In Centro

Collected Papers
Volume II

Memory

Editors:
Guy D. Stiebel
Doron Ben-Ami
Amir Gorzalczany
Yotam Tepper
Ido Koch

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The Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology
The Jacob M. Alkow Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures
The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies and Archaeology
The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities

ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY
Central Region

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

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Preface

Jerusalem's a place where everyone remembers
he's forgotten something
but doesn't remember what it is.
And for the sake of remembering
I wear my father's face over mine.
This is the city where my dream-containers fill up
like a diver's oxygen tanks.
Its holiness
sometimes turns into love.
And the questions that are asked in these hills
are the same as they've always been:
"Have you seen my sheep?"
"Have you seen my shepherd?"
And the door of my house stands open like a tomb
where someone was resurrected.

Yehuda Amichai, *The Songs of Zion the Beautiful* 21

The second "In Centro" annual conference, and subsequently this proceedings volume, were devoted to the theme of "Memory." Like its predecessor, the conference is the outcome of cooperation between the Central Region of the Israel Antiquities Authorities and the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures and the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University. It took place on May 29, 2019 at Tel Aviv University.

The decision to focus upon this theme should come as no surprise: memory has, after all, been embedded in the DNA of archaeology since days of yore. From the very first use of the term "archaeology", as defined by the Classical ancient Greek sophists, memory was well rooted in its disciplinary perception of this term and the criticism directed against it. The sophists regarded archaeology as a field that explores the foundation of cities, the qualities of diverse civilisations, the history of mankind, the etymology of words and so forth. From Plato's dialogue *Hippias Maior*, on the other hand, we learn that for Socrates, archaeology was merely "art of memory" (τό μνημονικὸν), testifying to no more than to one's somewhat childish ability to "know much," but without any reasonable principle. From the ancient historical records, we learn about the ancients' interest in the past and in its materialistic memory of expression, even if that interest was limited to acts of antiquarianism. This may be inferred as early as the activity of Khaemweset, son of Ramesses II, to explore the history of ancient monuments and their renovation. Nabonidus King of Babylon exposed, in the 6th century BCE, the foundation deposit of Naram-Sin King of Akkad, who reigned in the 23rd century BCE, as well as the foundation deposits in the temples to Šamaš and Inanna at Sippar and in the temple built by Naram-Sin to the moon-god at the Harran. Later, a metamorphosis of this attitude may be found in the "cabinet of wonder/cabinet of curiosities" (Kunstkammer/Wunderkammer) that evolved during the Renaissance and were seen by some as "a microcosm or theater of the world, and a memory theater" (in the words of Francesca Fiorani). Ultimately, these "cabinets of wonders" evolved into modern museums in the 18th century. Nonetheless, the origins of this phenomenon lie far deeper in human activity—as indeed, emerged in the conference and within the pages of this volume—and an archaeological expression of this may be found in matter, space and location in much earlier periods, in the intentional choice of past artefacts, such as flint tools from the Lower Paleolithic, or in the memory of sites in the landscape that persisted for centuries and millennia.

The formation process of archaeology as a scientific discipline at the end of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century involved the concept of memory and gave it a prominent role with establishment of cultural history and even more so amongst the Annales school; suffice to note the priority given to long-term processes (*la longue durée*), the history of mentality and the collective memory. Memory and symbolism are found to be interwoven in the post-processual archaeology school, which became the most dominant school of archaeology towards the end of the past century. It is noteworthy that the layers of memory and the chronology of memory, as well as the active mechanisms of the processes of memory and, not least, oblivion, on the individual and group levels, resulted in the emergence of the field of "archaeology of memory" during the past decades.

The keynote of the second "In Centro" conference was given by Prof. Yadin Dudai: "The Individual's Memory and the Collective Memory: Why the Past Is Not What It Used to Be." The lecture focused upon an analysis of the operating mode of the human memory of the individual and the possibility of finding similarity lines between it and the operating method of the collective memory of societies and cultures that work as a "biocultural superorganism." The lecture demonstrates the potential of the dialogue between life and natural sciences and humanities. The conference consisted of four sessions. The first, titled "The Shaping of Memory," contained four lectures that examined the processes of the shaping of memory and oblivion and their expression in both the ancient texts and the archaeological record. During this session the conquest of Canaan and the myth of "the cities that stood still in their strength" as well as the myth of the "empty land" was examined. In addition, the phenomenon of ship graffiti at Maresha was discussed as a manifestation of seafarers' memories, and the session concluded with a lecture that dealt with the mechanism of remembrance and oblivion in the region of Megiddo-Lajjun. As in the first conference, the second session was devoted to TED-like papers of young scholars presenting a broad spectrum of themes—from the intentional selection of old flint objects and the

discussion of stone extraction and reduction sites as memorial monuments, to the decoration of the doors of burial caves, a memorial inscription from the Byzantine cemetery of Jaffa, finds from a British camp from World War I and preservation themes of sites as a component in the Israeli collective memory and narrative. The third session, titled "Collective Memory," touched upon a wide range of periods and methods, from a discussion of plastered skulls of the PPNB, to ritual and historical memory of the Hittite world and the memory of *Knishta DeMaradetha*, the synagogue of the revolt as preserved among the Jewish community at Caesarea, to souvenirs and family heirlooms in the archaeological record. The closing session was devoted to the theme of "Topography of Memory." It included a discussion of the consolidation of urban consciousness at ʿEn Asur of the EB IB, followed by aspects of collective memory in the Intermediate Bronze Age. The memory of ritual and the ritual of memory in Judah of the early Iron Age II was examined, and the session concluded with a lecture devoted to short-term memory and the historical archaeology of the Russian Compounds.

The second volume of the conference contains nine papers: six in English and three in Hebrew. The opening paper, written by Oded Lipschits and titled "'Remember and Forget': On the Ways of Shaping the 'Myth of the Empty Land'," examines the picture that emerges from the archaeological record in contrast to the biblical description of the "Empty Land." It further explores the processes involved in the shaping of the memory of the First Return to Zion as well as that of the Second Return, in modern times. The second paper takes the readers from the land to the memories of seafarers as exhibited in the study of the ship graffiti at Maresha, by Elie Haddad, Ian Stern and Michal Artzy. The paper by Yotam Tepper, "'Megiddo, and they call it Lajjun': Memory and Oblivion in Toponymy and Archaeological Finds in the Region of Legio/Kefar ʿOthnay," is devoted to the processes of the shaping of memory and oblivion in that region. The cluster of papers that discuss spatial memory concludes with the paper by Meir Finkel, Avi Gopher and Aviad Agam: "Excavating Tailing Piles at Kakal Spur (Kerem Ben Zimra)

Locality in the Naḥal Dishon Prehistoric Flint Extraction and Reduction Complex, Northern Galilee, Israel." A funerary inscription from the Byzantine period from Jaffa is the theme of Ayelet Dayan and Leah Di Segni's paper, while the preservation of contested narratives of archaeological sites through the case studies of Jaffa and Jerusalem is discussed by Chemi Shiff in the sixth paper. "Plastered Skulls, 'Memory' and Social Fabric in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Southern Levant" is the theme of Ianir Milevski's paper, while Yitzhak Paz and Itai Elad are concerned with "Old Memories and New Consciousness: Forging New Social Identity in the EB IB City of ʿEn Esur." In the closing paper of the volume, "Short-Term Memory: Historical Archaeology of Russian Compounds," Yana Tchekhanovets, Kfir Arbiv and Kirill A. Vach study the recent history of these compounds following the excavations in the Russian Compound in Jerusalem.

To return to the theme of "memory"—it is our hope that the publication of the volume before you will serve as one further step toward perpetuating the "In Centro" conference and proceedings series.

The Editors

Sailing Memories: Graffiti of Ships from Maresha

Elie Haddad | Israel Antiquities Authority
Ian Stern | University of Haifa and Hebrew Union College
Michal Artzy | University of Haifa

Introduction

Maresha (Marissa), identified with Tell Sandahanna, is situated in the Judean Shephelah, 35 km east of Ashkelon and about 2 km south of Beth Guvrin (Fig. 1). It is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (Josh 15:44; 2 Chron 2:7–9; Micah 1:13–15), as well as by Josephus (*AJ* 8.246). Maresha is also mentioned in the Zenon papyri (P. Cairo 59015, 58537), recording the journey undertaken by a Ptolemaic tax collector, Zenon, in 259 BCE. It is also mentioned later by Eusebius, who located the site near Beth Guvrin (*Onom.* 130:10). Tell Sandahanna has been identified as Marissa through an inscription found in a necropolis mentioning Sidonians residing in Marissa (Peters and Thiersch 1905: 36–40, Fig. 7). This identification has been verified by two Aramaic ostraca mentioning the eponym "Maresha" discovered in the subterranean complexes (Eshel 2010: 82). The site was partially excavated in 1900 by Frederick J. Bliss and R.A. Stewart Macalister
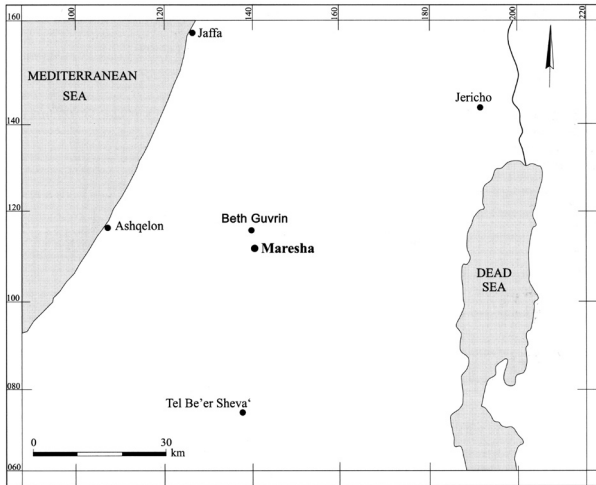
Fig. 1: Location map of Maresha (prepared by Svetlana Zagorski, University of Haifa)
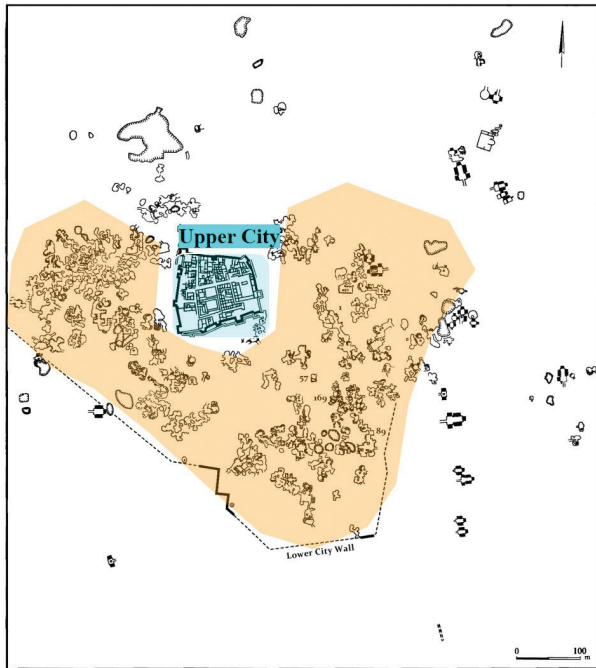
Fig. 2: General plan of Maresha's Upper City (in blue) and Lower City (in brown) with subterranean complexes (prepared by the Maresha Project, courtesy of the late Amos Kloner)

(1902: 52–61). Renewed excavations have been undertaken since the 1980s under the direction of Amos Kloner and since 2000 directed by Ian Stern and Bernie Alpert (Haddad, Stern and Artzy 2018).

The 24-acre Upper City (Fig. 2) was founded during the Iron II and continued to exist until ca. 107 BCE. After the Babylonian conquest of the region at the beginning of the 6th century BCE, several ethnic groups began to settle the area of southern Judah, including Maresha. During the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods, this process intensified with the infiltration of Arab tribes, Idumeans, Phoenicians and Greeks, who brought with them cultures that gradually adopted a Hellenistic character. During the Hellenistic period, the city expanded beyond the boundary of the tell and the Lower City was established. Bliss and Macalister (1902: Pl. 15) identified at least 60 subterranean complexes. Starting in the 1980s under the direction of Kloner, an additional 85 subterranean complexes were identified. Today, close to 150 subterranean complexes have been identified. The vast majority were originally created as quarries supplying the building material for the dwellings above. Among the thousands of subterranean rooms within these complexes are columbaria, cisterns, storage areas, tombs and oil presses.

One of the unusual finds in Maresha are ship graffiti that were recently discovered by Ian Stern (in Cave 557 and in Subterranean Complex 89, Fig. 3). Maresha's location 35 km from the Mediterranean Sea raises the question of the reasons for the appearance of such graffiti, as well as how this reflects the memory of the local inhabitants who produced them.

This article presents the repertoire of ship graffiti from Maresha. They were etched into the soft chalk walls of the subterranean complexes with sharp, pointed tools. Seven ship graffiti have been discovered and published to date (Gibson 1992; Haddad and Artzy 2011; Haddad, Stern and Artzy 2018; Fig. 4). In 1900, Bliss and Macalister discovered a stone slab of local limestone bearing a ship graffito (Brindley 1919; Gibson 1992), which was dated to the late second century BCE (Gibson 1992: 29). Two more ship graffiti from Burial Cave 557 were published in 2011 (Ship A and Ship B, Haddad and Artzy 2011). All of the graffiti
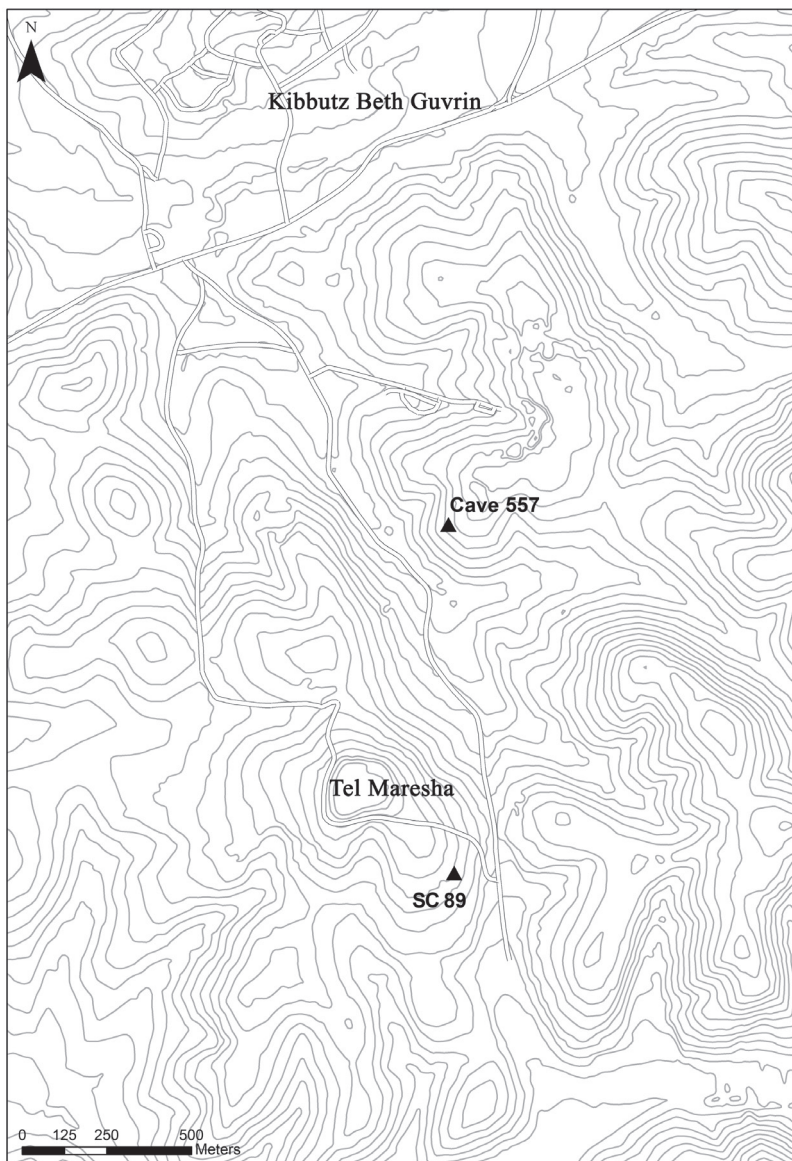
Fig. 3: Location map of Subterranean Complex 89 and Cave 557
(prepared by Michal Birkenfeld , IAA)

mentioned thus far have been of merchant ships whose shape represents a general Mediterranean type dating to the Hellenistic period. Four additional ship graffiti were recently published (Haddad, Stern and Artzy 2018). Three of them are graffiti of warships (Ships C–E) and one of a merchantman (Ship F). These are the first examples of graffiti of warships at Maresha.[1]

Our story begins with a small stone slab (23 × 15 × 6 cm; Fig. 4:1) on which a small sailing ship is engraved. The stone was discovered in the 1900 excavations and forgotten on the site of the expedition. Three years later, in 1903, Macalister returned to visit the site with the aim of checking the famous Apollophanes Cave No. 551. When at the site, he suddenly remembered that the stone slab had not arrived in London and realized that it had been inadvertently left there. He returned to the camp area, which remained abandoned following the departure, in hopes of finding the stone slab. Luckily, while searching around the dirt piles left by the excavators, the stone was located where it had been left, and Macalister returned to London with the stone slab.

The ship is depicted on the starboard side, with its stern on the left and the bow with its vertical stempost on the right. Its sail is folded on its yard. The rigging is very schematic; five lines slant down from the yard and two anchors extend out from the bow, indicating that the ship is anchoring. Brindley (1919: 77) claimed that the stern is on the right side and the bow is on the left side. Gibson (1992) examined the stone in the 1990s and sent it to be cleaned by the British Museum. He later consulted with Lucien Basch, who confirmed that the right-hand side must be viewed as a straight-edged bow.

The slab depicts six oars slanting down from the line of the keel. After it was cleaned, it became evident that five of them contained rectangular blades. The last line on the far left is probably the steering oar, which has a large rectangular blade at its tip (Gibson 1992: 28).[2] The rigging system is very schematic.

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1   Only the graffiti that appear on walls are listed alphabetically.
2   The blades are not seen in Brindley 1919: 76. Gibson (1992) was able to identify them following the cleaning by the British Museum.

The perpendicular lines on the body of the ship, as Brindley suggested (1919: 77), are a description of the ship's ribs and not of oarports as suggested by Gibson (1992: 28). This is due to the fact that the oarports are usually described as circular portholes, as depicted in Ship F from Subterranean Complex 89 (see further below). Gibson also noticed that the *oculus*, an eye figure, appears in the stylus, which was a feature not detected by Brindley.

However, an *oculus* usually appears on the front section of the ship, in the area of the bow but never on the stern, as depicted in this case. Therefore, the question arises: Is it really an *oculus*? Gibson argues that it was impossible to say what motivated the graffiti maker and that it is difficult to determine whether the graffito was created by a sailor without artistic talent or by a man whose knowledge of seafaring was limited (Gibson 1992: 28).

The Graffiti from Burial Cave 557

This is a large burial cave (Fig. 5:1) that is entered via a dromos leading into a central space, the walls of which have been hewn into two floors. The tomb contains 28 loculi, most of which have gabled sections and a few of which have square sections.

