

**Raphael Greenberg  
Adi Keinan**

**The Present Past of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict:  
Israeli Archaeology in the West Bank and East  
Jerusalem Since 1967**



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The Center's founding director is Prof. Raanan Rein. Rein is Professor of Spanish and Latin American History, author of numerous books and articles published in various languages and in many countries. He is a member of Argentina's Academia Nacional de la Historia and was visiting scholar at the University of Maryland, College Park, and Emory University, Atlanta GA.

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## PREFACE

As in many contested regions, the past is always present in the Middle East conflict. Here, however, the past has far greater weight than any other region, and archaeologists are those that give the distant past a palpable, physical expression. In this sense, archaeology and politics have always been intertwined. If Jewish and Israeli archaeology has been characterized, at times, by its national-historical mission, the same is true for its Palestinian counterpart. Thus, archaeology has been mobilized either to strengthen the bond between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel or to deny or ignore such a relationship. Without detracting from its objective scientific value, archaeology contributes to the elaboration of new collective identities based on new narratives of the past. In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, each and every excavation has the potential to acquire political overtones and to sow the seed of controversy.

The study offered here is a survey of the work conducted by Israeli archaeologists in the West Bank and East Jerusalem since 1967. The compilation of such a database is of tremendous importance for both researchers and those decision-makers who might be in a position to influence the future relations between Israelis and Palestinians and decide the fate of archaeological sites and finds in these regions. As Raphael Greenberg and Adi Keinan emphasize, "[t]he archaeological wealth revealed here should [also] engender discussion regarding protection, preservation, future research and development in the future Palestinian state."

Greenberg and Keinan focus their attention on the products of Israeli archaeology in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. They do not deal here with the threats posed to the sites themselves as a result of the conflict: whether it is widespread destruction and looting of sites by Palestinian villagers or the damage caused to sites of all kinds—including synagogues, churches, and monasteries—by rapid development in all parts of the territory. Neither do they provide a detailed examination of the policies of the Palestinian authorities in the realm of archaeology or the activities and discussions of these issues in Palestinian universities. These topics warrant academic research of their own.

With this study we inaugurate the series of Research Papers of the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies. This series hope to contribute to academic and public discussion on different aspects of inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts around the world and in our region in particular.

Raanan Rein

## **Notes on Contributors**

The West Bank and East Jerusalem Archaeological Database Project is being conducted at the Department of Archaeology and Near Eastern Studies at Tel Aviv University, under the auspices of the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies. The impetus for this project as well as continuous consultation and support were provided by Ran Boytner (UCLA) and Lynn Swartz Dodd (USC) in the context of a larger project dealing with archaeology in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Funding for the latter has been provided by the United States Institute for Peace (USIP-#088-045), the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology (UCLA), the University of Southern California Center for Religion and Civic Culture with special thanks to Donald Miller, Brie Loskota and Jon Miller, who convened the Religion and Culture Working Group, and to Bruce Zuckerman. Additional support was provided by grants from the Ahmanson Community Trust, the University of Southern California Zumberge Interdisciplinary Research Program, the USC Provost's Advancing Scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences Program and two anonymous donors. The database project has also been supported by the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation (Washington D.C.).

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*Who controls the past, controls the future.  
Who controls the present, controls the past.*  
(George Orwell)

## **Introduction**

Almost from the very inception of Israeli control over the West Bank and East Jerusalem in 1967, Israeli archaeologists have been engaged in the study and administration of the antiquities of these regions. Research by Israeli academics in the West Bank began soon after the occupation and reached its peak in the 1980s, until curtailed by the first Palestinian uprising in 1987. Jerusalem too saw an early wave of intensive research, mainly under the auspices of the Hebrew University. In later decades the academic effort was succeeded to a considerable extent by government-sponsored activities related to development and construction, including—in recent years—the construction of the Separation Barrier and its various extensions.

In 1967, archaeological knowledge of the heartland of historical Palestine was sketchy and schematic. A preliminary survey of known archaeological sites carried out by Israeli archaeologists in 1968 covered about 800 sites, of which only a handful had been excavated (Kochavi 1972). Today, forty years on, the tally of archaeologically recorded sites is upwards of 5400. Of these, some 900 sites have been excavated, either as salvage work in advance of construction and development, or as part of research-oriented academic projects. Virtually all of this archaeological work has been carried out by Israel, in the context of its administration of civil life in the occupied territories.

All archaeology may be characterized as cultural production—using material remains of the past—in the social context of the present. The twofold impact of Israeli archaeological activity within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can, therefore, easily be appreciated: At one level stands the physical appropriation of archaeological sites in contested areas—either in the short term, prior to excavation and destruction, or in the long term, as permanently preserved, protected or (as often is the case) neglected domains of the past. At another stands the emergence of new narratives of the past based on the results of archaeological surveys and excavations; these narratives impinge on popular understandings of ancient history and on the creation of ethnic or local identities. A third level of impact may be characterized as internal to the discipline: the significance of West Bank and Jerusalem archaeology for the academic and professional development of Israeli archaeology.

These three levels are addressed in the following study, which is based on the ongoing work of the West Bank and Jerusalem Archaeological Database Project

conducted at Tel Aviv University. Using a series of Geographic Information System (GIS) maps generated by superimposing archaeological data on geographical and administrative layers, we present in the following pages an overview of Israeli archaeological activity and a discussion of its significance. Following a presentation of the legal and administrative framework, we look at the extent of excavations, their locations, their cultural affinities and their impact on Israeli scholarship. This is followed by a review of the archaeological surveys, which represent both an inventory of the archaeological potential of the future Palestinian state as well as scientific contributions to ongoing archaeological debates. In passing, the political context of the excavations and surveys is noted: their physical relation to Jewish settlements, Palestinian villages and towns and the Separation Barrier, or their temporal relation to significant events in Israel and the territories. Lastly, some of the potentials of the GIS database are exhibited, both as a research tool for archaeologists and as a source of information for decision-makers.

The archaeological data has been culled from a wide variety of sources—published accounts of surveys and excavations, publicly accessible archive records and some unpublished administrative and other documents. The resulting superimpositions represent, of course, only a small sample of the permutations enabled by the GIS database, the methodological and technical aspects of which are presented in Appendix I.

It is important to note that this publication deals only with the general results of scientific research carried out since 1967. It is not a compendium of the substantial contributions of the excavations to the archaeological inventory. Nor do we deal with the current situation on the ground in areas under Israeli control or in areas partially or fully administered by the Palestinian National Authority. The presence of antiquities in a conflict zone raises numerous challenges to any administrative authority: the preservation and protection of excavated sites, the prevention of looting, public education and outreach and respect for all past cultures. In this sense, this work is only preliminary to the urgent task of taking stock of the present state of cultural heritage within the territory of the area generally assumed to form the core of the future Palestinian state.

This latter issue has recently been raised by Palestinian intellectuals and archaeologists in various international venues and, in the most detailed treatment to date, in a review article by Adel Yahya (forthcoming). The most pressing issues raised by Palestinians, in order of precedence, are the problem of looting, the separation of Palestinians from cultural heritage sites caused by the Separation Barrier and by settler-related development, the incompatibility of Israeli and Palestinian antiquities laws (especially those that allow trade in antiquities in Israel, seen as an incentive to looting), and the issue of

repatriation of finds removed from the territories. While all of these issues have political dimensions, they all testify to the emergence of a Palestinian school of thought on the cultural importance of antiquities and on the need for a clearly enunciated policy on antiquities, clearly diverging from that imposed by Israel. Palestinians differ from Israelis in the technical definition of antiquities (they intend to do away with the 1700 CE dividing line between antiquities and non-antiquities), indeed, on the very term antiquities, to which they prefer the term 'cultural heritage'. They differ on the definition of sites, including in this definition, for example, traditional agricultural landscapes. They differ in their use of terminology, and in the emphasis laid on different periods in the history of the holy land. They do not differ, however, in the sense of urgency imposed by the evidence for widespread looting of sites in areas under both Palestinian and Israeli civil control, looting that is associated with the economic hardships prevalent since the second *intifada* and with the sense that archaeology is an organ of the occupation.

The present imbalance of power and academic capacities has led to a flourishing Israeli archaeological presence in the West Bank and a depleted Palestinian one. The continued political and ideological implications of the Israeli occupation have led to the identification, by many in the Palestinian community, of archaeology with Israeli interests. This can only be seen as detrimental to the physical well being of the archaeological cultural heritage of the West Bank in the long run. The provision of as much information as possible on the work of Israeli archaeologists in the West Bank may therefore be seen as a step toward the closing of the information gap between the two sides, and as a step towards asserting the independence of archaeology from specific political agendas. By recognizing our curatorial responsibilities to the past, responsibilities that go well beyond questions of ownership, and by identifying the implications that archaeology has for a broad range of stakeholders (Hodder 2003), we take a significant step to protect archaeology from being pressed into the service of the ongoing conflict.

Although our research is not yet complete and the final publication format of the database has yet to be determined, we believe the manifold implications of the data that we have accumulated over the two years of the project merit this preliminary publication. They contribute a heretofore unrealized intellectual and symbolic dimension to the 'implicate relations' characterizing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We thank the colleagues, too numerous to mention, with whom we consulted at various stages of our project, and who provided assistance in their official and unofficial capacities. In addition to these, Hanita Cinamon served as GIS consultant in the early stages of work. Dan Rothem of the S. Daniel Abraham Center provided detailed political and demographic

GIS layers, Adi Bin-Nun of the GIS center at the Hebrew University provided background layers, including Digital Terrain Models (DTM), topography, soils and precipitation isohyets. Last but not least, Raanan Rein, Director of the S. Daniel Abraham Center at Tel Aviv University, encouraged this publication and Talma Kinarti paved the way to its completion. To all we offer our gratitude.

## **1. Legal Framework**

Two different archaeological regimes are in effect in the occupied regions: East Jerusalem and lands belonging to 28 outlying villages were annexed to Israel in 1967 (Berkowitz 2007). Although international recognition of this annexation has not been obtained, archaeological activity in East Jerusalem is governed by the Israel Law of Antiquities and is administered by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). The extent of Israeli archaeological activity in East Jerusalem is widely published, with further details available to the public in the IAA archives. Because the Israel government does not recognize the 'Green Line' (the armistice line in effect on June 4, 1967) within Jerusalem, the precise extent of Israeli archaeological activity in areas occupied in 1967 must be reconstructed on the basis of published data and pre-1967 maps.

As for the West Bank, with the establishment of Israeli control in June 1967 the administration of civilian affairs was assigned to civil representatives of the various branches of government in Israel. These representatives were termed 'Staff Officers'. The Staff Officer for archaeology was appointed by the Minister of Education, whose remit at that time included the Department of Antiquities and Museums. The present Staff Officer, Dr. Yitzhak Magen, has served in this capacity since 1981.

According to the decision of the Minister of Defense and the Israel government in 1967, Jordanian law remained in force in the West Bank; in this case, the Antiquities Law of 1966. The provisions of the law were fairly detailed, treating matters such as scheduling of sites, licensing of excavation, trade in antiquities and compensation to landowners (Civil Administration 1997). The law was adopted wholesale, with only a single change—the designation 'Director' (of the Department of Antiquities) was replaced by that of 'Staff Officer for Archaeology in Judea and Samaria'. Section B, describing the Archaeological Advisory Council, was left unchanged. Since the council was to be chaired by a Jordanian minister, and its members were to include representatives of the Jordanian universities, no advisory council was convened in the early years of occupation.

