I.A.A., the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Tourism. In some cases, an independent consulting company is hired to develop a management plan for the site and there are a few local Israeli companies of this sort.

The aim of the Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority is to generate income. They invest money in the infrastructure of certain sites, the biggest being Masada. Huge amounts were also invested in Caesarea and Beth Shean. Killebrew states that a number of profitable parks, such as Masada, Megiddo, Caesarea, 'Avdat and Qumran, help to maintain the non-profitable ones. She claims that 10 other parks, including Beth Guvrin-

[71] The following information was provided by Hamoudi Khalaily of the IAA, in a personal interview conducted on April 13th 2005.

Maresha and Beth Shean are self-supporting. This result is that many sites are dependent on the fluctuations in the tourism industry, which is particularly sensitive to current events in Israel (Killebrew 1999: 20).

The Government Tourist Organisation had a huge budget in the 1990s. There was a desire to compete with popular nearby Mediterranean regions, such as Cyprus. As noted previously, two sites in particular have been the subject of heavy investment, Caesarea and Beth Shean, on account of the monumentality and visually impressive nature of the remains at those sites. Jewish sites such as Beer Sheva and Tel Dan were next on the list and received large amounts of money for reconstruction work carried out by the I.A.A. Masada, however, was scheduled to be the No. 1 tourist site in Israel and the N.P.A. commissioned excavations to be carried out both on the summit of the mountain and on the Roman camp sites at its base.

The nature of tourism in Israel also affects the choice of sites for promotion though the I.N.N.P.P.A. and the manner in which they are promoted. Most tourists coming to Israel do so as part of pre-organized groups, and the trend is for these groups to have their site-seeing done and be back at their hotels by approximately 5pm. A site such as Hatzor, which is a minimum of a three to four hour drive away from any of the major cities is too far away for a tour group based in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem, wishing to visit a number of sites in the course of a day and for tourists not wishing to spend most of the day on a bus. A vicious cycle inhibiting independent travel in Israel was set in place when the infrastructure facilitating independent travel virtually ground to a halt during the Second Intefada. Tourist offices, which are run by the government and local municipalities, were closed as were many hostels, restaurants and many other tourist-dependent businesses in response to dramatically falling tourist numbers.

Furthermore, in recent years, local Israeli interest in archaeology has become almost non-existent, so a sizeable domestic market does not exist to fill the void created by the lack of foreign tourists.[72] The result is that a small number of archaeological sites with international religious, historical or visual appeal and which regularly appear on touring itineraries become the focus of conservation and promotion, while prehistoric and/or smaller less impressive sites remain neglected.

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[72] It was speculated by many that I interviewed that this downturn in interest in archaeology on the part of Israelis was at least partially inspired by excessive government promotion of the discipline and a growing scepticism and disillusionment on the part of the general public with official narratives.

5.8 The Various Private Development Authorities

Unlike in Cyprus, it is possible for independent interested groups to submit proposals for the management of a particular archaeological site in Israel. Many of these groups are semi-state, and are involved in the development of specific urban areas, such as East Jerusalem or the old city of Jaffa in Tel Aviv. The three major companies in existence in Israel, dealing with archaeological remains in this way, are the Old Acre Development Co. Ltd., the East Jerusalem Development Co. Ltd. and the Old Jaffa Development Co. Ltd. Each company is either a government company subordinate to the Ministry of Tourism, or the result of coordination between government and the local municipal authority. I shall look at each company and their activities in turn, beginning with the East Jerusalem Development Co. Ltd.

5.9 The East Jerusalem Development Co. Ltd.

The East Jerusalem Development Company Ltd. was founded in 1966, with the aim of "the development and operation of tourist sites in Eastern Jerusalem and the greater Jerusalem" (pami.co.il). The company is in the overall charge of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education (pami.co.il). It manages seven archaeological sites in East Jerusalem; the Rampart's Walk; the Roman Plaza; Zedekiah's Cave; the Ophel Archaeological Garden; Gihon Spring; the Cable Car to Mount Zion and the Davidson Exhibition and Virtual Reconstruction Center which is located within the Jerusalem Archaeological Park. I examined two sites managed by the company in detail; the Ophel Archaeological Garden and the Davidson Exhibition and Virtual Reconstruction Center in the Jerusalem Archaeological Park.

The Ophel Archaeological Garden, which forms part of the Jerusalem Archaeological Park, is located at the foot of the southern wall of the Temple Mount and incorporates the steps of the Hulda Gates which led to the Temple in the Second Temple Period. The garden is fenced off from the road from where the site can be viewed (**Fig. 48**). Indeed, the only information plaques detailing the complex maze of multi-period remains in the garden are located along this fence on the road-side. These plaques are quite old and, as a result of graffiti as well as weathering, many are illegible (**Fig. 49**). Those which can still be read, bear diagrams of a select number of remains. The garden is highly overgrown and in places, trees and bushes grow inside archaeological complexes. The site can be accessed through the Jerusalem Archaeological Park, but few visitors who come to the park incorporate the garden in their activities (excluding the steps of the Hulda Gate) as it does not form part of the official tour of the site and is too overgrown and ill-provided with information to be of interest to many.

The Archaeological Park encompasses part of the Western wall of the Temple, Robinson's Arch (**Fig. 50**), a Herodian Street (**Fig. 51**), a complex of buildings from the Roman and Byzantine periods, remains of Umayyad Palaces and a Fatimad tower, renovated by the Crusaders and the Mamelukes. Some areas of the Park are highly manicured with garden and courtyard spaces (**Fig. 52**), while others are left overgrown (**Fig. 53**). There are limited information plaques, so if a visitor does not pay the steep price for a guide (NIS 160, about €29) it would be impossible to decipher the complex jumble of archaeological remains. The official tour of the site begins in The Davidson Centre which is located in rooms that were part of the basement of the seventh to eighth century Umayyad Palace (about which

information is not provided, mirroring the situation previously described in Cyprus) (**Figs. 54-56**). Along with this lack of information, the placement of the centre erases the significance of the palace as a historic monument, and in a deliberate way eclipses its original importance.

Within the centre the visitor is greeted with a plaque which announces that "The Land of Israel is the Center of the World" and that Jerusalem is the centre of Israel. It also contains a number of colour-coded displays outlining the chronological development of the city, including a brief section on the Islamic period. A select number of artifacts are used to illustrate the narrative and reconstructive drawings. As elsewhere in Israel, however, information is largely provided only in Hebrew and English and not Arabic (though Arabic is to be found on the few plaques in the site itself). Visitors are also presented with a very good and detailed video on the history of the excavations, further contextualising the artefacts and the information presented in the displays.

The overall focus of the centre is the Second Temple and drawings of the Temple and what went on there are to be found on the walls throughout the exhibition, while the culmination of a visit to the centre is a virtual reality film produced by the I.A.A. and an urban simulation team and narrated by the tour guide. The film is about Second Temple period Jerusalem and specifically the Temple itself and its compound, and aims at presenting a picture of what a visit to the Temple would have entailed at that time. In effect, the visitor is presented with a virtual reality depiction of the remains about to be viewed outside during the course of the tour and site photos of the actual remains can be seen on one side of the screen.

The tour of the site itself takes in only a very small number of the remains in the park - in essence the Second Temple period archaeology, and shades and information panels are provided at these 'important' points. The Roman and Umayyad remains are ignored entirely, although our guide, who informed me later that he had a personal interest in presenting a more multi-vocal narrative, made a point of indicating and giving a brief summary of these structures. The Umayyad palaces themselves were removed by the excavators, though the tour ends where Palace One would have stood (a consequence of the wide-scale exposure of archaeological sites common in Israel). Although some beautifully preserved mosaics and plastered walls survive from the Byzantine period residential area, they do not form part of the tour either (**Figs. 54-56**). The entire complex

is an odd mix of high-tech, innovative and attractive presentation techniques combined with neglect, disinterest and occasional brief acknowledgement of non-Jewish Second Temple remains. At this site, the shame of such measures is more potent than elsewhere, for given the contentious location (at the perimeters of the contested holy location for Jews and Muslims, at the heart of the divided city of Jerusalem), a genuine acknowledgement in conservation and presentation terms, by the Israeli establishment of the multi-cultural past and present of the country at *this* site might well go some way to creating a more inclusive environment for Israel's non-Jewish citizens.[73]

[73] Yuchtman-Yaar and Shavit note that the strife between Israel's Jewish and Arab populations will not disappear "as long as the Jewish majority continues to view preserving the Jewish character of the state as one of its most cherished goals…it is more likely that the Arab minority will not be accepted as a full partner in the society. In the best of scenarios, even if Israel would grant its citizens full and equal rights, they might be able to enjoy their status as equal citizens under the law, but they would still be considered as outsiders vis-à-vis the Jewish community" (2004: 363-4).

5.10 The Old Jaffa Development Co. Ltd.

The Old Jaffa Development Company Ltd. was established in 1960 by the Government of Israel and the Tel Aviv – Jaffa municipality, in partnership with the Government Lands Authority and the Israel Government Tourist Company The aim of the company was to build and rehabilitate the area of Tel Aviv - Jaffa, which at that time was populated mostly by Jewish immigrants from the '... poorer and more primitive socio-economic levels' (i.e. from the Middle East and some from Bulgaria, the majority of the area's Arab residents having fled during the War of Independence in 1948: information provided on a wall plaque inside the Qedumin archaeological site), and had a high crime rate. The area was deemed to have a '... problematic social fabric' (*ibid.*), and so the aim of the Development Company was to convert the area into an art and entertainment quarter and to attract tourists. This remains the company's policy today (oldjaffa.co.il). The first step in this project began in the area of old Jaffa Hill, one of the most run-down quarters in the city. The site was declared an archaeological reserve while the residents were moved to new accommodation in greater Tel Aviv.

From the 1960s a series of excavations was carried out in various parts of Jaffa revealing remains from a number of periods including a Bronze Age settlement, an Egyptian palace and monumental gate from the time of Ramses II (all located within the central excavation area (area A), inside the "Ramses Gate Garden") (**Fig. 57**), Persian period dwellings and finds (sixth and seventh centuries B.C.E.), to dwellings, identified as Jewish, from the first and second century C.E. Despite having been continuously occupied from that time to the present day, no remains from other periods have been preserved for presentation to the public. An underground visitor's centre in Kedumim Square was opened to the public in 1993, by the Old Jaffa Development Company Ltd. with the assistance of the Israel Ministry of Tourism, the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality, the I.A.A., the Israel Government Tourist Company and the Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv (**Fig. 58-59**).

The Centre houses the remains of three dwellings from different periods, all of which have been identified as Jewish; a three-room subterranean complex from the third century B.C.E., a Jewish dwelling abandoned in 67 C.E. and a building destroyed by fire. The walls of the complex surrounding the site display textual and visual testimonies to the history of Jaffa. A small number of archaeological finds are also exhibited. Other finds from the excavations are exhibited at the Antiquities Museum of Tel Aviv - Jaffa, which was opened in 1961. It is located in the ancient "Saraya" (government house), but was

closed to visitors at the time of research in summer 2004, though a number was provided for those seeking tours for groups of 20 people or more (**Fig. 60**). The effect of the activities of the Old Jaffa Development Company Ltd. has been to transform a living environment of Muslims and Jewish immigrants into a modern, constructed 'Old Quarter' of Jewish artisans and archaeology, thereby simultaneously pandering to a tourist market and providing testimony to the Jewish character of the place throughout the ages.

5.11 The Old Acre Development Company Ltd.

The Old Acre Development Company Ltd. is a government company subordinate to the Ministry of Tourism, founded in 1967. Its aim is the development of "... the Old City as an international tourism city with large and small hotels, attractions, historical and archeological sites, sailing, sports, recreation and tourism" (akko.org.il). The company is financed by all the government ministries related to its areas of activity. As part of the development plan, a number of historic buildings in the old city have been, and more are, earmarked for commercial development and marketing; many such as The Big Palace and the Khan el-Omdan (**Fig. 64**) and Khan el-Shuna are being converted into large hotels. A sense of the scale and nature of this work can be obtained from the following statement from the company's website:

> "Khan el-Omdan and Khan el-Shuna. These two Khans are the most important buildings in Old Acre. Partial renovation work has been performed on Khan el-Omdan, an elegant Ottoman building. One façade faces the marina and the second façade faces Fishermen's Square. The nearby Khan a-Shuna contains authentic parts from the Crusader Period. Both khans are intended to form part of a large hotel with some 170 rooms, with the ground floor being reserved for commercial and public use" (akko.org.il.projects).

Plans are also afoot to construct a large hotel and underground parking lot in the large parking area at the northern entrance to the city, despite the location of a thirteenth century residential quarter that was discovered underneath.

Many buildings from the Crusader through Ottoman to modern periods remain in good condition in this historically important city and an extensive programme of restoration and preservation is being undertaken by the Old Acre Development Company Ltd. (**Fig. 61**). Indeed, it was primarily on account of the surviving Crusader structures that Akko was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2001 (**Fig. 62**). A number of historic buildings have been selected and developed as part of an archaeological tour promoted by the Development Company. Included in the tour are the underground Crusader city, a number of khans (**Figs. 63-64**), the Turkish baths, the Turkish Bazaar (**Fig. 66**)and the Templar Tunnel (**Figs. 67-68**) as well as the Okashi Museum of modern Israeli art which features a permanent collection by the late Avshalom Okashi. Tickets can be bought separately for each monument or a group ticket, allowing access to all, can be purchased.

For the purposes of tourism development, preservation work has been initiated on the Hospitaller Fortress. The project is being carried out by a specialist team from the I.A.A.,

starting with excavation (in order to further expose parts of the building), surveys and documentation, followed by preservation (stabilizing and strengthening the buildings on the basis of the surveys and documentation so that they can be opened to the public) and reconstruction (akko.org.il.saving sites). The fortress was built in the Ottoman period on Crusader foundations, and following the end of the Ottoman period, served as the palace for the rulers of Akko, a military barracks, a munitions warehouse and a prison (**Figs. 65; 69**). Though I have not found anything written on the topic, it seemed to me on visiting the site of the Knight's Halls that large quantities of new material were being used in the reconstruction programme, which was in progress at the time (**Fig. 70**).

The Turkish baths have also been beautifully reconstructed and feature a light and sound exhibition on "The Story of the Last Bathhouse Attendant". The audience is provided with a realistic sense, not only of day to day life in the bathhouse, but also of how the bathhouse functioned socially in the wider community (**Figs. 71-72**). The historical element of the exhibition (presented in the form of an imaginary conversation between the various generations of male bathhouse attendants through which the history of the city in the Ottoman period is revealed) focuses almost exclusively on the barbaric nature of El-Jazer, the Turkish *Pasha* who was appointed governor of the region in 1775 and who both fortified and strengthened the city as well as building the Turkish Baths. The *Pasha* was most famous, however, for his acts of atrocity which are dwelt upon in detail in the exhibition, at the expense of the later history of both the city and the bathhouse.

Information on plaques and via audio sets (for hire at time of ticket purchase) is informative but presented in a dry, factual way such as the provision of dates, architectural styles etc: without effectively contextualising this information, the result being that the tour feels very impersonal (**Fig. 73**). The tour takes the visitor through the narrow streets of the Old City and ancient remnants are pointed out along the way, in an equally impersonal fashion as one moves from site to site (**Fig. 74**). The complex way in which these antique remains were incorporated into later structures and reused and eventually came to form a part of the present environment is ignored. The result is that these living streets and their inhabitants form, for the purposes of tourism, part of an antique world which one can visit but which does not really exist in the present. In modern Israel, one can take a holiday to an exotic Arab, Ottoman world simply by entering the gates of the old city of Akko. Through this exoticizing of Israel's Arab history and modern inhabitants, they are further distanced from participation in the mainstream of Israeli life.

Furthermore, this focus on remains from the Crusader period and on a foreign Ottoman *pasha* form part of a larger process whereby the 2000 years of non-Jewish rule of the country are divided up into short, insignificant periods using the "nomenclature of the 'conquerors' chronology'" (Benvenisti 2000: 300). In this way, the history of the country is portrayed as a long period of foreign rule, ended with the formation of the Jewish state in 1948. Furthermore, the life of the local Arab population is obscured as part of foreign intrusion (Benvenisti 2000: 300).

The upkeep of most sites, regardless of who manages them, is further supported by private donations from wealthy individuals, mostly wealthy Jews living outside of Israel. It was outside of the scope of this study to investigate the extent to which such donors have any voice in how their money is spent, but presumably, the creation of presentations and exhibitions with themes and contents to which the donors are averse may cause the withdrawal of further funding. Some of the issues arising with regard to dependence on donors are visible at the Israel Museum where,

> "The question of donations continues to raise problems vis-à-vis the Museum's conception. Does the conception dictate the donation sought, or do the donations engender the conceptions? Can the Museum pursue a policy based on its own order of priorities, or is this policy subject to the wishes of donors?" (Tamir 1990: 14).

It could be argued that the intervention of organizations other than the I.A.A. in the management of archaeological sites provides a financial resource pool otherwise unavailable to maintain as many sites as possible. The reality, however, is that only a select number of sites pertaining to the interests, economic or ideological, of the groups in question actually receive such management interest. Meanwhile, the overall result of the participation of such groups in the management of archaeological sites in Israel is that there are great variations in the quality and quantity of conservation measures carried out from site to site, and perhaps more importantly, that there are vastly greater opportunities for more extreme versions of official nationalist narratives to enter the mainstream under the guise of objective scientific fact.

This fact is evident in the information provided at archaeological sites in Israel. Information is provided in multiple media at sites: unlike in Cyprus, guided tours are regularly available on sites in Israel, though on less popular I.N.N.P.P.A. sites, these tours have to be booked in advance (as in Cyprus), as guides are not permanently available on site. Where such tours are not available printed information is frequently added via the use

of audio sets etc: thereby greatly enhancing the visitor's ability to engage with a site, understand the technical and historical elements it encompasses and contextualize it in wider historical and social contexts. It was my experience, however, that the information provided by a number of tour guides was inaccurate and almost always tended towards a strong Jewish bias in the presentation of information, both historical and modern, about a site and its environment; a guide at the I.N.N.P.P.A. managed *City of David* site in Jerusalem, informed us that an Iron Age building in which numerous *bullae* were found, probably functioned as a museum in antiquity.

The same guide could not provide dates for events in antiquity in the Gregorian calendar, as she was only familiar with the Jewish calendar (despite being American and not Israeli) and her narratives about the site and its surroundings relied heavily on her audience's ability to identify with Jewish customs and traditions. She also intermittently referred to ancient Israelites as Israelis and modern Israelis as Israelites, thereby conflating the two identities and linking them diachronically. Such conceptualisations of Israeli identity deny even the existence of non-Jewish Israeli citizens. Indeed, as also noted by Abu el Haj, tour guides and information panels at sites and museums constantly make a distinction between a Jewish "us" and an Other "them", all narrated in the 1st person plural "we" (1998: 179).

The National Agenda – Archaeology and Identity

5.12 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: Zionism and the Connection with *Eretz Israel*)

As has been argued throughout this thesis, at the heart of nationalism is the idea of the nation-state as a culturally homogeneous community with a shared history and as distinct from other nations on the basis of this culture and history. The nation, both in the past and in the present, is frequently understood as being geographically bounded (Gellner 1987, 9-10; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996, 4; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000). Furthermore, it is understood that this geographic location was intrinsically involved in the shaping of the aforementioned history and culture, while a current location outside of the formative landscape is viewed as detrimental to further group development.[74] Thus continuity in time and space is posed as the ontological cornerstone on which the building blocks of nationhood rest.

Nationalism automatically demands that the past of the nation be studied and documented in an attempt to show the development of past glories and sufferings of the group. In the process of doing this an emphasis is often placed on the origins of the group and myths of origin are provided accordingly. These are commonly succeeded by a "Golden Age", followed by a period of decline, to be ended by the current rejuvenation of the group (Hutchinson 1994, 123; Silberman 1995, 253). The Zionist model of history views Antiquity as a positive period, the 'Golden Age' in Jewish history, while the life in the Diaspora is viewed as a negative period. These classifications are based on the bond between the Jewish people and their land, so the Diaspora period, which witnesses a lack in this bond, is something from which Zionists have traditionally sought to distance themselves. The physical continuity of life in the land had been broken, but the continuity of attachment to the land persisted. This distance from the land, however, resulted in a deterioration of the character of the Jewish people.

According to this narrative, the common experience of nationhood among Jewish people was undermined by the dispersion in so many other countries brought about by the Romans after the Second Jewish Revolt, and in its place religion became the uniting bond between Jewish people (Zerubavel 1995: 17). Traditionally, however, Zionism viewed this religious bond as artificial and constraining and as something that brought out negative traits in the

[74] Diaspora communities that retain a strong sense of group identity, often do so with reference to the 'homeland'.