Two graffiti of sailing ships were noted in this cave. They include basic details such as the hull shape, rigging and steering gear. They appear as solitary ships rather than parts of a larger composition. The first graffito (Ship A; Figs. 4:2, 5:2) displays the hull's starboard side. The hull is elongated and slim, so the gunwale is just above the keel. Waves are clearly shown below the vessel. The graffito is situated clearly at the lower end of the dromos of the burial cave. The other graffito (Ship B; Figs. 4:3, 5:3) was placed on the lower frieze above the single niche with a flat top dividing the two levels of burial niches. This ship is depicted on its portside, with its bow pointing to the left. Its hull is rounded with an upraised curved stem just above the gunwale level. The steering oar is prominently displayed.
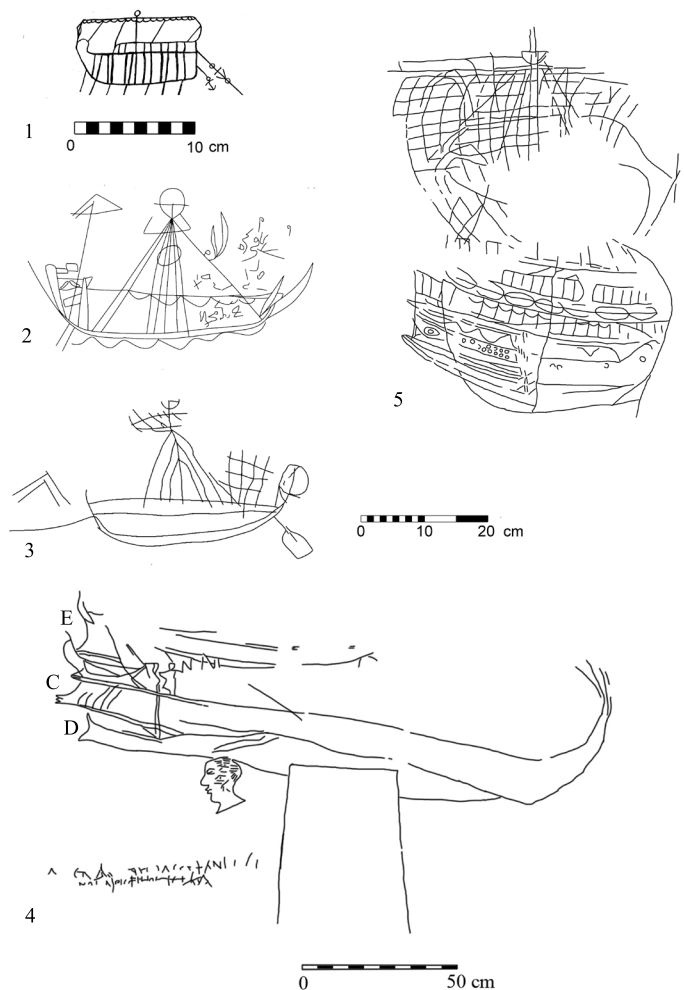
Fig. 4: Drawings of Maresha ship graffiti: 1) sailing ship engraved on a small stone slab from Maresha (published by Brindley 1919: 76; courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund); 2) Maresha Ship A graffito from Burial Cave 557 (prepared by Svetlana Zagorski; see Haddad and Artzy 2011); 3) Maresha Ship B graffito from Burial Cave 557 (prepared by Svetlana Zagorski; see Haddad and Artzy 2011); 4) graffiti of Maresha Ship C, a long warship, and the prows of two additional warships—Maresha Ships D and E (prepared by Avshalom Karasik and Elie Haddad; see Haddad, Stern and Artzy 2018); 5) graffito of Maresha Ship F, a single merchantman (prepared by Avshalom Karasik and Elie Haddad; see Haddad, Stern and Artzy 2018)
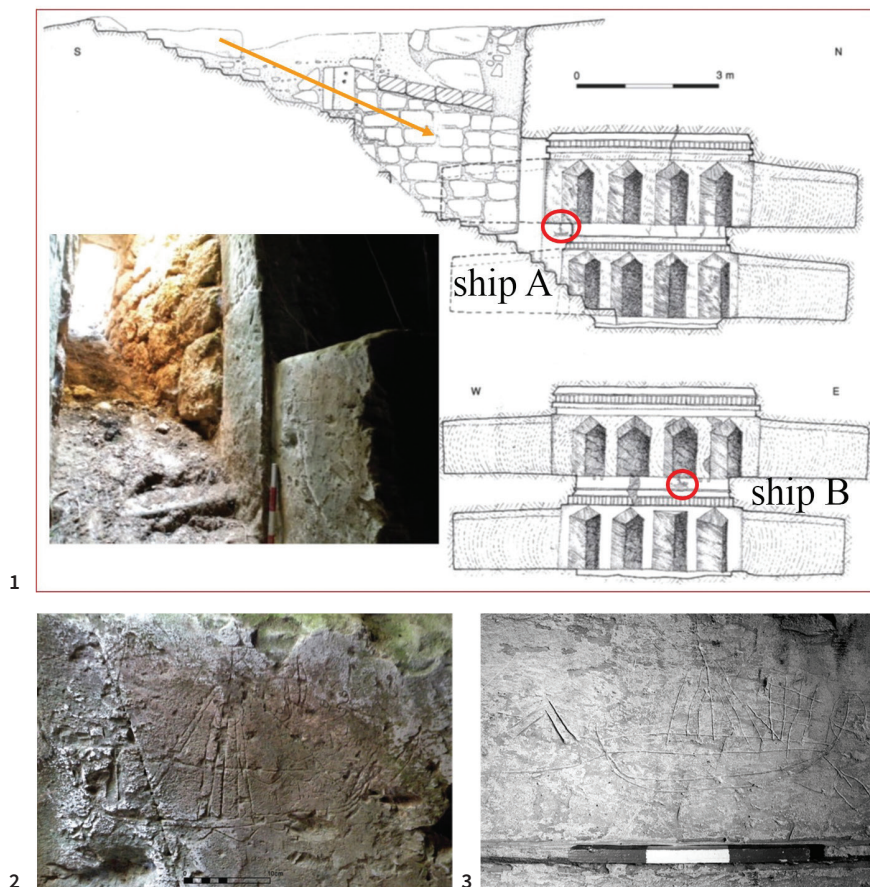
Fig. 5: Maresha graffiti in Burial Cave 557: 1) Burial Cave 557, cross section and location of graffiti (courtesy of the late Amos Kloner) and dromus on the left (photo by Elie Haddad); 2) graffito Ship A (photo by Elie Haddad); 3) graffito Ship B (courtesy of the late Amos Kloner)

Ship Graffiti in Subterranean Complex 89

Subterranean Complex 89 is located within the southeastern part of Maresha's Lower City (Fig. 1). The location of a burial area within the Hellenistic city suggests that this area was hewn before the city expanded into the immediate vicinity. During the excavations of this complex, four ship graffiti were discovered. The western wall of Room 50 (Fig. 6) contained three graffiti of ships, include a graffito of a long warship (Maresha Ship C; Figs. 4:4, 7:1) and the prows of two additional warships. There is one prow beneath Warship C (Maresha Ship D; Figs. 4:4, 7:1) and another one above Warship C (Maresha Ship E; Figs. 4:4, 7:1). On the lintel is a graffito of a single merchantman (Ship F; Figs. 4:5, 7:3). All of the ships can be dated typologically to the Hellenistic period (3rd–2nd centuries BCE).

Graffito Ship C

The ship (1.9 m in length; Fig. 7:1) is depicted on its port side and faces south. The hull of the ship is sketched in a schematic manner, while the prow is presented with more detail. The ship has a straight keel that continues upwards on the stern section in a slightly curved line towards the bow. In the lower section of the prow there is a three-bladed ram (Fig. 7:2). The continuation of the keel towards the bow is the lowest portion of the ram. This ram resembles the ʿAtlit ram (Casson, Steffy and Linder 1990), albeit in a schematic manner. A second projection is visible on the stempost. This projection is a small upper ram containing two blades (*proembolion*).

There is no steering gear or any sign of an *oculus,* a typical visible decoration on these types of Hellenistic warships. There is no depiction of a mast or sail. The gunwale turns downward from the tholos towards the stern, although the continuation of the gunwale is not quite clear. The sternpost turns inward and is adorned with a triple open-branched *aphlaston*.

In addition to the lack of a steering gear, no oars are clearly discernable on the stern. However, it is possible that the curved lines drawn between the gunwale and the keel symbolize several oars.
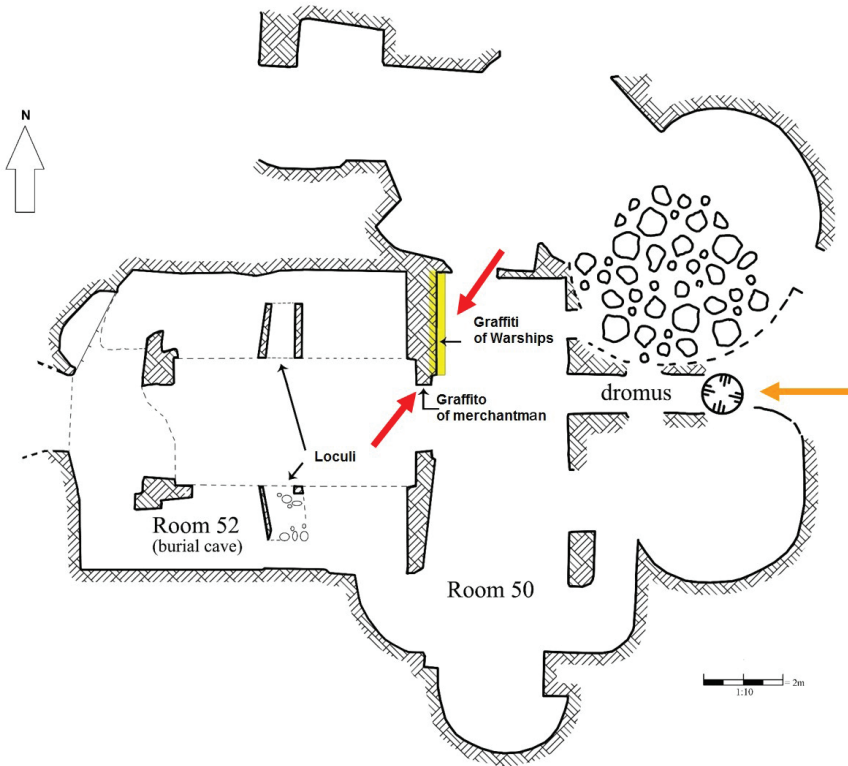
Fig. 6: Plan of Rooms 50 and 52 in Subterranean Complex 89 and the location of the ship graffiti (prepared by Amitai Stern, Archaeological Seminars)

In times of conflict, this type of warship would have been driven by the force of the rowers with the goal of damaging the enemy ship in a way that detaches the planks and causes water to seep into the attacked vessel. The damage would not allow the crew to contain the leakage and would cause the boat to be flooded and sink.

It appears that the artist focused his attention primarily on the bow of the ship. The stern lacks details such as steering gear and rudder. The prows of two additional ships (Ships D and E) can be discerned, but unfortunately almost no other details of these ships are visible.
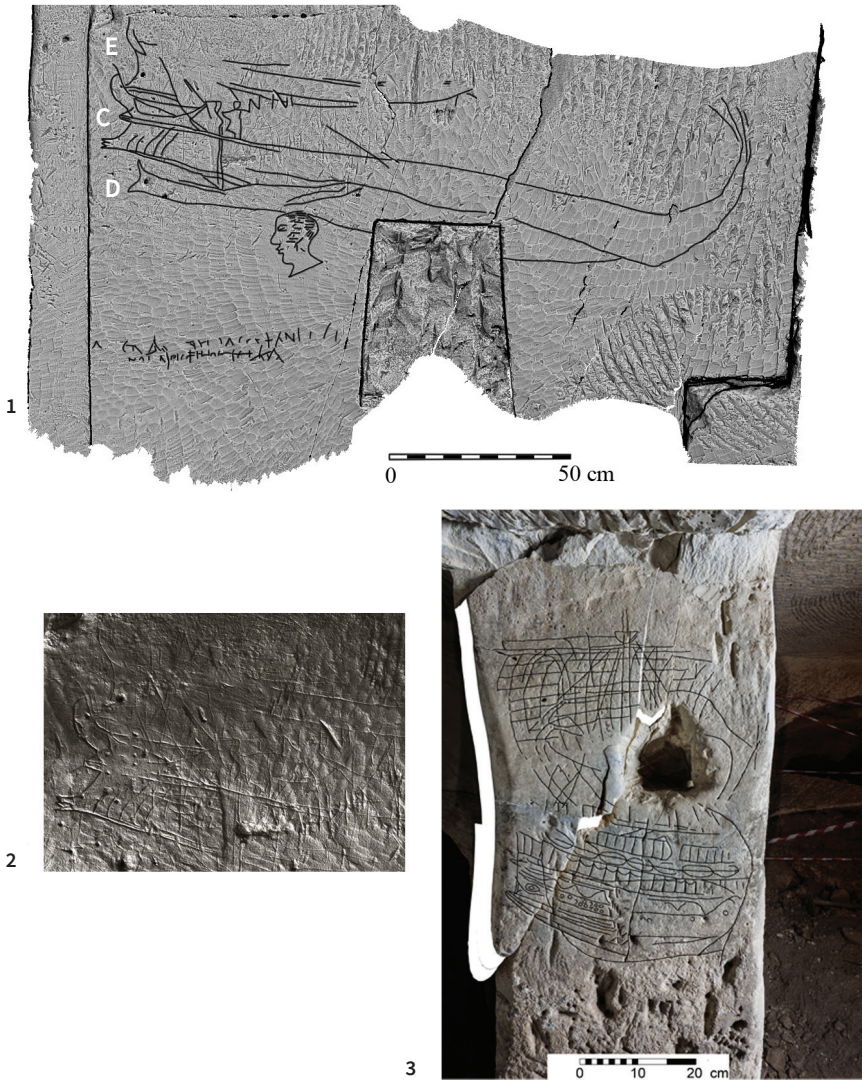
Fig. 7: Ship graffiti in Subterranean Complex 89 in Maresha; 1) 3D scanning and digital investigation of the graffiti on the western wall of Room 50; black lines highlight the warships' graffiti (illustration by Avshalom Karasik and Elie Haddad); 2) closeup of the stern of Warship C (RTI photograph by Davida Eisenberg-Degen); 3) Maresha Ship F, merchantman; black lines highlight the illustration (drawn by Avshalom Karasik and Elie Haddad according to a photo made by Assaf Peretz, IAA)

The vessel is neither a Phoenician type nor a classical Greek trireme. According to Basch (1987: 387–390), this vessel is a typical Macedonian warship. The tholos of a classical trireme extends outwards, while the tholos of Ship C extends inward on the bow resembling the horn of a rhino. This type of prow first appears on coins minted in Arwad (Arados) by King Strato after 332 BCE in honor of Alexander the Great. Relevant to our understanding in this case are coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Macedonia (Basch 1987: 387, 341; Newell 1927: 25, No. 20), following his victory over Ptolemy I Soter at the sea battle of Salamis in 306 BCE. The coins depict a prow with a three-bladed ram but without the hull of the ship. There is a proembelion and a tholos curving inward.

Maresha Ship C can be compared to the hull of the modern replica of the trireme Olympias, launched as a Hellenic Navy ship in 1987 (Morrison, Coates and Rankov 2000). The closest parallel to Graffito C is the Isis fresco of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the shrine of Aphrodite and Apollo in the Nymphaeum, in Crimea near the Black Sea (Basch 1987: 493). The fresco dates to the second quarter of the 3rd century BCE. The warship there is depicted with oarports on three superimposed levels.

Maresha Ship C is the largest known graffito of a warship from this period. This ship is similar to graffiti of several large Hellenistic warships found in Delos (see Casson 1971: Figs. 109, 110; Basch 1987: 351, Figs. 737–739). Another example occurs in a mosaic in Italy (Palestrina), which displays a scene of an open area in the Nile with the mountains of Ethiopia in the background (Friedman 2011: 68–88). There are nine ships in the lower section of the mosaic, including one warship. Another depiction, this time in the southern Levant, was found in Jason's Tomb in Jerusalem (Rahmani 1967: Fig. 3:1–1, Pl. 20A).

Graffito Ship F: Merchantman

This graffito depicts the port side of a large vessel, from its masthead to the keel (Fig. 7:3). On the bow, an elongated *oculus* can clearly be discerned. The oarports, depicted as small circles, are visible from the *oculus* to the center of the ship. The image of the long mast is partially damaged by the crack in the

wall as well as by a later indentation. A crow's nest in the shape of a basket is situated on the mast, which continues slightly above it. The sail seems to be opened, and the wind direction is from stern to bow.

Maresha Ship F is similar to the Tarquinia ship (Tomba della Nave), dated to the 5th century BCE (Casson 1971: Fig. 97; Petrarulo and De Leeuw 2012: Figs. 2–4). This is a large merchantman also depicted with a large sail and is the largest known depiction of a ship.

Conclusion

These graffiti of ships were most likely made by seafarers who had knowledge of their crafts, probably sailors who were familiar with and operated such vessels. Their depiction of details such as the battleship's three-bladed ram and the secondary ram (*problemone*) reflects an intimate and sophisticated knowledge of seafaring vessels and warships. In addition, Merchant Ship F, unlike Ships A and B and Brindley's ship, is an impressive ship containing details of the ship's plates and oars and the *oculus* that appears in the bow.

The question who carried out the actual hard labor of quarrying these subterranean complexes is relevant here. Since it is unlikely that the local inhabitants of Maresha were acquainted with the minute details of seafaring vessels, we suggest that captives or slaves (for reference to slaves in Maresha, see Zenon papyri [P. Cairo 59015]) were among those unfortunate to be involved in the hard labor. This explains the presence of these unusual graffiti at this terrestrial site. These are more likely memories, visual recollections of the ships' appearances, perhaps based upon the personal memories of sailors who drew the image of their ships on the cave walls. As discussed above, there are differences among these ships, some of which are very schematic and others very accurate. In some cases, the description is meticulous, as in the case of the merchant ship. Engraving, especially of such a complicated subject, starts with an image and a plan in one's mind. The outcome is purely a reflection of memory and usually does not completely duplicate the original template.

Once the graffito is engraved, there is no way to correct it, just as a ship sailing at sea can never travel along the exact same path twice. It is all within the inspired mind of the sailor/engraver. As such, memory is free and independent of talent. A graffito is the product of a one-time activity with no room for repairs or deletions. An example of "hanging" memory is Augustus' Victory Monument commemorating the Battle of Actium in Nicopolis, displaying bronze rams hanging on the retaining wall in memory of his victory.

As shown above, the graffito of the warship (Ship C) is very large (1.9 m). Is this an example of a "big ship," in William Murray's (2012: 3–12) terminology? From the time of Alexander the Great's successors (in the 4th century BCE), "big ships" or "large ships" began to appear in the Mediterranean basin (Murray 2012: 3–12). The concept of naval warfare had changed from "maneuver-and-ram" battle tactics common in the Athenian navy to the "grapple-and-board" tactics preferred by the Romans. A "big ship" can carry numerous fighters who can board and raid the enemy ship (Murray 2012: 4).

However, the larger a ship is, the slower and more difficult it is to maneuver. The Achilles' heel in large ships is their vulnerability to smaller, faster and more maneuverable ships. Until the discovery of the ʿAtlit ram in 1980, it was thought that large ships did not use rams in naval warfare—yet the ʿAtlit ram is dated to the end of the 3rd century BCE. Murray (2012: 5, 17) wrote that big ships had big rams at their bows and that they used frontal ramming as a battle tactic. He also provided Augustus' Victory Monument from the Battle of Actium as an example of "traces of large warship rams which are still preserved in stone" (Murray 2012: 38–47).

Do graffiti and depiction of ships symbolize the desire for protection from evil spirits, as Friedman (2011: 1, 28) claimed? What is the significance of an image of a ship? Zissu (2015: 513–514) briefly summarized the various interpretations of ship paintings in his article on the graffiti discovered several years ago in the Herodium. He mentioned that the passage to the underworld in mythology was made by the ferryman, Charon, which might explain the appearance of graffiti and ship paintings in burial systems. He concluded "that ships and boats

depicted in tombs may symbolically suggest redemption, reverses of fate, and resurrection of the dead" (Zissu 2015: 514).

However, often, as Basch contended (1987: 381), ship engravings discovered on walls of abandoned dwellings where maritime squatters resided were engraved out of boredom (the idea reflected in these engravings might well have been an attempt to relate a message understandable to the viewer at that time but lost to the modern viewer). The merchantmen may have been a mariner's memory of long-gone days of youth and freedom. Ships C, D and E could well have represented to the engraver and viewer some large-scale event experienced by a group of people sailing with several battleships in a specific naval battle. War boats also served as a symbol of a sea victory, both on coins such as those of Demetrius Poliorcetes and on monuments such as the one built by Augustus Caesar in Nicopolis to commemorate his victory at the Battle of Actium. These were graffiti designed to perpetuate the memory of special events.

