Tentative States of Heritage

Facts-in-the ground as facts-on-the-ground in the Tentative Lists of Israel and Palestine

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ABSTRACT

In 2011 Palestine became a member state of UNESCO and ratified the World Heritage Convention. When Palestine became a State Party of the convention a new arena, the super bowl of cultural heritage, known as the World Heritage List occurred for the heritage sector for Palestine. In this arena the conflicting states of the Holy Land, Israel and Palestine, are equals. This thesis presents the properties listed on the Tentative Lists (the list from which properties for the World Heritage List are chosen) of Israel and Palestine and it compares the two lists with focus on the presentation of history and how it is used to claim the same land. The outset of the thesis is that history is chosen parts of the past and that cultural heritage is a process that is created by its involved actors. The Tentative List as a tool, are part of an UNESCO framework that have been criticised to be part of an authorized heritage discourse, this thesis can therefore be seen as analysis of official state heritage. In the light of the on-going conflict between the two States Parties the use of history to make political and territorial claims are analysed through the use of language and wording, the use of criteria attached to properties, and properties association to religion. The thesis further demonstrates how these claims form different types of inclusion/exclusion.

Sofia, till vem 49% av eventuell framgång ska tillskrivas <3

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THESIS

During my first years of studying cultural heritage and conservation I did it for the moments when I lost myself to history, the moments when body and mind travelled in time through the touch of brickwork or the smell of dust between the beams of an old building. Some years later I still loved the moments of time travel but I realised that they alone were not enough. To make time travels and kicks through history it all needed to be anchored in the present. When buildings and places are linked through time they gain far more importance, not just to me, but also to people who do not share my sentimental view on old bricks and dust. They become symbols. I realised that old buildings are not heritage because they are old; they become heritage because we need them to be. Today I view history and cultural heritage as tools of the present. I have gained interest in how history and heritage are used in the present and that is a language that is far more vociferous than the language of bricks and dust.

Palestine has had its grip on me longer than I've known the name. When reading about religion in school I learned names of the places around the Holy Land and when I started to watch the news in the evening these places gained a different meaning. All the suffering of the Bible, the Quran and the Torah was still very relevant. I started following the Israel/Palestine conflict and grew interested in the reasons behind all of the suffering. By the time I started studying questions of heritage this conflict, the Holy Land and Israel/Palestine appeared as a place where these questions were engaged in with a most forceful way. The day the opportunity came for me to visit Palestine I did not think twice about going. I knew that this was a chance to seek answers to questions that had long been on my mind; I knew that this was an opportunity of absolute present-centred time traveling.

1.2 PROBLEM TO QUESTION

During 3 weeks of June 2014 I visited the West Bank of Palestine. This field study gave me the chance to visit greater parts of the region, from Ramallah to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Nablus, Sebastia, but also Israel, Tel Aviv and the old port of Jaffa. Travelling around the West Bank together with Palestinians gave an insight to the limitations that the current occupation is putting on everyday life. The land is contested, history is contested and culture is contested. The on-going occupation has ruled out a continuous caretaking of cultural heritage on a nation wide level in Palestine. The Palestinian Authority has been active since 1994 but has not been able to structure a reliable framework to secure the cultural heritage in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Palestine became a member state of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2011 (Israel became a member state in 1999) and has since then ratified the World Heritage Convention. Since the Palestinian Authority has not been able to tend to the built heritage, it is easy to add neglect to occupation and armed conflict to infer that the state of Palestinian built heritage is beyond rescue. This is not accurate. The built heritage has been tended by several NGOs since the 1990's, proving that cultural heritage is vital even to the state-less. Culture is contested and it is made very visible in an area were both Israel and Palestine claim the same country. History and heritage production is powerful tools to claim authenticity. Since 2011 both Israel and Palestine are able to fight this cultural war in the same arena, UNESCO's World Heritage List, the Super bowl of cultural heritage, with the world as referees.

The past is a resource to be used by contemporary societies; it is chosen parts of the past that represents the past in the present. Heritage is constructed. Both Israel and Palestine have submitted tentative lists of world heritage. These are in some ways contested. The following questions are the main focus of this thesis:

1. How are *history* and *authenticity* represented on the Israeli and the Palestinian Tentative Lists?
2. Is it possible to expose any differences in how the different Tentative Lists present their sites in terms of language and wording, essentialness of the sites and with reference to inclusion/exclusion?
3. Is it possible to discern political motives for sites nominated on the Tentative Lists?

1.3 THEORIES AND METHODOLOGY

In the way that I am approaching the subject of this thesis, theories and methodology forms a tool that is extensively used as backbone throughout the pages of the thesis. The Tentative Lists of Israel and Palestine that constitute the main focus of this thesis are submitted by the two states. This chapter provides knowledge on how history and claims of authenticity functions within cultural heritage. The first sections of this chapter introduce some key words that were used in the questions in *1.2 Problem to Question*. The second part of this chapter develops a loosely framed methodology through the concept of *discourse.*

1.3.1 KEYWORDS

First of all there is a need of clarifying the difference between *history* and the *past*. Ingrid Martins Holmberg (2006) explains that the *past* constitutes the "object of knowledge" to *history*, the past can be said to be "everything that has happened and been" and history as science a socially contingent selection of the former. In this perspective the *selection* and the *mediation* can be problematized (Martins Holmberg p.45). Gregory Ashworth, Brian Graham and J.E. Turnbridge in *Pluralising Pasts: heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies* (2007) defines *heritage* as "the use of the past as a cultural, political and economic resource for the present" wherein very selective ways in which "material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become resources for the present" (Ashworth, Graham, Turnbridge, p.3).

Authenticity is in the Oxford Dictionary defined as "the quality of being genuine or true" and this, with an emphasis on historical claims, will function as the definition within this thesis. With history, authenticity and heritage there is also *identity* and *place*. According to Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge these concepts are connected with our views of material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions. The past transformed into heritage is a resource with contemporary cultural, political and economical functions (Ashworth, Graham, Turnbridge, p.1). The authors argue that "despite the contemporary theoretical conceptualisation of identity as a multiplicity of belongings, the need of individuals to belong to territorially defined social groups seems no less important now than when it was a defining characteristic of the nineteenth-century nation-state" (p.1).

Gregory Ashworth, Brian Graham and J.E. Turnbridge focus on how contemporary societies use heritage to create and manage collective identities. They emphasise on how they are expressed through senses of belonging and how these are defined and transmitted through representations of *place*. According to the authors of *Pluralising Pasts* heritage management

includes nurturing and strengthening people's identification with governments and jurisdictions on different levels. This identification goes for individuals with social groups, but also the construction of images of place and its promotion in different markets (Ashworth, Graham, Turnbridge, p.2).

> … narratives of belonging may support, coexist with or conflict with each other. Thus identity can be visualised as a multi-faceted phenomenon that embraces a range of human attributes, including language, religion, ethnicity, nationalism and shared interpretations of the past (Guibernau, 1996). It is constructed into discourses of inclusion and exclusion, of those who qualify for membership, and those who do not (Ashworth, Graham, Turnbridge p.4).

When defining inclusion and exclusion people use affinity with places, or representations of places, that are then used to legitimate claims to territory. The authors argue that these representations of places, by definition, are of imaginary places. Nonetheless they constitute a powerful way in which individual and social practices "transform the material world into cultural and economic realms of meaning and lived experience" (p.5). Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge claim that attributes of "otherness" are fundamental to representations of identity since they are constructed in counter-distinction to them (which does not mean that identity is fixed and stable, rather it is linked to sense of time and is both negotiable and revocable). They conclude that sense of place is a product of the creative imagination while place identities are not passively created but are ascribed to places by people (p.5). In nationalist ideologies people tend to essentialise identities as inherent landscape and cityscape qualities,

> … the past validates the present by conveying an idea of timeless values and unbroken lineages and through restoring lost or subverted values. Thus, for example, there are archetypal national landscapes, which draw heavily on geographical imagery, memory and myth… (p.6)

According to Peter Howard (*Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity* 2003), the concept of the Golden Age, where nations look back to a particular period of special importance, is well known. Some landscapes or places, of distinctive character, can inherent similar importance to Golden Age in the way that they can summarize the nations or groups self-image more than other places (Howard p.170). Rodney Harrison explains the relations in the following quote from *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (2010):

> Once heritage moves into the political arena it becomes a symbol of something else – nationalism, culture, class – a touchstone around which people can muster their arguments and thoughts. Such a way of viewing heritage seems a long way from the apparently 'objective' judgements that UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee suggests should be taken in assessing the significance of heritage (Harrison, 2010, p.191)

1.3.2 DISCOURSE

In *The Uses of Heritage* Laurajane Smith discusses different concepts of discourse. Discourse is not reducible to language. It is, at its most simple, the study of language *use* and the study of how language is *used to do things* (Smith p.14). Discourse is about the inter-relationship between language and action and is, according to Smith, a social action that is about how people talk, discuss and understand things, e.g. heritage.

In addition, not only is discourse 'used' to do things by actors, but discourses also do things to actors and are productive independently of actors (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2000; Fischer 2003). A useful starting point is the idea of discourse 'as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities' (Hajer 1996: 44) (Smith p.14).

According to Smith there is a dominant heritage discourse that is linked to nineteenth-century nationalism and liberal modernity and this "dominant discourse is intrinsically embedded with a sense of the pastoral care of the material past" (Smith p.17). The concept of heritage emerged in Europe where the thought of an objective truth had overturned the religious nature of knowledge. In the first sentence of *The Uses of Heritage,* Smith claims that there is no such thing as heritage. The common and unproblematic way of explaining heritage as old, monumental, grand and aesthetically pleasing buildings, sites, places or artefacts leads to, what Smith refers to, "a practise of rounding up the usual suspects" that together promotes a set of elitist Western cultural values (Smith p.11). Heritage is not as much a thing as it is a "set of values and meanings". Heritage is a cultural practice that is part of the construction and regulation of values and understandings (Smith p.11). According to Smith,

… there is a hegemonic 'authorized heritage discourse', which is reliant on the power/ knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenity societies… The 'authorized heritage discourse' privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building (Smith p.11)

Through the authorized heritage discourse (AHD) heritage becomes a proper subject for experts and according to Smith the discourse identifies "those people who have the ability or authority to 'speak' about or 'for' heritage . . . and those who do not" (Smith p.12). The discourse seeks out the "right" form of expertise to make out the meanings and nature of heritage and to negotiate competing heritage:

This is not to say that expert pronouncements and judgements are not contested – they are – but in this process the boundaries of any negotiations over heritage values and meanings become very tightly drawn indeed, as they become specific contests over the management or interpretation of specific heritage sites. This process works to limit broader debate about, and any subsequent challenges to, established social and cultural values and meanings (Smith p.12).

According to Smith the AHD focuses on beautiful material objects, sites, places and landscapes that living generations must protect and care for so that they can be handed over to unformulated future generations for their education (Smith p.29). The AHD also focuses attention "to forge a sense of common identity based on the past" (Smith p.29).

The focus of this thesis is on the UNESCO tool of Tentative Lists. In the following section the AHD is connected to the conventions and documents of UNESCO, the same conventions a documents that standardizes the Tentative List as a tool. The AHD is relevant to the thesis because it is both part of the rules that the States Parties play by, and at the same time it might very well be deeply rooted within the States Parties themselves. In the chapter "Authorizing

Institutions of Heritage", Smith examines how the AHD is institutionalized and rooted in some of the most significant and primary documents and processes of heritage (Smith p.87). Smith argues that the conventions and charters enacted by UNESCO and ICOMOS can be seen as authorizing institutions of heritage in their definitions of what heritage is, how and why it matters and how it should be used. Smith argues that their authority partly comes from their influence in the policy process on national and international levels (Smith p.87). Smith describes the charters and conventions as part of a genre chain, or chain of texts that collectively strengthen and bind the authority of the authorized heritage discourse. They create a text of consensus (Smith p.94). According to Smith it is also useful to examine the World Heritage Convention because it is a target of non-Western critique regarding the nature of heritage, the ethnocentrism of the Convention as well as its tendency to favour elite opinions of heritage values (Smith p.95).

> This imbalance [of the World Heritage List] is not simply caused by disproportionate nominations by European countries, but by the AHD that frames and legitimizes the assumptions made in the listing criteria. The World Heritage List itself is a process of meaning making – it is a list that not only identifies, but also *defines*, which heritage places are globally important. The listing process creates or recreates sites as universally important and meaningful. Once again, the process of listing is an act of heritage management that is itself an act of heritage in which, on this occasion, a sense of universal 'human identity' is created (Smith p.99).

According to Smith the concept of universality is deeply rooted in processes of colonization and imperial expansion through the assumption of the technological and evolutionary achievements of the West. Smith argues that part of the authority of the European AHD "lies in its own legitimizing assumptions that it is universally applicable" and that "the whole discourse of universality is itself a legitimizing strategy for the values and nature of heritage that underline the AHD" (Smith p.99).

It has been stated that *history* is selected parts of the *past*, that *authenticity* is about the "genuine and true", that *heritage* is the use of the past that turns material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions to resources for the present and that this is connected to *identity* and *place*. These concepts connect to the authorized heritage discourse that honours monumentality, grand scale and "innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building". The Holy Land is contested, its history is contested and its inherent cultural heritage listed in the States Parties Tentative Lists is contested.

1.4 RELEVANCE IN CURRENT DISCUSSION

Palestine is the focus of many scholars. The borders are contested, history is contested and cultural claims are contested. In the middle of it there is religion. There are several different entryways to researching the Holy Land and I have opened and closed many doors before I found the one I finally entered. This thesis examines the tool of Tentative Lists, within the framework of UNESCO, in comparing the two States Parties Israel and Palestine. The subchapter presenting my theoretical framework is placed before this connection to the current discussion, since this framework has guided me to this stage where I step into the research field of Palestine. Within this thesis there are several sub-topics that altogether have received massive attention from scholars. It stretches from UNESCO with publications as

Michael A. Di Giovine's anthropological publication *The Heritage-scape* (2009), which is a thorough examination of the cultural structures that the UNESCO system provides, and the earlier mentioned Laurajane Smith's *The Uses of Heritage* (2006), to the articles by Chiara De Cesari that focus on a Palestinian context as in *World Heritage and mosaic universalism A view from Palestine* (2010). Another sub-topic is heritage and culture relating to conflict as *Locating Urban Conflicts - Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Everyday* (2013) edited by Wendy Pullan and Britt Baillie, and Rodney Harrison's *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (2013). Then there is a field of Palestine studies where different entryways meet in a scholarly cauldron. From this I have ladled an extensive amount of publications, stretching from colonialism through the use of currency as in Yair Wallach's *Creating a country through currency and stamps: state symbols and nation- building in British-ruled Palestine* (2011) and Nadia Abu El-Haj's *Producing (Arti) Facts: Archaeology and power during the British Mandate of Palestine* (2002). I have read several publications about archaeology, several articles about power-relations in the Palestinian heritage sector. This thesis will end within the cauldron, but it will certainly spill over to the field of critical heritage studies, and mostly so the topic of UNESCO. For the first time Palestine has found an arena in which the power-relations to Israel are somewhat level. Palestine as member state of UNESCO has as much chance as Israel to perform within the framework of UNESCO. The holy grail of heritage – the World Heritage List, has a preliminary stage called the Tentative List in which States Parties to the convention present their nominees-to-come. This thesis provides the chance to study and compare heritage that is presented in the two Tentative Lists in one Holy Land within the criticised framework of UNESCO. The purpose of the thesis thus becomes to compare and analyse contested official heritage between two states within the framework of UNESCO and its guidelines and documents. The purpose is to analyse if the Tentative Lists leave traces of claims of history and authenticity and how these claims affect cultural inclusion/exclusion.

1.5 SOURCES, LIMITATIONS & OUTLINE

Within this thesis the most important sources are the two Tentative Lists. These are the documents from which the thesis is built, and they constitute a thread through the whole thesis. In general it can be said that it is not the contents of the Tentative Lists (i.e. historical facts) that are of importance, but the *selection* and *representation* of the historical facts, how and why these selections and representations are made and constructed. It is a pre-conception of mine, that the two main sources are biased, a pre-conception that is, in fact, one of the founding concepts from which this study initiates. Sources concerning Israel and Palestine are, in general, in danger of being influenced from either side of the conflict since the conflict is extremely polarizing. The official documents of UNESCO, the "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage", its Operational Guidelines etc. have been presented in line with the organizations own views itself. In the thesis there will be some general criticism presented towards this giant heritage apparatus, but it is always upright to know that I have done no critical studies of the UNESCO publications, but only of the Tentative Lists of the States Parties Israel and Palestine.

There are some major limitations in the thesis. The first being language. I do not speak or read either Arabic or Hebrew, which are the languages representing the States Parties to which I have placed my interests. Even though the lists are presented in English I believe that meanings are lost in translations. Secondly there is a great distance between Palestine and Sweden, and several practical obstacles to overcome to being able to conduct field studies on site. I spent three weeks in Palestine and visited a handful of the sites of which are included in the Tentative List. By that time, though, I did not know that this was the course that the thesis

would take. Another limitation that I need to handle is the fact that I am a European outsider trying to understand things from outside of the place where the different actors are active. This is not entirely a bad thing, I might be able to see things from different angles, and by doing so finding different ways and make alternative conclusions. The last limitation, or fear, is to become part of the Euro-centrism that I problematize within the thesis, to by accident carry neo-colonial ideal through scholarly interference in the land. That is a chance I have to take.

After this chapter follows chapter 2. Constructing Context, which just like its name suggests, is there to provide the reader with useful information about Palestine, emphasizing the 20th century and the relation to the state of Israel. Chapter 2 also provide the context of UNESCO, presenting the Convention, the tool of Tentative List etc. Chapter 3. History, Authenticity, Heritage examine the colonial past through the British Mandate of Palestine, the birth of Israel as a state and what then followed. Chapter 3 also presents the field of contemporary archaeology within the Holy Land. Chapter 4 and 5 presents the properties of the two Tentative Lists, and finally, Chapter 6 is devoted to the actual comparing of the two Tentative Lists.

2. CONSTRUCTING CONTEXT
2.1 PALESTINE

This chapter is a brief introduction to contemporary Palestine and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (oPt). The state of Israel is located in the Middle East next to Lebanon and Syria in the north, Jordan to the east and in the southeast it shares borders with Egypt. The Mediterranean Sea follows the border from Lebanon down to the occupied Palestinian territory of the Gaza Strip that follows the coastline down to the border of Egypt. The oPt of the West Bank is located in the middle of Israel. From the Dead Sea it share borders with Jordan. To understand the borders of Israel/Palestine the roots of the current conflict need to be briefly explained. All the maps in this chapter are from the collection Israel's Story in Maps provided by Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Figure 1. *Palestine circled within the Middle East*

The 1947 Partition Plan (Resolution 181) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations included the creation of one Arab State and one Jewish State within the borders of today's Israel and Palestine not later than 1 October 1948 (*The Question of Palestine & the United Nations* p.10). The division was to be made in 8 different parts, three Arab parts, three Jewish parts, the seventh was the town of Jaffa where an Arab enclave was to be formed inside Jewish territory and the eighth part was the city of Jerusalem that was to be administered by the United Nations Trusteeship Council (see fig.2, p.3). On the same day 14 May 1948 that the British Mandate over Palestine ended the Jewish Agency proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel. Hostilities broke out between Arab and Jewish communities and the following day regular troops from surrounding Arab states came to assist the Palestinians. When the Security Council in July 1948 ordered a ceasefire Israel controlled much of the territory that was given to the Arabs in the Partition Plan of 1947 (*The Question of Palestine & the United Nations* p.12).

Figure 2. *The Partition Plan 1947*

Figure 3. *Armistice Lines 1949-1967*

In 1967 the borders and territory control changed again during the Six Days War and by the 1990s the current situation of land and restrictions started taking shape. In 1993 the Oslo Accords called for a power transfer between Israel and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) from Israeli military to the created Palestinian Authority (*Area C Humanitarian Response Plan Fact Sheet*). The transfer was to be made through three different zones. The zones were specified during the second Oslo Accord, the 1995 Interim Agreement. The zones are still used today. Area A is under Palestinian civil and security authority (most major Palestinian cities). Area B is under Palestinian civil authority while security is shared between Palestine and Israel (most Palestinian rural communities). Around 62% of the West Bank is area C where Israel maintains authority over law enforcement and control over the building and planning processes. The Oslo Accords called for a gradual transfer of area C into Palestinian Authority control, but the transfer was called off in 2000 (*Area C Humanitarian Response Plan Fact Sheet*). Since the war of 1967 the government of Israel has been engaged in relocating nationals to the occupied areas of the West Bank (Bruderlein, 2004, p.8). A great majority of states has acknowledged Israeli settlement policy as a violation of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). In 2002 the Israeli government decided to build a barrier, a wall, with the aim of preventing attacks by Palestinians in Israel. The barrier consists of concrete walls, fences, razor wires, ditches, an electronic monitoring system, patrol roads and buffer zones and its total length is around 712 km (built and projected). Approximately 85% of the barrier runs inside of the West Bank and not on the Green Line (Armistice Line) and 71 of 150 Israeli settlements are located between the Green Line and the barriers route meaning the barrier is re-routed to incorporate the settlements on Palestinian territory according to the Partition Plan (*The Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier Fact Sheet 2013*).

Figure 4. *Israel after the Six Days War 1967*

Figure 5. *Area A, B and C of the West Bank*

The following section is based on my field notes from travelling around the West Bank, June 2014. My contacts in Palestine had problems finding somebody to meet me at Ben Gurion Airport in the outskirts of Tel-Aviv, Israel. The driver did not speak English very well but I understood that it had to do with the licence plate. You need a yellow plate to enter Israel. On the way to Ramallah in the West Bank I saw several checkpoints, many gated communities, described by the driver only as "settlers". These settlements were almost all built on high ground, surrounded by barbed wire and walls and had roads leading to them that were of restricted use. I learned later that the good roads around the West Bank were all Israeli roads. Many of them that we could not use due to the license plate needed. I saw the barrier from the crossing to Jerusalem and in Ramallah I witnessed an Israeli patrol car using the road next to barbed wire fence. I heard somewhere that the West Bank is described as a land of thousand islands, travelling between Jericho, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Hebron, Sebastia and Nablus I understood the words very well. It is scattered land. And this affects every part of life here.

2.1.1 INTRODUCING HERITAGE LAWS AND ACTORS

Cultural heritage practices in Palestine are not unaffected by the occupation and the circumstances on the ground. Making it even harder to the heritage sector is the fact that the current heritage laws are products of previous colonial authorities and not up-to-date laws produced to function under current circumstances. Current laws regarding cultural heritage is the 1966 Jordanian Law of Antiquities (first introduced during the Jordanian occupation of the West Bank 1949-1967 and then reinstated 1994) and 1929 Egyptian Law of Antiquities introduced during British ruled Palestine (UNESCO, Palestinian Cultural Heritage Law). The legacy of these laws will be discussed further in coming chapters. In indirect relation to the

laws De Cesari discusses Palestinian comprehensive heritage conservation in "Creative Heritage: Palestinian Heritage NGOs and Defiant Arts of Government". De Cesari points out that the comprehensive conservation in Palestine has not been introduced by the State (i.e. the legislative authority), instead the NGO Riwaq, founded three years prior to the Palestinian Authority, has functioned as a "shadow ministry of culture and cultural heritage" (De Cesari p.628).

Since 31 October 2011 when Palestine was admitted to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) following a vote in the UNESCO General Conference (UNESCOPRESS 31.10.2011) a new possibility for Palestinian heritage sector begun. A decade long journey described in following chapter reached a milestone for Palestine when the Palestinian flag was raised at UNESCO headquarters, highlighting the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation as the first UN agency to admit Palestine as a full member (UNESCOPRESS 13.12.2011).

2.2 UNESCO – BUILDING PEACE IN MINDS

The following chapters intend to introduce United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, its work procedures and the ideas on which they build through their own words. It also narrates Palestine's journey to become a State Party of UNESCO. The chapters are mainly built on UNESCO documents.

In the wake of two world wars it was clear that political and economic agreements between countries was not a base solid enough to build a lasting peace upon. In 1945 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation was created around the conviction that a lasting peace can only derive from humanity's moral and intellectual solidarity. This goal was to be built on networks between nations by mobilizing for education, building intercultural understanding, pursuing scientific cooperation and protecting the freedom of expression (http://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco). In the UNESCO constitution adopted in London 1945 this is presented as follows:

> The Governments of the States Parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare: That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed… That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern (UNESCO constitution, 2014 edition p. 5).

In Sweden and greater parts of Europe UNESCO is almost synonymous with the convention that its seventeenth General Conference adopted in Paris 21 November 1972 – namely the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, commonly known as, the World Heritage Convention (from now on WHC or simply the Convention). The following sections are all based on the convention itself. In the first sentence of the 1972 WHC a problem is presented, and this is why all nations should join forces. It states that the cultural and the natural heritage of the world is increasingly threatened with destruction, not only by decay, but also by the changing social and economic situations of the world. We should according to UNESCO consider that the vanishing of any cultural or natural heritage is an impoverishment to all nations of the world, that the protection of this heritage often is incomplete on a national level and that the safeguarding of this irreplaceable heritage is in the

interest of all the people of the world. We should consider "that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the heritage of mankind as a whole". The convention is presented as an effective and collective system for the protection of heritage of universal value. This is what the Convention considers to be cultural heritage:

> monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

> groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

> sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.

The number of States Parties to adhere the convention is 191. These States Parties all recognize the duty to identify, protect, conserve, present and transmit to future generations the cultural and natural heritage as defined in article 1 (cultural heritage) and 2 (natural heritage). To ensure that effective measures are taken each State Party should adopt a general policy with the aim of giving the heritage a role in the community and integrate the aims in their national planning, put up services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the heritage and develop operating methods suited to the state that will be able to counteract threats to the heritage. The States Parties also need to take appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures that are needed for the identification, protection, conservation, preservation and rehabilitation of the heritage and if they are not in place they must establish national and regional centres for training and education in the field of heritage (article 5).

2.2.1 OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUES

States Parties to the Convention should, in so far as possible, submit an inventory of the cultural and natural heritage of their territories that is suitable for inscription on the World Heritage List (WHC article 11). Inclusion on the World Heritage List (WHL) requires the consent of the State concerned. As of today there are 1007 inscribed properties, representing 161 States Parties. The cultural heritage is predominated with 779 properties, natural properties number 197 and mixed sites 31(http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat).

The Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value (hereinafter referred to as "the Committee") decides weather a property belongs on the WHL. The Committee writes the criterion on which the property is listed on the WHL. The committee is the highest decision-making body of the Convention and it consists of representatives from 21 States Parties to the Convention (article 8). The Committee is elected during the General Conference of UNESCO by the States Parties of the Convention. Committee representatives have a term of office of six years (which usually is decreased on a voluntarily basis to four years to get a faster rotation and new States Parties in the leading roles). The Committee is bound to its Rules of Procedure and the Operational

Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (hereinafter referred to as the "Operational Guidelines"). The Operational Guidelines facilitate the implementation of the Convention and the protection of the heritage sites. The Operational Guidelines set the procedure for the inscription of properties, the conservation of the sites, granting of assistance from The World Heritage Fund and mobilizing the public in favour of the Convention.

> The cultural and natural heritage is among the priceless and irreplaceable assets, not only of each nation, but of humanity as a whole. The loss, through deterioration or disappearance, of any of these most prized assets constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the peoples of the world. Parts of that heritage, because of their exceptional qualities, can be considered to be of "Outstanding Universal Value" and as such worthy of special protection against the dangers which increasingly threaten them (Operational Guidelines p.2).

In the Operational Guidelines the overall goal of the Convention is made clearer. The 7th paragraph states that the Convention is about the aim of identification, protection, conservation presentation and "transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value". The World Heritage List is essential since the Convention is not made to ensure the protection of all properties of value, but only the most *outstanding* ones from an international viewpoint. For a property to be inscribed on the WHL it needs to meet at least one or more criteria, it also needs to meet the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity. The criteria for the assessment of Outstanding Universal Value of cultural sites are that they must

> (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
> (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
> (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
> (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
> (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
> (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria) (http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/).

In the valuation process of World Heritage properties the Committee makes use of its Advisory Bodies as stated in the Convention (article 8.3). These are ICOMOS - the International Council on Monuments and Sites, ICCROM - the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property and IUCN – the International Union for Conservation of Nature. It is these organisations that are active during the nomination process by States Parties and it is the Advisory Bodies that conduct evaluations and presentations of nominated properties to the Committee. In the Operational Guidelines (paragraph 148) it is detailed that these evaluations and presentations should be objective, scientific, conducted with a consistent standard of professionalism and "indicate clearly and

separately whether the property has Outstanding Universal Value, meets the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity…" (Operational Guidelines, paragraph 148 e).

2.2.2 TENTATIVE LIST: WORLD HERITAGE WAITING

Before any heritage can be listed as world heritage and before the nomination process can start there are Tentative Lists. The Tentative List is an inventory of a State Party's potential heritage of Outstanding Universal Value (Operational Guidelines paragraphs 62-76). Nominations to the WHL are not considered unless the property has previously been on the State Party's Tentative List. At the moment (February 2015) 173 States Parties have a Tentative List (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/). In 2010 the first edition of *Preparing World Heritage Nominations* was published. It is made as a part of the series World Heritage Resource Manuals and is undertaken by the Advisory Bodies of the Convention as a complement to the Operational Guidelines for the States Parties nomination processes. According to *Preparing World Heritage Nominations* the Tentative Lists are important as tools for States Parties to find properties that are of potential global interest, identify needs in protection management and as useful planning tools as indicating possible future nominations for the WHL (Preparing World Heritage Nominations p.18).

