Cultural Interfaces:  
(In)visible Spaces in the Old City of Jerusalem

by

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Abstract

This thesis starts with the contemporary problematics of the famously contested place, Jerusalem, and tries to understand the impact of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians on the fabric of the Old City. The goal is to describe how the inhabitants of this contested place deal, everyday, with their physical environment and suggests that through that understanding one might locate a trajectory for co-habitation.

In the Old City of Jerusalem, a group's presence in everyday life is asserted through a network of paths that makes public space visible to that group while making it invisible to another. The historic fabric has a density at the ground level that leaves no room for further reconfiguration of the public space where segregated Quarters interface. Thus, under the current conditions, the only option left to the residents is to move up to the roof level where the boundaries are still undefined.

The interface outlined by the ancient Cardo-Decumanus crossing proves, through personal analysis, that segregation is not a functional option when dealing with the complexities of the Old City. The present political struggle, with its feeling of absolute possessiveness, is suffocating the fabric of the city – the unique setting that has provided a home to multiple cultural groups for centuries. Upon restoring the public spaces as connectors within the presently dissociated urban structure, it would be possible to enable the city's inhabitants and visitors to cross boundaries and re-integrate into the quotidian.

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Historical reality is a far less tidy, and almost infinitely more messy, enterprise than that suggested by many national myths.

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There are no longer walls that separate Jews and Arabs, but numerous boundary signs are ever present and significant.

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As long as they share a presence here, side by side, there is a chance.

Analysis of the Suq at the Cardo-Decumanus crossing.

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PROLOGUE
In the summer of 2000 I traveled to Jerusalem with the idea of observing the way in which cultural identity is negotiated between different groups in the urban domain. I was particularly interested in the role of the streets delimiting the quarters as a divider or integrator for the residents along these paths. As an outsider visiting the place for the first time, I had an opportunity to experience the Old City with its multiple realities through ‘fresh eyes’. In June, I spent three weeks living in the Old City and I walked extensively through the streets and spoke as much as possible with its residents to grasp an understanding of what might be called the Jerusalem syndrome –this feeling of exclusive possessiveness that permeates the atmosphere.

The Petra Hostel in Jaffa Gate was my residence in the Old City. Formerly known as the Hotel Mediterranean, it was built around 1830 at the beginning of European colonial influence over the city and the hotel’s famous guest include General Allenby, Mark Twain and Herman Melville. It is a key location between the new and the old city and the roof terrace offers a panoramic view of Jerusalem that few places can offer. My roommate, Priscilla, provided an instructive introduction to the religious feelings that Jerusalem arouses. A permanent resident of the hostel, she arrived In Jerusalem from Africa four years before –the whole trip took her six years- without knowing anybody and without any money. When we talked about it, she said: “God told me to I had to come here and I didn’t wonder why or what I was going to do, I knew that he would take care of me; and I will stay here until he calls me somewhere else.”

Ahmed, a Jerusalemite whom I met in the bazaar, presented me with the harsh life of a young Palestinian, who strives everyday between getting an education at al-Quds University and working at a souvenir store in the Old City. His school has limited resources and teaches computer science on obsolete programs, he needs to get newer versions but, of course, these are expensive and not available in East Jerusalem. He works every day to support his family, being the oldest of several sons it is his responsibility. Late at night, when Ahmed finally gets home to Silwan, an Arab village south of the Old City, he returns to a house is so cramped that the only place he can find peace is on the roof. Here he reflects on a future that seems hopeless, being considered an alien in his own city and with no opportunities for a job. Even emigrating is not an option, unless it is forever, as a matter of fact, if he goes abroad for more than a short period of time the Israeli government can take
his residency status in Jerusalem away. Anyhow, to go somewhere he needs a passport, but Israel does not give it to him stating he is Palestinian, and the Palestinian Authority since they consider his residency in Jerusalem a privileged status to travel and work in Israel. I cannot forget his eyes when we had a conversation and while sitting on the walls of the Old City. From that spot we could see his house, the Haram al-Sharif and the Wall Plaza. Ahmed is one example of thousand of individuals squeezed between absolute claims.

Through contacts I established before the trip, I got to meet two very different professors while living in Jerusalem and started to look at the city through their perspective points of view. Michael Turner is Professor of Architecture at the Betzalel School of Architecture in Jerusalem, and has been working as a conservation expert for several international organizations. With him I reviewed the role of architectural heritage and cultural identity of a group as a potential threat for another one. The historian Albert Aghazarian, resident of the Armenian compound, is a Professor at Bir Zeit University in Ramallah, West Bank. We talked about the soul and lifestyle of people in Mediterranean countries and of the fate of Palestinians starting with the European influence in the nineteenth century. A fortuitous coincidence, instead, put me in contact with the Palestinian architect Osama Hamdan and the Israeli engineer Ya’acov Schaffer, who are working on a joint project, together with partners from the Euro-Mediterranean region, on “Integrated Planning in the Archeological Sites.” Hamdan is a specialist in conservation and restoration working on several projects in the West Bank and Schaffer is the Director of the Conservation department of Israel Antiquities Authority. With them I participated in a three-day workshop on “Conservation and Safety Standards” held in Cesarea Maritima. It was the first time that professionals of Israel and the Palestinian Authority were participating in a joined event in Israel; curiously enough, the three of us could communicate in a ‘neutral’ language, Italian, since our academic training was conducted in Italy.

The material I collected, during the field trip, has been made mainly from photographs and direct observation of places in the Old City and its surroundings. At that time, I had not decided yet on the area for the thesis study and I gathered mainly images and information relative to the cultural identity of the Quarters and the transitional space between them. I would have liked, though, to find more data on the conservation policies and planning guidelines for the Old City. The Conservation
Department was elaborating a major document but, work in progress, it was not available for the public yet. Nevertheless, since I had already developed an interest for the central market strips, I made photocopies of part of the 1:500 scale map of the Old City. The publisher of the map—the Survey of Israel—produces drawings from aerial photographs and I had to reconstruct the map of the ground level under the roof projection. This process included reconstruction of the grid from memory, notes, photographs and comparison with schematic tourist maps. The outcome piece has become the base for my spatial analysis.

My initial interest in the role of commercial activities in the market as a facilitator of exchange and coexistence between the cultural groups has developed into an analysis of the conditions contributing to accommodate competing demands or enhancing separation in specific public spaces. My focus is on the role of paths as integrators or as dividers between quarters with different cultural influence. The area of study is on the Suq along the Cardo-Decumanus intersection of the Old City, an intersection which is central to the life of residents and the experience of tourists and pilgrims. This crossing is the core of commercial activities as well as the main node intercepting the paths to access the different quarters and the religious sites. Its roof terrace features the public space with the best panoramic views of the Old City and its surroundings. This place is an example of what I call a ‘cultural interface’.

The spatial analysis of this intersection is done looking through the lens of the present conditions of physical form. A reference to urban transformations occurred along the old Decumanus in the twentieth century is given in a specific section. But the history of Jerusalem is a prime territory for disputes and conflicting views and I wanted to restrain, as much as possible, from entering into another level of parallel realities. However, I could not avoid presenting my understanding of the historical events of this troubled century and I decided to do so by exposing the literature through which I constructed my point of view. Having relied only on publications written in English, the sources I could access were through the library, books written mainly by British, American and Israeli authors. With regret I realized that the Arabic-Palestinian sources I encountered in my research have been much scarcer. However, the variety of information I gathered from publications, articles and web-references, combined with a personal experience of the place, demonstrated to me

In the Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary an “interface” is defined as 1: a surface forming a common boundary of two bodies, spaces, or phases> 2a: the place at which independent and often unrelated systems meet and act on or communicate with each other > 2b: the means by which interaction or communication is achieved at an interface. To me a cultural interface, following the model of liminal flow crossovers, is an in-between space where communication between different groups can happen.
the difficulties of getting an understanding of Jerusalem from a single point of view. Jerusalem requires a holistic vision to embrace its polymorphic conditions—physical, social, economic, and political—and, ultimately, demands the researcher to accept fragmentation as the key element to deal with its complexities.
The inspiration for this essay comes from "Lightness" and "Multiplicity" two out of "Six Memos for the Next Millennium" as well as "The Invisible Cities" both written by Italo Calvino.
Marco Polo describes a bridge, stone by stone. "But which is the stone that supports the bridge?" Kublai Khan asks. "The bridge is not supported by one stone or another," Marco answers, "but by the line of the arch that they form."

Kublai Khan remains silent, reflecting. Then he adds, "Why do you speak of the stones? It is only the arch that matters to me."

Polo answers "Without stones there is no arch." 1

To describe Jerusalem, stone by stone, would be an overwhelming challenge, nevertheless, whenever I have been asked to tell my experience in the Holy City I could not avoid evoking, each time, a different piece of the mosaic that comprises my memory of Jerusalem. For example, the feelings I had the first morning when I walked in the alleyways outside of my hostel the familiar color of stone and the brightness of Mediterranean sky, when it is cleared by June's breeze, overwhelmed my senses. The Old City sensed intimate, with the same words I have describe many cities dear to my heart that lie along the coasts of the Mare Nostrum, from Naples to Dubrovnik. For twenty days I had a room with a view of the Citadel at Jaffa Gate, I listened to the sound of several bells playing out of tune and sounds of the muezzin from the many minarets. The silhouette of orthodox Jews, black, reminded one constantly that this is a deep-rooted belonging, even if their Temple has been destroyed. While the Israeli soldiers who stroll down the bazaar fully equipped with machine guns, send out a clear message of who is in control of the surroundings.