Diaspora Jew. The native Hebrew or Sabra, by contrast was presented as being everything that the Diaspora Jew was not; strong, healthy, a labourer who experiences closeness with nature and the land to which he is deeply rooted. He is thus closer to his grandparents than his parents (Zerubavel 1995 26-7; Selwyn 1995: 115). He is active, not passive. Physical strength and activity were admired in contrast to the 'excessive spirituality and verbosity' of Jews in exile. The modern Jewish state thus not only sees the restoration of life in the land and of the original natural bond between the people and the land, but the rejuvenation, as a result of this restoration, of the Jewish spirit.

This cleavage with life in the Diaspora could not be taken too far, however, as it was necessary to demonstrate continuity between the ancient and modern Hebrews (Zerubavel 1995). Zionism, and Israel's relationship with its Jewish history thus encompasses a contradiction: it seeks both a continuation and a rejection of its past (Golden 1996: 223). The political and demographic reality in the region, right from the beginning of Jewish immigration in the late 1880s to the present day, has resulted in a desire and need to articulate Jewish rights to this contested land. In this context the Bible was treated as a historical and ethical document, rather than as a theological or religious text (Troen 2001: 33), and it is in this light that we must understand the claims of the Declaration of Independence quoted at the introduction to this chapter.

5.13 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: The Power of Terminology

The articulation of Jewish claims to the land begins with the manner in which the archaeological investigation of this area's past is characterized semantically. As noted in the previous chapter, since the beginning of western influence in the region in the 1800s, archaeology in the south-western Levant has been, and is still, often referred to as the 'archaeology of the Holy Land', the 'archaeology of the Land of Israel' or the all pervasive 'Biblical archaeology', as even a cursory glance at recent publications demonstrates.

There has been a movement since the 1970s, led predominantly by American scholars such as Bill Dever and the late Albert Glock, to abandon such terms in favour of more neutral terms such as 'Palestinian' or 'Syro-Palestinian' archaeology (Glock 1986 (in press from c. 1975); Dever 1974; 1981; 1982). This is not just a question of semantics, but is part of a larger effort to free the archaeological research of this region from the apron strings of Biblical and theological research to which it has traditionally been tied. There has been only limited success in this endeavour at an academic level (the archaeology of this region is still frequently taught within Biblical Studies departments in both Israeli and foreign universities) and still less at a popular level as demonstrated by the popularity of such publications as *Biblical Archaeology,* the largest paid circulation archaeology magazine in the world, demonstrates. Gero and Root note that *National Geographic* gives disproportionate coverage to archaeology in the Middle East (23%) and Europe (15%). With the context of Middle Eastern archaeology, an emphasis is placed on "Biblical history and other antecedents of Western civilization, while European prehistory emphasises classical Greek and Roman sites" (1994: 33).

Within Israel, Dever's views on renaming the discipline met with little enthusiasm at first, with part of the problem lying in the combination "Syria-Palestine" (Broshi 1987: 25). Others had a problem with the separation of Biblical studies and archaeology. For example, H.D. Lance, an American Biblical scholar and archaeologist argued that Biblical archaeology,

> "... is a *Biblical* discipline which exists for the benefit and interest of Biblical studies. So long as people read the Bible and ask questions about the history and culture of the ancient world which produced it, these questions will have to be answered; and the sum total of these answers will comprise Biblical archaeology (1981: 95)" (cited Loughlin 2000:11, original emphasis).

The German archaeologist, V. Fritz, agreed in his 1994 *An Introduction to Biblical Archaeology,* and the Israeli archaeologist, Amnon Ben-Tor of the Hebrew University, also agreed, arguing,

> "The two fields are naturally related and mutually enriching. It is as unreasonable as to demand that classical archaeology be separated from Homer and other writings of antiquity. Eliminate the Bible from the archaeology of the land of Israel in the second and the first millennia BCE, and you have deprived it of its soul" (cited in Loughlin 2000: 11).

Dever never suggested the eliminating of the Bible from archaeological research as these reactions would imply, but rather a dialogue between archaeologists and Biblical scholars. The tide seems to be turning now, with a new guard of Israeli archaeologists, who do not have the Bible as their focus. They are part of an academic elite, however, and their readership is also mostly academic. At a popular level, there is still a strong interest in Biblical archaeology of the old-fashioned kind, and especially in America there are still a number of traditional Biblical archaeologists (Fox 2001: 72). Popular titles and terms used within the tourist industry and by the government on official publications endorse this Bible-centred approach.

In addition, archaeological practice in Israel has tended to be less theoretically informed than in the United States and parts of Northern Europe. Shay claims that newer approaches to archaeology which move away from culture-bounded investigations have been slow to come about in Israel, a country which remains traditional in the sense that religion, the state and ethnicity are closely identified, while individual identity is largely determined by primordial ties (1989: 770-1). The result is that the New Archaeology with its emphasis on universalism, or its successors, which stress a critical approach, reflectivity and more recently the context of the "production of knowledge", have made little headway there; most scholars continue to study the Bible and the other traditional subjects of the past.

The use of terms such as "Biblical Archaeology" is quietly deceptive, seeming to correspond neatly with the existence in the area of the modern State of Israel. Apart from the issue of imposing modern geographical taxonomies onto the past (modern cartographies and mappings are just that and do not have proximate parallels in antiquity (Meskell 1998: 4), these labels for the archaeological research carried out in this region give the impression that one is in fact investigating the linear progression of an ethnic group and its identity from its origin in the Iron Age, or earlier, in this territory down to the modern flourishing of this group as a geographically bordered, political entity in that same

territory. The almost 2000 year period of Exile from the Land is ignored as a blemish to remain unmentioned, or mourned as a period of distress and violence against the integrity of the Jewish people. In fact, the *Beit Hatefutsoth* or "House of the Diaspora" Museum in Tel Aviv, has as one of its aims the countering of such negative stereotypes common among Israelis (Golden 1996: 228) and even then, the museum tells the story of "a journey from a world deemed permanent and invulnerable to one deemed contingent and transitory and back again" (Golden 1996: 228). It is a cautionary tale of the vulnerability of life away from home (Golden 1996: 228).

The territory of Israel remains a silent and unpeopled place during these 2000 years, at least in official and popular imaginings, and until recently academic research and the presentation of archaeological research to the public via sites and museums did little to counter this interpretation. From the early Western experience of isolating 'Israelite' or Old Testament sites for investigation in an attempt at recovering a political and religious spiritual past, a pattern was set for the almost exclusive selection of 'Israelite' or 'Jewish' sites for excavation. This bias was continued by early Jewish nationalists and continues down to the present day, firstly and originally as a way of demonstrating political legitimacy in the land and, secondly, as a means of creating a sense of national unity through common identity among a culturally diverse group.

Indeed, this particular image or narrative of ethnic, cultural and political continuity, temporarily broken by life in the Diaspora, is one which is vociferously voiced by the Israeli establishment and felt to be unquestionable by the majority of the Israeli and international Jewish public. Scham provides the example of a large public meeting held on the 18th May 1999 at a synagogue in Jerusalem to hear two archaeologists, one a Muslim Palestinian (Dr. Adel Yahye, Director of the Palestinian Association for Cultural Exchange (PACE) in Ramallah) and one a Jewish Israeli (Dr. Roni Reich, senior lecturer in archaeology at Haifa University), speaking on the topic; "Who was here first? ... and Does it Matter?" (2001: 183). It was clear from both the presentations and the audience responses that it did matter to both the speakers and the audience. Scham recounts that a particularly memorable moment occurred when the Palestinian archaeologist presented the connection between modern Palestinians and ancient Philistines; in Palestinian popular culture this interpretation has been promoted for some time.

The audience was predominantly Jewish with a sizable religious Jewish contingent. They 'politely but continually' hammered the Palestinian speaker with questions on the evidence for such claims. The answers they received were not enough to convince them that he was being objective despite many being supporters of the peace process and of Palestinian rights. The Israeli archaeologist was not deemed unobjective, however, despite using terms such as 'Israelite' and 'Second Temple' to describe particular time periods. Scham notes that the message of the Israeli archaeologist was more familiar to the audience and though they were articulate and would be able to describe what they thought was the difference between objective and non-objective, "they would use expressions like 'known' facts or 'indisputable' evidence in characterising the former and 'propaganda' in characterising the latter" (2001: 184).

Z. Herzog, an archaeologist at Tel Aviv University, published an article entitled '*The Bible: There Are no Facts on the Ground*' in the Weekly Supplement of the newspaper, *Ha'aretz*, on the 29th October 1999. His aim was to stimulate a public discussion in Israel on 'the history and philosophy of knowledge and with the interaction between knowledge and society' (Herzog, cited in Marblestone 2000: 26). His article claimed that the Israeli public, not to mention Jews in the Diaspora, would be shocked and dismissive of claims that the Exodus and the Conquest did not happen; that the United Kingdom was not a superpower but at best a small tribal kingdom; that Yahweh had a consort and that monotheism only developed at the end of the monarchy (Herzog: 2001). His controversial article was indeed followed by heated debate by the Israeli public and even amongst scholars (Marblestone 2000: 26-28), indicating that the "New School" of Israeli archaeology, which questions the veracity of the Bible and archaeology's role in validating it, has yet to make headway among the public at large.

Indeed, the crucial link in nationalist archaeology between the excavator and the excavated is, perhaps necessarily, still alive and well in Israel today. Danny Syon, an Israeli archaeologist excavating at Gamla in the Golan defends nationalist archaeology in the following manner:

> "Being a member of modern Israeli society I am doing what other archaeologists in other countries do when excavating sites connected with their own history ... I am looking in the record for links between the present and the past and gladly show it when I find them ... This is not to say that I shall *ignore* other evidence (such as the Early Bronze Age settlement) nor that I shall *create* it if not there. Only if by international consensus all archaeologists were to practice only in foreign countries and not their own, would we (perhaps) be rid of nationalistic archaeology - a

> suggestion neither practical nor necessary. After analysing the data I will stress what I believe to be more important to me - namely the finds that relate to the Jewish city and to the war. Whatever I choose to stress, however, the data is there for anyone else to interpret" (Syon 1992: 43, original emphases).

This widely accepted nationalist narrative of continuity, being closed in nature, quite explicitly rules out any alternative reading of the past and therefore any possibility of opening new dialogues to take account of the multi-layered ethnic and cultural voices from the past and present of the region. Furthermore, the use of such labels as 'archaeology of the Holy Land' and 'archaeology of the Land of Israel' is an act of control; names or labels are meaning and value laden, and in this case appear to give credence to the widespread assertion of Israel's unique claim to time and space in this area. A similar process is in operation in the use of the terms 'Israelite period' to describe the Iron Age and 'First and Second Temple periods' to describe the Persian through to Roman period in this region, thereby effectively writing all other groups living in this area such as Canaanite, Philistine, Idumean and Roman out of the common consciousness and, as will be discussed later, has an impact on the choice of topics deemed worthy of academic research in these periods. It also closes off the archaeology of this area to other archaeologies and scholars since these terms have no meaning in the wider Mediterranean context.

Equally, the preceding Bronze Age period is often referred to as the 'Canaanite' period, which is equally misleading, given that many other groups including Egyptians and Hittites also inhabited this area at the time. This terminological bias in any of the periods mentioned is entirely unwarranted in light of the evidence produced by the archaeological and, indeed, literary record (Laughlin 2000: 95). Isolating this earlier period as Canaanite, however, allows a clean break to be made between the existing polytheist groups in the area and the emergent Israelites who are presented as being monotheist from the time of their appearance in the land. A narrative of ethnogenesis is thus created around the emergence of the group. Zerubavel claims that collective memory highlights the distinct identity of the group, while the master commemorative narrative focuses on the event or events that mark the group's emergence as independent from other social entities. A focus on ethnogenesis thus becomes essential for demarcating the group's identity vis-à-vis others. The differences between the group and other groups are focused upon as a way of legitimizing the existence of the group as a separate entity, with a clear starting point in the, frequently distant, past (1995: 7).

5.14 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: the Creation of National Symbols

Most Israeli national symbols are inspired by archaeology - stamps, coins, medals, the state seal etc. indicating the enormous impact of the past on modern understandings and representations of self in that country. The design of the Israeli coin since 1948 is a copy of a first century silver shekel. During hyperinflation in 1980, Prime Minister Menachem Begin did not instigate anti-inflationary measures, but instead renamed the monetary unit from the lira to the shekel. He rightly argued that the historic weight of that name would be enough to turn the shekel into a powerful international currency on a par with the US dollar (Elon 2000: 303). The issue we are faced with here is the validity of the use of archaeology in the construction of such an exclusivist and closed reading of the past, and the consequences for those wishing to construct alternative, inclusivist narratives if archaeology is to be used to give a voice to silenced histories (the creation of oppositional counter-narratives, by contrast, would not allow us to escape the loop of the promotion of a different set of (ethnic) agenda).

As will be demonstrated in the case studies discussed later in the chapter, two things are simultaneously at play in Israeli archaeology today; on the one hand exists official efforts to perpetuate and promote the traditional authoritative narrative through monumental and culturally impressive sites such as at the traditional site celebre, Masada, and, more latterly, at sites such as Caesarea. On the other hand and on a much smaller scale, are individuals and groups running educational projects in schools and seeking alternative means of presenting non-monumental sites to the public, which aim at countering this authoritative narrative or at least expand its framework.

5.15 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: the Revival of Hebrew

> "There is no nation without a country, a language or a state. The Jews have a land, the Land of Israel; they have a language - the Hebrew language. The land and the language will be the foundation of their state" (Ben-Yehuda 1879, cited in Safran 2005: 43).

As noted in the previous chapter, the revival and promotion of the Hebrew language was an important factor in Jewish nationalism (to the extent that the language became associated with Zionism) and later, a unifying factor among a disparate immigrant community. In Jewish and Israeli imagination the land of Israel and the Hebrew language are integral to the Jewish people and their identity. But the land of Israel also supports a sizeable non-Jewish population with their own, different, yet equally intense, connection to the land and a language which links them to a wider ethnic and religious family. As Landau notes, "... the relationship between Hebrew and Arabic may aggravate other problems of interethnic friction: it accentuates differences and perpetuates tensions, contributing to the cultural clash between the competing nationalisms of the two communities" (1993: 351).

A commonality of many of the archaeological sites discussed in this chapter is the lack of Arabic on information panels and in brochures or other guide material, despite its being one of the official languages of the state alongside Hebrew.[75] Information where provided at archaeological sites is most commonly in Hebrew and English and at some larger sites, such as Akko, in a number of other European languages and also Russian, reflecting the large number of Russian Jews making *aliyah* to Israel in recent years. The languages used at sites, therefore, reflect the anticipated clientele, and clearly no one is expecting Israeli Arabs to visit archaeological sites, or is catering to their engagement with a site if they do so. This may suggest that Israel's Arab inhabitants, both Christian and Muslim, feel alienated from Israeli archaeology, or at least do not see it as something relevant to them, and thus choose not to visit. The manner of selection and presentation of archaeological sites, which is overwhelmingly biased in favour of Jewish readings of the past, must surely

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[75] An Arab Member of the *Knesset*, 'Abd al-'Aziz Zu'bi, summarised Arab feelings with regard such neglect for their language as long as 30 years ago: "We are concerned with one of the most important requests of all Arabs in the State ... an issue which reflects the attitude of the State to those citizens and their language ... We must praise the Government for its official attitude to our language, Arabic, in many areas, such as postage stamps, coins, and currency, and the reports of parliament, all of which are published in Hebrew and Arabic ... but for routine and practical purposes, our language is disappearing from use. This offends the honour and rights of these citizens, educates Jewish Citizens negatively, and even negates respect for Arabs among them, if any still remains" (cited in Landau 1993: 355).

contribute to the disenfranchisement of Israeli Arabs (and indeed other minority groups such as Druze and Bedouin).

5.16 The Nationalist Agenda - Archaeology and Identity: Archaeology in Education: Trends in Academia

As we have seen, the Ministry of Education and Culture plays a large role in the promotion of various aspects of archaeologically derived information in Israel; the I.A.A. is affiliated with the Ministry of Education and Culture, which also sponsors organisations such as the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (dealt with later in the chapter). Indeed, formal education, but also educational 'leisure' activities such as visits to archaeological sites and museums are important media for the transmission of authoritative state narratives. Mass public education has been, since the beginning, a key to civic nationalism (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 8), and nationalists have understood the power of controlling the education system as a means of promoting state ideology. This fact has already been demonstrated in Chapter Four and the discussion of Zionist control of, self-perpetuation through, the school system in Ottoman and British Mandate Palestine.

Schiffman notes the rise in religious organisations providing educational services in the Middle East, and Israel, in particular, and on their ability to impact changes in the political outlook and behaviour of their clientele. He explains the increased appeal amongst non-Orthodox Israelis for the ultra-Orthodox Sephadric Shas party through support for its educational network, which now caters to many who were previously insufficiently served in this capacity by the state (Schiffman 2005: 90). Support for the values of the Party are then generated among the parents of children thus educated - many of whom have now become more religiously observant (Schiffman 2005: 92) - and amongst the children thereby socialized. Shas exhorts its followers to move away from mainstream Israeli cultural attitudes and social practices (Schiffman 2005: 95), and as a result of Shas's, and similar groups', activity in the field of education "conventional Zionist streams have lost their monopoly as a socialising force among non-ultra-Orthodox Israelis" (Schiffman 2005: 109). Without commenting on the quality or type of education provided in Shas managed schools, what this example confirms is that education is highly valued in the modern world as it leads to social mobility, and culture is now educationally transmitted (Gellner 1987: 16).

Given the role of history and the past in informing cultural attitudes in the present, the fact that less attention is given to accuracy in historical or archaeological information, or rather, to presenting the full spectrum of archaeological information in the public domain and in education, than in any other area of scientific research, is worrying. There are many

reasons for this, from the deliberate promotion of certain ethnic and historical narratives to the exclusion of others, to an opinion that deems accuracy in matters of the past to be unimportant. As Fowler points out, however, "... one can become as seriously lost mentally by following misleading temporal signposts as by following inaccurate directions on a physical journey" (1992: 35).

There has been a realisation in Israel in recent years that data derived from archaeology had often been (sometimes unintentionally) manipulated to fit a particular ideological narrative, the most obvious example being at Masada, already discussed, but also with regard the Iron Age I "Israelite Settlement" (Ilan and Gadot 2005). Recent re-examination of the data has revealed that it occurs in different patterns capable of forming different narratives than originally thought. More widespread questioning of the historicity of the Bible is also occurring, and alternative chronologies and interpretations put forward (e.g. Finkelstein 2002: 1998). The results of such studies have yet to penetrate the public consciousness, however, and it remains to be seen how this will happen given the current nature of presentation of archaeological knowledge to the public. Scholars and academics create patterns of knowledge, which become part of the common consciousness through the institutions of the state, school curricula, museums etc (Meskell 1998, 4). They thus hold a very powerful position, and it has been argued by some that archaeologists, in particular, should use this position to challenge the imposition of modern cartographies on the past and give voice to silenced and marginalized groups in the current dominant narratives. Hamilakis espouses an idealistic view of intellectuals as autonomous and able to freely express themselves without repercussions (1999: 165). And while this may be true within the narrow confines of academia, our influence beyond those walls is limited as the values of the current system will continue to penetrate the discipline through its framework and antiquities laws.

The System in Action: Case Studies

5.17 The System in Action – Masada

As noted in the previous chapter, the convergence between public and academic interest in archaeology centred on issues of identity and the validation of territorial claims, and resulted in a historical amnesia whereby people and events from the distant past were more real and vivid than anything between then and now. Yael Zerubavel clearly illustrates how this amnesia was most obviously and famously expressed in the reworking of the Masada story as a critical element in the new self-consciousness and memory of the Israeli community (cf. 1994; 1995). Masada is a mountain top fortress overlooking the Dead Sea and the Judean desert and was the last stronghold in the Jewish Revolt against the Romans in 66-73 C.E (**Figs. 75-76**).

The story of the fall is contained in Josephus's *The Wars of the Jews.* Josephus tells us that almost 1000 Jewish men, women and children had taken refuge at Masada after the Romans had conquered the rest of Judea, and when it became clear that the Roman siege of the fortress was about to be won, they chose to commit suicide on the orders of their leader Eleazar ben Yair rather than surrender. Death was viewed as a more desirable option than slavery. Josephus provides much detail on the long speeches of the leaders and on how the suicide was carried out; Eleazar Ben Yair gave two speeches in which he convinced the leaders of the community of 960 that it was better to die than enter slavery under the Romans. Lots were chosen to determine the 10 who would take the lives of the others and on completion of the gruesome task another lot was chosen to decide the one among the ten who would dispatch the other nine before finally committing suicide himself. The Romans were understood to have wondered at the courage of the Jews as their victory was denied them.