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An Inscription from a Byzantine Cemetery in Yafo (Jaffa)

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Introduction

Most burial caves exposed in the complex date to the Persian period. However, some Byzantine tombs were also discovered, including one burial cave containing more than 40 Byzantine-era oil lamps. The lamps are decorated with patterns such as crosses that are characteristic of a Christian population (Dayan and Levy 2012; Dayan, Nagar and Gendelman 2020). A mosaic floor was exposed near the burial caves and contains a Greek inscription.

The Excavations

Archaeological excavations in Jaffa began in the 1940s and, since then, have uncovered remains from the Late Bronze Age to the present (Peilstöcker and Burke 2011: 21). From 2007 to 2009, four seasons of salvage excavations were conducted within the precincts of the St. Louis Hospital in Jaffa prior to the construction of a hotel and luxury residential units (Fig. 1).[1] Directly to the

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1 The excavations, undertaken on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority and funded by the Yefet 36 Company, were directed by Amit Reʾem, Yossi Elisha, Peter Gendelman and Ayelet Dayan. A separate excavation was carried out in 2010 by the Israeli Institute of Archaeology, directed by Meir Edrey, under the scientific auspices of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University.
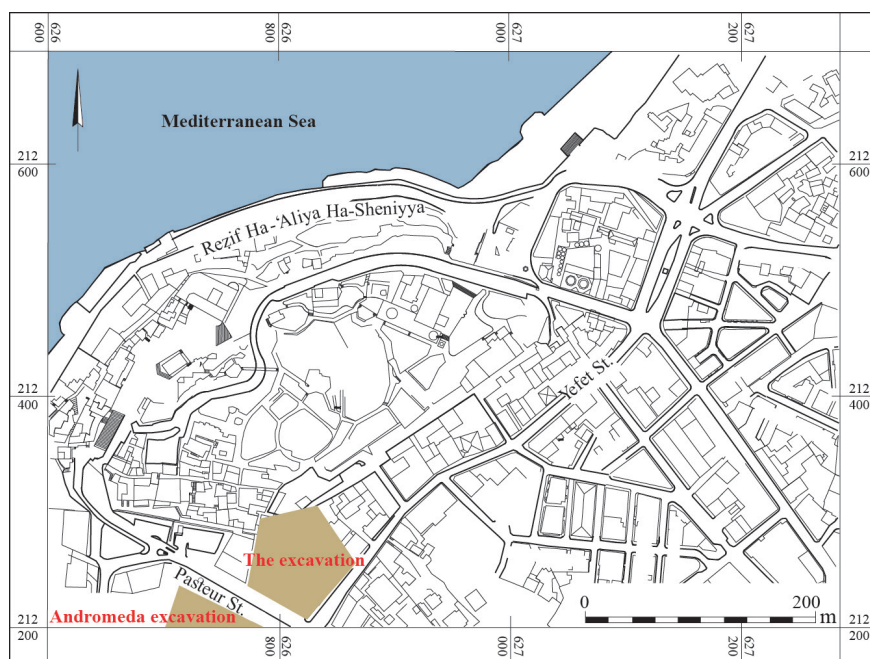
Fig. 1: Location map of the excavation

south, in the Andromeda compound (Avner-Levy 1998), a cemetery dating from the Persian to Byzantine periods was exposed, as well as an infant jar burial from the Middle Bronze Age II (20th–18th centuries BCE). The burial customs and finds from the Andromeda cemetery point to a pagan population.

The Byzantine Period

A burial cave hewn in the *kurkar* bedrock was exposed (Fig. 2). It was accessed via a square vestibule: a large stone decorated with a cross sealed the entrance to the cave. In this room, we found pottery sherds, animal bones, approximately 40 lamps, fragments of glass vessels and an iron nail, all dating to the 6th–7th centuries CE. The burial cave itself was filled with modern concrete that penetrated the cave during nearby construction activity.
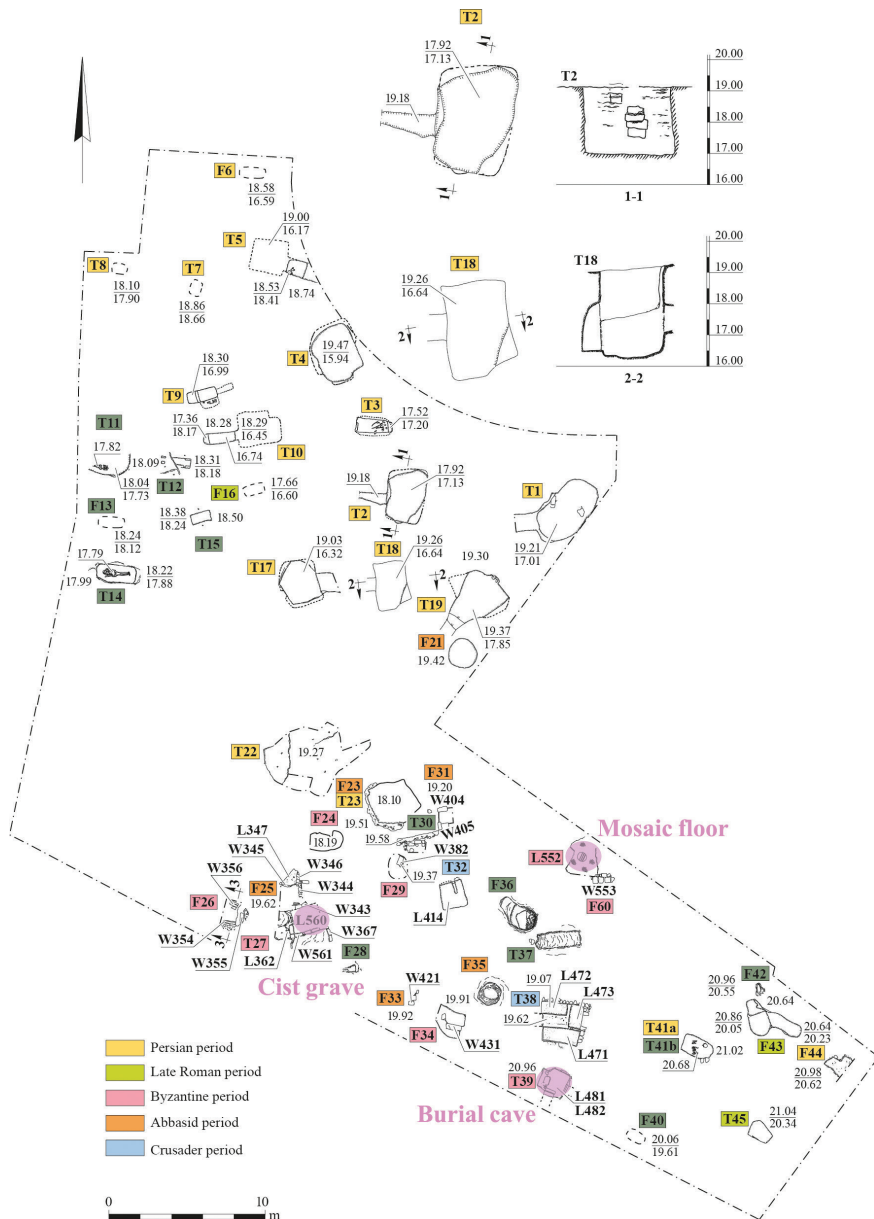
Fig. 2: Plan of the excavation (courtesy of the IAA)

Fig. 3: The mosaic floor (photo by Niki Davidov, IAA)

Between the mosaic floor (see below) and the cave described above, another cave was found that was filled with broken bones and some pottery from the Crusader period. The bones may have been relocated into this one cave by the Crusaders after construction of a glacis destroyed some of the burials. On one of the burial benches was a fragment of Byzantine lamp, possibly an indication that this chamber was also used in the Byzantine period. This cave is also very close to the mosaic.

The Mosaic Floor and the Inscription

The excavations exposed the remains of a mosaic floor. In the center of the mosaic is a round medallion measuring 76 cm in diameter and containing a three-line inscription traced in black tesserae, with a decorative ivy leaf underneath. The inscription reads: Εὐψυχ[ε]ίτω|σαν πάντες | οἱ ὧδε· ταῦτα, "Be of good courage, all who (are buried) here. This (is it)!" (Fig. 3). The text makes use of two formulae, "Be of good courage" and "This (is it)," both of which are in funerary style, common in pagan epitaphs of the Late Roman period as well as in early Christian epitaphs (Dahari and Di Segni 2009: 126*–127*; Di Segni 2020). The use of these particular formulae, the shape of the letters and the lack of a cross all point to a date in the 4th or early 5th century.

Conclusion

The wording of the inscription indicates that it belonged to a mausoleum, to a chapel or to the cemetery itself. While it was addressed to the dead, it also served to remind visitors of their own mortality. Similarly, literary inscriptions are more common in pagan than in Christian contexts and in the 4th century more than the 5th century CE. In the present case, it is impossible to establish with certainty whether the inscription was dictated by and addressed to Christians or others.

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Bridging the Gap: Preservation of Contested Narratives of Archaeological Sites

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Introduction

This paper examines archaeology as a symbolic means for the construction of a national identity through the utilization of conservation methods. I focus on two case studies in which the implementation of different conservation practices reflected an attempt to contend with competing historic narratives. The first case study is the conservation of the Cardo in the Old City of Jerusalem. The second is the conservation of the New Saraya building in Clock Tower Square in Tel Aviv–Jaffa. It is my contention that both cases illuminate how hegemonic identity groups in society utilize conservation methods to exclude minority groups from any shared discourse regarding the past and its ideological importance.

Traditionally, conservation is perceived as illuminating the authentic essence of a given site. As such, it ostensibly enables the perpetuation of the physical, ideological and political heritage of ancient societies (Glendinning 2013: 63–65; Jokilehto 2002: 296–298). However, in recent years, this perception of conservation is frequently and increasingly being challenged (Dawdy 2010; DeSilvey and Edensor 2012; Parish 2009). Various researchers have proposed that conservation should rather be conceptualized as a negotiable, dynamic process that changes according to the changing power relations between

contested identity groups in society (Dawdy 2010: 767–769; Gordillo 2014; Kohl, Kozelsky and Ben-Yehuda 2007; Tilley 2006).

To discern how the utilization of conservation methods reflects these changing relations, this paper relies on the concept defined by Rodney Harrison (2013) as "absent heritage." According to this concept, the decision to preserve one stratum in a given site does not remove or erase the symbolic importance attached to the strata that were dismantled as part of the conservation of the site. Rather, the decision to preserve one specific narrative emphasizes its connection to the competing suppressed narratives that are represented by other strata of the same site. Consequently, it allows competing identity groups to challenge what they see as a biased conservation process (Harrison 2013). Thus, different ideologies and changing power relations may alter the definition of which remains are worthy of conservation and which are not (Marshall *et al.* 2017).

The examination of the conservation of the Cardo in Jerusalem and the New Saraya in Jaffa reveals that in addition to the pattern of absent heritage, there is a need to discuss a second pattern, one that I define as "nullifying heritage." Rather than erasing some of the strata at a given site, this pattern of conservation strives to nullify all historical narratives referring to the symbolic, ideological, or political heritage of the site. It serves as a means to imbue external narratives that negate and replace the dominant intrinsic characterization of the site undergoing conservation (Breglia 2006; Shiff 2020).

Utilizing the two patterns of "absent heritage" and "nullifying heritage" to examine the conservation practices implemented in the Cardo and the New Saraya may enable a new understanding of the assumedly contested symbolic roles of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv–Jaffa within Israeli society. While Jerusalem symbolizes the aspiration to emphasize Israel's Jewish identity, Tel Aviv–Jaffa symbolizes its aspiration to perceive itself as a modern, democratic and multi-cultural society (Alfasi and Fenster 2005; Ram 2005). However, as I attempt to demonstrate, the utilization of the conservation practices reflecting absent heritage and nullifying heritage in the Cardo and the New Saraya present the

two supposedly opposite aspirations represented by the symbolic roles of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv as two parallel ways through which the Jewish Israeli hegemonic identity groups attempt to delegitimize the participation of non-hegemonic identity groups in an open discourse regarding Israel's collective identity (Vinitzky-Saroussy 1998).

Absent Heritage and Nullifying Heritage

In recent years, there have been many who have questioned the existence of one universal definition of authenticity (Lindholm 2008: 1–10; Parish 2009), as well as the ability to utilize conservation to uncover the authentic nature of a given site (Fenster 2007; DeSilvey and Edensor 2012; Muñoz-Viñas 2002). Instead, the implementation of conservation methods is increasingly being understood as part of a cycle of ruination through which the shared public space is continuously being recycled and rebranded according to changing political, ideological and economic circumstances (Dawdy 2010; Muñoz-Viñas 2002; Scott 2015). This process is clearly being demonstrated by the examination of the conservation practices of absent heritage and nullifying heritage that are implemented in the Cardo and the New Saraya.

   Strategies reflecting absent heritage emphasize the inherent ties existing between the strata comprising a site: the creation of one stratum—and its symbolic interpretations—is directly dependent on previous strata and their competing interpretations (Harrison 2013: 172–177; Mitroiu 2016). These interpretations are stored in society's collective memory in what Aleida Assmann (2008) called an archive that stores all memories and symbolic interpretations in a passive manner until a particular political or economic incentive allows a contested suppressed narrative to take precedence over previously dominant narratives (Breglia 2006). Accordingly, one must examine the preservation and presentation of the past as the reflection of continued political struggles between contested narratives and perceptions of authenticity (Assmann 2008: 102–104; DeSilvey and Edensor 2012; Fibiger 2015).

The conservation method of "nullifying heritage" offers another understanding of the goals and struggles represented by the conservation process. This strategy strives to empty a given site of any historic, political, or ideological context, thus preventing any discourse regarding their intrinsic symbolic importance (Shiff 2020: 50–54).

Conservation strategies reflecting nullifying heritage are congruent with postmodern claims that challenge the very existence of the authentic. In this vein, one may understand the conservation practice of nullifying heritage as a strategy attempting to disconnect the process of conservation from any political or ideological context and instead subordinate them to ostensibly ideologically neutral professional or economic interests (Baudrillard 1994; Harvey 2001; Muñoz-Viñas 2002). The annulment of any discourse regarding the political and ideological interests reflected by the implementation of specific conservation methods transforms the authentic into an empty signifier that prevents any open discourse regarding the competing historic narratives held by contested identity groups in society (Assmann and Conrad 2010; Bolton and Muzurović 2010).

The Symbolic Role of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv–Jaffa in Israeli Society

Jerusalem and Tel Aviv–Jaffa reflect two contested perceptions regarding Israel's national identity. On the one hand, Jerusalem serves as a symbol of the aspiration to emphasize Israeli society's Jewish roots (Alfasi and Fenster 2009; Ram 2005; Vinitzky-Saroussy 1998). In this vein, the conservation of archaeological sites in Jerusalem focuses on strata that demonstrate the city's Jewish roots while ignoring and erasing other strata that represent competing heritage (Greenberg 2018). On the other hand, Tel Aviv is perceived as the fulfillment of the secular Zionist aspiration to establish a modern, democratic and multi-cultural society in a region that, until the arrival of Zionism, was supposedly desolate and barren. In this vein, Tel Aviv is often portrayed as

the negation of the neighboring city of Jaffa. While Jaffa is thought of as a city riddled with stagnation and poverty, Tel Aviv is perceived as a city that was "born from the sand"—literally from scratch—into the harbinger of modernity to the region (Shoham 2012). As such, the implementation of conservation methods in Tel Aviv–Jaffa exemplifies the negated character of the two cities. For example, while conservation is often used in Tel Aviv to emphasize the abundance of modernist architecture existing in the city, there is no parallel conservation effort regarding the equally impressive modernist architecture of Jaffa.

In this context, it is important to examine two important narratives that are represented by the archaeological remains of the Cardo and the New Saraya—which potentially challenge the hegemonic narratives represented by Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The Cardo was first built following the debacle of the Great Revolt of Judea against Rome between 66–73 CE (Ben-Zeev 2018; Goodman 2007), symbolizing a long period with no Jewish settlement in the city, and the termination of Jewish sovereignty until 1948. Potentially, the great efforts invested in the preservation of the Cardo and its heritage may thus challenge the frequent attempts to emphasize the Jewish roots and characteristics of Jerusalem, and to give precedence to their preservation.

Equally, the preservation of the New Saraya may challenge the hegemonic narratives regarding the depiction of Tel Aviv–Jaffa as the sole harbinger of modernity in the region. The New Saraya was built at the end of the 19th century as part of the construction of a new entrance to the city—now known as Clock Tower Square—due to the city's intense expansion and transformation into a multi-cultural modernized urban center that served as one of the political, cultural and economic centers in Palestine (Kark 2011; LeVine 2005). This expansion included the foundation of many new neighborhoods that were built according to modernist town-planning schemes—one of them being Tel Aviv (LeVine 2005).

Thus, the Cardo and the New Saraya challenge the hegemonic Jewish and Israeli narrative represented by Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The examination of the

conservation methods that were implemented at both sites may demonstrate how hegemonic groups in Israeli society contended with contested non-hegemonic and non-Jewish narratives.

The Cardo: Nullifying Non-Jewish Heritage, Emphasizing Jerusalem's Historical Jewish Ties

The Cardo was originally constructed as part of a decision to rebuild Jerusalem according to Roman town-planning schemes and rename it "Aelia Capitolina." It spanned the length of the city from north to south—connecting what are known today as the Damascus Gate and Zion Gate. At its height—during the Byzantine period—the Cardo spanned a width of 24 m and included two lanes for carts separated by a roofed sidewalk. Shops were built on each side of the Cardo for merchants and it functioned as the city's central commercial road (Gutfeld 2012; Niv-Krendel and Bogod 1986). Over the years, the Cardo became narrower. However, it continues to function as the city's central market to this day.

After the Old City was captured by Israeli forces in 1967, plans were made to repopulate the Jewish Quarter with Jewish residents. The considerable damage the quarter's houses sustained during the 1948 and 1967 wars enabled Israel to reconstruct most of the Jewish Quarter (Galor 2017: 64–65; Slae and Kark 2018). The reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter was preceded by archaeological excavations spanning most of the Jewish Quarter and took place between 1969–1982 (Geva 2010).

These excavations presented a rare opportunity to shed light on the history of an area that was previously densely populated and therefore out of reach for archaeologists (Geva 2009: 360). The excavations uncovered important sites from various periods and illuminated the Jewish Quarter's multicultural heritage (Galor 2017: 65). However, only sites that could be connected to the ancient presence of Jews in this area were preserved and eventually opened to the public (Ricca 2007: 66–69; Shiff 2020: 168–

176). Together with the decision to preserve many of the synagogues that functioned in the Jewish Quarter until 1948, the emphasis given to the preservation of those sites that were connected with Jewish history depicted the heritage of the Jewish Quarter as exclusively Jewish (Bar and Rubin 2011). The decision to emphasize the Jewish heritage of the Jewish Quarter and ignore its non-Jewish heritage is congruent with strategies of absent heritage. In this context, one may see the remains that illuminate the Jewish Quarter's non-Jewish heritage as creating an ambivalent atmosphere which allows non-hegemonic narratives to resurface from the collective archive (Assmann 2008; Breglia 2006). An example for this potential challenge could be seen in the 2019 calls to open the Nea Church (Horodnichano 2019), which was built during the 6th century and functioned as one of the most important churches in the Christian world throughout the Byzantine era (Ben-Zeev 2018). In the same year, a similar challenge was presented by the reopening for worship of a mosque located at the center of the Jewish Quarter, in proximity to the Cardo (Friedson 2019).

In contrast to most archaeological excavations in the Jewish Quarter, the excavations in the Cardo uncovered no strata representing periods in which Jewish sovereignty existed (Goodman 2007; Gutfeld 2012). Nevertheless, due to its historic importance, after it was uncovered, previous plans to build residential buildings on its route were changed and the decision was made to integrate the 180 m long excavated area into the reconstructed quarter (Niv-Krendel and Bogod 1986: 142; Ricca 2007: 118; Seelig and Seelig 1985). The Cardo was divided into three sections that are separated from each other by a passageway (Ritmeyer 2012). Each of these sections are designed differently. In the northernmost section, nearly intact shops from the Crusader period were opened as a "Crusaders' Bazaar" (Fig. 1) (Bahat 2012). In the central section of the Cardo, a reconstruction of the full width of the Byzantine Cardo was built (Fig. 2) (Ritmeyer 2012: 112–116). In the third, southernmost section, five columns were reconstructed that served as the separation line between the lanes of the Cardo. Remains of shops that were built beside the Cardo

Fig. 1: The Crusaders' Bazaar (photo by Chemi Shiff)

during the Early Islamic period were also preserved (Fig. 3) (Ritmeyer 2012: 117–121).