The World Heritage Centre (from now on the "Centre") is the Secretariat of the Convention and responsible for the contact between States Parties and UNESCO during the nomination process to the WHL. An important roll of the Centre is to provide assistance to the States Parties in the process of nomination by offering guidance related to drafts submitted by States Parties. When an official nomination is submitted the Centre checks the file for completeness. If considered complete the Centre transmits the file to the correct Advisory Body and if not correct the Centre gives instructions to the State Party on how to complete it (*Preparing World Heritage Nominations*, second edition, 2011 p.19).

2.2.3 PALESTINE UNESCO STATE PARTY

In 1998 the president of the Palestinian Authority, Yasser Arafat, signed an agreement with UNESCO opening a Liaison Office in Ramallah, West Bank. It was initiated to ensure that the support and operations of UNESCO (Education and Higher Education, Culture and Cultural Heritage, Social and Human Sciences, Natural Sciences and Media) in the area was provided to the Palestinian Community (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/ramallah/about-this-office/). In 2002 the World Heritage Committee acknowledged the potential outstanding value of Palestinian heritage (at the time the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem was under a five weeks siege by the Israeli military. UNESCO recognized the potential values of Palestinian heritage when the birthplace of Jesus was under direct threat by on-going conflict) (http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/821/) and according to Hamdan Taha, the Director-General of the Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in Palestine, this recognition was followed by a straightforward phone call. In "The Story of Inscribing Bethlehem on the World Heritage List" (2012) Taha narrates the years from that phone call to the moment 10 years later when "Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem, Palestine" was included on the World Heritage List of outstanding universal value. The Committee recognized the values of Palestine during an Israeli incursion and a siege of the Nativity Church[1]. The Committee's call to protect the potential outstanding universal values of Palestinian heritage came with the decision to provide technical and

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[1] A timeline of the events concerning the siege was made by BBC and can be found at their pages covering the Middle East http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1950331.stm

financial support to achieve the goals of establishing an inventory of cultural and natural heritage and build capacity of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention within responsible institutions (Taha, p.6).

To achieve these goals an action plan for implementation was constructed in collaboration between the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities and members of the World Heritage Centre. Workshops were held on the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines and a workshop held by ICCROM formed the core of a group that later became the Palestinian national team working with World Heritage (Taha, p.7). The first task of the World Heritage team was to prepare an inventory of heritage sites with potential outstanding universal value. The team held consultative meetings and chose 20 sites from a list consisting of more than 60 suggestions. The 20 sites were listed in the 2005 *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine*. The inventory was first named Tentative List that was controversial and made the Committee point out the fact Tentative Lists are only used by States Parties to the convention (Taha, p.8). The inventory was presented on the 29th session of the World Heritage Committee in Durban, South Africa 2006 where a part of item 11 of the Provisional Agenda was the *Progress report on the protection of the Palestinian cultural and natural heritage* (2005). The report accounts for the setup of the Palestinian World Heritage Committee and its Secretariat in 2005 where the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities nominated 11 persons from both private and public institutions. The Secretariat is supervised by the Committee, coordinated by the Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage and responsible for the implementation of the activities with the UNESCO office in Ramallah (WHC-05/29.COM/11D p.2).

2.2.4 FIRST NOMINATION TO WORLD HERITAGE LIST

The nomination from States Parties to the WHL follows a strict timetable as described in the Operational Guidelines (paragraph 168). This timetable does not apply however in the case of properties being in danger. Palestine's first nomination did not follow the regular timetable instead it followed the guidelines of *Nominations to be processed on an emergency basis* that regulates nominations in danger (Operational Guidelines III.H). The sites may already have suffered damage or are facing dangers from natural or human activities that lead the Committee to ensure their safeguarding. The State Party requests processing on an emergency basis. If the property is not included on the Tentative List it should immediately be included. The nomination should include the property's boundaries, justify Outstanding Universal Value, justify integrity and/or authenticity, describe its current protection and management systems and "describe the nature of the emergency, and the nature and extent of the damage or specific danger and showing that immediate action by the Committee is necessary to ensure the safeguarding of the property" (Operational Guidelines, paragraph 162).

For the Committee to process the nomination on an emergency basis the relevant Advisory Body must determine that the site is of Outstanding Universal Value in its report. If the site is evaluated as both in danger and of Outstanding Universal Value the examination of the nomination is included on the agenda of the next Committee session (Operational Guidelines, paragraph 161). On the 36th session of the World Heritage Committee 2012 in Saint Petersburg the property *Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem* was the only property to be processed on emergency basis. ICOMOS presented the case of the nomination in its report, concluding that the condition of the Operational Guidelines, paragraph 161 was not fully met. The recommendation from ICOMOS was that the property should not be inscribed on the World Heritage List on an emergency basis

(WHC.12/36.COM/INF.19, p.135). Statements from States Parties of the Committee followed the recommendation of ICOMOS. Estonia thought the assessment of ICOMOS was accurate, South Africa pointed out that the situation was grave and that the site was of outstanding value. The meeting extend on to the following day where discussions continued. A vote was called for, the Legal Advisory clarified that the vote could be broken into two parts, one of the emergency matter and one on inscription. Further debate followed until the decision was made that voting was the best way forward. The chairperson announced that a vote for inscription also entailed that the inscription would be made on an emergency basis. The Committee proceeded with a vote

> The Chairperson announced the Results of the vote: 21 States Parties voted; 19 valid votes, Majority required: 13. No invalid votes; 13 were affirmative; 2 abstentions; 6 votes were negative (WHC.12/36.COM/INF.19, p.140).

Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem was thus officially appointed as World Heritage on 29 May 2012. Simultaneously the property was inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger under article 11, paragraph 4 of the Convention. Not only properties processed on an emergency basis can be listed as World Heritage in Danger, but all inscribed properties (in the case of cultural properties) that are ascertained of danger or potential danger. As of now (2015) 46 properties around the world are inscribed on the World Heritage in Danger List. In addition to *Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem* Palestine's second World Heritage *Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir* was inscribed on the list in 2014 (http://whc.unesco.org/en/danger/). The 1982 World Heritage *Old City of Jerusalem and its walls* is also represented on the list. The site of Jerusalem was proposed by Jordan and became World Heritage in 1982. It is highly contested since both Israel and Palestine claim parts of the city.

3. THE HOLY LAND EMERGES

The following chapter will start with a brief account for the events that took place within Palestine during the 20th century. The British Mandate, a rule over Palestine that lasted from the First World War, stretched over the Second World War and ended in the birth of the State of Israel. It will recount for the British obligation to the Jewish people, its influence on archaeology and heritage laws. The chapter will recount the death of the old world's colonialism and the birth of a new present-day colonialism.

3.1 THE COLONIAL PAST

The events accounted for in this chapter starts during the first decades of the 20th century when Palestine obtained much of its character and borders (Wallach p.129). This was during the British Mandate. Britain ruled Palestine between 1917 and 1948, over 30 years and in three different ways. Between December 1917 and June 1920 as Military rule, July 1920 and September 1923 as a Civilian administration and finally as declared 29 September 1923 to 14 May 1948 as a Mandate Administration (El-Eini p.1). It was during the First World War that the Arab territories of the Ottoman Empire was brought to Britain's attention (Norris chapter 2, p.2-3). In 1917 and 1918 Palestine was occupied by British forces due to a campaign against the Ottoman Empire (Wallach, 132-133) that became the end of more than 400 years of Ottoman rule in the area (El-Eini p.14). The First World War made the ideology of colonial development an important British issue, not only because of wartime concerns but also to battle economic crises in the post-war empire (Norris chapter 2, p.2-3).

Throughout the latter stages of the First World War there was a consensus that the British rule over Palestine was to be accompanied with idea of a "Jewish national home" in Palestine. Jacob Norris describes it in *Land of Progress* (2013), Norris argues that the British support for a Jewish settlement in Palestine was part of an old trend that wanted to increase the colonial economical productivity through the migration of "middlemen minorities" rather than supporting the Zionism as a movement of national emancipation (Norris, "Agents of Development – Jews, Arabs, and the Middlemen of Empire" p.1). According to Norris the support of the Zionist-movement was not unanimous amongst the British but several of, what Norris refers to as, "new imperialists" that occupied prominent positions in the British government during the war viewed Zionism as a tool for British colonial expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean (Norris, "Agents of Development – Jews, Arabs, and the Middlemen of Empire" p.3). In *The Round Table*, the official mouthpiece of the new imperialist movement, it was stated in June 1917 "The Palestinian Arabs have already gained considerably as a result of Jewish colonisation work, with its modern intensive methods of agriculture, its scientific appliances, its Western ideas of hygiene and business methods" (Norris, "Agents of Development – Jews, Arabs, and the Middlemen of Empire" p.4). The thought was, in summary, that British colonial plans could expand much faster with the help of Zionist development in Palestine than without it. According to Norris

> This emergent group of new imperialists has been shown to have played a lead role in the drafting of the Balfour Declaration in November 1917 – Britain's official pledge of support for the Jewish National Home in Palestine ("Agents of Development – Jews, Arabs, and the Middlemen of Empire" p.4).

The declaration was named after Arthur James Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and even though it was not explicitly stated, the declaration implied that the

Jewish national home in Palestine would be established under British supervision and at the same time presenting a case for direct British rule over the Holy Land (Wallach p.13). In the declaration it was stated, "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" (El-Eini, 14).

One of the ostensibly insignificant things that the British rule concentrated on was "banal nationalism", defined by Yair Wallach in "Creating a country through currency and stamps: state symbols and nation-building in British-ruled Palestine" (2011) as small everyday artefacts used as vehicles of indoctrination by ruling elites to gain legitimacy (Wallach p.129). One of these artefacts in the case of Palestine was the construction of a currency that Wallach argues was not like other colonial currencies where the benefits were mainly economical rather, its motive and purpose was primarily symbolic-political (Wallach p.132). Issuing a currency was a perfect way to convey the message of sovereignty, of Palestine as a separate polity under British rule.

The Palestinian Pound was proposed to discourage Arab demands to join Greater Syria. Instead the currency promoted the idea of a separate territory, a Palestine ruled by the British, incorporating the new Jewish national home (Wallach p.145). By putting both Arabic and Hebrew next to English as the official languages on the notes and coins, the message would carry itself through the everyday use of the currency in the country (Wallach p.135). According to Wallach, the transformation of Hebrew, the Jewish sacred writ, into one of Palestine's official languages recognised Zionist national aspirations and gave the language priceless support in in its revival as a modern spoken language (Wallach p.135). Hebrew went from a written language used by a small minority and "became a visible feature of everyday life, appearing in every transaction made throughout the country" (Wallach p.135). When the currency was issued it was interpreted both by Arabs and Jews as a statement of British commitment to the Balfour Declaration. The language of Hebrew is one of the threads that lead into the coming chapter that account for the archaeology in the Holy Land from the time of the British Mandate up to this day. Hebrew, turned into an official language of Palestine, by the British is one of the founding pillars of Israeli culture, and functioned as a tool of (re)claiming the land that was lost to the Jewish people. The use of language will be further accounted for in chapter 3.2.1 Renaming and (re)claiming.

3.2 FROM ASHES RISE

This chapter narrates the archaeology of the Holy Land where the British were one of the founding forces. Archaeology has, as will be clear, had a great role in shaping the history and myth around the Holy Land. Ofer Bar-Yosef, Professor emeritus in Pre-historic Archaeology at Harvard University, and Amihai Mazar, Professor at the Institute of Archaeology at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, co-wrote the article *Israeli Archaeology* in 1982 (World Archaeology Vol. 13, No. 3) in which they account for systematic archaeology in Palestine and the history of Israeli archaeology during their first decades. According to the authors systematic archaeology was introduced in the late 19th century by the Englishman Sir Flinders Petrie then followed during the inter-war period by W.F. Albright building on the work Petrie. Albright combined Near Eastern archaeology with biblical studies, theology, history and historical geography, forming the school of thought later known as "biblical archaeology" (Bar-Yosef, Mazar p.311). According to Bar-Yosef and Mazar there were only a few Jewish archaeologists in Israel prior to 1948 but by the time they wrote their article (1982) there were around 200 archaeologists divided into five universities, several museums and the Department of Antiquities (p.314).

Most of their early work was devoted to exploration and excavation of sites related to Jewish history: the necropolis of Jerusalem and the 'Third Wall' of the city, the Jewish necropolis of Beth Shearim and Jewish synagogues from the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. Only a small number of Bronze Age tells [archaeological mounds] (Tel Gerisa and Beth Yerah) were excavated, and these were rather modest enterprises (Bar-Yosef and Mazar p.314).

According to Nadia Abu El-Haj in (2002), Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, the establishment of archaeology in Palestine was made through concentrating on certain artefacts of national importance and landscapes that functioned as "historical locales" from which specific historical conceptions emerged, The Holy Land as a Land of Israel (Abu El-Haj p.35) being the most important.

The very process of surveying and excavating artifacts, and of re-naming specific sites and places across the terrain instantiated the colonial-national imagination's most fundamental grammar in empirical and factual form. No longer mere mythical or textual claim [sic], Palestine's terrain emerged as the ancient-modern Jewish national home. In other words, archaeological data helped to make real the truth of (settler)nationhood (Abu El-Haj p.34).

The Hebrew language came into deep symbolical use in the renaming of sites. It also connected to identity as discussed in 1.3 Theories and Methodology and the way in which places and landscapes can inherit the concept of a golden age and become a summarizing factor of self-image for a nation or a social group.

According to Abu El-Haj the British Mandate instilled, or at least tried to instil the concept of heritage among Palestine's Arab population through both legal power (antiquities law and city planning) and educational projects (Abu El-Haj p.36). With The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (who worked alongside the British archaeologists and gained much appreciation for its contribution to the national interests) Jewish archaeology strove to position itself in the wider social and political fields:

Jewish archaeologists worked to insert their discipline into the (colonial)national political project, in part at least, in order to attain their own (emergent) disciplinary goals. However, this effort to institute archaeology was essential not only to defining and stabilizing "artifacts" and "scientific fields" as belonging exclusively within and to the scientific-archaeological domain. It was also constitutive of the legal and ideological transformation of the landscape as a whole (Abu El-Haj p.36).

The legal and ideological transformation of the landscape is still in progress as described in 2. Constructing Context that will be further highlighted in the comparison of the two Tentative Lists in the chapters 4 to 6.

The British, according to Abu El-Haj, believed that they represented broader European-Christian interests in Palestine; they believed that they represented the continued survival of the past and that it could be evoked through the monuments (Abu El-Haj p.45). Through archaeology the Palestinian landscape was mapped and divided into historical and modern zones, archaeological and non-archaeological, secular and sacred:

And in the context of Palestine, shaping that scientific field entailed configuring the colony—fashioning colonial imagination(s)—writ large. In effect, contemporary Palestine was increasingly saturated with specific historic resonance (Abu El-Haj p.45).

In "Producing (Arti)Facts - Archaeology and Power During the British Mandate in Palestine" Abu El-Haj argues that fact collecting through archaeology was part of a larger cartographic project, one that was more about "world-making" than map-making (p.50). The point of view of the archaeological relics was as much linguistic as material-cultural, the relics were seen as empirical evidence, facts of "ancient Jewish history through the perspective of which the land was fashioned as an old-new Jewish national home". Abu El-Haj concludes that this material-symbolic (re)inscription of Palestine connected dots not only in space but also through time (p.51).

3.2.1 RENAMING AND (RE)CLAIMING

In 1922 the first list of Hebrew geographical place names was generated in cooperation between the Mandate Government and Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (Abu El-Haj p.52). The cooperation came to a halt in 1931 when the "Transliterated Lists of Personal and Geographical Names for Use in Palestine" were published, as the Jewish leadership in Palestine was said to react on the "standardization" of the names by the British Mandate Government that in some cases came further away from the colloquially because of the problems with "colloquial Arabic forms into literary Arabic - a "transliteration" which when dealing with names of non-Arabic origin "often produced a form farther from the original than that used colloquially." (p.52). Abu El-Haj cites the publication where the British made clear that it was made for "official and practical use" and that the names made no "claim to scientific exactitude" (p.52). Itzhak Ben-Zvi (later the second president of Israel), in the name of the National Council (*Va'ad Leumi* the main national institution of the Jewish community within the Mandate) countered the British list with two new lists. In an accompanying letter to the second list "scientific observations, indices, and quotations from scientific authorities" he explained that the mistakes made in a list like the British would carry important consequences not only for the times in which they lived but also for future generations. Abu El-Haj quotes the *Memorandum on the Method of Transliteration of Geographical and Personal Names* (Jerusalem, 1932) by Ben-Zvi:

> Most Hebrew place names are not . . . dead, but rather they live in the mouths of most of the inhabitants of Palestine . . . who need Hebrew, and that is not all but also millions of Jews in the world recognize and know these place names *which belong to the country* from the sacred writings and from ancient Hebrew literature, which is studied with diligence in each Jewish community in the Diaspora (Abu El-Haj p.53).

According to El-Haj Ben-Zvi then noted that the original form of Palestine's historical names had to be preserved "without any distortion or perversion" and went on with arguments about the importance of historical and scientific accuracy (Abu El-Haj p.53). The same day that the British Mandate in Palestine ended the State of Israel proclaimed its independence. That day and the war that followed are by Palestinian Arabs known as the Nakba (the catastrophe). The renaming of places became relevant again but this time it involved expulsion. The Israeli non-governmental organisation Zochrot, which means, "remembering" in Hebrew, was established

in 2002 to "promote acknowledgement and accountability for the on-going injustices of the Nakba, the Palestinian catastrophe" Zochrot describes the Nakba as:

> The 1948 Palestinian exodus, also known as the Nakba (Arabic: النكبة, al-Nakbah, lit. "disaster", "catastrophe", or "cataclysm"), occurred when more than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs fled or were expelled from their homes, during the 1948 Palestine war. The term nakba also refers to the period of war itself and events affecting Palestinians from December 1947 to January 1949 (http://zochrot.or g/en/contentAccordion/nakba).

During the war of 1948 villages around Palestine were emptied of their Arab populations and often village names were changed. Several of the properties on the Israeli Tentative List are based in and around villages that prior to the war was mainly populated by Arabs. According to Zochrot the exact number of refugees is disputed. It is calculated that around 80% of the Arabs who lived in what became Israel were expelled or left their homes (http://zochrot.org/en/contentAccordion/nakba). On the webpage of Zochrot there is an interactive map that lists the villages that were depopulated during the Nakba together with information regarding their population prior to 1948 and what occupying unit that performed the takeover. There are also several booklets called "Remembering [the name of the village]". There are scholarly publications on the events of the Nakba. Walid Khalidi's (co-founder of the Institute For Palestinian Studies) *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (1992) might be the publication most correspondent to the register made by Zochrot. Walid Khalidi is a Palestinian historian and Zochrot is a NGO that "believes that peace will come only after the country has been decolonized, enabling all its inhabitants and refugees to live together without the threat of expulsion or denial of return". I decided that the second source was easier for doubters to verify. The following section is a short presentation of four different villages that prior to 1948 was Arab villages and today on the Tentative List of Israel.

The city of Ramle (property 13 on the Israeli Tentative List below) was according to Zochrot an Arab city named *al-Ramla* with a population of 17.590 before 1948. It was taken by Israeli forces on July 12 and that year and turned into a Jewish city that today has a small Arab minority (http://www.zochrot.org/en/village/49477). The Tentative List, however, states that the population today contains a mix of Muslims, Jews and Christians. History is, as discussed in chapter 1, chosen representations of the past and these examples underpins this theoretical understanding of use of history.

The information concerning Hittim (property 8 on the Israeli Tentative List below) on the Zochrot webpage is a summary of Walid Khalidi's *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (1992). According to Zochrot, *Hittin* was an entirely Muslim village and had a population of 1190 in 1944-45 during which time, 97% of the land was owned by Arabs, 2% by Jews and the remainder constituted public lands (http://www.zochrot.org/en/booklet/49857). In 1949, soon after the war ended, Arbel was built on the land of Hittin. Arbel, however, is described in the Tentative List as an ancient settlement in the eastern Lower Galilee where Torah scholars built Jewish study places in Second Temple period (see property 8 on Israeli Tentative List).

Belvoir is the name of a Crusader Fortress on the Tentative List of Israel (property 18). A village called *Kawkab al-Hawa* with a population of 350 resided there before May 16 1948 when the villagers were expelled (http://www.zochrot.org/en/village/49217).

Caesarea or *Qisarya* had, according to Zochrot, a population of 1110 before the war reached the village in 1948. Zochrot quotes the Israeli historian Benny Morris who said that *"Qisarya was the first pre-planned, organized expulsion of an Arab community by the Haganah in 1948"* (http://www.zochrot.org/en/village/49464). The Kibbutz Sedot Yam was established one kilometer from the village in 1940, and another settlement Or 'Aqiva was established around the village in 1951. According to Zochrot "Most of the few remaining houses are now restaurant, and the village mosque has been converted into a bar" (http://www.zochrot.org/en/village/49464). In the Tentative List of Israel it is stated that:

> After the destruction of Jerusalem, Caesarea became the most important city in the country [sic] Pagans, Samaritans, Jews and Christians lived here in the third and fourth centuries CE (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1480/)

Once again this historical vacuum is made from letting certain time periods out of the property descriptions. As will be clarified in chapter 4-6 it is about historical focus. The States Parties does not have to avoid something if the focus is given to a certain timespan. That is, as the mentioned chapters will account for, made possible through the use of different criteria chosen to fit the properties and the past that is favorable.

3.2.2 CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE HOLY LAND

In "Israeli Archaeology" (1982) the authors Bar-Yosef and Mazar describes the activities of the Israeli Department of Antiquities (today Israel Antiquities Authority) over the years as mainly concerned with finding sites and carrying out salvage excavations (Bar-Yosef, Mazar p.316). In 1982 they wrote: "Hundreds of such small sites have been excavated by archaeologists working for the Department or in co-operation with other institutions", explaining that these excavations were sometimes of unique importance in the way that they "… enlightened various aspects of archaeology in the country" (Bar-Yosef, Mazar p.316). Salvage excavations are today exceedingly debated.

In "The Impact of Israeli Occupation on the Conservation of Cultural Heritage Sites in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: The Case of 'Salvage Excavations'" (2009) by Ahmed A Rjoob of the Palestinian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities claims that Palestinian heritage have been breached and international law abused through Israeli investigations, destroying heritage sites and promoting trafficking in artefacts (Rjoob p.14) In contrast, after the occupation of the Palestinian Territories in 1967, several foreign schools (the British School of Archaeology, the French École Biblique et Archéologique, the American W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, and the German Archaeological Institute) purposely avoided excavations in these areas until the Palestinian Authority took over the responsibility in 1994, according to Rjoob. Kevin Chamberlain, barrister in York and former Deputy Legal Adviser, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office and author of *War and Cultural Heritage* (Institute of Art and Law, 2004) wrote an article published in "This Week" in Palestine (web based English-language magazine http://thisweekinpalestine.com/) called "Stealing Palestinian Heritage" (http://archive.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?id=1451&ed=107) in which he discusses the Israeli archaeological activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (oPt). According to Chamberlain there was an intense archaeological activity following the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967

[archaeological] Objects were removed in two ways – officially by the Israeli occupation authorities, or clandestinely by individual Israeli soldiers, civilians and, unfortunately in some cases, even by Palestinians (ibid).

According to Chamberlain, Israeli military operations, the construction of settlements with their communication roads to Israel and the construction of the barrier wall around the West Bank have meant that archaeological sites are constantly uncovered. Salvage excavations are often done on these sites, described as "rapid removal and recording of artefacts before the site is covered up", the effect being that the context of the sites vanishes and information might be lost forever.

Archaeology was a Western in(ter)vention in the Holy Land. The Palestinians did not have the focus, or the need, as of the immigrating Jewish community to claim history and place since they already lived there for generations. According to Ghattas J. Sayej there were no prominent Palestinian archaeologists during the Ottoman era and only a few during the British Mandate rule (Sayej p.62). The situation became even worsened in the chaos following the war of 1948 and according to Sayej the lack of local academic institutions made the situation more sever.

In 1977 Albert Glock, an American professor of archaeology, established the first Department of Archaeology in Palestine at BirZeit University. In 1987 it became the Palestinian Institute of Archaeology (Sayej p.63). In the early 1990's the Higher Institute of Islamic Archaeology in Jerusalem, al-Quds University was established, which today is the only department in Palestine that offers a university degree in archaeology except BirZeit University that offers a Major History/Minor Palestinian Archaeology (Sayej p.63). Conversely Tel Aviv University offers the programme "International MA in Archaeology & History of the Land of the Bible" (http://archaeology.tau.ac.il/internationalMA/) with a curriculum that focuses on the history of the Biblical period and the Old Testament. As mentioned W.F. Albright started the school of thought known today as "biblical archaeology" in the inter-war period through his combination of Near Eastern archaeology with biblical studies, theology, history and historical geography. Today biblical archaeology is a major institution in Israel, spearheaded by Biblical Archaeology Society (BAS). Founded in 1974 as a nondenominational, non-profit educational organization, Biblical Archaeology Society is "dedicated to the dissemination of information about archaeology in the Bible lands" http://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/about-the-biblical-archaeology-society/). According to BAS self presentation on their webpage, they educate the public about archaeology and the Bible through its magazine *Biblical Archaeology Review*:

> Our readers rely on us to present the latest that scholarship has to offer in a fair and accessible manner. BAS serves as an important authority and as an invaluable source of reliable information (Ibid).

Under the caption "Find a dig", on the BAS webpage, there is a list of excavations sites that are possible to attend during the summertime around Israel. According to the BAS webpage, people pay a fee to attend as volunteers but it is possible to gain academic credits through at least eleven different universities and colleges (information concerning specific digs is available at the http://digs.bib-arch.org/). In the summer season of 2015 there are 30 different universities and colleges represented at the digs either by teachers or linked to the universities by conceivable academic credits. In addition to the eight universities of Israel, eighteen American universities and collages (six of them Christian) are represented, three German

universities and one Canadian university. All the major Israeli universities are represented amongst the Lecturers, and, in addition lectures from the Israel Antiquities Authority is also represented. Several sites on the Israeli Tentative List are represented in the excavation list of Find a dig, including Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

> Whether you're interested in the worlds of Kings David and Solomon, want to walk in the footsteps of Jesus and the apostles, or search for the heroes of the Trojan War, we've got an archaeological dig for you (http://digs.bib-arch.org/).

This chapter has accounted for some of the moves made by the British Mandate that bore impact on the evolvement of the use of archaeology and how the Holy Land emerges and its view on history. Religion and beliefs are frequently occurring in the Tentative Lists and since both Israeli Antiquities Authority and the major universities of the state are involved in excavations led by Biblical Archaeological Society this connection was highlighted. Timna (property 18 in 5. Tentative List of Israel) is described as follow on Find a dig webpage:

> The 2015 project goals include unearthing copper smelting furnaces, metallurgical installations, mines and miners' camps and gleaning insights into the Iron Age metalworkers' society, the ancient Edomites and their possible connection to other kingdoms in the region ("King Solomon's Mines"?) (http://digs.bibarch.org/digs/timna.asp).

This is a site with no apparent connection to religion (more than the speculative intriguing question at the end of the quotation above), still in the Tentative List of Israel it is described how N. Glueck (no further explanation given), in the 1940's, "attributed copper-smelting in Timna to King Solomon, calling the area King Solomon's mines". Why is this quote used in a property description of a possible world heritage site if not to "spice it up" if not even BAS uses it to sell their digs? The use of religion loosely connected to places will be further discussed in chapters 4-6.

4. TENTATIVE LIST OF PALESTINE

The Tentative List and its functions were presented in detail in the chapter 2.2.2 Tentative List: World Heritage Waiting. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the Tentative Lists of Israel and Palestine. The presentations of the properties in this and the next chapter constitute the basis on which the comparison between the two lists is made in chapter 6. Comparing Lists. The Tentative Lists are available and official documents. Every State Party has a representative page on UNESCO.org where the Tentative List is digitally available. The information I present here regarding the Tentative Lists is primarily of official character where words are rigorously thought through and balanced to fit the purpose. In some parts of the Tentative Lists, words are written without a space between them, words are misspelled and sometimes the official Tentative Lists are defectively written. Every mistake and error has deliberately been kept in the thesis. This is the official presentation of the Tentative Lists of World Heritage and neither the States Parties have fixed the faults and are, in my view, equally accountable. The two chapters describing the Tentative Lists are substantial in scope.

4.1 BALANCING THE SCALE

As described in the chapter 2.2 UNESCO – Building Peace in Minds the idea with UNESCO is that collaboration is the key to peace and democracy. A majority of sites inscribed on the WHL is from Europe and North America, but there are also counter-initiatives to change this geographical dislocation, both when it comes to the ratio of inscribed properties, but also in terms of different views on authenticity and preservation. The central theme within UNESCO is that every member state is equal and that power relations are evened within the organization (even if this is debatable since there are many different kinds of power).

UNESCO is the first UN agency to admit Palestine as a full member and it did not matter that Israel and USA objected the membership, the only thing they could do was to vote against it. Within UNESCO every State Party has one vote, the idea is that Russia and Finland will have the same influence, regardless of military power etc. There are no vetoes for the winners of WW2 like in the UN Security Council. When Palestine entered this stage they thus became equals with Israel in a way that I do not believe they have been ever before. I believe that the scale is balanced and that is the premise from which the lists in this chapter are presented and the comparison between the two lists is made. Even though the lists are, in this sense, equal, however there are many layers of power manifestations within them. It is not in the interest of official heritage to present conflicts, but it is in the interest of this thesis to find them.