Although we need to be careful of taking Josephus' claims at face value (he himself had been involved in the war and was now writing within the Roman court for a Roman audience), this account of what happened at Masada is understood to be literally true in Israeli popular culture and seen to have been vindicated by Yigael Yadin's excavation of the site in the 1960s. Even though Josephus must have invented Elazar ben Yair's speeches in accordance with contemporary historiographic traditions, selected passages from the speeches of the Jewish leaders are often quoted by educational and tourist materials about Masada, and guides sometimes read them aloud during visits to the site (Zerubavel 1995:

197). Indeed, the detailed information plaques located throughout the site, as well as the audio guide to the site, frequently cite the ancient author. The current official I.N.N.P.P.A. brochure to the site contains excerpts from Ben Yair's speech exhorting the rebels to take their own lives as well as quoting in full Josephus' account of the suicide of the final ten, having already murdered their spouses and children, and the shock and then admiration experienced by the Romans on encountering the "nobility", "resolve" and "contempt of death" of the rebels.

A movie about Masada, which is shown to visitors at the visitor centre before they ascend the mountain to the site, picks up on this point of heroic suicide, presenting it as a choice between death and freedom, out of which comes a kind of victory. The official I.N.N.P.P.A. guidebook to the site, *Masada, Kings' Stronghold, Zealots' Refuge,* does give an account of Josephus' life and acknowledges that his main aim in writing the book was to "discourage those who might entertain thoughts of rebelling against Rome" (Roman 1997: 3). While Josephus is quoted at length in this book, which pays particular attention the Zealots and the final siege of Masada and the mass suicide, it also questions the validity of Josephus' account, raising the possibility that the story of the mass suicide was a literary device of the period. It also points out a number of inconsistencies and questions raised by Josephus' account. Despite this seeming awareness of the problems in accepting Josephus' narrative at face value, the guide-book then both quotes Yadin's sensationalist description of some of the finds, "There could be no doubt that what our eyes beheld were the remains of some of the defenders of Masada" (Roman 1997: 17) and concludes its account of the suicide with this rather puzzling statement:

> "Nevertheless, despite various dissenting opinions about Josephus' credibility, the fact remains that the archaeological findings are eerily resonant with much of what he recounts in his narrative of the events on Masada" (Roman 1997: 9).

In fact, there are several major criticisms made about both the popular interpretation of the Josephus account of the Masada suicide and of Yadin's interpretation of the archaeological evidence at the site which the current official and popular narrative does not take into account. While the official guide-book to the site at Masada acknowledges that debate surrounds the accuracy of Josephus' account, it claims that the "main features seem to have been born out by excavation" (I.N.N.P.P.A. Masada brochure). Questions are raised, however, by the lack of external corroboration of Josephus's account. Two Roman sources that mention Masada do not mention the suicide, while the Talmud makes no reference to the fall of Masada despite often referring to other historical events. Criticism is also

directed at the speeches themselves, with scholars arguing that Josephus was here drawing on his own literary skills and conforming to the conventions of the day. Some critics have gone so far as to claim that Josephus fabricated the entire suicide, as there is no other record of it and it goes entirely against Jewish prohibitions against suicide and the rebels' ideological commitment to the revolt. It is further argued that it assuaged Josephus's conscience for deserting his comrades or that he was covering up Roman atrocities after the Masada surrender (Zerubavel 1995: 197-8).

Criticisms are also directed at the excavations and some of Yadin's interpretations. Yadin's identification of the material evidence in order to promote the religious nature of the rebels is questioned. It is argued that there is not enough evidence to support his identification of certain structures as the mikva and the synagogue. Furthermore, the donation boxes found could as well be part of the Sicarii's loot from nearby Jewish settlements as proof of the religiosity of the Masada residents (Zerubavel 1995: 199). Though the official guidebook to the site acknowledges that Yadin's identification of the 11 ostraca bearing names, found near the storerooms, as the lots drawn by the defenders before the suicide is doubtful on the basis of the discovery of dozens of other similar ostraca throughout the site, signs at the site clearly point visitors in the direction of, and mark this spot as, "the discovery location of the 'lots'" (information plaque at Masada), thereby perpetuating the traditional account of the suicide (**Figs. 77-78**).

The current intensity of interest in Masada and focus on the suicide element of the narrative is a relatively recent phenomenon, beginning in earnest only early last century. For centuries, Masada had been ignored by Judaism and had in fact been relegated to the Jewish subconscious. Josephus was seen as a renegade and the work was neglected as a result of the Jewish religious prohibitions against suicide. With the rise of Zionism, however, Masada moved firmly back to the centre of Jewish collective memory. Within the context of the contemporary struggle for independence, the ancient national battles fought supposedly for the same cause, took on a new significance. Josephus' account of the Masada suicide was re-published in Hebrew in 1923. For the 'new Hebrews', as they saw themselves, the Masada episode was a highly symbolic event embodying the spirit of active heroism, in stark contrast to what was perceived as the passive resistance of life in Exile. The ancient Jewish fighters at Masada were to be a role model and an inspiration to the new Hebrews in their continuing struggle for the homeland. But as Zerubavel points

out, in order to fulfil this role "... the Masada commemorative narrative required a highly selective representation of the historical record" (1994: 76).

The integral element of the suicide of the Zealots was ignored, now relegated to the collective sub-conscience as it did not fit with the new narrative of active resistance. Despite the fact that Josephus makes no mention of the rebels fighting the Romans at any point before the siege, it was assumed as self-evident that the rebels had indeed put up a fight (Zerubavel 1994: 76). To Israelis it is unthinkable that the defenders did not fight the Romans but merely sat waiting while the Romans built their siege works (Zerubavel 1995: 69). It is in light of this active, heroic interpretation that Masada developed as a symbol of the national struggle for freedom. This new narrative permeated every area of Israeli life. Youth groups participated in pilgrimages to the site in the pre-State period, at a time when the trek through the Judaean Desert on foot and arduous climb up the mountain were extremely dangerous. A number of people died, but this danger was, in fact, part of the attraction.

Masada was also commemorated in literature, particularly in children's books. The readiness to fight on behalf of the national struggle, as manifested in the Masada episode, was eulogized in the 1927 poetic work *Masada* by Yitshak Lamdan. This poem presents the options open to young Eastern European Jews at that time. As each of these options fails in turn, a return to Masada becomes the only option for the future. The poem then explores the experience of leaving Eastern Europe and enduring the trials of this difficult journey for which utter determination is required (Zerubavel 1995: 114). This poem and similar works brought the nationalist struggle in Palestine to the fore of Jewish history, further marginalising life in the Diaspora.

Youth trips to the mountain continued in the early days of the new state and Shmarya Gutmann, who led many trips there, was an important figure in transforming Masada into a symbol. He and Micha Livneh and Ze'ev Meshel rediscovered the Northern Palace and Snake Path in 1953. Survey excavations of the northern plateau and the water system were carried out in 1955-1956 (I.N.N.P.P.A. Masada brochure). The site underwent major excavations in the mid 1960s by archaeologists from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, under the leadership of Yigael Yadin, and with the support of a number of government agencies. The excavations were widely publicised in the media, which kept Masada at the centre of Israeli collective consciousness. For financial reasons, much of the work was

carried out by foreign as well as local volunteers, thus spreading the fame and message of Masada beyond Israel's borders.

The public discourse that surrounded the excavation, added to by statements given orally and in print by Yadin, focused on the heroic nature of the site and on the event in the nation's past.[76] Yadin's excavation report was generally accepted as validating Josephus' account. Israel's Department of Tourism and the National Parks Authority issued instructional material for guides to Masada in 1966, which demonstrates this interpretational trend. It states,

> "Many facts mentioned in [Josephus'] work look astonishing ... and he was often suspected of exaggerations and inaccuracy: but in relation to Masada the excavation proved the accuracy of most of Josephus' statements, even those which looked doubtful" (cited in Zerubavel 1994: 84).

The symbolism of continuity was furthered in the official State funeral of the bones excavated at Masada and identified as those of the ancient fighters. As Zerubavel points out, "The state thus blurred the line separating the ancient Masada defenders and the fallen soldiers of the Israel Defence Forces who died in contemporary wars" (Zerubavel 1994: 85).

In more recent years, following the Yom Kippur War in 1973 and a growing willingness to discuss and examine the Holocaust, a different interpretation of Masada has arisen and sits side by side with the old one, which is still called upon by certain groups when needed. The new narrative, instead of emphasising the contrast between the two events (the Masada suicide and the Holocaust) as the activist commemorative narrative did, underscores the comparisons between the two: death as the tragic climax of an extreme state of besiegement and persecution. The suicide is thus still viewed as a defiant act in a hopeless situation, but the focus is now no longer on the act of suicide but on the hopeless situation which left no alternative. The victimization and oppression of the Jews are highlighted and in this context, Masada was redefined, like the Holocaust earlier, as a symbolic ending, as death and destruction – a national trauma to be avoided at all costs (Zerubavel 1994: 87-8).

Masada has become a metaphor for the current Israeli position, the national understanding of which has been characterized as a 'siege mentality', and the term 'Masada complex' was coined as a description of this sense of besiegement (Silberman 1999: 12). There was a

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[76] The actual act of excavating the site and uncovering this heroic past was presented as a heroic act itself, as discussed in Chapter Four (e.g. **Figs. 79-80**).

euphoria after the dramatic success of the 1967 War but the shock and trauma of the 1973 War changed that and brought a sense of fear and insecurity to the surface of Israeli society. An image of a people surrounded by hostile Arab neighbours became popular. Israelis did not want their country to become a large-scale Masada.[77] The distinction between heroes and victims had weakened and now both Masada and Yad Vashem (the national Holocaust memorial museum in Jerusalem) are 'must see' sites for both Israelis and foreign tourists. The educational capacity of Masada was clear to Yadin from the start. In 1966 he suggested that 'through visits to Masada we can teach [our brethren from the Diaspora] what we today call 'Zionism' better than thousands of pompous speeches' (cited in Zerubavel 1995: 67). Both sites are included in the itineraries of official visits to the State of Israel.

According to Zerubavel, "... the visits are designed to impress dignitaries with vivid testimonies from the past about the fragility of Jewish survival and are intended to legitimize Israel's current concerns about its own security" (Zerubavel 1994: 89). This new narrative also reflects a greater ability on the part of Israelis to accept their Jewish past in the Diaspora. The common thread through time, still in existence today, is the threat to the Jewish community as a people who are persecuted and who struggle to survive against enormous odds (Zerubavel 1995: 195). The Likud political party have used this theme prominently to support its actions in Lebanon and against the Palestinians and to reinforce their political agenda. Counter narratives have emerged but these were raised mostly by scholars and intellectuals and have had little effect on the population at large (Zerubavel 1994: 89-90).

The swearing in ceremonies for members of the Armoured Corps on Masada, initiated by Yadin, has since stopped as a result of cost. The army, in conducting ceremonial activities on Masada, essentially took over the pre-state Hebrew youths' commemorative rituals as part of the overall assumption of the representation of the Jewish people and national commemorative acts by the state. The excavation and restoration of the ancient synagogue facilitated another type of ceremonial activity at the site; Bar Mitzvah and other religious ceremonies are conducted there. The first collective Bar Mitzvah was held there by a school in 1967 and started a trend with other schools. Parents, children and teachers all take part in this rite of passage. Since 1967 both the Western Wall and Masada compete for

[77] For a discussion on the rise of the image of the "Super-Jew" in the wake of the 1967 victory to be replaced by the revival of the "victim self-image" after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, see Elizur 2002.

collective rituals like this, indicating the fundamental changes in Israeli culture since the 1970s (Zerubavel 1995: 132-33). Jews living outside of Israel have also adopted the tradition of celebrating Bar Mitzvahs on Masada, and the tradition is now used a means of generating tourism. This erodes the distinctively Israeli patriotic character of the site and gives it a universal Jewish appeal (1995: 135).

Yadin advanced the reconstruction work on the site along with the excavation in order to facilitate tourism, thus spreading what was now accepted communal memory at home to a larger international audience, thereby delineating permanently, this time and space as Israeli or Jewish. Masada National Park was opened to the public in 1966 and the first cable car was opened in 1971, facilitating significantly higher visitor numbers (**Fig. 81**). The excavations changed the nature of commemorations at Masada. The site now became more easily accessible with the provision of new roads and bus tours, and as a result became more bureaucratized and commercialized. The commercialisation of the site for foreign tourist has, to some extent, distanced average Israelis from the site. The effects of this growing sense of alienation are expressed in the increasing disinterest on the part of Israelis in archaeology and visiting archaeological sites.

As part of the intensive development of key archaeological sites for tourism purposes in the 1990s, Masada was selected as Israel's archaeological site *par excellance*. At this time plans were made for *Tourism for Masada for the Third Millennium,* funded by the Ministry of Tourism through the Israel Government Tourist Corporation. The Second Intefada had not yet broken out and Masada was to be the Number 1 tourist site in Israel. The plans for the development of the site included commissioning excavations to be carried out on the summit of the mountain and also on the Roman camp sites around its base, though these were of less interest to the authorities (**Fig. 82**). A master-plan to prepare the site for tourism in the 3rd millennium, however, took into account the possibility of tourists interested in walking around Masada. Professor Gideon Foerster of Hebrew University, Jerusalem was approached by the authorities to excavate Roman Camp F and the siege ramp. He then approached Mr. Benny Arubas of the Hebrew University and Dr. Haim Goldfus (now of Ben Gurion University of the Negev), as they had excavated the Tenth Roman legion remains in the past. The latter two agreed to direct the work and they were promised that conservation work would be carried out on the remains following the excavations, though this work was never realized.

Several years after the excavation, Dr. Goldfus wrote a letter to the N.P.A. director questioning the inaction with regard to conservation on the Roman site, but despite this, work has yet to be conducted (Dr. Goldfus was informed recently that conservation at Camp F is planned for next year, pers. comm. 3rd April 2006). Major work has been carried out, however, on the structures on the summit, which remains the major destination for visitors (pers. comm. 29th September 2005). The official I.N.N.P.P.A. guidebook to the site dedicates merely one short page to the Roman military ruins despite being "considered the finest remains of a Roman siege camp in the world" (Roman 1987: 29). Likewise, only one short paragraph is given to the Byzantine period monks who lived on Masada, while the Byzantine church and its beautiful mosaics are not mentioned at all, though photographs are provided.

The quality of information provided varies throughout the site, with some monuments merely indicated with a sign saying 'Quarry', 'Commander's Residence' and so on, while others have the addition of brief explanatory texts. Visitors are dependent on audio headsets for more detailed information and these can be hired at an additional cost of 15 shekels. Information, where provided on the site itself, is focused on the 'story' of the site, rather than providing more technical information on the nature of the buildings and how they were used. No information is provided on-site about the Byzantine Church, its mosaics or wall inscriptions. The site does benefit, however, from the presence of reproductions in bronze of various buildings and complexes at intervals throughout the site, which help to put this large and confusing site into context for the visitor, which would otherwise prove difficult given the scarcity of on-site information (**Fig. 83**). There is much reconstruction on the site, though in accordance with the Charter of Venice, the new additions are clearly demarcated from the original through the use of black paint (**Fig. 84**). On a less positive note, there are a number of mosaics on site which are not protected from the elements and a toilet complex for visitors has, rather oddly, been built into the remains of the Herodian 'Administrative building' (**Fig. 85**).

Masada was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2001. When UNESCO became involved in Israel, most people involved in the planning process for the recognition of sites were from the I.A.A., but were not archaeologists. They prepared the files for UNESCO for recognition of sites, but archaeologists were not consulted. In many cases, development and conservation work was carried out by the I.A.A. and N.P.A. at sites such as Masada and Akko (also inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2001) with

the specific intention of preparing these sites for UNESCO recognition. At the same time many smaller, prehistoric and less monumental sites were left without any intervention.

The criticism has also been raised that conservation work, as conceptualized and carried out in Israel, revolves around architecture, and that there is an absence of discussion about, and understanding of, general conservation theory, or a general conservation framework into which architectural conservation fits (Goldfus, pers. comm. 29th September 2005). According to Goldfus, when people think about conservation in Israel, they think primarily about architecture. An integrated system of site or landscape conservation within a theoretical framework seldom exists. This may be the result of the fact that many of those involved in conservation in Israel are architects by training, and not archaeologists, and so they naturally come to the arena with a different set of objectives and concerns (*ibid.*). For example, most of the members of ICCOMOS Israel, bar one, are architects, none of whom are involved in the excavation process. The few archaeologists in this body are those working in the I.A.A. or N.P.A. (and lately Dr. Goldfus, on behalf of Ben Gurion University of the Negev).

Clearly, a greater dialogue is required between archaeologists, architects and conservators so that more than the physical remains of standing monuments in durable materials can be both appreciated and conserved for everyone's benefit. Goldfus has added that it is his "feeling and experience that most of the archaeologists are less interested in conservation as such. They are primarily preoccupied with their research agenda rather than with the future of the site. Very few archaeologists, as far as I know, are interested in subjects such as cultural heritage/management" (Goldfus pers. comm. 3rd April 2006).

There are many other examples of conservation work carried out in Israel on the basis of the needs of tourism. Generally speaking, as in Cyprus, examples of vernacular and minority culture receive far less attention in Israel than those of high culture. Monumental architecture in enduring materials such as stone etc., being more visually and aesthetically impressive, have been, and are, the focus of conservation and restoration work, and efforts at presentation to the public. Neither of these characteristics, monumentality or aesthetics, are in and of themselves, however, criteria for archaeological significance (Lowenthal 2001, 181). During the 1990s the I.A.A. came together with other governmental bodies, in particular, the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Labour, in order to facilitate a programme of ambitious large-scale excavations throughout the country, particularly at

visually-impressive, tourist-oriented sites such as the large Graeco-Roman sites of Beth Shean, Caesarea and Banias (Silberman 1997: 74). Israel, at the same time, was experiencing a large influx of immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia, many of whom were now unemployed, a problem which could be alleviated by providing such immigrants with jobs at these excavation and restoration projects. The I.A.A. was in charge of coordinating the effort (Rabinovich 1994).

Rabinovich claims that the increase in the scale of work (300 excavations were conducted in 1994 alone), means that archaeology is becoming a 'major national enterprise' in Israel (1994). The kind of work conducted at the sites selected for major investment is also transforming the nature of the archaeological site in Israel and the experience obtained by the visitor. According to Rabinovich,

> "The idea is to transform these sites from excavations where archaeologists perform their obscure readings of ancient bones to vivid panoramas of history understandable to the lay person" (Rabinovich 1994).

Restoration work has been emphasized in order to meet this goal. The department's restoration team was increased from one person to more than 200 people in just four years as a result.

Some major criticisms have been directed at the I.A.A. in relation to the scale, pace and nature of archaeological work being conducted as part of this larger directive. Some (anonymously) argue that too many sites are being exposed too rapidly and that both the weather and visitor number will cause serious preservation problems with which the Authority will be unable to cope. Others claim that I.A.A. has become "a handmaiden of tourism interests", and that excavations are being conducted too quickly for thorough scientific recording to take place. The Authority, however, denies this (Rabinovich 1994). Nonetheless, the carrying out of excavations with the explicit aim of promoting tourism rather than expanding our knowledge of the past is highly questionable given that excavation is by its nature destructive and archaeology is a non-renewable resource. Reconstruction work, as defined earlier, was limited. It was carried out nonetheless on theatres, while toilets and other public facilities were built into the remains of 'lesser' monuments at Masada and Caesarea.

In selecting these sites, the I.A.A. and related government authorities were moving away from the traditional focus of Israeli archaeological narratives - the bible and sites

pertaining to Jewish presence and activity in the land (Silberman 1997: 75). In fact, both Caesarea and Beth Shean contained episodes in their histories, such as the overt presence in the country of other groups such as Greeks, Romans and Crusaders, which would appear to be at odds with traditional commemorative strategies. It seems, then, that the perceived economic benefits of investing in large-scale, monumental remains overrode traditional motives and concerns in the choices of archaeological sites for conservation and investment. In the case of certain sites such as Caesarea, however, an understanding of the potential in archaeological sites for promoting particular and traditional narratives, albeit in different contexts, has not been lost.

5.18 The System in Action - Caesarea

The multi-period monumental site at Caesarea is managed by the Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority. Within the Park, the Caesarea Edmond Benjamin de Rothschild Corporation operates *Caesarea Harbour,* a visitor centre with multi-media displays on the history of the site (**Fig. 86**). At the beginning of the twentieth century the philanthropist Baron Benjamin de Rothschild, under the auspices of the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, purchased tens of thousands of acres of land surrounding Caesarea. After the founding of the State of Israel, the Caesarea Foundation was established, controlled in equal part by the Rothschild family and the Israeli government. The Foundation finances itself through the development of the real estate surrounding Caesarea undertaken by the Caesarea Edmond Benjamin de Rothschild Corporation, the Caesarea Foundation's executive arm, which was founded in 1952 (caesarea.org.il). The residential area of Caesarea is the only one in Israel to be managed by a private company. According to the company's website, their aim is "... to assist the institutions and bodies engaged in advancing the fields of education, academia, culture and social welfare (caesarea.org.il[a]).

