NOTES

1. I conducted most of the interviews during the summers of 2012 and 2013, the former supported by a RISD Professional Development Fund and the latter by a Brown University Middle East Studies Research Travel Grant. Some of the individuals listed may no longer hold the positions or titles mentioned here.

INTRODUCTION


2. In contrast to the concept of legal continuity between archaeological fieldwork in East and West Jerusalem, the administrative framework of East Jerusalem residents is far more complex. Whereas the Israeli government maintains an administrative distinction between Israeli citizens and noncitizens in East Jerusalem, the Jerusalem municipality does not.

tendencies of colonial and state-building efforts have been associated with archaeological work in Jordan. See E. D. Corbett, *Competitive Archaeology in Jordan: Narrating Identity from the Ottomans to the Hashemites* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2014).


5. The Waqfs are Islamic religious and charitable foundations created by endowed trust funds. The word *waqf* means “pious endowment” or “pious foundation.” Waqfs is the plural form of the name more commonly used in English, though Awqaf is also used, which is the Arabic form of the plural.


7. The literature on the subjectivity of archaeological interpretations is too extensive to review here. It is based on the post-processual movement, which originated in England in the late 1970s and early 1980s, associated mostly with Ian Hodder. For his most recent publication relevant to the subject, see I. Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

8. “Science as a Vocation” was originally published as “Wissenschaft als Beruf,” *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre* (Tübingen 1922), 524–55.

9. The formal name of Jordan (since 1949) is the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; between 1946 and 1949, the country was known as the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan.

1. **BOUNDARIES, BARRIERS, WALLS**

1. The construction of the Barrier Wall (also referred to as Israeli West Bank Barrier, Security Barrier, Separation Barrier, Racial Segregation Wall, and the Apartheid Wall) began in 2000, during the Second Intifada. Israel considers it a defense mechanism against terrorism; Palestinians identify it as yet another tool of racial segregation or as an expression of apartheid policies. Most sources don’t distinguish between the name of the Jerusalem segment and other segments of the longer wall. Some refer to the East Jerusalem section as the Jerusalem Envelope. The International Court of Justice refers to it as the “Wall” (www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6); in Hebrew, it is generally referred to as Chomat ha-Hafrada (Separation Wall), and in Arabic, mostly as Jidar (Wall).


7. For pagan and Jewish burials, the separation between the “city of the living” and the “city of the dead”—the necropolis—was strictly observed. Changes occurred during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. See G. Avni, “The Urban Limits of Roman and Byzantine Jerusalem: A View from the Necropoleis,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005): 373–96.


9. According to E. A. Knauf, “Jerusalem in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. A Proposal,” *Tel Aviv* 27 (2000): 75–90, Mount Moriah may have been included within the city wall as early as the Middle Bronze Age.

10. In 586 B.C.E., Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians under king Nebuchadnezzar II.


15. Mujir ad-Din first used the term, in 1495, some twenty years before the Ottoman conquest, to describe various quarters and streets named after particular populations and communities who settled in the city.


23. The Ottoman millet system allowed different confessional communities to judge according to their own religious rulings, including the laws of the Muslim Sharia, the Christian Canon law, and the Jewish halakha.


28. The land west of the Jordan River remained under direct British rule until 1948 and was known as Palestine, while the land east of the Jordan became a semiautonomous region known as Transjordan, under the rule of the Hashemite family from the Hijaz, which gained independence in 1946.

29. On August 6, 1953, the Parliament of Jordan proclaimed Jerusalem as the alternative capital of the kingdom, probably in an attempt to keep Jordan’s large minority population of Palestinians content. The Parliament voiced plans to meet in Jerusalem occasionally but in fact convened there only once. See Emmett, “Capital Cities of Jerusalem,” 237.


34. Jerusalem’s municipal borders have changed repeatedly in modern history. For more detailed surveys on the frequent changes, see S. Dellapergola, “Jerusalem’s


37. According to Abu El-Haj, this marked difference between the Jewish and the other quarters of the Old City, as well as the clear boundaries separating the different quarters were introduced relatively recently. See Abu El-Haj, “Translating Truths,” 180.


39. For an overview on recent demographic changes in the city of Jerusalem, see Delapergola, “Jerusalem’s Population.” On the policies regarding the demographic balance and the redrawing of municipal boundaries, see M. Benvenisti, City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 50–68.

40. For a list of all Basic Laws, including definitions, see www.knesset.gov.il/description/eng/eng_mimshal_yesod1.htm (English version); and http://main.knesset.gov.il/Activity/Legislation/Pages/BasicLaws.aspx (Hebrew version).

41. The international community, including the United States, maintains their embassies in Tel Aviv.

42. International bodies such as the United Nations have condemned Israel’s Basic Law concerning Jerusalem as a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and therefore hold that the establishment of the city as Israel’s capital is against international law. Unlike a treaty agreement, however, customary international law is usually not written. In its 2004 advisory opinion on the legality of the Barrier Wall, the International Court of Justice (the primary judicial branch of the United Nations) reiterated that the lands captured by Israel in the 1967 war, including East Jerusalem, are occupied territory. On the complexity of international law and its contested relevance, see E. Cotran, “The Jerusalem Question in International Law: The Way to a Solution,” Islamic Studies 40 (2001); and Weiner, “The NGOs, Demolition of Illegal Building in Jerusalem, and International Law,” Jewish Political Studies Review 17, no. 1–2 (2005).

43. The committee at its twenty-fifth session (Helsinki, 2001) endorsed the recommendation of the twenty-fifth session of its bureau (Paris, June 2001) “to postpone further consideration of this nomination proposal until an agreement on the status of the City of Jerusalem in conformity with International Law is reached, or until the parties concerned submit a joint nomination” (Jerusalem UNESCO World Heritage List, http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1483).

2. INSTITUTIONALIZATION


5. Two significant artifacts from Jerusalem discovered during the Ottoman period, the so-called Orpheus mosaic and the Siloam inscription, were shipped to Constantinople and are among the prized pieces of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.


7. When Warren received a firman from Constantinople, he decided to keep the contents of the document secret and continued to excavate in the city (Silberman, *God and Country*, 92). To be able to conduct his treasure hunt, Parker offered two high-ranking members of the Young Turk government 50 percent of any treasure he might find in return for their official confidence and support (182). To excavate within the Haram, Parker offered twenty-five thousand dollars to Azmey Bey Pasha, the local official, who arranged that Sheikh Khalil, the hereditary guardian of the Dome of the Rock, would also be bribed (186).

8. Much of our knowledge regarding Robinson’s life and professional achievements comes from Roswell D. Hitchcock, the president of the Union Theological Seminary. His account, *Edward Robinson*, was published shortly after Robinson’s death. For a summary of and commentary on Robinson’s contributions to the field of biblical archaeology, see Silberman, *God and Country*, 37–47.


