

When heritage is used to legitimize violence and occupation: the case of Silwan, between "biblical archaeology" and djihad



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Cover page *Visitors cross a bridge above remains of an excavated palace overlooking the Palestinian East
Jerusalem village of Silwan, at the City of David national park.
Courtesy Hadas Parush for National Geographic (December 2019 Issue)*

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The Silwan neighborhood, in the southern area of West-Jerusalem, is an area that catalyzes many of the aspects of the confrontation between Israel and Palestine. From a geographical point of view, the neighborhood straddles the area of Jerusalem illegally occupied by Israel at the expense of International law, and the area that has been entrusted to Israel by international agreement. The religious value of Jerusalem motivated the establishment of its status as a *corpus separatum*¹ in 1947, the city thus becoming an enclave administrated by the United Nations.² This regime places the city under the Fourth Geneva Convention,³ invalidating the sovereignty of Israel over the site.⁴ The area is in fact surrounded by a number of important religious, historical and political sites: the Old City walls and the Mount of Olives cemetery to the North, Mount Zion to the South-East, and the Ras Al-Aamud neighborhood to the East, an area where the border between the occupied territories and the Palestinian territories remains unclear.⁵ Its proximity to these sites, in particular to the Muslim quarter of Jerusalem and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, as well as its location on important excavation sites, places it in the visual

¹ "separated body"

² The United Nations, General Assembly resolution 181 (II), November 29, 1947

³ The United Nations, Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, August 12, 1949.

⁴ "East Jerusalem is subject to the principles set out in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, notably the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and is therefore not under Israeli sovereignty ... the Fourth Geneva Convention is fully applicable to East Jerusalem, as it is to other territories under occupation."

The statues of Jerusalem: Prepared for, and under the guidance of, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, The United Nations (New York, 1997)

⁵ BimKom, *East Jerusalem Planning Survey*, 2013

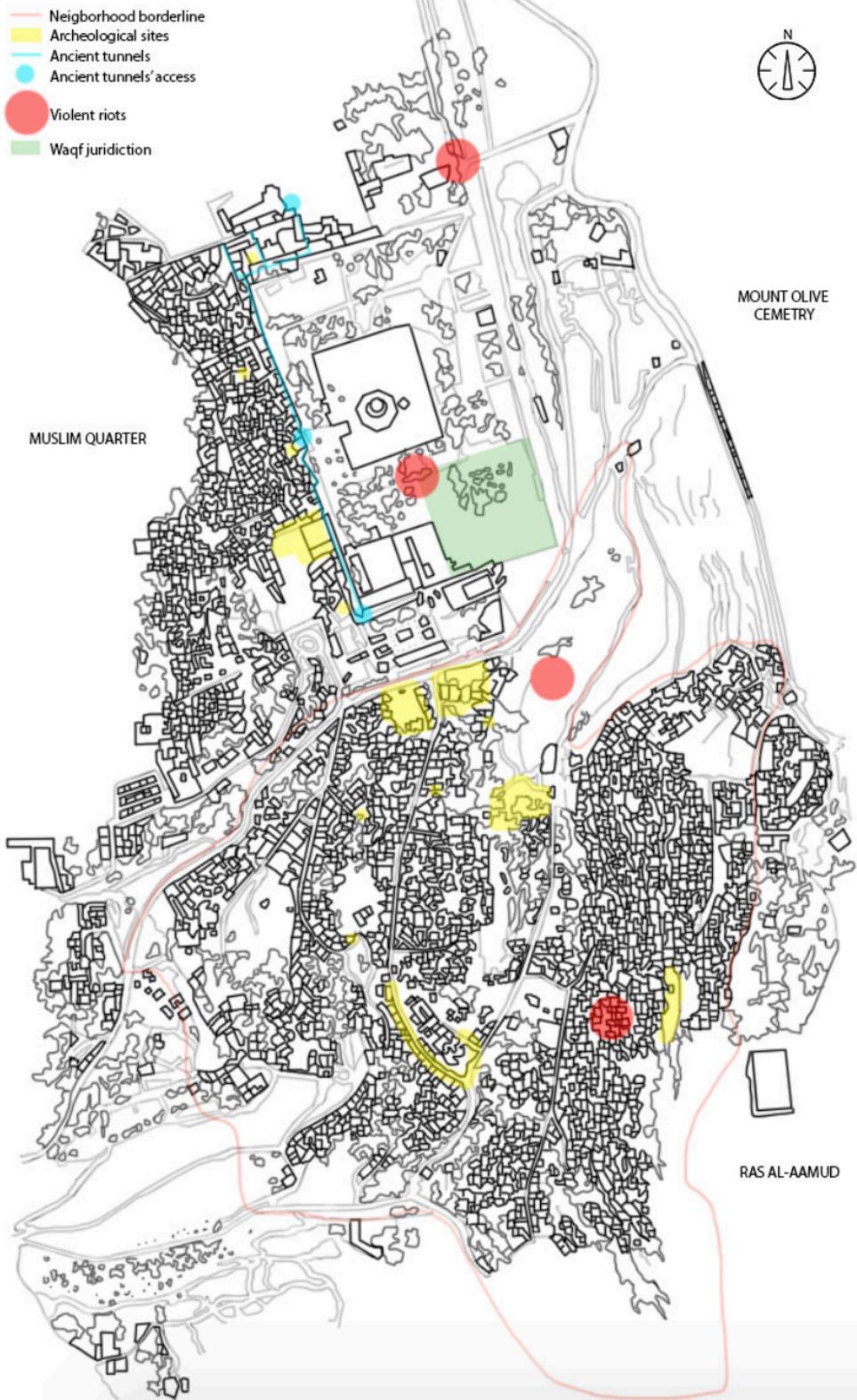
basin⁶ of the Old City. Not only does this historical value create many restrictions in terms of construction and land occupation, but it also creates significant tensions between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, as well as between Muslim, Jewish and, to a lesser extent, Christian religious communities. The district thus has a very strong religious symbolism, especially since it has long been a Jewish cemetery from the time of the First Temple.⁷