The National Park extends from the Roman theatre in the south to the Crusader city to the north. Many, though not all, of the archaeological remains within the park have been prepared for public presentation and these include the Byzantine square, the Herodian theatre, the promontory palace, a bathhouse complex, a network of streets and the hippodrome. This enormous and important site was first excavated by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1873. Large-scale excavations were undertaken again in 1959-1964 by an Italian expedition. These excavations revealed the theatre, parts of the city's fortifications, and the upper aqueduct. An Israeli team uncovered parts of the Crusader city, the Jewish quarter and sections of the aqueduct. Subsequent to these excavations in 1968, the Crusader city and the theatre became a national park, and excavations at the site and harbour continued, conducted by Israeli and U.S. teams. The I.A.A. and Haifa University have been conducting extensive excavations as part of the development of the site for tourist purposes.

As in the case of the Jerusalem Archaeological Park, the archaeological remains at the site are in varying states of preservation. As elsewhere, conservation attention was predominantly directed towards architectural monuments (**Fig. 90**); most obviously to the theatre (which has undergone reconstruction work and is used as a venue for modern

productions) (**Fig. 87**), the bathhouse complex (which houses a number of mosaics) (**Fig. 88**) and the hippodrome (**Fig. 89**). In fact 30 restorers were engaged in strengthening the Byzantine bathhouse as it was excavated (Rabinovich 1994). By contrast, many other less illustrious remains are overgrown and ramshackle (**Fig. 91**). In addition, certain decorative features such as mosaics and wall paintings have proved to be especially vulnerable in the context of current policy; many mosaics are left exposed to the hazards of the elements and visitors' feet, despite the lessons observed with the deterioration, and in some cases, obliteration of parts of the three mosaics discovered in the Promontory Palace at Caesarea in 1978 (**Fig. 92**). Both the sea and the lack of regular maintenance have badly affected these mosaics particularly the central *triclinium* mosaic, which was especially beautiful and almost complete on discovery, and of which now only one third remains intact (Neguer 2004: 252).

As part of the plans for the conservation of the Promontory Palace in 1993 (as part of larger conservation plan for the site), it was suggested that the remains of the *triclinium* mosaic be lifted and either transported to a museum or re-laid *in-situ* on a new support, on the assumption that it could not be conserved in its current location at the edge of the sea-shore. This idea was rejected, however, on the grounds that removing the mosaic would destroy the historical integrity of the complex as a whole, a new support was untenable in the prevailing conditions and the likely result of its removal would be the further neglect of the rest of the complex due to the absence of the important and attractive central mosaic (Neguer 2004: 253). The solution agreed upon was the covering of the mosaics *in-situ* with regular monitoring and maintenance, and as of 2003 this has proved an effective measure in halting further deterioration.

What this example highlights, however, is that the wide-scale exposure of archaeological sites, common on Israeli excavations, conducted without the implementation of *on-going* maintenance and conservation measures, may result in certain vulnerable artefact types, such as mosaics, rapidly deteriorating and being destroyed. Unfortunately in the current situation, primary attention is often focused not on such fragile features, but on architectural remains - the mosaics in question were the subject of intensive conservation measures as part of a larger conservation plan for the palace. What Neguer also points out is that sometimes measures taken for the development of a site for the public, without a long-term maintenance plan in place, actually lead to the damaging of the remains. This is most evident in the case of mosaics; a survey of mosaic sites carried out by the

conservation department of the I.A.A. in 1995 revealed that 50% of mosaics were in a dangerous condition or a state of serious deterioration and, in the case of 26% of these, the sites in question had been forgotten. As Neguer points out,

> "This means that the money spent on excavation, publication, conservation, preservation, roofing (occasionally), visiting facilities etc, has all gone to waste because the site has been abandoned. As a consequence there is no monitoring, maintenance, simple repairs or cleaning of the mosaics" (Neguer 2003: 29).

It can be argued, therefore, that the investment in these remains has in fact left them more vulnerable through exposure to the elements, than if they had been simply reburied. The lack of maintenance on the roof covering the mosaics at the Church of the Lady Mary in Beth Shean led to the substantial deterioration of the mosaics as a result of leaking water (Neguer 2003: 57). According to Nardi, a problem also lies in the matter of legislation. The conservation projects begun at many sites in Israel incorporated the training of teams of people in maintenance, but the I.A.A. did not allow these people to work on the sites because they belonged to a different authority. The result was that the time and money invested in training these people went to waste and the sites were left without regular maintenance. A simple change in legislation could rectify such matters (Nardi 2003: 58).

Neguer further points out that most of these forgotten mosaics are on endangered sites such as small synagogues and in churches. However, similar problems have also arisen at the country's leading conservation project, Caesarea. The Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Labour sponsored major excavations at the site in the 1990s carried out by the I.A.A. over a span of five years. The goal of this programme, beyond the development of the site, was to create employment for the huge influx of new immigrants. 150 workers were employed on the project which operated year round. These workers were supplemented by small expeditions from the universities. While the Caesarea Project has good short-term plans to deal with exposed structures, mosaics and frescoes (including the training of local staff), the project lacks a long-term conservation plan, despite the fact that 3,000m.squared of mosaics have been excavated, and some of these await reburial while others are sitting in storage, all but forgotten. This is the result, according to Neguer, of the fact that the Master Plan for Tourism in Caesarea had been created before the excavations had been finished (2003: 30-1).

Information panels at Caesarea are limited in number but instructive when provided. Again they appear in greater quantity in the areas most readied for public presentation, but

conversely would be most useful in the less manicured areas of the site. The remains of the nineteenth century Bosnian village, including a mosque, located on the site have been converted into a visitor centre and a series of cafes and shops (**Fig. 93**). In addition, the entire site has undergone extensive commercialisation; craft and souvenir shops, selling replicas of Jewish art and artefacts, have even been built into and underneath the archaeological remains (**Fig. 94**). As the Rothschild Corporation phrase it:

> "Your visit to Caesarea Harbor will be an enchanting adventure filled with an abundance of captivating activities and presentations, a variety of restaurants and cafés, art and craft galleries that allow you to take part in the creative process, authentic boutiques and modern beach conveniences" (caesarea.org.il[b]).

A significant element of any visit to the site now is the multi-media presentation on the history of the site at Caesarea Harbour and managed by the Caesarea Edmond Benjamin de Rothschild Corporation. Although tickets have to be bought separately for this part of the site, they are heavily promoted at the site entrance and by the ticket sales staff. The presentation includes an interactive encounter with individuals from the past of the site, as well as digitized computer–aided visual presentations on the city and its history (**Fig. 95**). In the words of the site's brochure:

> "The internationally renowned English company Past Forward, in conjunction with Atat Ltd., which transforms archaeological sites into tourist attractions through the use of advanced technology, rebuilds the city on an enormous screen, providing a thrilling encounter with history through an exciting, interactive journey"(Caesarea Harbor brochure).

The presentations are offered in Hebrew, English, French, Spanish and Russian, but notably, not Arabic, one of the official languages of the country. The *Caesarea Experience* is completed with an introduction to twelve historical figures prominent in the history of the site. This interactive programme presents three–dimensional figures with a list of set questions and answers from which the visitor can choose in order to learn about the history of the site. This programme divides the history of the site into four broad historical periods and introduces the visitor to three characters from each: the Early Roman period - King Herod, Pontius Pilate and Saint Paul; the Late Roman period - Rabbi Akiva, Rabbi Abbahu, Empress Helena; the Crusader period - Saladin, King Louis IX and Sultan Baybars; and the twentieth century - Baron Edmond de Rothschild (who bought Caesarea and developed it), Hannah Senesh (the Jewish Resistance poet sentenced to death by the Nazis) and her mother Katrina Senesh (who made *aliya* to Israel to the kibbutz at Caesarea).

This final section on the twentieth century deals with the anti-Semitism faced by Jews in Europe from the perspective of the young Jewish poet, Hannah Senesh, and the resulting importance of Zionism. She was killed by the Nazis, but her family survived and came to Israel and settled on the land purchased by de Rothschild and his efforts in the area of the resettlement of Jews in Israel are also addressed. This hi-tech display entirely ignores large elements in the past of Caesarea, choosing instead to focus on the Jewish and Christian past of the site (invariably appealing to the site's dominant clientele), while the few Arab or Muslim characters given a mention, are presented (both physically and in their words) as demonic barbarians.

Shavit argues that, "A visitor to Masada, for example, may be 'nationalistically' inspired, whereas a visitor to Caesarea, Beit Shean, or even Gamla will be impressed primarily by the 'archaeological merits' of the sites" (1997: 52-3). Here he ignores the point that regardless of what motivates a visit to a site, the potential for that site to tell multiple narratives, including nationalist ones, is still there as at Caesarea. The de-Arabisation or de-Islamisation of Caesarea, the restoration of the Crusader remains and the *Caesarea Experience* all demonstrate this point. Crusader structures, both authentic and fabricated, lend a European, romantic character to the country's landscape (as well as representing the enemies of the Islam), whereas Arab buildings spoil the myth of an empty land awaiting civilisation and settlement by the Jews returning to their homeland. Furthermore, if it is impossible to erase the physical remains, it is at least possible to ascribe them to someone else – 'Crusaders, Mamelukes, or Ottomans' (Benvenisti 200: 303) or re-appropriate them, giving them new functions and meanings which erase the original.

As noted earlier in the chapter, most tourists visiting Israel do so as part of organized tours with itineraries limited to a select number of sites. Caesarea regularly appears on such itineraries and is also a popular destination for independent tourists owing to the wide publicity it receives on official government websites and brochures, its monumental remains, and its proximity to Israel's major cities. Killebrew notes that Caesarea has long been the most visited national park in Israel, attributable largely, she concludes, to its central location along the major highway connecting Tel Aviv and Haifa. This fact, she argues "underlies the importance of geographical location for the visibility and popularity of antiquities sites" (1999: 23).

The 'archaeological tour' has been constructing 'Israel' in the public imagination since the nineteenth century, when Cook's "Eastern Tours" helped to create a new kind of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. These tours are important in the construction of the imagined community of Israel, spatially, diachronically and perhaps more importantly, in terms of modern cultural identity. In the course of these 'touring holidays' the Israeli landscape is dissected and choice elements are separated out and isolated, to be presented to the tourist for consumption. A similar process occurs in the individual tours of archaeological sites, so that a specific Jewish or Judeo-Christian past can be created for the visitor, to the exclusion of the other groups and cultures who occupied this time and space. In addition, the monument or archaeological site has been presented since colonial times, as the key destination for the visitor, and the socio-economic environment in which this monument is set has no bearing for the tourist whose aim is only to "capture" this monument on film and bring his trophy home (Alcalay 1993: 84-6).

Furthermore, these tours are the main point of contact between the public and archaeology and both the sites selected for touring itineraries and the nature of information provided prove revealing, not only of archaeological practice and academic interests in Israel, but of the concerns, at least at an official level, of Israeli society. The experience created for the visitor through these tours is a function of official state narratives. The visitor to Caesarea is left in no doubt as to the message of Jewish redemption through reclamation of the land and of the perpetual brutal and brutish nature of the Arab East. At Caesarea the tourist is encouraged to conduct his own tour, from a choice of four pre-designed routes printed on maps, all of which incorporate substantial time in the tri-partite visitor centre, viewing the technologically sophisticated displays. These displays take up the vast majority of tour time and the result is that the archaeological remains (in this case testimony to the multi-cultural, turbulent nature of the site and Israel as a whole) become secondary to the narrative being promoted at the site through the displays. The archaeology thus becomes a redundant, if aesthetically pleasing, aside to ideologically and economically driven narratives and concerns.

5.19 The System in Action - Beth Shean

One of the key projects under the government's plan for the development of archaeological sites in the 1990s was to be at Beth Shean, which had major unemployment and where much of the site was still to be exposed. In 1989 the excavations on the mound were integrated as part of the large-scale archaeological enterprise carried out at Beth Shean on behalf of the Beth Shean Tourist Development Administration (Mazar 1997: 146). In all, the I.A.A., the Institute of Archaeology of Hebrew University, the Israel Government Tourist Corporation, the Jewish National Fund, the National Parks Authority and the Local Council of Beth-Shean, were involved in the development of the site into an archaeological park (Shanks 1990; Vamosh 1996: 5). More than 300 local people were hired. Drori, then Director of the I.A.A. claimed that the Authority was the "largest employer in town," (Rabinovich 1994).

The scale of the excavations was enormous (**Fig. 96**) and involved four separate archaeological teams working on a rotating basis-two from the Authority and two from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Rabinovich 1994). Amahai Mazar directed one area of the excavation for seven seasons, each lasting six weeks between 1989 and 1994. This work was carried out on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the framework of the Beth Shean Archaeological Expedition, sponsored by the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Beth Shean Tourist Development Authority. The directors of the united expedition were Y. Tzafrir, G. Foerster, and A. Mazar and part of the research was sponsored by the Philip and Muriel Berman Center of Biblical Archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Mazar 1997: 146).

Their aim was to reconstruct the entire history of the site. Though the site was occupied until it was destroyed by an earthquake in 749 C.E. and new structures replaced many Byzantine period structures in the Ummayad period, nothing of these remains, or of the Abbasid period city (750–969 C.E.) which replaced it, has been conserved at this large and impressive site. Indeed, the city continued to be occupied through the Abbasid, Fatimid (both frequently lumped together under the term, Early Islamic or Early Arab period, thus ignoring the differences within the Islamic world in the past, as tends to be the case in the present also), Crusader, Mameluk and Ottoman periods down to modern times, though on a greatly reduced scale. Thus this site could serve a as a wonderful example of life through the ages in Israel and as a testimony to its turbulent and colourful past, but for the most

part the educational value of such an approach to the site has been ignored in favour of a focus on monumental remains from earlier periods.

Opulent remains from the Roman and Byzantine cities have so far been uncovered transforming the site into a major tourist attraction (**Figs. 97-98**). About 10,000 sq. m of mosaic have been exposed at this huge site. Neguer claims that the site is an example of good management as it has a Tourist Development Plan devised together with a Conservation Master Plan (2003: 31). Both allow long-term conservation planning, involving training personnel, first aid conservation, proper conservation, re-burial and maintenance of the mosaics. The scheduling of work is made according to the needs of the Master Plan (Neguer 2003: 31).

Despite the existence of this Master Plan, however, it was clear on my visit to the site that many mosaics remain exposed to the elements and the damaging feet (and hands) of the public (**Fig. 99**). This may be the result of the fact that budgets for work on the site were reduced dramatically during the Intefada and so plans for conservation were not implemented. This does not explain why, at the time of my visit in April 2005, work had been resumed at other parts of the site where yet more remains were being exposed, and therefore were being prioritized over the provision of adequate cover for the already exposed mosaics.

While enormous amounts of money and manpower have been provided for the development of the site at Beth Shean, sites around Beth Shean have been forgotten such as the Monastery of Lady Mary which was never maintained and Tel Itztaba on which work was never completed (Neguer 2003: 31). According to Margalit, architect and Manager of the Development Division of the I.N.N.P.P.A., this situation is symptomatic of the short-sighted way in which funding is provided for projects,

> "... most of the budgets are earmarked for one-time short-term projects of hundreds of thousands and even millions of dollars after the completion of which there are no budgets for ongoing professional maintenance, which is required under the circumstances. The result in these cases is that extensive works deteriorate quite soon and the investments made are lost. The trend should be the other way around!" (2003: 53).

During the 1980s and early 1990s, large-scale excavations were conducted at Caesarea and Beth Shean, as well as at a number of other high-profile and monumental sites. Huge expanses of mainly Roman and Byzantine cities were exposed, and, consequently, the kind

of discoveries that correspond with such strata, including mosaics and other fragile remains. Merhav and Killebrew point out that while few tourists spend the necessary time to see more than a small section of the site, the conservation and maintenance costs of these large swathes of archaeological remains is considerable and it is questionable whether the fluctuating proceeds from ticket sales (the I.N.N.P.P.A.'s primary source of income) are sufficient to cover the ongoing expenses of such maintenance (1998: 17).

5.20 The System in Action - Jerusalem

Individual archaeological sites are not the only focus of attention in relation to contemporary narratives of national identity or the generation of tourist income; the design and presentation of modern urban spaces is also a part of this phenomenon. The delineation of time and space as Israeli or Jewish is of particular importance in the contested and physically divided city of Jerusalem. Nadia Abu el Haj points out that archaeologists not only excavate past material cultures, but create new ones, "transforming existing realities" in the process (1998: 167). This is most clearly evident in Jerusalem's new Jewish Quarter, created after the area was seized subsequent to the Israeli victory in the 1967 War. Excavations were begun immediately in this area with the purpose of revealing as much as possible of the Iron Age or 'Israelite' and later Second Temple periods.

Work began with an excavation on the south and south-western slope of Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount) directed by Benjamin Mazar in February 1968. The centre of what is now the new Jewish Quarter was excavated in the summer of 1969 by Nahman Avigad. These were two of the largest excavations in Israeli history (Abu el Haj 1988: 168) and both Avigad and Mazar acknowledged that the main interest of the excavations, and thus the excavators, was in the 1st and 2nd Temple periods (the Iron, Persian, Hellenistic and Early Roman periods), i.e. from the birth of the Jewish nation through to its destruction by the Romans.[78] This nation is then reconstituted by the modern state (Abu el Haj 1988: 169). Work was carried out by thousands of volunteers, foreign and native, students and soldiers, and massive media attention surrounded the excavations.

As a part of this process a number of museums were established to house the finds, and in some cases actually incorporated archaeological sites, for example the Wohl Archaeological Museum (**Fig. 100**) and the Burnt House. The key motif running through the exhibitions at these museums, as at Masada, is of ancient destruction and modern rebirth, and, perhaps, more importantly, in the modern context, the dangers inherent in underestimating the dangers at hand and in not fighting for one's survival; a dramatic film depicting the gruesome death of a priestly family who supposedly lived in the remains of a burnt house from the Herodian period clearly promotes this message as well as the dangers

[78] Avigad was trying to provide an answer to the question of when Jerusalem's Western Hill was first settled – in the late Judean monarchy or later in the Hasmonean period – and whether this settlement was enclosed within walls. Avigad resolved this long-running dispute; this area was occupied (albeit sparsely) in the late Iron period and was only partly enclosed by a fortification wall. The only other serious issue debated by scholars of the Iron Age city, was evidence of the Babylonian siege of the city in the sixth century B.C.E. (Abu el Haj 1998: 170).

associated with internal feuding between religious and secular Jews, again a potent message in today's Israel. Archaeology in this quarter of the Old City is very clearly being used as a medium for the promotion of official narratives and concerns.

Much less attention was given to finds of more recent periods, by which is meant approximately 1300 years of the city's history, during the excavations. Where bulldozers were not used in an effort to quickly reach earlier periods, significant and largely structurally intact remains, such as an Ayyubid defence tower, were dismantled to make way for further excavation. The most notorious example of this was the Harat al-Maghariba or the Maghreb Quarter (the Moroccan Quarter) of the Old City which, one week after the Israeli victory, was flattened for the creation of the plaza in front of the Western Wall. It had been a protected historic site under the Jordanians and included two twelfth century mosques, some of the oldest houses in the city and a religious school (Fox 2001: 79). The Quarter was initially founded by Salah al-Din's son in 1193 for use by scholars and pilgrims from North Africa and at the time of its destruction, just days after the cessation of the 1967 War, consisted of over 100 dwellings inhabited by Muslim families (Abu el Haj 1998: 175; 2001: 165). In 1929, 29 acres of land in the southern part of the Old City were expropriated on the orders of the Minister of Finance and the Palestinian inhabitants expelled. The aim was the re-establishment of a Jewish presence in the Old City and the excavation of a Jewish past, and so on August 31, 1967, the Old City was declared an antiquity site (Abu el Haj 1998: 175).

Bar a 129-year period, Jerusalem was under Islamic rule from C.E. 638 (the Arab conquest) to 1948. This rule was far from uniform, as it is sometimes presented, but little of the changing character of the city during these 1300 years remains or is highlighted to tell the tale. This is in stark contrast to the preservation and presentation to the public of 'Jewish' remains such as 'The Burnt Room', believed to be the remains of a building destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E. in response to the Jewish Revolt which culminated in the Masada episode mentioned earlier.[79] Parts of the Byzantine Cardo have also been uncovered and it now accommodates modern market stalls and shops (**Fig. 101**). Much of the quarter has been rebuilt in a faux antique design in the local Jerusalem limestone in accordance with the older tradition (in fact they are in keeping with the existing architecture of the Palestinian Quarters (Abu el Haj 1998: 178), atop and around visible

[79] Abu el Haj has written extensively on the "Burnt House" and Tower of David Museums in Jerusalem and so I will not repeat that information here (1998: 2001).

archaeological remains from the Herodian period, giving the impression that the quarter manifestly represents centuries of unbroken Jewish habitation, rather than a recent transformation of a Muslim section of the city.