11. On de Saulcy’s travels, see his *Voyage autour de la mer Morte* and *Voyage en Terre Sainte*. For a summary of his life and his explorations in Palestine, see Silberman, *God and
15. For his work in Jerusalem, Wilson was assisted by a team of sappers and miners, as well as the photographer James McDonald, R.E., who made an extremely important pictorial record of the city’s buildings. Gibson, “British Archaeological Work,” 26.
16. A detailed report of his work was published in his Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem.
23. Among his numerous publications, see, in particular, Beit el Makdas oder der alte Tempelplatz zu Jerusalem, wie er jetzt ist (Jerusalem: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1887); “Recent Discoveries in Jerusalem,” Palestine Exploration Quarterly 21 (1889), 62–63; and Die Stiftshütte, der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896).
25. For an account of their excavations, see Silberman, God and Country, 147–70.


34. It appears that the decision to select only Muslim and Jewish representatives from the local communities was motivated by the desire to compensate for the exclusive Christian representation of professionals on the British, American, and European side.

35. Glock, “Archaeology as Cultural Survival,” 75.


40. Those salvage excavations exposed hundreds of ancient tombs (Seligman, “Departments of Antiquities” 127).


44. Flavius Josephus, in his description of Jerusalem’s fortifications, names three walls: the First Wall, built by one of the Hasmonean kings around 130 B.C.E. on the lines of the Iron Age city wall; the Second Wall, in place during King Herod the Great’s rule, between 37 and 4 B.C.E. (and possibly built by him); and the Third Wall, Jerusalem’s northern-most wall, built by Herod Agrippa I between 41 and 44 C.E.

45. E. T. Richmond, The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. A Description of Its Structure and Decoration (Oxford, 1924); and R. W. Hamilton, The Structural History of the Aqsa...


47. R. Reich, “The Israel Exploration Society (IES),” In Galor and Avni, Unearthing Jerusalem 119.


55. Though Flinders Petrie had introduced the methods of seriation analysis and stratigraphic excavation to the region as early as the 1920s, for Jerusalem, it is usually Kenyon who is associated with introducing the rigors of stratigraphic techniques and ceramic typology for dating of archaeological strata. See Silberman, God and Country, 176–79.


58. The Tombs of the Sanhedrin and the Tomb of Jason are among the more significant burial complexes discovered during this time frame. See Seligman, “Departments of Antiquities,” 133.
59. This stipulation was formulated in the *Official Gazette* (the official journal of the United States Patent and Trademark Office) number 1390, 30.8.1967.

60. Silberman points out that those excavations were judged by some to go far beyond the legitimate and permitted function of protecting immediately endangered archaeological sites. Silberman, “Power, Politics, and the Past,” 18–19.

61. Uzi Dahari served as interim director.

62. Shin Bet is the Israel Security Agency (ISA), similar to the British MI5 or the American FBI. Israel Hasson’s appointment as director of the IAA was controversial because of his ties to Elad. See N. Hasson, “Israel Antiquities Authority Taps Politician with Ties to Rightist NGO,” *Haaretz*, October 29, 2014.

63. In 2011, Avni was replaced by Jon Seligman and has since acted as academic director of excavations, surveys, research, laboratories, and scientific publications.

64. For an overview of the history of the IDAM and the IAA between 1967 and 2006, see Seligman, “Departments of Antiquities,” 135–46.

65. The survey was published in three volumes. See A. Kloner, *Survey of Jerusalem, the Southern Sector* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority—Archaeological Survey of Israel, 2000); *Survey of Jerusalem, the Northeastern Sector* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority—Archaeological Survey of Israel, 2001); and *Survey of Jerusalem, the Northwestern Sector: Introduction and Indices* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority—Archaeological Survey of Israel, 2003).

66. For a more extensive summary of excavations conducted in Jerusalem since 1967, see Seligman, “Departments of Antiquities,” 135–45. Most excavations were published in reports published by the IAA in issues and volumes of the *Atiqot* and *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* series.


71. According to Seligman, a total of approximately twelve thousand sites have been excavated in the city since the beginning of archaeological exploration in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Galor and Avni, this number only reflects official expeditions. The number of illegal or undocumented excavations is around five hundred. See Seligman,
72. See Seligman, “Departments of Antiquities,” 145.
74. Cultural heritage efforts under Jordanian rule focused mostly on the Islamic heritage. But in terms of fieldwork, Kathleen Kenyon’s was the only excavation carried out during this period and thus shaped the focus on the biblical past.

3. FROM DESTRUCTION TO PRESERVATION

1. A few days later, Herzl changed his mind. He suggested building a new secular city outside the walls and leaving the holy shrines in an enclave of their own. It was a perfect expression of the secularist ideal: religion must be relegated to a separate sphere, where it will rapidly become a museum piece. T. Herzl, The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, ed. R. Patai, 2 vols. (London and New York: Herzl Press with Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), 745. Two decades after Herzl, British archaeologist W. M. Flinders Petrie made a similar suggestion. He proposed to demolish much of the Old City, remove the medieval remains and restore the Jewish layers of habitation. Palestine Exploration Quarterly Statement 5, 1919, 3. See also S. Gibson, “British Archaeological Work in Jerusalem between 1865 and 1967: An Assessment,” in Galor and Avni, Unearthing Jerusalem, 48.
2. Benvenisti, City of Stone, 136.
3. At the turn of the twentieth century, there were some fifty synagogues and yeshivot in the Jewish Quarter. Surprisingly, by 1975, only four of the destroyed buildings were wholly or partially renovated. In “Post-War Reconstruction and Conservation,” (382), Slae, Kark, and Shoval point out that for many Israelis, the heritage value associated with religious institutions was perceived as obsolescent.
5. In Reinventing Jerusalem, Ricca documents the process of the reconstruction and explains the cultural and ideological ramifications locally and internationally. He compares the Jewish Quarter reconstruction to other contemporary urban restoration initiatives and comes to the conclusion that if international standards had been followed and foreign experts had been consulted, the extent of destruction could have been avoided. According to Slae, Kark, and Shoval, only one hundred (a third) of the old structures in the quarter were deemed suitable for restoration (“Post-War Reconstruction and Conservation,” 377).


8. This quotation (as well as the quotations in the rest of this paragraph) are from “The Conservation of Jerusalem’s City Walls,” on the IAA website, www.antiquities.org.il/jerusalemwalls/default-eng.asp.


13. This was the first international legal framework for the fight against the illicit trafficking of cultural property in times of peace.


15. The charter was prepared by the International Committee for the Management of Archaeological Heritage (ICAHM) and approved by the Ninth General Assembly in Lausanne.

16. Article 3, on Legislation and Economy.


21. Katz, *Jordanian Jerusalem* (1–15, 118–36), examines how the modern Jordanian state has invested sacred sites with national meaning and how this has impacted tourism and
pilgrimage to Jerusalem. She argues that the city’s Muslim and Christian sites became a focal point of Jordan’s identity. On the pre-state family contribution to the renovations of the Dome of the Rock, see Katz, chapter 4. On the Second Hashemite Restoration after the coronation of King Hussein, see www.kinghussein.gov.jo/islam_restoration.html.


24. In addition to the significant resources made available by Elad and the regular IAA funds, the government has made available 1 billion ILS (ca. $270 million) to be spent on archaeological activity and tourist development in East Jerusalem between 2005 and 2013.