⁶ A theoretical delimitation of an area with a good visibility comprising significant landmarks representative of a bigger landscape.
Maria Fera, Jose, *Territorial Heritage and Development*, (CRC Press, 2012) p. 67

In this case the visual basin of Jerusalem encompass important religious and cultural symbols of Jerusalem such as the Muslim Quarter's market or the Wailing Wall.

⁷ Ussishkin, David, "The Necropolis from the Time of the Kingdom of Judah at Silwan", *The Biblical Archaeologist*, Volume 33, Issue 2, pp. 33-46

- Neighborhood borderline
- Archeological sites
- Ancient tunnels
- Ancient tunnels' access
- Violent riots
- Waqf jurisdiction

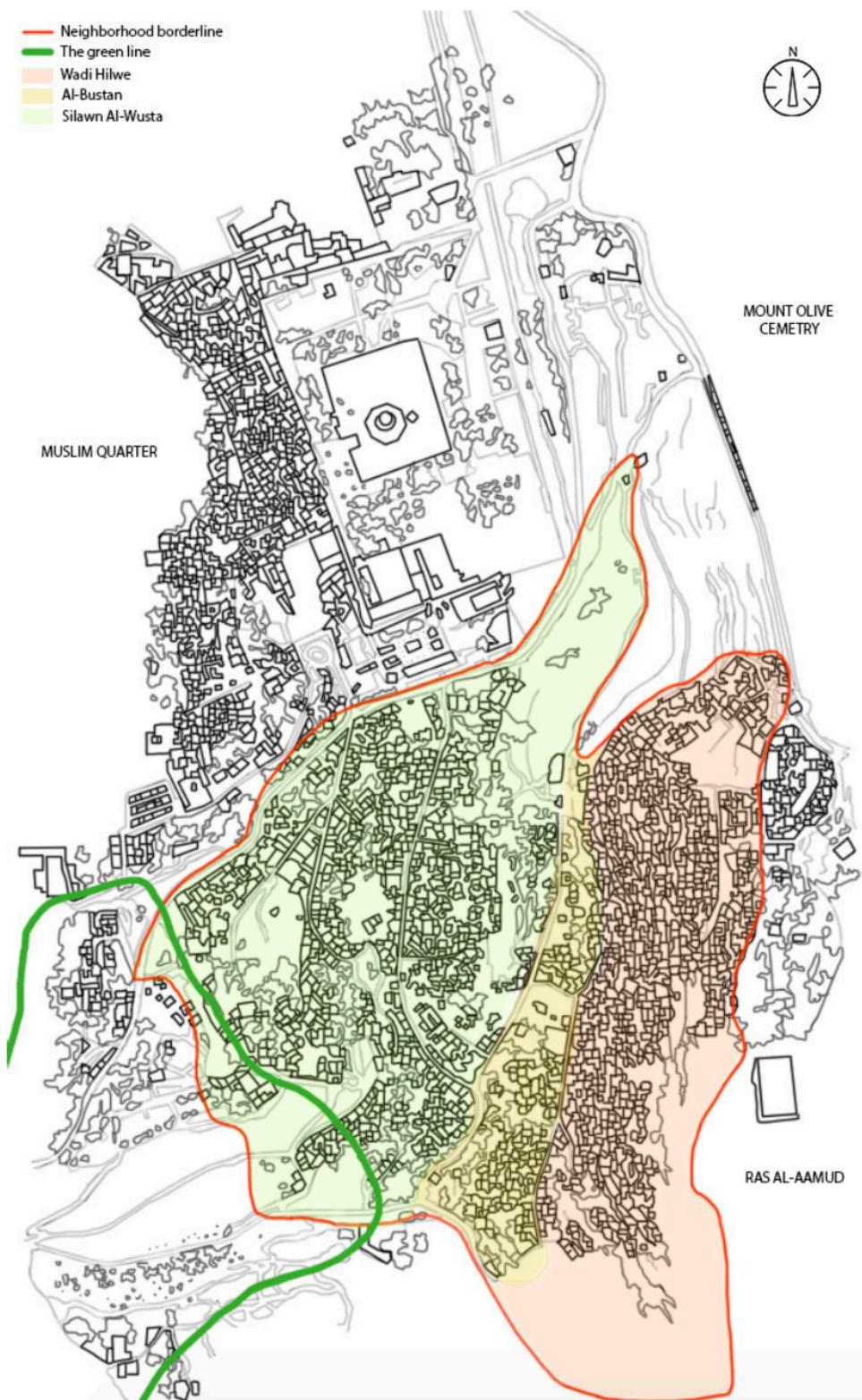


MUSLIM QUARTER

MOUNT OLIVE
CEMETRY

RAS AL-AAMUD

- Neighborhood borderline
- The green line
- Wadi Hilwe
- Al-Bustan
- Silawn Al-Wusta





Damaged foundations of Palestinian houses near a collapsed parking lot in the center of Wadi Hilweh (2019)
Courtesy Emek Shaveh

Elad: Religious Nationalism and Archgeology

The historical and religious relevance of the numerous excavation sites of Silwan, including the source of Hagibon/Ein umm al Daraj, the Givati car park in front of the old city walls, the ancient swimming pool bordering Al-Bustan, and an ancient Roman sewage Tunnel running under Wadi Hilweh, is important for various reasons.⁸ The first is due to economic reasons. The interest of tourists in these archaeological sites creates an influx of visitors whose presence (sightseeing tours, souvenir shops, restoration places) generates a fair amount of

⁸ Mizrachi, Yonathan, “Jerusalem Facts Underground” *Emek Shaveh* video, 8:18, Avril 24, 2017

Names extracted from official reports.
Weksler-Bdolah, Shlomit, and Nahshon Szanton. “Jerusalem, Silwan: Preliminary Report.” *Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel / חדשות* ,2014 Accessed May 24, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/26604619

money.⁹ But the interest of foreigners for these sites raises another more important aspect, which is its politicized nature. The control over the cultural and touristic sites of the neighborhood helps shape the vision foreigners have of Jerusalem, and therefore of Israel. Silwan and the archaeological sites it contains have thus become areas of major ideological and political conflict, sometimes bordering on religious confrontations. This ideological face-off is leading to recurrent violence, from abusive surveillance to murders.