In 1986 a lengthy process of revision of the antiquities regulations was initiated, culminating in two Antiquities Law Decrees (Nos. 1166 and 1167, see

Appendix II). These decrees ostensibly left the 1966 law intact, but replaced many of its stipulations with new wording, especially with regard to licensing and the legal trade in antiquities (the latter so encumbered with regulatory procedures as to become virtually impossible). There are two very interesting provisions in these decrees:

- (1) The advisory council was re-convened, now consisting of the deputy to the Head of the IDF Civil Administration (Chairman), the Staff Officer for Archaeology (Deputy Chairman), the director of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, two leading Israeli archaeologists and two further officials of the Civil Administration. Where the Jordanian law stipulated that 'the Director must consult the Council regarding any matter of importance', the 1986 decree states that 'the Officer [i.e., the Staff Officer for Archaeology] shall consult with the Council regarding any matter of importance *that he sees fit*' (Decree 1167, Paragraph 4; emphasis added). And where the Jordanian law required that the council meet once a month at the invitation of the Chairman, with additional meetings as needed, the new decree states that 'the council will hold regular *or* special meetings *at the invitation of the Deputy Chairman* [i.e., the Staff Officer]' (Decree 1167, Paragraph 5; emphasis added).
- (2) Paragraph 3 of Decree 1166 includes the following clause: 'The provisions of this Section [Section B: Archaeological Excavations and Surveys] will not apply to excavations conducted by the Officer or on his behalf according to Paragraph 8 or according to Section H of the [Antiquities] Law'. Paragraph 8c of the Antiquities Law states that 'the Director may, with the Minister's consent, conduct excavations anywhere in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan'.

The net result of this decree was to allow the Staff Officer a free hand in the conduct of excavations throughout the West Bank, without being subject to the oversight of the advisory council or to the stipulations of the law regarding excavation license, publication requirements, or division of finds. In practice, the Staff Officer was not to be held accountable to anyone in the Civil Administration or in the Israeli government.

While the laws and decrees described above regulate practice within the West Bank, the larger issue—the function of the Staff Officer's unit as an organ of the Israeli occupation—requires additional comment. Israel has never formally accepted its designation as an occupying power in the legal sense (Einhorn 1996). In practice, however, the policy of the Staff Officer has sometimes been presented as consistent with the stipulations of the Hague Conventions regarding conduct in occupied territories: the Staff Officer has stated, on various

occasions (including a conversation with the authors in December 2005), that his work has been primarily devoted to the protection and salvage of antiquities threatened with destruction due to looting, construction, military operations etc. Also, the finds of all excavations conducted in the West Bank (excluding those parts of it annexed by Israel as part of greater Jerusalem) have been kept in the Staff Officer's stores, and none have been transferred permanently to Israeli institutions (although there are many items on long-term loan). Paradoxically, most of these stores are located in East Jerusalem—deemed occupied by most of the international community, but not by Israel itself.

## **2. Excavations and Surveys**

### *Introduction: Excavations in Jerusalem and in the West Bank*

As of the writing of this interim report, we estimate the number of different sites excavated in the West Bank and greater East Jerusalem by Israeli archaeologists since 1967 at about 900, of which approximately 170 are in and near Jerusalem. These represent approximately 1500 excavation licenses and permits in the two zones. The information in hand, as will be explained below, concerns only about two thirds of the estimated excavated West Bank sites. Our estimate regarding the total number of excavations is based on the occasional mention of Staff Officer excavation permit numbers in recent preliminary reports and on an extrapolation of the rate of excavation since the last report by the Staff Officer, in 1997. With legal proceedings in progress, new information may soon be forthcoming. Looking at these numbers, the problematic of site-counts should be kept in mind: in particularly large sites such as Nablus or Jerusalem, the subdivision into separate excavations will always be arbitrary and contingent. Also, licensed excavations range from hours-long cave clearances to months-long full-scale excavation seasons at multi-layered mounds.

### *Basic Data on Excavations*

The Staff officer is not required to publish a report on excavation licenses and permits granted in the West Bank, nor does he, in fact, publish such a list. As explained above, the 1986 decree of the Civil Administration does not even require the granting of excavation licenses to the Staff Officer, much less any consultation with the Advisory Council before such excavations. In practice, the Staff Officer does appear to issue permits for his own excavations and to consult with the council in most cases involving outside organizations such as Israeli universities, foreign schools of archaeology in Jerusalem, or overseas expeditions. As in Israel, excavation permits are granted for each calendar year, so that sites excavated over a long period of time or through several excavation seasons will have more than one permit.

The information released by the Staff Officer on his work and that of his team is spotty and often of an extremely brief and preliminary nature. Even reports characterized as final do not always contain all the elements usually associated with a final report. As regards outside expeditions, the Staff Officer's record in obtaining final reports appears to be about on par with that of the IAA for excavations inside Israel. The sources of information for excavations in the West Bank are therefore partial lists provided by the Staff Officer to the IAA in 1997, preliminary reports scattered widely in newsletters, popular or semi-popular publications (mainly in Hebrew) and some final publications.

Excavations in Jerusalem were all licensed by the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums and by its successor, the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). While the records pertaining to the conduct of excavations over the years are accessible, there are several impediments to the creation of a closed and final list of excavations in greater East Jerusalem. The main problem is the fact that the border between East and West Jerusalem has to be reincarnated and superimposed on the map of excavations. Furthermore, precise information on the location of excavations does not appear on the IAA excavation list, and often a good deal of detective work is needed to match up surveyed sites, excavation reports and permit numbers (especially as regards multiple permits for contiguous sites and the myriad tomb-caves in the Roman-period necropolis of Jerusalem). Consecutive contiguous excavations in some parts of the city (e.g., near the Temple Mount and in Silwan/City of David) offer a different set of challenges to the creation of an accurate map.

There are hundreds of publications, preliminary and final, on the excavations in and around Jerusalem. Our main source of information on these publications—and indeed on the very existence of most of the excavations—has been the considerable bibliographic effort compiled by Kloner in his monumental survey of Jerusalem (Kloner 2000-2003).<sup>\*</sup> There is clearly more to be done in this province as well.

#### *Publication Record of Excavators Since 1967*

There is no straightforward way of calculating the number of final publications of excavations in the West Bank and Jerusalem since 1967. The distinction between preliminary and final publications is often blurred, and there may be preliminary mentions of excavations buried in publications that bear a different name. By way of a preliminary indication, a review of 368 identified excavated sites in the West Bank (mainly those excavated in 1967-1997) revealed that just under half (177) had no publication data, and that the remainder were nearly

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<sup>\*</sup> We have begun to collate this list with the *Tubinger Atlas des vorderen Orients* Gazetteer (Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994)

evenly split between final (93) and preliminary (98) reports. In Jerusalem, IAA policy requires preliminary reporting on all excavations, so that the overall publication ratio for both zones together is about 50% preliminary reports, and the remainder split between no reports at all and final reports. The rate of approximately 25% final reports (for excavations over ten years old) is not significantly different from the typical rate in Israel proper. 'Finally published' sites include numerous minor sites (such as dozens of caves cleared in Operation Scroll) with rather sketchy reports, as well as major sites with multi-volume publications (e.g., Shiloh's City of David excavation, Avigad's Jewish Quarter excavations, Netzer's Herodium and Jericho excavations). Virtually unpublished sites also include many minor and some major excavations (Hebron, Nebi Samwil), and there are multi-seasonal excavations that have produced only limited topical reports (Mt Gerizim, Nablus).

While the general trend of publication in West Bank archaeology appears similar to that of mainstream Israeli archaeology, it is important to point out that the present Staff Officer has followed an increasingly isolationist stance with regard to the work of his unit. An independent publications section has been established within the unit, headed by the Staff Officer himself. The result is that the Staff Officer not only issues licenses to his own unit and regulates its excavation procedures; he also receives, approves, edits and publishes the scientific report. In view of the absence of any form of public accountability, we believe that there is room for concern over the quality and thoroughness of the scientific reporting in the Staff Officer's unit.

### *Finds*

Enormous quantities of artifacts have been recovered in the excavations conducted since 1967. The Staff Officer has established extensive storerooms for all artifacts excavated under his jurisdiction. These storerooms are located in the main headquarters of the unit, in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood of East Jerusalem, and in a facility located near the inn of the Good Samaritan on the Jerusalem-Jericho road. Some artifacts of West Bank origin are on exhibit within Israel proper. These are on long-term loan from the Staff Officer who, we have been informed (D. Mevorakh, pers. comm.), is waging a vigorous campaign to retrieve such artifacts that are no longer on view.

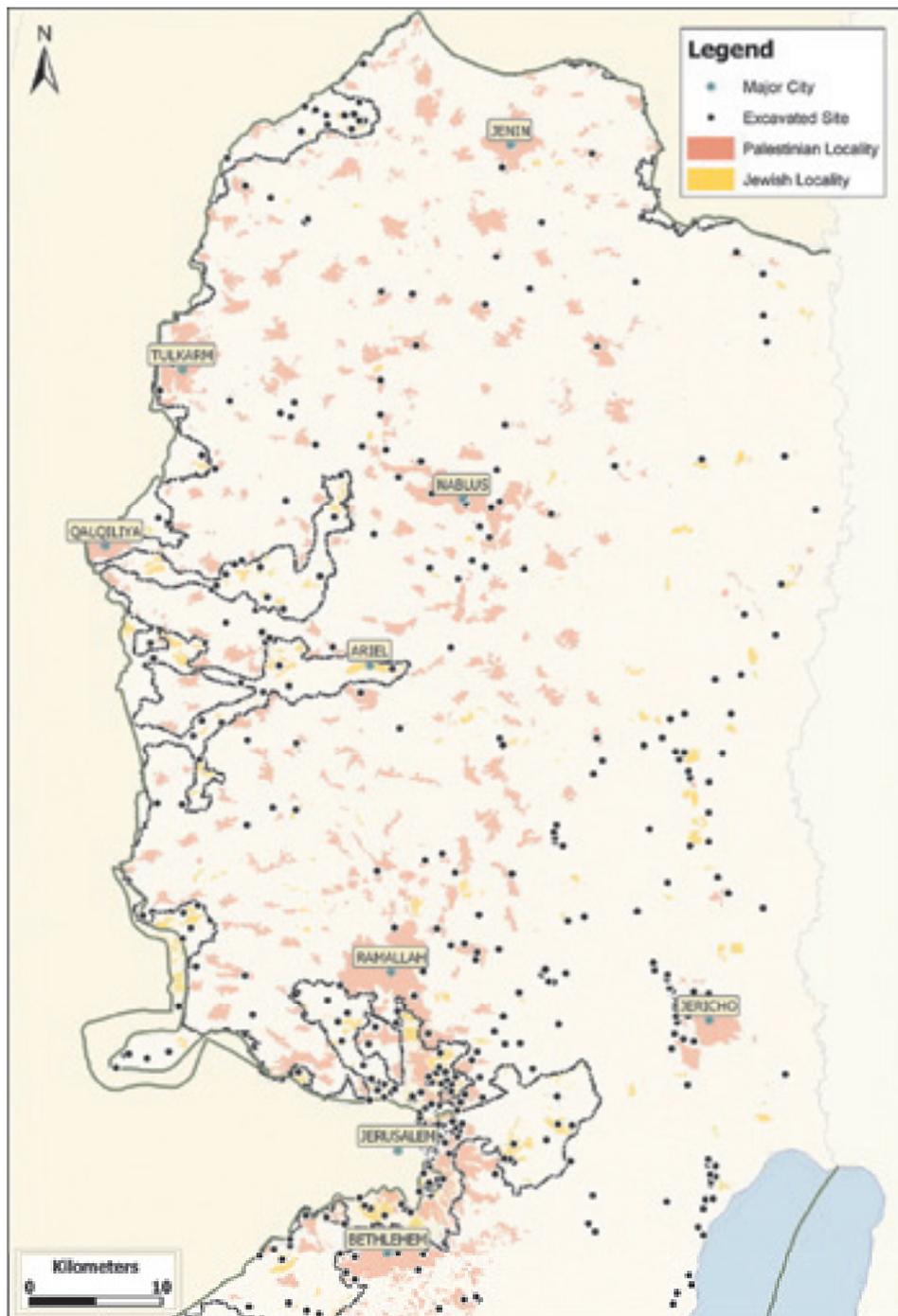
Countless artifacts excavated since 1967 in East Jerusalem are exhibited both within the Old City and in other parts of Israel (mainly, however, in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem). As these are registered as IAA artifacts, they cannot be easily separated from the main body of antiquities registered in the IAA stores.