26. Though Israel considers itself as having inherited this right, and as having ultimate jurisdiction over all holy sites in the city, it tacitly ceded limited administrative autonomy over the Haram compound to the Waqf administration. This excludes, however, the physical control over and the security arrangements connected to the site.


30. Abu El-Haj comments on the exclusive focus on First and Second Temple periods but fails to acknowledge the change in Israeli archaeology since roughly the 1990s. See Abu El-Haj, “Translating Truths,” 172, 174, 176; and Abu El-Haj, “Producing (Arti) Facts,” Archaeology and Power during the British Mandate of Palestine.” Israel Studies 7.2 (2002): 46–47). In spite of the general focus on Herodian structures in Benjamin Mazar’s excavation, an early Islamic architectural complex, the Umayyad governmental complex at the foot of the southwestern corner of the Haram, was preserved and restored and is featured prominently in the archaeological park.


34. Ever since the Arab municipality was abolished by the Israeli government in 1967, there has been a Palestinian consensus to boycott Israeli municipal elections.

35. On the complex relationships between Israel, Jordan, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), the PNA (Palestinian National Authority) and the Waqf administration, in particular in post-Oslo Jerusalem, see Larkin and Dumper, “In Defense of Al-Aqsa,” 34–35.

36. On the role of the al-Aqsa Association, or Palestinian Islamists, under the leadership of Shaykh Ra'id Salah and their commitment to rehabilitate and restore “holy places” in Israel, and more specifically in East Jerusalem and on the Haram, see Larkin and Dumper, “In Defense of Al-Aqsa,” 31–39.

37. According to Dumper (“The Palestinian Waqf,” 203–5) the Waqf owns approximately 67 percent, or more than two-thirds, of Jerusalem’s Old City. The recent survey of the Jerusalem Revitalization Program of the Welfare Association indicates that 21.4 percent of residential houses were recorded as Islamic or Christian Waqf, while another 24 percent were family Waqfs (Welfare Association, *Jerusalem: Heritage and Life: Old City Revitalization Plan* [Jerusalem and Ramallah: Welfare Association, 2004], 70 and 105–6). On the establishment of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Awqaf, see Katz, *Jordanian Jerusalem*, 6.


41. As Larkin and Dumper have correctly pointed out, “Beyond the preservation of monuments and religious sites, heritage conservation must be linked to urban revitalization, with the improvement of social amenities such as housing, sanitation and water supply. See Larkin and Dumper, “UNESCO and Jerusalem,” 21.

42. See General Conference of UNESCO Resolution on protection of cultural property in Jerusalem 15C/Resolutions 3 342 and 3 343; 82 EX/Decision 4.4.2, 83 EX/Decision 4.3.1, 88 EX/Decision 4.3.1, 89 EX/Decision 4.4.1, 90 EX/Decision 4.3.1, and 17C/Resolution 3.422.

43. The nomination by Jordan was much debated, as the Hashemite kingdom was no longer ruling the Old City. The nomination has been perceived by some as a political step.


45. Between 1971 and 1997, the first director-general representative on the cultural heritage of Jerusalem was Raymond Lemaire. Lemaire’s supportive role of Israeli cultural heritage initiatives has been discussed in detail by Ricca, *Reinventing Jerusalem*, 146–52.
46. In his last report from 1997, Lemaire notes that the Israeli authorities built a metallic pergola in the middle of the former courtyard of one of the Umayyad palaces that disfigured the site. See Ricca, *Reinventing Jerusalem*, 142.

47. See Dumper, “The Palestinian Waqf.”

48. The British Mandate planning regulations already identified an extended area as the Jerusalem archaeological zone, including the Kidron Valley, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Pool of Siloam, Mount Zion and the Valley of Hinnom and an extended zone to include the Mount of Olives and the village of Bethany.


50. After Lemaire’s death in 1997, appointments were either short or failed entirely. Professor Leon Pressouyre was sent on a mission in 1999, followed in 2000 and 2001 by Professor Oleg Grabar. In 2004 the task was entrusted to Francesco Bandarin, Director of UNESCO’s World Heritage Centre.

51. UNESCO was the first UN agency the Palestinians joined since President Mahmoud Abbas applied for full membership of the United Nations on September 23, 2011. The motion to grant Palestinians membership to UNESCO was passed with 107 votes in favor, 14 against, and 52 abstentions. Elias Sanbar is currently the Palestinian representative to UNESCO.


54. As opposed to Elad, which is an NGO, the Western Wall Heritage Foundation operates under the auspices of the office of the prime minister of Israel and the Government Companies Authority (GCA).

55. For the mission statement, see Emek Shaveh’s website: www.alt-arch.org. The organization was founded by Raphael Greenberg, a professor of archaeology at Tel Aviv University, and Yonathan Mizrachi, a former employee of the IAA.

56. On the role of the al-Aqsa Association, or Palestinian Islamists, under the leadership of Shaykh Ra’id Salah and their commitment to rehabilitate and restore “holy places” in Israel, and more specifically in East Jerusalem and on the Haram, see Larkin and Dumper, “In Defense of Al-Aqsa,” 31–39.

57. These include the General Assembly Resolutions 181 and 303, UN Security Council Resolution 476 and UN Human Rights Council Resolution 13/8.

58. See ARCH’s website: www.archjerusalem.com. Their aim is to challenge Israeli plans to “Disneyfy” the historic village site as a luxury residential/commercial neighborhood and to draft the First Geneva International Convention on Vulnerable Cultural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value.


60. Fostering the Palestinian cultural heritage contributes to an enriched Palestinian identity that shares many of its roots with the Jewish cultural heritage in the region, a fact that is often neglected. On the origins of the Palestinian identity, see al-Jubeh, “Palestinian
Identity,” 5–20; and on the role of cultural heritage in identity formation, see al-Jubeh, “Palestinian Identity,” 21–22.

4. DISPLAY AND PRESENTATION

1. The report (9GL44868/7) was summarized by someone identified only by the surname Mayer on August 1, 1948. It is unclear who the archaeologists were and where they met. See Kletter, Just Past? 175.

2. “Encyclopedic collections” or “universal museums” are large, mostly national, institutions that offer visitors a plethora of material from across the world and all periods of human culture and history. Recent criticism of encyclopedic collections addresses the removal of artifacts and monuments from their original cultural setting.

3. The ICOMOS charter for the protection and management of the archaeological heritage was prepared by the International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) and approved by the Ninth General Assembly in Lausanne.

4. Information on the City of David (Jerusalem Walls) National Park in English can be found on the INPA website. A complete list of declared national parks only appears in Hebrew. The political implications of the creation of national parks in Jerusalem are discussed in detail on the Emek Shaveh website (http://alt-arch.org/en) as well as in several booklets published by the organization. See Y. Mizrachi, Archaeology in the Shadow of the Conflict: The Mound of Ancient Jerusalem (City of David) in Silwan (Jerusalem: Emek Shaveh, 2010); Mizrachi, Between Holiness and Propaganda; and R. Greenberg and Y. Mizrachi, From Shiloah to Silwan: Visitor’s Guide to Ancient Jerusalem (City of David) and the Village of Silwan (Jerusalem: Emek Shaveh, 2011).

