CULTURAL HERITAGE COSERVATION IN CONFLICT ZONES

- HOLY LAND AS A CASE STUDY

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Aaed Almasri

Cultural Heritage Conservation in Conflict Zones

- Holy Land as a Case Study



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Preface

Der zerstörerische Umgang mit kulturell wertvollen Objekten und Gebäuden ist fixer Bestandteil von kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen.

Auch die fortwährende Krise und die damit verbundenen Kriege zwischen Israel und Palästina berühren den Gegenstand dieser Veröffentlichung:

Der Umgang mit denkmalgeschützten gebauten Objekten in Konfliktgebieten

Nach einer konzeptionellen Einführung in die Fragestellung und die damit verbundenen Methoden zeigt Herr Almasri den geschichtlichen Hintergrund des Umgangs mit dem Thema Denkmalschutz im Krieg.

Ein wesentlicher Aspekt dieser Arbeit ist das umfassende Aufzeigen des theoretischen Diskurses und der Übertragbarkeit in die heutigen Konfliktherde auf der Grundlage von Fallbeispielen.

Die konkrete Auseinandersetzung dieser Fragestellung bezogen auf das Konfliktgebiet Israel/ Palästina/Gazastreifen gelingt dem Autor mit Feingefühl und hoher Neutralität.

Die vorliegende Veröffentlichung leistet damit einen Beitrag zur Einordnung denkmalpflegerischer Aspekte in den Diskurs des Wiederaufbaus und Schutzes von gebauten Kulturgütern insbesondere in Krisengebieten.

Weimar, September 2014

Prof. Dr.-Ing. Bernd Nentwig

Abstract

Wars are always associated with violence, looting and devastation. Targeting cultural heritage and built environments in occupied lands is always considered to be part and parcel of war motivated by the desire to demoralize the enemy and to prevent resistance. History provides us with countless cases of cultural heritage destruction and vandalism—from the devastation of Carthage and Jerusalem by the Romans to looting of Italian and Egyptian antiquities by Napoleon Bonaparte, to the strategic bombing of urban centers during the Second World War, to the ongoing destruction of cultural heritage in Palestine since 1948.

The increased appreciation for cultural heritage in the twentieth century has been interpreted in many international charters, which create rules for preserving heritage. This appreciation clashed with the unprecedented destruction of cultural heritage during the two world wars. Since then, many conventions have been made to protect cultural heritage during wartime as well as in peacetime. Although the number of countries that ratify these conventions grows yearly, the recent wars show evidence that the impact of these conventions is very weak. Also, recent conflicts reveal how heritage is vulnerable and how threats to heritage are complex and variable. In this research we discover how conflicts transform heritage and its values in the Holy Land.

But the question is how I have come to this area of research? After my return from UK in 2003, I started teaching modeling and visualizing courses. One of the requirements of these courses was to make a model for an 'attractive' building. Some of the students suggested making models for old buildings located in the historic center of Gaza. I found their suggestion interesting. What attracted my attention during my visits was the existence of Muslim, Christian and Jewish symbols and traces in this area.

Since then, I started wondering about the real meaning behind sharing the same outer wall between an historic mosque and an historic church while a Samarian bath lay at the end of the alleyway. Do these buildings tell perhaps different nuanced stories other than the dominant black and white, and sharply delineated historical narratives that dominate the media and public debate? What is the mystery of this diversity? Gradually, I started exploring sto-

ries about an exceptional harmonic coexistence of heritage in the cities of Palestine. Stories abound about various communities and different believers managing to share places and produce multicultural heritage. These stories have provoked the desire to search for the factors that produce that heritage and how establishing a Jewish state in Palestine has deformed that heritage.

