

## Institutionalization

Histories of explorations usually focus on the explorers or the director of the excavation, as well as the artifacts or sites they uncover. They rarely emphasize the institutional setting that quickly emerged as the necessary agent of most archaeological endeavors. At stake here are the interaction and interdependency of archaeologists, discoveries, and institutions—how these have evolved over time and, most significantly, how professionals in their administrative contexts have produced together what I argue represents the inseparable interplay of science, knowledge, and ideology.

### EARLY EXPLORATIONS

The political climate in the Near East toward the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century was one of great rivalry and confrontation between various European states. In Palestine, much of this conflict was based and enacted on the grounds of traditional religious attachments. During this period, the Palestinian provinces of the Ottoman Empire were visited by an “unprecedented influx of western traders, explorers, missionaries, adventurers and military men.”<sup>1</sup> Five foreign schools of archaeology operated in Jerusalem prior to World War I: French, American, German, British, and Italian. It was the British, however, who dominated the practice of the field in Palestine, and Jerusalem more specifically.<sup>2</sup> In 1865 the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was founded in London, followed in 1870 by the American Palestine Exploration Society, the Deutscher Palästina-Verein (German Society for the Exploration of Palestine) in 1878, and the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) in 1900.<sup>3</sup> The foreign presence

and their archaeological activities were not always welcomed by the local population. In 1863 the Jewish community prevented the completion of the first excavation (begun in 1850–51) conducted in an ancient burial structure north of the Old City. Similar resistance to excavations on, around, and even near the Haram was voiced by the Muslim community. It would not be until the beginning of the twentieth century that some of the local inhabitants showed interest in participating in archaeological endeavors.<sup>4</sup>

The involvement of the Ottoman government was minimal. Initially, much of the archaeological activity depended on diplomatic relations among local governors, foreign diplomats, and religious authorities both in Jerusalem and Constantinople. It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that the Ottoman government appointed an official commissioner to supervise excavations and decreed that all finds uncovered were to be regarded as state property.<sup>5</sup> Expeditions were required to obtain firmans from the sultan in Constantinople.<sup>6</sup> Those legal documents and precepts, however, were ill defined and had only limited authority. They were often ignored, and the local government officials could be easily manipulated with bribes.<sup>7</sup>

#### BETWEEN MISSIONARY AND SCHOLARLY ACTIVITIES

In 1837 Edward Robinson, one of the leading biblical authorities in America, was offered the first professorship of biblical literature at the new Union Theological Seminary in New York City.<sup>8</sup> His expertise has won him titles such as “father of biblical geography” or “founder of modern Palestinology.”<sup>9</sup> In 1838 Robinson traveled to Palestine together with Reverend Eli Smith. Guided by his objective to differentiate between fact and fantasy and to separate the ancient from the modern, he studied Jerusalem’s walls, gates, water supply, and topography. Regarding the Haram, he was forced to restrict his investigations to the exterior features of the complex. He was, however, able to make an important observation. He noticed the beginning of a protruding arch near the southern end of the western wall of the platform, still known today as Robinson’s Arch. His familiarity with the writings of the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus allowed him to associate the arch with the Temple Mount complex restored by King Herod the Great. This was, in fact, one of many observations that led to Robinson’s conclusion that the enclosure wall of the Haram as a whole was originally built in the first century B.C.E. For his scholarly achievements, Robinson was the first American to be awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1842. His accomplishments were hailed by scientists, geographers, biblical scholars, and clerics, and his work “had far transcended both missionary goals and the New England battle for the authenticity of the Bible.” In his quest for the past, he established the foundations for an entire “new scholarly, religious, and political enterprise in the Holy Land.” The field of biblical archaeology was born.<sup>10</sup>