5. This area, known as E1—or Mevaseret Adumim in Hebrew—is located within the municipal boundary of the Israeli city of Maale Adumin, adjacent to Jerusalem. Given international pressure, Israeli plans for construction were temporarily frozen in 2009. In response to the United Nations approving the Palestinian bid for “non-member observer state” status in December of 2012, Israel announced that it was resuming planning and zoning work in E1.


7. Dunams are a measure of land area used in parts of the former Ottoman empire, including Israel.


11. For a description of the City of David National Parks and the ideological and political nature of Elad’s role, see Kulka, Cohen-Bar, and Kronish, Bimkom, 14–18.


14. The project has been criticized for using funding from Elad and for lacking a clear scientific purpose. See N. Hasson, “Petition Slams Tel Aviv University’s Involvement in East Jerusalem’s Dig,” *Ha’aretz*, December 25, 2012.


16. The Mount Scopus National Park is located on agricultural land used by residents of the Palestinian neighborhoods of Issawiya and a-Tur. Houses in Silwan’s al-Bustan neighborhood, within the area planned as the King’s Valley National Park, have been demolished. The original plans to demolish the houses were drafted in 2002.


18. See statement of the company on its official website: www.jewish-quarter.org.il/chevra.asp. The JQDC serves both as the contractor and landowner.


20. E. Netzer, “Reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City,” in *Yadin, Jerusalem Revealed*, 118.

21. Architect and archaeologist Ehud Netzer designed a master plan, accepted in 1967, which prescribed that only about one hundred (a third) of the old structures were deemed suitable for restoration. See Slae, Kark, and Shoval, “Post-War Reconstruction and Conservation,” 377.


24. See the description on the website of the Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem: www.jewish-quarter.org.il/meida-migd.asp.

25. For a description of the Iron Age defenses, see Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, 49–54.


28. For a detailed description of the architectural remains and artifacts dating to the Herodian period, see Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, 83–202.
31. On the neglect of the Nea Church, see Mizrachi, *Between Holiness and Propaganda*, 9.
32. For a summary of the Byzantine period remains, see Mizrachi, *Between Holiness and Propaganda*, 208–46.
35. Ricca compares the Jewish Quarter restoration to preservation initiatives in Safed, Jaffa, Acre, Hebron, and Bethlehem, which enables him to highlight the inescapable role of ideology in all urban plans. See Ricca, *Reinventing Jerusalem: Israel’s Reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter After 1967*, 156–95. According to Slae, Kark, and Shoval (“*Post-War Reconstruction and Conservation*,” 372), Israel’s preservation efforts were in line with the prevailing approach in Europe and America.
36. Ricca discusses the implications of excluding international experts at a time when Israel had no prior experience in conservation and preservation. See Ricca, *Reinventing Jerusalem*, 56 and 73–80. Slae, Kark, and Shoval (“*Post-War Reconstruction and Conservation*,” 372) instead suggest that most conservation teams were national, even outside of Israel.
38. The only synagogues to be restored before 1975 were Metivta Tiferet, Or ha-Hayyim, and Habad, as well as the yeshivot of Yerushalayim, Hayyei Olam, Ets Hayyim, Toray Hayyim, Bet-El, and Gemilut Hasadim. See Slae, Kark, and Shoval, “*Post-War Reconstruction and Conservation*,” 382.
40. For the scientific excavation reports, see Weksler-Bdolah et al., “*Jerusalem, The Western Wall Plaza Excavations*”; and Y. Baruch and D. Weiss, “*Jerusalem, the Western Wall Plaza. Final Report*,” *Hadashot Arkheologiyyot* 121 (2009).
41. For the planned construction, see Plan 11053 of the *Western Wall Heritage Center, Kotel Plaza in the Old City*, posted temporarily on the Ministry of Interior website (www. moin.gov.il) under “district committee for building and planning” (in Hebrew). See also Mizrachi, *From Silwan to the Temple Mount: Archaeological Excavations as a Means of Control in the Village of Silwan and in Jerusalem’s Old City—Developments in 2012* (Jerusalem: Emek Shaveh, 2012), 9, 14–16.
42. N. Hasson, “*Western Wall Plaza Facilities Cut to Size*,” *Ha’aretz*, June 13, 2014.
44. In spite of harsh criticism voiced internationally, the Jerusalem District Planning and Building Committee is expected to approve the plans. See Y. Yifa, “*Visitors’ Center Planned for East Jerusalem Draws Criticism*,” *The Times of Israel*, January 3, 2014.
47. Mizrahi, *From Silwan to the Temple Mount*, 17–18.
48. Plans for this work were submitted by the Jerusalem Development Authority (JDA) in 2011, a project to be conducted under the aegis of PAMI. See also Mizrahi, *From Silwan to the Temple Mount*, 10–13.
50. The rest of this section discusses many of the antiquities collections and museums in Jerusalem. It is not a comprehensive list. Excluded from the list, but marginal for a discussion of provenanced Jerusalem artifacts and their impact on scholars, students, and the general public, are the Dar Al-Tifel Al-Arabi Museum, the L.A. Mayer Museum of Islamic Art, as well as the collections of the École biblique, the White Fathers of St. Anne, the German Protestant Institute, and the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum.
55. At the time, the department of antiquities featured a modest display of ancient artifacts. This presentation, however, only included a few recently discovered finds.
58. Only a few artifacts postdate 1967, such as, for example, a recently acquired Crusader stela. Approximately half of the collection is in storage; the other half is on display. All objects are registered with the IAA, and thus any object requested for loan has to be approved by the IAA.
60. For a detailed account of the history of the PAM between 1947 and 1967, see Kletter, *Just Past?* 174–92. During the brief period of Jordanian rule, an international board of trustees served Israeli interests. Shortly after Israel conquered the West Bank, the board of trustees
was dissolved, and Israel took over the management of the PAM. In Kletter’s words: “the atmosphere of peace and scholarship was replaced by the industrious activity of the IAA Management, which now occupies most of the building” (Just Past? 191).

61. Several artifacts have been on display for a prolonged period at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem and the Hecht Museum in Haifa. Some of the most prized pieces were moved in 2010 to the new archaeological wing of the Israel Museum. In May of 2016, Emek Shaveh appealed to the Supreme Court to reverse the IAA’s decision to transfer the library of the Rockefeller Museum as well as a collection of coins to West Jerusalem. The Supreme Court turned the appeal down, stating that the Israeli law in East Jerusalem overrides international law.


63. See the Hebrew University Institute of Archaeology website: [http://archaeology.huji.ac.il/exhibitions/exhibitions.asp](http://archaeology.huji.ac.il/exhibitions/exhibitions.asp).