4.2 THE SITES

The functions of Tentative Lists were presented in chapter 2.2.2 Tentative List: World Heritage Waiting, and the background to the Palestinian Tentative List of World Heritage was presented in the chapters 2.2.3 Palestine UNESCO State Party and 2.2.4 First Nomination to World Heritage List. The transformation from the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* to an official Palestinian Tentative List of World Heritage no doubt presented less of a challenge compared to the task awaiting other new States Parties in compiling a Tentative List since this was the goal from the beginning. Nonetheless some changes were made and the chapter is dedicated to highlight these differences and to present the full Tentative List of Palestine and its sites. In this chapter, mainly concerning sources, I will use the abbreviation PTL to refer to the Palestinian

Tentative List. For every description I will give a direct link to the specific property on the Tentative List, after which I will abbreviate the source using PTL (and ITL in later chapter for Israeli Tentative List) and the four digit list number that UNESCO uses.

In the table below, 20 Palestinian sites are listed in the order that they appear in the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* (2005). QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls is the only site on the current Tentative List that went through a minor change of name. Both sites inscribed on the WHL, Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem and Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir had minor changes made to their names before entering the WHL. There are five sites in the table that lack and inscription date on Tentative List, namely The Dead Sea, The Religious Routes in the Holy Land, Qanat es-Sabeel (The Aqueducts of Jerusalem), Umayyad Palaces and Trade Routes. These will be presented separately at the end of this presentation. The two sites currently on the WHL will be briefly introduced with a presentation of the property and the criterion based on which they are inscribed. They will not be part of the deeper analysis that follows in chapter 6. Comparing Lists.

The Palestinian Tentative List is divided in to sections with separate headings. "Description" is the main part where the property is introduced, followed by "Justification of Outstanding Universal Value", "Statement of authenticity and/or integrity" and finally "Comparison with other similar properties" follows. The authors of the Tentative List and the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* are Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MOTA) and the Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, hereinafter referred to as the "authors" or the "State Party". The Palestinian State Party uses BC – AD dating system. I have changed it in the thesis to the BCE – CE dating system so that the Palestinian and the Israeli systems correlate. All the properties on the Palestinian Tentative List are within the borders of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. During the presentation of the properties I have sometimes found it necessary to "zoom out" from the discussed property to focus in on the bigger picture. The tool of zooming out is used to gain understanding on the circumstances of why and how a specific property has ended up on the Tentative List.

Table 1. From Palestinian inventory to Tentative List

Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine (2005)	Change made before entering Tentative List	Inscription Tentative List	Inscribed on World Heritage List
Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and Old City of Bethlehem			Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem
Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan		04/02/12	
Old Town of Hebron al-Khalil and its environs		02/04/12	
Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans		02/04/12	
Qumran: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls	QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls	02/04/12	
El-Bariyah: Wilderness with monasteries		02/04/12	
The Dead Sea			
Palestine, Land of Olives and Vines			Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir
The religious routes in the Holy Land			
Wadi Natuf and Shuqba Cave		06/06/13	
Umayyad Palaces			
Old Town of Nablus and its environs		02/04/12	
Qanat es-Sabeel (The Aqueducts of Jerusalem)			
Tell Umm Amer		02/04/12	
Throne Villages		06/06/13	
Sebastia		02/04/12	
Anthedon Harbour		02/04/12	
Trade Routes			
Umm Al-Rihan forest		02/04/12	
Wadi Gaza Coastal Wetlands		02/04/12	

1. Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem

As mentioned in previous chapter the Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem became a World Heritage site in 2012 and was simultaneously inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. The property is 2.98 ha with a buffer zone[2] consisting of 23 hectare (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1433). According to the official "Brief Synthesis", the property is believed to be the birthplace of Jesus, and has been for around 1800 years. The property consists of parts of an original basilica church built in 339 CE (today only visible under ground), a church built in the sixth century CE with later alterations. Eclectic additions have been made since early medieval times that add up to a special architectural ensemble today. Part of the property as inscribed on the WHL is the Pilgrimage Route that connects the church with Jerusalem. The route is the same as the route Joseph and Mary walked during their visit to Bethlehem and it is re-enacted during Christmas ceremonies every year. Its Outstanding Universal Value is in the association with the founder of a great religion and how the fabric of the church and the buildings connected to it reflect the "…influence of Christianity in spiritual and political terms over 1500 years" (WHL 1433). These are the Committee's criteria on which the site is inscribed on the WHL (the criterions are listed in chapter 2.2.1 Outstanding Universal Values):

> **Criterion (iv):** The Church of the Nativity is an outstanding example of an early church in a remarkable architectural ensemble; which illustrates two significant stages in human history in the 4th-6th centuries AD the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, which led to the development of the Church of the Nativity on the site believed to be associated with the birth of Jesus; and to the power and influence of Christianity in the period of the Crusades that led to the embellishment of the Church of the Nativity and the development of three major convents in its environs.
> **Criterion (vi):** The Church of the Nativity, and the Pilgrimage Route to it, are directly associated with the birth of Jesus, an event of outstanding universal significance, through the buildings of which were constructed in the 4th century AD and re-constructed in the 6th century AD. These are a strong symbol for more than 2 billion Christian believers in the world; and are holy to Christians as well as to Muslims (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1433).

In the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine,* (2005) the authors suggested that Outstanding Universal Value was met with criterion (iii), the site bears "a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared", (iv) "an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history" and (vi) "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/). All the criteria mentioned were accepted by the Committee except for (iii) which was left out upon inscription.

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[2] *Operational Guidelines* paragraphs 103-107: "… is an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions place on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property."

2. Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir

In 2014 Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir became the second Palestinian site to be inscribed on the World Heritage List (and the List of World Heritage in Danger) (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1492). The property is 349 ha with a buffer zone consisting of 624 ha. The cultural landscape is located in the central highlands between Nablus and Hebron, a few kilometres southwest of Jerusalem. The farmed valleys that characterize the Battir hill landscape are called widian. The characteristics of widian are the stone terraces that are used for irrigated garden production planted with olive trees and grapevines. The historical terrace farming has developed a joint network of irrigation channels in the region of Battir.

The World Heritage site of Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir went through quite some changes from the 2005 inventory before entering WHL. Most obvious is the change of name, from "Palestine, Land of Olives and Vines" to the more specific and narrowed version with the addition of "… - Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir". On the inventory map, the cultural landscapes containing the sites of olives and vines is spread all over the West Bank counting eleven different places (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* p.28). The criteria set by the authors was (ii) "to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design" and (iv). Under "Justification of Outstanding Universal Value" the writers argue that olive trees and vineyards are characteristic of the landscape and profoundly symbolic to Palestine (ibid, p.29). The Justification ends with the following quote:

> Furthermore, both [olive and vines] feature strongly, in narrative and metaphor, in the Quran, in the Bible and in the teaching of Jesus in particular. The olive is of course a symbol of peace and would, therefore, be [a] particularly apposite tree to include in a nomination from Palestine when that becomes possible (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* p.29).

3. Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan

According to the Palestinian Tentative List, Tell es-Sultan, the ancient town of Jericho, is both the oldest (10th-8th millennia BCE) and the lowest city (258 meters below sea level) on earth. When the archaeological finds were made in the 1950s and traces of human life brought history of urbanity and domestication back several millennia. A section of the presentation of the site is devoted to the site and its environs connections to the bible, with a citation to Luke 19:1.4: "Jesus entered Jericho and was passing through it. Now a man named Zacchaeus was trying to get a look at Jesus, but being a short man he could not see over the crowd. So he ran on ahead and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5704/).

In fact, this quote from the New Testament has no obvious connection to Tell es-Sultan. I believe it is used to strategically construct the context of Tell es-Sultan and to increase the significance of the property and its surroundings. It is followed by a mention of the monastery carved out in the walls of the Mount of Temptations that overlooks Tell es-Sultan from the East which has a prominent place in the bible since this is believed to be the place where

Jesus fasted for 40 days after his baptism and was offered the kingdom of the world by Satan. However, it is not Mount of Temptations that is inscribed on the Tentative List. This sort of contextualizing use of religious texts will be mentioned throughout the two chapters describing the Tentative Lists. Under "Justification of Outstanding Universal Value", Tell es-Sultan is described as important because it is the oldest city on earth, because it is home to the earliest fortification systems and because of these monuments "point to the early development of a sophisticated social and political system" (PTL 5704). The religious connections are not cited as part of the property's value in this section. The last subdivision of the description is devoted to archaeological research methods that were used during the excavations of the property in the 1950s, methods that, according to the Tentative List, testify to the development of archaeological research methods in Palestine. The Palestinian authors considers that the property meet four cultural criteria; (i) "to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius" (ii), (iii) and (iv). No changes have been made from the criteria listed in the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* (2005) to those in the Tentative List.

4. Old town of Hebron al-Khalil & its environs

The State Party describes the old town of Hebron or al-Khalil ("The Friend") as an old town with archaeological layers from the Chalcolithic period (circa 4000-3000 BCE) to the Umayyad period (661-750 CE). It states that "Hebronwas [sic] always known as the burial place of the prophets Abraham/Ibrahim, Isaac, Jacob and their wives" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5705/). This description originates from the way that Herod the Great (73-4 BCE) enclosed the burial place, the Crusaders turned the enclosure into a church in 1099 and Saladin turned the church into a mosque (Ibrahim Mosque) after retaking the town in 1187. The delegation describes the Arab-Muslim conquest as a period of flourishing under the Mamluk rule (1250-1516 CE) and this is an era that through its layers in Hebron is mentioned in the Justification for Outstanding Universal Value: "The historic city, with its well-preserved Mamluk architecture, which developed from the mosque, testifies to a vibrant multicultural town created throughout the centuries and still attached to its traditions" (PTL 5705).

The same section, explains that Hebron/al-Khalil is sacred to Muslims, Christians and Jews and that the Ibrahim Mosque with the "Tombs of the prophets" embodies an outstanding universal value as "… one of the most important cult-places" (PTL 5705). The description of the site does not dwell further on its sacredness to Christians and Jews, which today has a huge impact on the town and its inhabitants. The webpage Go Israel (http://www.goisrael.com) is under the copyright of the Israel Ministry of Tourism and provides information on tourist attraction around all of Israel[3]. Go Israel describes the Ibrahim Mosque and the Tombs of the Prophets as follows:

> The Cave of Machpelah in Hebron is one of the holiest places in the Land of Israel. It is the burial place that Abraham purchased for his family after Sarah died (Genesis 23:8-17). Later, Isaac and Ishmael buried Abraham there (Gen. 25:9). Subsequently, it became the final resting place for all the patriarchs and matriarchs, except Rachel, who died near Bethlehem (Go Israel, Cave of Machpelah).

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[3] The site uses a disclaimer saying that third parties provide all information that is displayed, and thus the Ministry of Tourism is not responsible for information on the webpage, but no other sources are mentioned on this page.

Conversely, the name "Cave of Machpelah" is not mentioned once in the Palestinian Tentative List even though the site is described as a potential place of reconciliation under the section "Justification of Outstanding Universal Value" and criterion (vi):

> Its significance as a worship and the burial place of the patriarchs Abraham/Ibrahim, Isaac and Jacob and the matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca and Leah spans the categories of time and space, situating Hebron/al-Khalil in a position of primary importance to humanity. The potential role of the city as a place for 21st century reconciliation is also an asset to bear in mind if and whenHebron [sic] is recommended for inscription on the World Heritage List (PTL 5705).

In comparison, Go Israel's presentation of Hebron, as a whole does not mention a mosque, the historical presence of Arabs or the importance that Muslims place upon the cave, but speaks of the town and the site only in relation to Judaism

> To visit Hebron is to steep yourself in Jewish history as you walk in the footsteps of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Joshua, King David and the Maccabees. The gigantic Tomb of the Patriarchs and Matriarchs attests to the antiquity of Hebron's traditions – its walls date back at least 2,000 years. This tomb, and Jewish presence in the city throughout many centuries, gave Hebron the status of one of the "four holy cities" of the Land of Israel (Go Israel, Hebron).

Michael Dumper, Professor in Middle East Politics at University of Exeter, describes the tension connected to the site in the chapter "Security and the Holy Places of Jerusalem: The 'Hebronisation' of the Old City and Adjacent Areas" in *Locating urban conflicts: ethnicity, nationalism and the everyday* (2013). Hebron and the Cave of the Prophets/Machpelah site has been at the center of two major massacres, the first in 1929 when the small but significant Jewish community of Hebron was expelled and massacred during Palestinian riots against Zionist colonization (Dumper, p.83), the second in 1994 when a settler-soldier opened fire and killed and injured Muslim worshippers (Dumper, p.86). Moreover, De Cesari points out that the Israeli occupation has had more social and physical impact in Hebron compared to other Palestinian cities on the West Bank (De Cesari, 2010 p.13) because the colonization takes place within the Palestinian urban fabric itself and not around the Arab towns which is usually the case in the West Bank (see OCHA oPt-map of Hebron in appendix). With the 600 Israeli settlers in Hebron come 4000 soldiers to protect them (De Cesari, 2010 p.14).

When I visited Hebron in June 2014, I visited a segregated city. It is not the kind of segregation I know from Sweden, where different socio-economic groups inhabit different parts of the city, this was a much closer and tangible segregation. The Old City is very beautiful with its alleys and narrow streets that keep the sunlight from the pedestrians and the shopkeepers. Today there are nets fastened between the houses 3-4 meters above ground to protect the Palestinian inhabitants from settler-attacks (stone throwing, garbage emptying etc.). Settlers have occupied buildings within the Palestinian city and by doing this also restricted the mobility to Palestinian inhabitants. Old buildings share back walls with new settler constructions raising several floors above the old ones. When visiting the Ibrahim mosque I had to move through two different checkpoints and moving to the entrance of the mosque I was monitored by a third checkpoint-tower.

Figure 6. *Safety nets in Hebron*

Figure 7. *Israeli checkpoint-tower next to Ibrahim Mosque/Cave of Machpelah, Hebron*

5. Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans

The description of Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans is identical in the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* and the Tentative List. Mount Gerizim is one of the two mountains surrounding the city of Nablus in the north of the West Bank. Mount Gerizim is a sacred place for the Samaritans, and has been for thousands of years. According to their beliefs, it was on this mountain that Abraham was ready to sacrifice his son Isaac. According to the Samaritans the mountain was blessed with a divine decree that overrides that of the rival Temple of Jerusalem[4]. The Samaritans believe that the temple built on the mountaintop was built by Yosha' Bin Noun in the second century BCE (which has been archaeologically proven to be older). The archaeological site on the mountaintop shows signs of a settlement area occupied during Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic times (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5706/). According to the Tentative List, the Samaritans are a small Palestinian community consisting of only a few hundred people. The citation is from the "Justification of Outstanding Universal Value":

> The Samaritans on Mount Gerizim represent the smallest, most ancient, living ethnic community in the world, bound together by a profound and rigid religious belief. Central to it is the sanctity of a particular mountain as decreed by Moses and on which, nearly four thousand years ago, Abraham may have nearly sacrificed Isaac… The Samaritans believe that, since more than 3600 years ago, they came to live on Mount Gerizim because Moses, in his tenth commandment, ordered them to protect it as a sacred mountain and worship on it by making pilgrimages to it three times a year. These beliefs and traditions have been kept alive by Samaritans since then. This sanctity and longevity, through to the present day, make this sacred mountain a place of outstanding universal value going far beyond the beliefs of a few hundred people (PTL 5706).

The description of the property Mount Gerizim focuses as much on Samaritan tradition and beliefs as it does on the actual site. The mountain and the archaeological site might not rise above other archaeological sites in terms of Outstanding Universal Value found for the purpose of the Tentative List, and thus the combination of archaeological settlement and the tradition, beliefs and continuity of the Samaritans makes up the property. In criterion (iii) it is stated "The Samaritan community displays a remarkable continuity of a living cultural tradition in the Palestinian society expressed in a religious life-way which, it believes, has been pursued for some three and half thousand years since its first arrival on Mount Gerizim." The Old Town of Nablus and its *environs* is also on the Tentative List (see below) and Mount Gerizim is truly a part of the environs since it surrounds the city together with Mount Ebal. The site description of the Old Town of Nablus and its environs mention both Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans. It is my view that the two sites may actually belong together in the context of the WHL, whereas the Samaritan tradition might fit better in the framework of UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The following quote from the section "Comparison with other similar sections" somewhat underpins this:

> Without its ideographic, cultural overlay, physically and topographically, Mount Gerizim would just be another mountain with just another large, basically later

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[4] The origins of Samaritan beliefs and Judaism are the same and the essential breaking point is in the holy temples. The Samaritans holy place is Mount Gerizim and the Jewish counterpart is Temple Mount in Jerusalem, where the latter also places the mentioned sacrifice of Isaac by his father Abraham http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/arc/neapolis/samaritans.htm.

historic and classical archaeological site on its summit. Yet, entirely because of its long-term association with the beliefs of, and protection by, the remarkable ethnic group of people known as the Samaritans, Mount Gerizim is unique in its particular qualities and the beliefs, traditions and history that it enshrines. So in a real sense it has no comparators (PTL 5706).

The State Party argues that the fact that the Mount Gerizim still is a sacred place assures that its integrity and authenticity is essentially undamaged. The criteria attached are (iii) (bear a unique or exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization…) and (vi) "be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs…" I will discuss the relation between the two sites further in the presentation of the Old Town of Nablus and its environs (nr. 8 below).

6. QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Qumran became world famous in 1947 when caves containing several scrolls were found there. The scrolls became known as the Dead Sea Scrolls and they incorporate the earliest recognized manuscripts of the Bible. In the Palestinian Tentative List, as well as the inventory, it is mentioned that a Palestinian shepherd found the scrolls (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5707/). The scrolls date from the second century BCE to 68 CE and the caves were excavated during 1949 (by a joint team from Jordan, Palestine and France) and between 1952 and 1956 (the Tentative List does not mention the excavation team during this period, which makes me think that it was an Israeli-led excavation). Findings have identified the community that lived isolated around Qumran as the Essenes and among the manuscripts that were found, several describing their community life. Qumran is located at the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea in what today is area C of the West Bank. In the very last of the property description it is mentioned that:

> The excavated site is composed by a large complex of buildings, including communal facilities, a sophisticated water system, a library and a large cemetery. However, the area where the site is located [is] currently controlled by Israeli occupation authorities (PTL 5707).

Qumran is today a national park of Israel under Israel Nature and Parks Authority. The Qumran National Park is described as easy to access and suitable for walkers and wheelchair users, but the roads leading to Qumran are, in fact, of restricted access for Palestinians (https://www.ochaopt.org/documents/westbank_2014_final.pdf). The description of the national park on the Israel Nature and Parks Authority's webpage does not mention the Palestinian shepherd referred to in the Palestinian Tentative List. These are the first sentences of the presentation of the Qumran National Park by the Israel Nature and Parks Authority:

> The uncovering of the remains of the settlement of Qumran, on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea, and the Dead Sea Scrolls found nearby, ignited the imagination of both Jews and Christians. In addition to the oldest copies of the Hebrew Scriptures ever found and scrolls pertaining to the ancient community known as the Yahad, numerous other objects depict the daily life and way of thinking of the Qumran's inhabitants (Israel Nature and Parks Authority's webpage).

According to Emek Shaveh, which describes itself as "… organization of archaeologists and community activists focusing on the role of archaeology in Israeli society and in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" (http://alt-arch.org/en/about-us/), the Israeli general public views Qumran as a part of Israel and does not think of the site as located in the West Bank. The national park is easy to access by highway 1, which connects Israel via Jerusalem with the Dead Sea straight through the West Bank (https://www.ochaopt.org/documents/ westbank_2014_final.pdf). According to Emek Shaveh Qumran came under jurisdiction of Israel Nature and Parks Authority as early as 1967 (i.e. following the Six Days War) and was in 2010 the ninth most visited tourist site in Israel (http://alt-arch.org/en/heritage/#anc6). In its presentation of Qumran in relation to *The Rehabilitation and Empowerment of National Heritage Infrastructure Project,* Emek Shaveh points out that six archeological sites are within the occupied Palestinian territory. Emek Shaveh bindes the circumstances that have shaped Israeli public view of Qumran as national heritage into four different stages:

(1) the location of the site in the desert, far from any Palestinian settlement;
(2) its location on the road to Ein Gedi and Masada—two key sites in modern
Israeli national consciousness;
(3) the buried scrolls—the oldest extant texts of the books of the Bible, from more
than two thousand years ago, and their importance to Judaism, to Christianity,
and to the history of monotheism in general; and
(4) the dating of the site in the Second Temple Period, a period that is considered
a golden age of Judaism following the destruction of the Kingdom of Judea and
the Babylonian exile. The inclusion of Qumran as a national heritage site will
probably not affect its already significant public status or the number of visitors
(http://alt-arch.org/en/heritage/).

According to the "Justification of Outstanding Universal Value" in the Palestinian Tentative List Qumran is one of the 20th century's major archaeological finds, the site contained the earliest known biblical manuscript and is a main source of the history of Palestine as well as shedding light on the roots of Judaism and Christianity (PTL 5707). The criteria listed as met are (iii), (iv) and (vi) and in general they focus on the Essane community and their way of life, architecture and technological structures on the site, as well as on the scrolls and their importance to Judaic and Christian beliefs. The authors use the word "antiseptic" to describe the way in which the site is presented to visitors at the moment. It still preserves its antique character and its physical authenticity according to the Tentative List. However the authors point out the fact that the scrolls are no longer held on site, but are largely preserved in Jerusalem with some important fragments elsewhere in the world. Under Comparison with other similar properties, the final words in the Tentative List on Qumran: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls are:

Qumran really is unique in many aspects: merely as an archaeological site, it
might be compared in general appearance with many others, but its particular
characteristics as the home and work-place of an otherwise unknown ascetic, pre-
Christian community make it without peer. Similarly, as the place where the
oldest surviving manuscripts of the Bible were written and, 2000 years later,
found, it has no comparison (PTL 5707).

The text about Qumran in the Tentative List is the same text that was presented in the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value in Palestine* in 2005. No change has been made. The descriptions of Qumran differ considerably

between the Israeli national park, the property nominated on the Palestinian Tentative List and by the organization Emek Shaveh. According to the latter there is "no unequivocal answer to the question of who were the inhabitants of Qumran" (http://alt-arch.org/en/heritage/) who maintains that there are possible answers ranging "from radical Jewish sects, such as the Essenes or the Zealots, to early Christians" (ibid), which in both Palestinian and Israeli official heritage is explained to be the Essenes and more so in the Palestinian description than the Israeli. One other important difference is that the Israel Nature and Parks Authority only defined the property as something that ignited the imagination of Jews and Christians and not to all inhabitants of the area as an important historical site and archaeological finding.

7. El-Bariyah: wilderness with monasteries

El-Bariyah is classified as an Irano-Turanian climate zone. The area is part of a mountainous desert habitat, almost treeless, resting on a limestone plateau that is dissected by wadi draining (See number 2 in this list) towards the Dead Sea. El-Bariyah is in the rain shadow of the central highlands but the lack of rainwater is compensated for by natural springs that help to form the natural diversity within the desert habitat in the region (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5708/). According to the Tentative List this is one of the most important bird areas in the Western Palearctic and recorded as such by Birdlife International (PTL 5708). The area of El-Bariyah has been inhabited since early prehistoric times (100.000 – 10.000 BCE) according to archaeological finds. The historical importance is present in Wadi Khareitoun where three caves: Iraq al-Ahmar, Umm Qal'a, and Umm Qatafa were found, the latter which bears the first evidence of domestic use of fire in Palestine.

Between 24 and 15 BCE, during the Roman era, Herod the Great built the fortress Herodion and it dominates the landscape and overlooks Wadi Khareitoun to the south. During the 6th and the 7th centuries CE, monks turned the fortress into a monastery. This part of the property, which is not mentioned in the Tentative List, is actually under Israeli control and is just like Qumran, and Sebastia (presented as number 12) an Israeli national park within the occupied territories (area C), called Herodium (Herodion) National Park (Israel Nature and Parks Authority's webpage). According to Emek Shaveh, it became a national park in 1985 and has one of the highest budgets in *The Rehabilitation and Empowerment of National Heritage Infrastructure Project* (also mentioned in number 6 above). In the following quote Emek Shaveh argues about the focus for tourism at the site:

> The visit to the site focuses on the history of King Herod and the Jewish revolts against the Romans. For the residents of Gush Etzion [cluster of Jewish settlements], the site is significant for staking their historical claim to the place. Thus, for example, upon the discovery of the compound identified with Herod's tomb, the former head of the Gush Etzion regional council, Shaul Goldstein (today Director General of the Israel Nature and Parks Authority) said, "The location of Herod's tomb in Herodion, one of the most fascinating structures of the ancient world, is further proof of the direct connection of Gush Etzion to the history of the Jewish people and Jerusalem…" (http://alt-arch.org/en/heritage/).

According to the Tentative List El-Bariyah has been a place where people took refuge throughout history, a notable example being, Jesus 40 days and 40 nights of meditation. With the growth of Christianity, hermits began to inhabit the caves around Wadi Khareitoun and with time they also built monasteries, making the El-Bariyah region a monastic center (PTL 5708). Some of the monasteries are associated with monks like Saba (439-532 CE) who

founded the monastery Mar Saba. Around the fifth century CE there were 73 monastic settlements in the desert east of Jerusalem (PTL 5708). During the Islamic period a series of shrines, maqams, were established in el-Bariyah, which are important places on the pilgrimage route to Mecca.

The chosen criteria on the tentative List are (i) the early domestication of fire in Umm Qatafa, the fortification of Herodion, and the inhabited landscape of monasteries. The second criteria (ii) state that El-Bariyah was on of the most important monastic centers of the world during the Byzantine period, and that the monks had a great influence on the society through technology, architecture, culture and science. The third criteria being (iii), argues about the continuity that Mar Saba established as a monastery built in 439-53 CE and still maintaining its use in 2005 (good example of inventory copy pasted into the Tentative list since the property was inscribed seven years later). Mar Saba:

> …provides an exceptional testimony to a 1500 year-old cultural tradition developed by and within the particular environment of el-Bariyah, the Judean Desert. It is one of the most architecturally significant monasteries of el-Bariyah, one which has been repeatedly adjusted structurally yet remains beautiful and spectacular as it clings to the cliffs of the Kidron valley.

8. Wadi Natuf and Shuqba Cave

The description of this property is short comparing to other properties of the Tentative List, that is the reason to why this presentation is shorter than the rest. Shuqba Cave was found in 1924 and excavated in 1928. Archaeological traces of a not yet recognized late Stone Age, pre-agricultural culture, were found in wadi Natuf (valley or riverbed only containing water during heavy rain) and the culture was given the name of the wadi. Natufian Culture is now, according to the authors of the Tentative List, known worldwide and the Shuqba Cave is its type-site. The criteria met according to the Palestinian State Party are: (ii) the Shuqba Cave reveals the important developments in the Natufian Culture in a timespan that proved to be significant, (iii) Shuqba Cave bears testimony of the Natufian Culture, prior to agricultural societies and (iv) the culture emerged from the findings in the cave is an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5712/).

9. Old Town of Nablus and its environs

The roots of Nablus are identified with ancient Shechem, in Tell Balata, which was a small settlement established during the 4th millennium BCE. According to the Tentative List it was mentioned in the Egyptian Execration (lists of enemies to the Pharaoh), in the Khu-Sabek inscription (14th century BCE) as a major Canaanite center and several times in the Bible in relation to Abraham, Jacob and Joseph (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5714/). When Shechem was excavated remains from Chalcolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Hellenistic and Roman times were found. Shechem was deserted during the Iron Age and reoccupied during the Hellenistic period, the Samaritan Shechem (the Tentative List does not provide a beginning for the Samaritan Shechem) was destroyed several times and abandoned during early Roman time. (PTL 5714). According to the Tentative List Neapolis was founded in 72 CE, on the same place as Shechem, by the Flavian Emperors on the northern slope of Mount Gerizim (2 km from Tell Balata). During the second century CE, Neapolis was given the status of a Roman colony "Colonia Flavia Iulia Sergia Neapolis". Major development projects were launched and a hippodrome, theatre and other public buildings were built. In the 7th

century CE Neapolis was conquered by the Arabs and later by the Crusaders, Mamluk-Ayyubid and the Ottomans, all of whom occupied the site of the town (PTL 5714).

In the section on Justification of Outstanding Universal Value, the Palestinian authors argues that the special importance of the old town of Nablus results from being a historic town with traditional architecture built with traditional methods with an urban pattern that is well preserved and a street grid dating from Roman period still readable. The authors have chosen criteria (ii) and (iv), both with focus on the Roman city. Connecting it to the discussion on the property of Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans (5) it is presumable that the Samaritans and the old town of Nablus both relate especially to the Roman period that the two sites and might therefore build a stronger property taken together. When it comes to comparison between the inventory of 2005 and the Tentative List, no changes have been made.

10. Tell Umm Amer

Tell Umm Amer is located in Gaza, on the south bank of Wadi Gaza close to the seashore and 9 km south of Gaza City. The first settlement on the site was established during the Roman period and was called Tabatha during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods 400-670 CE (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5716/). The property consists of the ruins of the Saint Hilarion monastery, founded in the third century CE. Saint Hilarion, who was born in Tell Umm Amer, is according to the Tentative List considered to be the founder of monastic life in Palestine. The Monastery of Saint Hilarion was destroyed in 614 CE. Within the ruins of the monastery there are two churches, a burial site, a baptism hall, a public cemetery and an audience hall (PTL 5716). The Justification of Outstanding Universal Value refers to its rare architectural elements, it being an "exceptional historical, religious and cultural testimony" (PTL 5716) and an important station on the crossroads of Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. Criteria (ii), (iii) and (iv) have been chosen to represent the property on the Tentative List.