## The Maps

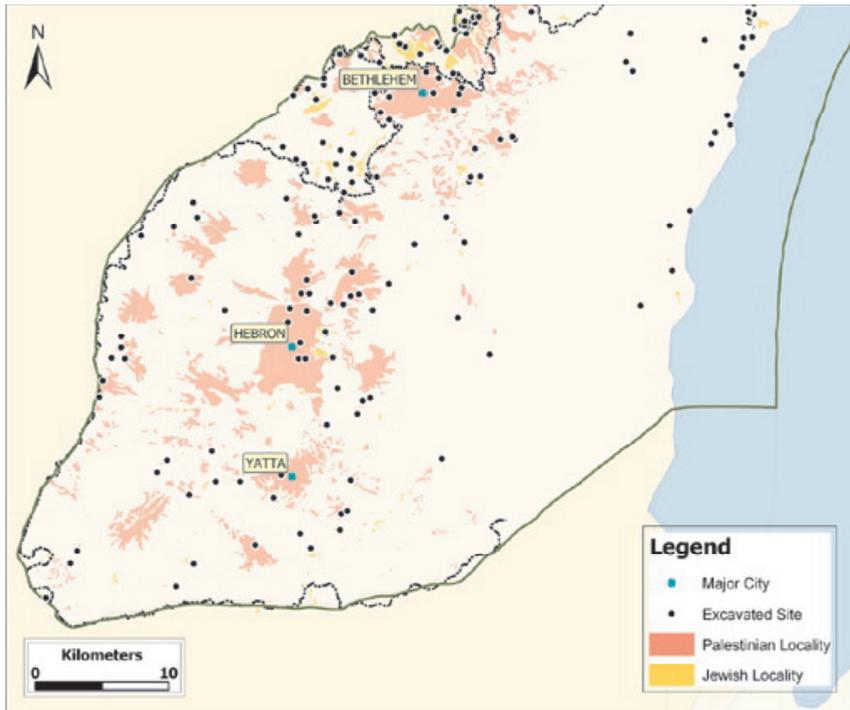
### **1. Extent of Excavations**

Excavations have taken place in almost every part of the West Bank. The total known number of excavated sites comes to about 640, although we estimate the true number at about 900. At first glance, Maps 1.1-1.2, which illustrate the relation of sites to settled places (Palestinian and Israeli) do not appear to reflect an overall trend in the location of excavations. A closer look, however, reveals some interesting patterns:

- ◆ Overall, there are few sites actually contained within Jewish settlements. We have found no evidence for any regular trend that exploits archaeology to establish Jewish priority at a given site.
- ◆ Mirroring the above observation, there are a relatively large number of sites within populated Palestinian areas, especially in Nablus and Hebron. These seem to reflect, for the most part, salvage work required by natural growth and development in these localities.
- ◆ This having been said, we note the following anomalies: (1) A concentration of excavations in Jewish settlement blocs, most of which appear as ‘tongues’ confined by the Separation Barrier (Ariel, Qarne Shomron to its north and the Ezion bloc south of Jerusalem). These concentrations are doubtless related to construction infrastructure in and especially between the settlements. (2) A massive concentration of excavations around Jerusalem; these are directly related to the construction of the outlying Jewish neighborhoods built east of the Green Line. (3) Groups of excavations located away from any settlement; these are related to research projects initiated by the Staff Officer or by Israeli academic institutions in areas of special interest to Israeli or overseas scholars (e.g., Herod’s Jericho palaces, the Judean Desert caves, or the Dead Sea shore, especially near Qumran).
- ◆ The total number of known excavated sites presently confined behind the barrier or otherwise inaccessible to Palestinians is 225, including 166 in the Jerusalem area alone. We return to this issue below, in our discussion of the total number of sites surveyed in the West Bank.



Map 1.1

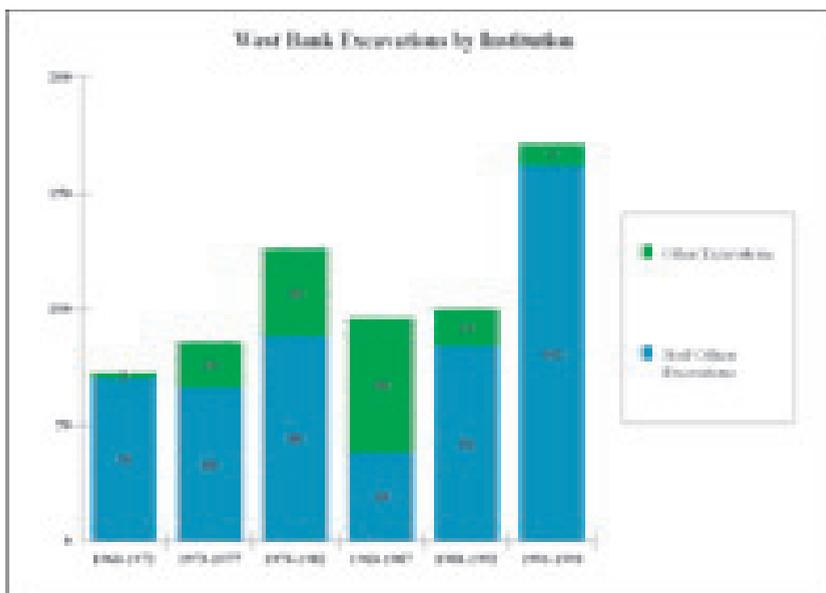


Map 1.2

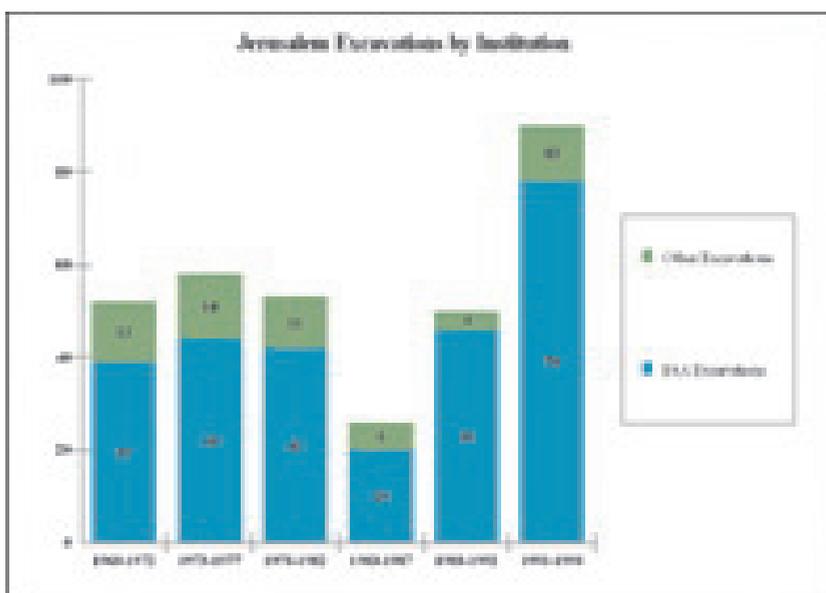
Maps 1.1, 1.2. Total excavated sites known to date in West Bank and greater East Jerusalem area, in relation to Palestinian localities (pink) and Israeli settlements (yellow). The Separation Barrier is marked by a dotted line.

It is very instructive to observe the progress of excavations over four decades of Israeli administration. Graphs 1.1 and 1.2 illustrate the changes in the absolute numbers of excavation permits and licenses issued by the Staff Officer for the West Bank and by the IAA for East Jerusalem. We have divided these licenses into two blocks: those issued by the Staff Officer and the IAA for their own work, usually (but not always) defined as salvage work, and those issued to outside institutions, mainly Israeli universities.

Graph 1.1 shows the relation between Staff Officer and other excavations in 5-year increments between 1967 and 1998 (information regarding the Staff Officer's work after 1998 is very sketchy). After minimal outside involvement in the first five years, the end of the first decade ushers in a high-water mark of both salvage and academic work in 1978-82, with intensive academic work continuing into the next half decade, before being sharply curtailed by the first *intifada* in late 1987 (see also Table 1.1). These developments have clear political



Graph 1.1. The relation between Staff Officer and other excavations in 5-year increments between 1967 and 1998.



Graph 1.2. The relation between Israel Antiquities Authority and other excavations in 5-year increments between 1967 and 1998.

correlations: the general increase in excavations comes in tandem with the coming into power of Menachem Begin's Likud government and the intensive settlement activity sponsored by then Minister of Agriculture, later Minister of Defense, Ariel Sharon. The sharp decrease in salvage work in the years following 1982 should probably be related to a weakening of the Likud agenda following the first Lebanon war and the resignations of Sharon and Begin. However, the flowering of *academic* research at the same time must be related to the appointment of Yuval Ne'eman as Science Minister in 1983, since this member of the extreme-right Tehiya party was a staunch supporter of archaeological research in the occupied territories. As noted above, the first *intifada* curtailed academic involvement in West Bank excavations, and it never returned to the levels of the mid 1980s, even during the years of relative quiet following the Oslo accords of 1993. Most remarkable is the huge rise in Staff Officer activities after 1992: these are largely related to large-scale unilateral 'operations' that characterize Israeli policy of the last decade and more. 'Operation Scroll', in 1994, was a concentrated effort to survey and clean out the contents of caves in the region of Jericho. Proponents of this effort claim that its sole aim was to get the jump on looters; more cynical observers suggest that its aim was to make sure that no ancient Hebrew scroll fragments of the type found in the Dead Sea region find their way into the hands of Palestinian authorities.

The situation in Jerusalem is remarkably different (Graph 1.2). Here, the conjunction of archaeology and the Labor-led policy of intensive construction in 'united' Jerusalem (the Jewish Quarter of the Old City and the outlying neighborhoods of French Hill, Ramat Eshkol, Giloh, Ramot and Neve Yaacov) found expression in an excavation boom during the *first* decade of Israeli control. This boom was fueled both by academic excavations (usually in large-scale projects such as the Temple Mount and Jewish Quarter excavations) and by salvage work (mostly small-scale). Once the Likud came into power, priorities changed. Most remarkable is the dip in 1983–7, with only six academic excavations in contrast to 58 (!) in the West Bank. The abrupt post-1992 general increase in excavations needs to be studied more closely: we suspect that it reflects equally the construction boom related to the large scale Russian immigration in the early 1990s and a policy designed to 'strengthen' Jewish Jerusalem ahead of final status negotiations, by building new neighborhoods such as Har Homa. The steep rise in salvage work also owes something to the revamping of archaeological regulation under the newly formed Israel Antiquities Authority.

**Table 1.1. Relative quantity of academic excavations,  
West Bank and Jerusalem.**

	1967–1977	1978–1992	1993–1998
<b>West Bank</b>	14%	33%	5%
<b>Jerusalem</b>	25%	16%	13%
<b>Total</b>	18%	29%	8%

Another way of looking at the significance of Israeli academic involvement in the West Bank and East Jerusalem is through a review of the subjects covered by Ph.D. dissertations (Table 1.2). In the years 1967–2006 a total of 108 dissertations were received in the IAA library. Of these, 24 (22%) are on issues directly related to Israeli research east of the Green Line. The first such dissertation appeared in 1977, representing a natural lag between the first opportunities for research and their culmination in postgraduate degrees. The proportion of West Bank/East Jerusalem dissertations in the 1977–2006 range is 26%. Within this time frame, the 1988–1998 interval represents the high-water mark of relevant dissertations, showing a nice correlation with the peak in academic excavations one decade earlier.