64. On the origins of the Israel Museum and its early ties with the IDAM, see Kletter, Just Past? 193–213.


66. The renovation was completed in July of 2010.

67. Snyder, Renewed, 20.

68. A new, independent complex for the IAA offices, which will include all centralized administrative offices in one structure, is currently being built between the Israel Museum and the Bible Lands Museum. It will be called the Jay and Jeanie Schottenstein National Campus for the Archaeology of Israel; the cornerstone-laying ceremony was held in 2006. Regarding the inclusion of the IDAM’s antiquities collection, see Snyder, Renewed, 199.

69. It was Yeivin, IDAM director between 1948 and 1959, who expressed those intentions. See Kletter, Just Past? 200.

70. Kletter, Just Past? 201.


74. Dayagi-Mendels and Rozenberg, Chronicle of the Land, 151, 169, and 117. For a sixth-century stone ambo from the Church of St. Theodore at Khirbet Beit Sila, north of Jerusalem, see Israeli and Mevorah, Cradle of Christianity, 55.

75. Israeli and Mevorah, Cradle of Christianity, 196 and 211. For the gold jewelry hoard, see Mazar, Temple Mount Excavations, 112.

77. In April 2013, a model of Herod’s tomb, the centerpiece of the exhibit’s display, was unveiled at its original site, Herodium. Ministers, Knesset members, and settler leaders were present at the event. Knesset members Ze’ev Elkin (Likud) and Otniel Schneller (Kadima) explicitly addressed the connection between the site and local Jewish construction. See Y. Bronner and Y. Mizrachi, “King Herod, Long Reviled, Finds New Love Among Jewish Settlers,” in Forward, March 19, 2013: http://forward.com/articles/173101/king-herod-long-reviled-finds-new-love-among-jews.


82. Though planned as a temporary exhibit that opened in 2007, a room on the second floor of the museum still exhibits a small selection of the artifacts. See J. Goodnick Westenholtz, ed., Three Faces of Monotheism (Jerusalem: Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem, 2007).


85. Benvenisti, City of Stone, 8–9; and Hawari, “Capturing the Castle.”

86. Sivan, “Presentation of Archaeological Sites,” 52. The emphasis on Jewish themes was not determined by Sivan; rather, it followed the recommendation of the museum board.

5. ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS


5. In 1909, Montague Brownslow Parker, son of the Earl of Morley, initiated the legendary hunt for King Solomon’s treasures. In 1913–14 and again in 1923–24, Baron Edmond de Rothschild, scion of the French branch of the international banking family, sponsored excavations on the Southeast Hill, which were directed by French archaeologist Raymond Weill. See Silberman, *God and Country*, 180–88.


8. Gibson, in “British Archaeological Work,” 26, uses those terms to describe the missions of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem.


11. Already prior to the establishment of the PEF, the Palestine Association and the Jerusalem Literary (and Scientific) Society were dedicated to exploring the Holy Land scientifically. All their meetings, however, were held in England. See Gibson, “British Archaeological Work,” 232–47.


13. On the early excavations, see Trimbur, “École Biblique,” 99–100. For the more recent excavations, see Humbert, “Saint John Prodromos”; and Humbert, “Fouilles du tombeau


19. The Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Rom and Abteilung Athen were opened in 1874.


21. Hübner, “German Protestant Institute,” 64–66. Up until 2007, the DAI was hesitant to affiliate itself with the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Given its numerous partner institutions and excavations in other regions of the Middle East, an associating with a Jerusalem-based research center could have led to potential conflicts with its Arab colleagues.


25. For a complete reference list of excavation projects and reports, see Piccirillo, “The Archaeology of Jerusalem,” 111–16.


28. Meir Ben-Dov filmed the Absalom tomb excavation conducted in 1924 by David Solomon Slouschz. This ten-second-long footage was part of a longer motion picture entitled *Shivat Zion (The Return to Zion)*. It has been suggested that this was the first excavation in Palestine to be recorded on film. The footage is part of the Steven Spielberg Archive of Jewish Films at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. For the excavation of the Third Wall, see E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer, *The Third Wall of Jerusalem: An Account of Excavations* (Jerusalem: University Press, 1930); and E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer, “A New Section of the Third Wall, Jerusalem,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 76 (1944), 145–51.

29. There are several other important Israeli academic institutions and centers that promote the study of archaeology not included in this survey, in particular, the Martin (Szusz) Department of the Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology and the Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, both at Bar Ilan University. The Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures at Tel Aviv University; the Zinman Institute of Archaeology at the University of Haifa; and the Department of Bible, Archaeology, and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Since 1995, the Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies has organized an annual conference devoted to the archaeology of Jerusalem. See Z. Safrai and A. Faust, *Recent Innovations in the Study of Jerusalem: The First Conference, September 12th 1995* (Ramat Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University, Faculty of Jewish Studies, 1995).


31. In 2011, an international committee tasked with the evaluation of Israeli archaeology programs commented on the insularity of the Institute of Archaeology’s program. Their report addressed the geographic, thematic, and chronological narrow focus of the curriculum, as well as the marked neglect of Islamic cultures and periods. See: http://che.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Archaeology-HUJI.pdf.

32. For an up-to-date description reflecting the program’s academic mission and curriculum, as designed by its former chair, Zeev Weiss, see the institute’s website: http://archaeology.huji.ac.il.

33. The international committee reviewed the academic profiles and curricula of the relevant departments at the following institutions: the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Bar Ilan University, and Tel Aviv University. For the reports see website link in n31.

34. Since 2007, the IAA has organized an annual Jerusalem conference, originally jointly with Bar Ilan University, then with Hebrew University.

35. Two important scholarly journals, *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* and ‘Atiqot, are published by the IAA.

36. The IAA education department has collaborated with the Jewish National Fund, the INPA, the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel, the Israel Corporation of Community Centers, the Karev Foundation, the IDF, UNESCO, and others.
37. The ultra-Orthodox community has a separate system of education in Israel, called Chinuch Atzmai (independent education).

38. This project was supported by an external, nongovernmental funding source. Numerous other programs have received funding from various national and Zionist organizations.

39. A successful study dig supervised by the educational department of the IAA has been conducted in Adulam Park in the Judean foothills. It offers youth and adults the opportunity to participate in excavations for a day or longer. This activity is supported primarily by two Zionist organizations: Taglit-Birthright Israel and Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael (Jewish National Fund).


42. The Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology is also being taught in Druze schools. Israeli Arabs can study the subject in two of the country’s mixed Arab/Jewish schools. One is the Weitzman School in Jaffa and the other the Hagar School in Beersheba.


44. Approximately six hundred people attend the Jerusalem conference and about 1,500 people attend the archaeology conference. Attendees outnumber individuals participating in the much more veteran archaeology conferences organized by Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, the IES, the IAA, and the Hebrew University.

45. A petition initiated by several Israeli academics, which has gained support from about two hundred scholars from leading North American and European universities, objects to the recent decision taken by the Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University to conduct excavations in the City of David under the auspices of Elad. This collaboration, according to those critics, would further strengthen Elad’s scientific credibility and mask their primary interest, which is to strengthen the Jewish presence in East Jerusalem.

46. The Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities has established a committee to review the field of archaeology as it is being practiced in the field, how it is taught and studied in various establishments of higher learning, and how it is presented and disseminated to the public. Reports are published regularly and are accessible online at the academy’s website (in Hebrew): www.academy.ac.il.