11. Throne Villages

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the central highlands of Palestine were divided into 24 Ottoman sheikdoms (administrative domains). The villages in which the sheikhs resided were called Throne Villages and they came to represent a homogeneous architectural horizon (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5717/). The Throne Villages consist of 13 such villages. The sheikhs functioned as local tax collectors for the Ottoman Empire and gained remarkable authority and power that was manifest in the architecture of the villages.

> The semi-feudal system in the central highlands of Palestine represents a phenomenon, which was distinctive to this area in particular, "rural feudal leaders taking control instead of government representatives such as Walis (governors), rich urban notables, or city notables". This authority and privilege that rural leaders gained was echoed in the distinctive style of a rich and valuable heritage, which remains until today as a physical witness to their power and prestige (PTL 5717).

The Throne Villages represented in the Tentative List are all incorporated in Riwaq's "50 Villages Rehabilitation Program" (http://www.riwaq.org/) which is explained by Riwaq as a project of re-reading the Palestinian map and stitching together the fragmented landscape of Palestine through:

> … a conceptual shift that moves away from a conventional restorative approach—
> that is, conservation and documentation of single buildings—into exploring the
> wider urban context while protecting its heritage (http://www.riwaq.org/50-
> historic-centers).

The project is, according to Riwaq, embedded in a conscious approach to explore what can be done with limited resources and if it is possible for change to come from within the Palestinian historical fabrics (http://www.riwaq.org/50-historic-centers). In the Tentative List, nomination is made of the fact that the Throne Villages of Arrabeh, Sanur, Burqa, Sebastia, Kur, Beit Wazan, Jamma'in, Deir Istia, Deir Ghassaneh, Ibwein, Ras Karkar, Nelean, Dura have all been restored within the 50 Villages Rehabilitation Program. Instead the following quote represents the Statements of authenticity and/or integrity:

> Throne villages are viewed as an important category of heritage sites in Palestine.
> A conservation and management plan is therefore being implemented for some of
> the mansions in order to protect them accordingly to the new law for the
> protection of archaeological sites and cultural heritage sites of Palestine (PTL
> 5717).

This might very well be a product of the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value* since the description of Throne Villages was written two years prior to the launching of Riwaq's project in 2007. The Throne Villages were added to the Tentative List in 2013, which gave the authors a six-year window to cover these changes. During my time in Palestine 2014, I visited the Throne Village of Deir Ghassaneh. It is a small village in rural Palestine that needs to fight for its existence given that there very few jobs in the area. The Riwaq project in Deir Ghassaneh was finished a couple of years prior to my visit and the feeling I got during the visit was mixed. On one hand, the historical layers of the village, with its plaza, Sheikh Saleh Castle and surrounding buildings was restored to almost former glory with housing for a women's cooperation, music school and a health centre. On the other hand the rest of the village, the parts that are not historically part of the Throne Village, still very much faced decay. The funding for the rehabilitation of the castle in Deir Ghassaneh through Riwaq was given from Germany. The criteria met in the Tentative List are (iii) the feudal administrative centers have left significant architectural, social and cultural traces and (iv) the special architectural hybrid between urban and rural styles.

12. Sebastia

Sebastia, historically known as Samaria, was the capital of the Palestinian northern kingdom during Iron Age II and an important urban center through Hellenistic and Roman times (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5718/). Major excavations of the site were completed during the 1910s, the 1930s and a shorter session by Jordanian Department of Antiquities in 1967. According to the bible, Samaria was created after Omri bought the hill of Shemer: "And he bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, Samaria" (1 Kings 16:24). Sebastia is, by Christian and Muslim tradition, also linked to John the Baptist whose tomb was believed to be located within the city. The city was captured by the Assyrians in 722 BCE, was under Persian rule, captured again by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE and destroyed by John Hyrcanus 107 BCE. Herod the Great changed the name of the city from Samaria to Sebastia and launched a major building program, including a

basilica, a forum, stadium and an aqueduct. A Byzantine church was built and later a crusader church was erected within the present town of Sebastia, east of the Roman city. The present town bears traces from Mamluk and Ottoman times that according to the Tentative List gives a strong element of cultural continuity (PTL 5718):

> The site is largely in a 'natural' state, part of a working landscape of settlement and farming. Only small areas are displayed, and they are not well presented. The excavations have been left as found, showing impressive if largely unintelligible remains, but on the hilltop they need conservation attention and the area is quite dangerous for visitors. The site is, however, not developed and is currently under the Israeli control. Nevertheless, the site attracts many tourists because of its historical importance (PTL 5718).

The criteria chosen to represent Sebastia in the Tentative List are (ii) the surrounding landscape representing an important interchange of human values with the terraced landscape containing manly fig trees, olive trees and apricot trees and (v) the big span of cultures represented in one human settlement and archaeological site. The Justification of Outstanding Universal Value lies according to the Tentative List in the continuity of the place from the Iron Age II onwards and in the local Christian and Muslim tradition that links John the Baptist to the site, as well as in the church and mosque dedicated to these beliefs. No change has been made between the inventory and the Tentative List.

When I visited Sebastia in June 2014, it was during the middle of the World Cup in football. This fact was more present at the archaeological site than the fact that it was under Israeli control. As a visitor from outside it is easy only to grasp the conflict by what your eyes tell you and in this case I visited a village on a slope that was beautiful in the sunset that led the car up through narrow streets to an open field that functioned both as a football pitch and a parking lot. Through the net of the football goal, dozens of colons stretched for the sky with a couple of kids claiming and jumping between them. The only sounds came from the nearby restaurant, were the early match of that night was on and blended with the sound of the children's rubber soles jumping on limestone. There were no big signs with information, no obvious fenced trail to walk, just plain archaeology and nature in a symbiosis I never had experienced before. Israel seemingly had no interest in developing the site and the Palestinians could not do it because of the occupation. The site was left in limbo. I took a photo of an old olive tree in the sunset and then me and my friend stood above the ancient theatre watching the terraced landscape stretching beyond the horizon.
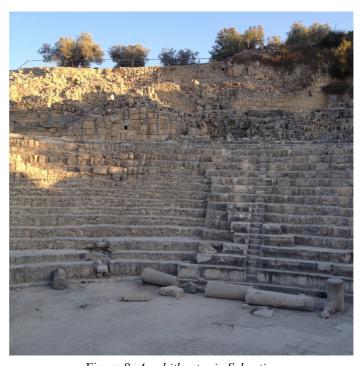

Figure 8. *Amphitheatre in Sebastia*

13. Anthedon Harbour

The ancient harbour of Anthedon has not been precisely specified, but there are several ruins around Gaza that have been considered to be the harbour. According to the Tentative List it is most likely that site of Anthedon is located at tell Tida north of Gaza City. Tida in Islamic literature, is the first known seaport of Gaza, it was inhabited between 800 BCE and 1100 CE (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5719/). The archaeological site of Anthedon Harbour is located in the northwest corner of the Gaza Strip at the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. These are the chosen criteria: criterion (ii) "Anthedon exhibits an important interchange of human values, over important periods of time that relate to the main trade route crossing the Holy Land from Egypt to the Fertile Crescent and linking Africa and the Middle East to Europe" and criterion (iv) "Anthedon represents an outstanding example of a type of architectural ensemble, showing a variety of building materials and techniques, including adobe, as well as construction typologies, associated with different stages of human history" (PTL 5719). No significant change has been made between the inventory in 2005 and the submission of the site to the Tentative List in 2012.

14. Umm Al-Rihan Forest

Umm Al-Rihan Forest is a natural property and it consists of a series of dense forests that in total make up 86% of the forest area in the West Bank. The area is state owned by the Palestinian Authority and proposed as a nature reserve (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5721/). The forest is located northwest of Jenin along the Green Line of 1967. It is an important area for migratory birds and functions, according to the Tentative List, as a reservoir of plant diversity containing amongst others original wild species of barley and wheat and several wild species of fruit trees (PTL 5721). Criteria (x) is used for natural properties and the site should "… contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/). The following statement is made in the Tentative List about Umm Al-Rihan forest:

> criterion (x): the abundance of the endemic flora and fauna, including threatened and endangered species, in the area of Umm Al-Rihan makes of this site one of the last spontaneous Mediterranean forests in the Middle East. Therefore, the site is proposed to represent a case for on-site conservation and research of theEastern [sic] Mediterranean Basinin [sic] land forest ecosystem (PTL 5721)

15. Wadi Gaza Coastal Wetlands

Wadi Gaza is a natural property known for its many turns. It makes eight curves through the passage over the Gaza Strip. It springs from the Negev hills and the southern hills of Hebron and reaches about 105 km in length before it discharges into the Mediterranean Sea. When it hits the border of east Gaza it broadens and is around 100 m in width when it ends at the seashore (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5722/).

> Wadi Gaza is considered as one of the most important coastal wetlands located on the Eastern Mediterranean Basin, very rich in biological diversity (both flora and fauna). The wadi is also a station point for the migratory routes from north to south and from south to north.

Wadi Gaza, according to the authors, faces many threats and among the most severe is that the wadi collects sewage from the middle area refugee camps and is used as a solid waste-dumping site (PTL 5722). In 2000, the wadi was declared a nature reserve and, according to the Tentative List, the Ministry of Environmental Affairs has requested that the municipalities revise the land use that endangers the wadi bed.

16. The Dead Sea

The Dead Sea is the first of the five properties that was listed in the 2005 *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value* that at the time (2015-04-06) is not part of the Palestinian Tentative List. This description of The Dead Sea is made from the inventory. The surface of the Dead Sea lies 417 metres below sea level which makes it the lowest point on Earth, it covers an area of around 677 square kilometres and is about 85 kilometres long and 17 kilometres wide (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.26). The water in the Dead Sea is about ten times saltier than the Mediterranean Sea and it is the saltiest large water in the world. In its rather short length it represents several ecosystems, according to the inventory, reaching from the semitropical to the semi-desert.

The inventory connects the natural property to four criteria: (vii) "to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance" (viii) "to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features" (ix) "to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals", and (x) "to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/). According to the inventory the property meets the criteria because of (vii) the uniqueness of the geological formation of the Dead Sea makes it a significant geomorphic and physiographic feature of the world, (vii) an outstanding example of an unique coastal and marine ecosystem, (ix) the steeping slopes and abundant springs leading to the sea makes it exceptional in its beauty and (x) because of all the species inhabiting the area (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.27).

Its Justification for Outstanding Universal Value is contained in it being the lowest point on earth, its unique geological formation and its variety of types of ecosystems, soil, species, as well as its importance for bird migration and biodiversity (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.27). In the Statement of authenticity and/or integrity the answer to why the property has not entered the Palestinian Tentative List might be assumed that it has to do with the fact that "the Dead Sea lies in within the jurisdictions of several States…"(*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.27).

17. The Religious routes in the Holy Land

> Christian religious routes spread all over the Holy Land, which include Palestine, Israel, Jordan, South of Lebanon and Egypt, while Muslim routes are focused on the ground and sky path that link Jerusalem and Hebron with Mecca. This is clearly a considerable endeavor; impossible for one single country to implement; though clearly there is much scope for co-operation. The following text relates to

the larger framework, though obviously only those parts of any routes within a future Palestine are of practical concern in the first instance (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites*. p.30).

The routes mentioned as within Palestine reach across the West Bank, to the north, south, east and west. In the proposed property, the routes end at the borders of the West Bank and this is, without guessing too much, the reason to why the property did not enter the Tentative List when Palestine became a state party of UNESCO. The description argues for a property that is half and segmented because of the political situation in the area. One other fact that makes the property stand out as political is the fact that it focuses only on Christian and Muslim religious routes and does not once mention the third religion of exceptional importance to the Holy Land: Judaism. Mentioning both Jerusalem and Hebron in a text about religious routes without mentioning Judaism makes for a selective statement to say the least. It would contend that this property did not enter the Palestinian Tentative List because it was too political, selective and offensive to some. The Palestinian Tentative List is, seems well thought through and designed not to deliberately create religious and political clashes. This property did not fit into such a presentation of Palestinian heritage.

18. Umayyad Palaces

The description of the Umayyad Palaces in the inventory does not explicitly say that this property is a trans-boundary nomination but traces of this fact are scattered throughout the text, most clearly is in the statement of authenticity and/or integrity:

> All these places are still evident of the Umayyad period. Most of them are protected and controlled by the government in each country. In addition, in all of these countries, at least one or two of these places are included in the tentative list (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites*. p.34).

Umayyad Palaces are, according to the Inventory, spread through the countryside of the greater Levantine in what today are Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine and Israel. The Umayyad Caliphs probably used them as meeting points to maintain political connections with tribal communities, which explains why the nomadic Caliphs built several palaces. The description of the property mentions palace complexes all built in the seventh century CE (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites*. p.35). The best example of Umayyad Palaces in Palestine is Hisham's Palace close to Jericho. I visited the archaeological site of Hisham's Palace in June 2014 but could not enter fully because of security measures for a group of Palestinian Authority officials who were coming to the site. From what I could see the place was beautiful with its colons and preserved carved stones, but small compared to the above described property of Sebastia (12). Just like the property above, The Religious routes in the Holy Land, I believe that this property did not make it to the Tentative List because it is a trans boundary-nomination that does not make it in the competition on its own.

19. Qanat es-Sabeel (The Aqueducts of Jerusalem)

The reason why the property of Qanat es-Sabeel is not on the current Tentative List of Palestine is that under prevailing circumstances it stands no chance of entering the World Heritage List because of the political status of Jerusalem. To put it on the Tentative List today would only be a statement, and judging by the present Tentative List, this statement was not wanted. The aqueducts of Jerusalem were built from the Roman and Mamluk periods into the

British mandate, when the British replaced Ottoman ceramic pipes with metal pipes (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.40). Qanat es-Sabeel is the longest aqueduct in Palestine, reaching 68 kilometres from the Hebron hills via Bethlehem to Jerusalem. In the Justification of Outstanding Value the continuity of use during many centuries, its cultural significance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the role it has played in settlements and land-use across its reach are the main foci (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.41). The criteria that was attached to the property in the inventory was:

> (iv) The whole system is an outstanding example of a architectural and technological creation which illustrates an important stage in human history by demonstrating an ability to conceptualize and engineer an elaborate hydraulic installation capable of watering an urban population and its special religious needs. (v) Qanat es-Sabeel was an outstanding example of an ancient engineering water project (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.41).

20. Trade Routes

The description of the property Trade Routes is the shortest one in the *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value* and the Tentative List. In fact, the section on criteria and Justification of Outstanding Universal Values is longer than the presentation of the actual property itself. Two trade routes are represented, namely Frankincense and Via Maris (*Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites.* p.50). In the section Geographic location it is made clear that this is a trans-boundary nomination, even a trans-Atlantic nomination. I believe that the Trade Routes did not enter the Tentative List because borders undermine the value of the property and makes it fragmented and less valuable in its current form.

5. TENTATIVE LIST OF ISRAEL

The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel is similar to the Palestinian *Inventory of Cultural and Natural Heritage Sites of Potential Outstanding Universal Value. The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* was released in 2000 as a presentation of the proposed Tentative List of Israel. It was updated in July 2010 and now contains the World Heritage Sites of Israel as well. The copy I will use is the third edition, which was launched in 2011. The Working Committee for *The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* consisted of Professor Michel Turner of Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Dr. Eliezer Frankenberg, Israel Nature and Parks Authority and Yaacov Schaffer, Israel Antiquities Authority. It was coordinated by Daniel Bar-Elli, Secretary General of the Israel National Commission for UNESCO, and published by the Ministry of Education. The structure of *The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* bears close resemblance to the Palestinian inventory in the way it presents the properties with pictures, proposed criteria and a section called "Assurances of Authenticity and Comparison" (which in the Palestinian inventory came under two different headings, called "Statement of authenticity and/or integrity" and "Comparison with other similar properties").

Just like the Palestinian inventory, *The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* highlights the procedure of properties entering the Tentative List. Changes appear between this presentation and the properties that later appear on the Tentative List. It also has an educational purpose since it includes information in text, photography and maps that are not included within the rather strict formalities that UNESCO impose on the presentations of the Tentative Lists. Another resemblance to the Palestinian inventory is that *The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* also includes properties that did not enter the Tentative List. These will, just like the case of Palestine, be presented last. In the table below 21 properties are listed, 17 of which are on the Tentative List of Israel as of today (2015-04-07). Several of the sites have changed names before entering the Tentative List. The property descriptions on the Israeli Tentative List are considerably shorter than the Palestinian counterpart, it lacks the headings and paragraph division. The property Caves of Maresha and Bet-Guvrin in the Judean Lowlands as a Microcosm of the Land of the Caves became a World Heritage Site in 2014 and this walkthrough will begin with a short presentation of this site even though it will not be part of the deeper analysis of chapter 6. Comparing Lists.

Table 2. *Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel's transformation into Tentative List*

The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel 2000 (Third Ed. 2011)	Change made before entering Tentative List	Inscription Tentative List	Inscribed on World Heritage List
The Ancient Triple Arched Gate at Tel Dan and the Sources of the Jordan River	Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan	30/06/00	
The Great Rift Valley - Migratory Species - the Hula	The Great Rift Valley - migratory routes - The Hula	15/04/04	
Early Synagogues in the Galilee		30/06/00	
The Journeys of Jesus and the Apostles	The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & the Apostles	30/06/00	
Sea of Galilee and its Ancient Sites		30/06/00	
Hurvat Minnin		30/06/00	
Arbel – Arbel, Nebi Shueb, Horns of Hattin	Arbel (arbel, nebe shueb, horns of hittim)	30/06/00	
Pre-historic Sites 'Ubeidiya, Ggsher B'not Ya'acov, Mount Carmel, Sha'ar Hagolan			Sites of Human Evolution at Mount Carmel: The Nehal Me'arot / Wadi el-Mughara Caves
Degania and Nahalal		30/06/00	
Bet She'arim		31/01/02	
Decapolis - Bet she'an / Scythopolis; Sussita/Hippos	Bet she'an	30/06/00	
Caesarea		30/06/00	
White Mosque in Ramle		30/06/00	
Jerusalem – Mt. Zion	Jerusalem	30/06/00	
Region of the Caves and Hideouts Bet Guvrin-Maresha			Caves of Maresha and Bet-Guvrin in the Judean Lowlands as a Microcosm of the Land of the Caves
The Frontiers of the Roman Empire			
The Great Rift Valley - Geological Formations - Makhteshim Country	Makhteshim Country	30/09/01	
Mount Karkom		30/06/00	
Timna		30/06/00	
The Biblical Tel (extension) Bet-Shemesh, Gezer, Gerisa, Lachish, Arad			
The Crusader Fortresses Montfort, Belvoir, Atlit, Arsuf	The Crusader Fortresses	30/06/00	

5.1 THE SITES

1. Sites of Human Evolution at Mount Carmel: The Nehal Me'arot/Wadi el-Mughara Caves

This property was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2012. It is 54 ha and has a buffer zone of 370 ha (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1393). The property consists of the caves of Tabun, Jamal, el-Wad and Skhul on the western slopes of Mount Carmel. The site represents, according to the WHL, at least 500 000 years of human evolution. The property is inscribed with criterion (iii) and (v).

In *The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* (from now on shortened TLWHS) the property was named Pre-historic Sites 'Ubeidiya, Ggsher B'not Ya'acov, Mount Carmel, Sha'ar Hagolan (TLWHS p.24). It was categorized as an "Archaeological Site", "Serial Nomination" and "Cultural Landscape" and Mount Carmel was part of a bigger property that assembled several pre-historic sites. The sites that were included in TLWHS are briefly presented here. The Ubeidiya is a site south of Tiberias that is named after what the authors describe as a historical hill called Tel Ubeidiya. The site shows remains from around 1.5 million years and sixty plus layers of human settlements (TLWHS p.24). The site Gesher B'not Ya'acov is embedded in the Ya'acov Formation south of the Hula Valley. According to the authors, the formation provided unique opportunities to study the paleo-environmental background of hominid existence (Middle Pleistocene) in the area during the 1980s (TLWHS p.24). According to the authors, the oldest polished wood artefacts were found at this site together whit the earliest recorded vine plant. Sha'ar Hagolan is a single layer settlement from the Middle Bronze Age found by Kibbutz members in the 1940s.

2. Caves of Maresha and Bet-Guvrin in the Judean Lowlands as a Microcosm of the Land of the Caves

This archaeological property became a World Heritage Site in 2014, inscribed with criterion (v). The property is 259 ha (size of buffer zone not noted) and consists of complexes carved out under the former cities of Maresha and Bet Guvrin. Around 3500 underground chambers are attached to these complexes and they functioned as cisterns, oil-presses, stables, baths, and places for worship, hideaways and in the outskirts also burial places. The caves were constructed from the 8th century BCE, when Maresha was built, to the time of the Crusaders (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1370). The following criteria was chosen and argued for when adopted to the WHL by the Committee:

> **Criterion (v):** The underground archaeological site of Maresha–Bet Guvrin is an eminent example of traditional use of chalk subsurface strata, with the development of man-made caves and networks conducive to multiple economic, social and symbolic purposes, from the Iron Age to the Crusades (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1370).

In TLWHS the criteria (iii) and (vi) was attached to the property, in addition to (v) which the Committee inscribed the property. In the TLWHS the property is filed as an "Archaeological Site" and a "Cultural Landscape". TLWHS also contains several quotes where the property is connected to Judaism and Jewish settlements that are not any part of the description of the site made by UNESCO (TLWHS p.41).

3. Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan

The property Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan is a mixed site, with of both natural and cultural values. Tel Dan Nature Reserve and its springs provide half of the water to the Jordan River through the snow and rain that falls on Mt. Hermon and the Galilee. The water runs into the mountain making it the largest karstic spring[5] in the Middle East (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1469/). According to the State Party, the reserve contains the flora and fauna of indigenous bio-systems due to its location and unique environmental conditions (ITL 1469). Ancient Dan is a spot above the springs where evidence has been found of human settlements for 7000 years. During excavations in the 1960s a mud brick city gate from the Middle Bronze Age was discovered with three arches intact (ITL 1469). According to the authors, these are the earliest arches found on earth.

> Another exemplary find from Tel Dan is a part of a stone table from the second half of the ninth century BCE [sic] Carved onto it is an inscription of Hazael, King of Damascus, boasted of his victory over the King of Israel and King of the House of David. This is the first time that the name "House of David" was discovered outside of the Bible (ISL 1469).

To amplify the significance of the property, mention is made of archaeologists finding a ritual site with the note "… which dates to the time of dramatic events recounted in the Bible" (ITL 1469). There is no further explanation of what the ritual site actually consists of. The criteria chosen to represent the property in the Tentative List are (iv), (vi), (vii) and (x). There is no justification as to why these criteria are chosen. The description is the same in TLWHS. The name changed from The Ancient Triple Arched Gate at Tel Dan and the Sources of the Jordan River to Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan, which I estimate to be of little importance.

4. The Great Rift Valley - migratory routes - The Hula

The description of The Great Rift – migratory routes – The Hula is not displayed on the UNESCO webpage for reasons unclear. Only the name of the property is displayed within the description. It is therefore missing on the official Tentative List of Israel, and it has been for several months (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1886/) (2015-04-07). The natural property of The Great Rift Valley – migratory routes – The Hula went through a name change between TLWHS and the Tentative List where only the property name is visible. Only one of seven words was changed, but the importance is great and has shifted the meaning of the property. In the TLWHS it was named The Great Rift Valley – migratory *species* – The Hula. The name shifted from focusing on actual birds to focus on their routes. Since the comparison in the following chapter builds on the Tentative List and not the writing that preceded it, I find no satisfying way to describe the property.

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[5] A karst spring is a spring that is part of a karst system. That includes the underground drainage of a much larger area, which means that karst springs often have a very large discharge
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karst_spring)

5. Early Synagogues in the Galilee

Synagogue is a Greek word meaning "place of assembly". According to the Israeli Tentative List the synagogues functioned as community centres, accommodated schools, courts, and hostels and were a meeting point for the local Jewish community (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1470/). The following quote contains the first two sentences of the property Early Synagogues in the Galilee:

> The synagogue was a revolutionary institution from its inception, embodying dramatic religious and social changes. It appears to have been a uniquely Jewish creation that influenced the subsequent development of the Christian church and the Muslim mosque (ITL 1470).

According to the authors of the Tentative List the synagogue was the first monotheistic place where worship was held without idols and the prototype of buildings where Jesus prayed. The earliest synagogue remains in Palestine dates from the first century BCE to the first century CE (ITL 1470) and around 50 different synagogues have been identified in the Galilee, making it one of the most synagogue concentrated places in the world at the time.

> The dating of the remains of most ancient synagogues has led to a revolution in understanding the Jewish community in Palestine, which flourished here until the beginning of the Middle Ages (ITL 1470).

According to the Tentative List, the early synagogues of the Galilee had an excessively decorated exterior in Latin-Roman style and exihibited substantial influence from Hellenistic culture in the Aramaic and Greek languages that made up 85% of the inscriptions in the synagogues (ITL 1470). In the TLWHS, the section "Assurance of authenticity and comparison" describes the sites as "uncovered in their original context" (TLWHS p.15) and compares the buildings to findings in Syria and Turkey. It also mentions a route (presumably a tour of the synagogues) in the Galilee that "… begins at the city of Nazareth, travels via Sepheris, Kafar Kana, the Horns of Hittin and Magdala, around the Sea of Galilee and ending at Tiberias. (TLWHS p.15) this route is not mentioned in the description of the Tentative List. In the TLWHS the property is described as a "Group of Buildings", a "Cultural Landscape" and a "Serial nomination".

6. The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & the Apostles

According to the Tentative List, the route between different sites over the Lower Galilee constitutes a thread of Christian sacred places that gives visitors the chance to follow Jesus and the Apostles in their footsteps, trials and tribulations. Sites like Nazareth and Tiberias became modern cities while others have become ruins like Sepheris and Capernaum (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1471/).

"It is proposed to develop the sites already in existence while linking others and binding them together, to complete the historic story" (ITL 1471). According to the Tentative List, the route itself serves as a means of preserving heritage, "archaeological sites, and the scenery, natural woods and forests and traditional agriculture" (ITL 1471). Just how this serves the preservation of the sites is not specified, which would have been favorable since these are all natural resources that normally are mentioned in relation to tourism and problems relating to tearing. The property The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & The Apostles is, according to the

Tentative List, focused on the "Christian pilgrim population" but is suitable for visitors from all countries and with all religious backgrounds due to its scenery, cultural sites and hiking trails (ITL 1471).

> The ministering of Jesus and the Apostles between Tiberias and Nazareth represent the historic association of the cradle of Christianity, and the cultural landscapes of Mount Tabor, the Mount of Beatitude, Arbel and the Sea of Galilee provide an authentic backcloth to the historic events on this route (ITL 1471).

The description on the Tentative List is identical to the description made in TLWHS (p.16). In addition to the Tentative List TLWHS categorizes the property as an "Archaeological Site" and a "Heritage Route/Cultural Landscape" (TLWHS p.16).

7. Sea of Galilee and its Ancient Sites

The Sea of Galilee is the main fresh water sea of the Rift Valley. It has a perimeter of 55 kilometres and lays 210 metres under the sea level. According to the Tentative List the shores of the Sea of Galilee have been densely populated over generations, as the cities of Tiberias, Hammat Gader, Korazim, Kursi, Capernaum, and Tabgha attest (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1473/). Three of the mentioned cities are the principal focus points of the property, namely Korazim, Capernaum and Tabgha.

> Korazim displays the remains of a Jewish town, mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, renowned for the good wheat grown there. In the New Testament Korazim is mentioned as a city condemned by Jesus, together with Bet-Saida and Capernaum (ITL 1473).

The city was, according to the Tentative List description, excavated during in the early 1900s, during the British mandate in the 1920s and a third time in the 1960s. The description of what the property consists of in Korazim is vague, stating only that: "Most of the remains visible today date to the third to fourth centuries CE" (ITL 1473). The description of Capernaum is even shorter and only specifies that it was a Jewish village in Second Temple and Byzantine times and that it was, according to the Bible, the birthplace of Peter, where Jesus performed miracles.

> Tabgha, found on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, is the site of the multiplication of loaves and fishes [sic] according to Christian tradition. The area is first mentioned by the pilgrim Egeria in the late fourth century CE who mentions a church on the site. It appears that a chapel was erected here in the fourth century and a church built toward the middle of the fifth.

The last section of the Tentative List description of the property describes the mosaic floor in the fifth century church of Tabgha. *The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* contains the same text as the Tentative List apart from the "Assurance of authenticity and comparison" that states that the property is under the supervision of the Kinneret Authority (regarding its natural parts), the Israel Antiquities Authority, with regard to its cultural parts, and the Nature and Parks Authority (TLWHS p.18). According to the TLWHS the property is an "Archaeological Site", a "Cultural Landscape" and a "Natural Site".

8. Horvat Minnin

Horvat Minnin was given attention in the mid 1900s when scholars and pilgrims crossed Palestine in search for Biblical Sites. Horvat Minnin was mistaken for Capernaum, which is located farther north. In 1932 German archaeologists started a five-year excavation of Horvat Minnin and found an Umayyad palace (see number 18 of PTL) built between 705 and 715 CE (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1474/). Just like in the previous description the section "Assurance of authenticity and comparison" from *The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel* is left out in the Tentative List.

> This important site on the edge of the Sea of Galilee exemplifies one of the first Umayyad palaces, part of a series of these palaces constructed in the Middle East including Jericho, Palmyra and Amman. This archaeological site [is] in an agricultural environment without any alterations to the original fabric. It is protected by the Israel Nature and Parks Authority and the Israel Antiquities Laws (ISL 1474).

The property is described as an "Archaeological Site" and a "Trans-National Serial Nomination" in TLWHS. There is no further description on how this trans-national serial nomination would be organized. Palestine has Umayyad Palaces on its Tentative List to0, but neither of the States mentions the other's findings in words that would in any way open up for an organized connection between the properties – or the states (TLWHS p.20).