Walking out of the Petra hostel I turned left and entered the world of the Suq. I remember particularly the interplay between lights and shadows, the sky's transparency through the sunshade curtains, the voices of the bazaar and the heterogeneous crowd walking up and down in one continuous stream. But the memory is split between the image of the morning walk, when the bazaar is empty leaving space to read the architecture of stone buildings and pavements, and the middle of the day, when the stores are swarming with people.

Sights and words, as faces of a same token, have the power to evoke an "image" of the Old City, but is it possible to construct a thesis based wholly on the concerned logic of sequence through photographs and descriptions? My instinctive answer would be "yes", since each reader could react in different ways to different material I display on the Old City of Jerusalem. At the same time, I ask myself how much

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one reader could grasp of these complexities, which, together with stones construct the fabric of this unique place.

Maybe a taste of history could help us in the task, but how far back do we want to go to better understand the present, thirty years, fifty, a century? A century is already made of so many events covered in books after books, but in Jerusalem the comparison with history is made along the line of millennia. Where is, then, the liber arbitrium [free will] of the present if the inhabitants of Jerusalem are the players of a never-ending feud? Through the centuries the city has become a home to many peoples, and it is difficult to understand why should Palestinian Arabs leave this land to European Jews reclaiming the same land after two thousand years? To me, the people of Palestine are trapped in an interval that separates a description of history as a spiral, revolving with a cyclical rhythm while progressing in time; and a circular one, that comes back to a given moment in time and wants to reestablish that foregone past. No matter what has happened in between.

Jerusalem, the city of stone and blood, has a complexity that is apt to freeze the mind of a researcher who dares to look into it. Several times I felt like there was nothing of worth I could say about the eternal city. Calvino rescued through the myth of Medusa and Perseus he describes it in the Lightness Memo.

“The only hero able to cut off Medusa’s head [without being turned into stone] is Perseus, who flies with winged sandals; Perseus who does not turn is gaze upon the face of the Gorgon but only upon her image reflected in his bronze shield.”

“As for the severed head, Perseus does not abandon it but carries it concealed in a bag. When is enemies are about to overcome him, he has only to display it, holding it by its snaky locks, and this bloodstained booty becomes an invincible weapon in the hero’s hand. Perseus succeeds in mastering that horrendous face by keeping it hidden, just as in the first place he vanquished it by viewing it in a mirror.”

Knowing that every interpretation tends to impoverish a myth, which I did not want to do, how could I avoid relating it to my subject? This version features Jerusalem as Medusa and a scholar as Perseus. The awareness that the essence of Jerusalem is unutterable other than through reflections, the alternative being petrified by its complexities, allowed me to face the task of writing this story. I focused on a vision of Old Jerusalem, its urban fabric and daily life, always keeping in mind that the history of this City, physical and metaphysical at the same time, is made of
intolerant politics and religious doctrines which are also part of its fascination. In this essay I could only show the multifaceted image captured in my mirror, anyone who disagrees can face these multiple realities to find his or her own answer in the stones and stories of Jerusalem.

My investigation concentrates on a part of the fabric of the city that is compacted with layers of meaning that becomes, in itself, an “image” of the city. My mapping of that area, which includes personal experiences, is an attempt to see “how much the encounter with the visible –the built fabric– is in fact a negotiation with the invisible –the parallel stories permeating the Old City.” The most difficult challenge has been finding a way to deal with the simultaneous presence of a wide variety of disciplines that converge to determine every understanding of the Old City and its urban fabric. I compare this vision to looking into a kaleidoscope [kolos = beautiful; eīdōs = forms; skopein = to view], which is a “beautiful seeing” of a multiplicity of forms and colors or events, of various objects well ordered, scattered, fragmented, more or less hidden, or on different levels, simultaneously or in sequence. It would be possible to receive, stress, compare and select all the variables in relation to different criteria since it is not about limiting or reducing the stream of information which has been kept as wide as possible to valorize the richness of each source. It is about changing the focus of the attention.

The means to this end are scripted experience, historic quotes, text, photographs, drawings and maps which refer to a piece of the Old City of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem tends to call for a “type of work that, in an attempt to contain everything possible, does not manage to take on a form, to create outlines for itself, and so remains incomplete by its very nature.” Hoping to have escaped this fate, I have tried to position myself between the two different ways Calvino displayed Multiplicity. “There is such a thing as the unified text that is written as the expression of a single voice, but that reveals itself as open to interpretation of several levels. ... Then there is the manifold text, which replaces the oneness of a thinking ‘I’ with a multiplicity of subjects, voices and views of the world.” In assembling my vision of Jerusalem, I tried to grant to each chapter a freedom of expression consistent with a modality of description, while I retained the benefit to order the sequence of the pieces and establish the connections between one and the other.

Several times, during my writing, I have been confronted with the presently tragic situation in Palestine/Israel and wondered if there was any way out from a sense of powerlessness that felt overwhelming. Calvino assisted me with these words, 3


4 Including architecture, urban planning, history, politics, ethnography, sociology, urban economy and photography.

5 According to my father, that supported my writing process with his analytical comments, this is the original version in Italian. “Si tratta di ‘assumere il punto di vista prospettico simile a guardare in un kaleidoscopio’ (kolos= belle; eidos= immagini; scopeo = guardare) cioè un “bel vedere” una molteplicita’ di forme e colori o di eventi, o di oggetti diversi ordinati sparpagliati o polverizzati, piu’ o meno occultati, o su piani diversi, - contemporaneamente o in successione a seconda che si imprima un movimento allo strumento o ci si accontenti di vedere la realtà staticamente, nel momento puntiforme scelto secondo i modi propri del mappare o del fotografare o dello stratigrafare.- Si possono così successivamente accogliere, sottolineare, confrontare, selezionare tutte le variabili possibili secondo criteri quantitativi a scelta: non si tratta di operare una limitazione o riduzione del flusso informativo, che anzi deve restare il piu’ ampio possibile valorizzando al massimo la ricchezza di tutte le fonti. Si tratta solo di variare i punti focali di attenzione. [Raffaello Nardella]
“Whenever humanity seems to be condemned to heaviness, I think I should fly like Perseus into a different space. I do not mean escape into dreams or into the irrational. I mean that I have to change my approach, look at the world from a different perspective, with a different logic and fresh methods of cognition and signification.”

My approach has not been to hide the harsh political reality behind the façade of an architectural discourse. While retaining a certain quality of lightness to the story I hope to intrigue an 'untutored' reader to continue this journey beyond my narration and search for his or her understanding of the complex world of Jerusalem.
The grid of the Roman Cardo and Decumanus has been a major feature in the city for many centuries, dividing old Jerusalem in quarters, and being a public space for commerce and encounters. Even today bazaars are the main activities along these axes dividing the four ethno-religious neighborhoods. Tourists and pilgrims inhabit these paths during the day, transforming them into a 'free zone' where Arab and Jews can mix to a certain extent without tension; at night these streets become empty and mark a silent division. How did this space change since 1948 and before and after the annexation in 1967? Can these busy bazaars represent a public place of exchange and negotiation between the different identities of Jerusalem?
The point of departure for this essay developed out of a discussion, held in Jerusalem with Professor Michael Turner, on competing spatial claims and cultural narratives. The mapping sentence I produced while in Jerusalem (see column in the previous page) has been a useful tool, throughout the process, to structure my argument; to remind me where this investigation started from and to compare its final outcome with the initial hypothesis.

Later, I have come to realize that this statement was based on the assumption of the Old City still functioning as a whole urban entity, in which the two main urban axes acted as connectors between the Quarters and their amenities. Deplorably, instead, the present reality of the Old City is one of spatially segregated Quarters in which residents of different religious/political faith retreat to avoid contact with the 'other' group.

In this divided physical existence, the ancient Decumanus layout shapes the common boundary between the Muslim and Jewish quarters, which has become primarily a border in antithesis with its previous function as shared path. The Suq along this edge has, in the same fashion, followed the rule of territorial segregation and each alley of the crossing stretch is associated with a specific Quarter. I discovered, though, that while the ground zero is frozen—in its form and function—and leaves no space for a reconfiguration adapt to this divided reality, the roofs above it offer an option for a fluid public space, where the boundaries outline is not thoroughly defined.
I walk into the office of Mike Turner and he is on the phone with Washington DC, the professor indicates a chair where I can sit. The gray hairs flanking his face are rebellious, being confined between the ears and the kippa. His eyes are blue, serious and severe. The exam begins with few sentences of acquaintance. The professor speaks to me with a pleasant English accent while, addressing his assistants, he switches to Hebrew. When smiling, a light from his eyes brightens his facial expression. He wants to understand who I am and thus leaves an empty space in the conversation for me to fill in with words, thoughts and ideas ...

-What do I want from him? What am I exactly looking for?- 

I begin to ‘test the ground’ talking about a previous research on the ‘Sancta Hierusalem’ in Bologna¹, and he asks me to draw the path connecting the Holy Places —What is the metric scale? Could you compare it with the real topography of Jerusalem?—. Another phone call, —I’m back to you—, when he drops the receiver the preliminary conversation is over and we have entered the central part of the ‘exam’ —What is your hypothesis? There are too many topics in the thesis proposal you sent me!—. During the conversation he clearly presents two alternatives on the meaning of cultural heritage: as “causus belli”, in that a strong cultural identity can have a symbolic threatening value to a different group, or as a “chance to build a dialogue” and reach a consensus. In Turner’s words the meaning of tension, conflict, and threat echoes in a very different way from the denotation I am used to attach to them: they are sharp like a knife defining a scar. The tone of the conversation becomes more relaxed now and the phase of the interrogation leaves space to dialogue. We discuss the speeches the Pope gave during his wandering through the Holy Land as a kaleidoscope in which everyone can read words of peace; then we talk about the mission of the UNESCO Heritage List to create an agora of cultural values that can be shared by the whole humanity.