## JERUSALEM'S FIRST EXCAVATION

Félix de Saulcy was born into a noble Flemish family at Lille, France.<sup>11</sup> After a career in the army, he was appointed curator of the Musée d'artilleries in Paris. He was an Orientalist, numismatist, and archaeologist and had published numerous scholarly treatises. In 1850–51 he conducted the first archaeological dig in Jerusalem—in fact, in all of the Holy Land. He traveled twice to Jerusalem to excavate a structure that he mistakenly identified as the burial site of the Hebrew kings of Judah; it is still known today as the Tomb of the Kings. He initially discovered a sarcophagus he believed to have been of King David. During his second visit, in 1863, he recovered a sarcophagus with a Hebrew inscription including the word *queen*, which he identified as belonging to King Zedekiah's wife. The tomb has since been recognized as belonging to the Mesopotamian Queen Helena of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism who lived in the first century C.E.<sup>12</sup> De Saulcy was forced to suspend the dig and flee the country when the Jewish community of Jerusalem suspected him of desecrating Jewish burials. The sarcophagus and other artifacts were sent to France and displayed at the Louvre. Unlike his solid work as a numismatist, de Saulcy's excavations and associated documentation have never been much appreciated for their scientific value.

## WATER RELIEF EFFORTS

The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem was the first official expedition to Jerusalem. It was funded by Angela Georgina—later Baroness—Burdett-Coutts, who had the philanthropic goal of supplying the inhabitants of Jerusalem with a new water system. On the basis of her personal interest in the history of the city, a decision was made to undertake a complete and accurate survey of the Old City of Jerusalem. The task was carried out by Dean Stanley of Westminster, who presented a petition to Lord de Grey and Ripon, British Secretary of State for War. Thus, in an effort to solve the recurring problems of malaria, dysentery, and cholera, the Jerusalem Water Relief Society engaged the Royal Engineers to survey the city's topographical features and the existing water systems, using the most modern equipment and the most competent surveyors who could be hired.<sup>13</sup> In 1864 the Royal Engineers identified Captain Sir Charles William Wilson for the task.<sup>14</sup> Wilson was thus the first Western explorer in the Holy Land who did not come to satisfy his personal interest in the biblical past. Instead he came on a specifically outlined assignment representing his government. His detailed map of Jerusalem (scale 1:2,500) featured all the streets and important buildings. Benchmarks were cut at the corners of the city walls, its gates, and at various public buildings. A smaller map (scale 1:10,000) of the city environs included topographical features and buildings located outside the Old City (see figure 10). Wilson also produced plans of the Citadel complex and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