48. In 1932, out of 191 members, 10 were resident Palestinians, 22 were resident Jews, 42 were resident foreigners, and 117 were nonresidents. Palestinian membership fluctuated from a high of 19 in 1926 to a low of 5 in 1934. See Glock, “Archaeology as Cultural Survival,” 75.

49. Glock, “Archaeology as Cultural Survival,” 73.

50. After 1967, all archaeological fieldwork in East Jerusalem, which was condemned by UNESCO and most importantly by the Palestinian community as a result of the Israeli occupation, was either channelled through or conducted by the IAA. As Palestinians do not recognize Israeli sovereignty in East Jerusalem, obtaining a survey or excavation permit would entail acceptance of the normalization.
51. CISS, International Cooperation South South, is an NGO, founded in 1985. It was officially recognized by the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1989 as a qualified organization to promote and carry out projects of cooperation in developing countries.

52. The funding period came to an end in 2000.

53. For the exact wording of the vision for the Jerusalem Studies MA program, see the Centre for Jerusalem Studies website: www.jerusalem-studies.alquds.edu.

54. See the mission statement of the Jerusalem Archaeological Studies Unit’s website: www.jasu.alquds.edu.

55. The report (9GL44868/7) was summarized by someone identified only by the surname Mayer on August 1, 1948. It is unclear who the archaeologists were and where they met. See Kletter, Just Past? 175.

56. See the mission statement of the Ruth Youth Wing for Art Education: www.english.imjnet.org.il/page_1193.

57. Though referred to as an archaeological tell, the area looks like a Roman-Byzantine synagogue.

58. On a brief history of the museum, see Sivan, “Musée d’Histoire.” Curator Renée Sivan, a leading Israeli curator of museums and archaeological sites, comments on her philosophy of how to optimally guide and instruct visitors at an archaeological site, without overwhelming the general public with too much specialized and abstract information. See Sivan, “Presentation of Archaeological Sites.”

59. In 2009, historian and archaeologist Abir Zayyad, questioning the Jewish roots in the city, was fired from her position as the Arabic-speaking guide of the Tower of David Museum. Archaeologist Noor Rajabi, who replaced Zayyad, has been highly successful in reaching out to a significantly larger circle of Arabic-speaking children.

60. Schools that are not under the auspices of the Israeli Ministry of Education in Jerusalem are either administered by the Islamic Waqf, the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees, or else are part of the private sector.


62. A few Islamic artifacts were displayed in the temporary show entitled The Three Faces of Monotheism. See Goodnick Westenholz, Three Faces of Monotheism.

63. See Glock, “Archaeology as Cultural Survival,” 74.

64. Glock, “Archaeology as Cultural Survival,” 74.


66. Glock, “Archaeology as Cultural Survival,” 76.


9. In 1994, the ethics committee was mentioned for the last time in an archive. See Kletter and Solimani, “Archaeology and Professional Ethical Codes,” 13.

10. For a description, see AAI statues, Appendix 1: Document 2. See also Kletter and Solimani, “Archaeology and Professional Ethical Codes,” 12.


13. Employers were always governmental institutions. See Kempinski, editorial, 22.

14. See, for instance, Kedar, Weksler-Bdolah, and Da’adli, “Madrasa Afdaliyya.” Other recent reports published in *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* document evidence of recent destructions, including military confrontations.

15. This shortcoming was pointed out in the external review conducted under the auspices of the Council for Higher Education: http://che.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Archaeology-HUJI.pdf.

16. Tawfiq Da’adli is the only Palestinian archaeologist currently employed as a faculty member in an academic Israeli institution. He was appointed lecturer in the departments of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies and art history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2015.


Holiness and Propaganda, 39; and Greenberg, “Extreme Exposure,” 278; and Mizrachi, Archaeology in the Shadow of the Conflict, 17–19.


29. The law was enacted soon after the Pergamon Altar was expropriated. See S. Marchand, Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).


33. According to Kersel (“Trade in Palestinian Antiquities,” 33), in 2003–04, there were eighty dealers licensed by the IAA, most of whom (seventy-five) were located in Jerusalem's Old City.


37. Unprovenanced means that the artifact was looted rather than scientifically excavated and documented, and thus it has lost its original find spot and historical meaning.

38. The AAI ethical code of 1992, in addition to denouncing robbery, also disapproved of both the direct and indirect scholarly involvement in and support of the antiquities trade. See Kletter and Solimani, “Archaeology and Professional Ethical Codes,” 13. Regarding the published version of the code, see Kletter and Solimani, “Archaeology and Professional Ethical Codes,” 17.


42. Blum, “Illicit Antiquities Trade.”

43. On the ineffectiveness of the policing of the looting activities in Israel, see the 2003 documentary Schatzsuche in Israel by Peter Dudzik.


52. For some of Dayan’s looted artifacts, the original find spots are known, but since the objects were retrieved without proper archaeological documentation, most of the context is lost, and thus the scientific value of the finds is highly compromised.

53. Archaeologists were mostly concerned with the fact that the artifacts were sold rather than donated. Their objection was not related to the fact that they were looted. Silberman, *Between Past and Present*, 123–36.


55. Several artifacts were removed from the premises of the Rockefeller Museum and are on “long-term loan” at other museums. Most significant and controversial was the removal of the Dead Sea Scrolls, for which the Israel Museum built the Shrine of the Book. For additional examples of removed artifacts, see O. Ilan, D. Tal, and M. Haramati, *Image and Artifact: Treasures of the Rockefeller Museum* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000), 30, 42, 51, 62, 65–66.


58. According to Breitowitz, the concern for ancient Jewish burials is not limited to the ultra-Orthodox community but is protested within Jewish religious and academic circles more broadly. See Y. Breitowitz, “The Desecration of Graves in Eretz Yisrael: The Struggle to Honor the Dead and Preserve Our Historical Legacy.” Jewish Law, www.jlaw.com/Articles/heritage.html.


60. The argument is that within Israel, there is always a chance that graveyards include Jewish burials, even for periods when Jews were a minority. See Einhorn, “Israeli Law.”

61. Amir Drori has been particular active in condemning and fighting Atra Kadisha. See Shanks, “Death Knell” Two particularly controversial cases in recent years concern the excavations near the Andromeda apartment complex in Jaffa and Ashkelon. See S. Fogelman, “Are the Ultra-Orthodox Digging Their Own Grave?” Ha’aretz. July 25, 2010; and Y. Yagna, “Haredi Group Fights Ashkelon Construction to Save Graves,” Ha’aretz, December 25, 2012.


63. The directive is based on the 1978 Antiquities Law (the so-called dry-bones law), which does not include human remains within the category of antiquities. It is, in fact, explicitly stated that it is illegal to excavate known burial sites, Jewish or non-Jewish.


69. The Muslim Supreme Council declared the cemetery a historical site in 1927. However, after the cemetery fell under Israeli control and was taken over by the Custodian
for Absentee Property, Muslim authorities were no longer allowed to maintain the burial ground.