-But what is your thesis about?—

¹ My hometown in Italy, where in the Middle Ages the local bishop decided to recreate the topography of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. The urban layout of the symbolic Jerusalem ensemble survived through the transformations of the adjacent urban fabric carried out in the XIX century and is still visible.
Now the Professor gives a ‘lecture’: what is a mapping sentence and how to use it to organize thoughts, options and variables (people, place and time) — **You have to be able to formulate your hypothesis in this way!** —. The process of field research is broken down into three parts: the first week is to ‘incubate the egg’; once you ‘make the egg’ — the thesis idea — the second week is dedicated to research, and finally the third week brings — it has to — a synthesis and the documentation. There are no short cuts and there are no suggested readings or special places to see in the city. There is only a personal job of discovery and research. Photography and sketching should be an aid to register the experience of the places. — **You should focus on a detail and the surroundings will naturally come sharply into the picture.**

The meeting is coming to an end. Professor Turner is smiling while he leaves me with the green post-it on which he has been sketching the path for the research. — **When you have the mapping sentence come back, and we will discuss it; you can come back even tomorrow; but I will not see you again until you have it written down!** —. The master has set the rules for the training period. We say our good-byes at the edge of his backyard then he indicates to me a viewpoint at the end of the garden — **Go there and you can take a look at the topics of your research** —. The eye is free to wander on the valley flanking the south of the Old City. On the left there stands the precinct wall for the holy compound: above the Haram al-Sharif with the Dome of the Rock, below the Wailing Wall of the Temple Mount. I take my leave and think about the training period that awaits me.
Historical reality is a far less tidy, and almost infinitely more messy, enterprise than that suggested by many national myths.

Jerusalem | Al-Quds | Yerushalayim
Giving meaning to a fragmented reality

[Levinson 1998]
Jerusalem is the showcase of Palestine, and whatever happens there gets worldwide publicity

This chapter is a reading into the problem through a series of quotes, all of which in their plurality help us to hear different voices in the complex world of Jerusalem. It is the evidence of my understanding of the city and it simplifies, according to the principle thematics, some organizational issues I am going at.

The quotes are thus chosen from the literature of Jerusalem and various authors are represented from disciplines such as architecture, political science, sociology and history. Some texts were written in the last decade and others date back to the 1920s. The pieces are essentially focusing on the time of the British Mandate, 1917-48, and the changes in the Old City after the 1967 War. At the end of each quote one can find the author and the date of publication. Please note that the bibliography is on page 56.

My reading of the historical events is one of a space practitioner, who seeks to engage our role as regarding to the dialectics of social life and political realities in the urban domain. Not being from the place you cannot just walk into the streets and get it but, once returned from the field experience, you need as well to read into the images, profiles and spatialities as they are defined into the literature. I have thus tried to narrate the commonalties and practices of daily life in Jerusalem from which to introduce a new thread.
1. IMAGE OF JERUSALEM

Jerusalem is a golden bowl full of scorpions - *Arab saying* [in Ashbee 1923]

There are so many lenses through which to analyze Jerusalem that to examine it with one level of magnification is meaningless unless reference immediately is made to other levels. It is, for example, a small city, located on the eastern edge of a semi-enclosed sea, yet during some epochs it was regarded as the center of the world. It is a city seated on a barren highland ridge, away from the main trade routes and bereft of a wealthy agricultural hinterland or other significant resources, yet it has been a valuable prize for successive invading armies. It is one of the most ancient cities of the world, with ruins stretching back to the early Biblical periods, yet is also an ultra-modern city with a high-technology economic sector and plays a central role in the politics of the region. It is a city whose problems have been consigned to the end of the agenda of the current peace negotiations, yet the failure to resolve them may jeopardize the whole of the negotiations. The interplay of these opposites, of these different levels which have created lasting conflict, runs through the history and politics of Jerusalem. [Dumper 1997]

There is no place which arouses such deep, fanatical feelings as does Jerusalem. The city’s atmosphere nurtures an exclusive possessiveness. [Benvenisti 1976]

I call it the city of the preconceived notion. Everyone has their absolutist view of this place and what it has to be. People are threatened by different viewpoints. I am just a guy living in Jerusalem because I like the city and there’s got to be room for that too. [Englander 2001]

“Jerusalem: eternal, intractable” [BBC News 2000]; “Arguments about Jerusalem are seldom rational”; “Jerusalem: Vox Populi, Civitas Dei”; “But logic has never had much to do with Jerusalem” [The Economist 2000]

“A little city on a rock, well ordered, is better than frenzied Niniveh.” And here we are in Palestine, trying to make of the Jew and the Arab a citizen, and, where Athens failed, out of Jerusalem a city. And all this we are seeking to do after a disastrous war, with industrial equipment we do not yet understand how to use, and a shallow liberalism in which we no longer survive. At times I ask, may not all this Palestine venture of ours be a phantasma? It needs all the faith we have and even more of the brain and the thought.
So thinking, I searched in the Sermon on the Mount, and still could not find it, when it suddenly occurred to me to tack on to the words of the Greek those other words: “A city that is set on a hill cannot be hidden.” [Ashbee 1923]

The sun has much to do with it, and the fact that for nine months in the year you can sit out in the open in your shop and work, with an occasional nod and a chat, and a cup of coffee with a passer-by just to break the pleasant monotony of your labour. That is where the East may yet beat the West. [Ashbee 1923]

[1920s] Sakakini said that the land belonged to the Arabs; Ivri argued that the Arabs had neglected it. On the contrary Sakakini said, they had spread their culture and language throughout Palestine. He could not deny that once, in the distant past, the Jews had the right the country, buy it had expired, he said. The Arab’s right, he insisted, “is a living one”. Ivri responded that the Jews’ eternal yearning for the land entitled them to return to it. [Segev 2000]

[1960s] Today the struggle is being waged between people for whom this is their homeland. It is being fought by a people for whom Jerusalem is their Holy City, who remembered it during thousands of years of exile and yearned for its deliverance, who returned to it and became a majority of its population; and by a second people, who were born here and who love the place as a man loves his home. [Benvenisti 1976]

For the Arabs, Jerusalem was simply home, the city where they had been born, like their ancestors for 1300 years. The Arabs did not express their love for Jerusalem in great works of poetry or by developing a cultural treasure centered around it. But, when the Jews pointed out this lack of expression of feeling for Jerusalem to prove that the Arab’s love for Jerusalem was weaker than their own, the reply was: A man who lives with his beloved do not need to give poetic expression to his feelings, for she is tangible. Only he who has lost his beloved, or is far away from her, is forced to give poetic expressions to their longings. We are attached to the stone fence father built, or to the fig-tree great-grandfather planted. No one writes poems about that kind of attachment, but it is no less deep than that you display in your poems. [Benvenisti 1976]
3. Holy Places

On December 11, 1917, upon officially entering Jerusalem, General Allenby brought with him representatives of France, Italy and the United States. From the steps of the Citadel he read a declaration drafted with great care in London; it was then translated into Arabic, French, Greek, Hebrew, Italian and Russian.

To the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed and the people dwelling in the vicinity. The defeat inflicted upon the Turks by the troops under my command has resulted in the occupation of your city by my forces (...) Furthermore, since your City is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind, and his soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devote people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore do I make known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer, of whatsoever form of the three religions, will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred.

On January 5, 1951, Jordan's King Abdallah published a proclamation dealing with the Holy Places. It stated, among other things, that:

Law and order will be protected within the framework of the status quo, the right of all religions, mosques and churches will be secured so that order, peace and love can reign here, according to the vision of the great prophets.

On June 7, 1967, General Moshe Dayn announced:

We have united Jerusalem, the divided capital of Israel. We have returned to the most sacred of our Holy Places, never to part from it again. To our Arab neighbors we stretch out again in this hour – and with added emphasis; the hand of peace. And to our Christian and Moslem fellow-citizens we solemnly promise religious freedom and rights. We came to Jerusalem not to possess ourselves of the Holy Places of others, or to interfere with the members of other faiths, but to safeguard the City's integrity and to live in it with others in unity.

On June 8, 1967, the Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs issued the following proclamation:

Immediately after the entry of the Israel Defense Forces into the Old City and Bethlehem, the Prime Minister announced, in the presence of the leaders of all the country's religious groups, that arrangements for protecting the Holy Places would be made by the religious leaders themselves,
each in the places revered by his own religion. I therefore set up a temporary authority and gave detailed instructions on abiding by the principles set down in the Declaration of Independence [with regard to the Holy Places]. A draft of the regulations in now in process of preparation and in the very near future I will call a meeting of the religious leaders in order to present this legislation.