The development of archeology in Silwan is linked to the rise of religious nationalism in Israel and the growing influence of radical far-right movements. The use of archeology to assert power over Silwan began with the involvement of radical non-profit organizations in 1997.¹⁰ The politicization of excavations is linked to four distinct entities: Israel Nature and Park Authority (INPA), Israel Authorities for Archeology (IAA), the far-right Israeli association Elad, and the Palestinian inhabitants of Silwan. In 1995, the Israel Authorities for Archeology launched excavations in Silwan, under the impetus of Elad.¹¹ In 1998, the INPA entrusted the operation of the King David Garden to Elad.¹² A violent revolt of the Palestinian population of Silwan prevented this decision from becoming effective.¹³ The local Palestinian population had already expressed their

⁹ Uri, Blau & Hasson, Nir, "Right-wing Israeli Group Elad Received Millions From Shadowy Private Donors", *Haaretz*, March 06, 2016, Last consulted on May 2, 2020, <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-right-wing-israeli-group-elad-received-millions-from-shadowy-private-donors-1.5413604>

¹⁰ Mizrachi, Yonathan, "Jerusalem Facts Underground" *Emek Shaveh* video, 8:18, April 24, 2017

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

outrage at the opening of a new tunnel under the Muslim quarter in 1996. Ten years later, the "accidental" destruction linked to the work in the tunnels Silwan began.¹⁴ The tunnels regularly collapse, endangering the structure of the ground and therefore the inhabitants. Elad responds to these accusations with critics toward the alleged poor construction techniques, and supposedly illegal buildings. These dangerous living conditions are made even more difficult by the noise pollution; construction workers do not respect daytime working hours, nor the religious traditions of the Shabbat. Many Palestinians live in fear of being crushed by their own houses, and many decide to abandon them in the hope of better living conditions elsewhere.¹⁵

At first restricted by the government reluctance, Elad is holding onto political, economic, cultural and religious power barely questioned authorities. Despite the growing importance given to Elad by the government, the IAA still had doubts about the intentions of the extreme right-wing association. In 2005, Elad was entrusted with the management of at least four major archaeological sites in the historic basin: the source of Hagibon/Ein umm al Daraj, the Givati car park in front of the old city walls, the Ancient swimming pool bordering Al-Bustan, and an ancient roman sewage tunnel under Wadi Hilweh.¹⁶ These tunnels, opened in 2011, are the most important touristic

¹⁴ Gadzo, Mersiha. "How 'archaeological settlements' are destroying Palestinian homes", *Al Jazeera* (July 8, 2019)

¹⁵ Hasson, Nir, "Silwan Residents Blame Right-wing Group for Collapse of Tunnel Near Mosque", *Haaretz*, December 28, 2011, Last consulted April 30, 2020, <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5222887>

¹⁶ Uri, Blau & Hasson, Nir, "Right-wing Israeli Group Elad Received Millions From Shadowy Private Donors", *Haaretz*, March 06, 2016, Last consulted on May 2, 2020, <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-right-wing-israeli-group-elad-received-millions-from-shadowy-private-donors-1.5413604>

project in the old city. This work aims to allow tourists to join one side of Jerusalem from another without having to cross the city. Not only does it endanger the Palestinian homes of Silwan and the Muslim quarter of Jerusalem, but it also makes the non-Jewish heritage of the city invisible.



Fissures and cracks in the apartments of the Awaida family in Silwan.
Courtesy Emek Shaveh



Yonatan Mizrahi, director of Emek Shaveh, offering a sight seeing tour to American tourists
Courtesy MAB/CTS

The importance of Silwan neighborhood for both Palestinians and Israelis is therefore political and economic but also cultural since this site has seen the settlement and development of several peoples: Ottomans, Yemenis, Muslims and Jews. This cultural value is transformed into a political argument, as an historical presence is seen as a means of providing legitimacy to assert power over the site.

Israel's instrumentalization of 'collective memory'

Both Palestinians and Israelis attempt to legitimize their presence and their sovereignty over Silwan based on the notion of 'collective memory'. It is therefore important to understand what it is and how it can be used as a political argument. While collective memory builds on a sense of a shared past, the events that compose it, the means that are used to transmit it, and the use made of it are different.

Collective memory is based on two major elements: the relationship of the individual to a larger group, and the relationship of that individual and group to a common heritage. This situation generated some sort of a dichotomy; collective memory is in fact the intersection, the fusion, and the opposition of an individual consciousness and personal memories to a group consciousness and affiliated memories.¹⁷ As each personal memory is constructed alongside collective memory, it is sustained and complemented by the latter. The same applies to collective memory; it also prompts individuals to question their own experiences and feelings. Collective memory absorbs each individual memory, to create an amalgam of personal perceptions and redistribute it to a larger community.¹⁸ This collective vision often intend to affirm a dominant narrative, which each person will assimilate akin to their own experience.