9. Arbel (arbel, nebe shueb, horns of hittim)

The property consists of three different elements, namely Arbel, Nebe Shueb and Horns of Hittim. Arbel is an ancient settlement in the eastern Lower Galilee. Torah scholars recognized it in the Second Temple period (Jewish time period discussed in chapter 6.) and Jewish study places were built on the site (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1475/). According to the Tentative List, Arbel is the place where the redemption would begin, as described in the Talmud and the Salvation literature. The site is also of "uncommon natural beauty" (ISL 1475).

> A few travelers mention the remains of a magnificent synagogue here, ascribed to Nittai of Arbela or to Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai, founded in the second century C.E. as were other synagogues of the Galilee. The synagogue appears to have been destroyed in the mid-eighth century CE (ITL 1475).

Nebe Shueb, close to Karnei Hittim, is, according to the Tentative List, the site of the tomb of Jethro (father-in-law of Moses). Nebe Shueb is the holiest site in Israel according to Druse tradition and the site is the central point of an annual pilgrimage and public festival celebrating Jethro (ISL 1475). The last element of the property is Horns of Hittim that is the site of a battle between the Crusaders and the Arabs in year 1187, which had a great impact on Palestine since it constituted the beginning of the end of Crusader power in the whole area (ISL 1475). The battle was held at the foot of Karnei Hittim. In TLWHS, the property is categorized as a "Group of Buildings" and a "Cultural Landscape". The latter of the two is easier to adopt into the description in both the Tentative List and the TLWHS since the focus is placed on a landscape with rather loose connections between the different elements of the property. The first sentence of the Tentative List reads: "These three elements provide an integrated and contiguous site" (ISL 1475) and one may conjecture that the sentence is there

to prove the point rather than to highlight it. The categorization of property type is not in the Tentative List (but they have lasted through updates of the TLWHS and three editions of the text), which makes the use of "group of buildings" misplaced since the only building mentioned in the property description is the synagogue that was destroyed in the eight century. The property is proposed in the "mixed" category on the Tentative List (ISL 1475).

10. Degania and Nahalal

Degania and Nahalal represent the first Kibbutz and Moshav settlements in Israel during late 19th and early 20th centuries. According to the Tentative List Degania is a direct result of ideas prepared since Thomas Moore wrote Utopia 1516 and developed by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. The Kibbutz was built in 1910 (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1478/) and planned in an egalitarian style around a central courtyard that included common workspaces, a dining room and showers. Nahalal Moshav represents another form of collective settlement where the farms are owned individually and public facilities are shared (ISL 1478). The architect Richard Kaufman planned the Moshav in 1921 in the form of a wheel where the community buildings constitute the hub and the spokes are farming buildings (ISL 1478). In the "Assurance of authenticity", that is not included in the Tentative List, it is stated that it is cooperative bodies consisted of settlement members who manage the sites on the property. They have, it is stated, "a continuing interest in the conservation of the historic aspects of the community" (TLWHS p.28).

11. Bet She'arim

Bet She'arim is located in the Lower Galilee, 20 kilometres from Haifa. In the Tentative List, the town is dated the period of Mishnah and Talmud with the commonly used, non-religious periods, Roman and Byzantine, in parenthesis (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1643/). Bet She'arim received its name in 1936 when an archaeological excavation found a marble tablet with the name written in Greek. Up to that point Bet She'arim had been known by its Arabic name, Sheikh Ibreik (ISL 1643). Bet She'arim became a prominent Jewish cultural center in 70 CE when the Sanhedrin, the religious-social leadership of the Jews, moved there following the destruction of Jerusalem. It was, according to the Tentative List, in Bet She'arim that the Jewish Oral Law – Mishnah – was gathered (ISL 1643). The property consists of a necropolis, a great cemetery, which was built up around the burial place of Rabbi Judah the Prince who was an eminent person in the Jewish community in the second century CE. The underground cemetery consists of over 30 different burial cave systems carved out in the limestone (ISL 1643).

> The wealth of artistic adornments contained in this, the most ancient extensive Jewish cemetery in the world, is unparalleled anywhere (ISL 1643).

The last part of the property description in the Tentative List is dedicated to the different periods in which Bet She'arim was constructed. A few new buildings are presented, among them a basilica church and a synagogue which I am not sure whether forms part of the actual property itself since they are only mentioned here (ISL 1643). In the "Assurance of Authenticity and Comparison" section of TLWHS more details of the excavations are revealed, "Bet She'arim was excavated by the archaeologist Professor Benjamin Mazar together with Yitzhak Ben-Zvi (later to become the president of Israel) who examined the caves and their astonishing contents" (ITL 1643). Bet She'arim is today a national park under the management of the Israel Nature and Parks Authority.

12. Bet she'an

Bet She'an was in TLWHS part of the property Decapolis – Bet She'an/Scythopolis; Sussita/Hippos (TLWHS p.31). Of the ten cities forming Decapolis, it is the only one west of the Jordan. The term Decapolis is not explained in the Tentative List, but TLWHS translates it as "ten cities" (TLWHS p.31). According to the Tentative List, Bet She'an is one of the oldest cities of the Ancient Near East. It contains around twenty layers of human settlements, the oldest dating from the fifth millennium BCE. The factors contributing to its historical importance are, according to the Tentative List, its position at major crossroads, fertile land and the water found nearby (http://whc. unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1479/). In the middle of the description, the Tentative List describes the historical population of the city

> The city's population during the Roman period consisted of pagans and large communities of Jews and Samaritans. The majority of Bet She'an's population during the Byzantine period was Christian (ISL 1479).

The TLWHS description of the Decapolis, which is not included in the Tentative List, states that: "We know very little about the composition of the population in these cities. The names appearing on the numerous inscriptions found in the region tell us nothing about the ethnic mix of the inhabitants, because both the Nabataeans and the Jews tended to adopt Greek names" (TLWHS p.31). The extended property in TLWHS is described as an "Archaeological Site" and a "Serial Nomination" (TLWHS p.31).

13. Caesarea

Caesarea is located on the Mediterranean coast, approximately halfway between Tel Aviv and Haifa. According to the Tentative List, the Persians built a settlement there that flourished during the Hellenistic period. In 30 BCE, Herod named it Caesarea in honour of Octavian Augustus Caesar (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1480/). In the Tentative List, this information is followed by a quote from Josephus' Jewish War about Herod and how he chose to build the city at this location. According to the Tentative List, it took 12 years to build the planned city of Caesarea with its network of roads, its temple, theater, amphitheater, markets and residential buildings (ISL 1480). The city had no springs or rivers so an aqueduct consisting of three canals (two were added over the years of use) was constructed to carry water from a spring 7.5 kilometers north of the city.

> After the destruction of Jerusalem, Caesarea became the most important city in the country [sic] Pagans, Samaritans, Jews and Christians lived here in the third and fourth centuries CE (ISL 1480).

Once again the property description accounts for the inhabitants during certain periods of time. Not once is mention made of an Arab population in or around the different sites. The last sentence of the Tentative List description of the property Caesarea declares that it is an outstanding example of city planning from the Herodian period and that it is part of a series of Crusader fortresses constructed in the Holy Land (ISL 1480). The Crusader Fortresses are part of the Tentative List (number 18 in the list) but Caesarea is only mentioned and not actually in the description of the Crusader Fortresses (ISL 1491). Caesarea is categorized as an "Archaeological Site" in the TLWHS (p.35). The descriptions on the Tentative List and the TLWHS are the same.

14. White Mosque in Ramle

According to the Tentative List the city Ramle was founded in the early eight century by Umayyad caliph Suleiman ib 'Abd el-Malik as the first Islamic city [no further explanation wether this is in Palestine or the world]. The Tentative List interposes a note on the contemporary population that is said to be a mix of Muslims, Jews and Christians (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1482/). Most of the early buildings have been covered by later constructions and according to the Tentative List, only the White Mosque has several preserved remains from the Umayyad period (ISL 1482). According to the Tentative List, excavations were made in the Mosque in 1949 (see chapter 3.1.2 Independence/Expulsion) on behalf of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Department of Antiquities and Museums to ascertain which buildings belonged to the original Mosque (ISL 1482). The Mosque was built in three main phases, all adding different layers to the building complex. Not mentioned in the Tentative List is the "Assurance of Authenticity and comparison" in "The Tentative List and World Heritage Sites of the State of Israel" that states that the White Mosque "… is an authentic ruin well documented in literature and in 15th century prints" (TLWHS p.37), even though it is categorized as a "Group of Buildings" in the same text and generally described as a standing building in both the TLWHS and the Tentative List.

15. Jerusalem*

The asterisk following the property name is described in the Tentative List as a proposed addition of Mount Zion to the current World Heritage List property, "Jerusalem - the Old City and Ramparts" (which on the WHL is named "Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls") and is further explained in the following quote where UNESCO clarifies its position on Jerusalem (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/148):

> The Committee at its 25th Session (Helsinki, 2001) endorsed the recommendation of the 25th session of its Bureau (Paris, June 2001) "to postpone further consideration of this nomination proposal until an agreement on the status of the City of Jerusalem in conformity with International Law is reached, or until the parties concerned submit a joint nomination" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1483/).

Even though the Committee will not consider the addition to the property, Israel has chosen to keep the property on its Tentative List, while the Palestinian property Qanat es-Sabeel (The Aqueducts of Jerusalem) that was left out when the Palestinian inventory was transformed into a Tentative List. It is notable that the Israeli Tentative List only mentions the aqueducts parenthetically whilst the Palestinian property rested on its presumed Outstanding Universal Value. Instead, it is the sites connected to religion that are the main part of the addition in the Israeli Tentative List:

> Jerusalem between these hills, forms a unique witness to the cultural cradle of the Western monotheistic religions, including Jewish sites identified during,the [sic] Temple periods, including the City of David Christian [sic] sites identified by Queen Helena including Gethsemane, the Church of the Ascension, Bethany, and the site of the Last Supper, and Islamic sites of the Night Journey of Mohammed (ISL 1483).

According to the Israeli Tentative List, the addition to the property is in accordance with the updated Operational Guidelines concerning buffer zones in that they provide "… the visual and historic context for ongoing site management and conservation" (ISL 1483). The UNESCO Committee Decision (38 COM 7A.4) from 2014 shows another version regarding the WHL Israel, and Jerusalem (The decision can be red in in full at http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/5952):

> Deeply concerned by the persistence of the Israeli illegal excavations and works conducted by settler groups in the Old City of Jerusalem…
> Regrets the damaging effect of the Jerusalem Light rail (tram line) at few meters from the Walls of the Old City of Jerusalem as well as the construction of the so called "City of David National Park"…
> Expresses its concern regarding the restricting obstacles imposed by Israel on the freedom of access that shall be provided to the competent national authorities including the Jordanian Waqf experts to safeguard the Old City of Jerusalem and both sides of its Walls

In this decision, the Committee decides to retain the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls on the List of World Heritage in Danger. The Palestinian Authority is only mentioned once, in relation to a State of Conservation report submitted to the World Heritage Centre (http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/5952). Following up on the quote in the Israeli Tentative List about buffer zones, and the dispute of the Israeli interventions, in and around, the inscribed property on the WHL, the Tentative List states:

> In addition, it is proposed that the site be extended to include Mount Zion as well as those sites that bear a unique testimony to the cultural traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This will help guarantee the conservation of the site from encroaching urbanism and help to eliminate the factors that may endanger those sites (ISL 1483).

16. Makhteshim Country

Makhteshim is plural for makhtesh which is the Hebrew name for mortar. In short the makhteshim are eroded valleys that formed mountainous ridges. The Tentative List describes them as geological windows into the earth's crust. The formations are shelters for fauna and keep it well preserved (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1486/). The inner areas of the makhteshim are rich of archaeological traces from nomads, and the outer areas have been used by settlers from the Nabatean, Roman and Byzantine periods according to the Tentative List. It also stated that hundreds of scientific papers have been made about the stratigraphy, petrology, mineralogy, fossils, tectonics, volcanology and morphology of the makhteshim (ISL 1486). In the TLWHS the property is described as a "Natural Site" and a "Cultural Landscape". Conversely, the property on the Tentative List is inscribed as a mixed site (ISL 1486).

17. Mount Karkom

Mount Karkom is described in the Tentative List as one of the best examples of rock engravings in the world (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1488/). Mount Karkom is located in the Negev desert in the south of Israel. Around 100 different Paleolithic sites have been found around Mount Karkom together with flint tool workshops and traces of huts.

The mountain exemplifies some of the world's best rock engravings, more than 100 of which have so far been identified from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Early and Middle Bronze Ages, Nabatean, Roman-Byzantine and beginning of the Early Arab periods (ISL 1488).

Accessing the mountain is hard due to the cliffs that rise about 300 meters above the surroundings. According to the Tentative List, there are two ways of accessing the mountain, one passage of steps and the other a snakelike trail (ISL 1488). The Tentative List mentions similar engravings in Sinai and the Jordan Plateau. In TLWHS the property is described as an "Archaeological Site" and a "Natural Site Serial Nomination". The property on the Tentative List is inscribed as a cultural property. The Tentative List and the TLWHS texts are close to identical accept that the TLWHS property was proposed as a serial nomination.

18. Timna

Timna is a valley in the south end of Israel containing four wadis that run from the Timna Cliffs to Nahal Arava (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1489/). Timna is, according to the Tentative List, an astonishing example of industrial archaeology since it was a site of mineral mining and smelting. The minerals shift between different types of copper around the Timna Cliffs and the Timna formation in the Lower Cambrian. Many different mining tools and eleven different camps containing slag heaps [A man-made mound or heap formed with the waste material] have been found around Timna and Arava, most of them belonging to the Late Bronze – Iron Age (ISL 1489). The Tentative List explains: "Pottery found at Timna was dated to the Iron Age I and II. In 1940 N. Glueck attributed copper-smelting in Timna to King Solomon, calling the area King Solomon's mines" (ISL 1489). The property on the Tentative List is a mixed site that conforms to TLWHS where it is categorized as an "Archaeological Site", a "Cultural Landscape" and a "Natural Site" (TLWHS p.48).

19. The Crusader Fortresses

The Crusader Fortresses were built in the course of the Crusader conquests between the 12th and the 15th centuries CE. Montfort, Belvoir and Atlit all offer evidence of a European architectural style brought to the Holy Land by the different orders: Teutonic, Hospitalliers, and Templars (http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1491/). Montfort was the main fortress of the Teutonic order built in 1226 and conquered by the Arabs and abandoned in 1271. According to the Tentative List, a hypothesis derived from the strong structure of the fortress holds, that the fortress was rebuilt by the order again in the 13th century (ISL 1491). The following quote follows after the information about the rebuilding of Montfort (p.52):

> Belvoir is a Crusader fortress, situated at the top of a sharp descent east of the Bet Shean Valley, and north of a spring near the remains of a small Jewish town named Kokhav, dating to the Second Temple period (ISL 1491).

According to the Tentative List Belvoir, was built around 1140 CE as a fortified farm by a family and later sold to the Hospitallier order. The name Belvoir means "fine view" and it was located at major crossroads, on a strategically important site (ISL 1491). Belvoir was, according to the Tentative List, one of the few Crusader fortresses still standing after the defeat in Hittin (here the Tentative List uses a different spelling of *Hittim,* which is part of previous mentioned property number 8) (ISL 1491). Atlit is a Crusader Fortress founded by

the Templars in 1218 CE, located 30 kilometers south of Haifa, close to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Apollonia-Arsuf is a city that, according to the Tentative List, was founded in the Persian period. In the beginning of the description of the city it says, "The city includes an impressive Crusader fortress and a port on its northwest side" (ISL 1491), which is the only mentioning of a Crusader fortress.

> Apollonia-Arsuf presents a unique picture of continuous occupation from the Persian to the end of the Crusader periods. From the time of its foundation, and especially since the Byzantine period, it was an important port and commercial and crafts center. It developed into a large city and was the only port in the southern Sharon Plain (ISL 1491).

The text tells more about the history preceding the Crusaders than it does about the Crusaders. In TLWHS, under "Assurance of Authenticity and Comparison", it is stated that the remains of a Crusader Fortress was found in 2003, a fortress that up to this point is not mention, which suggests that Apollonia-Arsuf was added to the already completed description (TLWHS p.54).

20. The Frontiers of the Roman Empire

The Frontiers of the Roman Empire is a geographically immense property that is not on the current Tentative List of Israel. Between the years 132-135 CE the name Judea was changed to Provincia Syria Palaestina. Around the year 400 CE, it was divided into three provinces, Paleastina Tertia (Negev, southern Jordan and the greater part of Sinai Peninsula), Limes Palaestinae and Limes Arabiae (from Aila along the Jordanian Heights) (TLWHS p.43). According to the authors of TLWHS, the strength of the Roman Empire was manifested in the ways in which it shifted defence policy to fit different political and geographical conditions throughout its domains. In the southern parts of Palestine, Roman veterans were posted in semi-civilian settlements with both forts and agricultural land (TLWHS p.43). The section on "Assurance of Authenticity and Comparison" states: "The southern part of Israel — the Negev, the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea basin, introduces a unique combination of Roman military posts, agricultural settlements from late antiquity together with cities and towns" (TLWHS p.43).

Nine different "main sites" are listed under "Assurance of Authenticity and Comparison" of which none is described in the text. The criteria chosen to match the property are (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v) (TLWHS p.43).

21. The Biblical Tel (extension) Bet-Shemesh, Gezer, Gerisa, Lachish, Arad

The Biblical Tel (extension) – Bet-Shemesh, Gezer, Gerisa, Lachish, Arad is an extension to the World Heritage Site Biblical Tells - Megiddo, Hazor, Beer Sheba, which was inscribed on the WHL in 2005 (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1108). The property extension is currently not on the Tentative List of Israel. The authors determine that a "remarkable development in the technology of water collection occurred in the biblical period within the tels" (TLWHS p.49). According to the authors, eight tells were chosen to demonstrate the creativity that the pursuit of water brought with the different technologies to "this precious fluid of life in ancient Israel" (TLWHS p.49). The only site mentioned in the name of the property that actually appears in the description is Lachish. It is described as a biblical city, first settled in the fourth millennium BCE and an important Canaanite city in the second millennium BCE.

According to the biblical text it was conquered and destroyed by Joshua and the Israelite tribes. Between the 9th-6th centuries BCE it became a fortress city in the kingdom of Judah, the second most important city after Jerusalem, the capital (TLWHS p.49).

Following the text quoted, the authors list important constructions that were carried out in Lachish during that period on the city-walls, city-gate and the palace-fort. In the description an "impressive deep well" is mentioned. The continued history of Lachish is then accounted for, but no more mentioning of anything relating to water supply and the well. The property is categorized as an "Archaeological Site" and a "Serial Nomination" with the criteria (ii), (iii), (iv) and (vi) which is the same as the Biblical Tells - Megiddo, Hazor, Beer Sheba already inscribed on WHL.

6. COMPARING LISTS

In the first section of this chapter, 6.1 Criteria, the criteria chosen by the States Parties are presented and analysed by comparison. The second section, 6.2 The Use of Words, is a comparison between the two Tentative Lists and the use of wording. Section three, 6.3 History/Authenticity, and four, 6.4 Inclusion/Exclusion examine political claims based on history, authenticity and religion.

6.1 CRITERIA

Choosing the right criteria is important for the States Parties since it has impact on how the properties are valued and interpreted. It is within this part of the Tentative List that it is possible to present eye-openers to the future readers (advisory bodies and the Committee itself) and to guide and direct the reader to the values of the property. Sometimes the match between the property and the chosen criteria is perfect, and the transition from property description to criteria is seamless and with clear direction. Property listings with an incoherent use of criteria are hard to follow, which might threaten the credibility of the property as a whole. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the Israeli Tentative List does not have specific headings in which outstanding universal value is justified, and that goes for the motivation of criteria too. The Palestinian Tentative List motivates the criteria for all its properties. Simply counting the criteria referred to by the States Parties, with regard to their properties on the Tentative List, some questions pose themselves: Is there any difference in the criteria preferred? If so, what are the possible reasons for this? Does it say anything about what kind of properties the states include on their lists? These kinds of questions have guided my analysis.

There are no official statistics from UNESCO on the criteria used by States Parties, or by the Committee, for the properties inscribed on the World Heritage List. On the other hand ICOMOS presents statistics in "What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties" (2008). This publication will be used to give context when discussing criteria chosen by the States Parties in their Tentative Lists. Within the statistics as presented by ICOMOS, keywords are added to each heading presenting the criterion. I will use these in my presentation since they clarify and summarize each criterion. Israel has 17 properties on its Tentative List and to these 36 criteria is attached. Palestine has 13 properties and 31 criteria. These are the basic numbers from which this analysis proceeds. On page 66 the Tentative Lists – properties and criteria – are presented in full through two tables (table 3-4) Notice that 5 of 17 properties on the Israeli Tentative List have no specified criteria and that they are included in the count of percentage in the table (4/5 of these are "mixed" sites and the 1/5 is "natural"). The table on page 67 (table 5-6) presents the quantity of criteria used followed by the percentage of frequency in each Tentative Lists. The numbers reveal some immediate differences. In the following sections the different criteria will be discussed.

Table 3-4 *Properties of the Tentative Lists with attached category and criteria*

Israel Tentative List	Category	Criteria
Arbel (Arbel, Nebe Shueb, Horns of Hittim)	Mixed	
Bet She'an	Cultural	(ii)(iv)(v)(vi)
Beth She'arim	Cultural	(i)(ii)(iv)(vi)
Caesarea	Cultural	(ii)(iv)(v)(vi)
Degania & Nahalal	Cultural	(v)(vi)
Early Synagogues in Galilee	Cultural	(iii)(vi)
Horvat Minnim	Cultural	(iv)
Jersusalem*	Cultural	(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)(v)(vi)
Makhteshim country	Mixed	
Mount Karkom	Cultural	(iii)(v)
Sea of Galilee & its Ancient Sites	Mixed	
The Crusader Fortresses	Cultural	(iv)(v)(vi)
The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & the Apostles	Cultural	(iii)(vi)
The Great Rift Valley - migratory routes - The Hula	Natural	
Timna	Mixed	
Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan	Mixed	(iv)(vi)(vii)(x)
White Mosque in Ramle	Cultural	(ii)(iv)

Palestine Tentative List	Category	Criteria
Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan	Cultural	(i)(ii)(iii)(iv)
Anthedon Harbour	Cultural	(ii)(iv)
El-Bariyah: wilderness with monasteries	Cultural	(i)(ii)(iii)
Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans	Cultural	(iii)(vi)
Old town of Hebron al-Khalil & its environs	Cultural	(ii)(iv)(vi)
Old Town of Nablus and its environs	Cultural	(ii)(iv)
Qumran: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls	Cultural	(iii)(iv)(vi)
Sebastia	Cultural	(ii)(v)
Tell Umm Amer	Cultural	(ii)(iii)(vi)
Throne Villages	Cultural	(iii)(iv)
Umm Al-Rihan forest	Natural	(x)
Wadi Gaza Coastal Wetlands	Natural	(x)
Wadi Natuf and Shuqba Cave	Cultural	(ii)(iii)(iv)

Table 5. *Number of criteria used for properties on the Tentative Lists*

Number of criteria used for properties on the Tentative Lists		
Criteria	Israel	Palestine
(i)	2	2
(ii)	5	8
(iii)	4	7
(iv)	8	7
(v)	6	1
(vi)	9	4
(vii)	1	0
(x)	1	2

Percentage of criteria used for properties in Tentative Lists		
Criteria	Israel	Palestine
(i)	12%	**15%**
(ii)	29%	**62%**
(iii)	24%	**54%**
(iv)	47%	**54%**
(v)	**35%**	8%
(vi)	**53%**	31%
(vii)	**6%**	0%
(x)	6%	**15%**

Table 6. *Percentage of criteria used for properties on the Tentative Lists*

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6.1.1 (i) MASTERPIECES

Criterion (I,) "to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius". is used twice by both States Parties. Beth She'arim is the first Israeli property with this criterion attached to it. The focus of this property listing, as shown above, is on the Jewish history of the property, as is clear from the quote: "The wealth of artistic adornments contained in this, the most ancient extensive Jewish cemetery in the world, is unparalleled anywhere" (ISL 1643). The second property that has been attached with criterion (i) is Jerusalem. The Israeli Tentative List suggests the extension of Mount Zion to the current property, "Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls".

Palestine uses criterion (i) in relation to Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan, which the Tentative List, describes as the oldest and lowest (258 meters below sea level) city on earth. The Palestinian Tentative List motivates the chosen criterion under Justification of Outstanding Universal Value, and (i) is motivated as follows: "The Neolithic town of Tell es-Sultan, and its fortification system including the tower, represent a unique example of a farming and urban development some 10,000 years ago, the earliest such structure known in the world and, as such, a work of creative genius" (PTL 5704). The second property of the Palestinian Tentative List, to which this criterion is attached, is El-Bariyah: wilderness with monasteries. In its description, the use of the criterion is motivated: "Several factors in el-Bariyah justify the use of this criterion: the domestication of fire in the prehistoriccaveofUmm [sic] Qatafa, the building-up of a large scale artificial fortification mound at Herodion, and the inhabited landscape of desert monasteries" (PTL 5708).

According to ICOMOS it is clear that the use of criterion (i) has changed in frequency of use, from being used upon inscription to the World Heritage List as often as in 50% of the sites in the early years of the Convention, to around 15-20%, in the 1990s (What is OUV? p.18). According to ICOMOS this has to do with the types of sites nominated. In the early years many well-known artistic masterpieces were nominated, followed later by vernacular sites (p.19). Worth noting is that this criterion has been used in the 2000s to "justify an increasing number of applications [buildings] which are less aesthetically and rather more technically oriented." (p.19). Criterion (i) is in the bottom three in representation on the lists since it has only been used four times in total. Within the criterion it is stated that properties should represent a "masterpiece of human creative genius", which makes it a important and treasured criteria, and I believe that it is not by chance that the listing of Mount Zion and Ancient Jericho – the holiest place of Judaism – and the oldest city in the world are motivated by this criterion. These two properties are both heavyweights on their respective Tentative Lists. It is worth noting that the world heritage site, the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls, is not inscribed with reference to (i) in its current scope.

6.1.2 (ii) VALUES/INFLUENCES

Criterion (ii) "to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design" is used five times by Israel and eight times by Palestine. This makes (ii) a criterion used for 29% of the properties in the Israeli Tentative List, and in relation to 62% of the properties in Palestine's Tentative List, which in percentage is the biggest use of a single criterion within the two lists. Bet She'an, Beth She'arim, Caesarea, White Mosque in Ramle, and Jerusalem are the properties that for which the criterion is used in the Israeli Tentative List. The Palestinians properties are: Ancient

Jericho: Tell es-Sultan, Anthedon Harbour, El-Bariyah: wilderness with monasteries, Old town of Hebron al-Khalil & its environs, Old Town of Nablus and its environs, Sebastia, Tell Umm Amer, and Wadi Natuf and Shuqba Cave. This criterion is a broad one and it is significant to the Tentative List of Palestine, which ha more than doubled the use compared to Israel.

Caesarea is described as a well-planned city made by Herod the Great. It has, according to the Israeli Tentative List, a structured network of roads, and a 7.5 km long aqueduct that supplied the city with water. The use of this criterion with reference to the property of Jerusalem also relates to water: "The water source of Jerusalem is the Gihon Spring/Mary's Well that has proven over the generations to be the focal point for the city and its development, including water installations and aqueducts bearing evidence to the changing sociopolitical patterns of the area" (ISL 1483). The irony of Israel using the criterion in relation to water is that Israel today is controlling the water in the Holy Land, which have led to strict critic from Amnesty USA (*Troubled Waters – Palestinians Denied Fair Access to Water*) who claims that Israel is breaching international law by its act concerning water availability to Palestinians in the West Bank (p.85). As the Israeli Tentative List puts it, the water from Gihon Spring/Mary's well has proven over the generations to be the focal point for the city and its development, which presumably is true about development within the West Bank in general.

In the case of the Palestinian use of the criterion (eight properties), I will choose the two most complex properties to represent it, two properties with an obvious conflict. The listing for the Old town of Hebron al-Khalil & its environs describes the relevance of the criterion in these terms: "The cultural heritage of Hebron/*al-Khalil* exhibits an important interchange of human values, witnessed by the presence of diverse cultures throughout the centuries, reflected in the architecture and planning of the city and in the archaeological sites on the outskirts of the town" (PTL 5705). The Tentative List further argues: "With its Mamluk and Ottoman buildings, associated with the Ibrahim Mosque and the Prophets' Tombs, which represent an extraordinary historical and spiritual landmark, the city displays the evolution of a complex urban fabric as a result of continuous transformations and adaptations to the landscape" (PTL 5705). In the last section about Old town of Hebron in relation to the criterion it is clarified that the values/influences of criterion (ii) is made from the Arab rule of the city.

According to ICOMOS the use of (ii) often is associated with the (i) masterpieces "which would indicate that many important achievements of "creative genius" have also had great impact, which is not surprising". One of the impacts that the property Hebron/al-Khalil attests is that different values/influences, that is the essence of the criterion, can have major difficulties to co-exist. Challenging values and influences are further elaborated in this chapter. The property Sebastia, on the Palestinian Tentative List, has the criterion (ii) attached as one of two criteria. In relation to Sebastia, the Tentative Lists states that criterion (ii) is a match because "the city exhibits an important interchange of human values characterized by a distinct landscape (terrace type of landscape composed of mainly olive, apricot and fig trees)" (PTL 5718). Sebastia is, as earlier mentioned, under Israeli control. The two Palestinian examples of the use of the criterion (ii) give on indication of the broad scope for its use, from architecture to city planning, to and landscapes, as in Sebastia. The exhibit of an "important interchange of values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world" is not exhibited within the Tentative Lists, moreover, in the case of Sebastia the use of the criterion might be redundant since Palestine already has a property inscribed on the WHL with this kind of distinct terraced landscape in "Palestine: Land of Olives and Vines – Cultural Landscape of Southern Jerusalem, Battir.