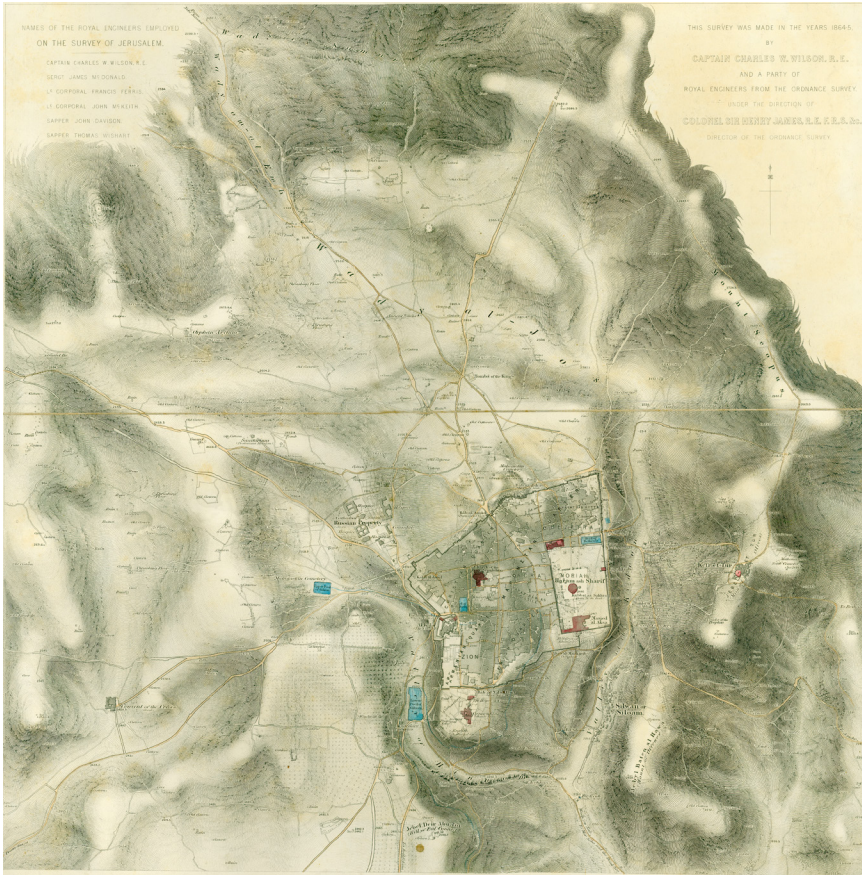


FIGURE 10. Detail from Wilson's Survey of Jerusalem, 1864–65, showing the Old City and surroundings, featuring existing water cisterns in blue (PEF-M-OSJ 1864–5 PLAN 1). Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund.

More significantly, he was the first to carefully investigate and document the hidden underground features of the Haram, including numerous cisterns, channels, and aqueducts. Above ground, on the western enclosure wall of the Haram, he discovered a well-preserved span of a monumental arch, similar in size to Robinson's Arch and parallel to it. Still today known as Wilson's Arch, this feature was identified as another entrance leading to the Herodian Temple Mount. Wilson joined the PEF in 1867 and served as chairman from 1901 until his death in 1905.<sup>15</sup> Ironically, although the Ordnance Survey and the Jerusalem Water Relief Society provided the Western world with the first accurate map of Jerusalem, including the plans of some of the city's most important historic monuments, it ultimately did not alleviate the problem of Jerusalem's water supply.<sup>16</sup>

## EARLY INVESTIGATIONS

It was ultimately the success of the historically significant work conducted on behalf of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem that led to the founding of the PEF in 1865. The original *Prospectus* of the PEF stated that Jerusalem was a prime target for digging operations and that “what is above ground will be accurately known [only] when the present [Ordnance] survey is completed; but below the surface hardly anything has yet been discovered. . . . It is not too much to anticipate that every foot in depth of the ‘sixty feet [ca. eighteen meters] of rubbish’ on which the city stands, will yield interesting and important materials for the Archaeologist or the Numismatist.”<sup>17</sup>

As the next representative of the Ordnance Survey, Lieutenant Charles Warren continued Wilson’s work in Jerusalem between 1867 and 1870.<sup>18</sup> He was assisted by Sergeant Henry Birtles and several sappers from the Horse Guards, as well as the photographer Corporal Henry Phillips (see figure 11). His endeavors were supported by Dr. Thomas Chaplin, the Reverend Dr. Joseph Barclay, and the Consul of Jerusalem, Noel Moore.<sup>19</sup>

With the permission of the Ottoman general Izzet Pasha to excavate in the area surrounding the Haram’s retaining walls, Warren initially inspected the area against the southern wall. This activity, however, disturbed the daily prayers in the al-Aqsa Mosque, and to put down the disturbance, the pasha was forced to suspend the work.

Warren then started to sink probes in the Christian Quarter, with the goal of determining whether the site of Church of the Holy Sepulchre lay inside or outside the city walls at the time of Jesus. Once again his work was interrupted, this time by soldiers of the Ottoman garrison.

Warren’s work on the Southeast Hill, outside the Old City boundaries, aimed to establish the southern extent of Jerusalem in biblical times. Here he investigated an ancient subterranean aqueduct, associated with the shaft that was later named after him. For over a century, this vertical feature was identified as the path chosen by King David to conquer the city from the Jebusites.