¹⁷ Halbwachs, Maurice, *La mémoire collective*, (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1967) Deuxième édition revue et augmentée, p. 38-41.

¹⁸ Barash, Jeffery, Andrew, "The Time of Collective Memory Social Cohesion and Historical Discontinuity in Paul Ricœur's *Memory, History, Forgetting*", *Études Ricœuriennes / Ricœur Studies*, Vol 10, Issue 1 (2019), pp. 102-111

The main role of collective memory is to create cohesion within a group. This memory is in fact constructed from the ground up with the help of reported memories and events. The collective memory of a nation or people is a set of recollections transmitted from generation to generation.¹⁹ Individuals cannot remember events that they did not experience directly. The recollection of violence experienced by an individual will not elicit the same response as the one recounted to them, whether contemporary or historical. While Palestinians address memories of the violence they are personally subjected to, Israeli construct their memory through secondhand testimonies and a dominant narrative of past injustice. Barash definition of collective memory is based on its relation to a context.²⁰ The appeal to historical events is biased by the current political or religious situation, as they are subjected to interpretation.²¹ The memory of traumatic event such as the *Nakbah* or the Exodus where used as a coping mechanism, but the current political context implement a political subtext to the remembrance of these events. Memory is constantly evolving, therefore it is defined by its link to a contemporary political, economic and cultural context. The sociological context that surrounds this constant construction causes its symbols and implications to evolve. Collective memory is the constant recuperation of an academic history in order to adjust it to the prism of contemporary events.²²

¹⁹ Barash, Jeffrey, Andrew, *Collective Memory and the Historical Past* (The University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 70-90.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

The complex relationships that produce this memory tend to obliterate or prioritize certain parts of history for the benefit of another, both for cognitive and ideological reasons. Without taking into account the unbridgeable gap between the past and the memory that ensues from it, there is a considerable risk of transforming this collective memory into a mythical narrative disconnected from archeological proofs.²³ The complexity of the relationship between Palestinians, Israeli and the territory of Silwan creates uncertainties prone to political leverage.

This special link with Jerusalem claimed by the Israelis is not only a matter of national identity but also of collective memory. The Israeli narrative built around the Old City, aims to disallow the efforts of the United Nations to place Jerusalem under international auspices. Their claim over the city makes a partition of Jerusalem between different authorities unworkable. This collective memory linked with Jerusalem is an attempt from the government to obtain endorsement from other nations. The Law of Return, passed on July 5 1950, defines any Jewish people as a potential citizen of Israel, and offer them the possibility to emigrate. This idea of "returning home" called *Aliyah* is an interpretation of the Talmud. This theological concept is the spearhead of Zionism. By uniting Jewish identity with Jerusalem, this movement secures the (financial) support of the international Zionist community for (establishing (ensuring/securing?)) the Jewish nation in Israel. This reading (use) of religious texts is used by Israeli settlers to justify their use of violence to the international community.

²³ *Ibid.*



American family posing for fake pictures in front of the Wailing Wall
Courtesy Frédéric Brenner (Diaspora, Terres natales de l'exil)

It is a nationalist interpretation of core elements of Jewish identity: the Exodus and the destruction of the first Temple.²⁴ This duty is written in religious texts: it is the *Zakhor*. In Hebrew "Remember!", this injunction is of the utmost importance in Judaism. In fact, orthodox and Zionist communities consider themselves the descendants of the ancient Hebrews and the custodians of their religious texts. They consider it a duty to transmit their memory of millennia of persecution and wandering to future generations.²⁵ The government of Israel includes this notion of protecting this part of Jewish heritage into its policy.

This vision of their cultural and spiritual heritage is common among Israelis. However, their identity is more built on reported religious texts than on historical facts, or scientific analytical approach of the past. The close ties between the government and radical religious groups leads to propaganda de-

²⁴ Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, (University of Washington Press, 1996)

²⁵ *Ibid.*

nying the existence of Palestine and encourages the recognition of Israel as a sovereign state.²⁶ The Ottoman era and the English Mandate, witnessed the growth of Jerusalem as an important location to trade. Those eras are today absent in the decision-making process of the Israeli government surrounding tourism, education, and estate preservation. These periods, where the Palestinians played important roles, is neglected to the benefit of the periods of the expansion of Jerusalem linked to the Jewish people.²⁷

In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Jewish presence in Jerusalem is a political argument. The Israeli state has, since its creation, embarked on archaeological excavations. The discovery of artifacts is for extremists a scientific proof of the Jewish impact on the development of Jerusalem. This desire to find academic arguments justifying Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem was quickly taken up by extreme right-wing orthodox groups. These associations are basing their research on the study of biblical texts.