In view of the irreconcilable differences between the Arab and Jewish nationalist movements, the Commission [Palestine Royal Commission under Lord Peel, established in 1937] concluded that the Mandate was unworkable and recommended that it be terminated. It also proposed the partition of Palestine into an Arab State and a Jewish State. In view of the sanctity of Jerusalem and Bethlehem to all three faiths, the Commission held the Holy Places to be, in the words used in the League’s Covenant, “sacred trust of civilization”. It proposed that a Jerusalem-Bethlehem enclave encompassing all of the Holy Places, with a corridor to the sea terminating at Jaffa, remain under the British trusteeship under a new League of Nations Mandate. [United Nations 1997]

In 1968, the General Conference of UNESCO asserted “the exceptional importance of the cultural property in the Old City of Jerusalem, particularly the Holy Places, not only to the States directly concerned but to all humanity, on account of their artistic, historical and religious value.” It addressed and urgent international appeal in accordance with General Assembly resolution2253 (ES-V), calling upon Israel “to preserve scrupulously all the sites, buildings and other cultural properties, especially in the Old City of Jerusalem” and “to desist from any archaeological excavations, transfer of such properties and changing of their features or their cultural and historical character.” [United Nations 1997]

The work of UNESCO in that regard was given further impetus with the placing of the Old City of Jerusalem and its walls on the World Heritage List in 1981, and on the list of World Heritage in Danger in 1982, in the context of the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. International assistance can be mobilized under the Convention for preserving and rehabilitating selected sites. A solemn appeal was also launched by UNESCO in 1987 for the safeguarding in particular of the Islamic cultural and religious heritage belonging to the waqf, and a special account was established for
contributions by Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, private institutions and others. [United Nations 1997]

5. **Colonialism**

The mandatory system was designed to give colonialism a cleaner, more modern look. The Allied powers refrained from dividing up the conqueror's spoils as in the past; rather they invited themselves to serve as a "trustees" for backward peoples, with the ostensible purpose of preparing them for independence. This new form of colonialism was said to incorporate international law, as well as the principles of democracy and justice, and respect the wishes of the inhabitants of each country. Awarded by the League of Nations, mandates could, theoretically, be revoked by it. In reality though, the postwar system was merely a reworking of colonial rule. [Segev 2000]

The British entered Palestine to defeat the Turks; they stayed there to keep it from the French; then they gave it to the Zionist because they loved "the Jews" even as they loathed them, at once admired and despised them, and above all feared them. They were not guided by strategic considerations, and there was no orderly decision-making process. The same factors were at work when they issued the Balfour Declaration, their proclamation for the support of Zionist aspirations in Palestine. [Segev 2000]

One sometimes asks why we English are in Palestine, and it is very difficult to say. I don't quite know what we are there for, and I am not at all sure but we ought to clear it out. Sometimes I think we should. But politically we are there because of the Mandate and the Document called the Balfour Declaration. This states that the British Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jews provided that that national home shall not employ any loss of civil or religious liberties of any other people living in the country or the political status of Jews in any other countries of the world. Those are the terms of the Balfour regulation. They are rather obscure, and it is now said in England that Mr. Balfour, when he goes to heaven, will explain his declaration and he will probably explain it in three different ways to the three members of the Trinity. [Ashbee - March 8, 1923]
They [the British] tended to keep distance from the population, at most displaying folkloristic wonderment at the native heritage and some interest in preserving it. This reluctance was not just a political consideration; it also reflected a romantic tendency to relate to Palestine as the land of the Bible and to treat it as a large wax museum. [Segev 2000]

And here the Shaikh and the Zionist joined in. They were agreed for once. If it meant the Arab administering the Jew, or the Jew administering the Arab, each preferred the Englishman. [Ashbee 1923]

(Extract from a letter) February 10, 1920
...We have really great things under way. I have started two new industries; restored some old streets; am laying out parks and gardens; saving the walls of al-Quds; have rebuilt Nabi Samuil; started an apprenticeship system among the weavers; am planning new roads, parks and markets, and making design for half a dozen important buildings ... I do not know what will come of it all, but there's a great idea in it, and though I shall never live to see the fruit, others will in other forms. Perhaps they'll be the Zionist... perhaps they'll be Moslem, dreamy fatalistic, aristocratic and with such perfect manners! Perhaps they'll be the Syrian nationalists. Ma'alesh! It doesn't matter. The Deputy Mayor, a Syrian Greek, said to me the other day: "You English are doing so much here, planning such a wonderful city, showing us the way in so many new and strange things, that I suppose in twenty years' time we shall be wanting to turn you out." Of course that's the right spirit. It isn't the "nationalism" or the "empire that counts, but the idea, the fact of devotion and beauty. [Ashbee 1923]

"The problem of Palestine is exactly the same ... as the problem of Ireland", Wilson wrote, "namely, two peoples living in a small country hating each other like hell". Only a powerful authority could enforce its will on both parties: "[E]ither we govern other people or they will govern us," he maintained. Britain had to control Ireland because it could not afford to lose it; Britain could not control Palestine because it did not have the force to do so. [Segev 2000]

The romance of the last crusade and the British infatuation with a picturesque-ideal view of the Old City did not prove to be sufficient when confronted with an increasingly unstable socio-political situation. The mandated planning authorities,
ORIENTALISM | ZIONISM

while trying to accommodate a growing heterogeneous population in new neighborhoods, were concerned mainly with design standards and skipped over the risks associated with fragmentation between the varied religious/ethnic communities. Total control over Jerusalem that Governor Storrs enjoyed during the first decade of British rule eventually was going to succumb to a difficult political game in which the occupying Power had to mediate nationalistic aspirations of both the Jewish and Arab populations. During the years of the British Mandate, Jerusalem was transformed from a perfect experiment in which the administrators tested their enlightened architectural regulations to a city so divided that it was ready to explode and no planning scheme could possibly find a remedy. My conclusion is that the British Mandate planning efforts failed in the end due to a colonial vision for Jerusalem that was unable to incorporate the romantic/picturesque image of the Holy City without taking into consideration the complexities associated with its transforming social reality. [Nardella 2000]

Of course, as a result of this line [1967], Israel’s enemies indulged in heavy sarcasm: “Now we know why Israel went to war: to bring water to the parched lips of the Arabs of Jerusalem, and to open schools for their children” or “The claim of an improved standard of living for the inhabitants has been used by all the imperialist to justify their rule in the colonies.” [Benvenisti 1976]

6. ORIENTALISM | ZIONISM

We are all influenced by the Dome of the Rock, even though it is hard for some of us to swallow, unless is the form of a wedding cake, and we are apt to forget what the Emperor Hadrian and the Caliph Al-Mamun had to do with it. It is so much easier to cling to Crusading, Protestant, and Semitic tales of Solomon’s Temple. [Ashbee 1923]

According to Ze’ev Jabotinsky, “We Jews have nothing in common with what is called the ‘Orient’, thank God. To the extent that our uneducated masses have ancient spiritual traditions and laws that recall the Orient, they must be weaned away from them, and this is in fact what we are doing in every decent school, and what life itself is doing with great success. We are going to Palestine, first for our national convenience” he wrote, and second, “to sweep throughout all the traces of ‘Oriental souls’. As for the Arabs in Palestine, what they do is their business; but if we can do them a favor, is to help them liberate themselves from the ‘Orient’.” [Segev 2000]
Some years later, David Ben-Gurion amplified this view: “We have come here as Europeans. Although our origin is in the East and we are returning to the east, we bring with us European civilization and we would not want to sever our connections and those of the country with the civilization of Europe. We see in Great Britain the chief standard-bearer of this civilization in the world and Palestine should serve as a bridge between East and West. We do not see a better representative of Western civilization than England”. [Segev 2000]

The Zionist university means that the Jews have the chance once again of rebuilding the Temple in their Holy City. Will they do it? Will it be a university, or only a Zionist university? Geddes has thrown down the glove to Jewry. It is another challenge to the theocratic state and the old Devil of Sectarianism who stands between us and our search for Truth. Will the challenge be taken up? [Ashbee 1923]

“We desire — and we can say this openly- that Jerusalem will forever have a clear Jewish stamp on it, and that this city will not be one where over time, there will be some kind of ‘parity’. There is nothing more dangerous for this city. We did not fight for that, our boys did not fall for that – neither in the war of liberation or in the past days.” –Mordechai Ish Shalom, Council Member and former Mayor of west Jerusalem, Council Meeting, August 13, 1967 [in Dumper 1997]

The British involvement in Palestine starting from the 19th century with a goal aimed at preserving the Biblical Holy Land and the Old City of Jerusalem. The mandated Government introduced town planning along traditional British architectural influence. They used the “garden city” model in an effort to preserve Jerusalem as a timeless city. The use of this model in the development of the new city occurred by separating the Old City from the new by a system of parks for the city’s own protection. By having this protective measure the Old City’s principal architectural elements were preserved. As the mandated government created this protective zone for the Old City, the administrators went to great lengths in setting up strict regulations against unsightly transformations. To the British the most important architectural goal was to emphasize an aesthetic vision along the lines of what they considered was historically accurate with the Bible. [Nardella 2000]
He ... is a man of large views and a man of taste, which in these matters is a *sine qua non*. If you have no taste you had better to go home and put your head in a bag. [Ashbee 1923]

There are many aspects of civil life which no government, and, I nearly add, far less any military government, can hope to tackle. In Jerusalem, for instance, it is a much cheaper and easier thing for a man who wishes to repair his house to repair it with corrugated iron or stucco than with the traditional gray stone of Judea, but that is a temptation which I think you will agree it is the duty of the Government to obviate as far as possible. [Storrs 1922]