Ostensibly, the transformation of the Cardo into one of the Jewish Quarter's central symbols refutes the argument that the conservation methods utilized in the Jewish Quarter serve only to emphasize its Jewish heritage. However, it is my contention that the conservation methods utilized in the Cardo demonstrate an effort to overcome the potential challenge presented by the non-Jewish heritage of the Cardo, nullifying all historical or symbolic contexts of the site, thus reflecting strategies of nullifying heritage.

A first component of this attempt was the decision to physically separate the Cardo into three different sections, thus not allowing visitors to grasp how the Cardo functioned as a central thoroughfare that connected the city in the past (Coleman 2000; Jones 2013). Second, explanation signs dispersed

Fig. 2: The central section (photo by Chemi Shiff)

Fig. 3: The southern section (photo by Chemi Shiff)

throughout the Cardo do not supply information regarding the Cardo's historic or symbolic importance. Rather they only supply basic information regarding the physical features of the area. Thus, it is not possible for visitors to the Cardo to gain any knowledge regarding the periods that are represented in the Cardo.

Instead, the visual aids that were situated in the Cardo create a direct connection between the Cardo and the ancient and modern Jewish history of the Jewish Quarter. Thus, the conservation and presentation of the Cardo reflects strategies of nullifying heritage that exemplify the external historic narrative of the Jewish Quarter as an area that had an exclusively Jewish history. For example, during the first years of the 2000s, a model of the Menorah that was located in the Second Temple was situated at the center of the middle section of the Cardo. More recent plans for the development of the Cardo further illuminate the process of the nullification of the Cardo's historic and symbolic contexts. In recent years, attempts were made to transform the Cardo into a tourist attraction. To this end, it was decided that the central section of the Cardo would host temporary exhibitions that relate to life in Jerusalem. These exhibitions focus only on the lives of the Jews living in the Old City. During the period in which this research was conducted, the exhibition that was presented comprised pictures of distinctly Jewish experiences in Jerusalem: Orthodox Jews praying at the Western Wall and soldiers posted at stations throughout the city.

Thus, while the utilization of strategies of absent heritage in the Jewish Quarter transformed the non-Jewish remains scattered throughout the Jewish Quarter into what Assmann (2008) defined as "archives," the Cardo was emptied of any physical or symbolic reference of the non-Jewish heritage represented by its remains. It therefore comes as no surprise that in a visit to the Cardo in 2016, Israeli Minister of Construction and Housing Yoav Galant was perhaps not fully aware that the Cardo was built after the demise of Jerusalem as a Jewish city. He declared that when he touched the stones of the Cardo, he felt a deep connection with his Jewish ancestors who lived in the city during the

Second Temple period, walked through this road and touched the same stones (Mendelbaum 2016).

The New Saraya: Erasing Heritage by Creating Antiquities

As previously mentioned, the construction of the New Saraya symbolized wider processes of modernization that took place in Jaffa since the second half of the 19th century and allowed its transformation into a modernized multicultural urban center (LeVine 2005). However, as I attempt to demonstrate, the conservation of the New Saraya reflects the self-perception of Tel Aviv as the negation of Jaffa (Nitzan-Shiftan 2012; Shoham 2012).

Historically, the New Saraya served several civilian, administrative and military purposes. Among its many functions, it housed daycare facilities for children and a soup kitchen for the poor. As the animosity between Tel Aviv and Jaffa grew in the first half of the 20th century, it also served as a base from which attacks were launched against Tel Aviv (LeBor 2007: 64). The growing animosity between the Zionist movement and the Palestinian population culminated in the destruction of the Saraya in a bombing led by the Lehi Jewish underground in the 1948 war. The attack caused the deaths of at least 26 civilians, among them children that attended the daycare facilities.[1]

In 1951, Jaffa was officially annexed into Tel Aviv and the cities were renamed Tel Aviv–Jaffa (Nitzan-Shiftan 2012). However, as illuminated by the treatment of the New Saraya in Israel's formative years, Jaffa's modern heritage continued to be perceived as a threat to the Zionist narrative regarding the development of Tel Aviv as the negation of Jaffa. For example, in a city council meeting regarding the restoration of Clock Tower Square that took place in 1962, one of the council members claimed that the municipality had no responsibility for the conservation of the "enemy's heritage" (Tel Aviv–

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1   As reported in the *Davar* Hebrew-language daily, "Casualties in an Explosion in the 'National Committee' House in Jaffa," January 5, 1948.

Fig. 4: The ruins of the New Saraya (year unknown)
https://danielventura.wikia.org/he/wiki/%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95

Jaffa Municipal Archive 1962). As such, until the 1990s, the ruins of the New Saraya were left to slowly deteriorate and were only removed when part of the building collapsed or when plans were made to pave a new road to the north of the former building (Fig. 4).

This utilization of the urban space in Jaffa can be understood as reflecting strategies of absent heritage. Paradoxically, the perpetuation of the New Saraya as a constant reminder of the debacle of the Palestinian city of Jaffa also served as a constant reminder of the role that Jaffa played in the development of the

Fig. 5: The reconstructed New Saraya façade (photo by Chemi Shiff)

region. As such, this narrative regarding the New Saraya was stored as a part of society's unconscious archive (Assmann 2008).

In the 1990s, plans were made for the redevelopment of Jaffa's historic core. As part of these plans, the decision was made to preserve Clock Tower Square and transform it into a lucrative tourist attraction that would serve as an economic engine allowing the revival of Jaffa in general (Tel Aviv–Jaffa Municipality 2002). In the New Saraya, it was decided to reconstruct only its monumental façade (Fig. 5). Explanation plaques described the New Saraya as

a building that was planned by a Jewish engineer and destroyed by the Lehi Jewish underground because it served as a base for attacks against Tel Aviv.

While these descriptions are historically accurate, they continue to reflect strategies of absent heritage that emphasize only the fact that the New Saraya served as a threat to Tel Aviv. They fail to recognize the important political and social functions of the building, as well as the symbolic role the building served for the Palestinians living in Jaffa until 1948. In this respect, the decision to reconstruct the New Saraya's façade does not symbolize a change in the treatment of Jaffa's Palestinian heritage as a threat that must be suppressed.

While the preservation of the New Saraya's façade represented practices of absent heritage, the role that the conservation of the New Saraya played in the development plan of Clock Tower Square illuminates the deployment of strategies of nullifying heritage—ones that emptied Clock Tower Square of any political, ideological or symbolic importance.

According to Eyal Ziv (personal communication, 2017), the architect responsible for the development of Clock Tower Square, the conservation efforts were not supposed to be utilized to illuminate the authentic nature of the urban space, nor was it to be used to promote any ideological perceptions regarding the past. Rather, conservation served as a politically neutral planning tool able to be used to complete his economic vision for the development of Clock Tower Square.

For example, the architect claimed that the decision to reconstruct the New Saraya's façade was not made due to its historic or architectural importance but rather to prevent a plan to expand the road that was paved to the north of the building in Israel's formative years. He further explained that this utilization of the conservation methods would raise the value of the real estate in Clock Tower Square and optimize its ability to function as an economic engine that would attract investors to the city (personal communication, 2012).

The relegation of the conservation practices implemented as part of the development plan of Clock Tower Square into professional planning tools

prevents a perception of the various buildings comprising it as part of a distinct geographical unit. The preservation of Clock Tower Square was not used in order to illuminate its historical role as the city's entrance and as the administrative and civilian center of a thriving urban center of the modern city of Jaffa. Rather, it was presented as a space whose main importance is its ability to promote the redevelopment of Jaffa into a lucrative tourist attraction with no independent heritage in and of itself. It subordinates Clock Tower Square to Tel Aviv's perception of Jaffa as a neglected city that can only thrive once it succumbs to the modernist nature of Tel Aviv. One of the best examples for this process lies in the decision to name a hotel that was established in another historical building, adjacent to the New Saraya, as "Setai Tel Aviv" (Setai Tel Aviv, n.d.).

Absent Heritage and Nullifying Heritage as Complementary Strategies

The examination of the case studies of the Cardo and the New Saraya highlights the interchanging definitions regarding which remains are worthy of conservation and which are not. It demonstrates how the parallel utilization of the strategies of absent heritage and nullifying heritage prevents non-hegemonic narratives from becoming an intrinsic part of a pluralistic discourse regarding Israel's collective identity.

At the same time, both case studies demonstrate the continuous presence of what Assmann defined as an "archive," in which non-hegemonic narratives and memories may be stored until such a time that the existing power relations or values in society change in such a way that what was once regarded as worthy of conservation is then perceived as a disturbance and vice versa. As such, this paper presents the parallel utilization of the absent heritage and nullifying practices in both the Cardo and the New Saraya as a coping mechanism through which the Jewish Israeli hegemonic identity groups attempt to delegitimize the participation of non-hegemonic identity groups in an open discourse regarding

Israel's collective identity—in a way, attempting to prevent any opening of Assmann's archive.

In this context, the two contested conceptions of "Jewish Jerusalem" and "modern Tel Aviv" may in fact be perceived as two sides of the same coin: in both cases, the combined implementation of the absent and nullifying heritage conservation methods limits the discourse regarding Israel's collective identity to the hegemonic groups already existing in society. It demonstrates how the work done by practitioners of cultural heritage—archaeologists, conservation experts, tour guides and others—reflects a concentrated attempt to defend the existing power relations in society. Potentially, however, this article may also shed light on the ability to critically deconstruct the process of conservation. It may supply practitioners of cultural heritage with tools through which they may transform the utilization of archaeology and conservation into arenas promoting an open discourse between contested identity groups in society.

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Plastered Skulls, "Memory" and Social Fabric in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Southern Levant

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Introduction

This paper suggests that the plastering of skulls in the southern Levant and mortuary practices of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic are interwoven. They should therefore be interpreted in the framework of the social fabric of the Neolithic and within the process of what Gordon Childe (1942) once called the "Neolithic Revolution." Furthermore, this phenomenon appears to be part of a process of "social memory," understood following Ruth M. Van Dyke and Susan E. Alcock (2003: 2) as a variable phenomenon that depends on class, ethnicity, gender, religion beliefs and other factors, in the framework of social conflicts in ancient societies.

Archaeologists have understood materialized memory in the archaeological record in various ways. The primary domains include monuments; places; treatment of the dead; ritual practices and senses; the recent and contemporary past; and forgetting and erasure (Van Dyke 2019). The discussion here focuses on memory while also analyzing the disposal of the dead in the framework of
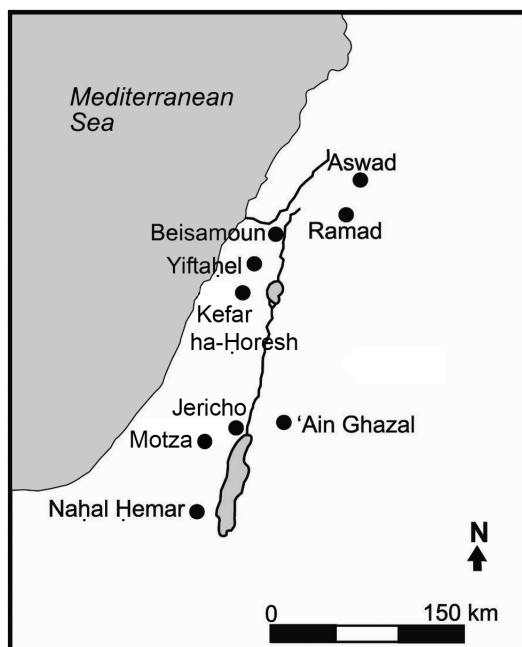
Fig. 1: Map of the Levant showing the main sites mentioned in the text

the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the southern Levant, including the plastering of skulls. In addition to the data previously available on plastered skulls, this study also includes the finds from the site of Yiftaḥel in the Lower Galilee (Milevski *et al*. 2008; Slon *et al*. 2014). The finds and social processes presented here are mainly related to the southern Levant, although some references to the northern Levant and other regions of the Near East are also addressed (Fig. 1).

The Neolithic Revolution, as almost scholars agree, generally replaced the hunter-gatherer mode of production and lifestyle, beginning with the domestication of plants and agriculture and followed by the domestication of animals and herding. It seems that, following Childe (1936; 1942), labor division was the result of the Neolithic/Agricultural Revolution, producing a social division that probably influenced the different ways people accessed lands, tools and livestock.

Recently, Yosef Garfinkel (2014: 156) denied that the plastered skulls phenomenon of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (henceforth PPN) B represent an ancestor cult, a fertility cult or a regeneration cult.[1] He further suggested that the ceremony of removing and plastering the skulls could have served as verification of rights to lands and territories both in competition within the community and in conflict with other communities.

The Neolithic Social Fabric

Marion Benz, Hans Georg Gebel and Trevor Watkins (2017) have suggested that the establishment of the social order of the Neolithic period relied on establishing claims to certain commodities for the exclusive exploitation by certain segments of the society, leading to the establishment of corporate kinship groups based on descent. They suggested that unilinear descent groups were the most effective means of maintaining social order during the threat of warfare and intensive competition for resources. A notable outcome of the emergence of unilinear corporate groups was manifest inequality in terms of what has been described as "inalienable possessions"; these include both physical assets as well as social entities such as names, myths, ceremonies and other intangible goods.

It has been suggested that Neolithic sites in the Levant exhibit long-term formal and functional continuity. While the architecture of houses in the PPNA was mainly circular, the PPNB saw a change in space utilization, and houses became rectangular for millennia (Goring-Morris 2005). Noting this continuity, several ethnoarchaeological studies have examined relationships between

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1   For the chronology of the southern Levantine Neolithic, this discussion follows the division by Bar-Yosef and Garfinkel (2008): Pre-Pottery Neolithic A = PPNA; Pre-Pottery Neolithic B = PPNB; Pre-Pottery Neolithic C = PPNC, 7,400–6,500 BCE; Early Pottery Neolithic (6,500–5,800 BCE); Pottery Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic (5,800–4,500 BCE); Late Chalcolithic (4,500–3,700 BCE); Early Bronze I–III (3,700–2,500 BCE).

Neolithic household social organization and the built environment, in both its PPN and PN phases in the Levant and Anatolia (Banning 2010; Watkins 2012).

Studies of household spaces have included gender division of tasks within the households (Tringham 1994). Gender and household themes have been investigated by Diane Bolger and Rita P. Wright for Neolithic societies (Wright 1996; Bolger and Wright 2013), with a specific emphasis on grinding and cooking (see also Molleson 2007). Wright (1996) concluded that the division between men's and women's activities increased through time, with women's tasks becoming related to household settings.

Household spaces should be understood as social spaces (see further below). These domestic spaces became more complex from the PPNA to the Late PPNB/PPNC, with many multi-storied structures, agglutinated or arranged in cellular plans with contiguous rooms. The "spatial syntax" in these sites documents increasing control (Banning 2010).

Property and Possession in the Neolithic Period

Property and possession are the relationship of the entire community to the world of things and the way to accede to the means of production (Marx 1993). But during the PPN, the pre-condition for everyone to accede to possession was the family and the community. It seems that in general, property was actually shared by the whole community or household in Neolithic society, although individual possession, such as tools, could have also existed.

Kinship groups form a version of social security for their members, a source of communal holdings for each person. The absence of this kind of corporate protection could lead to loss of the access to means of production in these Neolithic communities. It seems that changes present in the burial system of the PPN are also the result of the Agricultural Revolution.

In a few cases, anatomical research based on the study of teeth point to the existence of biological relationships among some of the analyzed individuals at Kefar ha-Ḥoresh (Alt *et al*. 2015). The researchers suggested that matrilocal

biological relationships may have played a role in burial practice. However, other individuals buried in the same location did not show biological relationships.

In recent years, further interpretations on Neolithic villages have been raised. For Benz and colleagues (Benz 2010; Benz and Bauer 2013; Benz, Gebel and Watkins 2017), the symbolic repertoires of Neolithic societies were consistent with communities at a liminal stage. In other words, the symbols and ideas of the PPN must be interpreted as signs of communities beginning to free themselves from natural mutability and from nature as the sole frame of communal space. Benz and Bauer (2013) also stressed the importance of symbolic devices as well as social and burial practices for the need to strengthen social networks in danger of disintegrating into conflicts in the transition between hunter-gather lifestyle and sedentism/agriculture. However, it must be clear that some elements of the "past" continue within the Neolithic, mainly in the treatment of the dead, i.e., in the ideological concept of life and death. This is one of the interesting cases where some periods contain elements from earlier societies, incorporating them despite substantial social and economic changes.

Burial System of the Southern Levantine Natufian Culture

It could rightly be sustained that the burial system of the PPN had begun previously in the Epi-Palaeolithic Natufian culture. This synthesis on the Natufian is based mainly in the work of Belfer-Cohen (1988), Bar-Yosef (1998) and Bocquentin (2003; Bocquentin, Kodas and Ortiz 2016). The Natufian population had graves in base camps and caves, both in the Natufian heartland as well as in smaller sites.

The pattern of body disposition in primary burials is supine, semiflexed or flexed, with various orientations of the head. The number of inhumations per grave may vary from single to multiple. Secondary burials were either isolated or mixed with primary burials. Secondary burials, more often in the Late than the Early Natufian, are interpreted as evidence of increased group mobility.

Children comprise about one-third of the dead, indicating a relatively high mortality rate.

A special type of mortuary practice is indicated by human and dog burials in two graves, one in Ain Mallaha and the other at Hayonim Terrace. According to Bar-Yosef (1998), these burials mark a departure from the Paleolithic vision of the natural world as a dichotomy between humans and wildlife (see further below).

Most important for the present discussion is that in several cases, skull removals were observed in the Late Natufian at Hayonim Cave, Naḥal Oren and Ain Mallaha (Eynan) (Bocquentin, Kodas and Ortiz 2016). At the el-Wad Terrace (Bar-Yosef 1998), the skull was also decorated to resemble the future decoration of the removed skulls from the PPNB. The past suggestion that differences in mortuary practices should be viewed as reflecting social hierarchy does not seem sustainable (see Belfer-Cohen 1991).

Most burials are single burials with no grave goods. Skull removal, a practice that began during the Late Natufian, was performed only on adults; child burials were left intact. One current interpretation views skull removal as evidence for the veneration of ancestors (Bar-Yosef 1998).

Neolithic Mortuary Practices of the Southern Levant

Skull removal continued during the PPNA, with sites in both the northern (e.g., Kanjou *et al*. 2013) and the southern Levant (Bocquentin, Kodas and Ortiz 2016). Detailed archaeological documentation of mortuary practices and the spatial and conceptual relationships between the dead and the living are now available for the southern Levant in the Neolithic period**.** Although there have been several new excavations in recent years, the point of departure for the present discussion is the excavations at Yiftaḥel (Khalaily *et al*. 2008; Milevski *et al*. 2008, Slon *et al*. 2014), which will be compared to data from other sites.

The variability of mortuary practices in the Neolithic has been treated by Bocquentin (2003) and Goring-Morris (2005). The Neolithic population

had graves in permanent sites. Stratigraphic indications from Beisamoun, Kefar ha-Ḥoresh, Yiftaḥel, Jericho, Ain Ghazal, Abu Ghosh, Motza and others demonstrate that graves were dug in the dwellings under and close to the houses, i.e., within active households (Fig. 2). Graves were in pits, many of which were covered by new plaster layers. In several instances, limestone slabs covered the graves; graves were generally filled in with sediment. The pattern of body disposition in primary burials is supine, semiflexed or flexed, with the heads oriented in various directions. The number of inhumations per grave can vary between single and multiple. Some burials probably designate family groups, with children (Goring-Morris 2005). Secondary burials appear together with primary burials.

Sometimes, primary burials also appear with caches of skulls, as in Tell Aswad (Stordeur and Khawam 2007). Human bones appear above the occupational deposits, indicating that in Neolithic times, burials also occurred after the sites were abandoned, such as in Yiftaḥel Area C (Hershkovitz, Garfinkel and Arensburg 1986; Garfinkel *et al*. 2012: 13–35). Babies and children comprise a significant portion of the dead—17% at Yiftaḥel— probably indicating a relatively high mortality among unborn, infants and small children (Abramov 2018: 8, 70).