Major events and biblical sites are recurrent in Israeli propaganda. The garden of King David, pilgrimage location between 516 B.C. and 70 A.D.;²⁸ the presence of a Jewish cemetery on Mount of Olives;²⁹ and Silwan Palestinians' riots in 1938 are often referenced.³⁰ There are records of commercial exchanges between the recently settled Yemeni population and

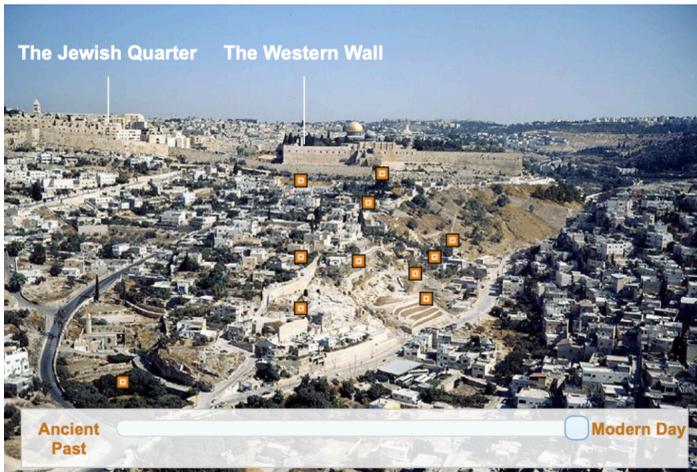
²⁶ Uri, Blau & Hasson, Nir, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Khalidi, Rashid, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, (Columbia University Press, 1997, 2010 reissue), p.177-210

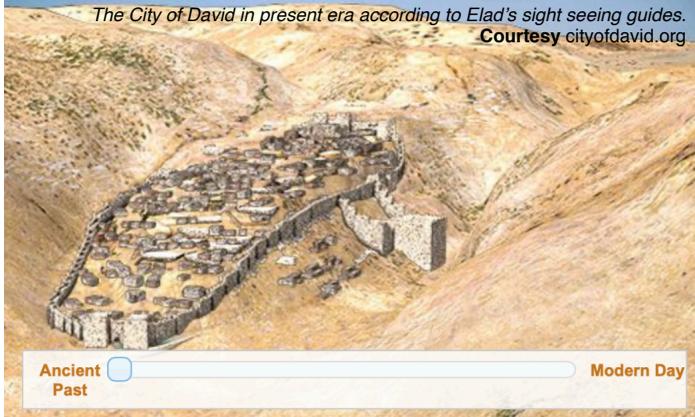
²⁸ Zacuto, Abraham, *Yubasin* (Filipowski-Freimann), p.45-19

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Weiss, Hadass, "Settling in the Hearts: Jewish Fundamentalism in the Occupied Territories by Michael Feige", *Cultural Anthropology*, Volume 24, Issue 4



The City of David in present era according to Elad's sight seeing guides. Courtesy cityof david.org



The City of David in ancient past according to Elad's sight seeing guides. No traces of Silwan. Courtesy cityof david.org

the
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lim population: transactions for plots of land on the Mount of Olives, but also in exchange for the protection of the village's Jewish cemetery.³¹ The first two elements reported here began millennia ago and whose importance for Israelis, has never diminished. These elements evoked by prophets became core

³¹ Ussishkin, David, *op. cit.*, p. 33-46

testimonies in Judaism. In biblical archeology they are considered as scientific indications.