Weimar, August 2014

Dr. Aaed S. Almasri

Keywords:

Cultural Heritage; Dissonant heritage, human values, Nationalism, Zionism, heritage interpretation

About the author

I am an architect from Palestine. In 1977, I was born in Libya for an emigrant family. My childhood was quiet and happy; my parent did their best to make their only son happy. In 1990, after an Israeli permission, I returned with my family to live in Gaza. I attended a school in the refugee camp in my city "KhanYounis". The first Intifada was in its peak. I was learned to run away whenever I see an Israeli soldier. During this period, I witnessed how Israeli soldiers break into my school almost every two weeks. I saw my favorite sport teacher beaten in the school playground. As any Palestinian youth, this period of my life was full of violence scenes; those scenes still follow me everywhere.

After, finishing bachelor's degree in architecture, I traveled to Scotland. In Scotland, I did MSc in architecture at University of Strathclyde. In Scotland, I was astonished from the peaceful coexistence among the different ethnics and cultures. However, I was not able to wipe off all my fears from war and violence. I remembered, one day, I was walking at the street in the city of Glasgow, suddenly, I heard a loud voice coming from behind, subconsciously, I lied down on the street. I raised my head, and I saw, 20 meters away, a wood plank lying on the ground. People in the street were surprised from my reaction.

In 2004, I returned back to Palestine. For about five years, I worked as a teacher in the department of architecture at the Islamic University of Gaza. In 2014, I finished my PhD in Urban Heritage from University of Bauhaus.

I dedicate this work to my family. My Father, God rest his soul; my mother, God blesses her soul; my wife, Tala, God blesses her; and my little angels:

Saleh, Abdulrahman, Mohammed, Mahmoud.

Aaed Almasri, 2014

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Terminology

Terms in my research are highly sensitive; therefore, I used the terms which have been used by UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice (ICJ). In some cases, I use common terms that do not reflect any ideology or particular perspective:

Holy Land: By Using this term, I mean all the area which includes what is now, Israel, West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Palestine: This term mean the land before 1948.

Intifada: I mean the two main Palestinian public revolts. The first intifada occurred from 1987-1993. The second took place from 2000-2005.

Zionist militia: this term refer to all the armed Jewish-Zionist groups that were established before the state of Israel. These groups were trained, ruled and equipped by the Zionist Movement. After 1948, these militias constitute the core of the Israel Army.

The Zionism movement: this term refers to the national movement of Jews that supports creating a state for Jewish people only. Palestine, Cyprus and Uganda were nominated to house the Zionism's colonial enterprise.

Israel: I mean the areas that have been given by the UN to the Zionist movement to establish a state for the Jewish people.

Green Line or pre-1967 borders or 1967 borders: This term refer to the borders which have been settled by UN as cease-fire line after the 1948 war.

Israeli Occupation Authorities or Israeli military government: refer to the Israeli body that dominates Palestinian rural and urban areas since 1967. Geographically, the term covers all land of Gaza Strip and West Bank including East Jerusalem.

Illegal Israeli settlements: This term will be used to describe all the Israeli gated communities that have been established and growing over the Palestinian lands at the occupied areas since 1967.

Palestinian Territories: Include all the Palestinian enclaves, villages and cities which have been occupied in 1967 and some parts of it ruled by Palestinian governments.

Palestinian Authority: is the self-government body that have been established to govern West Bank and Gaza Strip after Oslo Accords in 1993.

1948 war: I mean the war which broke out between Israel from one side and Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Syria from the other side. The war started after the declaring establishing state called Israel in Palestine 14/5/1948. After this war West Bank was dominated by Jordan, Gaza Strip was ruled by Egypt. And the Green line was established as official borders for the state of Israel

Ethnic cleansing of 1948: I mean the military operations that committed by the Zionist militias to expel the Palestinians from their residents in March 1948. This term is used by most Jewish New Historians. See (Pappé, 2006)

1967 war: It is the war that broke out between Israel from one side and Egypt, Syria and Jordan from the other side. West bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai and Golan Heights were occupied after this war.

Area A, Area B, Area C: According to Oslo Accords in 1993, "share" the sovereignty with the Palestinian Authority at the occupied Palestinian areas. At Area 'A' security and civilian issues are under the control of the Palestinian Authority. Area 'B' referred to rural areas where the Palestinian Authority controls only civilian issues. Area 'C' is under exclusive Israeli control inside the occupied areas.