**Table 1.2. Relative proportion of dissertations in Israel  
devoted to West Bank or East Jerusalem archaeology.**

1967–1977	6%
1978–1982	25%
1983–1987	25%
1988–1992	33%
1993–1998	29%
1999–2006	12.5%

## **2. Cultural Affiliation of Excavated Sites**

One of the ways in which excavations create a cultural impact is by establishing physical points of contact between the present and the past. More often than not, excavated sites are either partially preserved in their original state (that is, only the excavated part is destroyed, but other, unexcavated portions of

the site remain intact), or the excavated remains themselves may be protected, preserved, or even maintained as a historical monument. In each of these cases the archaeological narrative endows the site with some form of cultural significance that it did not have before the excavation. The site is set apart from other parts of the landscape and becomes part of a cultural cognitive map.

Table 2.1 and Maps 2.1-2.2 present an attempt to delineate the way in which excavated sites in the West Bank may be ascribed cultural significance, according to the most common ethnic/cultural divisions. We attempt to show here which sites might be regarded as ‘ours’ by Jews (Israelis or others), Christians (Palestinians or others) and Muslims (Palestinians or others). In addition, we show which sites would be most significant for those (Jewish or Christian) for whom the Bible forms the core of their cultural cognitive map of the West Bank. Neutral sites are those for which no immediate ethnic, national or religious bond with living people is likely.

**Table 2.1. Cultural affiliation of sites excavated by SO (West Bank), IAA (E. Jerusalem) and other institutions.**

	B	C	I	J	S	B/C	B/I	B/J	C/I	C/S	C/J	J/C/I	J/I	*	No Cult	Total
SO	13	28	22	13	2	1	1		9	1	5	1	4	14	286	400
IAA	2	9	1	3				1			3	3	3	5	126	156
TAU	2			4							1			1	5	13
HUJ	5	12		7		1		1			6		1	2	17	52
HAI	1										2			1	1	5
BI	2													2	10	14
Others	6	3		1				1			1		1	3	3	19
Unknown		1							1					1	24	27

Abbreviations: TAU = Tel Aviv University; HUJ = Hebrew University, Jerusalem; HAI = Haifa University; BI = Bar Ilan University; B = Biblical; J = Jewish; C = Christian; I = Islamic; S = Samaritan; \* = unaffiliated major site.

The following reservations should be noted:

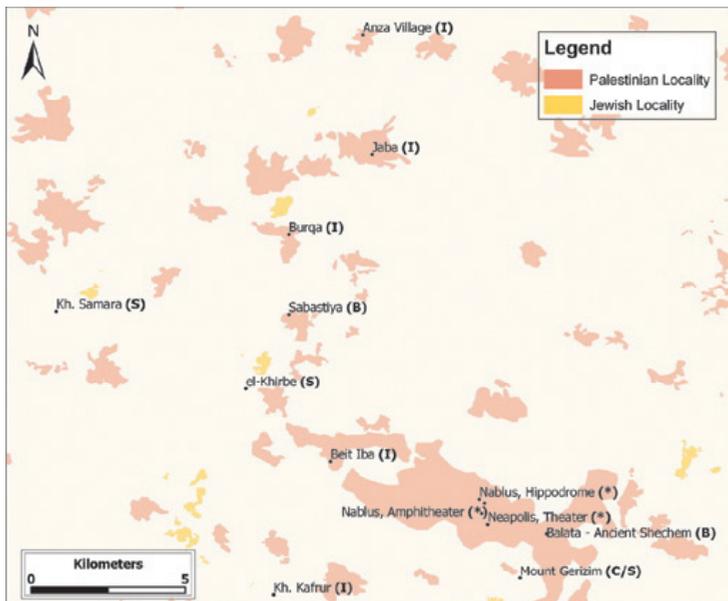
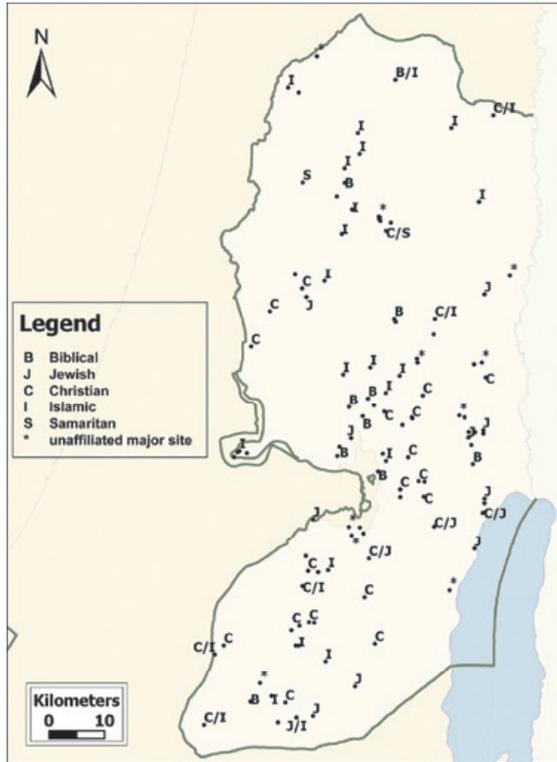
1. The points on the maps to which we have ascribed cultural significance are for the most part habitation sites, rather than tombs (only outstanding examples of latter are included). This is because, with the exception of Islamic *makams*, tombs are generally not preserved as monuments. This datum is particularly important with regard to the IAA excavations in Jerusalem, where scores of Jewish tombs from early Roman times are not included in the site-count.
2. For the most part, cultural affiliation is based on excavation results. In some cases, especially where we have no information on the finds, cultural

affiliation is ascribed on the basis of associated excavated sites: e.g., caves excavated by the Staff Officer (SO) or other institutions in the context of the Qumran excavations are ascribed J/C (Jewish/Christian) significance; outlying sites related to the Herodian palace at Jericho are ascribed J (Jewish) affiliation; hermit's caves near major monasteries are ascribed C (Christian) affiliation.

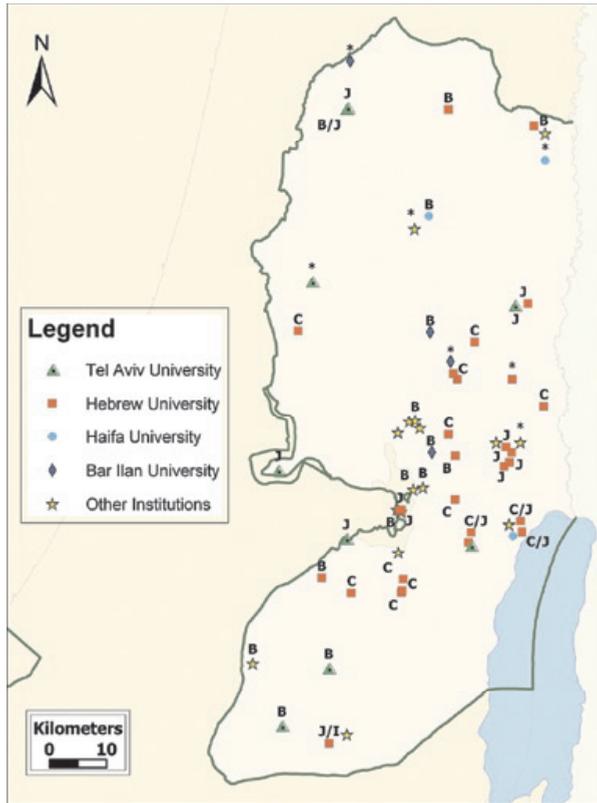
3. Few sites were excavated with the intent of studying Islamic remains, but the latter are prominent in the most recent levels at many sites. In the absence of detailed reports, we have noted I (Islamic) affiliation in those cases where excavated sites are known to include mosques, sheikh's tombs or a sizable post-classical occupation. This does not always mean that these remains were, in fact, excavated (see below, *Surveys*, on the issue of site dating and the definition of antiquities).

Map 2.1 presents sites with ascribed cultural affiliation excavated by the Staff Officer. The 100 sites represent only 25% of the total number of sites excavated by the Staff Officer, with the remaining 75% consisting of non-affiliated sites (prehistoric, Bronze Age, pagan or unspecified classical and post-classical; tombs and agricultural installations). While Table 2.1 shows that sites are more or less evenly distributed between the main cultural affiliations (if we combine B + J), the map illustrates some interesting patterns: the concentration of J sites in the southern half of the region, or the very variegated nature of the remains in Samaria. As a whole, this map brings home the dense palimpsest of cultures in the West Bank.

Map 2.2 presents sites with ascribed cultural affiliation excavated by institutions other than the Staff Officer; these include mainly the four Israeli universities noted in Table 2.1. Here, over 55% of the 103 sites involved have cultural affiliation, whereas of the 45% non-affiliated sites, about half are either prehistoric or unidentified. According to Table 2.1, all culturally identified sites were chosen for their Biblical, Jewish or Christian significance, and only two of the sites have a superimposed Islamic element. The cultural spatial distribution is similar to that in Map 2.1, but here the clearest patterns are (a) the line of biblical sites excavated by various institutions along the spine of the central hills; (b) the focus on sites in the central region, nearly all of which were excavated by Jerusalem-based institutions, such as the Hebrew University and the overseas schools of archaeology in Jerusalem (most of the sites marked 'Others'); (c) the special focus on Judeo-Christian archaeology in the desert regions east of Jerusalem.



Map 2.1. Cultural affiliation of sites excavated by the Staff Officer. Below: details of cultural affiliation of sites near Nablus.



Map 2.2. Cultural affiliation of sites excavated by institutions other than the Staff Officer.

### *Excavations and Cultural Cognitive Mapping*

For people living in the West Bank, cognitive maps are constructed according to their appreciation of nodes (points) of significance in the landscape. These nodes can be significant on the personal level (that is, as they relate to a person's own biography), on a group level (as they relate to the history or identity of the family, village etc.), or on a national/ethnic level. For people living outside the West Bank, it is the third level that most often determines the composition of their cognitive map. Archaeologists contribute their narrative to these different understandings of the landscape. In practice, and especially when these archaeologists reside outside the area that they study, their contribution will most often be to the third level of significance described above—the level of the ethnic, national or religious community.

Maps 2.1-2.2 illustrate how archaeological information can be used by those who view archaeology as a way of establishing antecedence ('discovering roots'). They are intended to demonstrate to what extent the cognitive cultural

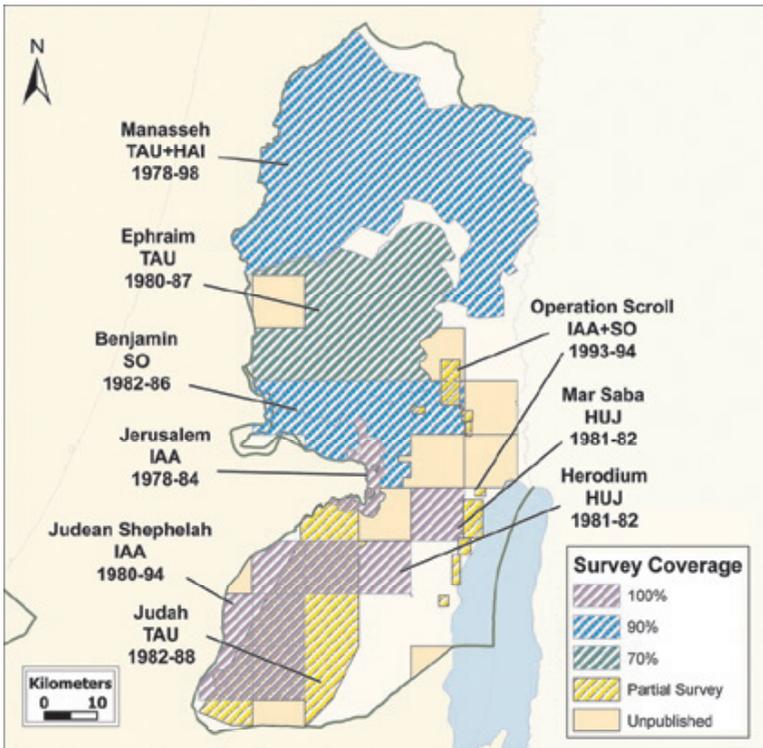
maps formed within such a logic overlap with each other; how difficult it is to disentangle them.