Strengthened by their certainty about this glorious religious past, Israeli archaeologists commissioned by Elad rely on religious texts to conduct their excavations, motivated by the desire to find traces of this narrated history.³² The issue with this biblical-based archaeology is that archaeologists conduct excavations knowing in advance what they are looking for. The certainties about the ideological convictions behind their work and the truthfulness of their biblical sources lead Elad's archaeologists to extrapolations in cases where evidence is lacking. Even the failure to identify archaeological evidence does not alter their whims to use their discoveries for political purposes. Their aim to prove the veracity of the events recounted in the Bible to affirm their domination over Israel is in no way endangered by the lack of academic proofs. In a historical basin that is considered relatively poor in comparison with the surrounding areas,³³ the value of the finds made in situ is increased by the biblical interpretation of Elad's archeologists, as it adds to their theoretical value.³⁴

Whether it is a question of dating, as with the foundations of King David's alleged palace,³⁵ or of extrapolation, as with the incomplete seals attributed to the prophet Isaiah,³⁶ much of

³² Mazar, Eilat, "Seals of Isaiah and King Hezekiah Discovered!", Speech, King David hotel, Jerusalem, June 10, 2018

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Finkelstein, Israel & Silberman, Neil Asher, *La Bible dévoilée, les nouvelles révélations de l'archéologie*, (Bayard, 2002), p. 103-105.

³⁶ Mazar, Eilat, "Seals of Isaiah and King Hezekiah Discovered!", Speech, King David hotel, Jerusalem, June 10, 2018

what archaeologists like Eilat Mazar say should be treated with caution. The determination of some archeologist to maintain an academic position and stay critical of such political claims has led to the creation of independent associations such as Emek Shaveh. This organization aimed to dissociate archeology from right-wing political claim and to allow an alternative to Elad's biblical archeology.

Observation and questioning of the archaeological discoveries in the historic basin of the old city should make it possible to establish a portrayal of the demographic of the successive populations, leading to a better understanding of the evolution of the site. The view of the academic community should ease the political tension to protect and acknowledge the common religious heritage left in Silwan. In practice, the Israeli government appeal to the memory of historical events emblematic of Silwan's history, using them as evidence of their active role in the cultural development of the site. As irrefutable proof of the existence of a Jewish population in Silwan, their symbolic and cultural value becomes a pretext for establishing Israeli hegemony over the site, allegedly intended to preserve this heritage and perpetuate it.

The negation of Palestinians' identity

The Palestinians appeal to history to recall the oppression they have suffered and to question the legitimacy of the State of Israel to govern their territory as they are facing ongoing colonization and dispossession of their heritage.³⁷ From Israel's point of view, to deny a historical existence of a Palestinians on the site is equivalent to denying their current legitimacy to live there.

³⁷ Hornstein, Shelley, *Losing Site: Architecture, Memory, and Place*, (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011) p. 160-169

Palestinians evoke the fact that the territory has been officially subject to Jordanian laws since 1948 to contest the actions of Israelis in Silwan. That situation changed with the Six-Day War in 1967, and the incorporation of East Jerusalem and Silwan into Israel capital. The beginning of expulsions of Palestinian families by Israel in 1987 became the symbol of a struggle against forced exile.³⁸ These events have had an impact on daily life in East Jerusalem. It has become a rallying point for Palestinian politics. Before the confrontation with Israel, the Palestinians did seek to assert themselves by recalling a secular history mostly based on the Ottoman era. The vision of a collective memory as an element of cohesion for the Palestinian people re-emerged in response to Israel's denial of their existence.³⁹ The *Nakbah* started with the declaration of Israel as an independent nation on May 18, 1948, and continued with violent armed conflicts between the Israelis and the Arab population. This violence has caused hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to flee to neighboring Arab countries.⁴⁰ The end of the massacres asserts the domination of Israel, which refuses the right of return to Palestinians, thus creating several generations of refugees. This is considered one of the major breaking points between Arab peoples and Israeli, one of the first negations of Palestinians' existence and right to self-determination, and one of the focal event in Palestinian collective memory.⁴¹

The Israeli government considers the Palestinian population as either an ethnic group or as religious

³⁸ Hornstein, Shelley, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Khalidi, Rashid, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

communities.⁴² The diversity of religions and traditions within this people offers Israel the possibility to query the existence of Palestine as a nation.⁴³ Whereas Israelis have built an identity trying to relate the past to contemporary experiences through the vantage point of present experience,⁴⁴ the collective memory of the Palestinian people is still partially built daily through the controls and pressures to which they are subjected.⁴⁵ Israel's narrative seeks to erase from national memory the events commemorated by Palestinians. Architecture like *khirbat al-Chayeh*,⁴⁶ which was part of the Palestinian collective memory, such as architecture, were demolished over decades of Israeli occupation and propaganda. Uprooted from their land, many having the status of refugees, Palestinians are dispossessed of their culture by Israel's policy and settlements.⁴⁷ Israel's rewriting of history and the violence to which they are subject pushes Palestinians to assert their right to self-determination before they can reaffirm themselves through their cultural heritage.⁴⁸