As the first major expeditions of the PEF, in addition to the specific information it provided on Jerusalem, Wilson’s and Warren’s efforts also served to raise the public interest in and support for the work of the establishment more generally. As a result, the fund was able to initiate and finance a significantly more ambitious survey, the great Survey of Western Palestine.<sup>20</sup>

Only a few individuals associated with the early decades of archaeological exploration in Jerusalem were not of British nationality. These included Charles Clermont-Ganneau, Conrad Schick, and Hermann Guthe. While serving as a secretary at the French Consulate in Jerusalem between 1865 and 1872, Clermont-Ganneau conducted intensive archaeological investigations in Jerusalem and surroundings.<sup>21</sup> In 1873, he was on an official mission of the PEF. Although he could





FIGURE 11. Jerusalem survey team in 1867, featuring Lieutenant Charles Warren, R.E., the Reverend Dr. Joseph Barclay, and Corporal Henry Phillips (seated from left to right), Mr. Frederick W. Eaton (reclining), and Jerius, Dragoman to the British Consulate (standing). Photo by H. Phillips. Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund.

not obtain an excavation permit, he was able to carry out his work. His documentation was published nearly thirty years later.<sup>22</sup>

Schick, a Protestant missionary from Germany and an amateur architect and archaeologist, settled in Jerusalem in the mid-nineteenth century. A protégé of Charles Wilson, he conducted extensive studies on ancient Jerusalem and built numerous models of the city. During his residence in Jerusalem, until his death in 1901, Schick published more than one hundred reports within the pages of the *Palestine Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement* as well as the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.<sup>23</sup>

Around the same time, another German scholar, Guthe, was active in Jerusalem. He, however, excavated on behalf of the *Deutscher Palästina-Verein* (German Society for the Exploration of Palestine), established in 1877 according to the British model.<sup>24</sup>

The last official endeavors of the PEF under Ottoman rule in Jerusalem with an exclusively archaeological goal were conducted by Frederick Jones Bliss and

Archibald Campbell Dickie.<sup>25</sup> After training under Flinders Petrie in Egypt, Frederick Jones Bliss became involved with the PEF, leading an expedition in Jerusalem during the final years of the nineteenth century to investigate the area south of the Old City, including the traditional Mount Zion on the west and the City of David to the east. First alone and later with the assistance of architect Archibald Dickie, he exposed numerous segments of walls, towers, and gates. The results of their excavations were promptly published.<sup>26</sup>

#### LAST OTTOMAN VENTURES

The final years of Ottoman rule witnessed the unfortunate episode of a treasure hunt that was highly publicized and severely criticized in the local and international media. In 1909, after obtaining cooperation of the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople, Montague Brownslow Parker, the thirty-year-old son of the Earl of Morley who came from a military background, initiated the famous expedition of King Solomon's Temple treasures.<sup>27</sup> He was advised by Valter H. Juvelius, who sent telegraphs from Europe containing the telepathic instructions of an Irish clairvoyant. After Parker's failed attempt to uncover a secret passage on the Ophel slope, he returned the following year to excavate under the southeast corner of the Haram platform. The suspicion aroused among scholars of the American and European archaeological institutions in Jerusalem prompted Parker to invite Louis-Hugues Vincent from the *École biblique et archéologique française* to document the findings during the course of his expedition.<sup>28</sup> The protests of members of the city's Jewish community and ultimately the threats of its Muslim residents forced him to halt this highly questionable enterprise and to flee the country to escape serious reprimand.