Peace upon him or them: It is a traditional way to show respect for prophets and messengers. And I use the term to confirm my respect for all beliefs and religions.

History; Heritage and The past: The past is what has happened. History is the remembered record of the past (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1999). Heritage is the contemporary uses of the past (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1999).

Research questions

The questions of the research influence the research profoundly. The questions are designed to explore the complex set of factors that surround the central phenomenon which is protecting cultural heritage in the time of war. There are two central questions guide this research: Can cultural heritage be protected in the time of war? What lessons can be learned from the case study of the Holy Land? To answer these central questions there are some associated subquestions that need to be investigated, those are:

- What is the concept of cultural heritage?
- How cultural heritage and its value should be preserved?
- What is the impact of armed conflicts on the concept of cultural heritage?
- How experts and international institutions perceive cultural heritage in the time of war?
- What are the international efforts to protect cultural heritage in the time of war and how successful these efforts are?
- Do wars increase or decrease the value of cultural heritage?
- What is the cultural heritage of the Holy Land?
- Which variables and events have shaped the cultural heritage of the Holy Land
- How both sides of the conflict, namely Israelis and Palestinians, deal with cultural heritage?
- Is there any possibility to protect cultural heritage in the Holy Land?

Hypotheses

- There is a big gap between the concepts of cultural heritage in peacetime and the concept of cultural heritage in wartime.
- The concept of cultural heritage is spatially and temporally variable.
- The concept of cultural heritage has been widened to include various cultures and contexts; however, dealing with cultural heritage during wartime is still a highly controversial subject.
- Not always people are more valued than cultural heritage!
- Colonizers and colonized societies have their individual interpretation for cultural heritage.
- The concept of cultural heritage has been developed to pave the way for accepting
 the "others" contrarily, in wartime, cultural heritage pave the way for rejecting the
 "others" and reducing their capacity.

Introduction

Cultural heritage is an open museum and live archive where recent and future generations can smell, touch, and live history. Culture heritage is not only a container of cultural values and social norms but is also, in its broad sense, everything that documents any community activities and achievements. Cultural heritage results from complex interactions occurring among many variables. People, culture and environments can be highlighted as the main variable components of this interaction added to historic events, social factors and economic systems. All these variables interact together to shape and to reshape cultural heritage.

Although the concept of heritage existed before the twentieth century, an extensively developed concept came about in the second half of the twentieth century, particularly after the unprecedented amount of destruction resulting from the Second World War. About 90% of all international conventions and agreements that define cultural heritage and call for protecting heritage during wartimes have been produced since the massive global conflict. Gradually, through these conventions the importance of cultural heritage has been emphasized and reintroduced as "a common heritage of humankind" i.e. belongs to all of humanity.

Nevertheless, the wars in the last decades have not only proven the failing of international conventions to protect cultural heritage during wartimes but also prove how vulnerable heritage is to manipulation and adaption. In this unfortunate environment, the real values of cultural heritage namely tolerance, diversity and coexistence are often set aside and replaced with chauvinism and fanaticism. Every party of opposing forces evokes from history what serves to moralize its position and demonizes any opposing interest. From this perspective, cultural heritage comes as an ideology of history that easily reshapes such history to stand on one side or another.

The target of this research is the exploration of the possibility of protecting cultural heritage in conflict zones particularly in the Holy Land. This research also pursues the impact of conflicts on the concept of cultural heritage. To what extent do conflicts transform the value of cultural heritage and the target of conservation projects? The impact of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on the Holy Land's cultural heritage constitutes the main case study of this research. A comparative study has been made to understand how cultural heritage was before the Palestinian diaspora and how both sides have conceptualized cultural heritage since the introduction of Zionism into Palestine.

1 Introduction

Developing approaches and solutions that participate in protecting heritage during wartimes is one of the targets of this research; however, the main target of this research is studying the complexity of the issue rather than solving it. This complexity drives the research to recommend that the only way to protect cultural heritage in the Holy Land is by solving the conflict itself.