It was the enormous scale of the excavations conducted on the seizure of the quarter by the Israelis in the aftermath of the 1967 War that paved the way for this modern development, and dislocation and de-Arabisation of this space. As the Arab Jewish writer, Alcalay eloquently puts it:

> *"*As the Arab character of the city is continually being eroded, shrivelling its links to the Levant, Jerusalem encloses the space of another incoherence. A complete microcosm of Levantine and Arab Jewry (and containing the full range of diverse Palestinian and Arab affiliations), it remains effectively cut off from significant access to the texture, substance, and wider sphere of determinants that comprise the world of which it forms a part*"* (1993: 110).

Abu el Haj claims that the Jerusalem excavations were, "part and parcel of the larger process of the physical, cultural, and political transformation of space in post-1967 Jerusalem" (1998: 175). Thus for both the Israeli citizen and the tourist, the physicality of the Old City of Jerusalem, severely manipulated by archaeologists, plays a significant role in the maintenance of the new Zionist narrative and the shaping of collective memory. Even the fact that the hill on which the Al Asqua Mosque is situated, and which was previously the site of the Israelite Temples, is commonly known to us as the 'Temple Mount' and not by its local name of Haram al Sharif (despite its importance to Muslim culture), is an indicator of how well this time and space has been adopted as Israelite or Jewish.

5.21 The Exception that Proves the Rule - Akko

Another urban space has also been transformed into 'living history' but this time the focus is instead on a non-Jewish past. Akko is a historic walled port-city with continuous settlement from the Phoenician period. It is located in northern Israel on the shores of the Mediterranean and is a predominantly Arab city of both Christians and Muslims (the majority). Adjacent modern Akko houses the area's Jewish population. As discussed earlier, inside the walled old city remains from many periods, Crusader, Ottoman etc. survive in good condition. Evidence that ideological agendas are becoming secondary in Israel's attitude to archaeology and that financial imperatives are coming to the fore are to be found in the preservation and marketing of this city as a heritage site as discussed earlier. According to Ilan there was no internal government objection to the funding of the development of this city as a heritage site (pers. comm. June 2004). Despite being an Arab town, the promotion of this site has less to do with fostering a spirit of multiculturalism and multi-vocality and more to do with commercialism.

This commercialisation of a non-Jewish site does not, however, jeopardize Israel's nationalist narratives. Akko is a place literally walled off from the rest of Israel and, as such, becomes a safe place for the limited expression of difference. By isolating this as a token expression of non-Jewish life in Israel, it remains an oddity, separate from the rest of Israeli life. Azoulay, discussing the erasure of female characters from a reproduction of a painting of a synagogue scene during the High Holidays in the Jewish Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv, argues that, "In certain historical circumstances ... an act of exclusion constitutes a greater threat to majority culture than certain forms of inclusion in the produced image; controlled inclusion is often safer and easier to achieve and contain than exclusion." (1994: 101).

It can be argued that a similar process is in operation in the 'historicising' of old Akko and in the transformation of a living space into a heritage park, in which local inhabitants going about their daily lives become actors.

A Landscape Informed by Archaeology

5.22 Nature and Prehistory – the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel

Land and language were both essential elements of the Jewish national revival movement. Nationalist narratives are often placed by their narrators within the realms of nature and morality. Nationalists claim that mankind is naturally divided into nations, each with its own character or personality, the product not only of history and culture (Philip 1980: 1), but of the physical environment in which that history and culture were and are played out. The appeal of nationalism, particularly through the use of familial language which fulfils the need for identity and group membership, is emotional and can be almost religious in fervour (Hamilakis 1996: 997).

According to Zeruvabel, the revival of the Jewish nation was deemed to have three components: Hebrew man, the Land of Israel, and the Hebrew language. The redemption of the land was required for the redemption of the nation (1995: 28). The Zionist settlers believed that that their personal redemption could be gained through settling in and working the land. Education played its part in reinforcing this attachment to the land through an emphasis on the study of agriculture, nature, as well as classes on local geography and history known as *moledet* [homeland]. Knowing the land, however, required more than facts gained in a classroom; it required the intimate knowledge only achievable though direct contact with the land. Thus, field trips and treks through the land were encouraged and during the pre-state period, these trips were attributed a high value by both Hebrew schools and the highly popular youth movements (Zerubavel 1995: 28).

After the foundation of the State this interest in promoting knowledge of, and intimacy with, the land continued to be promoted. The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (S.P.N.I.) is the largest organization in Israel devoted to nature conservation and the promotion of nature tours. The S.P.N.I. was founded in 1953 out of a number of pre-state traditions collectively known as *Yediat HaAretz* or "Knowledge of the Land". It organizes hundreds of tours annually for Israelis and a smaller number for foreigners through its American representative, A.M.I. Travel. Some tours are to Jerusalem and others to built environments, but most are to the countryside. The S.P.N.I.'s most important activity is its 25 field schools, each catering for up to 60 or 70 school trips per year. 40-60% of the cost of each trip comes from the Ministry of Education (Selwyn 1995: 120). The S.P.N.I.'s relationship to the government is tightened further by an arrangement with the army to

supply a number of serving female soldiers to act as guides, while completion of military service is a prerequisite for all S.P.N.I. staff, something that in and of itself precludes the vast majority of the Arab population. Despite this fact, the organisation claims to be "multi-ideological" and "non-partisan". More tellingly however, the S.P.N.I.'s own mandate as advertised on their webpage reads:

> "When the modern Zionist dream was born, the land was an integral part of the vision and survival. S.P.N.I.'s role as a 'guardian' of the environment is another testament to the importance and link that we have with the land" (spni.org).

The S.P.N.I. advertises its tours as nature tours, and while the flora and fauna are studied, the trips are about much more than this. Tom Selwyn in his article on the S.P.N.I. quotes one guide as saying; "The purpose of the tours, particularly those involving children in the field schools, is to experience an area holistically ..." (1995: 120). As Selwyn points outs this involves learning about an area's history, ancient and contemporary, local architecture etc. (1995, 120). Since the practice of archaeology in Israel (as in most other parts of the world) has, however, frequently brought about the destruction of many of the physical remains of periods not pertaining to Israel's Jewish identity, while others are ignored and allowed to decay, the cultural landscape, as experienced by customers of the S.P.N.I., is in a way, artificial and sanitized. Through the lens of an S.P.N.I. tour, the landscape is filtered of all culturally obtrusive elements. In this way, the link between the land and a certain people is essentialized. This cleansing of the landscape of intrusive elements is further witnessed in the way in which the tour guides are trained and the tours conducted. According to Selwyn, in true nationalist fashion, "The history reconstructed in the *tiyoulim* (field-schools) is simultaneously embedded in nature so that cultural and natural evolution appears closely interdependent and subject to the same kind of laws" (1996: 157-8). Permanence and historical continuity are stressed.

Efrat Ben Ze'ev, an anthropologist working on Palestinian memory and oral history with the Truman Centre at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, carried out her military duty as a guide with the S.P.N.I. in the early 1980s and shared her experience of "indoctrination" and later "disillusionment" with me. According to her, government policy was not directly, but indirectly, vocalized through the S.P.N.I.[80] Through its field-schools the S.P.N.I. has access to all segments of society and there was a particular investment in facilitating access to nature tours for children from poorer urban and immigrant backgrounds. The discourse

[80] The following information was kindly provided by Dr. Ben Ze'ev in an interview a series of interviews in April 2005.

on the trips was of nature, not politics. The guides were supposedly relating data, but without stopping to think what the implicit message was. It was later, while reading for a sociology degree, that she began to think about these things. She began to question how the historical landscape had been approached within the context of the trips.

Ben Ze'ev's field-school was in the Caesarea district and within her area were a number of Roman remains in addition to the major site itself. On the trips these remains were discussed in detail along with the nature of water supply in Roman times (prompted by the monumental presence of the Roman aqueduct). Josephus was referred to and at Dor, where the archaeology of the Egyptians was taught. The remains of a Palestinian village, at which there had been a massacre, were also located within the remit of her school, although she did not know this at the time.[81] Despite the fact that she and her students picked fruit from the trees of the village, details of the Palestinians who lived there were never discussed, nor indeed were questions asked. Likewise, Ottoman remains in the area were also ignored. Life was never injected into these periods. A lot of energy was invested in Zionist studies, and tours were taken to de Rothschild's resettlement colonies established in 1881/2.

In this the S.P.N.I. was responding to requests from schools, rather than promoting an agenda of their own. However, the cumulative nature of such tours, at least in terms of their engagement with the historical past, was to tie the Jewish people and the nation-state firmly together in an organic entity born of 'nature' and, as such, above and beyond question or reproach. This is not so different from modern presentations of the past at sites such as Caesarea, discussed earlier. There is a consistency across the board in terms of a national imagination of the past. Ben Ze'ev noted that Zionism wanted the land to be virgin. Obvious politics were avoided, rather, a more subtle dialogue emerged whereby other people who occupied the land were exoticized because they were not seen as part of the natural order of the land; people come and go, like nature.

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[81] Over 400 Palestinian villages were uprooted and destroyed between 1949 and 1951 (Alcalay 1993: 231). Many Israelis are reluctant to acknowledge this fact and the supporting physical evidence is white-washed or ignored in the manner described above. Writing about an earlier period of Zionism, Alcalay states, "This double bind – the erasure of, inability to see, actual native culture, along with the zealous but equivocal search for the traces of "timeless" ancient roots – characterizes much of the writing of the "neo-modern"/Zionist period. On one hand, this writing played an instrumental role in creating a new "imagined community" then in the process of formation" (1993: 231). As can be seen however, this "double bind" has yet to go away and now plays a role in the maintenance of the new "imagined community".

There was also a considerable preoccupation with prehistory within the S.P.N.I. The intensity of this interest in prehistory is currently matched in Israel, if not in terms of presentation of sites to the public, in terms of museum content and allocation of museum space - a whole gallery of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem is dedicated to prehistory while merely one small corner of a room is dedicated to the post-Roman history of the country. Indeed, the country's archaeological and artistic treasures are centrally housed together in the Israel Museum and this centralisation "derived from a concept that posited the existence of a cultural continuum in Eretz-Israel from the dawn of history to the present" (Tamir 1990: 10).

The innate connection of the Jewish people with, and continuity in, the Land of Israel is heavily stressed. Conversely, a lack of demonstrable continuity of name, culture or location is used to deny modern claims to self determination. In response to a question on whether she thought the emergence of the Palestinian fighting forces, the *Fedayeen,* were an important new factor in the Middle East, the former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir stated,

> "There was no such a thing as Palestinians. When was there an independent Palestinian people with a Palestinian State? It was either southern Syria before the First World War and then it was a Palestine including Jordan. It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist" (1969 cited in interview by Frank Giles, with The Times of London, dated June 15th 1969).

She does not specify however, whether she thinks they exist now (the important question), or whether having a defined cultural/national status is a prerequisite to land ownership and other rights. Her point is clear, that primacy of territorial occupation and continuity in that occupation and of that group identity, are fundamental to the legitimacy of a modern political regime.

As is clear from the activities of the S.P.N.I, archaeology and the physical landscape are being used by the administration to bolster such notions despite the inaccuracies in such claims. Nonetheless, fictions can become fact if repeated often enough in the public domain, becoming part of the common consciousness.

The Rise of Alternative Voices

5.23 The Decreasing Public Interest in Archaeology and the Rise of Alternative Voices

From the 1960s onwards, public interest in, and enthusiasm for, archaeology began to decline. The annual meetings of the Israel Exploration Society, discussed in chapter four, began to lose their social impact - native-born Israelis did not need the same affirmation of their identity or connection to the land as their immigrant parents had (Feige 2001: 100). In more recent years, the overt manipulation of the profession to political ends has led to disillusionment with archaeology among the Israeli public. The employment of archaeology in recent years by the so-called "*Gush Emunin camp*" or religious nationalists to promote their own agenda of messianic Judaism, has seen secular Israelis further distancing themselves from archaeology as a whole and not just from its abuses (Shavit 1997: 60). As noted earlier in the chapter, local Israeli interest in archaeology has become worryingly low and those involved in archaeology are beginning to examine ways to stem this tide of apathy. The I.A.A. is keenly aware of this disinterest and has recently established a new website hoping to counter this trend.

Both the I.A.A. and others have speculated that the increased professionalisation of the discipline as well as state control of active commemoration and interpretation at these sites has contributed to declining public interest in them. According to Zerubavel, "... the government's visibility in this domain has made the public more aware of the constructed character of these commemorative traditions and has drawn attention to their political implications" (1995: 234). An increasingly sceptical and cynical society has grown aware of the partisan co-opting of national memory and shied away as a result. Zerubavel argues that the cable car is the biggest symbol of Masada's transformation from a site of national commemoration into a tourist site. Everything about it is the opposite of the youth trips; fast, easy, synthetic and effortless (1995: 132). While the tourist industry tries to recapture and repackage the essence of the youth trips, they have in fact turned them into a marketable commodity and, in the process, trivialized their original meaning. The result is a devaluing of the tradition for Israelis (Zerubavel 1995: 134). There is alienation now on the part of Israelis from the site and archaeology in general.

In response to this sense of alienation there are now community outreach programmes to generate an interest in archaeology among an apathetic public. The first such programme

was organized by Raffi Greenburg in Jerusalem a number of years ago. It targeted school children, their teachers and parents. David Ilan, Head of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology at Hebrew Union College organizes such a programme now – the Horvat Sher Community Archaeology Project.[82] The University is a Reform Jewish institution with a more liberal approach to issues of Jewish nationalism and conciliatory relations with Israel's Arab minority. Ilan had a strong desire to make archaeology less of an ivory tower discipline and more relevant to the general public. He also believes in undermining "ethnocentric historical narratives" and his aim is to show,"... that there can be more than one story for a given place and that we archaeologists, *acting as agents of change*, should encourage our public to examine, and even create, competing narratives" (Ilan and Gadot 2005; original emphasis).

Ilan feels that the younger generation of Israelis just are not interested in archaeology, and so when Yuval Gadot, a postgraduate student, approached him about devising a project targeting elementary school children in Modi'in, a newly-built, middle class city not far from Jerusalem, he agreed. A rural site, on the outskirts of the town known as Horvat Sher was chosen for the project. The area, associated with the S.P.N.I., is zoned as an urban "archaeological park" in order to preserve both its natural and human heritage. In September 2003, a nearby elementary school adopted the park as part of the S.P.N.I.'s policy of encouraging local communities to take responsibility for natural and cultural heritage within their surroundings. In conjunction with the school, Ilan and staff from the Hebrew Union College, assisted by S.P.N.I. guides, now run an archaeological field-school at the site, training young students in the techniques of archaeology.

The S.P.N.I. was already working in this area because of its environmental resources and agreed to become involved; S.P.N.I. guides are trained by the archaeologists and assist with the field-school. Ilan claims that the S.P.N.I. is not monolithic, but are listening and beginning to change, and his willingness to work with them depends on an openness on their part to multi-vocal approaches to the landscape. He is aware, however, that this is an on-going process with no guarantees:

> "Although the S.P.N.I. has a "green" label and a "tree-hugging" reputation, it should be recognized that its ideological platform incorporates the Zionist national narrative with total commitment. In fact, a number of S.P.N.I. field schools function in the occupied territories. For them, the idea of multivocality is strange and discomfiting.

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[82] Professor Ilan kindly provided me with information about this Project in an interview conducted in April 2005.

> But they are still with us in Modi'in, and, for the time being, playing along" (Ilan and Gadot 2005).

Parents and teachers are also in attendance, so the Project's benefits spread to the wider community. In fact, the archaeologists are not the "owners" of either the Project or the site; both represent the interests of involved parties. "Horvat Sher belongs to the community as much as it does to us or even the 'nation'" (Ilan and Gadot 2005). The work is carried out partially during school hours and after school from 4.30 to 7.30 pm and run two-three times per year for three-four weeks at a time. This archaeological unit will supplement the already existing history and bible curricula in schools.

The most important thing about this programme is that the school children are excavating the remains, not of Jewish ancestors, but of a Mameluke farmstead, so a very real possibility exists for these children and their parents and teachers to engage first-hand with non-Jewish life in the land, as history lessons in schools end with the destruction of the Second Temple. However, Ilan and his team do not give history lessons as part of the field-school, and when I asked if these children had any conception of what the term "Mameluke" means, he agreed that it was possible they did not. I would suggest, therefore, that it is only when the archaeology is incorporated into a broader programme of historical awareness, can its full effects be felt. Ilan also aims at making the Project more multi-vocal by including Palestinian voices, Palestinians should be invited to dig and interpret the site and share their interpretations with Israeli Jews; currently the project involves mainly Jewish Israelis. According to Ilan and Gadot, Palestinians will be invited to participate "as a means of promoting dialogue about the past and to encourage the arduous task of mutual acceptance - the only viable *modus vivendi* for coexistence in the Middle East" (2005, original emphasis).

In the same vein, Ilan would like to start a similar project in the poor working class city of Lod (ancient Diospolis), located just 4km from Ramla, the Umayyad capital of Filastin. The city covers a tel with remains from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Early Bronze 1, Iron Age, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader and Mameluk periods. Despite its archaeological importance, the town is rarely highlighted in the guidebooks; its poverty, mixed population of Arabs and immigrants, local tensions and non-functioning municipal council, all contribute to its national and international invisibility. Ilan is interested in a multi-vocal approach to the archaeological record and to him Lod is interesting *because* of, and not in spite of, its population mix. His idea is to bridge the gaps in this community

through archaeology. He plans to work on the remains of the Islamic canavanserai. There are impressive remains in this historically multiethnic city. Again the idea would be to work with the S.P.N.I.; Ilan argues that the S.P.N.I. has changed their orientation, though he is only interested in working with them if they accept his multi-vocal approach. He argues that the narrative produced in Israel needs to be more inclusive.

In Israel, like Cyprus, the Ottoman period is the most recent past but it has not been systematically investigated. As in Cyprus there is an "archaeological aversion" to the modern. In contrast prehistoric, Biblical, Hellenistic and Roman periods have all received much attention, but with the arrival of Islamic material culture archaeological interest trails off. The reason given by Baram is, "... rooted in the goals of traditional archaeology, which is usually a search for a distant, romantic past" (1995: 126). In addition there has been an emphasis on great events and less of a concern with the daily lives of people living here.

Ilan sees problems for the long-term maintenance of his school programme however, in that it receives no Ministry funding and the school is not required to pay either. The School of Archaeology of the Hebrew Union College covers the costs with some help from the Mayor of Modi'in. Currently, the I.A.A. also has an educational department which works with schools, but caters to the demands of the schools with regard to programme content as opposed to having an already set programme of activities and tours to which schools sign up. Schools must pay for these programmes, which also receive funding from the Ministry of Education and Culture. The majority of schools do not voluntarily request chronologically complete itineraries or information about later periods, and so, in this way, nationalist ideology is promoted through education. It is only with programmes, such as that organized by Ilan, that a more holistic approach to Israel's past can be extended to the entire community, and perhaps that public interest in archaeology can be sustained in the long term.

5.24 Possibilities for the Future

Since every landscape is a repository of memories waiting to be revealed, archaeology is the perfect aide to nationalism. Memory, as has been pointed out, can be manipulated, and in effect this is what nationalism does; it manipulates group collective memory by monumentalising the past. Every rock, stone and even minor artefact becomes meaningful and important in the new narrative of national identity. This is not to say that the new narratives are falsehoods or entirely new inventions, merely that they highlight and elaborate on certain elements of the past while overlooking or ignoring others. Problems arise however, when this monumental version comes into conflict with vernacular or other minority or contested narratives. The anthropologist Roxani Caftanzoglu points out that the landscape can be an important symbolic resource and archaeologists through their work with that landscape are powerful agents in the construction and practice of national identity. They contribute to the creation of national narratives of inclusion and exclusion, and they may annihilate more inclusive narratives through the selectivity of their work, by isolating and excluding unwanted cultural forms (Caftanzoglu 2002).

It is my argument that we in the archaeological profession, considering the hugely significant role we, consciously or otherwise, play in all of the above, have an ethical obligation to represent all who have used the landscape and their respective narratives. We can do this by looking toward a more nuanced understanding of the role played by continuity, by shifting away from the view that sees continuity as a guiding principle and instead reading continuous discontinuity into the archaeological record, thus giving voice to the rich tapestry that is humanity. We must re-evaluate our understanding of such concepts as culture and ethnicity in light of their relationship to political idioms and concerns, and the way both of these relate to the archaeological record. If we begin to understand identity as an experience, rather than merely as a label, and in the process examine people's relationship to their landscape, all the while moving away from the view of ethnic groups as culture bearing units, we may arrive at a more holistic version of how identity and environment relate.