Clearly, there are alternative ways to appreciate archaeological sites. Given a choice, many Israelis and Palestinians—professional archaeologists included—would prefer to distance themselves from culturally loaded terminology, preferring neutral terms that would put sites of all periods on an even standing. But to ignore the way in which popular understanding absorbs archaeological narratives would be an exercise in self-delusion.

### **3. The Archaeological Surveys**

The numerous archaeological surface-surveys in the West Bank comprise the most significant contribution of Israeli archaeologists to its cultural inventory. Approximately 5400 sites have been entered on our database to date, and the full number of sites surveyed doubtless surpasses 6000. This total is proportional to the estimated number of sites within Israel proper, which is 20,000 (as reported on the IAA website), indicating that the same standards have been used to identify sites on either side of the Green Line. Generally speaking, sites are defined as spatially distinct remnants of past human activity or settlement. They range from full-blown tells to campsites, and—following the definition of antiquities under British Mandate law—do not, for the most part, include sites first occupied after 1700.

The first Israeli survey, termed the Emergency Survey, was conducted in 1968 under the leadership of Moshe Kochavi, in anticipation of the imminent return of the 'territories' to Jordanian rule. This survey covered upwards of 800 known or suspected archaeological sites identified beforehand on British maps. A new era of archaeological surveys was initiated a decade later, when students of Kochavi began a long series of surveys intended mainly to examine the central hill-country (Map 3.1). The names of these surveys: Manasseh and Ephraim in the north, Judah and the Judean Shephelah in the south, illustrate well the biblical framework within which the surveys were undertaken. As we will show below, however, their contribution was not limited to biblical periods. Complementing this major effort were more limited surveys conducted by individual researchers on the arbitrary 10 x 10 km 1:20,000 maps used by the Archaeological Survey of Israel. These were conducted under the auspices of the Staff Officer, although in some cases they formed a central part of an academic research program. Mention should also be made of surveys designed specifically to discover scroll fragments in the desert near Jericho and the Dead Sea. Published intensive surveys account for about 80% of the West Bank, but the Staff Officer has noted (pers. comm., December 2005) that intensive coverage in fact approaches 100%.

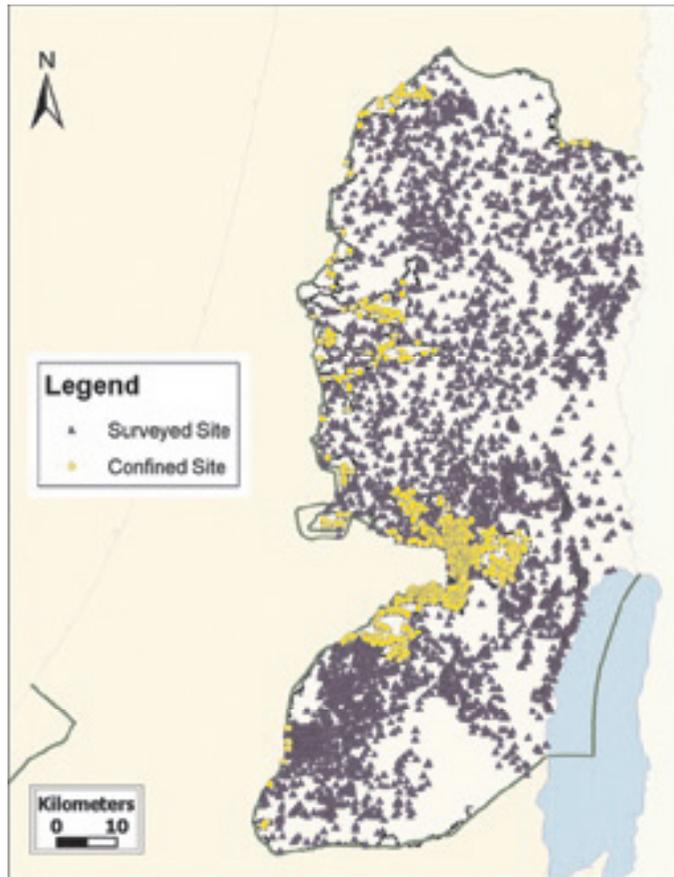


Map 3.1. Coverage and progress of published surveys, with indication of institutional auspices (TAU = Tel Aviv University; HAI = Haifa University; HUJ = Hebrew University; SO = Staff Officer; IAA = Israel Antiquities Authority).

Map 3.2 illustrates the distribution of surveyed sites in the West Bank. The difference in density in adjoining areas is largely a function of methodology and various approaches to site definition. 'Empty' areas indicate a lack of data, rather than a lack of sites (for methodological details and references, see Appendix I).

#### *Relation to Population Centers and the Barrier*

Maps 3.2 and 3.3 show, respectively, the quantity of sites confined between the separation barrier and the Green Line (including Jerusalem)—1196 sites in all, and selected illustrations of the relation between sites, Palestinian towns and Jewish settlements. While significant numbers of sites are confined by the barrier, the same is not generally true of Israeli settlements: there is no obvious relationship between settlements and archaeological sites, and the total number of sites within Jewish settlements is quite small (a few score sites outside Jerusalem). In contrast, hundreds of sites are presently within Palestinian populated areas,



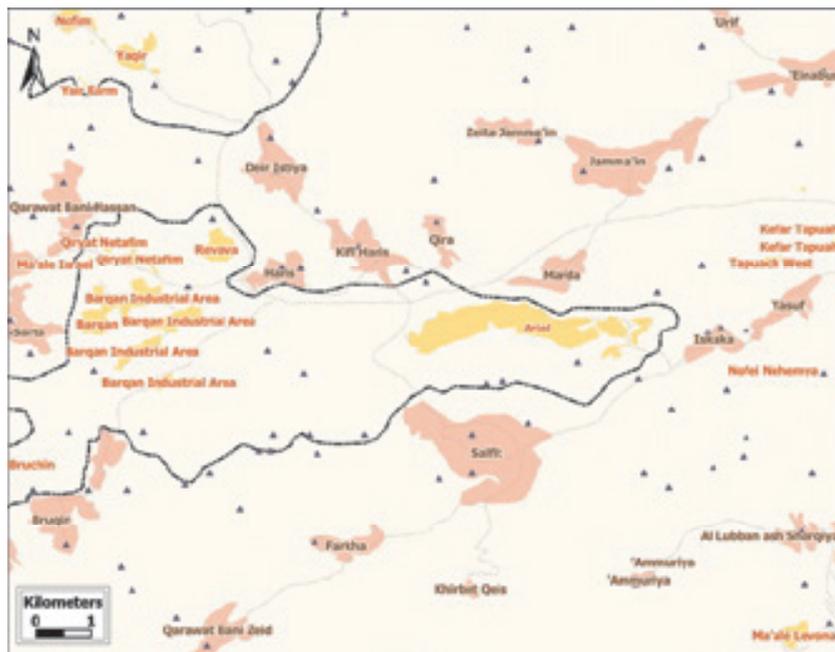
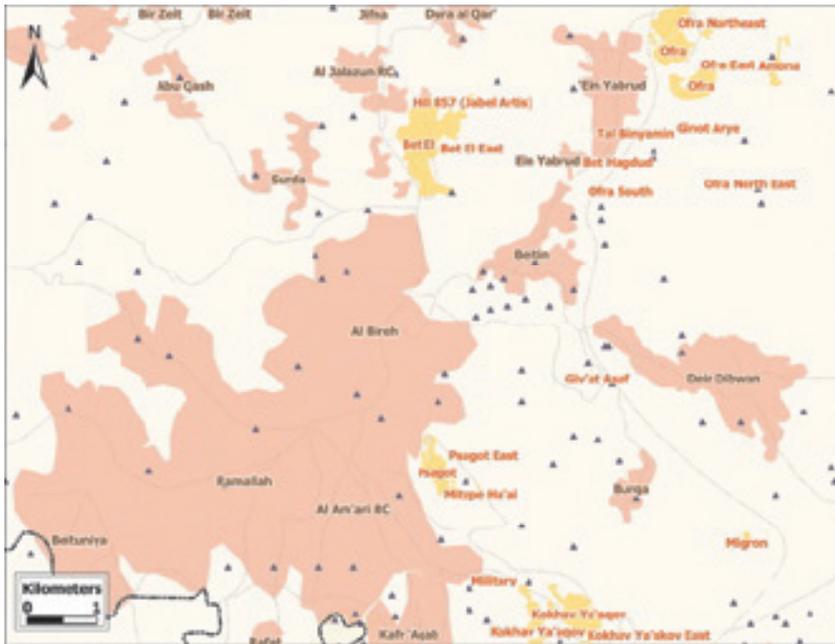
Map 3.2. Total surveyed sites in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Sites confined by the Separation Barrier are in yellow.

representing a challenge that needs to be addressed by planners.

#### *Research Agendas and Survey Results*

In terms of motivation and time frame, the survey work fits neatly within the parameters described above in regard to excavations: the period of the most intensive surveys corresponds closely to the period of intensive excavation by outside institutions, and to the period of political ascendancy of the Likud in Israel. Although surveys are by nature non-destructive, they require a long-term presence and intimacy with the countryside that coincides neatly with the trend toward Israeli settlement expansion in the 1980s.

In archaeological terms, the surveys attest to high professional standards. Table 3.1 presents a rough breakdown of the number of archaeological



Map 3.3a-b. Details of Map 3.2, showing the relation between surveyed sites, Palestinian localities and Israeli settlements.

'occupancies' attested in the major surveys (an 'occupancy' represents a chronologically defined presence at a site; multi-period sites can produce several occupancies for a single site, thus the total number of occupancies is greater than the total number of sites). These totals are presented in relative terms in Graph 3.1. Periods of occupation have been collated under broad headings: Prehistory (earliest times to c. 3500 BCE); the Bronze Age (c. 3500–1200 BCE); the Iron Age (c. 1200–550 BCE); the Persian and Hellenistic periods (c. 550–50 BCE); the Roman and Byzantine periods (c. 50 BCE – 650 CE); the Islamic period (c. 650–1700 CE).