In general, animals are not buried with humans, but a special type of mortuary practice during the aceramic Neolithic is indicated by the burial of anatomical parts of animals, mainly *Bos primigenius* (aurochs), but also fox, wild capra and others (Horwitz and Goring-Morris 2004; Khalaily *et al*. 2008). This can be interpreted as marking the transition of human departure from wild species, still present in the Neolithic world, and the beginning of animal domestication. For example, a complete *Bos taurus* was found at ʿEn Ẓippori in Wadi Rabah levels (Milevski and Getzov 2014).

Several cases of skull removal were observed in PPNA (Bocquentin, Kodas and Ortiz 2016), but in the PPNB, a special part of burial practice was the decoration of the skull. Even so, some undecorated skulls are found in several contexts (see further below). Since only a few objects were found attached to

Fig. 2: Burial 5228 (Homo 4, adult, and Homo 5, child without skull) under the floor of Building 501, Yiftaḥel, looking northwest (courtesy of the IAA)

the skeletons, the suggestion that differences in mortuary practices reflect social hierarchy is difficult to prove from this point (again, see below).

The Plastered Skulls

Skull removal was performed on adults, both men and women, as well as children (Bocquentin, Kodas and Ortiz 2016). Skull caches were found in several sites as Tell Aswad (Stordeur 2003), Ain Ghazal (Rollefson, Kafafi and Simons 1999) in Jordan, Kefar ha-Ḥoresh (Goring-Morris *et al*. 1995) and Yiftaḥel (Milevski *et al*. 2008), and in some cases were not decorated.

The study of plastered skulls in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of the southern Levant has evolved since the exemplars in Jericho were found; at the time, Kenyon (1981) suggested that they were related to an ancestor cult. Several theories and reconstructions were given on the meaning of these practices, including Bonogofsky (2003), Fletcher, Pearson and Ambers (2008) and Garfinkel (2014). Some classifications include the fact that in some skulls, eyes were depicted closed, as at Beisamoun (Ferembach and Lechevallier 1973) and Kefar ha-Ḥoresh (Goring-Morris *et al*. 1995), while others were depicted open, as at Yiftaḥel and Ain Ghazal (Rollefson, Kafafi and Simons 1990) or Jericho (Strouhal 1973; Kenyon 1981). The appearance of ears or the lack thereof and a complete or a partial mask on the face could be additional criteria for classification of the skulls.

Yiftaḥel provided three skulls: one skull (Homo 2) completely decorated and two (Homos 1 and 3) only decorated in the orbits of the eyes (Fig. 3). We suggested elsewhere that this trio of skulls in this specific order (two male and one female) represents some kind of different social principles, but this is no longer certain. Over time, it has become clear that the practice extended to all ages and genders, including several sites of the (mainly mid-)PPNB, and not exclusively sites considered regional centers.

The phenomenon of plastered skulls was accompanied by other types of skull decoration, such as that from Naḥal Ḥemar (Yakar and Hershkovitz 1988)

Fig. 3: Plastered skulls from Yiftaḥel (Homo 1, 2 and 3, from left to right) at the lab of the Medicine School, Tel Aviv University

with a kind of hairstyle and masks that were probably designated to be part of a ceremony perhaps related to death (Bar-Yosef and Alon 1988: Fig. 15). Plaster statues as at Ain Ghazal (Rollefson, Kafafi and Simons 1990) could be a continuation of burial or ancestor cult practices, but this subject is beyond the scope of this paper.

The geographic limits of skull-plastering practice was established in the southern and central Levant, including the area of Damascus, mostly in the mid-PPNB (Stordeur and Khawam 2007). Skull removal appeared in PN Anatolia (Hodder 2005, Bonogofsky 2006, Özbek 2009), but explanation of this late phenomenon is also beyond the scope of this paper.

New interpretations have also been given for the decapitation and decoration of skulls, and even ethnographic interpretations based on the decapitation of the enemy in several parts of the world were given by Alain Testart (2008), but this interpretation does not fit the Levantine archaeological record.

Reconstructing the Burial Practices

Kuijt (2008) and Garfinkel (2014) have suggested an archaeological reconstruction of the burial practices including the removal and the decoration of skulls. We (Slon *et al.* 2014) have suggested a similar reconstruction based on the skulls from Yiftaḥel (see also Khalaily *et al.* 2008, Milevski *et al.* 2008) that takes all other examples into consideration. The steps in the burial, skull removal and decoration indicate:

1. Burial under the house floor, marking of the burial
2. Opening of the burial and removal of the skull
3. Storing of the skull(s)
4. Decoration of the skulls (see below)
5. Public exhibition of the skulls
6. Secondary burial of the skulls

Taking the case of Yiftaḥel, we try to understand all of the details in the plastering of the skulls in the framework of the different types of more than forty inhumations at the site (Milevski *et al.* 2008; Slon *et al.* 2014). According to the CT conducted on the skulls, we found that their bottoms were filled with plaster, which created a base for them (Fig. 4).[2]

This situation is similar to the skulls of Aswad (Stordeur and Khawam 2007) and Kosk Hoyuk (Özbek 2009). The meaning of these bases is that the skulls were put on places to stand and were probably on display. In some cases, such as Yiftaḥel (Milevski *et al.* 2008) and probably Motza (J. Vardi, personal communication), skulls were found above or near benches in these sites, a fact that strengthens the idea of exhibition prior to being put in caches and hidden in special places. Alternatively, it could be suggested that the skulls were placed on benches for the entire process of decoration.

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2   In order to preserve the status of the skulls as they were found in the site, attached one to another, we decided to keep them together.
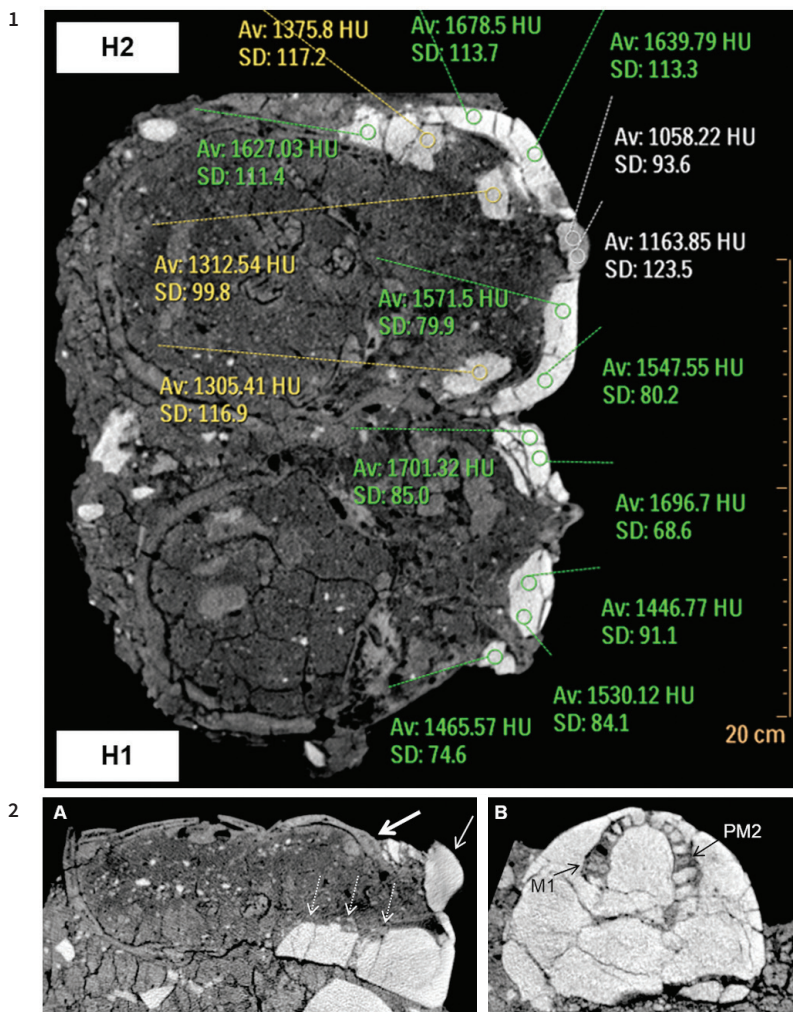
Fig. 4: CT on the plastered skulls from Yiftaḥel (adapted from Slon *et al*. 2014: Figs. 5 and 7); 1) scans of Homo 1 (lower half of figure) and Homo 2 (upper half of figure), showing results indicating the density of the plastered masks; 2) sagittal section (A) with plastered nose (thin arrow) ending at the level of the supraorbital ridge (thick arrow) and thick layer of plaster (dashed arrows) at the base of the skull, instead of the missing mandible; in the axial section at the level of the maxilla (B) the teeth are filled with plaster

At any rate, based on the skulls from Yiftaḥel, there seem to be several steps in the decoration process (Fig. 5):

1. Removing the skull (without the mandible)
2. Filling the base of the skull with plaster
3. Filling the orbits and other spaces with plaster
4. Making the plaster of the mask
5. Giving a face to the mask
6. Painting the mask and giving it a hairstyle

The Concept of "Burial Modes"

In a more ideological analysis, Kuijt (2001; 2008) has argued that mortuary rituals were organized by a series of ordering principles. These were based on
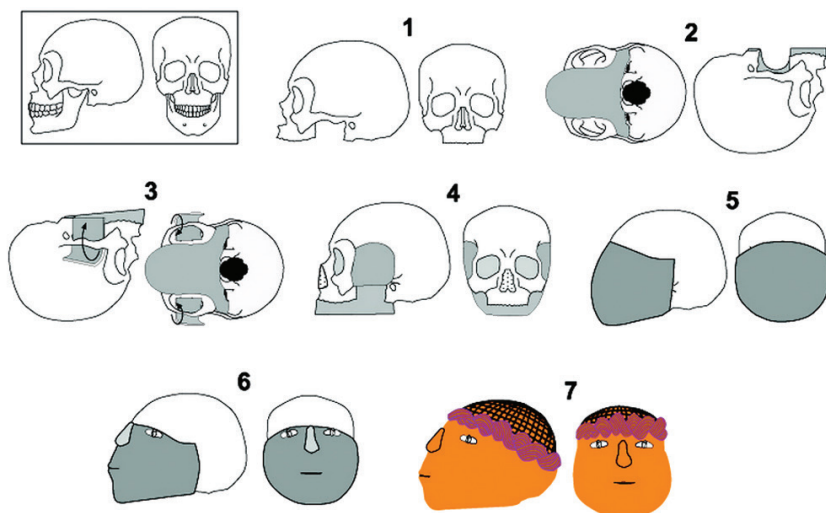
Fig. 5: Steps in the decoration of the skulls of Homo 2 from Yiftaḥel (adapted from Slon *et al*. 2014: Fig. 10, drawing by Anna Behar)

the age, and possibly status, of the deceased. The effect of gender on these principles is unknown, but it seems that gender, like age, played an important role in social differentiation in these Neolithic communities. However, Peterson (2002; 2010) and Wright (1996) have suggested that that during the Neolithic period, male activities began to resemble the female pattern more closely, while activity patterns became more intense for both sexes. Several dimensions of regional mortuary practices were pointed out concerning the social impact of secondary mortuary practices and skull caching on community integration and cohesion.

Kuijt (2008) and Watkins (2012) argued that the development of specific ritual practices was linked to the need for maintaining existing household political, economic and social ties during times of social, resource and environmental stress as result of the changes undergone within the Neolithic communities. Watkins (2012) concluded that communal consciousness was kept alive through the manipulation of symbols for the individual and the community. Ceremony and performance are embedded in the manipulation of symbols and the way that ceremonies and rituals are repeatedly performed. For Watkins (2012: 154), based on the work of Assmann (1995), this is the key to understanding the nature of collective memory and sense of identity in the Neolithic communities.

Understanding burial practices within the social fabric of the Neolithic period is best illuminated through the concept of "burial modes" (see also Milevski 2019) (Fig. 6). Burial modes are a combination of burial customs and a society's concept of the mode of production, i.e., the way that graves and human burial accord to cultural and ideological constraints (e.g., Alekshin 1983).

The mode of production of the aceramic Neolithic period could be a variant of what Marx (1993) defined as the "primitive" or "communal" mode of production and what other anthropologists such as Sahlins (1972: 82–92) defined as the domestic mode of production, albeit in a neo-evolutionary understanding. This mode of production, which could be understood as household social formation as previously described above, represents a formation in which the productive

Period	Settlements	Burial Mode	Burials
Natufian			
Pre-Pottery Neolithic	**Houses** Primary and secondary burials, skull removals	Household →	Burial within and around the houses
Pottery Neolithic/ Early Chalcolithic			
Ghassulian Chalcolithic	**Villages** Primary burials on site	Community →	Secondary burials outside the settlements
		Community →	
Early Bronze Age I	**Villages**		Primary burials outside the settlements
Early Bronze Age II–III	**Towns and villages**	Social ranks →	

Fig. 6: Chart of burial modes in the late prehistory of the southern Levant (adapted from Milevski 2019: Fig. 2)

unit is mainly the household, based in the extended family within the village (see further Wolf 1982).

While the burial mode of the Natufian graves is in abandoned houses, burials in the Neolithic are below the houses or attached to them. The Chalcolithic period displays a bimodal burial practice with primary burials in the settlement and collective secondary burials in caves or other places outside the settlements (Milevski 2019: 16–17). Since the Neolithic burial mode is based on households, this includes not only the graves within the houses but also the plastering and decoration of the skulls and all the ceremonies and the cycle including reburying them.

Discussion: "Memory" as Right to Inheritance

Discussion of the Neolithic ritual and mortuary practices reveals near-unanimous scholarly agreement that these were intentionally employed as means of consolidating community membership in the PPNB of the southern and central Levant, illustrating the importance that these practices played as vehicles for the suppression of conflicts among these communities. For Parker Pearson (1982), a sort of "social advertisement" existed in death ritual that expresses changing relations of domination and new social positions. In the present case, these occur with the consolidation of the agricultural communities of the PPNB.

In general, Kuijt's (2008) reconstruction of the burial practices seems the most reasonable, as also indicated by the finds at Yiftaḥel. According to this interpretation, the inhabitants of Neolithic villages participated in public rituals. These interactions trespassed the various age boundaries as reflected in the attitudes toward the dead, which itself is evidence for the veneration of ancestors or village founders. From this, it appears that mortuary practices were not related to the individual, but to the individual as part of the household in the Neolithic village, since this burial mode continued to dominate the Levant even in Pottery Neolithic times; skull removal as part of these household burial practices even occurred in some Anatolian sites during this period (Hodder 2005, Özbek 2009). Therefore, in this case, "memory" is the "memory" of the first settlers' establishment of the Neolithic villages and the right to inheritance within the households and villages.

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Old Memories and New Consciousness: Forging New Social Identity in the EB IB City of ʿEn Esur

Yitzhak Paz and Itai Elad | Israel Antiquities Authority

Introduction: Shaping the Social Memory of Settlements

One of the themes related to the emergence of urban life is the creation of a social memory forged with the rise of the city. Relating to the city and its immediate vicinity as an urban landscape, one may consider it as a mnemonic terrain, "landscape of memory"—or a "cultural memoryscape" (Basu 2013: 116). The study of memoryscapes focuses on the investigation of how people both shape and are shaped by this landscape of memory, how they inhabit it and transform it, how they negotiate its consistencies and inconsistencies and what this tells us of the nature of historical and mnemonic consciousness in particular socio-cultural contexts (Basu 2013: 117).

It is widely accepted that there is a connection between individual memories and the community, and some scholars tend to understand an individual's personal memory as part of being a member of a larger group (Boric 2010: 8). Communal memory can be manipulated through ideological projects that distort historical events. Thus, there may be a great gap between individual memory/ private perception and manipulated communal memory (Boric 2010: 3).

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* All illustrations are courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

It should be noted that social memory emerges and evolves from acts of both remembering and forgetting (both building and razing may be considered to shape social memory)—acts that are often illuminated by archaeological practices alone (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 2).

At the same time, social memory can be "inscribed" or "incorporated": "Inscribed memory is manifested in materially visible commemorative activities such as the construction of monuments, whereas incorporated memory lends itself to obliterative or fleeting acts that leave few archaeological traces" (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4).

Paul Connerton (1989: 79–84) stated that incorporated memory is embodied in and transmitted through routinized bodily practices. Thus, walking, sitting, eating and other culturally specific postural performances recall patterns of identity and group membership to both performers and observers (Connerton 1989: 74). Social memory may be also manifest in ritual behavior, reflected in activities. Apart from mortuary practices, other activities include, for example, intentional conflagration of structures and the deposition of votive objects just prior to abandonment as evidence for rituals of closure (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 4).

Various studies show that landscape and architecture reference the past as one way to legitimate socio-political authority and to create a sense of community identity through the creation of a fictitious genealogy emphasizing the great antiquity of the rulership (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 9; Wilson 2010: 4).

Gregory D. Wilson (2010: 5) has also argued that the use of architectural techniques that make buildings more durable serves to strengthen a social group's corporate solidarity and connections to place. As residential groups increase in size, they adopt a more formalized organization of domestic space. The spatial layout of these residential groups has probably channeled everyday movements, providing the means by which social memories and meanings of group identity and status were moved (Wilson 2010: 10).

Memory is not only stored in the built landscape. There is a significance in the negative aspect of memory (e.g., razing, erasing and dismantling). The

disappearance of a monument can implant a new memory instead of an old one (Boric 2010: 15).

In an article about daily practice and social memory at Çatalhöyük, Ian Hodder and Craig Cessford state that social rules, meanings and relations of power are not necessarily imposed by central authorities, but rather, are embedded within mundane practices of daily life practices and, therefore, changes in daily social practices could enable centralizing coordinating functions (Hodder and Cessford 2004: 18). Regulation was not imposed from above but was constructed through the habituation practices (Hodder and Cessford 2004: 31).

In sum, the research detailed seems to reflect the variety of realms within which "social" or "communal" memory resides. Ultimately, the extraction of material reflections of social memories should include both built and razed architectural features, both ceremonial and mundane everyday activities.

The present paper explores some of the manifestations of change in social memory at the protohistoric site of ʿEn Esur, in which village life was transformed into urban entity.

ʿEn Esur: A Protohistoric Site on the Coastal Plain of Israel

ʿEn Esur (Assawir) is located on the northeastern Sharon Plain, near the western opening of Naḥal ʿIron (Wadi ʿAra; Fig. 1). Situated on a large alluvial plain adjacent to the tributaries of Naḥal ʿIron, the site was preferable for human habitation in many periods. The site comprises three main elements: the mound (Tel Esur), the protohistoric site surrounding the area around the mound (ʿEn Esur) and the cemeteries to the east and south of the settlement.