I consider that the military administration would have been most fatally to blame if it had allowed factory chimneys, ugly red tiled and corrugated iron buildings to spring up inside the walled city. No such buildings have, in fact sprung up, but the prevention of them sometimes brings upon those who are doing their best to preserve the traditional amenities of the Holy City the accusation of a reactionary temperament, of a mind given over to aestheticism. I go so far to hope that this Society will acquit the military administration, indeed any military administration, of the charge to excessive aestheticism. [Storrs 1922]

These principles are, briefly, that the medieval aspect of the Old City within the walls should be preserved; that a belt of land surrounding the walls should be reserved, so far as possible, as an open space; and that within a large outer belt any new buildings should be in harmony and in scale with the Old City. In this way the aspect of and prospect from the Old City was protected. Beyond this outer belt the Modern City was free to develop under the usual town planning control. [McLean 1937]

The city was put practically in my charge. I was told that I should see to the protection of beautiful things, that I must make a special study of its arts and crafts so as to help them on, that I was to take general charge of the new town-planning conditions in the outlying parts of the city where the new town—the Turkish part—during the last fifty years had straggled, and hastily I was to advise on matters of technical education among the people there. [Ashbee –March 8, 1923]
Ragheb Bey once humorously described to me how he “had on top of him” six governors, each circumscribing him with a line of a different colour. This referred to the typography of our newly printed Town Plan. And, said he, when he wanted to make a new road, or a nice alignment, there promptly pounced upon him one of the six governors and pointed to a different colour:


Then with a dramatic and convincing movement: “Mes mains son liées: -peux rien faire- rien!” I tell him that with it all he’s the only one of us who gets anything done –and he laughs at me- bon garçon. [Ashbee 1923]

Since no plan can become effective without local support, it is only fair to stress at this early stage the important part the support of the local authority has played in the development of Jerusalem since the Occupation in 1918. And yet the intensity of this support has fluctuated. At times, particularly in the days of the Pro-Jerusalem Society it was vigorous, often spontaneous and came from all sections of the heterogeneous community of the City. In later days, alas, political bickering and maneuvering has on occasions brought the machinery of planning almost to a standstill. In spite of these setbacks, however, the local authority, chiefly through its technical officers, has maintained excellent relations with Government in planning matters. [Kendall 1948]

At the end of 1963, the Arab’s Municipality planning adviser, H. Kendall, suggested turning the ruined (Jewish) Quarter into a development center, with public buildings and parks. The Israeli delegation to the Mixed Armistice Commission drew the attention of the Jordanian representative to the fact that demolishing the Quarter and converting it into a development area was a violation of Paragraph 8 of the Armistice Agreement. The Jordanian delegate replied that the “newspaper publication was unreliable, and the Jordanian Government guards the Holy Places scrupulously.” [Benvenisti 1976]

The Mayor announced that the Municipality engineers were working on the master plan for the Old City as a continuation of the one drawn up 40 years before by the British. And a seven-man committee appointed by the Labor Alignment Party branch in Jerusalem had a “detailed development plan” ready by July 10, 1967. [Benvenisti 1976]
Similarly, major urban renewal projects undertaken in Jerusalem were exclusively targeted at various low-income Jewish neighborhoods, and never included the more deprived Arab areas such as the heavily crowded, decaying Muslim Quarter in the Old City. (...) Several major projects were undertaken, particularly with regards to the decaying infrastructure in the Old City where major portions of the water and sewer systems were restored and renovated. Once again, however, when analyzing the total investments made by Israeli-sponsored public funds (ranging from roads to community services) it is fair to conclude that well over 90 percent were allocated to the Jewish sector. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

8. SOVEREIGNTY

A comparison of Israeli arguments in 1967 with the ones offered in 1949 on the Jerusalem issue is instructive. In 1949, the State of Israel had demanded Jewish Jerusalem, by virtue of historic claims and the right to self-determination of its Jewish citizens. This position was expressed in the most forceful terms, with no attempt to hide behind altruistic arguments. Israel knew that she was confronted by Christian religious interests, but considered that these could be met under Israeli sovereignty in the city. In 1967, the purpose of annexation had suddenly become an act of goodwill and desire to improve the standard of living of the Arab. The steps taken were administrative and municipal and no political significance should be attached to them. Unifying the city would remove the barriers on the road of neighborly relations between Jews and Arabs. All these were altruistic aims. Conspicuous in its absence, especially in view of the arguments of 1949, was any reference too the Israeli national element, the Israeli title to the whole of Jerusalem. The only point that the arguments of 1949 and 1967 share in common concerned Israel’s ability to find a solution to the question of Christian religious interests under her sovereignty. [Benvenisti 1976]

9. JEWISH-ARAB RELATIONS: PAST AND PRESENT

Ottoman Empire – Yet, as we have seen, it was precisely because of the European colonial “opening of the Orient” and Jerusalem’s unique religious status that new interest began to focus upon the Holy City. This is the major reason why, toward the mid-nineteenth century, Jerusalem began again to grow and develop. Competition between the rival colonial powers and Christian churches, together with special economic concessions granted to foreign associations, led to extensive investments in construction, more public service and the creation of new economic opportunities. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]
British Mandate—Britain’s mandatory rule over Palestine set off a series of important changes. Jerusalem again became, for the first time in any centuries, a capital city: the British made it the official seat of their colonial government and administration. In their custodial role they were anxious to preserve the city’s traditional historical-religious character. At the same time, however, Jerusalem under the British grew in size and population, developed economically and took on a more modern Western urban appearance. (...) Under British rule and the terms of the Mandate over Palestine, the Arab and Jewish communities officially benefited from a largely autonomous status and separate institutional structures. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

In spite of the fact that religious tensions and political conflict have been the overriding issues, throughout this century as in previous time periods Jerusalem’s Arab and Jews have established and maintained a variety of ongoing relationships. Sharing the same city space, they have been linked by a complex web of social, economic and political exchanges. Taken as a whole, their contacts derived from two sets of factors. First, Arab-Jewish interactions have been largely determined by the kinds of political conditions and developments that have prevailed in the course of the various regimes that ruled the city – under the Ottomans, later during the British Mandate, and in more recent times when Jerusalem was divided. Second this everyday ties also reflect a number of basic underlying features and long-term processes. These include in particular the different social characteristics and structures that typify each group, as well as selective trends in Jewish and Arab population growth and economic development. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

We argue that focusing attention upon everyday practical exchanges provides a key to understanding the realities of contemporary Jerusalem, that is, how persons on both sides negotiate their daily activities between confrontation and cooperation, or ways in which they navigate their encounters between conflict and accommodation. This is not to say that their beliefs and ideologies, or the prevailing organization of political and economic power, are not crucial features; nor do we maintain that Arabs and Jews are always able to negotiate their relationships so that conflicts are averted. Rather, by focusing upon everyday relations we are better able to understand how ideologies and power relations frame the encounters between members of these groups, or why conflicts may in fact erupt under
certain circumstances. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

In the initial heady days following the city's reunification, one of the first studies was entitled *Jerusalem: A City without a Wall* (Benziman 1973); in another book title, problems were related to prospects for their solutions (Kraemer 1980); and these were outlined yet in another study in terms of bridging the four walls (Cohen 1977). In the Israeli press, too, special newspapers sections published on Jerusalem Day typically described Jerusalem as "a city brought together" and proclaimed any new revelation of Jewish-Arab cooperation. Over the years, however, a greater pessimism, or perhaps realism, may have set in. This is again reflected in titles, such as *Jerusalem: a Torn City, A City with a Wall in Its Midst*, and *Jerusalem: a Polarized community* (Benvenisti 1976, 1981, 1983). This change in perspective indicates not only that basic political antagonism have continued, but also that the schism between the two communities persists in many aspects of everyday life. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

From my experience, I learned that the most appropriate approach did not necessitate extensive knowledge of Arab customs and of what is called the "Arab mentality". I found that sincerity, respect and a relationship between equals were far more important. (...) Whilst in close contact with the Arab population, I began to understand its general mood and its political position. After unsuccessful attempts to find a political dominator, I reached the conclusion that political arguments are not only meaningless but are even harmful, since they increase opposition and the great gulf dividing us. [Benvenisti 1976]

Governing Jerusalem as a Jewish-Arab city raises a series of complicated problems. The conflicts are deep and obvious: Jerusalem Arabs consider themselves to be in a condition of military conquest by Israeli forces, while Jews think of "united Jerusalem" as an Israeli city, the proper culmination of a lengthy historical process. Based upon these opposing views, Israel imposed its municipal government and police power upon Arab East Jerusalem, while the Arab population, in turn, rejected Israeli rule. The fact that Jerusalem is symbolically a holy religious city for both groups only aggravates tensions. Political polarization seems, in short, to be total and complete. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]
Conceived of in these terms [Smooha’s model of structural pluralism], Jews and Arabs can initially be distinguished from one another along four major dividing lines: language, religion, national affiliation, and ethnic-group membership. The different identities are unequivocal, and find expression in contrasting cultural values and social norms that both groups are anxious to preserve. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Taking an even broader perspective, we can also view Jerusalem as an instance of a plural society in which different ethnic groups share the same political-territorial environment or live together in mixed cities. Overall, ethnic groups differ with regard to place of origin, race, nationality, religion, language, and other attributes that signify their distinct collective identity. The vast literature dealing with ethnic relations indicates that group contacts are influenced by numerous historic, social, and political variables, as well as by the specific setting in which they take place³. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Like any other collective spiritual experience, the experience connected with the reunification of Jerusalem was the exclusive possession of the people who shared it. It united the Jewish people and simultaneously created a barrier between it and other people. It turned the Israelis’ attention inwards, making them impervious to everything outside themselves. (...) Without anyone being aware of it, the Israelis’ attitude to real facts became selective. Those facts which fitted their subjective point of view were absorbed; those which did not fit were rejected as though they would not exist. Such facts as could not be ignored were interpreted in a manner that would not upset the fundamental concept. (...) One of the song’s verses (altered after the war to fit into the new state of affairs) relates: “How the cisterns have dried up! The marketplace is empty, no one visits the Temple Mount in the Old City.” In other words, if there are no Jews in the marketplace, it is empty; and if no Jews visit the Temple Mount, then no one visits it at all. The thousands of Arabs who filled the marketplace and the Temple Mount did not exist. [Benvenisti 1976]