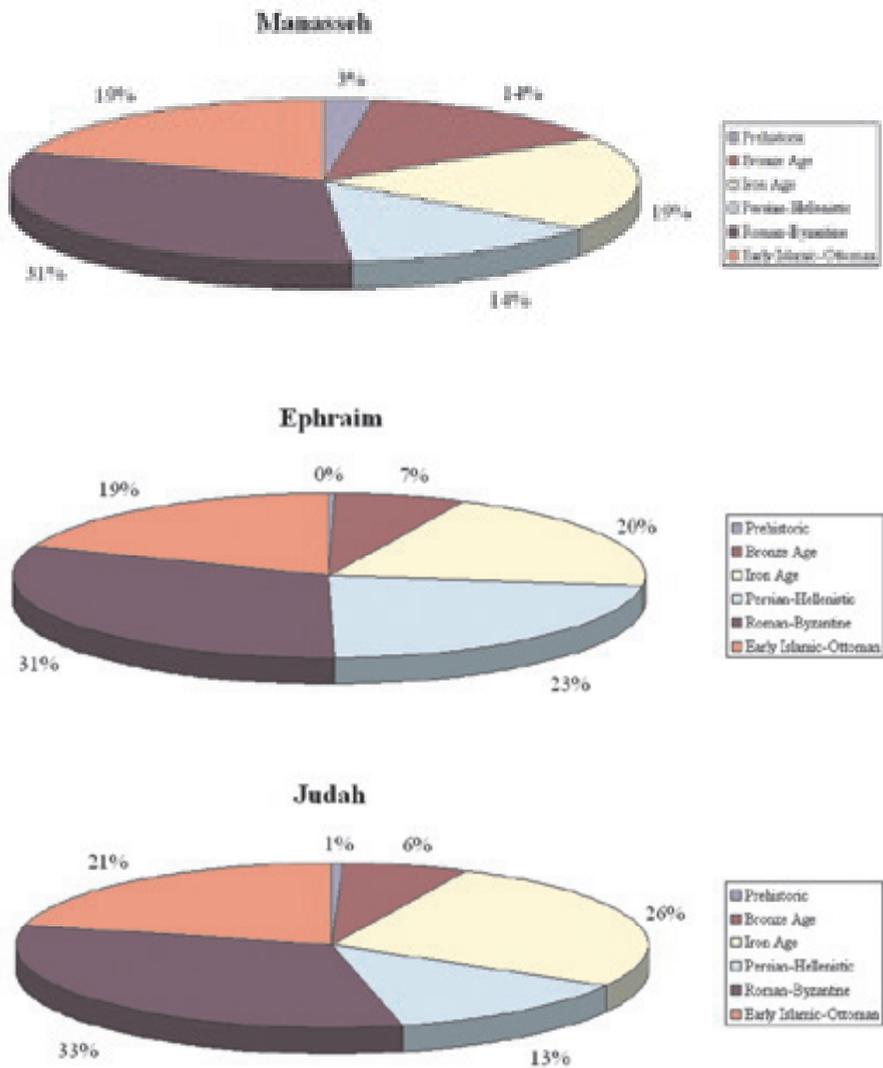
**Table 3.1. Total quantity of 'occupancies' identified in major surveys, in the Amaziya map, and in the sites excavated by the Staff Officer.**

The broad range of sites and the generally similar distribution patterns between the different surveys attest to highly professional work and to adherence to

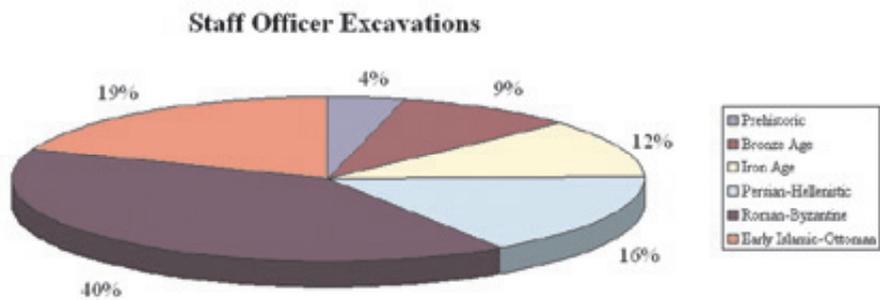
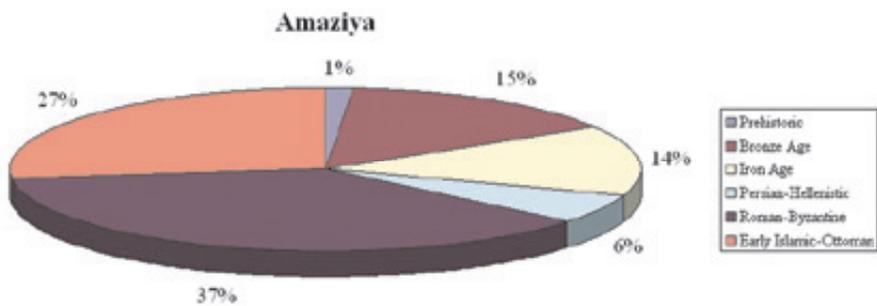
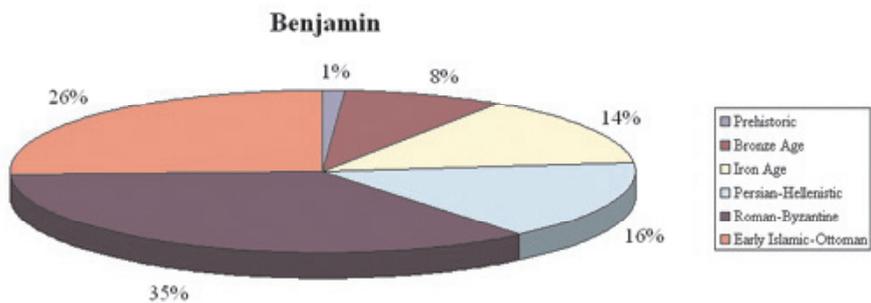
Region	Surveyor and Institution	Prehistoric	Bronze Age	Iron Age	Persian-Hellenistic	Roman-Byzantine	Early Islamic-Ottoman
Manasseh	Zertal, TAU	80	425	594	428	1005	606
Ephraim	Finkelstein, TAU	8	182	553	627	864	529
Benjamin	Various, SO	17	142	234	265	590	430
Judah	Ofer, TAU	8	88	372	185	458	298
Amaziya (South)	Dagan, TAU and IAA	9	101	96	39	251	184
Staff Officer Excavations		35	82	104	144	356	170

fairly consistent standards of recording and presentation. Nonetheless, some trends in representation are evident:

- (a) In all surveys, the prehistoric periods are severely under-represented; this is a result of inadequate survey methodologies and lack of lithic expertise.
- (b) Islamic period remains are well represented in all surveys; nonetheless, the inclusion of sites first occupied after 1700—as proposed by Palestinian legislators—would probably alter their relative quantity.
- (c) The Iron Age forms a higher proportion in the Tel Aviv University surveys (19-26%) than in the Staff Officer surveys (14%). In order to establish whether this trend is significant, we compared the survey quantities to sites *excavated* by the Staff Officer (12%), and to the proportions in 'standard' Israel survey maps in adjacent regions (e.g., Map of Lod – 13%; Map of Nes Harim – 13%; Map of Amaziya 14%).\* It is our understanding that the expertise and motivations of the Tel Aviv University surveyors



Graph 3.1. Relative quantities of occupancies in major chronological divisions. The first three charts are based on the major TAU surveys, the latter are from Staff Officer and IAA surveys, and from Staff Officer excavated sites.



Graph 3.1 - continued.

led to greater efforts expended on and a higher rate of identification of Iron Age remains (this observation has been confirmed by participants in the surveys).

#### *Academic Impact of Survey Results*

Apart from the ongoing academic research that has produced several Ph.D. dissertations based on survey work, two areas stand out as having been revolutionized by West Bank surveys.

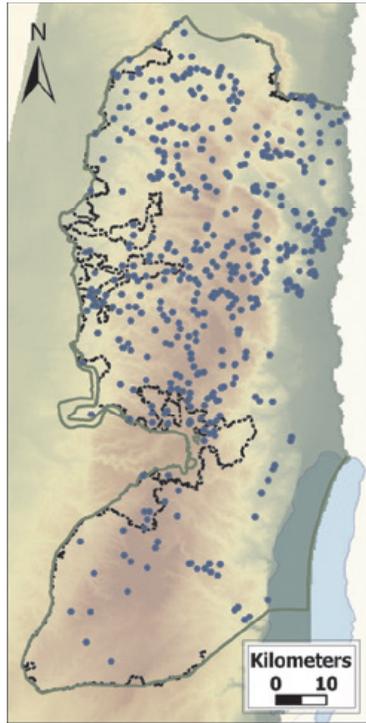
The first is the theme of early Iron Age settlement of the hill-country. Interest in what was generally perceived as early Israelite settlement in the hill-country was first fostered in the 1950s, through the Israeli excavations at Tel Hazor and Yohanan Aharoni's pioneering surveys in the Galilee. Aharoni's influence had much to do with the initiation of the Emergency Survey of the West Bank in 1968 and the Tel Aviv University surveys of the 1970s and 1980s. In the latter, no less than 393 Iron I sites were identified, most of them in the surveys conducted by Adam Zertal and Israel Finkelstein (see Map 3.4). The studies emerging from these surveys culminated in Finkelstein's *The Archaeology of Israelite Settlement* (1988), and Finkelstein and Na'aman's collation *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (1994), which may be said to have set the tone for the discussion of the origins of Early Israel. Paradoxically, the very studies intended to establish the archaeological basis for Early Israel probably contributed most to the deconstruction of this concept: 'every term that will be selected to define the inhabitants of the hill country in Iron Age I will be inaccurate' say the editors in their opening remarks (Finkelstein and Na'aman 1994: 17). Thus, the surveys may be said to have made a major contribution to the critique of the very concepts of Biblical archaeology from which they originated.

A second topic promoted significantly by Israeli surveys was the study of Byzantine settlement in general, and Byzantine monasticism in particular. The work of Hirschfeld (1985) and Patrich (1994), and lately, that of Sion (1996) as well, casts light on phenomena that could be studied by Israeli scholars only in the regions newly available for study after 1967. The extensive record of Byzantine settlement throughout the West Bank (see Map 3.5) obviously offers opportunities to study many other aspects of late Classical archaeology.

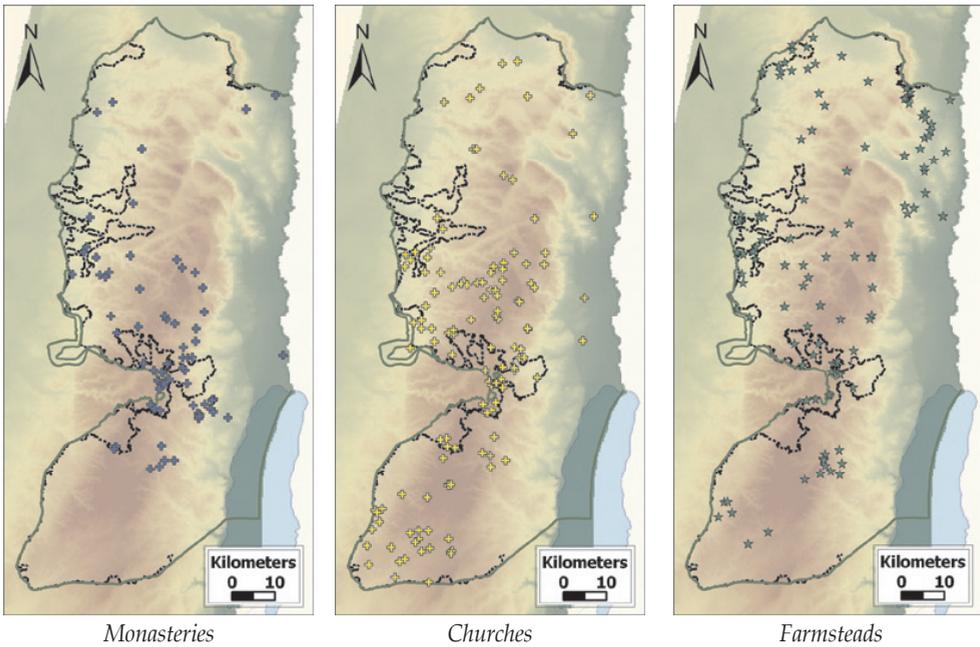
As a footnote to the latter topic, mention should be made of the never-ending quest for epigraphic evidence of early Christianity (the ('Dead Sea Scrolls'), centered on the site of Qumran. Although the principal excavations at the site were conducted prior to Israeli control, surveys and excavations in and around it—both by Israeli and by overseas researchers—have continued unabated. The

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\* Numbers based on Gophna and Beit-Arieh 1997; Weiss, Zissu and Solimany 2004; Dagan 2006.



Map 3.4. Surveyed Iron Age I sites.