The protohistoric site was first excavated in the 1990s by Eli Yannai. This salvage excavation was conducted along Highway 65 and its rather large scale led to the discovery of a continuous settlement that existed at the site between the fifth and late fourth millennia (Chalcolithic to the EB IB; see Yannai 2006).
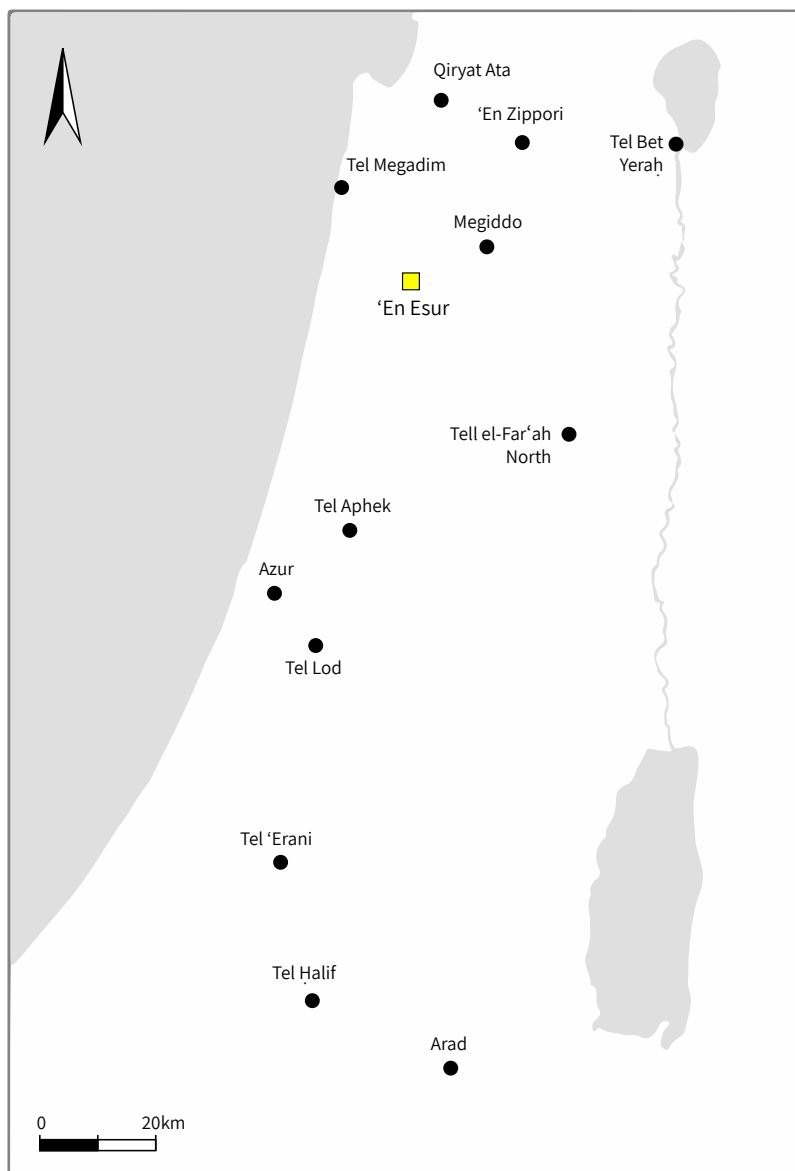
Fig. 1: ʿEn Esur: location map

The eastern cemeteries were investigated during salvage excavations that have been partially published (Yannai 2014).

The Renewed Excavations at ʿEn Esur

Between 2017 and 2019, a vast salvage excavation was conducted at ʿEn Esur, on both sides of Highway 65 and with a combined area of 41,250 m² (Fig. 2). The excavation was carried out on behalf of the IAA within the framework of the construction of an interchange and a road connecting Highway 65 with the new city of Harish (Elad and Paz 2018; Elad, Paz and Shalem 2018; 2019; 2020a; 2020b). The remains excavated date to the Pottery Neolithic period (sixth millennium BCE), the Early Chalcolithic period (fifth millennium BCE), the Late Chalcolithic period (mid-fifth–early fourth millennia BCE), the EB IA (3650–3300 BCE), the EB IB (3300–3050 BCE) and the Intermediate Bronze Age (2500–2000 BCE).

It should be noted that the present paper focuses on the settlement from the late EB IA to the late EB IB. During this period, the settlement peaked in size at 65 hectares, reflecting urban traits. Therefore, the other periods mentioned above are not discussed here. Nor does the current paper discuss each and every aspect of early urbanization as reflected at ʿEn Esur. It focuses instead on the material reflections of a change in social memory and identity at the site along its trajectory towards urbanization.

In focus here are specific test cases in which changes in material culture traits reflect alterations in social memory, most notably architectural features and the spatial layout of the settlement.

The Early Bronze Age at ʿEn Esur: An Overview

The EB IA Village at ʿEn Esur
EB IA remains were found at the center of the site, adjacent and between the site's two springs. Five EB IA strata were observed, in which numerous

architectural remains were found, including about 15 nearly complete buildings. The remains from this period are all located in a quite restricted area ca. 100 m long, apparently reflecting a small rural settlement (see Elad, Paz and Shalem 2019).

The structures related to the EB IA were shaped either as circles or as ovals. Their walls were 0.4–0.6 m wide, made of two faces of small to medium-sized stones with gravel fill in between. The structures were small and narrow (less than 3 m wide) and the lack of stone pillar bases may hint that these were not needed for roof support.

The overall plan of the excavated EB IA strata shows no planning and no uniformity. No monumental architecture or signs for urban planning (such as streets, squares, large storage facilities, etc.) can be observed and, therefore, the settlement seems to have existed as a rural open village in the first half of the fourth millennium BCE.

An Early EB IB Settlement Phase: The Village Extends

By the beginning of the EB IB (around 3400/3300 BCE), the settlement at ʿEn Esur grew significantly and expanded outward in all directions. Nevertheless, it seems that dwelling units were dispersed in a way that kept rather large open spaces within the settlement, and no traces of connecting streets were detected. In general, the architecture of this phase tends not to follow any uniform orientation or architectural style and construction method. Houses were built with rather large spaces between them. However, unlike the common early EB IA oval or circular buildings revealed in the area, early EB IB structures were generally rectangular with rounded corners. Walls varied significantly in size and could be quite thin (0.5 m wide) or wider (up to 1 m). They were built of small to medium-sized stones, some of them much like in the EB IA strata at the site.

The maintenance of some aspects of village-based social memory between the EB IA and the early EB IB at the site is best reflected in Area O2, where a direct continuation between EB IA–EB IB strata can be seen (see discussion below).

Fig. 2: The proto-historic site of ʿEn Esur; the area excavated in 2017–2019 is marked in blue, the dotted line reflects the reconstructed size of the EB IB city, and the EB IA village is marked by a white ellipse (prepared by Moria Abu)

Fig. 3: A walk along the streets of ʿEn Esur, the communication channels of the EB IB city (photo by Assaf Peretz)

The Late EB IB: The Rise of Urban Perception

The transition between the early and late EB IB at ʿEn Esur is characterized by a revolutionary change in aspects of material culture. During the late EB IB, ʿEn Esur became a densely built, massive, 65-hectare settlement, the largest known to date in the southern Levant. Most buildings tend to have massive walls that reach at least 1 m in width, and many buildings have walls reaching a width between 1.3–1.5 m, possibly reflecting two-storey houses.

The inner arrangement of the settlement at ʿEn Esur went through a revolutionary change. The settlement was divided into quarters and residential clusters, connected by a network of streets and alleyways. Central squares were formed in street junctions and were probably used to regulate the movement of people, livestock, commodities, and information (Fig. 3). Such information could include necessary details relating to everyday economic activities as well as ideas that were spread in the streets just as modern-day data spreads in communication channels. Drainage channels were built in some of the

passages, and water management measures were taken in places where water was running inside the settlement.

The basic residential unit was now generally characterized by an insular shape: the main dwelling unit, an enclosed courtyard and various installations, including generally round silos (Fig. 4). Silos, used for grains or for vessels containing them, were found in large numbers throughout the settlement. They were round, built of stone, and varied in size. The smaller silos reached 1 m in diameter while the larger ones exceeded 2 m. They were placed either in open spaces between houses or within enclosed walled courtyards.

One of the most impressive architectural complexes is located at the western side of the site. This was a massive building, with an estimated size of 22 × 16 m and comprising several halls and enclosed spaces. The most notable element within this building was a huge stone basin, carved from one block in which a

Fig. 4: Typical dwelling unit during the late EB IB at ʿEn Esur (photo by Assaf Peretz)

rectangular space creates a shape of a basin. In addition to typical EB IB sherds, the basin contained pig bones. Cattle bones were found in the basin's immediate surroundings, as well as elsewhere in the building. The size, construction methods and finds from within the complex hint at a cultic function.

It seems that the settlement at ʿEn Esur was fortified with a wall that was 2 m wide, from which a segment 24 m long was excavated, as well as a semi-circular tower. The wall was made of one course of stones, which served as the foundation for mudbricks that have not been preserved. The fact that the stone foundations were preserved at the very same level throughout the excavated segment is the only hint for the existence of a mudbrick superstructure.

Exploring Aspects of Social Memory at ʿEn Esur: Some Test Cases

The data from the excavation at ʿEn Esur enables a reconstruction of the settlement's history during the EB I and a thorough study of each change in architectural features between strata and phases relating to this long period. It is important to stress that, in general, every architectural change can be explained according to practical explanations and due to logical ancient engineering considerations. Even so, one should try and go one step further and look for the ideological reasoning underlying some of the changes that occurred between the EB IA and early EB IB villages and the late EB IB city. While we cannot discuss the entire set of ideas that probably guided the ancient inhabitants of ʿEn Esur, the current paper aims to illuminate aspects of social memory and communal identity that can be reflected in material culture, mainly in architecture.

For the sake of the present discussion, we selected structures from several excavation areas located roughly in the central portion of the site. These were chosen to demonstrate the rise of urban perceptions with relation to earlier social memories and group identity that was based upon village life.

The first test case discusses the relationship between late EB IA and early EB IB architecture as found in Area O2, located in the middle of the site (Fig. 5). In this area, a rectangular building with rounded corners and oriented east–west, Building U50250, was excavated and associated with the latest stratum
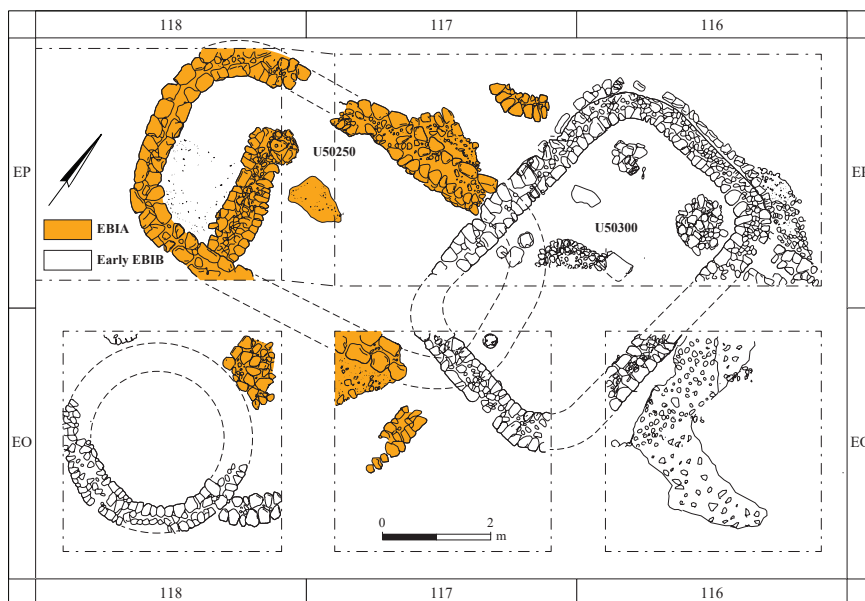
Fig. 5: Area O2: the early EB IB Building U50300 and its relationship to the earlier EB IA Building U50250 (prepared by Moria Abu)

of the EB IA. While the inner dimensions of Building U50250 are not fully known (the eastern part of the building was partly razed, probably during the building activities of the following stratum), it was 3 m wide. Its walls were 0.6 m wide and built of two faces of small–medium-sized stones with rubble fill in between. Use of Building U50250 finally ended once the later EB IB Building U50300 was built on top of it. Building U50300 is also rectangular with rounded corners, but unlike Building U50250, it is orientated north–south. The full plan of the building indicates inner dimensions of 5.4 × 3.1 m and walls 0.6 m wide. The walls were built with a similar technique to those of Building U50250, made of two faces of small to medium-sized stones with rubble fill in between. A pillar base was found in the central axis of the Building U50300 (the other pillar base was not found).

It can therefore be suggested that Building U50300 (early EB IB) reflects both a preservation of some basic earlier concepts (summed up in EB IA

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Building U50250) and also a new perception, manifest in a different orientation. These activities may be interpreted as actions that were meant to forge a new understanding of the domestic unit (see, e.g., Boric 2010: 15). Moreover, the creation of a similar (but not identical to the earlier EB IA) structure during the early EB IB and its reorientation in the other direction can testify to the creation of a new set of everyday activities relating to a new and different spatial organization of the house, and that those activities could have forged incorporated memories (see also Connerton 1989: 74).

However, it appears that the change described above between EB IA and early EB IB architecture did not totally transform the nature of the whole settlement. It is most plausible that the dwellers of the (now much larger) settlement still practiced village life with no apparent central organization or authority or any sign of planning.

It may be thus suggested that the early EB IB structures that were spread across the settlement were actually "mediators" between village (EB IA) and urban (late EB IB) life at ʿEn Esur and, therefore, one may expect them to contain at least some aspects of the earlier village characteristics. Conversely, they may have created the basis for the new memoryscape, being spread along dozens of hectares, the terrain in which the late EB IB city was later established.

The second test case relates to the transition between the early and late EB IB, and the emergence of the 65-hectare city at ʿEn Esur. The rather revolutionary revision in the settlement's history is best exemplified in Area M2, where an accumulation of several EB IB architectural phases helps to illustrate our discussion. As mentioned above, the early EB IB settlement at ʿEn Esur was a large village that was characterized by sparsely distributed dwellings with large open spaces between them. It seems that each unit was home to a nucleated family who worked agriculture and stored agricultural products in pottery vessels and in round silos that were built outside the dwelling structures. No uniformity can be discerned in the orientation of dwellings nor can any sign of planning be discerned.

Building U31750 (Fig. 6), revealed in Area M2, belongs to the early EB IB. This building was oriented east–west and was rectangular with rounded corners. The

Fig. 6: Area M2: the early EB IB Building U31750 superimposed by the late EB IB Building U31400 (prepared by Moria Abu)

inner width of Building U31750 is 2.05 m. Although its inner length is unknown, it probably did not exceed 3 m. The walls of the building were made from two faces of medium-sized stones with rubble fill in between. The width of the walls was ca. 0.5 m.

By the late EB IB, the whole area was densely built in the scope of an overall urban layout. Building U31750 was directly overlaid by Building

U31400, which was itself part of a quarter that was surrounded and accessed by streets and alleys from north, south and west sides. The new settlement plan that can be seen in the late EB IB was based upon a completely different space syntax compared to the EB IA and early EB IB settlements. First, the settlement was now divided into sectors and quarters that were linked by a network of streets and alleys, joined in junctions that marked the divisions between the quarters. The alleys were generally up to 2 m wide, while the streets exceeded 3 m.

The basic dwellings were now much larger comparing to the earlier EB settlements. The average inner dimensions for a dwelling were ca. 10 × 3.5 m, with a row of three or four pillar bases located in the middle of the length axis. The enclosing walls of the structures were very solid—more than 1 m wide, made from two faces of medium-sized stones with rubble fill between them. However, the principle that characterized EB IA and early EB IB architecture— the rounded corners—was still employed. Thus, most structures that were now a part of an urban settlement were still rectangular with rounded corners or capsular with two apse-like ends.

Contemporaneous with these shapes were rectangular structures that were generally part of the agglomeration of structures that formed crowded compounds.

The new architectural syntax included spatial traits that dictated alterations and changes in bodily behavior. As seen in Fig. 6, Building U31400 was not directly accessed from the adjacent street but from an inner courtyard (see discussion below).

It seems that ʿEn Esur's vast area of 65 hectares was divided during the late EB IB into sectors and quarters. Within each quarter, the inner division was probably not imposed from above by a central authority, but even still, the vast majority of structures in the city were built in only two orientations: north–south or east–west. Furthermore, all structures were built according to the street layout, and they were probably not allowed to penetrate any public space.

In light of the assumed growth in population during the late EB IB, a practical explanation for the growth in building size becomes available: the need for

larger structures that could possibly hold a second story and thus accommodate more people. However, going one step beyond practical considerations, it can also be suggested that these massive structures were meant to survive throughout history and to demonstrate socioeconomic strength, especially in comparison with earlier periods (see also Wilson 2010: 5). The flexibility of the new structures thus created new perceptions of durable might and power and a justification for the existence of the new "order."

As has been described so far, the turning point between the early EB IB village and the late EB IB city was accompanied by major changes in planning and in most aspects of architecture. At the same time, the basic concept of the house, mainly its general shape, was kept and expanded. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that, in order to accept drastic changes in movement, accessibility and communication within the settlement, not to mention restrictions on private construction activities, authorities needed to ascribe legitimacy to these acts. One should recall that in many cases, early EB IB structures were razed or dismantled, thus reflecting the tension between individual memory and a manipulated communal memory (Boric 2010: 3).

In fact, the late EB IB city layout at ʿEn Esur does reflect a formalized organization of space and a standardization of building techniques, all of which have channeled everyday movements, providing the means by which social memories and meanings of group identity and status were moved (Wilson 2010: 10). The maintenance of the basic shape of the dwelling unit and its incorporation within the new urban layout of ʿEn Esur may, however, point to a desire to legitimate the drastic changes that were set upon the dwellers by allowing them use the same old memories of the house. On the other hand, it may also reflect a voluntarily acceptance of the new perceptions, incorporating them into the settlement and thus creating a new set of everyday activities that accorded with the new order without neglecting the basic principles and importance of the house (see also Hodder and Cessford 2004: 18).

Recreating Social Memory at ʿEn Esur:
The Establishment of a New Space Syntax
and the Manipulation of Old Social Memories

The major change that took place at ʿEn Esur during the late EB IB altered the entire space syntax of the settlement from rural to urban. Most notably, the large open spaces that stretched between houses during the early EB IB were replaced by an elaborate system of streets, alleyways and squares. These open spaces were transferred from the settlement-level public sphere into the insular quarter or neighborhood sphere. Thus, the pre-urban domestic space syntax that comprised two levels (a private, large and open space leading into the house) was replaced by a three-leveled urban syntax, as demonstrated in Fig. 7: a public street (1), leading into an insular neighborhood (2) and onward into a house (3). A fourth level can also more rarely appear in the form of a courtyard separating the house from the insular neighborhood levels.

In a recent article, Ziva Kolodney (2016) has portrayed the various ways in which a new memoryscape was created in post-1948 Haifa. The post-war Jewish cityscape was incorporated into the general narrative of Israeli heroism. New "memory strategies" were employed, which was reflected at Haifa in the new "memorial garden" that stood as a monument adjacent to the old Arab neighborhoods of pre-1948 Haifa and also in the "memorial route" that was established among the streets of the cities (Kolodney 2016: 113–118). This route enabled the creation of a new "incorporated memory" (Connerton 1989) using memorial slabs and emblems that were implanted within the memorial route. The new memoryscape created and established new social memory and identity that excluded the "old" pre-1948 Arab existence in the city.

Returning to EB IB ʿEn Esur, it seems that the urban-planned late EB IB city changed most earlier architectural traditions, and thus a new set of ideas and norms was reflected in architecture, largely replaced earlier traditions and can be considered to have created a multifaceted "urban" social memory. The change in space syntax at ʿEn Esur, with the appearance of urban planning as
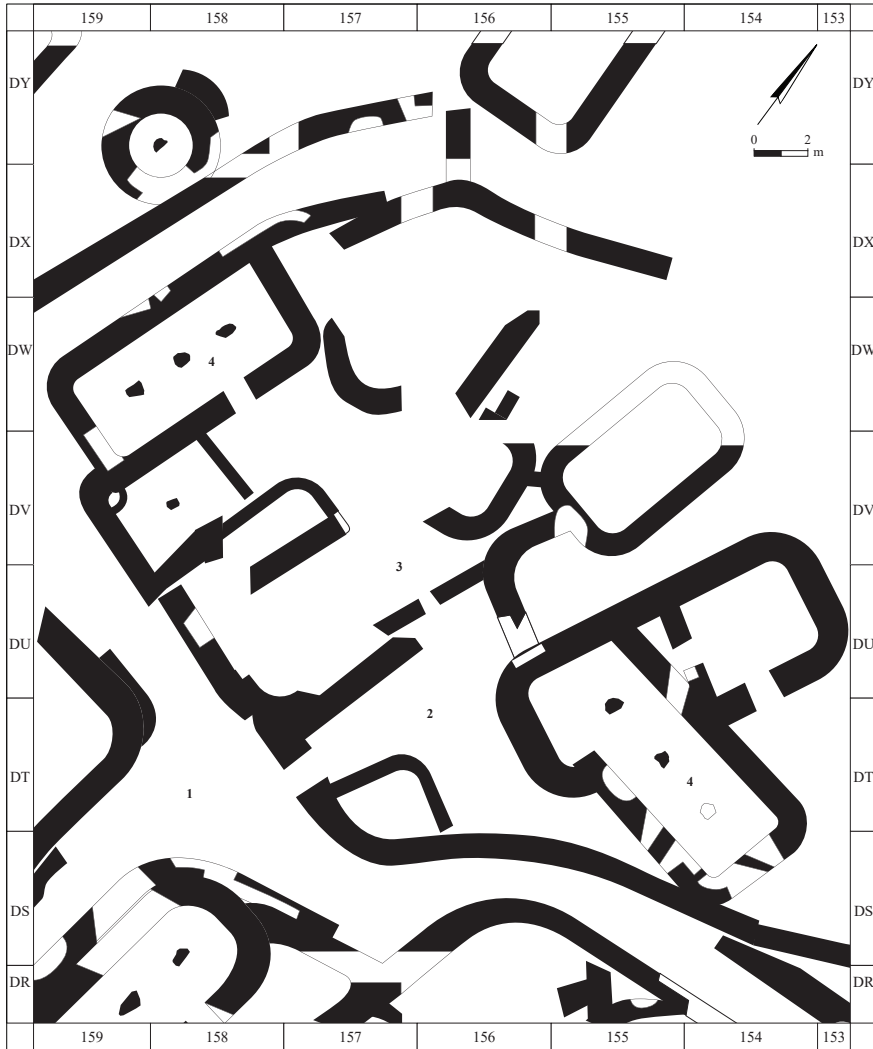
Fig. 7: The four-leveled space syntax at EB IB ʿEn Esur (prepared by Moria Abu)

well as the fortification of the site, must have affected each inhabitant, who would have needed to change daily bodily behavior and thus adjust to a new incorporated memory.