The Arab character of Jerusalem consists of architecture, customs, religion, language and inhabitants ... The city will lose its Arab character when the Arabs cease to be a majority in its streets. While discriminating against as Palestinians

³ The abundant empirical and theoretical literature regarding plural societies in general and ethnic relations in particular draws upon several disciplines: from political science, anthropology, and sociology to social psychology and social geography. For a review of this literature, the different concepts of pluralism, and related aspects of intergroup relationships, see Clarke, Ley and Peach 1984; Jackson and Smith 1981.
by the Jordanian regime, Jerusalem’s Arabs had nevertheless achieved a modus vivendi with the Hashemites, who rewarded them with positions of seniority. What was their hope they asked, of achieving a similar status in Israel? As one East Jerusalemite put it: Let us suppose, for a moment, that I agree to become an Israeli citizen. What can you offer me? What can I hope for? To become the Knesset member of some small Arab slate tied to a Jewish party? To become a Deputy Minister of Communications? [Benvenisti 1976]

**SPATIAL FEATURES: NEIGHBORHOODS**

The division of the city into neighborhoods possessing clearly defined social characteristics is not only the result of fortuitous circumstances, but indicates the desire of the inhabitants to live in a neighborhood that suits their ways of life. In Jerusalem, identification with one’s neighborhood finds a characteristic external expression. ... For the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the city is the sum total of its quarters. [Benvenisti 1976]

Despite the enormous growth in the population [in the 1960s], [West] Jerusalem remained a mosaic of neighborhoods, each possessing a clearly defined character, way of life, and communal composition. It was this patchwork structure that permitted the co-existence of communities that adhered to differing social, economic and religious ways. (...) As a result, each neighborhood in the city developed its own special character, while the number of neighborhoods with mixed social features remained small. [Benvenisti 1976]

In particular it [the Jerusalem Committee] backed the “mosaic” policy Kollek devised in the early 1970s. The policy, designed to establish ethnically segregated residential and commercial areas as means of acknowledging the division between the two communities and within the communities, was under threat by the Ministry of Housing’s attempts to support Israeli settlement in areas of dense Palestinian residence, such as the Muslim Quarter of the Old City and Silwan. [Dumper 1997]

**SPATIAL FEATURES: STREET NAMES**

Jews and Arabs also make use of different names when referring to various sections and landmarks within Jerusalem. The city in itself is called “Yerushalayim” in Hebrew and “al-Quds” (the Holy) in Arabic. The ancient gates to the Old City are called by different names; thus, for example, what is Jaffa Gate or “Sha’ar Yafo” for the Jews is “Bab al-Khalil” or Hebron Gate for the Arabs. Names have symbolic as well as practical meaning. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]
Names for the Old City streets were first officially given in 1918, when a committee consisting of Jews, Muslims and Christians gave names to streets that lacked them and translated the names of the historic streets into all three official languages. The British governor of Jerusalem also ordered that the street names be written in black on ceramic plaques with a white background and a decorative green frame. After the city partition in 1948, the Arab Municipality altered the names of several streets (...) The form of the streets plaques was also changed. In 1965, the Arab Municipality finished posting Old City Streets names in Arabic and English, the names being set on elongated ceramic plaques in black, green and white. Following the conquest of the Old City in 1967, all streets signs put up by the Arab were left in place, with the exception of the one on the Western Wall, which was removed at the order of David Ben-Gurion on his first visit to the Wall. (...) Once the names had been chosen [official list of Hebrew names] and the Municipality had decided to display them on the signs in the Old City streets, it became necessary to deal with the Arabic and English names on the signs. The decision was to leave them as they were and add another row of tiles carrying the Hebrew names. As the Names Committee continued working, however, it began to depart from its own decision of principles. (...) These [altering] decisions aroused sharp reactions, principally against the eradication of names connected with the chronicles of the city, and the fact that the Arabs would regard such deeds as a severe blow to their feelings. [Benvenisti 1976]

In deeply polarized urban environments, aspects of division and power relations take extreme forms. Spatial segregation is not confined to residence, but includes many urban, economic and public functions. Territorial ethnic boundaries are clearly marked, and the use of urban space assumes primordial significance. The exclusionary practices of the hegemonic group are responded to, in turn, by similar practices by subordinated group members, designed to strengthen their own separate institutions and intragroup cohesion. Socioeconomic gaps and competition for public resources are largely interpreted in terms of ethnicity rather than social class. To be sure, daily movements and interactions across ethnic boundaries take place as dictated by mutual needs and interests. Yet, as a general rule, deeply divided cities are characterized by dichotomous urban, social, economic and perceptual spheres, where ethnic identity invariably plays a crucial role in everyday encounters. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]
For local Jerusalemites, however, the most important differentiation of urban space is the one made between Jewish and Arab zones. The demarcation is expressed not only in the persistent patterns of residential segregation, but also in various other ways in which ethnic boundaries continue to have significance in everyday life. Moreover, territory in Jerusalem is never “neutral” but always assumes symbolic, national value in the ongoing struggle between Arab and Jews for the control of the space. It is for this reason that the changing spatial patterns reflect not only the social distance between these groups, but also the continuing political conflict between them. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Jerusalemites are intuitively sensitive to the different signs and makers that are represented in each portion of their city. As we noted earlier, in a fundamental sense all of the city space is either “Jewish” or “Arab”, and consequently its residents are always aware whether they are within “their own” zone or that of “the others”. There are no longer walls that separate Jews and Arabs, but numerous boundary signs are ever present and significant. These spatial markers have both visible and invisible expressions. Beginning with the former, Jewish and Arab residential zones and business centers can be distinguished by their contrasting levels of physical development, land-use patterns, and architectural styles. (…) Ethnic spatial divisions are also expressed in other ways: Hebrew versus Arab shop signs, different contents and styles in displaying merchandise … differently colored local buses, other contrasting colors and sounds. The time dimension is also highly indicative, particularly with respect to the weekly (Shabbat) and annual round of holidays observed by Jews and Arabs. (…) In addition to the features already described, there are also perceptual and behavioral dimensions to the ethnic spatial division. These can be seen in the different perceptions of city space made by Arabs and Jews — a kind of “division in the mind” — and also in the different patterns of conduct that takes place whenever members of one community cross over “to the other side”. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Crossing the ethnic boundary is, for both Arab and Jews, a highly conscious act that is done under specific circumstances and for well-defined purposes. Indeed, because of the deep spatial segregation of residential and business areas, interaction between members of the two communities necessarily involves crossing to the other side. However, the practice of “open bridges” between the two city sections is complemented by the principle of “closed gates”: the substantial intermin-
gling of the Arab-Jewish daytime population is followed by the general retreat and segregation of the same population at night. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Even though the rule of residential separation holds for most Jerusalemites, Arabs and Jews alike, it is interesting to note that there are two particular groups for whom the entire city consists of a single potential residential zone. One group is composed of the Israeli Arabs who study or work in Jerusalem (...) the second group that may elect to live anywhere in the city is Jerusalem's sizeable “foreign community”: Christian clergymen, members of the diplomatic or United Nations staff, foreign journalists, and other “temporary residents” (...) Paradoxically, Jerusalem seems to be more of a “united city” for outsiders and foreigners that for its own permanent residents. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Turning next to the question of where economic activities tend to be located, here too the basic rule of spatial segregation tends to be followed. Reunited Jerusalem retains its two separate business districts, the major one wholly Jewish and located in West Jerusalem, and the other entirely Arab, situated in and adjacent to the Old City. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Many Jews are attracted by the quaint charm of the Old City, and the sights and smells of the Arab souk. ...on Saturdays and Jewish holidays East Jerusalem's commercial streets and the Old City's tourist itineraries are crowded with Jewish visitors and customers from Jerusalem and elsewhere. (...) While there, they shop for typical tourist items or other traditional commodities such as oriental rugs, leather bags, or copper jars and vessels that are sold in the Arab stores and are in great demand among Jewish customers. Jews, in fact, constitute the main clientele of Arab tourist-oriented commerce and related services like food stands and restaurants. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Although Jerusalem has been decreed a reunified city, during the intifada it returned to its earlier divided status, sundered along the Green Line. The Israeli illusion of greater Jerusalem and a reunified city for the two peoples vanished during the first two years of the intifada. [Noble, Efrat 1990]

Indeed, since the beginning of the intifada a kind of “geography of fear” has characterized both Jewish and Arab movement across the ethnic boundaries; more
than anything else this testifies to the psychological and practical effects of the
deepening division of the city. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