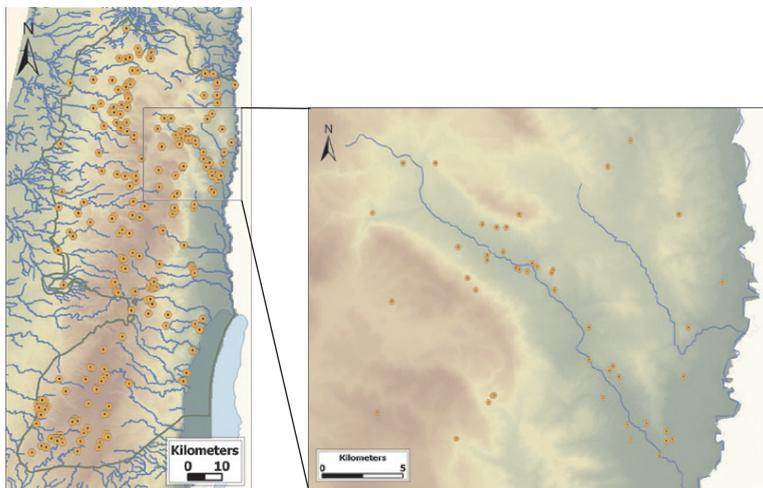
Map 3.5. Surveyed Byzantine sites: monasteries, churches and farmsteads.

peak of this activity is the combined survey and excavation effort mounted jointly by the IAA and the Staff Officer in 1994 ('Operation Scroll') (Wexler 2002).

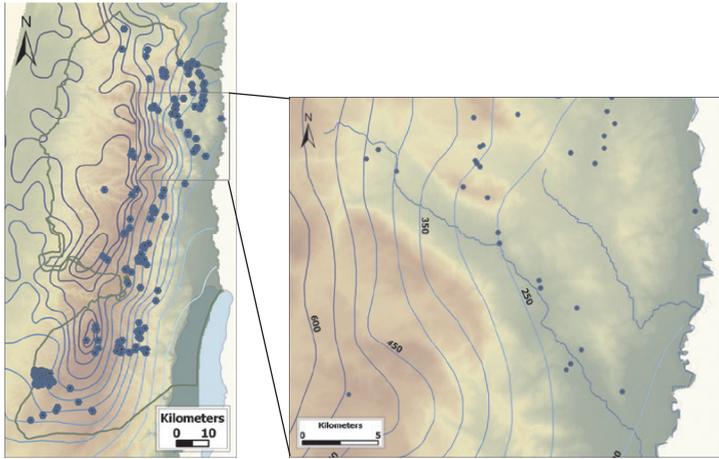
#### 4. The West Bank Archaeological Database: Potential Uses

The West Bank Archaeological database, at present still a work in progress, collates data from a wide range of published and archival sources, many of them extant in Hebrew only. Compiled by archaeologists and based on a simple Microsoft Excel platform, the database is constructed in a manner that can provide maximal benefit both to archaeological researchers and to planners or decision-makers. We believe that the provision of this information is an obligation of the Israeli archaeological community to itself and to the international community. In addition, it is of considerable importance to negotiators and planners who will be in a position to influence the future of the archaeological sites and finds. We provide below a small sample of the potential uses of the database:

1. Maps 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate some of the ecological relationships that can be brought out through the juxtaposition of sites and various GIS layers. Map 4.1 shows the relation of Early Bronze Age sites to water courses. A high degree of correlation is evident in several areas (see inset), suggesting a high degree of dependence on stream-bed agriculture at this time. A very different site distribution is evident in the subsequent Intermediate Bronze Age with a very clear preference for the semi-arid eastern slopes, as can be seen in Map 4.2. These very basic permutations can be refined considerably, both



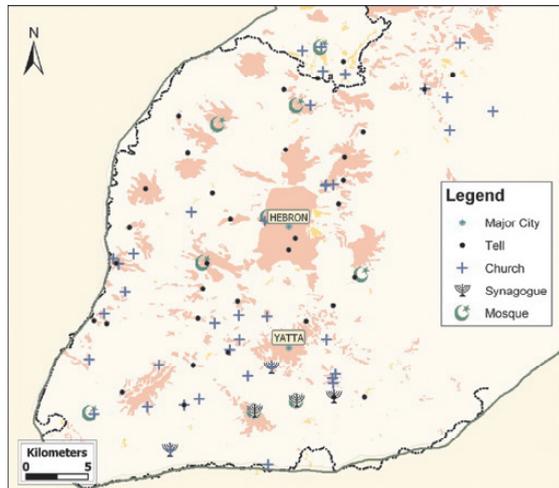
Map 4.1. Early Bronze Age sites in relation to water courses



Map 4.2. Intermediate Bronze Age sites in relation to precipitation isohyets and water courses.

by adding GIS layers (e.g., soil types, topography, isotherms), by refining the site-search criteria (e.g., chronological sub-periods, site types), and by zooming in on smaller regions.

- Map 4.3 illustrates the distribution of some of the most important site-types—tells (multi-layered ancient mounds), ancient churches and ancient synagogues, placing them in relation to Palestinian localities. The archaeological wealth revealed here should engender discussion regarding protection, preservation, future research and development in the proposed Palestinian state. Reflecting, as it does, the makeup of the archaeological



Map 4.3. Tells, ancient churches, ancient synagogues and ancient or historic mosques in relation to Palestinian localities in the Hebron region.

heritage west of the Green Line as well as to its east (this border has no ancient significance at all), this map highlights the importance of mutual recognition of the value of all cultural heritage by Israelis and Palestinians.

3. Table 4.1 is an extract from the excavations database, showing the basic information provided. As explained in the introduction, there is no publicly accessible list of excavations conducted since 1967. This list brings together information collected from a range of published and archival sources. The publication data forms a preliminary bibliography for the West Bank sites.

Table 4.1. Extract from excavations database.

***Conclusion: The Archaeology of a Prolonged Occupation***

X	Y	Site Name	Major Periods	Other Periods	Site Type	Findings	Cultural Significance	Excavator	Excavation Institution	License No	Publication Bibliography
156450	89650	Eshtemoa	IA2b/ IA2c, IA2a, Byz, Els, Ott	Chal, EB1, IA1, IA2a, Rom1, Rom2, Med	Synagogue	Ancient synagogue (excavated), reused as mosque; many architectural elements in secondary use inside modern village.	J/1	Ibrahim Ghasuli; Ze'ev Yeivin	Staff Officer of Archaeology in Judea and Samaria	L-1/1968-1; L-32/1970-0	HA 33 (1970): 7-8; 36 (1971): 16; 37 (1971): 24; Z. Yeivin, <i>IEJ</i> 21 (1971): 174-175; * <i>Atiqot</i> 48 (2004).
159800	90500	Kh. Susye	IA2c, Rom1, Rom2, Byz, Med, Ott	-	Ruin	Synagogue; houses; caves; cisterns; Mikvehs; cisterns; dromos caves, decorated building blocks, parts of Syrian pediment; reused as mosque.	J/1	Ze'ev Yeivin; Avraham Negev; Shmaria Gutman; Yehuda Govrin; Yuval Baruch	Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Staff Officer of Archaeology in Judea and Samaria	L-30/1970-0; L-39/1971-0; L-363/1984-0; L-382/1985-0; L-409/1986-0; L-428/1987-0; L-538/1992-0; L-820/1998-0; L-832/1999-0	<i>IEJ</i> 22 (1972): 147-149; <i>IEJ</i> 24 (1974): 201-209; <i>IEJ</i> 35 (1985): 231-252; <i>HA-ESI</i> 3 (1984): 101*-102*; <i>HA</i> 36 (1971): 17; <i>HA</i> 38 (1971): 21-22; <i>HA-ESI</i> 20 (1998): 121-122; <i>HA</i> 85; <i>Qadmoniot</i> 18 (1972): 47-52; <i>Eretz Israel</i> 17 (1984): 168-180.
162800	90800	Kh. Ma'on	IA2b, IA2c	EB1, IA2a, Per, Hel, Rom1, Rom2, Byz, Med, Ott	Tell	Byzantine stronghold, synagogue (4th-7th cent. CE), <i>Lamelekh</i> seal impression, structures, dromos caves, columbarium.	J	Zvi Ilan, David Amit	Staff Officer of Archaeology in Judea and Samaria	L-427/1987-0; L-444/1988-0	Hirschfeld 1979, <i>Qadmoniot</i> 46-47 (stronghold), D. Amit and Z. Ilan, <i>ESI</i> 7-8 (1988-1989): 123-125 (synagogue).
162900	92000	Kh. el-Karmil	IB	MB2a, MB2b/ MB2c, Byz	Cemetery	Large cemetery, at least 400 shaft-tombs.	*	W.G. Dever	Albright Institute	N/A	<i>Eretz-Israel</i> 12 (1975): 18*-33*.
163350	92200	Karmil - Ma'on Road	Rom	-	Cave	Rom burial cave.	-	Shavit Zion	Staff Officer of Archaeology in Judea and Samaria	L-519/1992-0	<i>ESI</i> 13 (1993): 109.

Contrary to its popular image, the archaeological inventory is not static. It is forever growing at one end, as new sites come to light and as advances in the discipline and method change and enhance its definition, while diminishing at the other, as the inexorable march of human activity absorbs and destroys sites. Thus, even under the strictest interpretation of its responsibilities, Israel is required to administer the antiquities of the Palestinian territories, to identify and protect sites, and to excavate those endangered by construction. Under this rationale, the identification of sites through surface survey and the excavation of sites threatened by development or looting should be seen as legitimate activities. Our research has shown that Israeli authorities and researchers have invested considerable effort in the identification, recording and salvage of the archaeological heritage, the more so as the study of West Bank antiquities is, in a disciplinary sense, entirely contiguous with the archaeology of Israel proper.

In practice, however, there are several blank patches and ethically gray areas in Israel's archaeological activity in the West Bank that must be recognized:

- ◆ There is no public oversight of the Staff Officer's activities, nor any regular report on the many excavations that his unit conducts. It is clear that a considerable portion of its activity is self-initiated, but as of the writing of this report, there is no record of what proportion this may be of the entire volume of the unit's work.
- ◆ No serious effort has been made to build up local scientific capacities in the Palestinian communities or to encourage local schools of archaeology. This is due, in some measure, to the strong attraction felt by many Israelis to the antiquities of the West Bank, leaving little common ground for work with Palestinians, especially those with strong national convictions. Generally speaking, the archaeological heritage is considered in Israel to be of greater value to the occupiers than to the occupied.
- ◆ Our data suggest that academic research in the West Bank and greater East Jerusalem has been, by and large, naturalized in the Israeli academic scene. The fact that this research activity is closely linked (in temporal terms) to political trends in Israel proper underlines its close relation to the specific *zeitgeist* in which it has been undertaken. By the same token, the withdrawal of academe from involvement in West Bank projects in recent years reflects the political trend towards disengagement, beginning with the Oslo accords of 1993 and continuing with the Gaza disengagement of 2005.

The sheer volume of work already invested and the sheer magnitude and diversity of the archaeological heritage of the West Bank surely should be a factor in any consideration of the political future of our region. As David Lowenthal

has stated, 'the politics of the past is no trivial academic game; it is an integral part of every people's earnest search for a heritage essential to autonomy and identity' (Lowenthal 1990: 302). Archaeology is crucial to the construction of the cognitive maps of the people involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It provides important symbolic capital on either side of the fence, and has the potential even to derail the political process. It is our hope that this publication will serve as an impetus to the inclusion of archaeology in the purview of those whose decisions and policies determine of the future of this region.

## Appendix I: Methodological Notes

The entire West Bank and East Jerusalem have been the subject of archaeological survey since 1967. A rapid 'Emergency Survey' in 1968 (Kochavi 1972) was followed by a long series of intensive surveys, defined either topically or according to the arbitrary 10 x 10 km 'map' system devised by the Archaeological Survey of Israel. While published 'full coverage' surveys (see below) cover over 70% of the region, the Staff Officer has noted (in a conversation with the authors) that the entire area of the West Bank has, in fact, been covered. Published surveys include the following: northern Samaria ('Manasseh', surveyed 1978–1998; Zertal 1992, 1996, 2005, Zertal and Mirkam 2000), southern Samaria ('Ephraim', surveyed 1980–1987; Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997), the 'Land of Benjamin' (surveyed 1982–1986; Finkelstein and Magen 1993), East Jerusalem (surveyed 1978–1984; Kloner 2000–2003), 'Judah' (surveyed 1982–1988; Ofer 1993), the northern Judean desert (Wexler 2002), and the 'maps' of Herodium (surveyed 1981–1982; Hirschfeld 1985), Mar Saba (surveyed 1981–1982; Patrich 1994), Amaziya (east) (Dagan 2006). Other 'maps' have been briefly noted; these include Wadi Qelt (Sion 1994), Qalya (Sion 1995), el-Mughayir (Spanier 1994) and Bidiya (Eitam 1981), and there are some descriptions of unsystematic surveys (e.g., Dar 1986; Fischer, Isaac and Roll 1996).