Fortunately, the last excavation project under Ottoman rule was less scandalous. It was initiated and sponsored by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, motivated by his desire to uncover the Tomb of the Kings of Judah. On his behalf, Raymond Weill began digging on the Southeast Hill in 1913 (see figure 12).<sup>29</sup> Weill's most important discovery was the famous Theodotus inscription, indicating the presence of an early synagogue in use during the time of the Herodian Temple.<sup>30</sup>

#### BRITISH MANDATE INITIATIVES

Archaeological activity underwent a dramatic change after the British conquest of Palestine during World War I. Initially, to avoid damage to sacred places and monuments, the capture of Jerusalem was somewhat delayed.<sup>31</sup> This awareness of the city's physical legacy soon led to the establishment of the Pro-Jerusalem Society and its charter providing for "the protection and preservation, with the consent of the Government, of the antiquities of the district of Jerusalem."<sup>32</sup> Soon, in



FIGURE 12. Raymond Weill's expedition in Silwan, 1913–14. Courtesy of École biblique.

particular with the establishment of the Department of Antiquities of Mandatory Palestine (DAP), Jerusalem turned into one of the most dynamic centers of excavation and archaeological research in the world. It was during the British Mandatory period that the foundations for much of modern scientific archaeological investigations in the city were laid.

By following the model of similar establishments in other British colonies and the establishment of the Antiquities Law (AL) in 1928, the director of the newly founded DAP was able to impose professional standards and regulate archaeological activity through a much more rigorously controlled issuance of excavation licenses.<sup>33</sup>

Until 1930, the British School of Archaeology and the DAP occupied the same building, although as early as 1926 the directorates were separate. The director of the DAP and its advisory board were appointed by the high commissioner from the British, French, American, and Italian schools of archaeology in Jerusalem. In addition, two Palestinians and two Jews were appointed to represent the Muslim and Jewish communities.<sup>34</sup> The department had five subunits: the inspectors, a records office and library, a conservation laboratory, a photographic studio, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM). The latter, financed by a \$2 million gift, was dedicated in 1938.<sup>35</sup> Its main purpose was to collect and display the antiquities



of the country for the benefit of its citizens, a change from the earlier practice of removal of the region's most important artifacts to other states.<sup>36</sup>

John Garstang wore two hats during his stay in Jerusalem: one as the director of the DAP (1920–26) and the other as head of the British School of Archaeology (1919–26). He was pivotal in formulating the Antiquities Ordinance (AO), and though he himself did not excavate in Jerusalem, he urged the PEF to resume archaeological work in the city and to collaborate with scholars from other countries (see figure 13).<sup>37</sup>

The period between the two World Wars (1918–39) is often referred to as the golden age of archaeological exploration in the Holy Land.<sup>38</sup> A total of 140 excavations were carried out in Jerusalem alone, seventy-six of which were conducted by the staff of the DAP, including both British and local archaeologists.<sup>39</sup> Many of the excavations were salvage operations, conducted after the chance discoveries of antiquities during development.<sup>40</sup>

Between 1923 and 1925, the first official expeditions of the British Mandate period were carried out on the Southeast Hill by Robert Alexander Stuart Macalister and John Garrow Duncan on behalf of the PEF.<sup>41</sup> Several residential buildings as well as a massive support wall, later known as the Stepped Stone Structure were exposed. More generally, their excavation appeared to establish that this area corresponded to the biblical description of Zion and that it was surrounded by a wall. Two years later, in 1927, John W. Crowfoot and Gerald M. FitzGerald continued work in the same location and discovered a massive gate.<sup>42</sup>

The focus of the next major expedition shifted to the Citadel, near the modern Jaffa Gate. Beginning in 1934, it was directed by Cedric N. Johns under the auspices of the DAP. Though the project was planned as a salvage operation, the soundings revealed the northwest corner of an ancient system of fortifications (presumably associated with King Herod's palace), and work continued for another five years.<sup>43</sup>

Other notable excavations conducted under the aegis of the DAP were carried out by John Illife at the YMCA, by Dimitri Baramki near the so-called Third Wall, and by Robert Hamilton at the Damascus Gate and along the northern wall of the Old City.<sup>44</sup>