The excellent condition of "rabbis' tombs", for example, revered by members of Israel's Mizrahi or Sephardic Jewish community and held by this community as an alternative expression of cultural identity to the national (and frequently secular) identity expressed through archaeology imposed by the State, is testimony to the value placed on such sites by a particular community (Ilan and Gadot 2005). By contrast, the poor condition of many

archaeological sites, used as dumping grounds and subject to vandalism, indicates the irrelevance of such sites to community values as a whole. Ilan and Gadot are convinced that "archaeology can be a tool of social action and a means of enhancing the quality of life. [but] Projects that emphasize local community interests and identity resonate better with the public and invite more cooperation and initiative" (Ilan and Gadot 2005).

As Ilan and Gadot have come to realise at the Horvat Sher Community Archaeology Project, however, those wishing to promote alternative narratives are faced with a problem: in the case of the Project mentioned, the archaeologists want to foster a sense of local pride and connection with the past. At the same time, however, they want to avoid "fortifying the rote national ideology" (Ilan and Gadot 2005). For the Project to succeed it needs the support of the municipality, but the mayor, though an archaeological enthusiast, is a patriot. Furthermore, those people in the community most likely to appreciate this connection with the past are those with nationalistic outlooks and the question remains of how interested the general public will be in a multivocal, multilayered narrative. As Ilan and Gadot point out, "Clearly, we have an ideological problem on our hands and frankly, the outcome is still uncertain" (Ilan and Gadot 2005).

Equally, we must re-evaluate the nature of the relationship between archaeology and cultural heritage tourism. Not all the effects of tourism are negatives for archaeological sites and examples from Israel demonstrate both the positives and negatives of this relationship. The damage from wear and tear is evident at numerous sites in Israel; the erosion of the monumental stone steps leading from the bathhouse to the Northern Palace at Masada, a site with approximately 700,000 visitors annually is an obvious example of the negative effects of uncontrolled visitor numbers. The building of visitor amenities such as car-parks, shops and restaurants causes irreparable damage to unexposed archaeological remains and may be aesthetically unpleasing (Merhav and Killebrew 1998: 15). This is equally true in the case of shades for visitors, archaeological shelters, and modern entrances to the park. Such features, if ill-planned, can become obtrusive through their physical dominance at a site (as in the case of the shelter that was constructed over the large bathhouse at Beth Shean) (Merhav and Killebrew 1998: 15).

Vandalism has also occurred at a number of public sites. Some of it is minor and random, but some is more extreme and motivated by religious or political extremism; three Byzantine churches were the victims of such actions, two having their mosaics irreparably

damaged, while at Mount Berenice the stone architecture of the church complex was systematically destroyed beyond repair following an intensive restoration by the Israel Antiquities Authority (Merhav and Killebrew 1998: 16). The commercialisation of some sites, such as Caesarea, can distract the visitor from the landscape, the archaeological remains themselves and the historical significance of the site. Over-exposure of archaeological remains at sites such as Caesarea, Beth Shean and Masada and the Archaeological Garden in Jerusalem results in the inevitable neglect of some remains at the cost of others and exposes all remains to unnecessary deterioration in the absence of long-term conservation plans and the necessary spreading of resources over a larger number of projects.

On the other hand, the complete neglect of a site once excavation has ceased will also lead to the deterioration of the archaeological remains, as the site becomes overgrown, exposed to vandalism, unmonitored visits from the public and environmental conditions (Merhav and Killebrew 1998: 18). In this case, not only are the archaeological remains themselves lost to the public and the scientific community, but so are the educational, spiritual/religious and aesthetic values attached to the site. The best example of this is the Ophel Archaeological Garden, discussed earlier. Following intensive excavation of these Biblical to Islamic period remains from 1968-1978 the site was left without any further measures being taken to prepare it for public presentation, which resulted in the site becoming overgrown with shrubs and even trees. Shelters for both archaeological remains and tourists are necessary at sites, but they should be designed with the overall landscape and environment of the site in mind. The development of a site also increases its educational value. Without tourism, many sites would remain mute, their history inaccessible to the public. Increased tourism to an area because of an archaeological site benefits the local economy and is a source of both pride and education to the public. The key then, is to promote sustainable tourism, which takes the long-term preservation of archaeological remains into account.

Within this complex web of competing agenda and interests, the challenge to government officials, archaeologists, architects, conservators and the community in general is to instigate workable, long-term management and conservation plans for archaeological sites which have the interests of the archaeological remains at heart, for it is only through the conservation of the archaeology that the concerns of other interested parties can be protected also. The question is how is this to be done within the current parameters of the

discipline, trapped, as it is, within the walls of the nation state? I acknowledge that breaking free of those walls is no easy task, for while the conceptual and practical creation of a distinctive national heritage was the result of the creation of the nation-state, it is now difficult to conceive of any other organization with the instruments capable of sponsoring and supporting even the current heritage remains, let alone the fruits of future research (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, 184; McIntosh and Togola 1996, 187). This however, should not deter us from seeking to find other and better possibilities.

Conclusion

A number of important points, central to our understanding of how archaeology contributes to the images and imaginings of a community arise from this study of archaeology as it is operated in Israel and the Republic of Cyprus. First of all, it has been demonstrated that symbols are used for the representation of the intangible notions of identity and spirituality and it seems to me that a range of inferences about the nature of these symbols, how they are chosen and the role they play, are possible. In many instances group identity has been commoditized through the reduction of the complex interweaving of group identity, connections and associations to a generic "check list" (e.g. Greek, Aphrodite, classical mythology - Israelite, menorah, shekel) expressed in mass produced, simplified symbols. The archaeological heritage is an ideal source of such symbols since self-knowledge is believed to come from an understanding of the diachronic development of one's group, while physical testimonies to the group's longevity and existential narratives help strengthen emotional bonds among group members and identify the group to outsiders. Romanticism and nostalgia both play their part in stimulating and solidifying this emotional bond.

In turn, archaeology and archaeologically derived symbols play an important part in the modern political and economic functioning of the state, legitimising its existence, locating it on a global continuum of cultures and development (all truly modern states must have a truly modern past, documented in western fashion and accessible through museums and heritage sites (Silberman 1995: 256), and boosting its local economy and international voice through tourism.

The way in which artefacts are selected and represented to the public (i.e. the means by which they take on symbolic significance) affects the way we envision the past - artefacts as "materialized ideology" tell us as much about the current cultural and political setting as about the culture of production (Wallis and Blain 2006) - for example, about the current political and economic concerns in the case of the Cypriot focus on Aphrodite. Furthermore, in each of our two case studies we see how the nuances and complexities of time, space and human identification with larger ethnic and spiritual movements, are condensed to stereotyped clichés of Greekness, Jewishness/Israeliness and Christianity through the superficial reductionism of heritage site and museum gift-shops and even through official archaeological narratives. These modern representations are both accepted

and contested in the present, often simultaneously, as demonstrated in both Israel and the Republic of Cyprus

The leads us to the notion of ancestors, a problematic notion, as it is a constructed concept which introduces a level of selectivity into our reading and evaluation of the past; some ancestors receive undue attention to the exclusion of others (Wallis and Blain 2006). This is clear in the cases of both Cypriot and Israeli identity where there has been a demonstrable reluctance to engage with less palatable elements in the nation's past. On a practical level this exclusivist approach to the past may well have implications for modern minorities seeking both recognition and equality within the state and presents a skewed notion of cultural consistency and continuity to the public, incompatible with current understandings of culture and identity as "shallow, external and contingent on social circumstances" (Rowlands 1994, 132).

One way to address this problem, and of making archaeological heritage presentation more multi-vocal, is to encourage dialogue between professionals and other interested parties, such as local communities, government representatives, tour operators and groups with special attachments to particular sites (such as religious groups). Archaeologists, in turn may thus learn more about a site and develop new sets of questions to ask and become aware of potential problems to address. The mutual benefit of a greater understanding of the past, brought about through dialogue, to both the public and academics also has implications for future site management, since many archaeological sites are not just monuments from the past but sites of spiritual significance. Various groups, such as Jews and Christians in Israel, undertake pilgrimages to archaeological sites as sacred places as a means of performing both their spirituality and identity (Wallis and Blain 2006). Because these performances can sometimes have negative consequences for long-term site conservation, any long-term management plan for a site should be drawn up in consultation with such groups, so that the benefits of the site can continue to be enjoyed by all who are interested without detriment to the site itself.

What we can conclude from these points, is that an intellectually honest and socially inclusive reading of the past[83] can only emerge when those responsible for the representation of the past adopt a reflective approach to their own work, motivations and

[83] i.e. one that acknowledges that multiple interpretations of sites and artefacts may exist within the academic community, let alone outside it.

constraints and when the door to dialogue with non-academic voices is opened. Archaeologists need to be trained right from university in matters other than those of chronology, typology and excavation technique. They need to be taught the place of their discipline in society, issues of site management and the importance of presenting their academic findings within a public forum.

As we have seen in this thesis, the overall infrastructure and management system of the archaeological service in a given country can have an enormous impact on the ability and manner in which that service can respond physically and intellectually to the country's archaeological needs. The archaeological service in Cyprus, as a direct branch of the civil service, is chronically under-funded, under-staffed and under-resourced and therefore heavily disadvantaged in its efforts to meet the demands placed on it by rapid economic development and expansion of the tourism industry. At a very basic level, civil service hours, budgets and meagre staff numbers constrain all areas of activity, while on a more profound level, this location as a government department, also means that it is highly susceptible to government intervention and the need to meet wider Government economic and cultural objectives. If Cyprus is to continue to reap the economic and cultural benefits of its archaeological heritage, then immediate modernisation and expansion of its archaeological services is necessary, possibly encompassing the autonomy that comes with a certain distance from civil service.

Israel's Department of Antiquities, on the other hand, came from a similar base to Cyprus in the 1980s, but its capability was significantly increased by its re-designation as an Antiquities Authority in 1989. The result of this re-designation was the transformation of the archaeological services from an under-resourced backwater of the civil service to a highly organised, well staffed and resourced organisation, with the ability to generate and retain its own income. This modernisation and expansion of the Israeli archaeological service has greatly aided the country's ability to meet the demands placed upon it by economic and tourism development. However, modernisation and increased autonomy, has not come without problems and questions still remain about the power structure within the I.A.A., which is not dissimilar to the pyramidal structure in place in the much small Cyprus Department of Antiquities.

The managers of the archaeological heritage in Israel and Cyprus are confronted by the major question posited for cultural resource managers everywhere in the world; that is how

to decide whose past to preserve for whose future and how. In the models discussed in this dissertation, we have seen how both direct and indirect government authority over the archaeological heritage has resulted in a situation whereby ideological and financial concerns have frequently been prioritized and, perhaps more importantly, have silenced the nuances and complexities of actual historical processes in time and space. Economic agendas place value for money above preservation or other knowledge-based concerns whilst at the same time they are used to bolster ideologically derived narratives. Tourism can indeed be of benefit not just to society, but also to archaeology. Forceful marketing, however, which becomes economical with the truth, and excessive visiting numbers that damage sites are pitfalls that need to be avoided (Fowler 1992: 128). The creation of independent regulatory bodies comprised of representatives of all interested parties including government, would be one way of ensuring that a more multi-vocal and responsible archaeology takes place. It is only with the existence of such bodies that the profession of archaeology can hope to flourish and move beyond the current, all-pervasive constraints of the nation-state.

This is a general principle that needs to be endorsed internationally, not just in Cyprus and Israel, and is essential if all the values of a site - aesthetic, scientific, historic, financial and educational - are to be identified and preserved. The involvement of all interested parties, from local communities, archaeologists through to tourist agencies is therefore necessary to ensure that conflicts of interests and competing or conflicting values (such as may exist between scientific and financial interest in a site) are heard and negotiated without loss to the cultural heritage or to the values themselves (Sullivan 1997: 16). The existence of such inclusive decision-making bodies is thus vital for the development and implementation of long-term, feasible management plans for archaeological sites and monuments. Ultimately, in this way more multi-vocal readings of the past may materialize and the layerings and nuances of history and cultural identity may be allowed to emerge.

Glossary

Aliyah: (Hebrew עלייה; plural *aliyot*) ("ascent" or "going up") is the term commonly used to refer to Jewish immigration to Israel. The term was originally associated with making the pilgrimage to the Tempe (*aliya la-regal*) and the reading of the Torah (*aliyah la-Torah*). Its appropriation by the Zionist movement, to mean return to *Eretz Israel,* is symtomatic of the Zionist deployment of traditional Jewish symbols in new secular contexts, thereby sacralising the movement's mission and activities (Bilu 2004: 373-4).

Anastylosis: The Charter of Venice defines anastylosis as the "reassembling of existing but dismembered parts [of a monument]" and states that "The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form" (icomos 1996).

Cadi: (Arabic قاضى) refers to a judge in the Sharia or Islamic religious law. Cadis traditionally have jurisdiction over all legal matters involving Muslims, as Islam makes no distinction between religious and secular domains.

Enosis: (Greek Ένωσις) means union and is primarily used to refer to the unification of Cyprus and Greece. The term became used in political contexts and and a goal of Cypriot internal ambitions and Greek foreign policy, during the years of British colonial rule in Cyprus (1878-1960).

EOKA: (Εθνική Οργάνωσις Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών, *Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston*, translates as National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters. EOKA was a Greek Cypriot nationalist organisation founded in the 1950s, that fought for the expulsion of British troops from Cyprus as well as for union with Greece or *enosis.* EOKA's political wing was led by Archbishop Makarios and its military wing was led by General Grivas, who had fought in the Greek civil war and who was strongly anti-communist (Papadakis 1998: 151).

Cyprus was seriously affected by the 1967 military Junta in Greece. There was a division among Greek Cypriots between those who wanted *enosis* with Greece now (they received huge support, ideologically and practically, from the Greek junta), and those who wanted *enosis* in the future, when the fascist regime was over. Archbishop Makarios was president of Cyprus from the 1960s until he died in 1977. His policy was to solve the island's

internal problem first, but within the framework of an independent Cypriot state. He was joined in this by the Communist AKEL party. All parties pronounced *enosis* as desirable (*efketeo*), but Makarios stated that it was not a realistic goal at present (*efikto*).

At this time EOKA split, with EOKA B emerging in support of fighting for *enosis* now (ie with the Greek junta). They were led by General Grivas who had previously been the co-leader of EOKA and was now anti-Makarios. EOKA B received much support from the Greek appointed officers in the Cypriot army. Their stated aim was to bring about *enosis*, saying that Makarios and his Communist allies had betrayed that aim.

EOKA B and the said army officers began a campaign of killing and intimidation and violence against the government and AKEL in the early 1970s, which ultimately led to a coup in 1974 and the Turkish invasion of the island. The new regime collapsed immediately and Makarios was reinstated. Negotiations for a federal solution are ongoing. The result has been that Greek Cypriots became even more dependent on Greece (now with a democratic government again) as their only ally in the international political community but especially in the EC (Papadakis 1998: 152).

Ethnogenesis: is the process by which ethnic groups are created or come into being i.e. how a group comes to be understood or to understand itself as ethnically distinct from the wider social landscape from which it emerges.

Exilic Period: In this case the "Exilic period" is used to refer to the approx. 1900 years of Jewish life in the Diaspora, mirroring the earlier periods of Jewish/Israelite Exile from the Promised Land in Egypt and later in Babylon. In Zionist thought the Exilic period is a negative gap between the two national periods (Zerubavel 1995: 19).

Firman: (or ferman in Turkish) a royal mandate or decree issued by the Ottoman Sultan.

Grand Tour: The tradition of the "Grand Tour" began c. 1600 and continued until c. 1800. The tour took two or more years to complete and was conducted by young, rich male travellers, who brought with them their tutor. These men having just left Oxford or Cambridge without degrees needed a pastime for a few years until they came into their estates (Eisner 1991: 63). Travel in this context was "expected to play a key role in the cognitive and perceptual education of the English upper class" (Urry 1990: 4). The nature

of the tour itself changed during this period, from the earlier "classical Grand Tour" which entailed a rather neutral observation and recording of galleries, museums and high cultural artefacts, to the "romantic "Grand Tour" of the nineteenth-century, which witnessed the development of "scenic tourism" and the desire for a more private and passionate experience of beauty. For the upper echelons of the social classes the Grand Tour had become an established tradition by the end of the seventh century. This tradition had spread to the professional middle classes by the late eighteenth century (*ibid.*).

Reconstruction: In terms of restoration work conducted on archaeological monuments, reconstruction is generally defined as intervention entailing the addition of new materials. As such the Charter of Venice states that "All reconstruction work should however be ruled out "a priori." (icomos 1996).

Yediat Ha'aretz: For European Jews entering an unfamiliar environment, but one which they claimed as a birthplace, a process of gaining first hand experience of, and familiarity with, the land was required. This process was termed "knowledge of the land" or *Yedi'at Ha'aretz.* It included youth movement field trips and learning songs and reading modern literature about the land (Moore and Troen 2001: 9-10).

Yishuv: meaning Settlement was the term used by Zionists from the 1880s to refer to the Jewish community in Mandatory Palestine (Shavit 1997: 55). The pre-Mandate period Jewish community in Palestine was referred to by the new Zionist settlers as the "Old Yishuv" or "old settlement" who "regarded it as a symbolic extension of Exile, thereby highlighting its distinction form the new Zionist Yishuv" (Zerubavel 1995: 34).

Zionism: Zionism emerged in mid-nineteenth century Jewish Europe and Russia out of the changes wrought in Jewish life by the Enlightenment (both Jewish and Western), emancipation, emergent nationalisms and rising anti-Semitism. In this climate Zionism was an alternative for Jews seeking a reinterpretation of Jewish identity and cultural renewal, ultimately through the creation of a Jewish national state (though not all Zionists necessarily saw that state in Palestine) (Ottolenghi 2005: 54). Zionism was multifaceted in character, comprising four major branches: religious Zionism, which saw the rebuilding of the Land of Israel as a religious messianic process and sought to build a state on the principles of Judaism; revisionist Zionism, which emphasized the acquisition of territory and the need for Jewish military power; cultural Zionism, which was more interested in the

cultural-intellectual character of the Yishuv than in Jewish sovereignty and socialist Zionism, which was the dominant branch in the pre-State period (its ideology was institutionalized within the frameworks of the Labour parties and the *Histadrut* – the Federation of Jewish Labourers of Eretz Israel). For socialist Zionists the collective settlement of the *kibbutz,* with its basis in egalitarianism, social justice and security, was the most suitable form in which to construct the new society (Rebhun 2004: 4).

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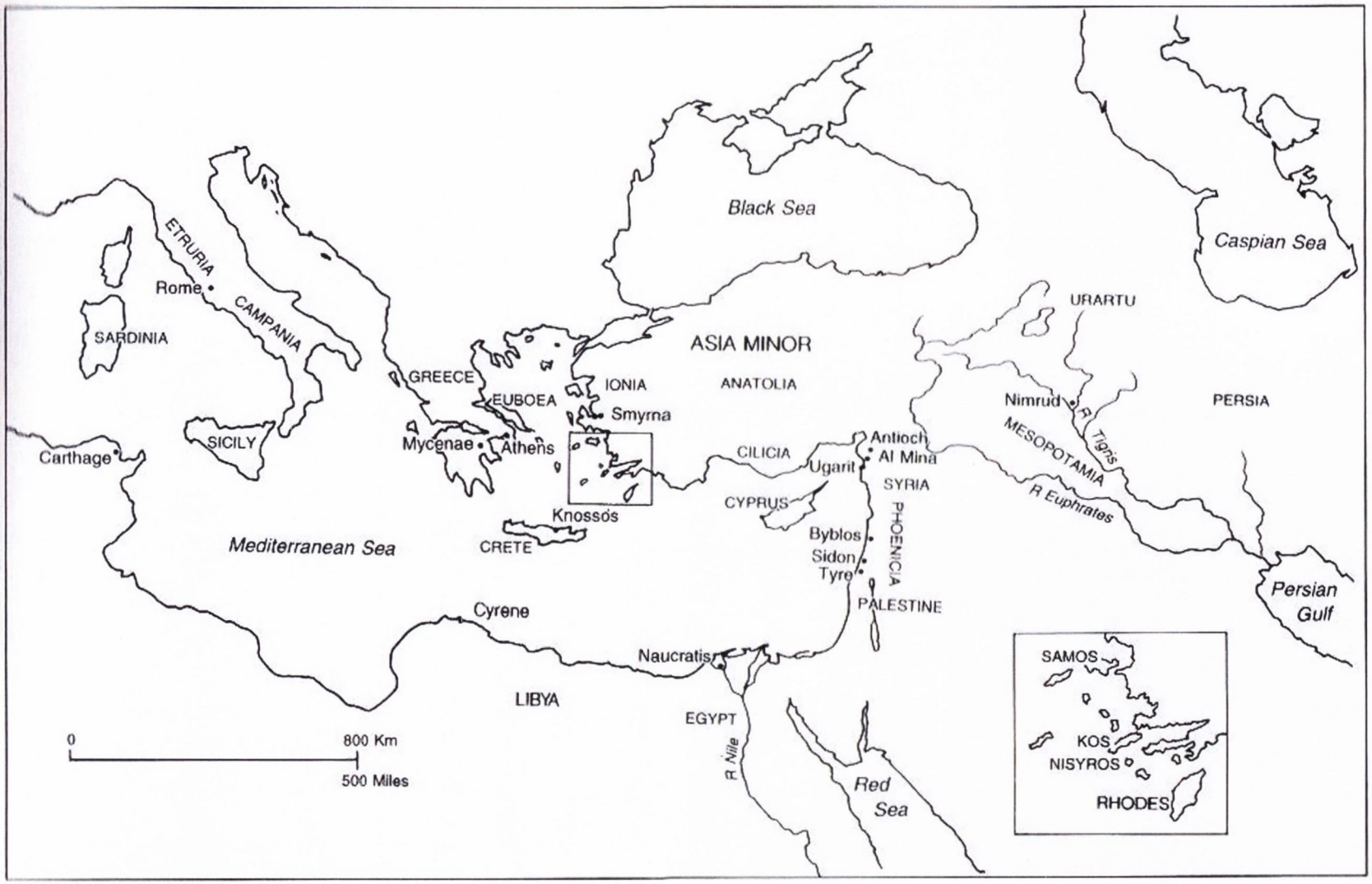

Fig 1. Map of Mediterranean and Near East



Fig. 2 Map of Cyprus indicating current political division of the island.