Caesarea seems to be the property that best corresponds to the criterion (ii) – a well-planned Roman city with a structured network of roads, and the technical expertise mentioned within the criterion, assembled in the aqueduct that supplied the city with water. To stress the importance of the criteria, the arguments need to function between the different properties as *one* list. Even though single properties are chosen for nomination, there is a risk involved in advancing the same argument on behalf of several properties, as they may be seen to reduce the significance of them all. Caesarea has a technically important aqueduct, but it is not clear to my whether it is of greater importance than the aqueducts in Jerusalem, (from which Palestine built a property in its inventory), and which are also mentioned in the Israeli extension to the Jerusalem property on the WHL.

6.1.3 (iii) TESTIMONY

Criterion (iii), "to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared". According to the ICOMOS publication, "What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties", criterion (iii) is often used for inscription of archaeological sites, "or in some cases also to other types of sites that testify to bygone traditions" (p.25). It is extensively used in the two Tentative Lists, but not as much as one might think, considering the preponderance of archaeological sites on both lists.

Criterion (iii) is used on 24% of the Israeli properties, and 54% of the Palestinian properties. The use of the criterion of testimony constitutes one of the biggest differences between the two lists compared. In the Israeli Tentative List it is used in relation to the following properties: Early Synagogues in Galilee, Jerusalem*, Mount Karkom, and The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & the Apostles. I will only account for two of them, choosing The Early Synagogues in the Galilee because the description has a rather explicit definition of the criterion and Jerusalem* since it has been presented earlier in this chapter. The cultural tradition that the Israeli Tentative List focuses on in the property Early Synagogues in Galilee is the Jewish tradition. It is made clear that:

> The synagogue was a revolutionary institution from its inception, embodying dramatic religious and social changes. It appears to have been a uniquely Jewish creation that influenced the subsequent development of the Christian church and the Muslim mosque… The early synagogues of the Galilee were the first buildings representing monotheistic space where people worshipped without idols. They were also the initial prototypes where Jesus prayed (ISL 1470).

Being that the synagogues were the prototypes for worship in both Christianity and Islam, that this testimony bears unique historical roots and that it is still a culture that is very much alive. To drive this point here, there is a short digression about Jesus as part of this unique testimony, thus including Christian believers as part of the cultural tradition, a conclusion they who might not have drawn themselves otherwise. Regarding Jerusalem the argument for the use of criterion (iii) is clearly stated: "it is proposed that the site be extended to include Mount Zion as well as those sites that bear a unique testimony to the cultural traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam" (ISL 1483).

In the Palestinian list, criterion (iii) is attached to Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan, El-Bariyah: wilderness with monasteries, Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans, QUMRAN: Caves and

Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Tell Umm Amer, Throne Villages, and Wadi Natuf and Shuqba Cave. Regarding Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan, the list states: "In that it is better-excavated [sic] than other tells, Tell es-Sultan provides a unique, and will always provide an exceptional testimony to now disappeared [sic] cultural traditions and civilizations up to the 6th century BC. An outstanding example of this is its famous plastered skulls with inlaid shell eyes, one of the earliest instances of ancestor worship in the world" (PTL 5704). The lines quoted are carefully phrased to match exactly what the Committee asks for from the properties, thus highlighting the frames of the authorized heritage discourse (discussed in chapter 1.3 Theories and Methodology). This raises questions about whether values, views, history, and heritage in some (or many cases) fall between the different criteria when States Parties try to satisfy the Committee with the "right answers", in order even to be considered for nomination to the WHL. Another good example of this is provided by the argument for criterion (iii) in relation to Qumran: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls: "Qumran bears a unique testimony to a cultural tradition which has disappeared: the religious-based way of life of the otherwise unknown Essene community living in its specific type of settlement" (PTL 5707). The AHD will be discussed in relations to these questions again in this chapter.

6.1.4 (iv) TYPOLOGY

(iv), "to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history". According to ICOMOS, criterion (iv), has since the 1980s been the criterion most often used in relation to the properties listed in the WHL (What is OUV? p.28). ICOMOS further states that criterion (iv) "has sometimes been seen as the easiest way to justify a property, when these do not seem to fit the other criteria". The most common type of properties inscribed with reference to (iv) is religious properties (26%), followed by historic towns (20%), military structures (14%) and landscapes (11%). The criterion (iv) is also used more than any other within the two Tentative Lists: a total of eight times in the Israeli one and seven in the Palestinian one, with a frequency of use of 47% and 54% respectively. In the Israeli Tentative List criterion (iv) is used to account for Bet She'an, Beth She'arim, Caesarea, Horvat Minnim, Jerusalem*, The Crusader Fortresses, Triple-arch Gate and Sources of the Jordan, and White Mosque in Ramle.

Horvat Minnim is the only cultural property whose value is accounted for with reference to only one criterion. The description of Horvat Minnim in the Tentative List is, as mentioned in chapter five, rather short. Horvat Minnim is an Umayyad palace built 705-715 CE as a home for a caliph. Palestine had a property in its Inventory called Umayyad Palaces, which was not transferred to the Tentative List. In the Palestinian description it was clear that Umayyad Palaces was a trans boundary-nomination and it mentioned palaces in Syria, Lebanon Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. It also mentioned that all of the countries that have an Umayyad palace have included at least one palace on their Tentative Lists. It is astonishing that the only property listed with only one criterion on the Israeli Tentative List is an Umayyad Palace as they are actually common in the region. Another thing that makes this property stand out is the fact that Umayyad palaces have a deep connection to Arab cultural tradition and the faith of Islam, in contrast to most of the Israeli properties that are in general framed with reference to Jewish history.

The second property that has a direct connection to Islam, the White Mosque in Ramle, is also given the criterion of typology (i.e. a certain type of building). According to the Israeli Tentative List, an Umayyad caliph founded the city of Ramle as the "first Islamic city". It does not clarify whether it is the first Islamic city in the Holy Land, the region, or in the world. The use of the criterion conforms to the statistics from ICOMOS, which reveals that the most common properties inscribed with reference to criterion (iv) are religious buildings. The first test that a property must meet when inscribed on the WHL is to be of outstanding universal value. In that light, it may be questionable so to use the criterion to justify the inscription of this property, as there are a number of old and valuable mosques in the region, which are more than ruins. Ibrahim Mosque in Hebron, and Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem are both two mosques with great significance within the Holy Land and Islam in general. These mosques, as opposed to White Mosque in Ramle, make claims to the same holy places as important Jewish sites. In the case of Hebron, the Ibrahim Mosque is located at the Sanctuary of Abraham, which in Jewish tradition is known as the Cave of Machpelah, and constitutes the second most sacred site of Judaism. The most sacred site of Judaism is the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, where the Al Aqsa Mosque lays (which in turn is the third holiest place of Sunni Islam). As will be further evaluated in this chapter, Israel hardly acknowledges the importance these places has for Islam. By listing the White Mosque in Ramle, a ruin, to some of the most important mosques in the world can, according to me, be interpreted as a comfortable, way of "including" Arab history and Islam, but without making any sacrifices concerning the historical and territorial claims of the important Jewish sites.

In the Palestinian Tentative List, criterion (iv) is represented by Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan, Anthedon Harbour, Old town of Hebron al-Khalil and its environs, Old Town of Nablus and its environs, QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Throne Villages, and Wadi Natuf and Shuqba Cave. Regarding Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan, it is argued, "the site provides valuable information about architectural and craft development… and the development of various handicrafts… illustrating significant stages in human history" (PTL 5704). In the motivation of the use of (iv) concerning QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls the State Party declares: "The highly structured, monastic-type space displays an outstanding architectural and technological ensemble involving buildings designed to serve a range of specific functions, water supply and cemetery, all strictly connected to the life-style and aspirations of the Essene community" (PTL 5705). The motivation of the property of QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls is harder to criticize, than for example, White Mosque in Ramle, since the Palestinian Tentative List connects the discussed typology to the Essene community that left exclusive traces of its existence at this very place. At the same time the Palestinian description fails to emphasize the importance the place has for the Jewish people, which in the end has the same result as the focus of the description of the White Mosque in Ramle, namely exclusion. Where the Israeli Tentative List diminishes the Arab contribution to the Holy Land, The Palestinian Tentative List omits the Jewish community. The Operational Guidelines (discussed in chapter 1) states that comparative analysis is to be made between the proposed nomination and properties of similarity around the world. The motivation of Qumran: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls therefore builds a stronger case than the White Mosque in Ramle that in the case of criterion (iv) is reduced to a certain type of building.

6.1.5 (v) LAND-USE

(v), "to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change". According to ICOMOS, criterion (v) is the one least used for inscription to the World Heritage List. ICOMOS further explain: "The criterion has been used to justify archaeological sites, rural settlements as well as urban areas, which are considered to be vulnerable to irreversible change" (What is OUV? p.31). There is great divergence in the use of the criterion between the Israeli and Palestinian lists. The former uses the criterion six times and the latter only once. Israel uses the criterion for 35% its properties but Palestine only for 8%.

The Israeli properties listed with reference to criterion (v) are: Bet She'an, Caesarea, Degania & Nahalal, Jerusalem*, Mount Karkom, and The Crusader Fortresses. Bet She'an is described, by the Israeli Tentative List, as one of the oldest cities in the Middle East, containing around twenty layers of settlements (ISL 1479). "The unique importance of Bet She'an since ancient times is a result of a combination of factors, including its position at a major crossroads, the fertile land surrounding it, and the abundance of water found nearby" (ISL 1479). Within the short presentation of Bet She'an it is hard to pinpoint to any reference to land-use or settlement. The description of the property is scattered and does not focus on one specific time-layer. Following the quote, describing its position as at a major crossroads, the land and water, the text continues with a description of the Bet She'an as an administrative center of King Solomon's kingdom, and then accounts for the population in the city during the Roman and Byzantine periods. Even though the description is scattered, the conclusion within the Tentative List is that "Ancient Bet She'an, once a Roman city… Archaeologists claim that when excavations are completed, it will be one of the most impressive uncovered Roman cities in the Middle East" (ISL 1479), the values are based on the Roman period. The listing for Caesarea also refers to criterion (v). As mentioned above in relation to (ii), this property too connects to the Roman period. In both these properties, the criterion (v) is not main criterion, but functions as an addition to other criteria.

The only Palestinian property that refers to criterion (v) is Sebastia. The following justification of how the criterion is met is taken from Justification of Outstanding Universal Values on the Tentative List: "The city is an example of a traditional human settlement, which is representative of different cultures from the Iron Age, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic periods to the present time, within a cultural area, which resulted in a mixture of various archaeological and cultural contexts" (PTL 5718). The Palestinian Tentative List use of the criterion does not point to any one settlement but instead justifies one city, one place, as a home for several settlements.

6.1.6 (vi) ASSOCIATIONS

(vi), "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance". ICOMOS describes this criterion as fundamental to the WHL, even though its use has been restricted in use by the Committee (What is OUV? p.33). "Religious association appears the strongest, and it refers to a variety of religions or spiritual systems" according to ICOMOS (ibid). One of the properties inscribed with reference to the criterion is "The Old City of Jerusalem [that] is relevant to three major religions". According to ICOMOS, "Criterion (vi) has been justified in reference to ideas, whether artistic, cultural, political or also related to economics. It has been

justified in relation to ideas and traditions, which could be associated with culture or with mythology, religion or even commerce" (What is OUV? P.34).

The criterion of association is used nine times on the Israeli Tentative List and four times on the Palestinian list, or for 53% of the Israeli properties compared to 31% of the Palestinian ones. On the Israeli list it appears in connection with the properties: Bet She'an, Beth She'arim, Caesarea, Degania & Nahalal, Early Synagogues in Galilee, Jerusalem*, The Crusader Fortresses, The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & the Apostles, and Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan. In the case of Bet She'an, an association is made to King David and Solomon: "The Philistine rulers of Bet She'an displayed the bodies of Saul and his sons upon its walls after they had been killed in the Battle of Mount Gilboa. King David conquered the city, which later became one of the administrative centers of Solomon's Kingdom" (ISL 1479).

In general, the description of Bet She'an is focused on the Roman city and the quote above is the only passage that connects the site to living tradition and beliefs. As for Early Synagogues in Galilee, the connection to the criterion is made clear at the very beginning of the property description: "The synagogue was a revolutionary institution from its inception, embodying dramatic religious and social changes. It appears to have been a uniquely Jewish creation that influenced the subsequent development of the Christian church and the Muslim mosque" (ISL 1470). The description further clarifies that "the early synagogues of the Galilee were the first buildings representing monotheistic space where people worshipped without idols".

The Palestinian use of criterion (vi) is attached to the following properties: Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans, Old town of Hebron al-Khalil and its environs, QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Tell Umm Amer. The following quote represents the motivation for the use of the criterion with reference to the property QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls:

> Qumranis [sic] known world-wide as the place of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. This event, and therefore the site, is directly and tangibly associated with the living traditions, ideas, beliefs and literary works of the Essene community which, through its writings, their survival and their fundamental importance for Judaic and Christian beliefs and theological scholarship, are of outstanding universal value (PTL 5707).

The motivation focus in the first instance on the Essene community, and only secondarily to its importance to Judaic, and Christian beliefs. It stands in stark context to the way that the Israel Nature and Parks Authority describes the site on its webpage: "The uncovering of the remains of the settlement of Qumran… and the Dead Sea Scrolls found nearby, ignited the imagination of both Jews and Christians", and continues which most emphasis on "the oldest copies of the Hebrew Scriptures ever found…" (The quote is displayed in full in the description, 6. QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls). The same place is described as important because of the Essene community by Palestine and because of the earliest found Hebrew Scriptures by Israel, which is very signifying for many of the properties inscribed on the Tentative Lists, but in this case put very explicitly through the different descriptions. I believe that this example would have been the case with many properties if they were to be nominated by the two States Parties simultaneously (somewhat noticeable in the nominated extension to the WHL site Jerusalem, even though the current inscription was not proposed by Palestine), and it is clear in the cases of Sebastia and El-

Bariyah: wilderness and monasteries, the two places that together with Qumran are controlled by Israel within the West Bank as Israeli national parks. These examples will be further discussed in upcoming subchapters.

In the motivation of use to Old town of Hebron al-Khalil and its environs it is stated:

> "Hebron/*al-Khalil* is a clear example of a place directly and tangibly associated with events and living traditions, and especially with ideas and beliefs, relating to outstanding universal values. Its significance as a worship and the burial place of the patriarchs Abraham/Ibrahim, Isaac and Jacob and the matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca and Leah spans the categories of time and space, situating Hebron/al-Khalil in a position of primary importance to humanity. The potential role of the city as a place for 21st century reconciliation is also an asset to bear in mind if and whenHebron [sic] is recommended for inscription on the World Heritage List" (PTL 5705).

The motivation contains several interesting formulations. The first sentence being somewhat redundant since it only summarizes the criterion text, almost word by word, in relation to Hebron/al-Khalil. The second, and third part are more informative as they make clear why the property listing refers to this criterion, and an extra significance is projected on the property as a potential place of reconciliation. It should be noted that this only time that the conflict between the two states is overtly referred to in the Tentative Lists, not counting the mentioning of properties described as under Israeli control. The burial place in Hebron is one of the holiest Jewish places in the Holy Land. One might venture to suggest that the first step to reconciliation might have been taken if the Palestinian Tentative List had added the Jewish name of the place, Cave of Machpelah, to the property description, alongside the Cave of the patriarchs.

6.1.7 (vii) NATURAL BEAUTY

(vii), "to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance". It is only used once in the two Tentative Lists, by Israel, in relation to the mixed property Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan. The description accounts for the natural parts of the property but does not engage in describing their beauty.

6.1.8 (x) NATURAL HABITATS

Criterion (x) "to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation". This criterion is used three times in total, once by Israel with reference to the Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan, and twice by Palestine, with reference to the Umm Al-Rihan Forest and the Wadi Gaza Coastal Wetlands. The Israeli property description of Triple-arch Gate at Dan & Sources of the Jordan summons criterion (x) with the following quote: "The tiny Tel Dan Reserve covers only about 120 acres, but due to its location and unique environmental conditions, the reserve contains flora and fauna and indigenous bio-systems" (ISL 1469). This short not is all that connects Tel Dan to criterion (x). The rest of the description describes Ancient Dan, the settlements surrounding Tel Dan, which are cultural sites.

Both the Palestinian properties that refer to criterion (x) have it as their only criteriaion. The motivation for its use in relation to the Umm Al-Rihan Forest is that: "… the abundance of the endemic flora and fauna, including threatened and endangered species, in the area of Umm Al-Rihan makes of this site one of the last spontaneous Mediterranean forests in the Middle East. Therefore, the site is proposed to represent a case for on-site conservation and research of theEastern [sic] Mediterranean Basinin [sic] land forest ecosystem" (PTL 5721). The motivation is then further elaborated, noting that "the indigenous plants that exist in the area of Umm Al-Rihan forest creates [sic] a special habitat that maintains diverse fauna species, becoming an area that is important as a roosting and nesting place for many passerines and other breeding or migratory birds" (PTL 5721). The motivation as a whole uses the keywords that are mentioned in the criteria: threatened species and habitat. The same goes for the Wadi Gaza Coastal Wetlands, for which threatened species are referred to in the short text motivating the reference to the criterion in the property description: "Wadi Gaza is considered as a unique area characterized by a high degree of biological diversity, including globally threatened, endemic, and rare species" (PTL 5722).

6.1.9 ACCUMULATING KEYWORDS

By examining the frequency of each criterion throughout the two Tentative Lists it is possible to analyze differences between the States Parties. Israel has used four criteria more often than Palestine, and Palestine three criteria more often than Israel. The keywords will be evaluated in two sections, one for each State Party.

Israel has used criteria (iv), (v), (vi) and (vii) more frequently than Palestine. The keyword typology from criterion (iv) is used to describe a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape that illustrates significant stages of human history. It is the criterion most used by the Committee upon inscription of properties to the WHL. From the frequency of this criterion, Israel has described certain types of buildings (mosque, synagogue, palace etc.), and referred to certain types of buildings, and landscapes, more times than Palestine. Land-use (v) describes examples of traditional human settlements and land-use that is representative of a culture (or cultures). This suggests that Israel is describing settlements and land-use as representative for specific cultures more often then Palestine. Association (vi) is the criterion most frequently used for religious buildings, through association with events, living tradition, ideas or beliefs. This suggests that Israel has more properties connected to religion, or properties associated to religion, than the Palestinian Tentative List. Natural Beauty (vii) is only used once by Israel and the criterion is not motivated in the description of the property that it is attached to. Both criterion (iv) typology and (v) land-use, are criterion that pinpoint certain things, i.e. it is used to describe *one* type of building and one, or several cultures, in relation to *one* settlement or land-use, which in turn suggests that the descriptions in the Israeli Tentative List are more narrow, or focused on specific targets than the Palestinian list.

Palestine has used criteria (ii), (iii), and (x) more frequently than Israel. The criterion of values/influences, (ii), is used to present interchange of human values on architecture, monumental arts, town planning or landscape-design. The frequent use of the criterion in the Palestinian Tentative List suggests that Palestine consider its properties to have historical significance, through important interchange of different values. Criterion (ii) is more than doubled in frequency of use in the Palestinian Tentative List compared to the Israeli list. According to the use of criterion (iii) Palestine has framed cultural traditions, and civilizations, more frequent than Israel. Natural habitats (x) - to contain natural habitats of

biological diversity and threatened species, is used twice by Palestine and once by Israel. Israel has four mixed sites and one natural site without any attached criteria. I will therefore only state that according to the use of criterion (x) within the Tentative Lists, Palestine has more natural habitats of biological diversity than Israel.

6.2 THE USE OF WORDS

In this subchapter I have been counting words on the two Tentative Lists. Words are powerful and, when used repeatedly, they form patterns. I have not counted all the different words in the Tentative Lists. I started with a long list of words, which after reading the Tentative List gained my interest. The chosen words, 28 in total, are displayed in a table (table 7) on the following page (79). The table includes quantity of the words in the separate lists, and its frequency in percentage between the two lists, and in total. From the numbers in the table, three word clouds (page 80-81) has been made, displaying the frequency of the 28 words in relation to each other, each sized according to its frequency, with which it appears in the two Tentative Lists. The word clouds are an expressive, and a communicative tool, that supports the text analysis through its clean appearance. Within the thesis it helps to answer the main question concerning exposure of differences in language and wording. Concetta A. DePaolo, professor of Operations & Supply Chain Management at Indiana State University, and Kelly Wilkinson, professor in the Management, Information Systems, and Business Education department in at Indiana State University, argues that "a word cloud provides a graphical representation of knowledge that allows a viewer to form a quick, intuitive sense of a text" (DePaolo & Wilkinson, p.44).

I have counted the words within the body text (not including property names or headings within the descriptions). The words are clustered thematically, that is to say, e.g. the word count for the term culture also includes the words cultures and culturally, and the word count for Christian includes Christ, Christianity etc. The Tentative Lists have multiple authors and have been revised several times, which means that the words are not chosen by single authors with one vocabulary, but are representative for the States Parties as whole. The total number of words used in the Israeli Tentative List is 7.521. If they were to be spread equally on the 17 Israeli properties each would contain 443 words. The total number of words used in the Palestinian Tentative List is 10.458. If they were spread equally on the 13 properties, each would contain 804 words. The following sections will comment on the differences displayed in the word cloud.
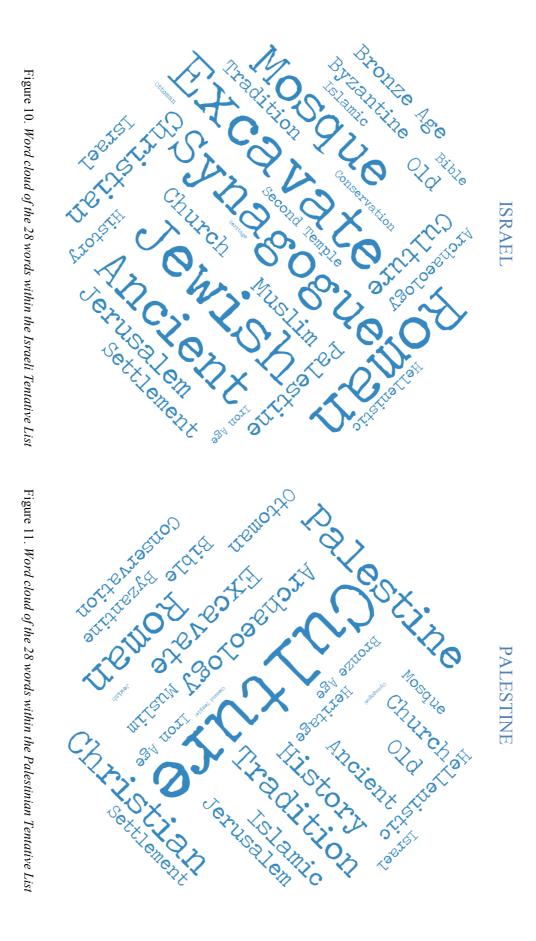
Table 7. *Words counted and displaying quantity (Israel, Palestine and the total), percentage of the Israeli (7521 words) and the Palestinian (10.458 words), and total percentage of use in relation to both Tentative Lists (17.979 words).*

Words	Israel	Palestine	Total	Difference	Israel % (7521)	Palestine % (10.458)	Total % 17.979
Culture (cultural, cultures)	12	46	58	34	0,16	0,44	0,32
Palestine (Palestinian, Palestinians)	10	40	50	30	0,13	0,38	0,28
Roman (Romans)	17	29	46	12	0,23	0,28	0,26
Excavate (excavated, excavation, excavations, excavating)	21	24	45	3	0,28	0,23	0,25
Christ (Christian, Christians, Christianity)	14	30	44	16	0,19	0,29	0,24
History (historical, historically, prehistoric)	9	34	43	25	0,12	0,33	0,24
Archaeology (archaeological, archaeologically)	8	29	37	21	0,11	0,28	0,21
Tradition (traditions, traditional, traditionally)	7	29	36	22	0,09	0,28	0,2
Ancient	15	14	29	1	0,2	0,13	0,16
Mosque (Mosques)	19	8	27	11	0,25	0,08	0,15
Byzantine Period (ca. 300 - 1400 CE)	11	15	26	4	0,15	0,14	0,14
Synagogue (Synagogues)	24	0	24	24	0,32	0	0,13
Church (churches)	9	14	23	17	0,12	0,13	0,13
Old (older, oldest)	8	15	23	7	0,11	0,14	0,13
Jew (Jews, Jewish)	21	1	22	20	0,28	0,01	0,12
Jerusalem	11	11	22	0	0,15	0,11	0,12
Bronze Age (early, middle, late, ca. 3300 - 1200 BCE)	11	8	19	3	0,15	0,08	0,11
Islamic	3	14	17	11	0,04	0,13	0,09
Settlement (settlements)	8	9	17	1	0,11	0,09	0,09
Muslim (Muslims)	8	7	15	1	0,11	0,07	0,08
Hellenistic (ca. 320 - 30 BCE)	4	10	14	6	0,05	0,1	0,08
Bible (biblical, biblically)	3	10	13	7	0,04	0,1	0,07
Iron Age (Iron Age I & II, ca. 1300 - 600 BCE)	3	9	12	6	0,04	0,09	0,07
Heritage	1	11	12	10	0,01	0,11	0,07
Conservation	2	10	12	8	0,03	0,1	0,07
Ottoman (as in Ottoman ruled Palestine, ca. 1500 - 1900 CE)	1	11	12	10	0,01	0,11	0,07
Israel (Israeli)	6	5	11	1	0,08	0,05	0,06
Second Temple (ca. 530 BCE - 70 CE)	5	0	5	5	0,07	0	0,03

Figure 9. *Word cloud of the 28 words as displayed when counting frequency in the two Tentative Lists*

Figure 10. *Word cloud of the 28 words within the Israeli Tentative List*

Figure 11. *Word cloud of the 28 words within the Palestinian Tentative List*

The word clouds displays the frequency of words and themes within the two Tentative Lists as one entity, and, as two separate lists. The most evident when studying the word clouds is that the Israel/Palestine, and the Israeli word clouds are both centred by words/themes in more equal size than the Palestinian word cloud. In both the Israel/Palestine and the Israeli word clouds the difference in frequency between the five most prominent words of the word clouds are considerably reduced to the Palestine word cloud. In the first two clouds it differs 0,08% and 0,09% between the top five most frequently used word/themes, in Palestine it is 0,15%. The cloud of Israel/Palestine is centred by the most frequently used theme of the two lists, culture, which in total is used 0,32% in relation to the total quantity of words. This theme also centres the Palestinian word cloud, with its frequency in the Palestinian Tentative List of 0,44%. From its top position in the word cloud Israel/Palestine, and the Palestinian word cloud, the theme is only found on seventh place within the Israeli Tentative List, with a frequency of 0,16%. In the table below (table 8) the ten most frequent words and themes in the Tentative Lists are listed (and the biggest sized words/themes in the word clouds are displayed).

Top 10 most frequently used words/themes

Israel/Palestine TL in %		Israeli TL in %		Palestinian TL in %	
Culture	0,32	Synagogue	0,32	Culture	0,44
Excavate	0,28	Excavate	0,28	Palestine	0,38
Palestine	0,26	Jewish	0,28	History	0,33
Roman	0,25	Mosque	0,25	Christian	0,29
Christian	0,24	Roman	0,23	Archaeology	0,28
History	0,24	Ancient	0,2	Roman	0,28
Archaeology	0,21	Christian	0,19	Tradition	0,28
Tradition	0,2	Culture	0,16	Excavate	0,23
Ancient	0,16	Bronze Age	0,15	Byzantine Period	0,14
Mosque	0,15	Byzantine Period	0,15	Old	0,14
		Jerusalem	0,15		

Table 8. *Top 10 most frequently used words within the world clouds and Tentative Lists*

Culture is used with variety throughout the texts of the two Tentative Lists. One of the most common uses describes a certain historical culture, e.g. "Hellenistic culture" or "Natufian culture". In the Palestinian Tentative List, it is also used to form "cultural tradition", which the Israeli list only displays once, in relation to Jerusalem, as "cultural traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam" (ISL 1483). The phrase "cultural tradition" correlates to the criterion of testimony, a keyword that was attached to Palestine, which refers to cultural traditions. With the use of the word "culture", the most used word in the two Tentative Lists with a frequency of 0,32%, with an low frequency of use in the Israeli Tentative List it is notable that the Israeli Tentative List uses it three times in relation to religion, and not once forming, for example, "cultural heritage". Except the use of cultural traditions describing Jerusalem, it is used to describe, also in relation to Jerusalem, the city as "the cultural cradle of the Western monotheistic religions, including Jewish sites identified during, the Temple period" (ISL 1483). The third time culture is used in relation to religion it describes the historical, Jewish, cultural centre of Beth She'arim.

In both the lists, the word culture is used in a way that raises questions. When describing the area around the Sea of Galilee, the Israeli Tentative List mentions "the area's unique cultural authenticity" (ISL 1473), which could be a reference to the state of the tangible heritage of the

cities that it refers to, but could also be read as referring to the landscape's "undisputed origin", which in matter of fact is all but undisputed. In the subchapter, 1.3 Theories and Methodology, I presented the definition of heritage as something being made in the present for its consumers, a process known as heritagisation. In *Pluralising Pasts: heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies* (2007) Ashworth, Graham, and Turnbridge argue:

> If heritage is created for its consumers – its users (the process of 'heritagisation') – this raises questions as to who is making such decisions, managing this process and thus producing heritage. If heritage is, as is being argued here, what and where someone says it is, then it is the 'someone' in these contexts, not the object itself, that determines its authenticity and purpose (Ashworth, Graham, Turnbridge p.41).