Cultural heritage in the Holy Land is not similar to any famous conservation projects in Europe, namely Dresden, Warsaw or Mostar. In these famous cases, conservation projects usually developed after the end of the war as recovery projects with the interests of both public and governmental bodies carefully measured and considered (Barakat & Narang-Suri, 2009) therefore only local case studies have been elaborated to answer the research questions.

This research is a qualitative research based on a variety of data sources such as official reports, news papers, books, published papers, articles, interviews, archived pictures, personal observations and surveys. I use all these sources to achieve my research. Only reliable sources have been used to emphasize the objectivity of the research. And in some disputed theories, such as the Jewish existence in Canaan, I mention two viewpoints, one adopted by the Zionist movement and the one developed by New Archeologists.

The scope of this research is cultural heritage in the shadow of war with the main case study being the Holy Land i.e. the Land of Canaan. The first chapter deals with the basics of cultural heritage with three simple questions constituting the main three axes of this chapter. Those questions are what is cultural heritage? How is cultural heritage evaluated? And what are the conservation methods used to maintain it? In the first chapter, the agents of conflicts and warfare have been excluded. Through addressing these three central issues as axes, the standard understanding of cultural heritage is discovered.

The first chapter explains the development of defining culture and how widening the concept of cultural heritage came about as a natural result of the diversity of cultures and contexts. This section underlines the variety of understanding cultural heritage by introducing collections of different interpretations for the concept of cultural heritage. Then the deep dissimilarities in defining the authenticity of heritage have been given as an example for how cultures are diverse. The second and the third sections concern the standard methods for evaluating and conserving heritage.

This chapter base on a comprehensive review for variety of perspectives, interests documents, and books in the field of cultural heritage. The publications of well known institutions such as UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, World Bank and Getty institution have enriched this chapter.

This chapter reveals many essential attributes of cultural heritage such as diversity, locality and multidisciplinarity. The purposes for this chapter is to, in addition to giving a background about the common trends of cultural heritage, emphasize the diversity of understanding the very basics of cultural heritage such as the methods of conservation. Variety and diversity have been emphasized only to prepare the reader for the profoundly different environments and interpretations of cultural heritage in the chapters that follow.

The second chapter examines how the previous principles of cultural heritage have changed in the shadow of armed conflicts that is to ask—what are the impacts conflicts leave on the value of heritage and conservation approaches? This chapter follows the development of targeting cultural heritage and how this phenomenon reached a massive capacity in the Second World War. Then, the methods and the motivations of targeting cultural heritage are examined. Wars and conflicts are classified according to their danger to cultural heritage with one or more examples being given for every category. This chapter introduces collection of thoughts, perspectives and conventions for dealing with heritage in the time of war.

Furthermore, the second chapter searches for the possible methods for protecting heritage during wartimes. In the course of searching for answers, I made a review of major international conventions which protect heritage in armed conflicts. However, the obvious failures of these conventions on the ground direct me to search about for answers from cultural heritage experts. The experts in this field can be classified into two groups. First group supports heritage reconstruction as an essential part of recovery and reconciliation. The second group stresses the danger of employing reconstructing heritage to manipulate the meanings of heritage. The target of this chapter is to reveal the gap between the international standards of cultural heritage and the reality of engaging with cultural heritage during wartimes.

After introducing a comprehensive background about the subject of cultural heritage either in peacetime or wartime, the third chapter establishes discovery of cultural heritage in the Land of Canaan. The target of this chapter is identifying the prewar cultural heritage in this central area. In the first half of this chapter, both cultural and ethnic interactions are detailed and considered as the grassroots of cultural heritage. This chapter introduces two concepts.

1 Introduction

The first is the historical changes that impacted the people of Canaan demographically and culturally.

The historic background is divided into layers. Every layer deals with one historic change such as changes in systems of belief or regime. Special attention has been given to the rise of Judaism in Canaan. In this course, I introduce two narratives, one developed by the Zionist movement and one developed in the last two decades by a group of scientists known as the "New Archeologists" since three decades.