### *Survey Method*

Most West Bank surveys manifest—and usually clearly state—their allegiance to the 'Archaeological Survey of Israel [ASI] method'. Put simply, this method entails pedestrian survey, usually in teams of 2–7 persons spaced 50–200 m apart. Sites are defined by architectural and artifactual parameters. Structural remains are plotted, a central grid-point is usually established (all surveys use the old Israel grid, sometimes adding UTM grid references as well; also, all predate the use of GPS), and size is estimated. Once defined, sites are combed for diagnostic pottery, which is usually kept for further typological study, quantification etc. The ASI method is generally termed 'intensive' or 'full' by the surveyors.

### *Definition of Sites*

The ASI method recognizes only discrete sites. These may range from lithic or ceramic scatters to extant monuments and even old village cores. Some surveys list a set of site-types, many of them interpretive, e.g., the type designated as 'fort: a site used as a permanent defensive installation', or 'farm: site used for permanent residence of a family of farmers, including appropriate installations' (Zertal 1992: 24). In multi-period sites, the specific extent and type of site cannot be established for each period, except in rare cases.

### *Site Names*

For the most part, P.E.F. and British Mandate maps were consulted in the ascription of names to sites. Exceptions to this rule include the Land of Judah and northern Samaria surveys, where names supplied by local Palestinian informants were preferred over map names, and the Jerusalem survey, where post-1967 Israeli maps and Hebrew names were the default value, with older (usually Arabic) names noted as well. Occasionally, sites are noted according to triangulation values or spot-heights. A further complication is the use of un-pointed Hebrew place names in some publications.

### *Dating*

Published surveys provide either review typologies or unsystematic samples of diagnostics from the more 'important' sites. Lithics are glaringly absent from most surveys; prehistoric sites are therefore dramatically under-represented. At the other end of the spectrum, limited familiarity with medieval and Ottoman ceramics has led to a very uneven, un-detailed, and certainly incomplete representation of these periods. The excavation of sites as part of the survey or subsequent to the survey is often used to confirm chronological attributions made during the survey; that is, the results of excavations in a small sample of sites of a certain character are extrapolated to support the dates assigned to the group as a whole.

### *Excavations*

Due to the lack of cooperation on the part of the Staff Officer, the database that we have compiled is based on published materials and on a partial list of excavation licenses provided to the IAA by the Staff Officer in 1997. Some additional information has been received from researchers ahead of publication, and is presently incorporated in the maps. Details on finds were culled from both surveys and publications. Where no publication exists for an excavated site, the description is based on the survey results.

### *Survey Database*

The survey spreadsheet includes 19 fields. Details on selected fields follow:

*Site name.* Sites names noted in surveys or obtained from other sources are entered in this field. Names are often repeated in the surveys and in the database; this occurs when sites take the names of an adjacent geographical feature, or when sites are divided into independent features, each with its own grid reference. Also, different sites at distant locations may have the same name, especially when it is of a vague nature (such as el-Qasr, or Kh. ed-Deir). Many

surveys use descriptive or technical terms as names (e.g., Cave, Spot Height 614). In each case, the published term is reproduced in the database.

*Other names.* Care has been taken to include additional names or variant spellings in order to allow for a wide range of search options. Where site names have been recorded in Hebrew only, the Hebrew name (untransliterated) is entered in this field, in order to avoid errors in the 'Site name' field. Also, modern Hebrew names are entered in this field.

*Major periods, other periods.* These fields denote the periods represented at the site according to the survey. Division into 'major' and 'other' periods was based on the following:

- ◆ textual reference (e.g., 'An Iron Age mound existed at the site, with limited reoccupation in the Ottoman period').
- ◆ pottery frequencies cited in the survey.
- ◆ where a single artifact was assigned to a period lacking ceramic representation, that period is entered as 'other'.

*Site type.* Where the source uses site definitions, these have been reproduced; otherwise the designation is based on the main characteristics of the site, as described in the survey.

*Finds.* This field briefly notes the principal discoveries at the site. Finds include architectural remains, installations, tombs and special artifacts (including coins, stamped handles etc.).

*Cultural affinity.* This field indicates the degree to which the sites show identifiable religious/cultural Jewish, Christian or Islamic affinities. While we find these designations to be extremely schematic, they are presently included in the database in order to allow us to investigate the cartographic results of these identifications, and to assess their value to users of the database.

*Publication bibliography.* This field contains abbreviated references to publications of excavations, with a preference for final reports (that is, where a final report incorporates earlier notices, these will generally be left out). In addition to references noted in the published surveys, we have combed the following publications: *Hadashot Arkheologiyot/Excavations and Surveys in Israel, Eretz-Israel, Judea and Samaria Research, Israel Exploration Journal, Qadmoniot, 'Atiqot, Tel Aviv, New Studies on Jerusalem, Liber Annuus, Niqrot Zurim, Israel – Land and People* (Haaretz Museum Annual).

### *GIS Cartography*

The GIS database combines static layers (DTM, isohyets etc.) with dynamic layers that are based on the archaeological data-set. We have outlined above both the limitations of the archaeological data and the necessity that this part of the database remain open and capable of being brought up to date. The resulting combination forms an extremely versatile tool that can serve researchers in the fields of archaeology, geography or cultural heritage management, as well as decision-makers and the media. We hope soon to determine the best method to make the database accessible to the public and amenable to correction and improvement.

## Appendix II: Excerpts from the Israel Defense Forces Decree Concerning The Antiquities Law (No. 1166), 5746-1986\*

### Section A: Preamble

- Definitions
1. In the following regulations:  
'The Decree' – Decree Concerning the Antiquities Law (Judea and Samaria) (No. 1166), 5746-1986; 'The Law' – The Antiquities Law, No. 51 for the year 1966;  
....

### Section B: Archaeological Excavations and Surveys

#### *Part 1: General*

- Definitions
2. In this Section:  
'Excavation' – Including archaeological reconnaissance, trial excavations and surveys;  
'Survey' – The search for antiquities on the surface alone and in open spaces.
- Exception
3. The provisions of this Section will not apply to excavations conducted by the Officer or on his behalf according to Paragraph 8 of the Law or according to Section H of the Law.

#### *Part 2: Licensing*

- Application
4. (a) An application for an excavation license will be submitted to the Officer in triplicate on a form worded as in Appendix A of these regulations.  
(b) The application will be submitted no later than three months before the starting date of the excavation in question.

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\*Unofficial translation, for research purposes only.

Special requirements, applicant

5. Without prejudice to the provisions of the Law or to any other regulation, the person requesting an excavation license must:
  - (a) obtain the approval of the owners of the property on which the excavation is to be conducted ....
  - (b) (1) In the event that previous excavations have been conducted by other persons on the site destined for excavation – consult with those persons in conducting the requested excavation.  
(2) The Council is authorized to release the applicant from this requirement.
  - (c) Fulfill his obligations in regard to previous survey or excavation licenses granted by the Officer.

....

Special requirements, licensee

7. Without prejudice to the provisions of Section F of the Law, the following obligations are incumbent on the holder of the excavation or survey license:
  - (a) Not to begin any kind of work without prior consultation with the civil governor... or military commander....
  - (b) To conduct the excavation according to accepted scientific standards.

....

  - (e) To guard the excavation site and its antiquities, to fence it in, to signpost it, to take any measures necessary to prevent bodily harm at the site ... even after the completion of the excavation...
  - (f) To do all that is necessary to protect the antiquities discovered by the holder....
  - (g) To store the antiquities discovered either in the sponsoring scientific institution or in another place approved by the Officer.
  - (h) Not to transfer the antiquities discovered by the holder to any person, institution or museum, with or without recompense,

and not to remove them from the Area unless written approval is obtained in advance from the Officer.

- (i) (1) To present the Director with a detailed report on the results of the excavation....
- (2) The report shall be submitted no later than one year from the termination of the license....
- (j) To allow the Officer or anyone on his behalf access to the excavation, to inspect any aspect of the excavation, the curation of the finds, and any other action connected with the excavation.

...

- (l) To fulfill any additional condition detailed in the excavation license or imposed by the Officer or an authorized official on his behalf either in writing or orally at any time.

### *Part 3: Scientific Publications*

- Scientific publication      8. (a) Within six years of obtaining the excavation license the holder shall publish a suitable scientific publication of the excavation, its finds and results, and shall provide the Officer with two copies of any publication treating the excavation, its finds and results.

...

- 9. (a) The Officer, in consultation with the Advisory Council, may extend the period stated in Paragraph 8....

### *Part 4: Division of Antiquities*

- Division of antiquities      10. (a) Shortly after the submission of the scientific publication for publication or at any other time determined by the Officer, the license holder shall enable

- the Officer to carry out a division of the antiquities discovered in the excavation.
- (b) The division will be conducted at a time and place determined by the Officer.

...

### Section C: Loaning of Antiquities

- Applicant 14. An application for the loaning of antiquities may be submitted by an accredited scientific institution or museum or by a researcher sponsored by such institutions.

...

### Section D: Removal of Antiquities from the Area

- Application 21. An application for removal of antiquities from the Area will be submitted to the Head of the Civil Administration through the Officer, on a form worded as in Appendix G to these regulations.

...

- Export license 23. In the event that the application has been approved by the Head of the Civil Administration—in its entirety, partially, or with qualifications—the applicant shall be awarded an export license.....

- General permit 24. Released from export license:
- (a) The removal of antiquities from the Area by the Officer or members of his unit in the course of their work.
  - (b) The removal of antiquities from the Area by the licensee, under the following conditions:
    - (1) The finds were discovered in the licensed excavation.
    - (2) The antiquities are removed to the sponsoring scientific institution.
    - (3) The sponsoring scientific institution is in Israel.

## Excerpt from the Israel Defense Forces Decree Concerning The Antiquities Law (No. 1167), 5746-1986\*

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Establishment of Advisory Council | 1. An advisory council on antiquities is hereby established.  |
| The Members of the Council        | 2. The advisory council shall be composed of the following members: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>(a) The Deputy to the Head of the Civil Administration in Judea and Samaria – chairman;</li><li>(b) The Staff Officer for Archaeology in the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria – deputy chairman and <i>locum tenens</i>;</li><li>(c) Prof. Avraham Biran – member;</li><li>(d) Prof. Moshe Kochavi – member;</li><li>(e) Mr. Avraham Eitan – member;</li><li>(f) Head of Infrastructure Branch in the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria – member;</li><li>(g) Head of Economic Branch in the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria – member.</li></ul> Mr. Nabi Lutfi, director of the Shechem [Nablus] district in the Archaeological Staff Officer unit shall serve as secretary of the council. |
| Tenure of the Council             | 3. The tenure of the named council members and of the secretary shall be two years from the date of this decision.  |
| Functions of the Council          | 4. (a) The council shall advise the Staff Officer for Archaeology and the Civil Administration authorities concerning antiquities matters that they will bring before the council.  |

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\*Unofficial translation, for research purposes only.

- (b) The Officer shall consult with the council regarding any matter of importance that he sees fit and especially the following matters:
  - (1) Applications for an excavation license.
  - (2) Preservation and development plans for historic sites.
  - (3) Construction of new museums.
  - (4) Trade in antiquities.
  - (5) Anything else related to the protection of antiquities, promotion of scientific research and the advancement of archaeology in the region.

The council meetings

- 5. (a) The council will hold regular or special meetings at the invitation of the Deputy Chairman.
- (b) The presence of at least five council members shall be considered a legal quorum, and decisions will be made by majority vote of those present.

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