71. See Mizrahi, Mamilla Cemetery, 1.


76. See Silberman, Between Past and Present, 123–36.

77. See Dayagi-Mendels and Rozenberg, Chronicle of the Land.


7. THE CITY OF DAVID / SILWAN


2. On the contrasting architecture and urban infrastructure, reflecting the spaces used by the Palestinian villagers and those maintained by the Jewish settlers and Jerusalem Municipality mostly for tourist development, see Greenberg and Mizrahi, From Shiloah to Silwan, 34–39.


4. For the significant increase in numbers in recent years and various available statistics, see Pullan et al., Struggle for Jerusalem’s Holy Places, 83.


7. On scholarly and public opinions regarding the Parker expedition, see Silberman, *God and Country*, 180–98; and Silberman, “Solomon’s Lost Treasures.” For the scholarly documentation of the underground survey, still very much valued by scholars today, see Vincent, *Jérusalem sous terre.*


10. See Macalister and Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel*; and Crowfoot and FitzGerald, *Excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley*. Weill also conducted a second season of excavation financed by Rothschild.


Structure, see Finkelstein et al., “Has King David’s Palace in Jerusalem Been Found?” Tel Aviv 34 (2007): 150–54.
15. She adjusted her reconstruction of a small Iron Age city after Avigad’s discovery of the Broad Wall, still insisting, however, that the Western Hill remained un-built. See Reich, Excavating the City of David, 115–16.
16. For a brief survey of Israeli excavations on the Southeast Hill, see Reich, Excavating the City of David, 118–42, 263–69. For more detailed descriptions, as well as other smaller-scale excavations, see preliminary reports in Hadashot Arkheologiyot.
19. See Reich and Shukron, “Light at the End of the Tunnel”; Reich, Excavating the City of David, 154–77.
20. Reich, Excavating the City of David, 225–244.
21. Reich, Excavating the City of David, 229.
23. The Siloam Pool is mentioned on several medieval maps of the city, such as, for example, the Cambrai Map.
24. For a representation of the Siloam Pool, see, for example, the Cambrai Map. On unblocking the Gihon Spring during the Mamluk period, see Reich, Excavating the City of David, 341.
27. The lack of archaeological remains has been viewed by some as evidence that Jerusalem was at best a very small site and certainly not an administrative center. According to
D. Ussishkin (“Solomon’s Jerusalem: The Text and the Facts on the Ground,” in Vaughn and Killebrew, Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology, 103–15) the lack of archaeological evidence indicates that Jerusalem was at best a very small site. According to N. P. Lemche and T. L. Thompson (“Did Biran Kill David? The Bible in the Light of Archaeology,” Journal for the Study of the Old Testament 64 (1994): 3–22), the United Monarchy and the Judean state until the eighth century (and to a certain extent even beyond) was a figment of the late biblical composer’s imagination.


31. Reich, Excavating the City of David, 1–4.

32. Elad was established in 1986.


34. Based on internal IAA documents, which Emek Shaveh recently made public, the close, collaborative ties between the IAA and Elad, and, in fact, the latter’s supremacy over the former, was established. See R. Greenberg, A Privatized Heritage: How the Israel Antiquities Authority Relinquished Jerusalem’s Past (Jerusalem Emek Shaveh, 2014), 6 and 51.

35. Greenberg has shown that Elad in recent years has, in fact, superseded the governmental agencies in power and that heritage is therefore in the hands of an NGO. See Greenberg, A Privatized Heritage.

36. Since Emek Shaveh was established in 2008, they have been involved in numerous legal battles with Elad, which, for the most part, were successful in slowing Elad’s campaigns to evacuate Palestinians from the neighborhood and to construct the Kedem Center. See, for example, A. Selig, “Jerusalem Court Halts Silwan Construction” The Jerusalem Post, September 10, 2009; D. K. Eisenbud, “Appeal Sent to Attorney General to Halt Elad Acquisition of Jerusalem Archaeological Park” The Jerusalem Post, March 10, 2014; N. Hasson, “Legal Challenges Mounted Against Planned Visitor Center in East Jerusalem” Ha’aretz, January 1, 2014; and Eisenbud, “NGO Petitions High Court to Prevent Closure of Area in Silwan” The Jerusalem Post, September 6, 2015.

37. On Wadi Hilwe Information Center’s missions and activities see: www.silwanic.net.


40. Reich and Shukron, “Light at the End of the Tunnel.”

41. For a detailed description of the various sections exposed since the nineteenth century, as well as the recent excavations, see Reich and Shukron, “The Second Temple Period Central Drainage Channel in Jerusalem—Upon the Completion of the Unearthing of Its Southern Part in 2011,” in *City of David Studies of Ancient Jerusalem. The 12th Annual Conference*, ed. E. Meiron, 68*–95* (Jerusalem: Megalim City of David Institute for Jerusalem Studies, 2011).

42. The northern section, near Robinson’s Arch, was first discovered by Charles Warren and then later explored by Benjamin Mazar. The southern section was initially discovered by Bliss and Dickey. According to Reich and Shukron, the two parallel sections of streets may have been joined at their southern end, where the width would have spanned the paved esplanade near the Siloam Pool. See Reich and Shukron, “Second Temple Period,” 82*.


44. Regarding the difficulty in dating the channel, see Reich and Shukron, “Second Temple Period,” 88*–89*.

8. THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

1. The peaceful atmosphere on the rooftop is, in fact, deceptive, as it is one of the most contested areas of the church, claimed both by the Coptic and Ethiopian communities. See C. F. Emmett, “The Status Quo Solution for Jerusalem,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 26, no. 2 (1997): 22.

2. An engraving, dated by the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land to 1728, shows the ladder in this specific location. Several lithographs from the 1830s and photographs from the 1850s also feature the ladder under the window. See G. Simmermacher, *The Holy Land Trek: A Pilgrim’s Guide* (Cape Town: Southern Cross Books, 2012), 194–95.


15. During the Middle Ages, Golgotha was often perceived as the center of the world and shown as such on maps, for example, on the Mappa Mundi of Hereford Cathedral. See M. Prior, “Holy Places, Unholy Domination: The Scramble for Jerusalem,” *Islamic Studies* 40 (2001): 512–13; and M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religions* (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958), 375.


18. The use of the term *historic churches* here follows M. Dumper’s definition (in “Christian Churches of Jerusalem in the Post-Oslo Period,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 31, no. 2
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(2002): 51). He makes the distinction between churches that existed prior to 1967 (the so-called historic churches) and the more recent evangelical arrivals associated with the International Christian Embassy, the Mormons, the Hebrew Christians, or the Russian “Jewish Christians.”


21. It was around the same time that the Anglicans renounced their claims to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as well as other traditional holy places that their interest in the Garden Tomb arose. See J. R. Wright, “An Historical and Ecumenical Survey of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with Notes on Its Significance for Anglicans,” Anglican and Episcopal History 64 (1995): 482.


26. For a discussion of the Second and Third Walls and the implications for the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see Galor and Bloedhorn, Archaeology of Jerusalem, 71–74.