In the second part of this chapter, I describe the different aspects of cultural heritage. Monuments, clothes, houses, and products of the pre-1948 era are introduced in this section in relation to the harmonic coexistence of various ethnic and religious minorities such as Christians, Jews, Armenians, Africans, and Moroccans. This chapter ends before the beginning of the ethnic cleansing of the indigenous population in March/1948, attempting to give an objective account of how people lived in one city and shared the same spaces. This chapter draws our attention to one particular fact—that the Jewish people were an indigenous and accepted part of the social fabric in Palestine. Their synagogues, houses and business were built in the heart of Palestinian cities.

The forth chapter continues, combining historic changes with cultural heritage conditions. This chapter focuses mainly on how the state of Israel has dealt with what could be called adaptable heritage and inadaptable heritage. We examine how the Jewish heritage in Palestine has been employed to justify uprooting the indigenous inhabitants, how the new rulers have legalized confiscating and demolishing public and private properties and, finally, how the present Palestinian owners were considered and identified as "absentees". This chapter also describes what heritage conflicts produce, and how urban and living heritage of the indigenous inhabitants have been demonized. The first historical section is based on the New-Historians perspectives. In the second section, pictures from the library of congress are used to explain the environment in Palestine before 1948.

The fifth chapter concerns the development of a heritage dogma in Palestinian society and when directions in conservation start to rise. Details about the Palestinian attempts to conserve cultural heritage are discussed along with the role of the Palestinian diaspora in such conservation. The first section of this chapter focuses on how the conflict has changed the value of cultural heritage. The conservation approaches and the institutional structures of heritage conservation centers are studied to highlight the driven force of these centers.

Since the establishment of Israel in 1948 and the occupation of what was proposed by the UN to be the Palestinian state in 1967, Israel has developed three approaches for dealing with cultural heritage in the Holy Land; first appreciated heritage, second undesirable heritage third neutral heritage. The appreciated heritage consists of the Jewish heritage in Canaan/Palestine. That heritage has been reconstructed, enlarged and celebrated.

The appreciated heritage has been reshaped to connect the state of Israel with the prehistory Jewish kingdoms in Canaan as well as to introduce Israel as the sole heir of the Jewish people in Canaan; in addition to justify people displacement and properties confiscation. The best example of the appreciated heritage is the Jewish quarter in Jerusalem which was built by the Israeli government after occupying Jerusalem in 1967. The new Jewish quarter has been fabricated in a way to distinguish the Jewish people in Palestine from their surrounding urban environment.

The undesirable heritage consists of the living heritage of the modern Palestinians such as their built environment and refugee camps. This heritage has been frequently demolished, neglected, diluted or blurred. The neutral heritage consists of the adaptable heritage such as the emptied Palestinian urban environments and the pre-Islamic heritage. This type of heritage has been manipulated to emphasize the appreciated heritage as well as to deemphasize the undesirable heritage.

On the other side, Palestinians employed cultural heritage to counter the Israeli policies and approach. Denying their existence, demolishing their villages, and minimize their identity, heritage and connections to the land made Palestinians more adherent to their memories and urban environments particularly the one that connect them to their pre-1948 memories and lifestyle. Most urban conservation projects in the Palestinian territories do not only target restoring the physical aspects of the built environment but also target sustaining the existence of the Palestinian families -Muslims and Christians alike- in their historic quarters.

Many of the conservation projects in the Palestinian side adopt the comprehensive revitalization approach which succeed in bringing live again to historic occupied quarters that suffer from planned neglecting and daily Israeli settlers' harassment. Throughout cultural heritage, Palestinians prove their existence, solidify their identity, provide historic centers with communal services, and provoke memories of lost villages and cities.