Regarding heritage as knowledge is, according to Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge, to raise questions like "why a particular interpretation of heritage is promoted, whose interests are advanced or retarded, and in what kind of *milieu* was it conceived and communicated" (ibid). They continue: "If heritage knowledge is situated in particular social and intellectual circumstances, it is time-specific, and thus its meaning(s) can be altered as texts are re-read in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place and scale" (ibid). Heritage is not an absolute thing, but rather a discursive practice that is shaped by specific circumstances (i.e. the conflict of Israel/Palestine, the returning home of the Jewish people) and "being as much about policy, process and, quite inevitably, contestation" (Ashworth, Graham, Turnbridge p.42). The description of the Sea of Galilee as an area with unique cultural authenticity is part of the process of heritage that is shaped by its circumstances. Seen through the discourse of authorized heritage, all it takes is that the Israeli State Party claims the areas unique cultural authenticity for it to be true, since they by doing this actually are producing the heritage itself. It should be added that this is true as long as there are no disputes over historical claims of territory, but with a contesting view, or need, this authenticity can be revaluated and changed through other processes of heritage to fit other consumers. The same mechanisms are found in the Palestinian Tentative List describing El-Bariyah as "rich in cultural heritage" (PTL 5708), which might be true, but the cultural heritage was not lying in the ground (historical objects were). Whatever was found was turned into cultural heritage when it was viewed as such, and the Tentative List itself is still producing it into heritage. An archaeologist cannot dig up cultural heritage, they only dig the wholes in which contemporary society place heritage.

Except for culture, that occurred with most frequency of all words/themes there are two more words in the Palestinian Tentative List with a higher frequency of use than the most used word/theme within the Israeli list. These words are Palestine and history. The use of Palestine in the Palestinian list lays, presumably, in the fact that the Palestinians take every chance to promote the State Party, as they are new within UNESCO and desire publicity that are not explicitly related to the conflict with Israel. To this it should be added that the name of the State Party and the name of the historical territory correspond. In the Israeli list, Palestine is used four times in relation to the European crusader sites and three times in the description of the Early Synagogues in the Galilee. The first connects the western world with Palestine, in terms of tangible history, and the second emphasizes Jewish history in Palestine: "The earliest synagogue remains in Palestine date to the late first century BCE... The dating of the remains of most ancient synagogues has led to a revolution in understanding the Jewish community in Palestine" (ISL 1470).

Tradition is prominent within the Palestine world cloud. In the Tentative List it is used with a frequency of 0,28%, which is the number that also helps the word to eight place in the percentage of use within both the lists. In three out of seven times, when the term tradition is used in the Israeli Tentative List, it is used in relation to religion. The list mentions Druse tradition, and the cultural traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the Palestinian Tentative List the connection between religion and tradition is also common. The list mentions the relation between Jesus and the Mount of Temptation in the property description of Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan (as Mount of Temptation is situated above the described site and traditionally is close to the place where Jesus was fasting and was offered the Kingdom of the world by Satan), and in the description of Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans, tradition is used six times. In the property description of the Old town of Nablus and its environs the authors state: "the biblical tradition relate [sic] Abraham, Jacob and Joseph to the site", but does not remark that Shechem is mentioned as the first Kingdom of Israel in the Hebrew bible. It is safe to say that the three words: Palestine, history and tradition are interconnected. The terms Christianity, church, and bible are all used more by Palestine than Israel in the lists (even though the Israeli Tentative List uses the criterion (vi) more often than Palestine). The words formed from Jewish are used 24 times in the Israeli Tentative List, or with a frequency of 0,28%, and remarkably only used once, in relation to the sacredness of Hebron, in the Palestinian Tentative List (Judaism is used twice and Judaic once in relation to the Dead Sea Scrolls), which makes the theme almost impossible to locate within the Palestine word cloud.

The historical time-periods are relatively evenly used between the two lists except for a few of them. The Palestinian Tentative List refers to the Islamic period, which is not a term used at all in the Israeli list, even though it contains an Umayyad palace. The same non-use is noticeable about the word and time period of the Ottoman empire, and the Ottoman rule of Palestine (the Israeli list mentions the Ottoman Empire once and that is in relation to the current World Heritage Site of Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls, but as earlier mentioned, Jerusalem was inscribed by Jordan and not by Israel) The Roman and the Byzantine period are mentioned without any major differences, but when dating to the Hellenistic period, the Israeli Tentative list has chosen to refer to the Second Temple period[6] (used to describe Jewish history between 530 BCE and 70 CE) five times instead of the religiously neutral counterpart. It is remarkable that the Israeli Tentative List have managed not to use Islamic period or mentioning the Ottomans, even though these represents, around 1400 years of the Holy Lands history, beginning in the sixth century CE and stretching as far as to the British Mandate. In opposite to this neglect they have managed to use Second Temple period and Temple period several times which has a strong connection to Judaism. If this is purposely executed, then it is a very clear exclusion of Muslims, and Arabs in general. When Arabs, Islam, Muslims, and mosques (both Muslim and mosque appears with much more frequency within the Israeli Tentative List than the Palestinian) are mentioned in the Israeli Tentative List, there is a pattern of decreasing their importance to the Holy Land by always mentioning Judaism or Christianity, in direct relation to the sites.

To end this part about the most frequently used words/themes displayed with the words of different sizes in the word clouds I want to focus on the top three since they highlight some important differences between the two lists. When counting the Israeli Tentative List the top three most frequently used words are: synagogue (0,32%), excavate (0,28%), and Jewish (0,28%), and when counting the Palestinian Tentative List they are: Culture (0,44%),

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[6] According to Emek Shaveh, the Second Temple Period is a period that is considered a golden age of Judaism following the destruction of the Kingdom of Judea and the Babylonian exile.

Palestine (0,38%), and history (0,33%). The use of synagogue is somewhat explained by the property the Early Synagogues in Galilee. Excavation is used extensively, and archaeological sites have a prominent place in the Israeli Tentative List. Through the Tentative List Jewish is used to claim history, and Jewish history is revealed by excavations. In the Palestinian case excavation is replaced by culture. I believe that these words reveal different tactics in claiming parts of the Holy Land. Israel needs to search for their roots since they are resettling the land, which is done by focusing on the oldest Jewish traces found. Palestine uses the word Palestine, focusing on culture, since culture in this case builds on tradition (which also is frequently used within the Palestinian Tentative List), and historical continuity. The high frequency in use of culture and history within the Palestinian list is presumably also explained by the fact that these words are common within the discourses concerning heritage, and not least in UNESCO.

Up to this point I have only discussed the most used words and themes. The table (table 9) below shows the top of the bottom, the ten words used with least frequency of the 28 words that were counted and displayed in the word clouds.

Top 10 least frequently used words/themes

Israel/Palestine TL in %		Israeli TL in %		Palestinian TL in %	
Second Temple	0,03	Heritage	0,01	Second Temple	0
Israel	0,06	Ottoman	0,01	Synagogue	0
Heritage	0,07	Conservation	0,03	Jewish	0,01
Ottoman	0,07	Bible	0,04	Israel	0,05
Conservation	0,07	Iron Age	0,04	Muslim	0,07
Iron Age	0,07	Islamic	0,04	Bronze Age	0,08
Bible	0,07	Hellenistic	0,05	Mosque	0,08
Hellenistic	0,08	Second Temple	0,07	Iron Age	0,09
Muslim	0,08	Israel	0,08	Settlement	0,09
Islamic	0,09	Tradition	0,09	Bible	0,1
Settlement	0,09			Hellenistic	0,1
				Conservation	0,1

Table 9. *Top 10 least frequently used words/themes in the Tentative Lists*

The most noticeable with this table is the fact that the four least used words/themes in the Palestinian Tentative List all are related to Judaism and Israel. It is quite obvious why Second Temple is not used since it is a Jewish reference to a historic time period of which there is another non-religious term. There are no synagogues included on the Palestinian list, which is presumably a necessity for the mentioning of this building type (unless it is in the Israeli Tentative List where a ruin of a synagogue is mentioned relating to Arbel, which is further discussed in the upcoming subchapter). Jewish is, as mentioned, only used once in the list, and Israel is mostly referred to in relation to their control of sites within the West Bank and the occupied Palestinian Territory. Nevertheless it is quite obvious that the Palestinian Tentative List have not tried to include the Jewish society by using any of the terms that connects to it. Two of the mentioned words are furthermore in the top three of the Israeli Tentative List, synagogue at number one, and Jewish at number three.

6.3 HISTORY/AUTHENTICITY

The Tentative Lists of Israel and Palestine present the Holy Land as old, full of ancient settlements, and excavated in the past by European archaeologists in search for biblical sites and treasures. I believe that the lists, and the view on historical values, are deeply linked to these early years of European involvement, and that there are horizons of expectations on properties that are to be presented on the lists e.g. the stories of the Holy Land, the cradle of the great Western religions (even though these may not be outspoken). As presented, there is still much international cooperation within the two parallel heritage sectors of the Holy Land. Israel invites the world to join biblical excavations together with a network of international universities, and Palestine require international funding to be able to carry out conservation work on historical buildings.

In Sweden the oldest existing structures are churches, even so, they are debated as they receive vast funding, that the critics believe to be better spent between several types of built heritage. The way in with religion is intertwined into history, heritage and authenticity in the context of the Holy Land is something very unfamiliar to the Swedish heritage context from which I come from. One of the things that this thesis has elucidated within is that the content of the Holy Scriptures is treated as authentic, as the written truth. The scriptures are not only archaeological finds themselves, but are used to substantiate, to enhance values, and identification points to other properties, both through direct connections to persons, places and events, but also through association with properties, as a sort of spice of authenticity, a spice used extensively.

When reading the Tentative Lists two different kinds of religious properties have emerged. On one hand, there are the ones that build directly on religion and religious finds, on the other hand their are the ones that only are associated indirectly with religion with different religious words (or even places nearby, not connected to the property itself), which are used to reinforce the meaningfulness of landscapes, not only historically but also through peoples religious beliefs (even though history and religious beliefs has been proven to emerge within the Tentative Lists). This section builds on my interpretation of the linkage between the properties and religion on the two Tentative Lists. The difference between the Israeli and the Palestinian properties that are associated with religion is not as big as the difference between properties that build directly on a religious base. Within the Israeli Tentative List 76%, or thirteen out of seventeen, of the properties are indirectly associated with religion. The Palestinian numbers are 62%, or eight properties out of thirteen.

Tentative List	Israel	Palestine
Christianity	41% (7/17)	**46%** (6/13)
Islam	**18%** (3/17)	15% (2/13)
Judaism	**47%** (8/17)	8% (1/13)
Others	**12%** (2/17)	8% (1/13)

Table 10. *Association to religion within the two Tentative Lists*

In the table on the previous page (table 10) the number of properties associated with each of the dominant religions of the area is presented. Christianity has the greatest total of associations with properties, counting both the Tentative Lists. According to the CIA Fact book 2% of the population of Israel is Christian compared to 1-2.5% of the population living in the West Bank, whereas within the boundaries of the Gaza Strip less than one percentage are Christians. Maybe these numbers only prove that there is no distinction in how the major religions are treated and used within the Holy Land and the Tentative Lists? In the following chapter I will demonstrate why that conclusion would be not well founded. Within the Tentative Lists there are several cases where religion is hidden for some reason. In the case of Islam, the Throne Villages property on the Palestinian list describes the L-shaped entrance hall that provided privacy for women, but does not mention Islam though its relevance is no secret. The same may be said of the Umayyad palace, Horvat Minnim, within the Israeli Tentative List. Horvat Minnim is described as the home to a caliph, built in the Umayyad period (which the Palestinian Tentative List sometimes refers to as the Islamic Period), but does not actually mention Islam. Instead the second sentence says: "Attention was attracted to Horvat Minnim in the second half of the 19th century when scholars and pilgrims began to cross Palestine in search of identifiable biblical sites" (PTL 1474), and goes on to explain that scholars thought that they had found Capernaum when they stumbled upon the Umayyad palace. Conversely, the description of the previous mentioned Old Town of Hebron al-Khalil and its environ, leaves out the historical presence of Judaism in Shechem, and only connects the site with Christianity. Yet another version of how religion is presented in connection to the sites, is in the Israeli description of the site White Mosque in Ramle, that actually does mention Islam, saying the city was the first Islamic city, but hastens to add in the same sentence that the current population of the Ramle is a mix of Jews, Muslims and Christians (in that order). The single religion most often associated within one Tentative List is Judaism. It is mentioned in 47% of the property descriptions on the Israeli Tentative List. Judaism has the largest difference in association frequency of the religions.

6.4 INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

There are three major versions of inclusion/exclusion within the descriptions of the two Tentative Lists. Naturally, they overlap, and are in no way separate their functions, but for the sake of legibility they will be presented in different sections. The first version lays in the relationship between the two States Parties, Israel and Palestine. This inclusion/exclusion is primarily visible in historical claims, often with religious associations e.g. reference to the Second Temple Period, to date properties and in the listing of properties like Israeli Triple-Arch Gate at Dan, Early Synagogues in Galilee, Sea of Galilee, Arbel, Bet She'arim, and Timna, and in territorial and political claims, presented in the listing of for example the Palestinian properties Qumran, Sebastia, old town of Hebron, El-Bariyah, and the Israeli property Jerusalem. The second version lays between the States Parties and Christianity, exhibited in the overall motivation to spread bible quotes and associations to Christianity throughout the property descriptions. The third, and the last, version, which is connected to the second, has to do with how the descriptions are tailored to fit the Euro-centric authorized heritage discourse, which is manifested both in inclusion of "what is expected" and the exclusion of various heritages that falls outside the scope of the AHD.

Claiming history is not an ideal description of the circumstances in the Tentative List. It needs to be clarified. Claiming history is a short version of claiming historical territory, historical artefacts, historical settlements, and even the claiming of historical claims. As presented in the first chapter, history is bits of the past chosen as representatives in the present. In the

Tentative Lists, some formulations claim the past trough history, but there are also claims of history. Claims of history, or claiming the historical claims, are the claims of the Holy Land, the expected historical landscape, the holy, the legendary, the beliefs, all manifested in historical sites and the landscape, enhanced by Western interests that were consolidated by the British Mandate. The Jewish struggle was a struggle of resettlement, a struggle of a people to once again be able to rule destiny, without being oppressed, followed or killed. It was a struggle for the return home. The answers were in the past and history was one of the used tools for the retaking of the land. In the Holy Land today there are barriers, checkpoints and injustices, there are struggles, claims and different versions of history. But there is only one past and one future. The following sections will not examine the truth, but merely highlight the different versions of history and how these develop into strategies of inclusion and exclusion.

6.4.1 THE STATES PARTIES

Time periods connected to religion are used within both the Tentative Lists. The Palestinian Tentative List refers to the Islamic period, which is a term that incorporates several different Muslim rules, spanning from the Muslim Conquest in the 630s CE to the end of the Ottoman era in the first decades of the 20th century. The use of the term acknowledges the 1400 years of Muslim rule, which ended with the British Mandate and the birth of Israel. The Israeli Tentative List does not use this term, even though it could well do so in relation to White Mosque in Ramle and the Umayyad palace of Horvat Minnim, but also in relation to the Crusader Fortresses (where the term Early Arab period is used once). The Israeli reference to Second Temple period, described by Emek Shaveh as the golden age of Judaism, was mentioned in the previous chapter. In the property description of Beth She'arim, reference is made to "the period of the Mishnah and the Talmud" [7] (with the terms Roman and Byzantine in parenthesis). It was in Bet She'arim that the Mishnah was codified so the use is not misplaced, but the description does not provide any deeper explanation of the Mishnah and Talmud, beyond saying that Mishnah is the Jewish oral law. There is an expectation from the authors that the recipient is familiar with these scriptures, and since this is not necessarily the case (judging from my own modest knowledge of religious scriptures in general), it excludes non-Jewish readers, includes those who do know scriptures. The use of the terms becomes problematic in relation to the idea of Outstanding Universal Value, since the property becomes considerably less universal when substantial portions of the worlds population cannot follow the description, which in turn most likely affects the universal value of the described property. It needs to be clarified that I, in no way believe, that only properties that my mediocre mind can grasp should be inscribed on the WHL, I merely ask for explanations and definitions of the use of words that may need some clarification since the State Party seems to believe they are of great importance.

Beth She'arim is one of the properties already mentioned in relation to historical claims, religious associations and the inclusion/exclusion it constitutes. As mentioned in its property description, Bet She'arim became a prominent Jewish cultural center in 70 CE, when the Sanhedrin, the religious-social leadership of the Jews, moved there following the destruction

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[7] Mishnah is Judaism's primary book of Jewish legal theory and the Talmud is the compendium of the Mishnah and the Gemara which interprets and comments on the Mishnah
(**http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/mishnah/**)

of Jerusalem. It was in Bet She'arim that the Jewish oral law – Mishnah – was codified. The resettlement of the Holy Land becomes clear in this property description since it describes the excavation that in 1936 found a stone table with the name "Beth She'arim" (written in Greek), which in turn erased the Arabic name, Sheikh Ibreik, from the site. It is an example of a search for origin, in the way that the first known settlers become the most tailored to relate to its past, to construct its history and its heritage (i.e. we were here first and therefore we have every right to decide the lands fate and to describe its past). In the conservation of buildings it is often debated whether it is justifiable to erase certain time-layers in order to to enhance others, and most often the answer is no. This is often discussed in architectural terms and not in relation to the structures of the buildings. When it comes to sites like Beth She'arim, what could be seen as its structure is built on history and the heritage, to which groups of people identifies. The site will not collapse, as the building would, if certain parts of the past are removed, but the history and the heritage will not include all of its potential identifiers if the history is built only on certain parts of the past. Beth She'arim is today an Israeli national park.

The description of the Triple-Arch Gate at Dan & Sources of Jordan, recounts the 1966 excavation of the site, which discovered "sections of imposing walls and gates, as well as a ritual site which dates to the time of dramatic events recounted in the Bible". These dramatic events are not further anchored or described in the text, which motivates the conclusion that passing reference is only to them in order to increase the significance of the site and offering an identifier readily recognizable to many people. The triple-arch, for which the property is named, is only mentioned as follows "most remarkable element of this gate is the three intact arches, the earliest complete arches found in the world". At the same time another "exemplary find", gets much more attention: "a stone table from the second half of the ninth century BCE Carved onto it is an inscription of Hazael, King of Damascus, boasted of his victory over the King of Israel and King of the House of David. This is the first time that the name "House of David" was discovered outside of the Bible" (ISL 1469). The inscription seems here to be valued, if not higher, than at least as highly as the earliest complete arches of the world. The tangible traces of the House of David link the Jewish community to the place through time. Foregrounding those creates a partial historical narrative which may serve to override any claims for other communities to the site and its history.

In similarly the property Early Synagogues in the Galilee is described in such a way that it claims the land through historical evidence. It claims that the synagogue "appears to have been a uniquely Jewish creation that influenced the subsequent development of the Christian church and the Muslim mosque." It hasten to add that I, in no way, am trying to prove any faults in the facts that Judaism preceded Islam or Christianity I would merely point out, that within the context of the Holy Land and the conflict between Israel and Palestine, historical facts are sometimes used to legitimate claims and minimize the opponent's right to history and land. The quote above may be historically correct, but at the same time 75% of the Israeli population is Jewish, and 80% (CIA Fact Book) of the Palestinians are Muslims (West Bank). The quote does acts to substantiate the Jewish claim to the land. My conclusion is, somewhat, reinforced by the fact that 356.000 Israeli settlers lives inside the occupied Palestinian territory (CIA Fact Book). This statistics is used to emphasize the fact there is a difference in highlighting Judaism or Islam to Christianity, since the first two are deeper entwined in the conflict and represents the beliefs of the populations far more than Christianity.

The description of the Sea of Galilee & its Ancient Sites claims that it is located within an area with unique cultural authenticity. This property description is short with its description of

Sea of Galilee (four sentences), and the three ancient sites, Korazim, Capernaum, and Tabgha (eight, three and five sentences each). The first two sentences of the Korazim description read "Korazim displays the remains of a Jewish town, mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, renowned for the good wheat grown there. In the New Testament Korazim is mentioned as a city condemned by Jesus, together with Bet-Saida and Capernaum." The Capernaum description that follows states that:

> Capernaum was a Jewish village in Second Temple and Byzantine times which today displays remains of a synagogue including stone friezes. According to Christian tradition, Capernaum was the birthplace of Peter and where Jesus preached and performed miracles. It is also the locale of a Franciscan monastery and a pilgrimage site (ISL 1473).

The description of Tabgha starts with: "Tabgha, found on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee, is the site of the multiplication of loaves and fishes according to Christian tradition". The first two sites, Korazim and Capernaum, follow the same pattern, their connection to Judaism is first established, and then their relation to the bible and Jesus, the property description of Tabgha jumping straight to Jesus, his loaves and fishes. The property description is essentially an ad for Christian pilgrimage. Throughout the Israeli Tentative List there is, as mentioned earlier, a lack of headings that contextualize the property descriptions. Quotes, like those in the examples above, are often left without further explanation. There are no arguments or clarifications why these sites are of outstanding universal value, and no clarification as to why it is important to mention that Capernaum was a Jewish village during the Second Temple period. The authors obviously believed that this was more important than presenting the current site of Capernaum and its history up to the present. I do not know, after reading the description, whether contemporary Capernaum is a city, a village, or an archaeological site.

Arbel "(arbel, nebe shueb, horns of hittim)" [sic] is divided in to three different elements, of which Arbel is the first. Arbel was one of the places mentioned in chapter 3.2.1 on Renaming and (re)claiming, with reference to the 1948 war, when the Arab village, Hittin, was depopulated and turned into Arbel. The second site, or element, of the property, is the Horns of Hittim (derives from the same place but is spelled differently) where the Arabs defeated the Crusaders in 1187. The beginning of the property description states: "The ancient settlement of Arbel is located in the eastern Lower Galilee, a recognized site of early Torah scholars during the Second Temple period where places of Jewish study were built". A short section where the authors describe Arbel as the place where the redemption would begin, as mentioned in Torah and Piyyut,[8] then follows the quote. Knowing that Arbel was known as Arab Hittin, and close to the place where the Arabs defeated the Crusaders, the Arab historical connection to the site becomes very strong, and may explain why the authors of the Israeli property description chooses to present the following:

> A few travelers mention the remains of a magnificent synagogue here, ascribed to Nittai of Arbela or to Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai, founded in the second century C.E. as were other synagogues of the Galilee. The synagogue appears to have been destroyed in the mid-eighth century CE (ISL 1475).

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[8]A liturgical poem included in the services on holidays and special Sabbaths in addition to the established prayers (http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/piyyut).

The quote connects Jewish history to Arbel through reference to a synagogue that "appears to have been destroyed" 1.200 years ago. Once again it is about constructing a heritage without contestant claims of place. One exclusion was made in the war of 1948, this contemporary exclusion originates from selectiveness in describing the past, by rather mentioning a synagogue that seems to be fragmentarily researched, than describing the general history of the proposed property. As in the case of the Sea of Galilee & its ancient sites, there is an obvious lack of motivation for why the sites are of outstanding universal value, why they are mentioned and why they "need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole", as the Convention puts it.

Timna is a mixed property, constructed around of ancient mining. Several different sites are connected to one another in the description, of which the only one within the Timna Valley is dated to the Egyptian New Kingdom period (ca. 1200 BCE). North of the Timna Valley is an Early Bronze Age II (ca. 3000 – 2700 BCE) copper-smelting site, at the estuary of Wadi Timna a mine and smelting site from the Early Bronze Age IV (ca. 2200-2100 BCE) and south of the Timna Valley, in western Arava, a Roman and Early Arab copper smelting site. At this point the description gets confusing since it starts referring only to "Timna" without specifying the place any further:

> Beginning in 1845 numerous explorations identified copper-smelting slag in Timna, the remains of dwellings, and copper-smelting sites. Pottery found at Timna was dated to the Iron Age I and II [ca. 1200 – 540 BCE]. In 1940 N. Glueck attributed copper-smelting in Timna to King Solomon, calling the area King Solomon's mines (ISL 1489).

To conclude, there are several sites surrounding Timna, stretching from the Early Bronze Age II to the Early Arab period. It is unclear where the site from Iron Age I and II really is situated. The same site made (the presumed archaeologist) Glueck name the area King Solomon's mines. In the very short description of the property, this naming of the sites, by a person who is not introduced, takes up much space. The very last sentence of the property description is: "King Solomon's mines were dated to several widely [sic] separated periods, from the fourth millennium to Roman times." King Solomon can only be linked through time to one of the sites (Iron Age I and II). This, together with the fact, that the description mentions Early Arab sites but in its last conclusion stops at the Roman period creates a skewed description with much focus on King Solomon and little recognition of the property's overall historical importance as it relates to other populations than the Jewish ones.

As noted earlier, the Palestinian property QUMRAN: Caves and Monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls is an Israeli national park within the West Bank. As mentioned in the presentation of the Palestinian Tentative List, the earliest recognized manuscripts of the Bible were found in Qumran in 1947. The national park is located within area c, which is under full Israeli control that restricts Palestinian entry. The site is dated to the Second Temple period, which according to Emek Shaveh is the golden age of Judaism. It is not a wild guess that this property would have been on the Israeli Tentative List if it were not for the fact that the site is located in the West Bank. The Palestinian State Party made a statement listing the site on the Tentative List, even though they do not control it, since UNESCO will not consider its inscription as long as the territory is contested. By listing the property Palestine highlights the fact that Israel is creating national parks within territory that is regarded as occupied territory by the international community. With earlier proven examples, it is safe to say, that part of the statement is that Israel is controlling this site because of its relevance to Judaism,

displaying the oldest Hebrew Scriptures found to this date. Parts of the exclusion in reference to this site lays in the physical occupation and its restrictions, but the historical importance of the site may also be a reason for the imposition of restrictions and the physical exclusion of Palestinians.

The property of Sebastia is described in the Palestinian Tentative List as a Roman city built by Herod the Great, and the site to which Christians and Muslims link the tomb of John the Baptist. The site is, just like Qumran, an Israeli national park, called Shomron National Park (Sebastia). The site-description on the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority's webpage uses the heading "The ancient capital of the kingdom of Israel" on the description of the national park. The Israeli description of the site does not have the same focus as that in the Palestinian Tentative List, for it continues, "The remains of Shomron (Samaria) are located some 12 kilometers north of the city of Shechem, on the main road to Jenin near the Arab village of Sebastia. Samaria was the capital of the kingdom of Israel during the ninth-eighth centuries BCE" (ibid). The Palestinian Tentative List describes the property as in a "natural state", part of a "working landscape", with only small areas of display, without proper presentation. The "excavation have been left as found" [sic], it concludes. When I visited Sebastia I had no idea that it was an Israeli national park. On the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority's webpage it is stated that:

> Due to the security situation, the site is closed to visitors until further notice except by pre-arrangement during the interim days of Passover and Sukkot; call the INPA around these dates for further information, or watch for announcements in the media. Entrance fee: Adult: NIS 18; child: NIS 8, Israeli senior citizen: 50% discount. [910]

When I visited the site it did not feel as though the site was closed. The place felt abandoned, left to its own history. When it says, "closed to visitors", it means Israelis, and when it says "Due to the security situation", the "situation" refers in fact to the Palestinian community that lives in the village. To open during Passover and Sukkot is symbolic, relating the site to Judaism. The site captures several points discussed in the thesis. The use of history (capital of the Kingdom of Israel), the use of symbolism in creating identity (open only during Sukkot and Passover), the decline of historical sites due to the conflict (the site is exposed nature and man without limitations), the alienation created by the occupation (it is harder for Palestinians to connect to the shared past because of the reasons mentioned above), and the racism, displayed in the discount for Israeli senior citizen (even though it is not likely that any Palestinians, old or young, are welcome to join the tours during Passover and Sukkot). The site is taken hostage by Israel and resides in something that bears resemble to an official heritage limbo.

The situation of the Old town of Hebron al-Khalil & its environs was thoroughly explained in the property presentation in the Palestinian Tentative List. The core of the problems concerning the property, and the city of Hebron in general, is the divided sacredness of the burial place of the prophets Abraham/Ibrahim, Isaac, Jacob and their wives, to Christians, Jews and Muslims. This burial place is, referred to in the Palestinian Tentative List as the

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[9] The Jewish people celebrate Passover in commemoration of their liberation by God from slavery in Egypt and their freedom as a nation under the leadership of Moses (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Passover).

[10] Jewish holiday celebrated on the 15th day of Tishrei (varies from late September to late October). It is one of the three pilgrimage festivals (shalosh regalim) on which the Israelites would make a pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sukkot).

