

# ARCHAEOLOGY AS A WEAPON

Long-lasting legacies of  
colonialism and nationalism  
in Israel, Palestine, Cyprus  
and Greece

**Marie-Louise Winbladh**

Series in Heritage Studies



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To friends and colleagues in Northern Cyprus and Palestine



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I have made full use of these books and articles and a large number of works by other authors and scholars, not specified here.

Therefore, this book could not have been published without all the work and research that others have done before. However, I am ultimately responsible for the content of what follows, including any errors and mistakes that can be found in the text.

# Foreword

Lâtife Summerer

Archaeology has deep roots in colonialism and racism. Since the early 19th century, European travelers, collectors, and hobbyists have unearthed antiquities in the former territories of the collapsing Ottoman Empire. Archaeology has been instrumentalized to justify racist historical perspectives, national identities, territorial claims, and political agendas.

While the colonial origins of archaeology have long been acknowledged, their ongoing influence on modern research remains insufficiently scrutinized. Colonial narratives continue to shape archaeological discourse—sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously—impacting how history is interpreted and presented.

Marie-Louise Winbladh's *Archaeology as Weapon* is a timely and significant contribution to this critical discussion. The book explores how archaeology has been used as a tool in political and territorial conflicts, with a particular focus on the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. Winbladh demonstrates that archaeology is not merely about uncovering the past—it is also wielded to construct national identities, justify territorial claims, and shape public perceptions.

What makes this book particularly compelling is its accessibility. Winbladh presents complex academic ideas in an engaging and straightforward manner, making the subject approachable for readers without prior expertise in archaeology or political history.

The book challenges the notion of archaeology as a neutral science, illustrating how it has frequently been used as a political weapon. The idea that history is not only written but also excavated by those in power is both thought-provoking and unsettling.

Through carefully selected case studies—including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the tensions in Cyprus—Winbladh provides real-world examples of how archaeological discoveries have influenced political debates and territorial disputes. These examples reveal that historical sites and artifacts displayed in museums or discussed in news headlines often have deeper, contested histories. Similar issues arise in other regions, such as India-Pakistan or the Balkans, where archaeology also plays a role in national conflicts. While these cases extend beyond the scope of the book, they underscore the global relevance of its themes.

*Archaeology as Weapon* effectively highlights these challenges while raising critical questions: How can archaeology be safeguarded from political exploitation? What ethical guidelines should archaeologists follow to prevent misuse of their work?

Despite these open questions, *Archaeology as Weapon* is an essential read for anyone interested in history, politics, or the power of storytelling. It challenges us to rethink our understanding of the past, reminding us that history is not static—it is constantly being reshaped, sometimes for political gain.

Lâtife Summerer  
Prien am Chiemsee,  
April 2025



# Preface

An entire lifetime with the most important collections of Cypriot antiquities in the world outside Cyprus fuelled my passion for these unique antiquities for nearly 40 years. The collections were excavated by Swedish archaeologists more than a century ago, and their efforts still inspire admiration and respect<sup>1</sup> (Winbladh, 1977). The magnificent Red Polished pottery, some of it almost 4,000 years old, is eloquent evidence of the skill and imagination of the prehistoric potters. The masterfully carved limestone sculpture and the shiny, red copper swords also piqued my interest in the preservation of these outstanding artefacts. There are smaller, but also important, Cypriot collections in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the British Museum in London. However, these often lack vital information with scholarly documentation of the find contexts since they were not excavated properly.

One of the most important tasks in a museum is to take care of the artefacts and ensure the conservation and climatic conditions in the displays and storerooms (Winbladh, 2023). Museum collections form an archive for future researchers and must be preserved. Right from the start, I realised the importance of a proper climate in exhibitions and storerooms to avoid future damage to the antiquities. This, in turn, led to an interest in the preservation of ancient artefacts and cultural heritage, especially in Crete and Cyprus, where I have spent a lot of time excavating, lecturing and researching. In Crete, developers and construction companies often come across prehistoric remains when they start digging in the ground. Sometimes, they decide to cover it all with concrete to avoid excavating expenses and wait for the hotels to be built.

Traveling in the occupied territories of Cyprus led to an insight into the shocking decay of the country's monuments, caused by neglect and political conflict. Ten years ago, I applied to work as a volunteer in both parts of Cyprus, preferably in the Northern part of the country, where there is a noticeable lack of knowledge about conservation and climatic conditions in museums. Unfortunately, this failed due to intricate bureaucracy on the part of members of both communities. However, living in Cyprus for an extended period allowed me to realise the deep divide between the two parts of the island. In the south, the Buffer Zone in the Cypriot capital is called the 'Dead Zone'.

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<sup>1</sup> A majority of the Cyprus Collections are now in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm, Sweden.

Working in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (and sometimes abroad) also led to reflections that archaeology is not only about the field itself but also underlying factors such as politics, one-sided loyalty to the country, individuals' careers etc. As an archaeologist, and later in my capacity as the Senior Curator of the Cyprus Collections, I was always intrigued by the obvious nationalism among Greek-speaking Cypriots and Greeks, evident during conferences, lectures, speeches and discussions with colleagues.<sup>2</sup> In the museum, I had the opportunity to meet many Greek-speaking Cypriot politicians, archaeologists, cultural celebrities etc., which always meant fruitful discussions, more often than not about politics, as I had always been very interested in the Cyprus Problem.<sup>3</sup> But I was often puzzled, even frustrated, that our Greek-speaking Cypriot visitors emphasised that they were, above all, Greeks, and that their mother country was Greece. Later, I gradually realised that it had always been important for them to be able to rely on their perceived mother country for political reasons. Centuries of Ottoman-Turkish occupation and the proximity to Turkey have left permanent marks.

About a decade ago, I visited the Republic of Cyprus in the Southern part of the island and witnessed the May 1 demonstration. An individual with the Greek blue and white flag led the way. After him came the yellow flag of the Greek Orthodox Church and finally, the beautiful flag of Cyprus designed by a Turkish-speaking Cypriot in 1960. People carried large photos of their national heroes, General Georgios Grivas and the Ethnarch<sup>4</sup> Makarios, who was also the archbishop of the country from 1960 to 1974. The Cypriots know that Grivas instigated the assassination of the ethnarch several times since he refused to cooperate with the fascist junta in Athens. The ethnarch himself was hardly a representative president for all Cypriots; he prioritised the Greekness of the Cypriots, not the national interests of all his countrymen.

For many years, I had been informed about the purebred, ancient Greek origins of the Greek-speaking Cypriots and the antiquity of their language, originating in remote prehistory (Michael, 2005, p. 1). This factoid or myth is so widespread that it has become almost universally accepted, ultimately at the expense of the Turkish-speaking Cypriots. I had always been struck by the prejudices of the official governmental information about Cyprus in books, pamphlets, websites etc. Also, I found archaeology books and even excavation reports to be quite biased. The Greek-speaking Cypriots may continue to talk

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<sup>2</sup> The proper identification of Cypriots is Greek-speaking Cypriots and Turkish-speaking Cypriots to avoid official factoids that represent ethnic discrimination and traditionalist historical perspectives.

<sup>3</sup> In the wake of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974.

<sup>4</sup> An ethnarch is a political leader.

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