The DAP was also involved in the management of the city's holy sites. Close working relations with officials of the Islamic Waqf and the Christian communities were established. Inspectors had access to the Haram and were entitled to measure and document all its major monuments. Most notable were Ernest Tatham Richmond's survey of the Dome of the Rock and Robert Hamilton's architectural survey and excavation of the al-Aqsa Mosque.<sup>45</sup> Renovations were carried out in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, most importantly the replacement of the dome of the Katholikon and the removal of the lintels of the Crusader entrance, and William Harvey conducted detailed architectural studies and structural reports of the entire complex.<sup>46</sup>



FIGURE 13. John Garstang, director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, shown photographing a recently excavated archaeological deposit (PEF-GAR-JER- PN21-2). Courtesy of Palestine Exploration Fund.

In 1914 a group of local Jewish intellectuals had established the independent Society for the Reclamation of Antiquities, renamed the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (JPES) in 1920.<sup>47</sup> Its purpose was to advance historical, geographical, and archaeological research concerning the Land of Israel.<sup>48</sup> During the Mandate period, it was responsible for the first archaeological excavations ever conducted by a local Jewish organization, including the Tomb of Absalom and the Third Wall in Jerusalem. To support the professional training of Jewish archaeologists, in 1935 the Hebrew University of Jerusalem established a department of archaeology.<sup>49</sup> In order to provide a proper setting for the few Christian and Muslim scholars interested in the folklore and customs of the country, the Palestine Oriental Society (POS) was founded in 1920. Their interest, however, did not encompass archaeological fieldwork.<sup>50</sup>

## TWO DEPARTMENTS OF ANTIQUITIES

Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the official framework of archaeological activity adjusted to the new reality, with Israel ruling West Jerusalem and the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan East Jerusalem, including the Old City.

Until 1956 the Department of Antiquities of Jordan continued to be headed by a British archaeologist, Gerald Lankester Harding, who was based in Amman. In East Jerusalem (which came under Jordanian rule in 1948), his representative,

Yosef Sa'ad, was keeper of the PAM, also known as the Rockefeller Museum. Lankester Harding was replaced by Saeed al-Durrah, who administered the Jordanian Department of Antiquities between 1956 and 1959, to be followed by Awni al-Dajani between 1956 and 1968.<sup>51</sup> Until 1948 all documents pertaining to the archaeology of the region, including artifacts, files, maps, and plans were kept at the PAM in Jerusalem. According to UN decisions made prior to the 1948 war, the museum and its holdings were going to be managed by an international committee. This plan, however, proved difficult to be implemented and by 1966 the committee was officially disbanded with the museum collection nationalization by Jordan.<sup>52</sup> The working relationship between the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and the Islamic Waqf during this period was rather poor.<sup>53</sup>

The main archaeological project in the Old City during this eighteen-year period of Jordanian rule was directed by British archaeologist Dame Kathleen Kenyon. After completing her first excavations in Palestine at Jericho in 1957, Kenyon worked in Jerusalem between 1961 and 1967.<sup>54</sup> Trenches were opened in areas near the Old City that were not built-up, including the Southeast Hill and the area north of the Ottoman city wall, as well as within the Old City, in the Armenian Quarter and in the Muristan near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Kenyon's primary goal was to establish clear stratigraphic sequences; exposing specific architectural complexes was secondary.<sup>55</sup>

As part of the now officially recognized territory of the State of Israel, the antiquities of West Jerusalem were subject to some pro-forma changes. The new Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (IDAM) was established on July 26, 1948. This relatively modest office was made part of the public works department under the Ministry of Labor and Construction. In August 1955, it was transferred to the Ministry of Education and Culture. The department's first director was Shmuel Yeivin, followed by Avraham Biran in 1961. All activities were based on the British Mandate Department of Antiquities Ordinances. The department maintained control of all antiquities and was in charge of the administration of small museums. Along with inspecting and registering antiquities sites and conducting excavations and surveys, it facilitated the storage and curation of the state collection of antiquities and maintained an archaeological library and research archive.