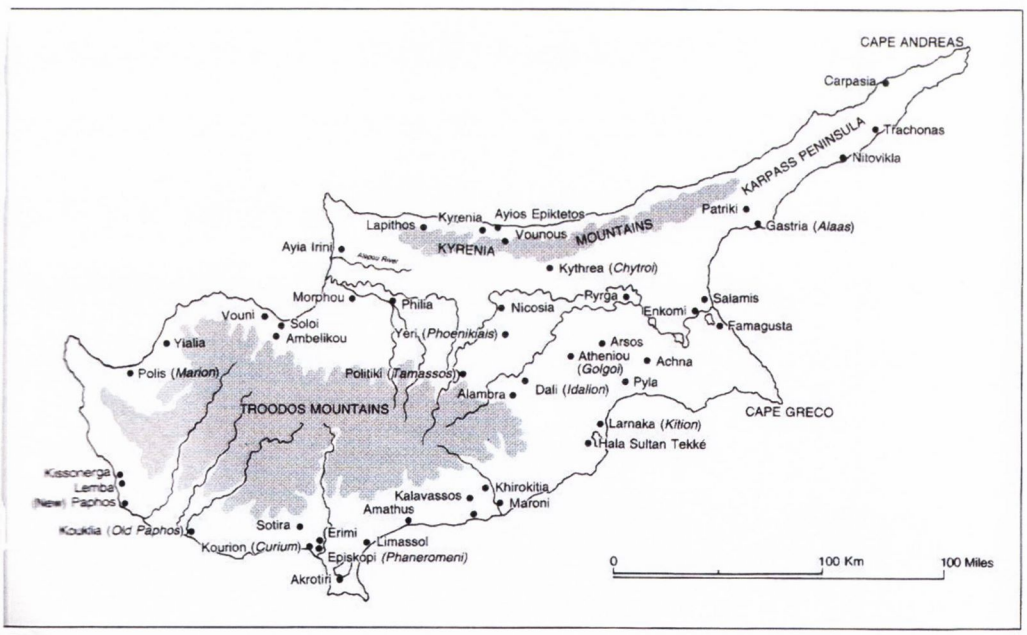

Fig 3. Map of Cyprus: major archaeological sites

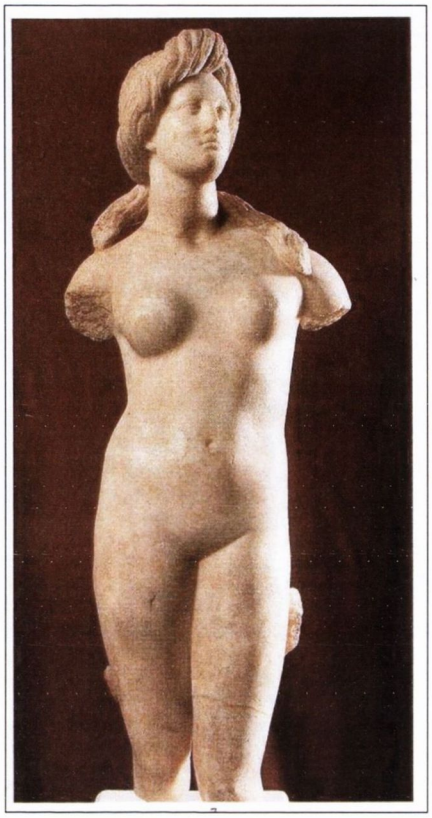

Fig. 4 Marble statue of Aphrodite from Soloi



Fig. 5 C.T.O. logo

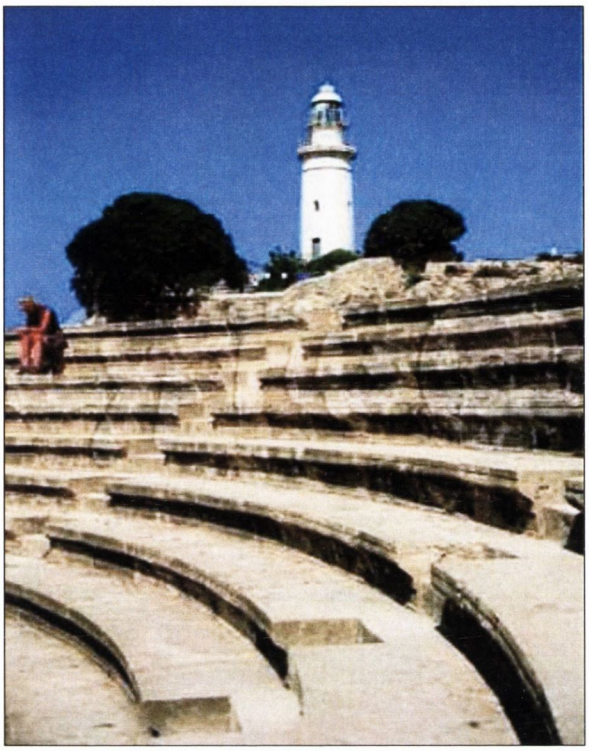

Fig. 6 Reconstructed theatre: Paphos



Fig. 7 Example of anastylosis in Cyprus: Sanctuary of Appolo Hylates



Fig. 8 Panagia tou Sinti



Fig. 9 Panagia tou Sinti



Fig. 10 Kourion

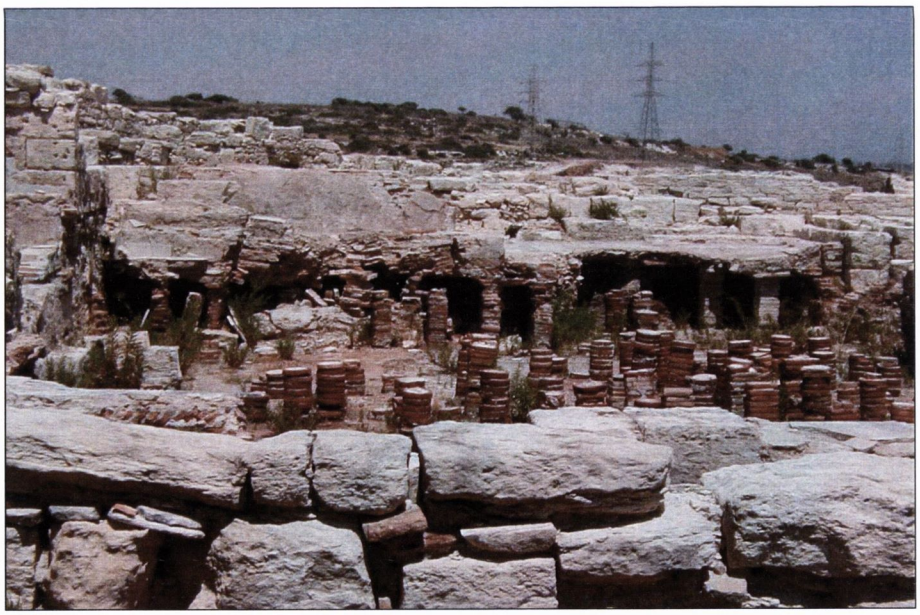

Fig. 11 Kourion - Hypocaust

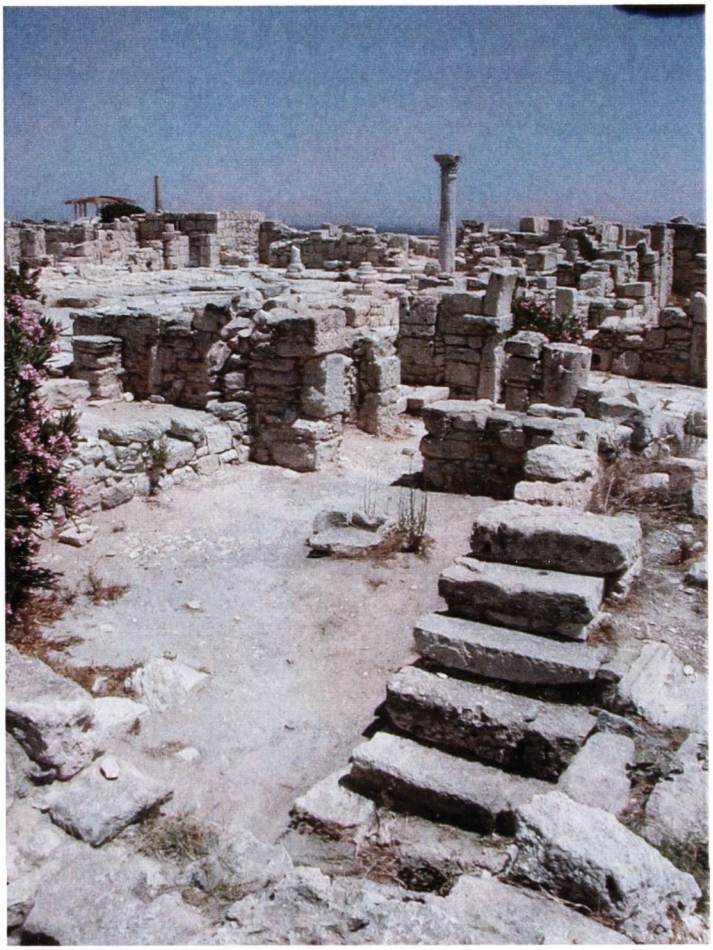

Fig. 12 View across Kourion



Fig. 13 Kourion: Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates



Fig. 14 Kourion: theatre



Fig. 15 Kourion: theatre with tourists



Fig. 16 Tammassos



Fig. 17 Tammassos: tomb entrance



Fig. 18 Amathus



Fig. 19 Amathus

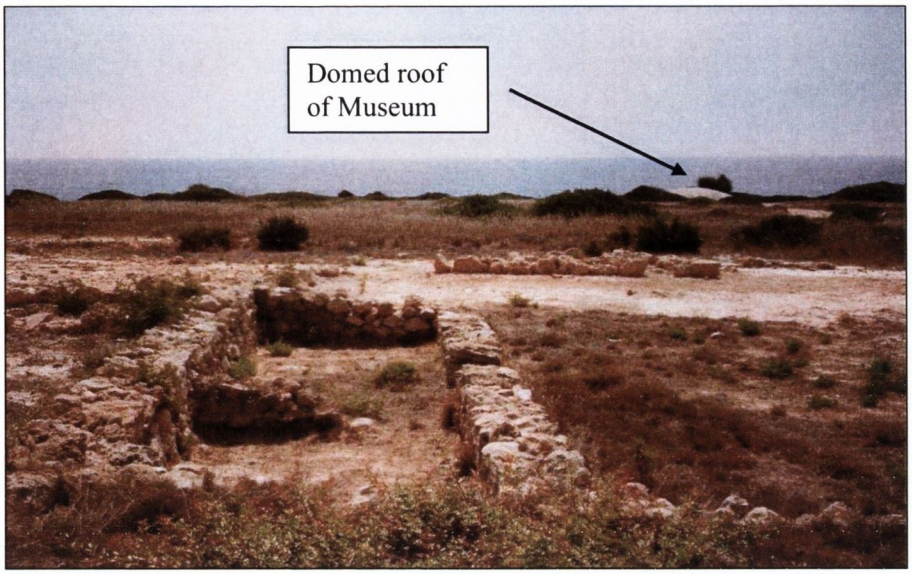

Fig. 20 Maa Palaiokastro: domed roof of museum in background



Fig. 21 Hotel being constructed in front of site at Maa Palaiokastro

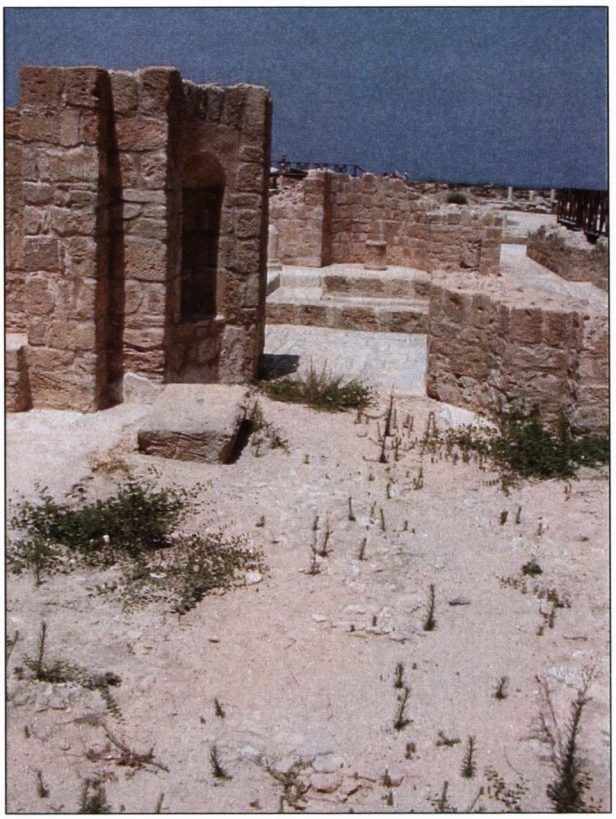

Fig. 22 Nea Paphos: entrance to site



Fig. 23 Nea Paphos: impluvium



Fig. 24 Nea Paphos: mosaic



Fig. 25 Nea Paphos: raised walkways for visitors



Fig. 26 Cyprus Museum façade



Fig. 27 Limasol/Lemmasos (Regional Archaeological) Museum façade



Fig. 28 Paphos Museum façade



Fig, 29 Pollis Museum façade



Fig. 30 Kouklia Museum: converted Medieval fortress



Fig. 31 Kolossi Castle



Fig. 32 Choirokoitia



Fig. 33 Choirokoitia



Fig. 34 Choirokoitia: reconstructions to side of archaeological site



Fig. 35 Choirokoitia: close-up of reconstructions



Fig. 36 Kalavssos Tenta



Fig 37 Kalavassos Tenta: view from inside the protective structure



Fig. 38 Kalvassos Tenta



Fig. 39 Kalavassos Tenta: Viewing ramp to rear



Fig. 40 Tombs of the Kings



Fig. 41 Tombs of the Kings



Fig. 42 Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI)

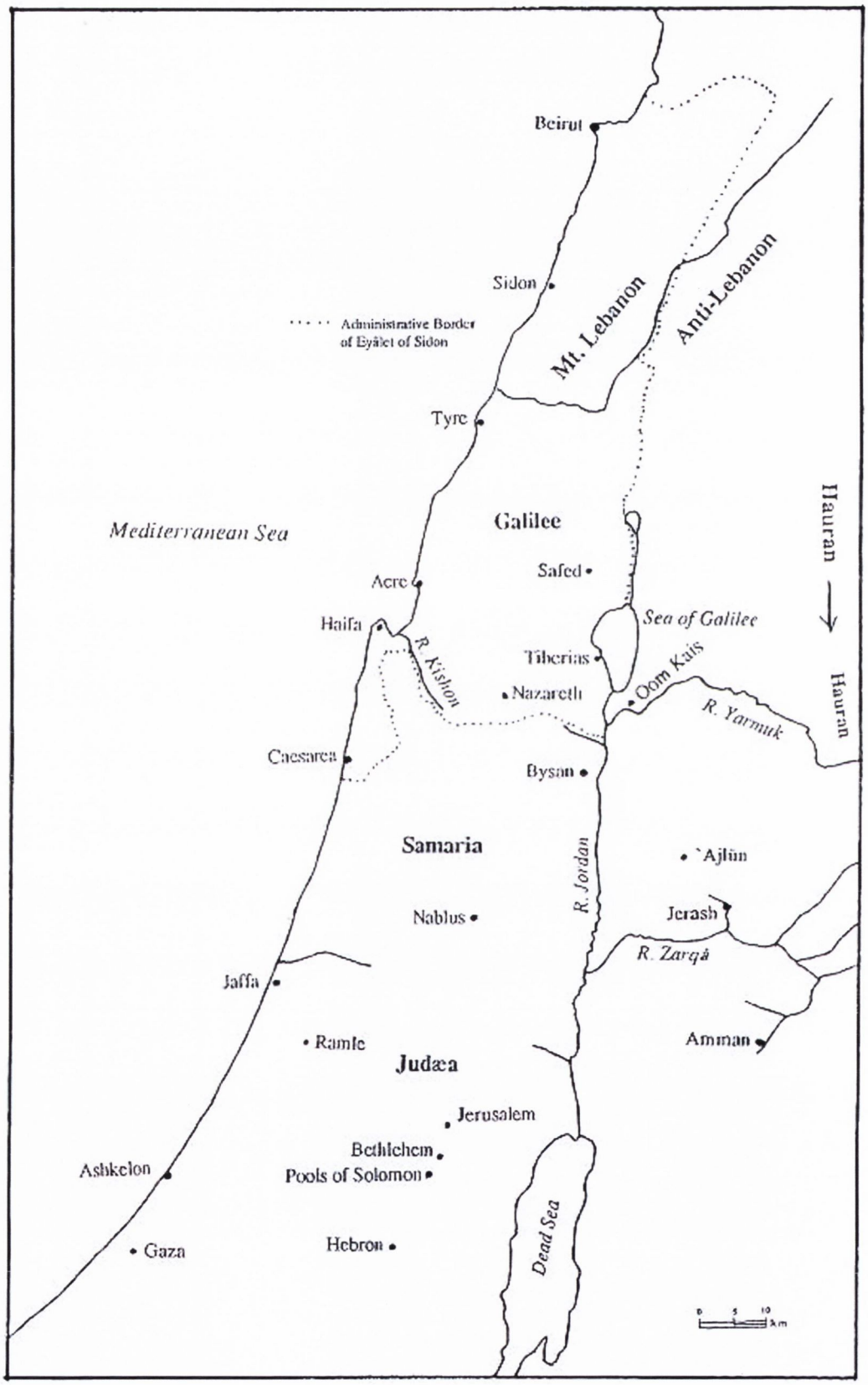

Fig. 43 Map of Ottoman Palestine



Fig. 44 Map of modern State of Israel



Fig. 45 View of Jerusalem to Dome of the Rock



Fig. 46 View from Tower of David Museum over new city of Jerusalem



Fig. 47 Sign outside a shop licensed to sell antiquities in Jaffa



Fig. 48 Ophel Archaeological Garden: view from road

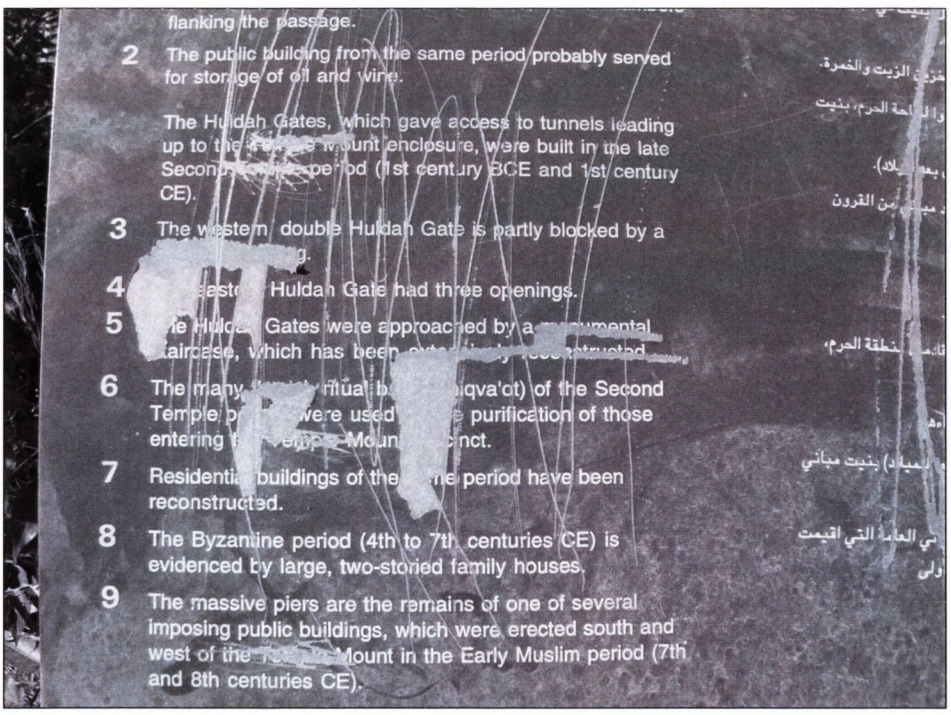

Fig. 49 Weathered and graffitied plaque at Ophel Archaeological Garden



Fig. 50 Western Wall of Herodian Temple with Jerusalem Archaeological Park



Fig. 51 Herodian street at foot of temple wall within Jerusalem Archaeological Park



Fig. 52 Manicured area of Jerusalem Archaeological Park: Byzantine complex



Fig. 53 Overgrown area of Jerusalem Archaeological Park, located inside Ophel Archaeological Garden



Fig. 54 Jerusalem Archaeological Park: view from entrance



Fig. 55 Davidson Archaeological Centre



Fig. 56 View west over Jerusalem Archaeological Park towards Jewish Quarter of Old City. The shaded area marks the location of one of the Ummayad palaces removed during excavation.