The foreign view tends to present Palestinian identity as opposed to the suffering they still endure but the first assertion of a Palestinian nation date back to the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ The

⁴² Meir, Golda, Interview as quoted in Sunday Times, New York, 15 June 1969

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Barash, Jeffrey, Andrew, *Collective Memory and the Historical Past* (The University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 90-110

⁴⁵ Khalidi, Rashid, *op. cit.*, p.89-176

⁴⁶ Traditional houses from the ottoman era.

Pappé, Ilan, *Les démons de la Nakbah: les libertés fondamentales dans l'université israélienne*, (Paris: La Fabrique éditions, 2004), p.7

⁴⁷ Pappé, Ilan, *op.cit*, p.7-11.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*

⁴⁹ Khalidi, Rashid, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, p.89-176

opposition to the threat of European colonization strengthened their links with their Arab culture.⁵⁰ Palestinian identity, as presented in Rashid Khalidi's work attaches great importance to Jerusalem. Their status as merchants and farmers allowed the town to prosper.⁵¹ Developed around the Old City during the Mandate, the traditions of Palestinian people is linked to the sacred statute of Jerusalem. Palestinians, beyond their religious beliefs, ethnic backgrounds and specific customs and education, have also built an identity through the emergence of a collective struggle against a common threat: Zionist colonization.⁵² The first steps of Zionist settlements between the Ottoman revolution of 1908 and the Balfour Declaration in 1917 created violent opposition from the Arab population of the region.⁵³ Part of Palestinian collective memory is constructed around a desire for revenge. The difficulty of ensuring a stable political structure under Israeli oppression means that Palestinian resistance focuses on two main areas: humanitarian actions to support local communities (Ir Amim), and violent opposition.

The Israeli government and right-wing associations direct their propaganda towards tourists and the international community with considerable resources. Radical religious propaganda promoting djihad is aimed at a new Palestinian generation ready to fight for its right to exist. The staging of these events through historical symbols or customs sometimes falls into the trap of turning these traumatic events into folklore.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Picaudou, Nadine, *op. cit.*, p. 11-18

As explained above, the dispossession of the Palestinians of part of their culture during the violent conflicts that ravaged the region erects certain objects as almost mystical symbols.⁵⁵ Israel's attempts to erase Arab culture from Jerusalem are confronted with the re-appropriation of ancient cultural practices by the newest generations of Palestinians, connecting them to their current situation. The keys, for example, are almost religious objects, just as the reinvented *dabkeh* serves as a new unifying social practice.⁵⁶

Trapped between the violence of Israel's repression and a glorified history made of revenge and suffering, Palestinian youth are turning to radicalization.⁵⁷ This response to violence through violence is encouraged in djihadists' propaganda and relayed on social networks, targeting young people from religious communities.⁵⁸ As a response to Israel Government's lack of respect for Palestinians' lives, these radicalized young Palestinians are encouraged to see their sacrifice as an act of courage and martyrdom.

⁵⁵ Museum of Palestinian People, *Keys and the right of return*, exposition, Jerusalem, 2015

⁵⁶ Traditional dance from the Middle East, especially performed in Palestine, Jordan and Syria.
Picaudou, Nadine, *op. cit.*, p. 11-18

⁵⁷ Ziyād, Abū 'Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*, (Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 97-127

⁵⁸ Ziyād, Abū 'Amr, *op. cit.*, p. 97-127

Conclusion

The instrumentalization of memory during conflict, is unfortunately a common source of defense. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this translates into the political instrumentalization of religious and archeological knowledge. Biblical archeology is both used as defense of radical ideology and as a pretext to violence and war crimes. Israel's manipulation of historical facts, illegal constructions and destruction under the pretext of academic research, and a brutal repression have led to an increasingly violent response from the Palestinian people. The legitimization of violence and destruction through biblical archaeology or djihad, and the instrumentalization of memory and heritage serves as a weapon of war.

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