30. See Corbo, Il Santo Sepolcro, 68–79, pl. 1; and Coüasnon, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 21–36.
31. Some of the major scholarly discrepancies are summarized by Patrich, “Church of the Holy Sepulchre.”
32. Biddle et al., The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 86.
36. Biddle et al., The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 87.
37. For a detailed description of the spatial distribution of the church, see Wright, “Historical and Ecumenical Survey,” 490–503.
38. For a summary of the development of contested areas within the church, see Emmett, “Status Quo Solution,” 19–22.
39. The Status Quo applied initially to five sacred sites: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Dayr al-Sultan on its rooftop, the Chapel of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in Gethsemane, and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.
44. Eordegian, “British and Israeli Maintenance.”
45. See Wright, “Historical and Ecumenical Survey,” 489.
47. T. Butcher, “Feuding Monks in Bad Odour over Sewage,” The Telegraph, April 7, 2007.
50. Around 50 percent of Palestinian Christians belong to the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem. There are also Maronites, Melkite-Eastern Catholics, Jacobites, Chaldeans, Roman
Catholics, Syriac Catholics, Orthodox Copts, Catholic Copts, Armenian Orthodox, Armenian Catholics, Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Lutherans, Evangelicals, Pentecostals, Nazarene, Assemblies of God, Baptists, and other Protestants.


9. THE TEMPLE MOUNT / HARAM AL-SHARIF

1. L. Ritmeyer reviews twelve different theories with regard to the location of the pre-Herodian Temple Mount, see The Quest: Revealing the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (Jerusalem: Carta and The Lamb Foundation, 2006), 147. See also Humbert, “Aux racines cananéennes.”


5. For a detailed description of the Temple Mount during the Byzantine period, see Eliav, God’s Mountain 125–188.


8. Eliav, God’s Mountain.


10. Y. Reiter and J. Seligman, “1917 to the Present: Al-Haram al-Sharif / Temple Mount (Har Ha-Bayit) and the Western Wall,” in Grabar and Kedar, Where Heaven and Earth Meet, 253. The change affected only the official administrative framework. The Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Awqaf was established in 1967. See Katz, Jordanian Jerusalem, 6.

11. Since the outbreak of the Second Intifada, access to the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque by non-Muslims is extremely restricted.

12. The issue of the ownership of the Western Wall is particularly complex. Although Israel refrained from expropriating the western enclosure wall, except for the strip at its
base, neither the wall nor the Temple Mount is registered in the Land Registry Office. See Berkovitz, Temple Mount, 87–88.


26. Josephus provides two only slightly different narratives of the Herodian Temple Mount construction, one in The Jewish War (5.5.184–227) and the other in the Antiquities of the Jews (15.11.380–425).

28. For a complete survey of all Haram inscriptions, see van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. For the manuscripts, see Salameh, *Qur’an Manuscripts*.

29. For the so-called Solomonic fortification in the Ophel, see E. Mazar, *Discovering the Solomonic Wall*. Regarding the differences in dating the Herodian enclosure wall and entrances, see Bahat, *The Jerusalem Western Wall Tunnel*; Ben-Dov, *The Fortifications of Jerusalem*; E. Mazar, *The Walls of the Temple Mount*. For the discrepancies on the dating of medieval remains, see Bahat, *The Jerusalem Western Wall Tunnel*; and Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem*.

30. After a sustained period of neglect of the monuments on the Haram throughout the last phase of Ottoman rule, numerous restoration works were carried out under British, Jordanian, and Israeli rule. The relationship between the Muslim religious establishment and the official archaeological and architectural organs of the British Mandatory government were of a professional and friendly nature. See Reiter and Seligman, “1917 to the Present,” 237.


33. The riots, which resulted in the death of about twenty and the injury of more than 150 Palestinians, broke out after a decision by the Temple Mount Faithful to lay a cornerstone for the construction of the Third Temple on the platform. See Inbari, *Jewish Fundamentalism*, 79–80.


35. Reiter and Seligman, “1917 to the Present,” 258.


37. The site was purchased by Ateret Cohanim, a religious Zionist organization, who encouraged Irving Moskowitz, a regular donor to Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem, to buy the building.


39. Weksler-Bdolah et al., “Jerusalem, Western Wall Plaza Excavations.”


42. UNESCO, Report of the Technical Mission to the Old City of Jerusalem (February 27–March 2, 2007).


44. Reiter and Seligman, “1917 to the Present,” 269; Seligman, “Solomon’s Stables,” 50*–51*.


47. Since 2010, approximately twenty thousand volunteers are recruited annually to assist with the sifting.


49. Ricca, Reinventing Jerusalem, 212


53. Reiter and Seligman, “1917 to the Present,” 239.


55. Reiter and Seligman, “1917 to the Present,” 258.

56. Reiter and Seligman, “1917 to the Present,” 258.

57. See their first three preliminary reports, as well as mission statement, on their website: http://templemount.wordpress.com.


59. According to Avni and Seligman, most of the finds were dated to the Byzantine period and thereafter. See Avni and Seligman, Temple Mount, 36. According to Bahat, the remains postdate the Ayyubid period. See D. Bahat, “Re-Examining the History of Solomon’s Stables,” Qadmoniot 34 (2001), 125–130 [Hebrew].
CONCLUSION

1. The refusal to assume full responsibility, as an individual who is directly implicated in this entanglement of archaeology and politics, as well as its public success, is perhaps best documented with two recent statements by one of Israel’s leading archaeologists, who was active until recently in Jerusalem. Ronny Reich, whose career has received a significant boost through his position as chief archaeologist of the City of David and generous funding from Elad, has reiterated his indifference to the political use of the site’s discoveries. In a 2012 interview with Nir Hasson from Ha’aretz (“In Jerusalem’s City of David Excavation, Politics Is Never Absent,” Ha’aretz, December 25, 2012), he repeatedly referred to himself as being “a little indifferent.” Asked how his “worldview can be reconciled with [his] extensive scientific activity—that has effectively helped a rightist organization Judaize parts of Silwan”—he responded: “Some will say I’m playing into Elad’s hands. . . . Yes, they use what I do. . . . I have no agenda to find any particular thing. Besides, if I wasn’t doing it, someone else would be. And he would uncover the same artifacts. So what’s the difference? . . . What excites me is contributing new knowledge, coloring in another blank area on our map of knowledge. I don’t take the political side of things to heart. I’m not that way. What can I do?” Only after his retirement did his position become more critical, as stated in another Ha’aretz interview with the same journalist in 2016 (“Jerusalem, The Descent. A Voyage in the Underground City,” Ha’aretz, April 21, 2016 [Hebrew]; my translation). In reference to the Herodian Street and Tunnel, the most recent archaeological project in Silwan, he stated, “This is an excavation in the service of tourism, and then of politics, or perhaps first politics and then tourism. . . . In terms of information, it doesn’t add much. It may be a nice contribution as a monument, but it will not particularly add to our knowledge. We know the course of the wall, we know what it looks like and when it was built.”

3. Larkin and Dumper, “UNESCO and Jerusalem.”
4. See Pullan et al., Struggle for Jerusalem’s Holy Places, 142.