Archaeologists Emanuel Ben Dor and Benjamin Maisler (Mazar) were immediately appointed archaeological officers in charge of the Jerusalem District (naturally, not including East Jerusalem). In 1950 they were joined by a third officer, Shmuel Yeivin.<sup>56</sup> It was during this period that the concept of archaeological inspection developed, establishing a framework that efficiently controlled the scientific level and professionalism of archaeological fieldwork. Michael Avi-Yonah was the first to serve as Jerusalem's scientific secretary and antiquities inspector. In 1951 he was replaced by Ruth Amiran.<sup>57</sup>

Between 1949 and 1967, eighty-eight excavations, mostly of burial complexes, were conducted in West Jerusalem. The majority of them were salvage excavations connected to the massive urban development projects of road and housing construction. Given the budgetary constraints, however, very little was invested in conservation and preservation, and many antiquities had to be destroyed as construction projects continued.<sup>58</sup>

### ISRAELI JURISDICTION

On August 30, 1967, after Israel had captured East Jerusalem, the Old City and its surrounding were declared protected antiquities sites according to the provision of the Antiquities Ordinance.<sup>59</sup> The IDAM extended its control of archaeological activity and supervision to the newly occupied areas. Although The Hague convention, to which Israel was a signatory, explicitly prohibited the removal of cultural property from militarily occupied areas, numerous excavations were initiated almost immediately.<sup>60</sup> In January 31, 1978, the Knesset passed the Law of Antiquities, officially superseding the Mandate ordinances.

Avraham Eitan, appointed director of IDAM in 1974, was replaced in 1988 by army general Amir Drori, who set in motion the conversion of IDAM into an independent government authority. The passage of a new law, the Antiquities Authority Law, was finalized on September 1, 1989, and the following April, the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) officially came into existence, with Amir Drori as its first director. Several significant changes in the administration and management of all archaeological excavation and research activities were initiated, affecting primarily the procedures of archaeological inspection, salvage excavation, and site and artifact conservation. Furthermore, the ultimate authority of archaeological governance was placed into the hands of an administrator with limited expertise in the field of archaeology. In 2000, Drori was replaced by another army general, Shouka Dorfman, who served as director until 2014.<sup>61</sup> Since then, former Shin Bet (Israel's internal security service) deputy director and Knesset member Israel Hasson has been directing the IAA, equally limited in his professional exposure to and immersion in the field of archaeology.<sup>62</sup> As head of excavations and surveys between 2000 and 2011, archaeologist Gideon Avni was given the task of overseeing the development of a new Jerusalem Department, including some twenty-eight staff members.<sup>63</sup> The efforts of this unit have been distributed regionally between West Jerusalem, East Jerusalem, the Old City, and the Judean Hills located within the Green Line (also referred to as the "pre-1967 borders").<sup>64</sup>

The significant urban growth and construction following the 1967 war, expanding into previously uninhabited areas, had an unavoidable impact on the archaeological landscape. To counter the impending destruction that would be caused by this development, the IAA carried out an extensive survey of the ancient city

and its surroundings, documenting some nine hundred sites.<sup>65</sup> This non-intrusive initiative was supplemented by numerous modestly sized and several large-scale excavations. As originally many of these activities were in response to modern development and only a few linked to preservation or conservation projects of existing structures, most archaeological activities in the city were classified by the Israeli archaeological administration as salvage operations.