Ibrahim Mosque and the Tombs of the prophets. The Israeli state-sponsored webpage, Go Israel, refers to the same place as Cave of Machpelah. Hebron is, according to Go Israel, one of the four holy cities within the land of Israel. The conflict over the holy burial place has resulted in two major massacres (1929 and 1994) and the colonization by Israeli settlers within the Palestinian urban fabric (the settlers colonies are usually situated around the Arab towns in the West Bank). The view of the sacredness of the burial place, which actually could be a uniting factor bringing Christians, Jews and Muslims together within Hebron, has given rise to different historical descriptions of the city. The Palestinian Tentative List mentions the shared sacredness but only explains the Muslim version in detail. Meanwhile, Go Israel does not even mention the Arab population inhabiting the city, nor the mosque within the burial place, or even the importance that the city has to Islam. Hebron is split with ca. 400 Israeli settlers and the 4000 Israeli soldiers who protects the settlers within the Arab city.[11]

El-Bariyah: Wilderness with monasteries contains the third Israeli national park within the West Bank and occupied territory that is also listed on the Palestinian Tentative List. The Palestinian property description does not mention that the site of Herodium (national park) is under the control of the Israeli authorities. Herodium was built by Herod the Great between 24 and 15 BCE and is described as follows in the Palestinian Tentative List: "The complex was built on a conical hill shaped and secured by the erection of massive retaining walls. This artificial mound was equipped with a sophisticated fortification system, including an elaborate water supply. Subsequently, Byzantine monks turned the fortress into a monastery in the 6-7th centuries AD, and built churches around its base" (PTL 5708).

The English language pamphlet, provided on the webpage of Israeli Nature and Parks Authority,[12] describes the Jewish connection to Herodium. According to the Israeli Nature and Parks Authority, Jewish rebels used the site during the Great Revolt against the Romans between 66 and 71 CE. It further states that the Jewish rebels held the site one year after the Romans had conquered Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple,[13] Emek Shaveh describes, as shown in the quote on page 42, the visit to Herodium as focused on the personal history of Herod and on the Jewish revolt. As before, the historical description of the same site is fundamentally different in focus on the two Tentative Lists. Within the property, El-Bariyah: Wilderness with monasteries, Herodium is only one site among others. Even so, it is described as part of the property the Jewish history but is not mentioned, nor is the fact that it is currently under Israeli control, and part of a national park. The Israeli description conversely, does not mention the fact that the site is located within the occupied Palestinian territory of the West Bank. Both parties act as though the other one does not exist. History is once again used to claim territory, and alternative claims go unacknowledged.

The status of Jerusalem has only been discussed briefly in this thesis, with reference to the position of UNESCO's WHL. The Committee endorsed "to postpone further consideration of this nomination proposal until an agreement on the status of the City of Jerusalem in conformity with International Law is reached, or until the parties concerned submit a joint nomination". According to the Partition Plan of 1947, it Jerusalem was to be divided into two parts, one Israeli and one Palestinian, and administered by the United Nations Trusteeship

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[11] H2 is the area in which the settlers reside in Hebron. It constitutes around 20% of Hebron and is under full control by Israel. H2 has a Palestinian population of 40.000
http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/47d4e277b48d9d3685256ddc00612265/3f1282254b7d083a85257c320056b46e?OpenDocument

[12] http://www.parks.org.il/ParksAndReserves/herodium/Documents/herodium-en.pdf

[13] The Second Temple, constructed on the Temple Mount, of which the time period is referring to.

Council. Today approximately 200,000 Israeli settlers live in East Jerusalem, which triggered the UN General Assembly's statement:

> … all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which had altered or purported to alter the character, legal status and demographic composition of Occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied Palestinian territory, were null and void and had no validity whatsoever (*The Question of Palestine & the United Nation*, chapter 12).

The inclusion of the property Jerusalem* on the Israeli Tentative List is a clear statement that Israel disagree with international law or UNESCO regarding the status of the city. Israel wants to include Mount Zion to the current property, Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls. It is safe to say that all the earlier Jewish claims of history on the Tentative List are subordinated to this one, the holiest site of Judaism.

6.4.2 THE STATES PARTIES AND THE BIBLE

Throughout the Tentative Lists an extensive use is made of biblical references and quotes. Many of these are not related to the property in question, but merely to the surrounding landscape. Properties, both in Israel and Palestine are inscribed on the World Heritage List with references to the Bible and Christianity. The Israeli world heritage site Biblical Tels - Megiddo, Hazor, Beer Sheba is described by the Committee as containing "substantial remains of cities with biblical connections, and are strongly associated with events portrayed in the bible" (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1108), The Palestinian property Birthplace of Jesus: Church of the Nativity and the Pilgrimage Route, Bethlehem, summarizes the property as "In locating the Nativity, the place both marks the beginnings of Christianity and is one of the holiest spots in Christendom." (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1433). A distinction should be made, however, between properties that have a direct connection to Christianity, and properties that are merely embellished with bible quotes and tenuous links to Jesus and Christianity within the Tentative Lists.

The uncovering of "unknowns" is generally a characteristic for archaeology. Sandra Scham, Department of Anthropology at Catholic University of America, argues that this is however not one of the goals of archaeology in Israel and Palestine since "This is a region in which exploration began with a rather significant known, the Bible, and in which it continues to operate based upon religious and political agendas" (Scham p.164). Scham argues, in the article "Diplomacy and desired pasts" (2009), that the archaeology of the Holy Land has "moved on from nationalist narratives to a more lucrative field of endeavour" and reasons:

> The economic incentive for preserving and developing certain archaeological sites is now coming from a different direction entirely. Sites that support their own desired pasts have taken a back seat to those that appeal to western tourists (Scham p.179).

According to Scham, both sides are trying to oblige the sentiments of Europeans and Americans. Scham exemplifies this with the Biblical Archaeology Society, highlighting the international networks, and the outside funding, available to those who present the right type of findings. Scham argues: "the temptation to contextualize valuable archaeological finds and sites as essentially biblical in character is difficult even for scholars to resist. Media attention, new volunteer labourers, and additional funding are the common rewards of archaeologists

who make an important biblical find" (Scham p.182). Scham presents several examples of sites and artefacts that were presented as "biblical", which turned out to have no, or very little connection to the bible. A wooden boat, from the time of the New Testament, was found in the Sea of Galilee and named "Jesus Boat", even though it had no association to Jesus or the New Testament (Scham p.181). Scham also mentions the inscribed stone table, from the Israeli property Triple-arch Gate at Dan, as a find referring to House of David, and concludes that: "is not from the time of the supposed monarchy of David but from some two hundred years later" (Scham p.182). Scham makes arises at an uncompromising conclusion, "Labelling such finds in this manner is bad science, and contributes to the construction of a Disneyesque holy land" (ibid). In the article "World Heritage and mosaic universalism" (2010), De Cesari argues that the "Christianization" of Holy Land heritage is a phenomenon that can be explained by commodification and the key role Christian pilgrims have in local economies, but also because it is "one of the legacies of a deeply rooted history of colonial heritage privileging biblical and Christian sites as well as pre-Islamic archaeology" (De Cesari, 2010, p.304). As will be shown, this Christianization, is linked to, and supported by, the authorized heritage discourse discussed as the third version of inclusion/exclusion.

As displayed in table, presented in 6.3 History/Authenticity, seven out of seventeen Israeli properties refer to Christianity, as do six out of thirteen Palestinian. In total that makes thirteen out of thirty properties, or 43% of them. In the following paragraphs the properties are presented with a short quote ad an analysis of the type of biblical association that is displayed in the description. The Palestinian properties will be presented first.

The Palestinian property, Ancient Jericho: Tell es-Sultan, has no direct connection to Christianity, but the Jericho is mentioned in the bible. The description states that: "Numerous religious events and beliefs are associated with the site and area", which then is followed by a long bible quote, of which the following is the first part: "Jesus entered Jericho and was passing through it. Now a man named Zacchaeus was trying to get a look at Jesus, but being a short man he could not see over the crowd…" The quote ends with Zacchaeus climbing a tree to have a clear view of Jesus. When it comes to El Bariyah: Wilderness and monasteries, Jesus is mentioned in a manner that most resembles a travel-ad, "Throughout the history of the Holy Land, whenever people fled civilization, el-Bariyah was the ideal place to take refuge – or, as Jesus himself experienced during his '40 days and 40 nights', simply to meditate." The site does have connection to Christianity through the monasteries and their importance for the Christian development within the Holy Land. The quote is used as a spice since it connects the site to a specific and well-known event of the Bible more than it connects to the property itself.

The Old Town of Hebron al-Khalil & its environs, refers to Christianity as follows: "sacred to Muslims, Christians and Jews, as the burial place of prophets Abraham/Ibrahim, Isaac, Jacob and their wives". Christianity does not hold a prominent place, neither in the Palestinian description nor the alternative Israeli description from Go Israel that have been presented throughout the thesis. The description of Qumran: Caves and monastery of the Dead Sea Scrolls stated that, the site is "identified by some scholars with the biblical "City of Salt…" This biblical reference describes the property that contains the earliest known manuscripts of the Bible. To judge from the phrase, "by some scholars", it is contested whether Qumran even is the mentioned city of salt. In the property description of Sebastia, the purchase of the land, on which the site was built, is mentioned with reference to the bible: "According to the biblical tradition, Omri purchased the hill from a man named Shemer and made it his capital". The site does have deeper connections to Christianity than this quote allows for, however, due

to traditional linkage of John the Baptist's tomb to the site. Once again, a bible quote is used because the site is mentioned in the Bible, without actually saying anything about the site. The Tell Umm Amer description is not embellished with a quote from the bible, but is connected to Christianity by reference to the monastery within the property, "The ruins of Saint Hilarion are one of the oldest monasteries in Palestine, so the site bears a unique exceptional testimony to Christianity in Gaza".

The Israeli Tentative List does not use bible quotes to the same extent as the Palestinian list. In several property descriptions, Christianity is mentioned alongside Judaism without deeper elaboration of its connection to the sites. The description of the Triple-Arch Gate at Dan & Sources of Jordan accounts for its 1966 excavation that discovered "sections of imposing walls and gates, as well as a ritual site which dates to the time of dramatic events recounted in the Bible". These events are not discussed further. The property Early Synagogues of the Galilee first mentions Christianity as a successor to Judaism: "The synagogue was a revolutionary institution from its inception, embodying dramatic religious and social changes. It appears to have been a uniquely Jewish creation that influenced the subsequent development of the Christian church and the Muslim mosque". It then states: "They were also the initial prototypes where Jesus prayed".

The Galilee Journeys of Jesus & the Apostles is a property entirely built on connections with Christianity and the Bible: "Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples from the north of the Sea of Galilee, lived and worked in the towns, villages and the countryside of Lower Galilee". It continues: "Many pilgrims and visitors will walk in the footsteps of Jesus and the Apostles, in order to experience their trials and tribulations". The last sentence summarizes some of the importance for Christianity in the region. There are not many percentages of Christians living within the Holy Land, but there is an extensive tourism of Christians searching for the roots of their beliefs. It is the demand of what is being expected, that is supplied through the property descriptions. This is a function of global heritage in general, highlighted by Noel B. Salazar, *Heritage and Globalization* (2010), in the following quote:

> Although seldom acknowledged, the globalisation of heritage through tourism can seriously influence its interpretation, both for locals and tourists. We should not forget that cultural heritage mainly has value because of the selective meaning that people ascribe to it, often through personal identification and attachment. The way people relate to a place is not so much caused by the specific site attributes but by the visitor's personal motivations and perceptions (Salazar p.136)

In the Holy Land though, this interpretation from tourists is very specific through their perception of the Holy Land as the cradle of Christianity. Salazar continues: "When the interpretation of heritage crosses boundaries and becomes entangled in the complex web of global tourism, it can have the effect of disembedding local (or nationally) produced senses of identity" (p.137), which do in fact point out this duality of e.g. the Israeli Tentative List presenting the Jewish history and balancing the Christian community at the same time. Salazar concludes: "A single heritage site can provoke varied degrees of understanding – be it on a local, national, regional or even global scale. In fact, there is no heritage without interpretation, and the attached subjective meaning is always culturally (re)constructed and often contested" (p.136).

Caesarea is not a Christian site and the only linkage made to Christianity is through the mention of Christians once living there among people of other faiths: "After the destruction of

Jerusalem, Caesarea became the most important city in the country. Pagans, Samaritans, Jews and Christians lived here in the third and fourth centuries CE." What is striking here is not the mention of Christians but rather the absence of Muslims. Something similar may be said of the reference to Christian inhabitants in the description of the property of the White Mosque in Ramle, of which has a: "…mixed population of Muslims, Jews and Christians". The citation draws the attention to fact that the city is no longer exclusively Arab (Ramle was an Arab city until the war of 1948) – that seem to be its main point.

The property description of Jerusalem refers to Christianity, but the text on the Tentative List is poorly written, and makes a longer quote insufficient. It explains that Jerusalem bears "a unique witness to the cultural cradle of the Western monotheistic religions" and then mentions the Christian sites "identified by Queen Helena"[14]: Gethsemane, the Church of the Ascension, Bethany, and the site of the Last Supper. Remarkably, the description of the Crusader Fortresses does not mention Christianity or the Bible. The property description mentions the various orders that were involved in the crusades and the construction of the fortresses, but does not explain any difference between them in terms of faith or refer at all to the reasons for the crusades.

6.4.3 STATES PARTIES AND AHD

The authorized heritage discourse – AHD – was described in chapter 1.3.2 Discourse, as a dominant heritage discourse linked to nineteenth-century nationalism and liberal modernity, together with a built-in "pastoral care of the material past*"*. Smith argues that the common and unproblematic way of explaining heritage as old, monumental, grand and aesthetically pleasing buildings, sites, places or artefacts leads to what Smith refers to as "a practise of rounding up the usual suspects" that together promote a set of elitist Western cultural values. Smith argues that the conventions and charters enacted by UNESCO and ICOMOS can be seen as authorizing institutions of heritage in their definitions of what heritage is, of how and why it matters and how it should be used. One of the discourses that the Tentative Lists of Israel and Palestine are formed by is the authorized heritage discourse. Another is the discourse shaped by the Christianization, which in turn, is supported by the first. As has been stated within this thesis, the early involvement of Western scholars in search for biblical sites was consolidated by the British colonial power, and transmitted to the practices of archaeology and heritage making within Israel and Palestine with focus on ancient religious sites connected to the bible. As mentioned, in relation to the use of Christianity and association to the Bible, the privileging of biblical and Christian sites, as well as pre-Islamic archaeology (prior to the Arab rule in 630s CE), is rooted in the colonial heritage, which bears relevance to the discourse of the desired pasts i.e. the Holy Land and national claims, which is using selective history that leads to inclusion/exclusion, within the Tentative Lists.

According to Smith, the authorized heritage discourse relies on the power/knowledge claims of experts, which in turn are institutionalized in state cultural agencies. The AHD's tendency to round up the usual suspects ties up the States Parties to either be a part of the World Heritage game, focusing on the same types of heritage as UNESCO, or stand aside. In several Palestinian property descriptions, the different criteria is almost quoted word by word in the

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[14] "Saint Helena or Saint Helen (250-330 CE), the consort of the Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus and the mother of the emperor Constantine the Great… traditionally credited with a pilgrimage to Syria Palaestina, during which she is claimed to have discovered the True Cross (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helena_%28empress%29).

motivation for the listing, leaving no room for any contradiction or alternative interpretation of the properties. De Cesari illustrates this power/knowledge relation of the expertise in relation to conservation, which tends to favour an international "best practice" to a local Palestinian context, that has developed an "approach to historic conservation as cultural resistance and social development centred on reuse, revitalization and creativity" (De Cesari, 2010, p.302). One of the main problems with the AHD is that it favours specialist opinions that is, what Salazar describes as a, top-down heritage planning that leave the civil societies (local people) out from decision-making and premiers national, "official", heritage at the expense of alternative viewpoints, work-procedures, and valuation of cultural heritage (Salazar p.134).

7. CONCLUSION

Within the thesis I have used a framework built by the keywords past, history, authenticity, identity, and place to understand the Tentative Lists. The past is the object of knowledge to history. The past can be said to be everything that has happened and been and history, as science, a socially contingent selection of the former. Heritage is the use of the past as a cultural, political and economic resource for the present wherein tradition, artefacts, mythologies and memories also becomes resources. Authenticity, within the thesis, refers to the genuine and true. These keywords are linked to identity and place, in the way that people identify with material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions. Heritage is used to create and manage collective identity. These collective identities are expressed through a sense of belonging, transmitted through representations of place. This sense of belonging through place may be used to legitimate claims to territory. The construction of a sense of place is a product of creative imaginations, and place identities are not passively created, but ascribed by people to places. The attributes of otherness are fundamental to representations of identity since they are constructed in counter-distinction to them. In nationalist ideologies this tends to essentialise identities as inherent it landscapes, which in turn make room for archetypal national landscapes that are shaped by geographical imagery, memory and myth.

At the very beginning of the thesis I claimed that the past is a resource to be used by contemporary societies; chosen parts of the past that represents the past in the present. In other words, Heritage is constructed. Both Israel and Palestine have submitted tentative lists of world heritage. These are in some ways contested. In turn, this prompted me to ask the following questions:

1. How are *history* and *authenticity* represented on the Israeli and the Palestinian Tentative Lists?
2. Is it possible to expose any differences in how the different Tentative Lists present their sites in terms of language and wording, essentialness of the sites and with reference to inclusion/exclusion?
3. Is it possible to discern political motives for sites nominated on the Tentative Lists?

In the previous chapter I discerned three types of inclusion/exclusion that needed clarifying. Within these three types all of the questions above were entwined. This conclusion will illustrate how these themes summarize the thesis. Within the first version of inclusion/exclusion one may distinguish between the way that the States Parties, Israel and Palestine, use wording, how they essentialise the properties, and the way they make political, and historical claims to territory through heritage. Israel uses several Judaic terms and phrases to point to specific time-periods throughout its Tentative List. The Second Temple period is used most frequently of these. This is a clear use of words that includes people with the knowledge or beliefs of Judaism, and excludes those who do not have this knowledge. The time of the Torah and Mishnah are other examples of phrases used to the same effect within the Tentative List. Within the Israeli Tentative List, 47% of the properties are linked to Judaism, and according to the frequent use of criterion (v), implies that the Israeli Tentative List refers to more focused time-spans in its property descriptions than the Palestinian Tentative List. On the Israeli Tentative List, motivation is not given for the use of particular criteria which makes the Israeli Tentative List as a whole harder to grasp and less specific, than the Palestinian counterpart. This gives the Israeli Tentative List the opportunity to insinuate various claims without backing them up with clear arguments. Notable examples of

this are the property descriptions, in which the Israeli Tentative List describes properties that are not associated with Judaism, but adds a Jewish connection to the property by noting that the sites, or the surrounding landscapes, were populated by other groups, foremost Jews, in other time-periods. This seems, design to guarantee some contemporary connections and links to the place discussed with the State of Israel. From the Israeli Tentative List, I have analysed in preceding chapter examples where particular time-layers have clearly been strategically privileged over others, but also where properties are strategically named for one period or site although more space is given to others in the description. One of these examples is the Triple-Arch Gate at Dan & Sources of Jordan, which mentions the earliest complete arches found in the world, but focuses more attention on an inscription that was the first time the name "House of David" was found outside the bible. Another example is of a synagogue in relation to the property Arbel (arbel, nebe shueb, horns of hittim), mentioned by early travelers, which appears to have been destroyed 1.200 years ago. To mention a synagogue that has, according to the description itself, not been seen since the 8th century CE, and place it as a detour from the description in general is nothing less than an attempt to certify the Jewish claims to the sites described in the property.

The two States Parties describe several properties on the Tentative Lists differently. These coincide with properties that are highly contested in terms of territory. Three Israeli national parks cover properties inscribed on the Palestinian Tentative List. The Palestinian properties are all within the boundaries of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which means that the Israeli national parks are on occupied Palestinian territory. All three of these Israeli national parks focus on Jewish history. Not only are the Israeli narratives the dominant ones in these national parks, the parks also restricts Palestinian visits. This illustrates is one of the major problems with heritage in the Holy Land, where as soon as one state claims a cultural site, the other side is shut out from the process of valuing its importance, telling its history and creating its heritage. The case of the property El-Bariyah: Wilderness and monasteries on the Palestinian Tentative List serves as a case in point, one of the properties that contains an Israeli national park. The Palestinian Tentative List mentions Herodium, a Roman fortress of great magnitude and architectural significance, but does not refer to the Jewish history that narrates the national park, or even the fact that the site is under Israeli control. Conversely, Israel does not recognize that the site is within the Palestinian territory, which in turn is explained by the fact that 365.000 Israeli settlers live within the Palestinian territory of the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

On both Tentative Lists, religion has a prominent place. Counting the percentage of association, Christianity is alone in the top and associated to 41% of the Israeli and 46% of the Palestinian property descriptions. Within both Israel and Palestine around 2% of the population is Christian, and this suggests a different type of inclusion/exclusion, in which both the States Parties take part of without any rivalry between the States Parties. Contemporary scholars describe this as a Christianization of the Holy Land through the economies that directs archaeology and historical writing to fit Christian pilgrims and tourists, mostly from Europe and America. I have, within this thesis, presented the evidence for this Christianization on the two Tentative Lists. In analysing the use of words I found that the Palestinian list uses words connected to Christianity more often than the Israeli Tentative List. Both States Parties connect their properties to Christianity, but Palestine uses bible quotes more often than Israel does. These quotes serve to enhance the significance of the properties, and to connect the property to the holiness of the landscape. In Israel it is possible to join archaeological excavations of sites on the Tentative List, together with the Biblical Archaeology Society. These excavations, or digs as they are called, are connected to several

American and European institutions. As part of the theories and methodology of this thesis I introduced the authorized heritage discourse – AHD. The AHD favours the grand scale and tangible, the western definitions of heritage and conservation.

In this thesis, I have linked AHD to the prominent position of Christianity on the two Tentative Lists. The AHD backs up the Christianization, and the Christianization is in turn an underlying and constituting reality that calls for the two States Parties to voluntarily succumb to the framework of this discourse. The association to Christianity is made at the cost of sacrifices to other narratives of the places and sites. The AHD is, in its turn, a discourse that favours elite power/knowledge, and obstructs different views of heritage and conservation practices. The Palestinian Tentative List uses words that are connected to the AHD more often than the Israeli Tentative List. Thus the words history, culture and tradition are used with distinctive difference between the lists. I believe that Palestine is borrowing authority from the AHD, as a sort of compensatory strategy, since the Palestinian Authority is still a weak and inexperienced State Party. It is thus about enhancing the credibility of the Tentative List through its own UNESCO frameworks.

The two Tentative Lists are trying to balance several demands. On one hand, they have a Tentative List that is contested by the other State Party's claims, of history, territory, and an overall, positioning, and political nationalist agenda. On the other hand, both Tentative Lists attempt to fit the UNESCO establishment, gaining from the World Heritage List the added cultural value it offers. In that arena there is no room for explicitly conflicting heritage, since the Convention and the whole organisation is, according to me, rather pompous in its naïve view of heritage as a foremost uniting factor among mankind. The two States Parties have chosen different ways to deal with these fractured demands. Israel is trying to balance a nationalistic agenda, stating the Jewish claim to the Holy Land, and at the same time insists on its credibility. It is hard to associate 47% of the properties to Jewish historical claims, and at the same time maintain the "universal" within the UNESCO linchpin of Outstanding Universal Value. The Palestinian Tentative List has a more subtle nationalistic approach. In the introduction I stated that this arena of UNESCO's was an arena in which the conflicting states where equals for the first time. This presumption has somewhat changed after the comparison between the Tentative Lists. Palestine did not succumb to all out cultural battle with its Tentative List, stating all the injustices caused by its occupying power, but has chosen a way where the conflict is subtle and hardly mentioned at all. Instead of meeting Israel with the newfound power tools, they took a step back, and in so doing they managed to highlight the nationalistic agenda of the Israeli Tentative List, making it appear as more aggressive and not as thought through as the Palestinian one. By doing this, the Palestinian State Party surrenders some of its independence to the authorized heritage discourse, succumbing to the soft non-conflict, non-shaming reality of UNESCO.

The first question that was asked in this thesis was: How are *history* and *authenticity* represented on the Israeli and the Palestinian Tentative Lists? The answer is that the Tentative Lists constructs a picture of the Holy Land as ancient, full of historical cultures and settlements. The lists also emphasize the Holy Lands importance as the cradle of the major religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Religion is intertwined into history and authenticity, not least by the usage of the Holy Scriptures, which is referred to as sources of truth. In the Israeli Tentative List this ultimately leads to the mentioning of Judaism in almost half of the descriptions to the properties listed. Palestine, on the other hand has, except for the enhancing of authenticity through bible quotes, and succumbed to describe history with the terms used in the UNESCO documents and guidelines.

The second question that was asked was: Is it possible to expose any differences in how the different Tentative Lists present their sites in terms of language and wording, essentialness of the sites and with reference to inclusion/exclusion? The answer is that in terms of language and wording the two Tentative Lists do differ. Firstly, the Palestinian Tentative List is considerably longer and much more structured than the Israeli one. These facts in turn, makes the Palestinian list more focused than the Israeli one. By analysing the use of words in the two lists it is clear that the Palestinian list has a higher frequency in use of words connected to the authorized heritage discourse, but also to Christianity, than the Israeli list does. Israel connects properties to Judaism through wording, which also, by its association to Judaism in 47%, summarizes the essentialness of their properties. In the Tentative Lists I have discerned three different types of inclusion/exclusion. The first version lays in the relationship between the two States Parties, Israel and Palestine and is primarily visible in historical claims, often with religious associations and of territorial and political nature. It is showed in the way which the States Parties selectively describes properties to fit the own claims of the places. Often these claims are manifested in *not* describing the relevance of "the other side". The second version lies between the States Parties and Christianity, which are manifested by associations to Christianity throughout the property descriptions. The third version, which is connected to the second, is found in the descriptions, mainly the Palestinian, and how these are made to fit the Euro-centric authorized heritage discourse, which is manifested both in inclusion of "what is expected" and the exclusion of various heritages that falls outside the scope of the AHD.

The third, and last question that was asked was: Is it possible to discern political motives for sites nominated on the Tentative Lists? The most obvious answer to this question has to do with the properties that are listed even though they are located within contested territory, which makes an inscription impossible by the guidelines of UNESCO. To these the three Israeli national parks in the West Bank listed by Palestine (Herodium, Sebastia, and Qumran), together with the Israeli listing of Jerusalem, are counted. The political statement made by Palestine is to shed a light on the fact that Israel has created national parks within occupied territory, all of which are related to Judaism. Conversely, the Israeli statement of listing Jerusalem is that Israel disagrees with international law or UNESCO regarding the status of the city, and that the inclusion of Mount Zion, the sacred Jewish place, is of great importance.

The research made in this thesis has prompted a number of questions that could be used in future research. The Christianization discussed by Scham (2009) and De Cesari (2010) is well represented within the two Tentative Lists. In future research it would be interesting to study the international involvement through universities, institutions and churches and how these are involved in shaping heritage and its values in the Holy Land. Another topic that caught my interest is whether there is a contradicting, secular heritage force in Israel, and if, how it is viewed the official heritage institutions. A third topic concerns the representation on the Palestinian Tentative List. Due to its population of approximately 80% Muslims the Palestinian Tentative List make little room for Islam. How is the official heritage viewed in this concern, having the representation of Christianity in mind, how does it relate to the mentioned NGO's and grassroots initiatives of conservation and heritage practice? And ultimately, is the national heritage of Palestine representative for its population? Finally, can heritage be used as a unifying force in the conflict of Palestine and Israel? Is it possible to use the framework of for example the Heritage and Dialogue-project that was launched by UNESCO in South East Europe?

8. EPILOGUE

In February 2015 I noted that the Israeli Tentative List changed the date of its last revision. No changes were discernable at that time, but in the last week of May, right before the deadline of this thesis, changes did appear. Two new properties were added to the Tentative List and it went from 17 properties to 19. My first reaction to this was pure panic. All the numbers, percentages, everything in the thesis needed to be changed in a couple of days. The last property addition to the Israeli Tentative List was made in 2004. Eleven years before I started analyzing the Tentative Lists. What were the odds? Then I started reading them and I realized that the first property, Ein Karem, a village and its cultural landscape is described as the village "traditionally known as the source of stones used to build The Second Jewish Temple". The second property, Liftah (Mey Naftoah) – Traditional mountain village, is described as "The only historic, intact Palestinian village. Due to its abandonment in 1948, as result of historic events, it has never been re-occupied, or demolished, thus preserving in the most authentic way all the elements of a hilly, East Mediterranean village". The first property description focuses on its importance to Judaism, describes its connection to Christianity, and the second is described as abandoned due to "historical events" in 1948. According to Zochrot, the Arab village had a population of 2960 before Israeli forces occupied the village in 1948. The panic I felt when I discovered these additions in the Israeli Tentative List disappeared when I realized that the two new properties supported all of the main arguments made in the thesis.

At last I would like to add that I do believe that cultural heritage can be a progressive force in the conflict of Israel and Palestine. What I do not believe is that this force is best used by nation-states. Heritage does not acknowledge borders created by men. To be able to work towards mutual goals Israelis and Palestinians need to meet each other. There are barriers, walls, signs and alienation and official heritage is somewhat used to consolidate this. Until hope is not placed on fortifications and border control, until hope is not placed on nations, I will cheer for the grassroots and every little project that succeeds to address history, heritage and pride without being prejudice or excluding to other groups of people. Normally I would say that the past belongs to them, and the future belongs to us, but in this thesis concerning heritage, it is clearly stated that the past, the present and the future belongs to us and we can do what we want with it. Let's not waste the future by using the past poorly in the present.

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FIGURES AND TABLES

Figure 1-5: From "Israel's Story in Maps" provided by Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Figure 6-8: Photos by the author.
Figure 9-11: Word clouds by the author.
Tables 1-10: Made by the author.

APPENDIX

THE ISRAELI-CONTROLLED AREA
OF HEBRON CITY (H2)

September 2013

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs occupied Palestinian territory

Legend:
- Full Checkpoint
- Partial checkpoint
- Roadblock
- Road gate
- Other Physical Obstacle
- Road Barrier
- Palestinian Vehicular and Pedestrian Access Prohibited
- Palestinian Vehicular Access Prohibited
- School
- Medical Center
- Jewish settlement
- Restricted Area