**SOCIAL SEGREGATION:**

**EDUCATION**

This structural separation between the Jewish and Arab educational systems
clearly perpetuates segregation and is further expressed in everyday life. In the
first years following reunification, on various occasions the Jerusalem Municipality
attempted to bring Arab and Jewish pupils together for extracurricular activities or
sports events, but these efforts became less and less frequent with the passage
of time. In effect, the two educational systems do little to help the new generation
overcome the language barrier. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

As a result the average graduate of the Jewish educational system lacked the
most basic knowledge of the Arabs, their history, culture, language, and way of
life. He was not really aware of their existence; and in as much as he was aware
of it, he sensed physical and cultural superiority over them (...) [Benvenisti 1976]

I still believe human bridges can be built between the two communities, through
reciprocal visits between students, teachers, musicians, writers, artists, business
leaders and journalists. Perhaps in 20 years, the children of these people will be
better equipped to approach that most burning of questions: Jerusalem [Wiesel
2001]

**VIOLATING THE RULE OF SEGREGATION:**

**SETTLERS**

In recent years another movement of Jews into Arab neighborhoods has been tak-
ing place: small numbers of mainly orthodox Jewish families and religious groups
have gradually penetrated the congested Muslim Quarter of the Old City. (...) The
motive for this movement is ideological or more precisely, a religious-nationalist
ideology. Those who have moved here were determined to reoccupy all of that
structures previously inhabited by Jews in the Muslim Quarter that were aban-
donied in the 1920's and 1930's, in spite of their decaying condition and the avail-
ability of modern housing in the renovated Jewish Quarter nearby. Indeed, these
individuals claim that the Jews have the right to settle anywhere in the Arab sec-
tions of Jerusalem, even if this provokes violence or ongoing frictions. (...) Their
motives are dominance, not peaceful coexistence, and they are willing to live
alongside Arabs and thereby forgo desired separation in order to eventually dis-
possess them and thereby gain total control. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]
The tense atmosphere has also been maintained by the recent settlement of small Jewish religious communities in houses acquired in the Arab Quarter adjacent to the Haram. Until recently the Yeshivahs were all located in the Jewish Quarter where they had been for a long time. The tradition was broken between 1947 and 1967 when the city was divided into two political and administrative units. It was resumed after the Six-Day War. The policy of implanting Yeshivahs among the Muslim population is a new development. These small communities are very turbulent and sometimes even aggressive. Their settlement in the very heart of the Arab Quarter is considered as aggressive and has created considerable tension. According to the Mayor of the city these communities are closely supervised by the Israeli authorities. [UNESCO 1987]

Many incidents were reported of Jewish settlers physically assaulting Arab residents, throwing dirt and dangerous objects into their homes, blocking entrances to their dwellings, disconnecting water and electricity supplies and blocking sewage lines. On one occasion, and in an attempt to counteract repeated attacks by Israeli police and a neighboring Jewish settler, the residents of a small alley (Aquabat Albustami) in the Harat Alsadiya neighborhood of the Muslim quarter of the city, took upon themselves to install themselves an iron gate at the entrance to the alley after being refused a legal permit by the local authority. Only hours after the completion of work, the settler, armed with his machine gun, and escorted by armed police and municipality officials, demolished the newly erected gate without warning. Protests by the residences and Islamic Waqf Officials were met with pointed guns and threats of physical violence and arrest. It was probably the only place in the world where a municipality engineer use a gun to enforce his technical opinion. In that particular incident, at a time when Arab-Jewish tensions were at a high in the City, the Israeli servants took matters into their own hands knowing very well that their actions would go unpunished [Khatib 1993]

Many prime ministers and defense ministers have passed through the settlers' hands, and it was made clear to all of them, sooner or later (including the one "who has not learned the lesson of Rabin's murder" as they put it) who the boss is. Is it any wonder that the settlement leadership took charge from the very first day of the Al Aqsa Intifada? [Ha'aretz 2001]
His (Defense Minister Moshe Dayan) first order following the city's capture – an order reiterated several times that day and afterwards – was that all the gates be opened immediately and all the barriers removed, erasing the border between the two halves of the city. [Benvenisti 1976]

The barriers dividing the city of Jerusalem came down on June 29, without the issuing of any specific order. The Israeli authorities had decided to open the city at mid-day; but the army and police guards had already stopped demanding permits in the morning, and soon abandoned the barriers completely. What took place during the following hours has been described as a “peace festival” or “mutual invasion” – thousands of Jews poured in the streets of the Old City, completely blocking them; hundreds of Arabs, in groups of various sizes, made their way through the streets of the Jewish city. The Jews swooped down on the shops and market-stalls of the Old City, buying anything that they could lay their hands on. Veteran Israelis fell on the piles of Arab cakes and pastries and drank suss and tamarindis poured from the ornamental copper jugs carried by vendors, and licked the Oriental ice-cream that stretches like chewing-gum. They filled the restaurants and eat the delicacies they had not tasted for 19 years. [Benvenisti 1976]

Following his meeting with the Arab Mayor, when one of the Arab Council members complained of looting, Kollek [Mayor of West Jerusalem] adopted a policy of opposing the cooption of Arab members. His reaction was: “I'm opposed to such an approach. Today we visited the Old City Municipality for a talk with the Mayor, and they were talking of looting. Tomorrow, they'll be members sitting in our Municipality, and they'll be saying all kind of things. Our meetings are open, and they will be addressing foreign body and hostile elements. I suggest that we treat the annexed area as a neighborhood, and that some of the local inhabitants serve as members of and advisory committee.” The Government did not accept this view. [Benvenisti 1976]

[1968] He (the Defense Minister) warned against letting the situation deteriorate, as it had in Cyprus where the Turkish and Greek communities were incapable of living together. “If we don't control ourselves and avoid lynch-like deeds, we will be doing what the terrorists want”. [Benvenisti 1976]
The desire to camouflage the act of annexation is evident in the wording of the law and the decree. It also characterized the all process of discussion and ratification. For example, the Government avoided using the word “annexation”. Its official declarations, as well as Foreign Ministry explanation, spoke of “unification” or “reunification”. Following the unification of the city, Israel stressed that the use of the term “annexation” concerning municipal and administrative steps was “inappropriate.” [Benvenisti 1976]

The effect of the government legislation, however, was not in the least ambiguous. The law of annexation clearly applied Israeli law, jurisdiction, and administration to the annexed area. Nor did the process permit selective or gradual application of Israeli law; it enforced a revolutionary change from one day to the next. It did not even lay down transitional arrangements that would have ensured some kind of jurisdictional and administrative continuity. The resulting situation was legally absurd. All the inhabitants of East Jerusalem became “enemy aliens” according to Israeli law, with all the consequences that this implied for their personal status, their commercial contacts and their property. According to the international law, they remained citizens of the Kingdom of Jordan. According to the Israeli Law of Absentee’s Property, they had all become “absentees.” Enacted in November 1950, this law stated that any person who, at any time after November 29, 1947, had been citizen of any Arab state, or an inhabitant of any of them or of any part of Palestine outside the boundaries of the state of Israel, was an “absentee”, and his property was entrusted to the Custodian of Absentee’s Property. Since the inhabitants of East Jerusalem had for 19 years been “outside the boundaries of the state of Israel” and were still citizens of one of the Arab states, they had ceased to be legal owners of their properties as soon as the Israeli law applied. Every company or corporation which had been incorporated by Jordanian law was suddenly without status; every form of licensed business, from a grocery store to a bus company, which had operated on the basis of Jordanian licenses, was now operating without authorization. Lawyers, doctors and others who needed licenses, could no longer legally practice their professions. Every legal action, whether completed or not, as well as all documents issued or authorized before the law of annexation, became null and void. The proposers of the law were not unaware of its absurdities. It seems, however, that they considered it preferable to carry out the annexation unambiguously. [Benvenisti 1976]
It was not Unification Day that was the turning point, but the day the city was captured. The moment the Israel Army controlled the whole city, Israel came under the influence of force “beyond and above, before and after, all political and secular considerations.” These forces created a situation from which there was no return. The annexation laws were no more than a legal step to define the situation created the moment the city was captured. The demand to abrogate these laws was interpreted as a renunciation of the return “to the holiest of our Holy Places.” On the day of their promulgation the annexation law, together with the annexed area, became part of the national myth. [Benvenisti 1976]

The only major planned demolition in the Old City has been that of the Maghrib Quarter located to the west of the Haram al-Sharif. This was begun immediately after the taking of the Old City by Israeli forces in June 1967. The intention at that time was to clear the area around the famous Wailing Wall, which is the most precious religious relic of the Jewish religion in Jerusalem. (...) It [the quarter] consisted of buildings in the vernacular style similar to—though poorer than—those in the adjoining streets which still exist. The main thoroughfare, which led to the Maghrib Gate of the Haram, ran past two fine Mamluke buildings which were destroyed in 1969. It was at that time, in fact, that the demolition of the quarter was continued in order to clear the excavation sites. The total area of the demolished quarter was roughly one hectare, 15 acres (11500 square meters). [UNESCO 1987]

To the Jews and Israelis the creation of the plaza [at the Western Wall] was a wonderful sight. Cut off from their holiest site for years, they could not only return but also congregate unimpeded and in large numbers. To Muslims and Palestinians, on the other hand, it left a frightening and sickening feeling. One hundred and thirty-five homes as well as ancient Buraq and Afdali Mosques had been destroyed. Approximately 650 people had been evicted without warning. For them, their relatives, and the Palestinian Arab population of the newly occupied city, the razing of the Maghrib Quarter with its two mosques, zawiya, and endowed residential and commercial property was a chilling introduction to the new Israeli era. [Dumper 1997]