Excavations conducted promptly after the 1967 war, were carried out prior to urban development in the newly established neighborhoods of Givat HaMivtar, French Hill, Mount Scopus, Ramot, East Talpiyot, Har Nof, and Giloh, and slightly later in the neighborhoods of Emek Rephaim, Malha, and Pisgat Ze'ev. Sites located near the Old City include Akeldama, Gethsemane, Mamilla, and the Mandelbaum Gate. Among those located within and adjacent to the Old City, are the Citadel, the Armenian Garden, the Damascus Gate, Herod's Gate, Daraj el-Ain at Ohel Yitzhak, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In terms of sheer size, the most ambitious projects were conducted in the Jewish Quarter, near the Temple Mount / Haram al-Sharif, and finally in the City of David / Silwan.<sup>66</sup>

Since 1967 only a limited number of excavations and surveys have been carried out under the auspices of foreign institutions. Notable among these are the recent salvage excavations of the École biblique at the Church of St. John and the work carried out within the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer by the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft.<sup>67</sup> The current excavations on Mount Zion, conducted on behalf of University of North Carolina at Charlotte and the University of the Holy Land, represent the only archaeological project not motivated by a conservation or development project.<sup>68</sup>

Two significant surveys of Mamluk and Ottoman monuments—initiatives that were not intrusive and thus did not require (or chose not to request) approval or licenses from the Israeli authorities—were carried out under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology. British scholar Michael Hamilton Burgoyne directed the survey of Mamluk architecture in Jerusalem, beginning in 1968.<sup>69</sup> Two other surveys were conducted by Palestinian archaeologists in the Old City; Mahmoud Hawari led a study of all Ayyubid monuments, and Yusuf Natsheh, one of all Ottoman monuments.<sup>70</sup>

Before the dissolution of the IDAM and the establishment of the IAA in 1990, some 245 sites had been excavated and documented. Since then, an additional 210 excavations have been carried out.<sup>71</sup> This brings the total number of officially registered and documented excavations since the beginning of archaeological exploration in the mid-nineteenth century to roughly 1,200.<sup>72</sup> The number of illegal or undocumented excavations, carried out by amateurs or by looters supplying the antiquities market, is estimated to be around five hundred.<sup>73</sup>



As Jerusalem has moved through changing political realities, archaeological explorations have flourished. They have evolved from several individually motivated endeavors to countless institutionalized and governmental undertakings, at an ever-growing speed and scale. Significant accomplishments were achieved under colonial rule. The Ottoman authorities made the initial modest moves toward regulating fieldwork and discoveries. Most impressive and long lasting, however, were the contributions to the administrative and professional standards established under the British, who imposed an increasingly structured protocol and scientific framework on the growing number of expeditions. The noticeable progress and success of biblical archaeology under British rule may in no small part be due to the fact that the cultural and religious aspirations of the predominantly Western explorers and institutions and the ideological outlook of the government were merged for the first time.

With the new reality of the divided city between 1948 and 1967, Jordanian and Israeli rules shaped a period of different nationalist aspirations, though the structural and scientific framework of fieldwork continued to be governed by the British model of exploration. Methodological innovations were successfully implemented, professionalism increased, and the biblical interest persisted, largely from a Christian perspective on the Jordanian side and from a Jewish one on the Israeli side.<sup>74</sup>

By far, the most extensive and expansive field projects in Jerusalem have occurred since Israel's capture of East Jerusalem in 1967. Some of these have been linked to new development efforts, but most have been motivated by the desire to explore and better understand—as well as to display—the national and religious roots of the city's antiquities. By defining all excavations in the occupied sector of the city as salvage work, the Israeli government circumvents international law, according to which all excavation in East Jerusalem is illegal. For this reason, more so than in any other previous political context of colonialism, archaeological activity in the city under occupation is both conducted and governed—apart from a few exceptions—by one nation: the Jewish State of Israel, an escalation that in no minimal way reflects the radical constitutional framework, in which state and religion are merged. Apart from the legal implications, however, Israeli archaeology has been taking the field to new levels of mastery, management, and scientific excellence, building on the professional advances made in previous decades. One could thus argue that the story of the success of archaeological exploration in Jerusalem is one of increasing professionalism, at its best when the zeal of the explorers converges with the ideology of the state.