One may also postulate an opposite direction of memory creation and manipulation, from the individual/family level up to the ruling body, be it a local elite or a heterarchical council. The creation of a new, individual incorporated memory that was adjusted to urban space syntax left space for the family-level creation of microcosmos oriented toward the inner quarter. Within this sphere, other rules may have prevailed and other bodily behaviors would have been centered around the family, thus creating a sense of resistance to rules enacted and enforced at the city level. As noted by Kolodney (2016: 111), "the cityscape is both a site for symbolic control and symbolic resistance." Therefore, symbolic acts of resistance to enforced urban space syntax could have been manifested, among other ways, by the creation of open inner spaces within domestic quarters (versus the reduction of private open spaces that took place when the late EB IB city was established).

Discussion

The data gathered from the renewed excavations enable us to suggest that during the EB IB, two main shifts in aspects of social memory occurred at ʿEn Esur. The first, earlier, shift happened during the early EB IB and can be assigned to a change in memoryscape as a whole, namely, the creation of a much larger settlement. There can be little doubt that the extensive growth between the small and crowded EB IA village (maximum 2 hectares) to a much larger settlement (several dozen hectares) was accompanied by a new relationship between the people and their immediate surroundings and led to the creation of a new cultural memoryscape (Basu 2013).

It may be argued that some traits of the early village life that characterized the EB IA settlement were still employed, as can be seen with the structures that characterized the early EB IB at the site. However, the seeds for greater

change had already been sewn: the expansion of the settlement and the population growth must have altered daily activities and the way people moved, communicated and negotiated in this new situation. The fact that early EB IB inhabitants spread far beyond the immediate vicinity of the springs and preferred to live in a sparsely built village may indicate a change in perception, when people needed more space between dwelling units and, as a result, their modes of communication and daily movement in the landscape all changed. Another aspect of change between the EB IA and the early EB IB is evident in the pottery. Although they retained the same general categories of vessels (serving, cooking, storage) between the EB IA and the early EB IB, a change may be observed in the proportions between the categories: during the EB IA, serving vessels constitute the majority, while during the EB IB, cooking vessels seem to be the majority, thus reflecting a different behavioral pattern that can be related to the forging of a new incorporated memory (Connerton 1989: 74).

The later and more extensive shift can be related to the shift between the early and late EB IB, and here, many aspects of social memory were changed.

In terms of size, the settlement grew and reached the vast size of 65 hectares. The late EB IB settlement was now densely built, reorganized and fortified. The enclosing city wall now clearly differentiated between "in" and "out," while the newly established alleys, streets and squares now channeled activities, people, animals and ideas in different ways and thus dictated different behaviors than previously enabled.

Comparing urban ʿEn Esur to a living organism, the overall size and built environment can be seen as the skeleton and muscle tissue from which it was created. The massive nature of domestic structures, the monumentality of public buildings and the city wall were all probably actors in the consolidation and the strengthening of a social group's corporate solidarity and connections to place and, long term, of a durable social memory that connected the city's inhabitants to the site (see Wilson 2010: 5). The complicated network of streets and alleyways that traversed the city can be compared to arteries through which

vital materials passed to organs. The streets were the main communication system through which every aspect of human interaction could travel: commodities were traded and supplied, while people traveled between various parts of the settlements, spreading and sharing ideas, feelings, impressions and behaviors, all of which were transmitted throughout the settlement.

The existence of public architecture, drainage systems and other installations as well as a city wall all hint at the existence of some kind of central authority at ʿEn Esur, be it elite rulership or heterarchical counsel. In the first case, some aspects of social memory and group identity may have been dictated from above and some activities held across the settlement were intended, among other things, to manipulate social memory and community identity in favor of the ruling elite (see, e.g., Boric 2010: 3). The other possibility is of course that social rules, meanings and relations of power were not necessarily imposed by central authorities but were created by the whole public through mundane practices of daily life practices and, therefore, changes in daily social practices could enable centralizing coordinating functions (Hodder and Cessford 2004: 18).

It seems that the urban fabric found at ʿEn Esur was characterized by processes that were rooted in the pre-urban social structure. In these types of processes, kinship-based groups played active role in the creation of the new fabric of the settlement and their "collective memory" had a significant impact on its development (Portugali 1999: 83).

Conclusions

The site of ʿEn Esur reached its zenith during the late fourth millennium BCE when a city was established at the site, creating a new type of settlement that was also beginning to appear in other regions in the southern Levant. The establishment of the city changed many aspects of everyday life, as evidenced from the study of material culture. Those changes can be interpreted, as present research does, from a social point of view that examines aspects of social identity and, mainly, social memory.

It seems that the social memory created by everyday activities and embedded in the fabric of the EB IA village at ʿEn Esur underwent two main changes. The first change occurred at the beginning of the EB IB, when the settlement was enlarged and became significantly larger than the small EB IA village. The second and more dramatic change took place in the late EB IB, when the settlement became crowded, planned, massively built and fortified. The creation of an urban political entity no doubt changed most aspects of livelihood and forged a new set of social memories that were fueled by ideas and activities that were now centered not only in residential quarters but also in newly established public complexes. Ideas, impressions and behaviors reached every corner of the settlement through a network of streets that played a central role in the forging of a new social identity and the creation of common memories that were centered within the city walls (see Fig. 6).

It should be borne in mind that ʿEn Esur was not the sole case in the early urbanization of the southern Levant during the late fourth millennium BCE. As already stressed by Paz and others (Paz 2002; Getzov, Paz and Gophna 2001: 22–24), there was a "proto-urban" settlement process in which EB IB settlements such as Tel Bet Yeraḥ, Tel Megiddo, Tell el-Farʿah (North), Tel Afek and others developed urban characteristics. Furthermore, recent research and excavations seem to prove that the very beginning of urbanization in the southern Levant may be found even earlier in the EB IB. The renewed excavations at Tel ʿErani clearly show that the early EB IB settlement was fortified with a massive brick wall that was 8 m wide (Yegorov and Milevski 2017; Shalev 2018). In addition, the excavations at ʿEn Ẓippori (Milevski and Getzov 2014) testify to the early emergence of an urban entity during the EB IB.

In light of the above, it may be assumed that the study of shifts in social identity and social memory during the late fourth millennium BCE within this early urbanized settlement system is challenging but of great importance for future research.

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Short-Term Memory:
Historical Archaeology of Russian Compounds

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Kfir Arbiv | Israel Antiquities Authority
Kirill A. Vach | Indrik Editorials, Moscow

Introduction

Several Russian organizations and individuals were active in Ottoman Palestine in the second half of the 19th century. However, the main and most prominent were the Russian Foreign Ministry, the Russian Ecclesiastic Mission and the Imperial Palestinian Orthodox Society—a benevolent organization under the patronage of the Russian royal family. All were united in a joint effort to reinforce the positions of the Russian Empire and the Russian Church in the Orient and facilitate the pilgrimage of thousands of Russians willing to visit the holy sites of Palestine (Lisovoi 2000).

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 and the subsequent Russian Revolution of 1917 stopped the Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land for almost a century. Today, the vestiges of the Russian presence in the Holy Land can be studied like any other archaeological material dated to later occupation periods in the Holy Land's historical cities.

The remains of demolished late 19th-century Russian buildings, as well as their infrastructure (water cisterns, drain channels) and traces of the preparatory building cycle (quarries, lime kilns and other installations) were discovered

in salvage excavations in Jerusalem in the large area around the "Russian Compound," the main Russian pilgrimage administrative and religious center in Ottoman Palestine (Kracheninnikova 2012). Together with the relevant archival materials, these finds may provide interesting insights into the city's development in the last third of the 19th century, when it combined European and local architectural elements.

The "Russian layers" cover and sometimes cut through earlier archaeological remains, making the detailed study of these upper layers essential for understanding the site's formation process, since they often alter the interpretation of the discovered ancient finds.[1]

Archaeological Finds

The Russian Compound

Between 2015 and 2017, three seasons of salvage excavations were conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority at the Russian Compound, in the very center of Jerusalem, in the area between the buildings of the Russian Holy Trinity Cathedral and the City Hall and Court, prior to the construction of the new Bezalel Art Academy campus (Fig. 1).[2] Six construction phases were exposed during the excavations, dating from the Hellenistic period to the 20th century CE. Two most interesting finds are mass burials of Judean Civil War victims dated to 93 BCE, from the days of the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus (Arbiv, Nagar and Lieberman 2018), and a fragment of the late 1st century CE "Third Wall" of Jerusalem with a battlefield

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1 This article summarizes the primary results of the archaeological study of remains related to Russian 19th-century construction and pilgrimage activity in Jerusalem. Other finds and various subjects of the study were reported within the first colloquium dedicated to this theme, "Russian Archaeological Project, 19th–21st centuries," held at Tel Aviv University on March 6, 2019.

2 The 2015 excavation season was directed by R. Avner and one of the authors (Kfir Arbiv), and the 2016–2017 seasons by Kfir Arbiv, with the assistance of N. Nehama (administration), M. Kahan and V. Essman (surveying), O. Rose (plans), A. Peretz (field photography), T. Lieberman (pottery reading), D. Tanami (metal detecting) and Y. Nagar (physical anthropology). Thanks are due to our colleagues, Y. Billig, A. Re'em, Y. Zelinger, A. Wiegmann, N. Szanton, R. Bar-Nathan (all of the Israel Antiquities Authority) and G.D. Stiebel (Tel Aviv University) for their help and valuable advice.

Fig. 1: Russian Compound: 19th-century lime-production installations, discovered in excavations (photo by Assaf Peretz, IAA)

display of the Roman artillery attack during the Great Revolt of 70 CE (Avner and Arbiv 2016). Finds from Stratum 4 are dated to the late 19th century, the period of the Russian building activity at the site.

Fundraising that aimed to purchase the land plots in Jerusalem and finance the future construction started already in the 1850s, under Russian state initiative and the patronage of the royal family. The most extensive land that was purchased, known as Meidan Square and measuring 71,687 m², was located only 300 m west of Jerusalem's walls. According to the project prepared by Russian architect Theodor Eppinger, the area was supposed to house the edifices of the Russian Ecclesiastic Mission, a consulate, pilgrim hospices for men and women, and a hospital with a pharmacy, all surrounding the central cathedral building. The Russian buildings, or *Moskobiya*, turned into the

largest construction project of this period in Jerusalem. Construction began on January 1, 1860 with a blessing ceremony; this primary stage of construction and the main building were completed in 1864. Nearly 1,500 local workers and some 40 skilled masters from Russia participated, under the direction of Martin Eppinger, brother of the chief architect. All the structures were built of local limestone. Wood and metal were brought from Russia, while glass, paint, tile and furniture were imported from France (Krasheninnikova 2012: 158–159). For various reasons related to church policy, the main Cathedral of the Holy Trinity was opened only in 1872, and the Church of St. Alexandra, located within the walls of the Ecclesiastic Mission, served as the compound's main prayer house for the first eight years. The whole Russian Compound complex, the first large European structure built outside the city walls, was encircled with a stone wall with two gates: a consular gate leading east, towards Nablus Road, and a church gate on the west, leading to Jaffa Road (Lisovoi 2000: 691).

Although the history of the Russian Compound land is well known and studied by Russian researchers, the remains discovered during the recent excavations are especially important since they shed light on the primary stages of the construction work, which were not documented in photos. For various reasons, the photographic documentation of the work took place only in the final stages of the project, during the construction of the Sergius Compound in 1886–1890 and related infrastructure work, such as the drainage system of the complex.

The remains of the preparatory work, predating the construction activity at the site, were discovered between the poorly preserved Byzantine remains and the Russian constructions of the late 19th century.

On this preparatory level, a series of installations testify to lime production at the site. Three rectangular installations, oriented north–south with a thick white lime layer covering their floors, were discovered in the northern part of the excavation area (Fig. 1). All three were built based on the same pattern: the foundations were hewn in the bedrock, and the walls were built of two parallel rows of large dressed stones (probably in secondary use and originating from earlier structures), with earth and quarrying waste in between. The best-

preserved installation rises to a height of 1.2 m. Thick layers of lime were discovered in almost all the site's excavated squares. It should be mentioned that the lime-kiln installations are clearly seen in the later photos documenting the last stages of the construction at the complex.

The number of Russian pilgrims and visitors grew constantly. At its peak, before the outbreak of World War I, it reached enormous numbers for its time: nearly 10,000 people annually (Lisovoi 2000: 623). Most chose to come for Easter and stay for a month or two within the premises of the Russian compound. Naturally, such a large amount of people required sanitary installations, and an ever-growing number of water cisterns and drainage systems were built (Fig. 2). To date, of the nine cisterns mentioned in the documentation, only one has been discovered: a large water reservoir measuring 5.7 × 17 m and 7 m deep, cutting through an ancient Byzantine quarry (Avner and Arbiv 2016: 84). Since the initial construction stages at the Russian compound were never photographed, this large cistern is known only from plans and projects of the complex. Watercolors of the Russian Compound project were often reproduced and published in 19th-century illustrated magazines in order to promote the project and to find potential donors. These orientalist views of the compound in Jerusalem, with the requisite palm trees, camels, visitors in European dress and locals in their exotic robes, presenting the regular French park and an open water cistern of complex shape (Fig. 3a), were always disregarded by specialists as unrealistic. Indeed, it makes little sense to build an open water reservoir in the Jerusalem hot climate, and also to not maintain the conventional rectangular shape. Surprisingly, the remains of the water reservoir discovered in the excavation point to a complex shape but with a vaulted ceiling (Fig. 3b).[3]

The remains of several drainage channels were exposed during the excavations, all within the limits of the dig. All are quite long, up to 10 m, and narrow, about 0.3–0.35 m wide. In specific spots, the channels were located at a significant

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3   Remains of a water cistern were also discovered in the excavations of the Russian structure in the Veniamin Compound on Ha-Nevi'im Street (see Kagan 2011).
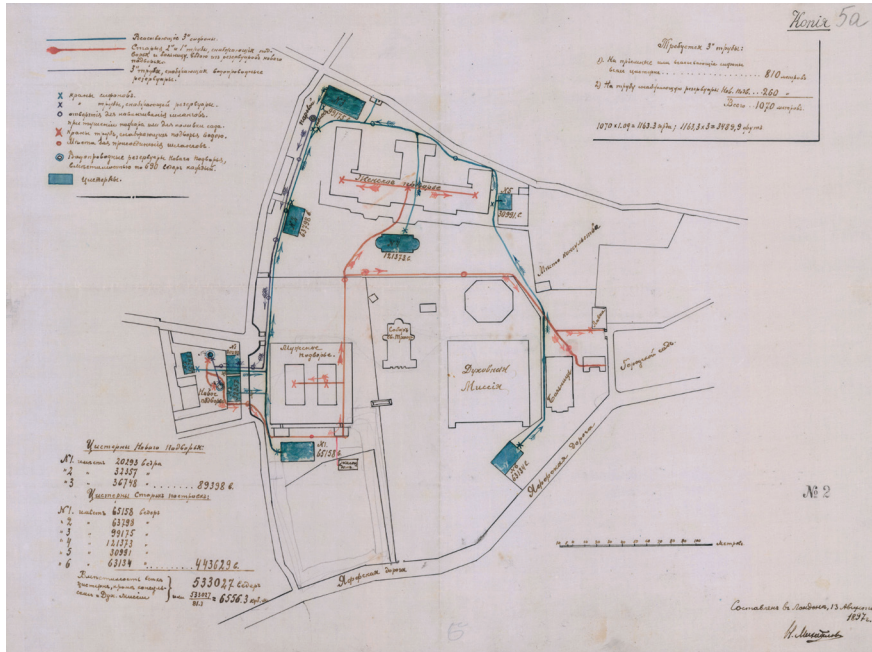
Fig. 2: Russian Compound: plan of drain and water-supply cisterns, 1897
(courtesy of AVPRI State Archive, Moscow)

a

b

Fig. 3: a) Project of Russian buildings in Jerusalem; b) the water cistern discovered (photo by Kfir Arbiv)

depth, cutting through a few strata, including the Jewish Revolt battlefield of 70 CE with its ballista stones (Avner and Arbiv 2016: Figs. 2–4). In the photos of the compound taken in the first years of the 20th century, some drainage channels are seen cutting—during their installation—not only through archaeological layers but the bedrock itself, to a depth of about 3–4 m (Fig. 4). The channels yielded no finds, but the field around them contained some pottery dating to the Late Ottoman period.

The Russian Consular House

In 2018, a short-term salvage excavation was conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority at the southern edge of the Musrara neighborhood in Jerusalem, opposite the Old City walls and the New Gate, prior to the construction of a municipal parking lot at the site.[4]

Two construction phases were exposed during excavation (Tchekhanovets and Vach 2019). The early phase, dating to the Byzantine period, is represented by part of a single structure built on leveled bedrock. Based on the finds, this construction can be dated to the 6th–7th centuries CE and most probably forms part of a "monastic quarter," an agglomeration of ecclesiastical institutions, probably the largest in Jerusalem, with residential units for the local monks and pilgrims, three small churches, three bathhouses and household units, located to the east, northeast and west of the current site (selected bibliography: Schick and Bliss 1894; Sukenik and Mayer 1930; Amit and Wolff 2000; Tzaferis *et al.* 2000).

The second, later, construction phase, dating to the late 19th century, is represented by massive foundation walls, which can be interpreted as the southwestern corner of a vast structure (Fig. 5), with a pillar base supporting

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4   The excavation was directed by one of the authors (Yana Tchekhanovets), with the assistance of M. Shor (archaeological probes), K. Arbiv (inspection), N. Nehama and E. Behar (administration), E. Aladjem (surveying), D. Tanami (metal detecting), G. Bijovsky (numismatics), T. Winter (glass finds), C. Amit (studio photos), I. Lidsky-Resnikov (pottery drawing), C. Hersh (glass drawing), V. Nosikovsky (metal conservation), Y. Bugenholz (pottery restoration) and S. Itkis (drafting). Thanks are due to R. Elberger (historical buildings conservator), to D. Bahat and to our colleagues from the Jerusalem Region of the IAA, E. Kagan, A. Wiegmann and N. Sapir, for their valuable advice.

Fig. 4: Construction of a drainage channel, 19th-century photo
(courtesy of GMIR Museum, St. Petersburg)

the balcony of the second storey and two water installations located in the yard of the structure. During the excavation, the foundation trenches of the building were also identified, penetrating deep and in certain places cutting into the ancient Byzantine remains. The floors of the structure were not preserved, and the structure yielded almost no material finds except for a few fragments of Marseille roof tiles and a fireplace glazed tile.