Fig. 57 Jaffa: Egyptian remains



Fig. 58 Sign indicating entrance to Jaffa archaeological site and visitor centre



Fig. 59 Inside Jaffa Archaeological site and visitor centre



Fig. 60 Jaffa Museum (closed during summer 2004)



Fig. 61 Entrance to Old Acre Development Co. Ltd. tourist site



Fig. 62 The Citadel in Old Acre



Fig. 63 Khan in Old Acre



Fig. 64 Khan El Omdan in Old Acre



Fig. 65 Underground Crusader city in Old Acre

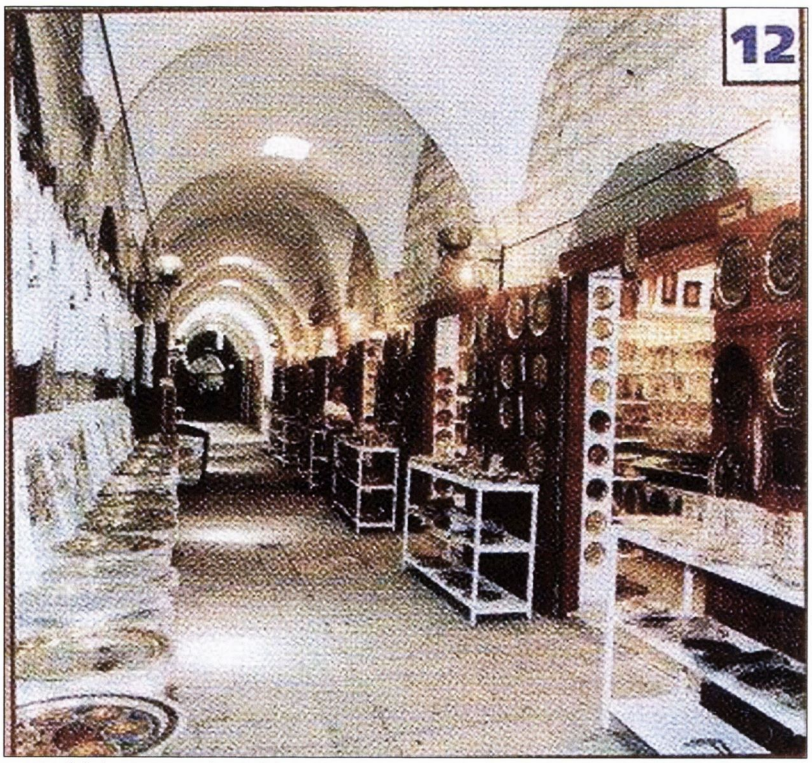

Fig. 66 The Turkish Bazaar in Old Acre



Fig. 67 Entrance to the Templar Tunnel in Old Acre



Fig. 68 Renovation work being carried out within the Templar Tunnel in Old Acre



Fig. 69 Entrance to Knights Halls in Old Acre



Fig. 70 Reconstruction work being conducted within the Crusader city in Old Acre

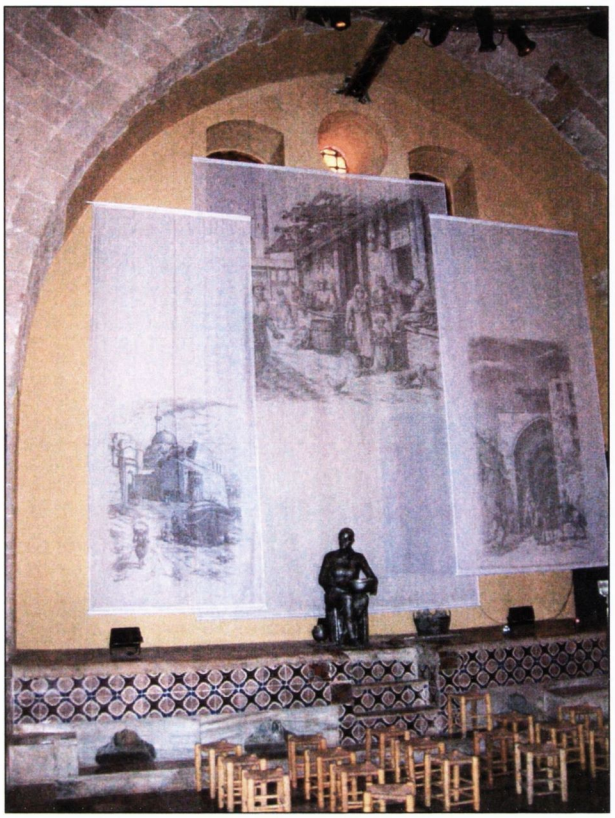

Fig. 71 Inside Al Basha Hammam (Turkish Bath) in Old Acre



Fig. 72 Inside Al Basha Hammam (Turkish Bath) in Old Acre



Fig. 73 Information plaque in Old Acre



Fig. 74 Street in Old Acre

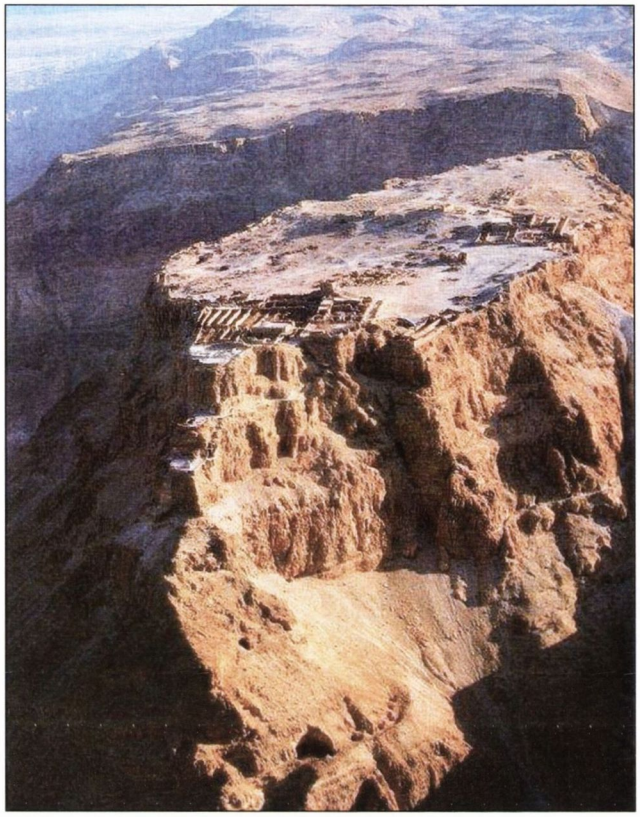

Fig. 75 Aerial view of Masada



Fig. 76 View across the top of Masada

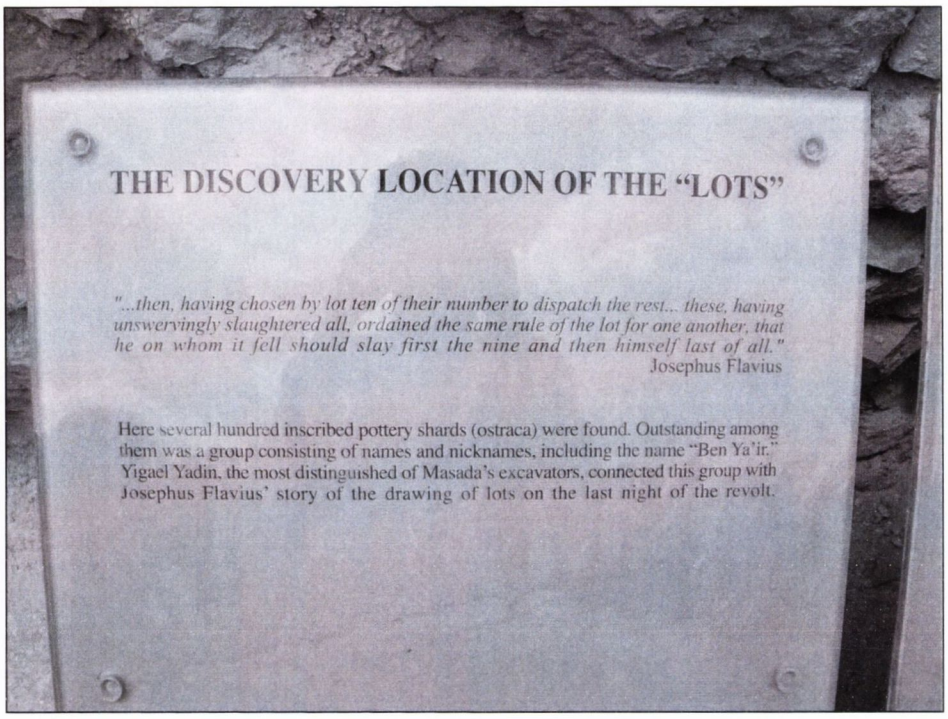

Fig. 77 Sign at Masada indicating the "Discovery location of the 'lots'"



Fig. 78 Sign at Masada depicting the to 'lots'



Fig. 79 Information panel at Masada visitor centre depicting the original excavations by Yadin and Gutmann



Fig. 80 Information panel at Masada visitor centre indicating the importance of the excavations in national culture



Fig. 81 Cable car leading to summit at Masada

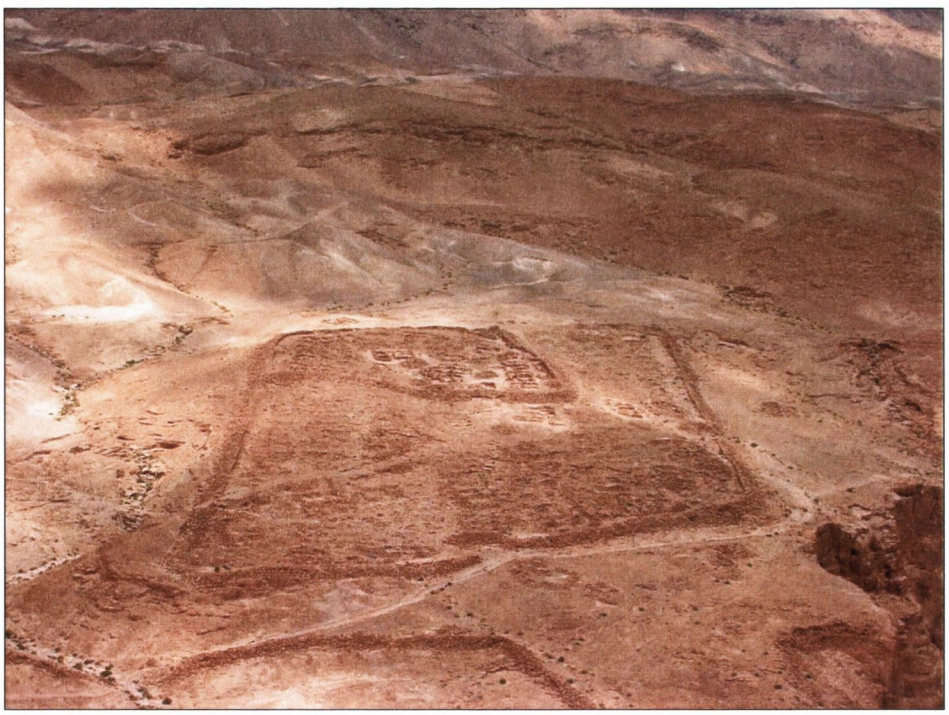

Fig. 82 View of Roman fort from summit of Masada



Fig. 83 Bronze reconstruction of palace at Masada



Fig. 84 Reconstructed storeroom at Masada: note black line original from reconstructed material

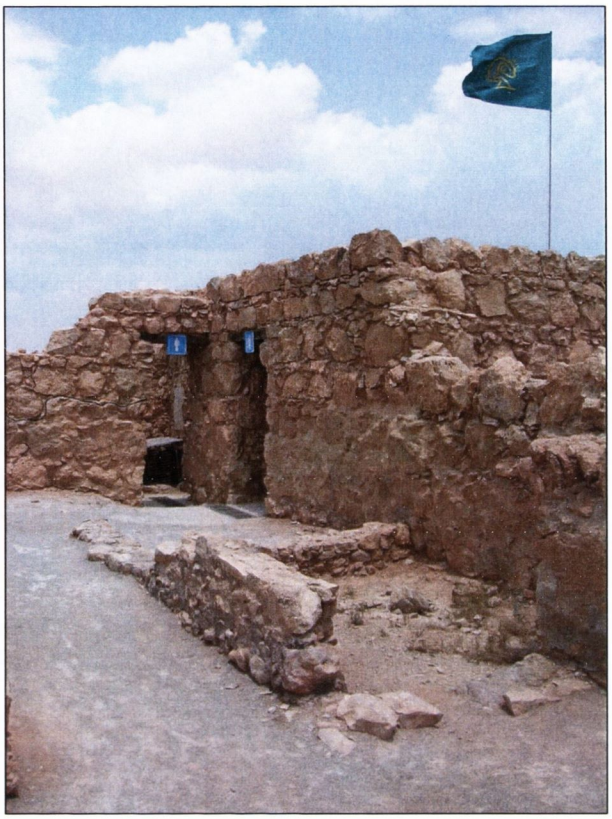

Fig. 85 Public toilets built into the remains of the Administrative Building at Masada



Fig. 86 Entrance to Caesarea: prominent display advertising the visitor centre and multi-media display



Fig. 87 Theatre at Caesarea



Fig. 88 Caesarea: Bathhouse complex to rear



Fig. 89 Caesarea: hippodrome



Fig. 90 Manicured Caesarea



Fig. 91 Overgrown (and dangerous) remains at Caesarea



Fig. 92 Caesarea: Uncovered and water-logged mosaic



Fig. 93 Caesarea: Remains of Bosnian village and mosque converted into visitor centre and restaurants



Fig. 94 Caesarea: craft shops built into/underneath archaeological remains

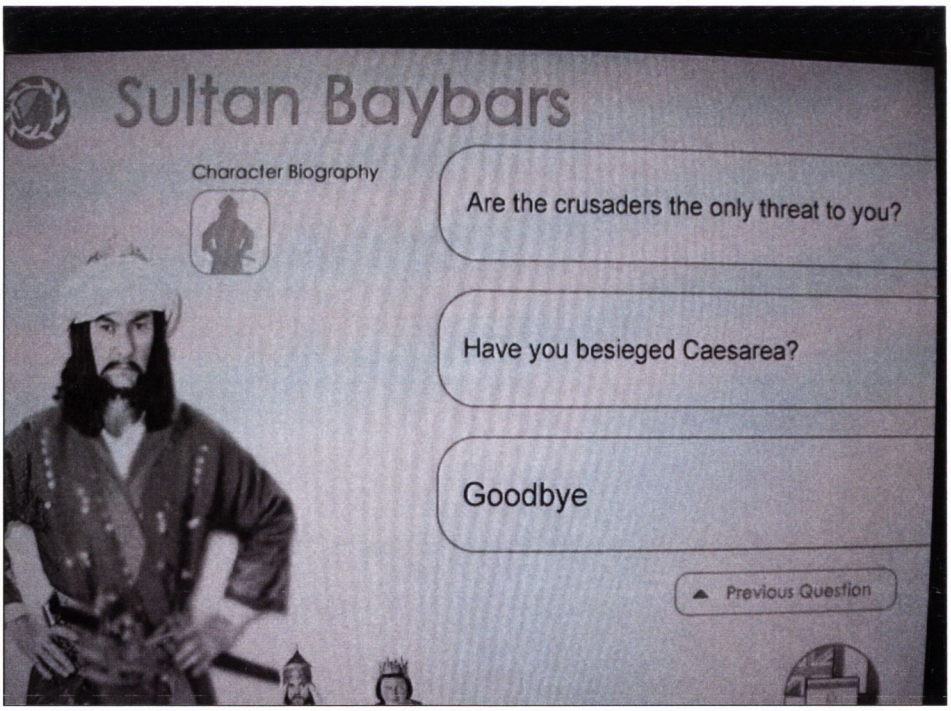

Fig. 95 Caesarea: Interactive display



Fig. 96 View across Beth Shean from Acropolis towards the site entrance, showing scale of excavation and work undertaken



Fig. 97 Beth Shean: Reconstruction work on theatre and view across site towards Acropolis

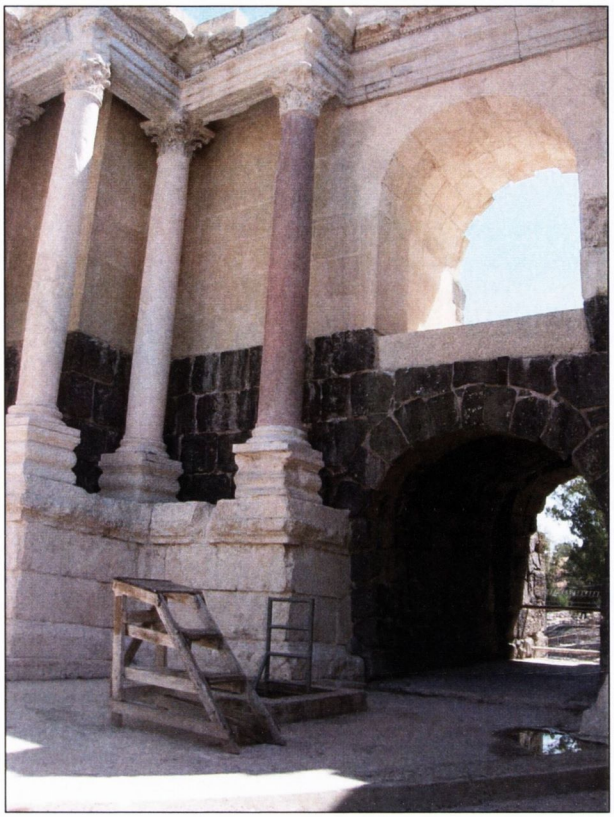

Fig. 98 Beth Shean: Close up of reconstruction work on theatre



Fig. 99 Beth Shean: Uncovered mosaic floor, across which the public can walk



Fig. 100 Wohl Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem: Interpretative performance staged amongst the archaeological remains

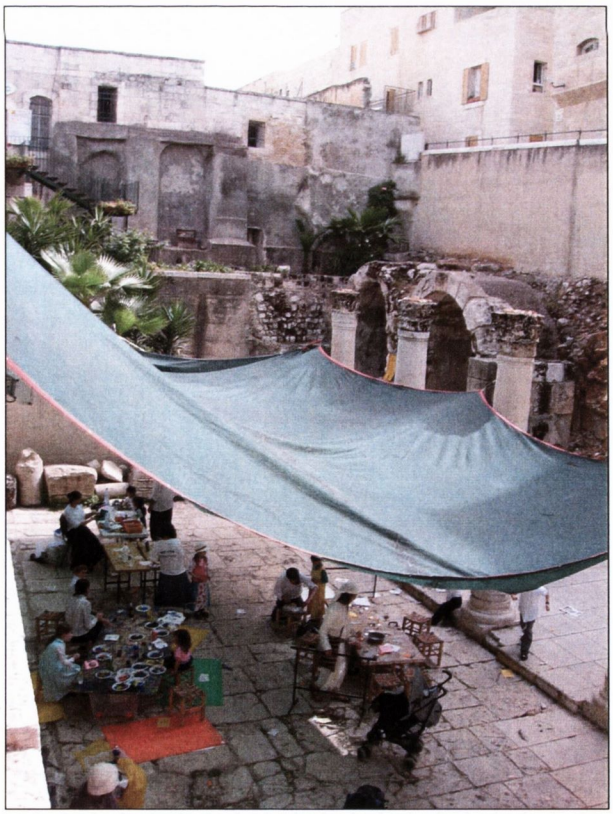

Fig. 101 Jerusalem Jewish Quarter of Old City: Byzantine Cardo