1 Introduction

In conflict areas, cultural heritage is utilized by opposite forces to demonstrate contradictory desires. While colonials manage heritage to sustain current situation, to legitimize the occupation and to justify eradicating any historic or modern trace of the colonized people, on the other hand, colonized people exploit heritage to overlook the current situation, to preserve collective memory and protect their identity and culture. In the holy Land, the continuity of the conflict and the central position of cultural heritage in that conflict makes sparing heritage from the conflict impossible, however the diverse nature of cultural heritage in the Holy Land provide alternative narrative that support coexistence, justice and equality in the Holy Land which politically can be transformed into a binational democratic state.

2 The Principles of Cultural Heritage

The first chapter attempts to create a strong background about cultural heritage in favor of any further debate regarding cultural heritage conservation under armed conflicts. This chapter will be a theoretical springboard to recognize, not merely the concept of cultural heritage, but also all the subjects around the backbone of this research: the importance of cultural heritage, the theories of conservation and the challenges facing cultural heritage conservation. Furthermore, this chapter will illuminate the valued efforts of international institutions like UNESCO and ICOMOS in such multidisciplinary field.

The international institutions play a significant role in creating standards for treatment, assembling specialists for conservation charters, supporting innovative approaches, and then publish all the previous work as guidelines, books and recommendations for the public. Such efforts are not merely the cornerstone of safeguarding the inherited heritage worldwide, but also, it shifts the public interest to create a common trend against any cultural vandalism under any circumstances. These are some of the issues, which will be elaborated in this chapter to fulfill the targets of this research.

2.1 Conceptualizing Cultural Heritage

There were many social, political and cultural reasons which initiated the appreciation of heritage from the early enlightenment. At that age, the contemporary society started to consider the medieval remains and structures as a resource of the original knowledge and beauty. They demonstrated growing interest in the visual, architectural, historical and educational values of the heritage. Later, heritage became a representative of the national identity, honor and dignity (Rodwell, 2007).

This trend was sustained by many artistic, philosophical and political movements. On the one hand they strengthened the position of heritage in the society and on the other hand, they called for maintaining the heritage rather than only protecting it. For instance, the artistic movement picturesque was inspired by paintings depicting medieval ruins. (Figure 1:1) Another movement called humanism advocated cultural diversity and pluralism. In addition, there were the nationalists and the nationalism, who did not merely, try to protect their national state heritage, but also, they looted other nations' heritage to increase their cultural capital as well as to train the "critical sense" of their nation (Quynn, 1945, p. 438).

2.1.1 The development of heritage concept

During the enlightenment, the term heritage was used in reference to a singular historic structure; whether ruined or not. Heritage represented historical and aesthetic values, which turned the iconic structures into national symbols. (Martínez, 2008) (Vecco, 2010) Gradually, the concept of heritage was extended from a specific object to the whole urban area, which contained a large amount of historical buildings. This perceptional meaning of heritage was used at Venice Charter-1964 as "Historic Monuments". Then, the concept of heritage was enlarged by UNESCO in 1968 to include both movable and immovable items, which was termed as 'cultural property' (UNESCO, 1968). Where cultural property was defined as:

"(a) Immovable, such as archaeological and historic or scientific sites, structures or other features of historic, scientific, artistic or architectural value, whether religious or secular, (...) The term cultural property also includes the setting of such property; (b) Movable property of cultural importance including that existing in or recovered from immovable property and that concealed in the earth, which -may be found' in archaeological or historical sites or elsewhere." (UNESCO, 1968)

Notably, the previous definition of cultural property, encompass not only the movable artifacts and immovable structures but also the human skills and handcrafts, which was used to create heritage; the Intangible heritage was clearly part of the heritage in UNESCO's convention-2003. Thirty years earlier, the World Heritage Convention-1972 introduced natural heritage as part of heritage parallel the manmade heritage. Natural heritage added gardens, landscape and significant forests to the hierarchy of heritage.

Since 2003, UNESCO's convention broadened the concept of heritage to contain the intangible cultural heritage; the convention illuminates the importance of safeguarding all the inherited skills and society's attributes which were exploited in creating cultural heritage. The convention defined the intangible cultural heritage as following

"The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage." (UNESCO, 2003)



Figure 2-1 depicting the ruins of Tintern Abbey in Wales, (Turner, 1794)