The identification of the structure was made possible through Conrad Schick's 1894/1895 plan, where it appears under No. 83: "Wohnung der Russischen Konsulatsbeamten" ("Residence of the Russian Consulate workers").[5] Armed with this identification, we consulted the list of Russian proprieties in the Holy Land, compiled by the Consul to Jerusalem, A.G. Yakovlev, in his letter from April 29, 1895. In this letter, our plot is mentioned as "*Homsi*, by the New Gate of Jerusalem, 3436 sq m, with the recently built house serving as a residence for consulate clerks" (Lisovoi 2000: 86–87). In addition to its proximity to the Old City walls, the plot was also very close to the Russian Compound located some 200 m to its northeast.

In the second half of the 19th century, the whole area west of the Old City walls was turned into a large construction field where large foreign institutions were erected: St. Louis Hospital in the 1850s and the large pilgrimage complex of Notre Dame between 1880 and 1904. The European building activity in the area was so extensive that in 1898, the Ottoman authorities opened a new gate in the city wall—the Gate of Sultan Abdul Hamid, or simply the New Gate—to facilitate the connection of the new structures to the holy places within the city limits.

Luckily, a complete documentation file related to the Russian Consulate Residence in Jerusalem was found in the Russian Foreign Policy Archive (AVPRI) in Moscow. Among the documents is official correspondence between various institutions, starting already in 1889, with the original projects by the Jerusalemite architect George Frangya, detailed estimates, a new, less costly project (ironically, making the final structure far more expensive) and a protocol

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5   For a high-resolution version of Schick's plan, see http://beta.nli.org.il/en/maps/
     NNL_MAPS_JER002367923/NLI_MAPS_JER?_ga=2.50787373.501238889.1547672904-
     845179687.1542190313#$FL25567831 (accessed January 20, 2020).

Fig. 5: Foundation walls and water cistern of the Consular House, overlapping Byzantine walls, during the excavations (photo by Yana Tchekhanovets)

of the cornerstone-laying ceremony (for the archival documentation, see Vach and Tchekhanovets 2019). Preserved plans and photos clearly show the pillar supporting the balcony of the upper floor and the water cisterns discovered in the salvage excavations (Fig. 6).

The building's fate during the post-war period remains unknown, as the relevant documentation is missing. It seems that in 1918, and similar to other Russian proprieties in the country, the British Mandate authorities took control of the structure. The metamorphoses of the building can be followed through Jerusalem maps printed during the Mandatory period. Between 1918 and 1948, the structure successively housed the field cashier and district offices, a Barclay's Bank branch, the Scottish St. Andrews Hostel, the Wesley House (Methodist Church), and even a local office of the Pasteur Institute. In 1948, some 19th-century structures became located on the demarcation line. Severely damaged between 1948 and 1967, the structures were demolished after the Six-Day War. According to our inquiries, after 1948, the Russian building was settled by Jewish immigrants from Kurdistan. Nearly 20 families lived there until 1973, and a tiny synagogue had been set in one of the rooms on the first storey.[6] The building stood abandoned until 1978, when it was finally demolished. The chance discovery of the Consular House during the salvage excavations is one more in a series of finds in the last decade related to European building activity in Late Ottoman Jerusalem (for an overview, see Finkielsztejn, Nagar and Billig 2009).

Discussion

The study of the Russian presence in Palestine should be regarded as an integral part of historical archaeology or included in the archaeology of the Late Ottoman period. The large cities of Ottoman Palestine, and first and foremost

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6   We are grateful to our informants, I. Ankava and A. Daniel, both residents of the Musrara neighborhood.

Fig. 6a: Consular House in Jerusalem under construction, 1892
(courtesy of AVPRI State Archive, Moscow)

Jerusalem (Ben-Arieh 1984; Kark and Oren-Nordheim 2001) and Jaffa (Kark 1990), went through a true construction boom in the late 19th century, led by European imperial, ecclesiastic and private factors. This "late" material cannot be overlooked or neglected, for it makes up the upper layers in any excavation of an historic city and is studied today with the same thoroughness and accuracy as Bronze or Iron Age remains (to mention just a few of the numerous recent studies dedicated to Jaffa: Arbel 2014; 2017; Reʾem 2010; studies on Jerusalem: Finkielsztejn, Nagar and Billig 2009; Reʾem and Forestani 2017; Reʾem 2018). Some studies deal with the country's agricultural hinterland in the Ottoman and British Mandate periods (Tsuk, Bordowicz and Taxel 2016; Taxel 2017), the archaeology of military campaigns (Peretz 2017) and civil engineering activities (Zilberstein and Shatil 2013).
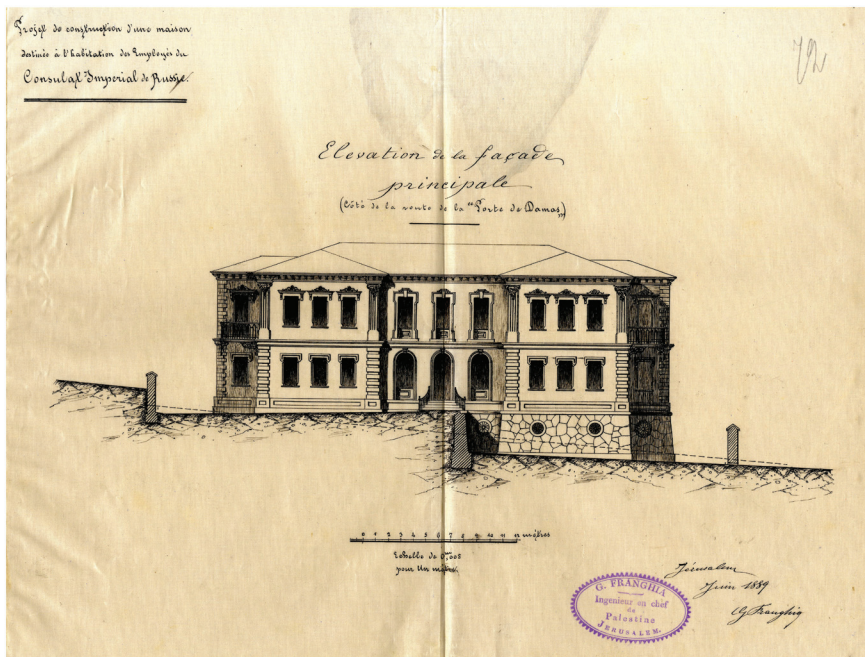
Fig. 6b: Architectural plan, 1889 (courtesy of AVPRI State Archive, Moscow)

The massive waves of Russian pilgrims to Palestine left numerous material vestiges which can be studied archaeologically, such as graffiti inscriptions scratched by pious visitors to the holy sites. The most ancient Russian inscription of the sort, dating to the 12th century, was discovered in the Nativity Church in Bethlehem (Artamonov, Gippius and Zaitsev 2013), but most date from the 19th century. Today, a systematic study of Russian pilgrims' graffiti at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and in minor monasteries in the Old City of Jerusalem is jointly carried out by Israeli and Russian archaeological teams (Tchekhanovets 2018; Belyaev and Vach 2019). Furthermore, an early 20th-century Russian commemoration book was recently discovered at Aceldama (Akeldama) in disturbed burials near the Greek Monastery of St. Onuphrius (Reʾem and Tchekhanovets 2019). The book, belonging to a female Russian pilgrim buried at

the site, contains the names of relatives and friends to be commemorated at the holy places.

Other archaeological pilgrimage remnants include small souvenirs from the Holy Land, more particularly bottles with Russian inscriptions containing blessed oil and holy water collected from the Jordan River and other sites. Such bottles were recently discovered in archaeological excavations at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Avni and Seligman 2003) and the City of David.7 A few examples of this type of souvenirs can be found in Russian museums (Belyaev 2000; Iukhimenko 2009: 46–164; Gnutova 2012). Amazingly similar, the so-called *eulogia* ("blessings") bottles, decorated with Evangelical scenes and known from Byzantine Palestine, show the strong unbroken tradition of these pilgrimage practices (Grabar 1957).

World War I and the Russian Revolution of 1917 ended Russian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. During this "century of absence," the Russian narrative became marginal, limited to the few picturesque ecclesiastic institutions, usually closed and inaccessible to visitors. The chain of new landlords of ex-Russian propriety, the movement of populations into the limits of the city, two wars and the complete change of the Jerusalem landscape—all of these factors led to the erasure and forgetting of the Russian chapter in the story of the Holy City, turning it into a sort of "forgotten heritage." Amazingly, in the case of the Consular House, even the identities of its builders were completely forgotten, just 40 years after its demolition. It seems, therefore, that the recently studied Russian sites in Jerusalem may serve as classic examples of "sites of remembering and forgetting" (Starzmann and Roby 2016), silenced sites reflecting materiality of memory, which are, notwithstanding, still present and able to be excavated.

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7   We thank S. Dan-Goor (IAA) for this information.

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Abstracts

1 | "Remember and Forget":
On the Ways of Shaping the "Myth of the Empty Land"
Oded Lipschits
pp. 1–31

In this paper, I briefly review the new discoveries and recent finds from Judah in general and from Jerusalem in particular, using this as the departure point for analysis of the biblical description of this period, focusing on the way the historical picture was created and the national memory was shaped, in order to create "the myth of the empty land" awaited many years for the "mass return" and the renewal of the settlement in the land.

By examining the ways in which the description of the beginning of "the days of the return to Zion" (Ezra 1) was shaped and comparing it with the way the description of the destruction and exile (2 Kings 25) was formed, while conspicuously ignoring everything that took place in Judah between these two events, I claim that "the myth of the empty land" was deliberately shaped during the Early Persian period as part of a struggle between groups of Judeans: the "Holy Seed" from the Babylonian exile, whose representatives returned to Jerusalem, and "the People of the Land"—the people who remained in Judah and did not go into exile. The victory of the former in shaping the memory was rooted among the following generations and led to the way the history of Judah and the Judeans is described to this day: the First Temple period (the pre-exilic period), the exilic period (when the land

was empty), and the Second Temple period (the post-exilic period), when a mass return of the exiles to their land took place.

The historical reality of the Jewish people after the destruction of the Second Temple throughout more than 1,750 years of exile and the hope for a "second return to Zion" perpetuated this historical conception. The development of the Zionist movement and the beginning of the "modern return to Zion" intensified the traditional historical interpretation, and this interpretation also strengthened national trends and was used to justify the Zionist arguments. Perhaps after 73 years of independence for the State of Israel and 124 years since the inception of the Zionist movement, Israeli historians, archaeologists and biblical scholars who feel secure enough in their existence in Israel and in the justification of the "second return to Zion" can break free of these ideological constraints, examine the data in a more neutral manner and restore the historical reality in a different way than that designed by the first "returnees" to Zion.

2 | Sailing Memories: Graffiti of Ships from Maresha

Elie Haddad, Ian Stern and Michal Artzy

pp. 1*–16*

Four engravings (graffiti) of ships dating from the end of the 4th to the 3rd century BCE were recently uncovered in Subterranean Complex 89, located in the southeastern part of lower Maresha. Three of the engravings represent battleships and the fourth is a merchant ship. In addition to the four engravings, three other engravings were previously discovered at Maresha. While images of merchant ships have been documented in the past, this is the first time that warships have been documented from Maresha. The highlight is an engraving depicting a very long warship (190 cm), the largest ever found in the world. The artist focused mainly on the bow and ram similar to that found in the sea at ʿAtlit. The bow of the ship is typical of a Macedonian warship. This type of bow first appears on coins minted in Arados in honor of Alexander the

Great after 332 BCE and on the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes following his victory over Ptolemy I Soter at the Battle of Salamis in 306 BCE.

What do these engravings of the ships at Maresha describe and what is their backstory? Maresha, which is approximately 35 km away from the sea, became a cosmopolitan city with vast commercial connections during the Hellenistic period (and perhaps even earlier at the end of the Persian period). It is safe to assume that Phoenicians from Sidon, possibly seafarers, were included in its population. Yet some of the engravings of ships may be commemorating an event or events that befell their creators, and some may show signs of longing and be dedicated as *ex-voto*.

Many of the details of the ships were made with such great skill that only a seafarer, combining memory and past experience, could have been so precise in their portrayal. The choice to engrave a depiction of ships may have been a commemoration of a memory that extends beyond the physical boundaries of Maresha and reflects a connection with the lands beyond the sea.

3 | "Megiddo, and they call it Lajjun": Memory and Oblivion in Toponymy and Archaeological Finds in the Region of Legio/Kefar ʿOthnay

Yotam Tepper

pp. 33–69

In the area of Legio-Megiddo, between the Jezreel Valley, the Menashe Plateau and the Samarian Mountains, there are settlements from different periods that, unexpectedly, bear different names. Among them, some are mentioned in historical sources from the Roman and Byzantine periods: a mixed Jewish-Samarian village (Kefar ʿOthnay), a Roman legionary base (Legio/Caporcotnai) and a city (Maximianopolis). From the Early Islamic and Ottoman periods, the settlements of Lajjun and La Leyun are also mentioned.

In the Israel Antiquities Authority excavation at Megiddo Prison, remains were uncovered of a rural settlement identified as Kefar ʿOthnay. In a

structure at the site, weapons were also found, indicating Roman military presence. In one of the structure's rooms, a mosaic floor was discovered, featuring three Greek inscriptions. One of the inscriptions commemorated the donation of a table (an altar) to "the God Jesus Christ"—evidence of a prayer hall of an early Christian community. At the end of the 3rd century CE, the Sixth Roman Legion left the legionary base at Legio, and its buildings were evacuated in an orderly fashion. At the same time, the inhabitants of the Christian structure also left, and the mosaic floor in the Christian prayer hall was covered up and seemingly forgotten. Around that same time, the city of Maximiniopolis was founded nearby, and it continued in existence throughout the Byzantine period.

Although Kefar ʿOthnay continued to exist into the beginning of the Byzantine period, and the presence of a Christian community is documented in the adjacent city of Maximiniopolis, the structure of the Christian community in the Roman village of Kefar ʿOthnay was never reinhabited. Was it forgotten intentionally, or was it perhaps preserved in the memory of the inhabitants of the site, who refrained from settling on its ruins? Toponymic research asserts that the names of later settlements in the area, the Arab village of Lajjun and the Frankish settlement of La Leyun, preserve the memory of a Roman military presence (Legio). Could the memory of that presence have been preserved in the names of the sites for centuries?

This article discusses the processes of memory and oblivion reflected in the archaeological finds and the names of sites in the Legio-Megiddo region from antiquity to the present day.

4 | Excavating Tailing Piles at Kakal Spur (Kerem Ben Zimra) Locality in the Naḥal Dishon Prehistoric Flint Extraction and Reduction Complex, Northern Galilee, Israel

Meir Finkel, Avi Gopher and Aviad Agam

Recent research has demonstrated that the Eocene Timrat Formation outcrops in northeastern Israel, which appear as a narrow land "strip" west of and parallel to the Jordan Rift Valley, was a major source of flint in prehistoric times. This is supported by the identification of three large-scale flint extraction and reduction (E&R) complexes (Naḥal Dishon, Mt. Akbara [Achbara] and Sede Ilan) that offer direct evidence of intense exploitation during the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic and limited Neolithic/Chalcolithic activities. We present the results of a recent excavation in two E&R tailing piles at Kakal Spur (Kerem Ben Zimra) in the Naḥal Dishon Complex. Extrapolation of the amount and weight of knapped flint items from the excavated part of one of the piles (Pile 1) results in an estimate of some ~300,000 flint items weighing ~24 tons for the whole pile. Basalt and limestone wedges found in the excavation suggest their use in the extraction process. The new finds enable a better reconstruction of the ubiquitous and continuous flint E&R activities in the "Flint Depot" of prehistoric northeastern Israel.

5 | An Inscription from a Byzantine Cemetery in Yafo (Jaffa)

Ayelet Dayan and Leah Di Segni

A cemetery in use from the Persian, Roman (?), Byzantine, early Islamic and Crusader periods was exposed in a salvage excavation conducted in 2011 on the grounds of the St. Louis French Hospital in Jaffa, at the foot of ancient Tel Yafo. The cemetery contained burial caves hewn into the *kurkar* rock. One such cave dates to the Byzantine period and contains a vestibule leading to

the burial chamber, the entrance of which was blocked by a large stone with a carved cross. Numerous oil lamps dating to the 6th–7th centuries CE were found in the hall. The remains of a nearby mosaic floor were also exposed, bearing the following Greek inscription: "Be of good courage, all who (are buried) here. This (is it)!" The inscription can be dated to the early Byzantine period (4th–5th centuries CE). The formula is typical of funerary style, and the inscription must therefore have belonged to a mausoleum, to a funerary chapel, or to the cemetery.

6 | Bridging the Gap:
Preservation of Contested Narratives of Archaeological Sites

Chemi Shiff

pp. 23*–42*

This paper examines the utilization of conservation as a means for allowing the negotiation between rubbles and antiquities. Research examining the political utilization of conservation has differentiated between two products created through the archaeological process. First, conservation emphasizes the importance of antiquities (remains that are identified as representing values and historical narratives that are worthy of conservation), as well as the presence of rubbles (remains that are understood to conceal these values and should therefore be removed). However, the differentiation between these two products is not dichotomous. Rather, the understandings of which remains should or should not be preserved can change according to different geographic, ideological, political and cultural circumstances. Therefore, the examination of conservation as a means for the negotiation between antiquities and rubbles can illuminate the social and political changes that take place in a given society. This article examines the relevance of this question for Israeli society through the case studies of the conservation of the Clock Tower Square in Jaffa and the Cardo in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem.

7 | Plastered Skulls, "Memory" and Social Fabric in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Southern Levant

Ianir Milevski

pp. 43*–62*

Plastered skulls are the hallmark of burial customs in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period of the southern Levant. In this paper, I argue that the skull decoration and burial customs at the beginning of the Neolithic period must be interpreted in the context of the "Neolithic Revolution" proposed by Gordon Childe. It is generally agreed that the Neolithic Revolution replaced the way of life of the hunter-gatherers, first with the domestication of plants and agriculture and later with the domestication of animals and herding. The new division of labor resulting from the revolution created a new social division. It affected not only the way people treated lands, tools and animals but also the ideology of these communities and the expressions of personal and family history. Memory and identity were some of the foundations of the superstructures that influenced these communities and, therefore, burial customs were an important component in the social fabric of the southern Levant during the Neolithic period.

8 | Old Memories and New Consciousness: Forging New Social Identity in the EB IB City of ʿEn Esur

Yitzhak Paz and Itai Elad

pp. 63*–85*

Research focusing on the rise of urbanization and the establishment of new ideological frameworks has shown that in many cases, initiators of change employed old motifs that were enacted in social memory and reshaped them in a way that included both new and old ideologies and perceptions, aiming towards an acceptance of change in traditional societies.

Recent excavations at ʿEn Esur have revealed one of the largest and most extensively built settlements in the southern Levant. It reached its zenith at the

end of the fourth millennium BCE (the EB IB) and displayed urban characteristics. The urban settlement at ʿEn Esur was preceded by a village that was established during the first half of the fourth millennium BCE (the EB IA). During the last third of the fourth millennium BCE (the early EB IB), the settlement grew significantly but retained aspects of continuity and consideration in EB IA traditions, as reflected in some architectural traits.

The significant change in the nature of the settlement came by the late EB IB. The vast settlement, reaching a size of 65 hectares, became urban in nature. This shift from village life to urban life was accompanied by a sharp perceptive change in social life. This shift was enabled through the reformation of well-known aspects of village lifestyle and their adjustment to the new urban nature of the settlement, thus creating a new social memory that was partly based on an older one but also involved the dismantling and reshaping of old traditions.

9 | Short-Term Memory: Historical Archaeology of Russian Compounds

Yana Tchekhanovets, Kfir Arbiv and Kirill A. Vach

pp. 87*–103*

Remains of late 19th-century Russian buildings, their infrastructure (water cisterns, drainage channels) and various traces of the preparatory building cycle (quarries, lime kilns and other installations) were recently discovered in Jerusalem in salvage excavations conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority in the large area around the "Russian Compound," the main administrative and religious center of Russian pilgrimage in Ottoman Palestine. Together with the relevant archival materials, these finds may provide interesting information on the city's development in the last third of the 19th century, with its curious combination of European and local architectural elements. Since the "Russian layers" cover and sometimes cut through earlier archaeological remains, a detailed study of these upper layers is crucial for understanding the sites' evolution, for they often alter the interpretation of the ancient finds discovered there.