The enormous buildings erected on the eastern side of the Jewish Quarter, facing
the Haram and the al-Aqsa Mosque, constitute the more regrettable exceptions to
the traditional scale of values, which has been judiciously upheld elsewhere in the
rebuilding of the Jewish Quarter. These two buildings are separated by the Valley
of Tyropeon, which is partly taken up by the esplanade built in front of the Wailing
Wall in 1967. Before 1948, the site of the present buildings was occupied by sev-
eral yeshivahs, (the most important being Porat Yosef) which were already far
larger than the usual type of building. The new constructions are totally out of pro-
portion, their facades rising to the height of 10 storeys! Their architectural style is
aggressive and bears no relation to the historical values of Hierosolymitan archi-
tecture. In the author’s view their construction seems to be an error which will
affect for along time to come the overall aspect of the city and that of the area
opened up by the layout out of the equally disproportionate esplanade in front of
the Wailing Wall. [UNESCO 1987]

[In 1970] Teams of architects were given instructions to plan fast and not to show
the plans to anybody. Those concerned about preserving Jerusalem's beauty
were shocked. At a public meeting called to discuss the new plans, one protester
said: “If a Jewish presence means an ugly blot, that isn’t a Jewish presence. It is
even bad politics to forgo the aesthetic aspects of Jerusalem, for whose preserva-
tion the British made such great efforts.” [Benvenisti 1976]

[In the early 1970s] “Operation Facts” began at a feverish pace. Within few
months, the shells of new buildings were sprouting on the construction sites (...)One writer severely criticized the Government's policy, stating:

It will not be a housing project of one kind or another, nor a highway, here or there, built
with the money of Israeli tax-payer, that will influence the form of a future political settle-
ment. It will be shaped by the balance of power in the region, by the international situ-
ation, and by Israel's diplomatic ability to tack successfully among the rocks ... If Israel is
too weak, diplomatically or militarily, to hold a unified Jerusalem, neither housing projects
nor roads will help us hold on to the areas beyond the old border. [Benvenisti 1976]

In general terms, the local Israeli government's policy towards the Old City and its
non-Jewish residents could be described as having one purpose, that being to
serve the goals of Zionism. Palestinians see that movement as the major force
behind Israeli attempts to judaise all the land of Palestine. Israeli policy towards
the Old City of Jerusalem had not been any different from that employed in the
15. **Jewish Quarter in the Old City**

Before looking at the expropriation order and its direct effects on waqf property in the Old City, it is useful to have some understanding of the size and nature of ownership in the "traditional" Jewish quarter—the precise contours of which are difficult to delineate since boundaries between quarters of the Old City fluctuated according to immigration and political circumstances. Nonetheless, one can say that the Jewish quarter was small and centered largely in a single area. From the beginning of this century up to 1948, the area was bounded to the west by the Armenian Cathedral and the Armenian residences clustered around it the Syrian and Maronite convents and their residential communities, and four small quarters named after the Muslim families living there. Its northern side was bordered by the Tariq Bab al-Silsila and the central market area. To the east was the harat ash-Sharaf, located along the slopes overlooking the Magharib quarter. On the south, it was bounded by the city walls and by another small quarter called harat Abu Maydun. [Dumper 1997]

The boundaries of the expropriation zone of 1968 as announced by the Israeli Minister of Finance stretched from the Western Wall to the Armenian Cathedral in the west, and from the Tariq Bab al-Silsila in the north to the walls of the city in the south. The expropriation included 700 stone buildings, of which only 105 had been owned by Jews prior to 1948. Expropriated Palestinian Arab properties included 1048 flats or apartments housing 6000 Palestinians, and 437 workshops or commercial stores providing employment to approximately 700 workers. [Dumper 1997]

The areas expropriated in the Jewish Quarter encompassed 29 acres, and included the Western Wall area (with the exception of the Wall itself), the Jewish Quarter as it was constituted after the 1929 Arab riots, and a smaller section that, historically, belonged to Armenian Quarter but were in fact inhabited by Arabs. (...) Most of the property was owned by Arabs who belonged to the city's leading families. For hundreds of years, these families had been renting their properties out to Jews for extremely low rents. [Benvenisti 1976]

In the meantime [1969], the renovation of the Jewish Quarter was progressing...
slowly. The master plan for renovation allocated two-thirds of the area to buildings, leaving the remaining third for open spaces, roads and plazas. Half of the built up area was to house 600 families, while the second half was set aside for public institutions. Sites were also allocated for 400 shops and galleries. [Benvenisti 1976]

On the other end, in several reported instances East Jerusalem Arabs who wished to reside in Jewish neighborhoods were prevented from doing so by strong Jewish opposition. This was expressed more clearly in the Old City's reconstructed Jewish Quarter. A number of Arab families who had been living there in abandoned Jewish properties between 1948 and 1967, who wished to remain, were forced to leave their homes in order to permit the reestablishment of a totally homogeneous Jewish residential zone. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

Economically, therefore, the city [Old City 1948-67] relied almost completely on tourism, whose sensitivity to political and military tensions placed the economy on a very narrow base. Any tension that brought a reduction in a stream of tourists could cause and economic crisis. [Benvenisti 1976]

The tourism industry has been described as a “potential goldmine” for the Palestinian sector of the Jerusalem economy. One of the results of the 1967 occupation has been to prevent the full exploitation of the mine by Palestinians. Following 1967, there were no immediately obvious gains as a result of the annexation of East Jerusalem and the adjacent areas. Indeed there was a decrease in the total bookings for Jerusalem. (...) What did change quite drastically was the distribution of the bookings between the eastern and western part of the city. [Dumper 1997]

Great efforts were also made to promote Israeli sites and tours from an Israeli perspective which neglected Palestinian areas and hotels. For example, a useful comparison can be made between the renovated Suq al-Qattanin in one of the Muslim quarters of the Old City, and the renovated Cardo in the Jewish Quarter. The Suq is a Mamluk complex built upon Crusader ruins and has been described by a famous historian of Islamic architecture, K. Creswell, as the “finest bazaar in Syria.” Together with the hamam al-‘ayn at one end and the hamam a-shifa’ at
the other, and the magnificent Bab leading to the Haram itself, the site is of outstanding architectural and historical importance. The restoration of the Suq al-Qattanin by the Awqaf Administration took place in 1974 was designed to regenerate the Suq as a market thoroughfare and attract tourists to a neglected part of the Old City. Despite careful conservation work, the Suq has been a commercial failure. Most of the shops remain shut and it is rarely used as a thoroughfare except on Fridays and at noon prayer. The original conception for the restoration project was that Bab al-Qattanin leading from the Suq to the Haram courtyard would be opened for tourists. The Jerusalem Municipality, however, refused to allow the Bab to be opened for tourists. As a result the passing trade is slight and the shops which were leased cannot pay the rents. This reduced the Awqaf Administration's ability to maintain, clean and light the Suq, which has, of course, gradually deteriorated.

In contrast, the Cardo is a row of expensive and chic shops along a restored subterranean Roman street in the expanded Jewish quarter. It is well-lit, clean, and attractively laid out. The benefits of government support can be immediately seen. Guided tours are brought there, while clear well-positioned plaques and notices inform passing tourists of its historical interest, thus generating curiosity. The Cardo is promoted in tourist literature—leaflets about it are available in hotel foyers—and it is well integrated into the promotional material sent abroad. These two sites, within a two minutes walk of each other, exemplify why the "potential goldmine" of tourism has not taken place for the Palestinian sector. It is significant to note that employment patterns in this sub-branch of the Jerusalem economy also reflect the proletarianization of the Palestinians sector highlighted by Professors Romann and Weingrod. Palestinians are employed as taxi-drivers, tour bus drivers, waiters, cleaners, and receptionists, rather than having the capability of investing in their own hotels and managing them.

Finally, in recent years, the Gulf War and the Palestinian Intifada, which has seen sporadic outbrakes of violence in East Jerusalem, frightened off the package tourist industry. [Dumper 1997]

17. **The Jerusalem Model**

The existing patterns of Jewish-Arab relationships in Jerusalem have often been the subject of different interpretations. (...) Those supporting the pluralistic interpretation argue that the system of Jewish-Arab relations that has emerged in Jerusalem does not represent something new, but should rather be seen as a
continuation of the traditional “mosaic structure” that has characterized this Holy City in the past. According to this argument Jerusalem has always been an amalgam of different religious, ethnic, and national groups, each of which lived within its own quarter and maintained separate community services, a significant degree of cultural autonomy, and its own occupational specialties as part of an ethnic-based division of labor. What is more, within this pluralistic system religious or cultural differences between the various groups were considered to be legitimate and proper, and there was neither the demand nor the expectation that the minorities would assimilate or that the urban institutions should function as mediums of social integration. (...) While this interpretation may explain some features of Jerusalem’s realities, it both ignores and fails to correctly represent certain key aspects of Arab-Jewish relationship. One major point concerns the different opportunities available to members of the two communities within the present framework of segregation and deep ethnic conflict. Given these circumstances, the formula “separate but equal” –that is, Arab and Jews maintaining separate residential and communal facilities while at the same time enjoying equal access to goods and benefits– is largely fictitious, hardly possible and rarely attained. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

In Jerusalem itself the social divisions and conflicts are by no means only between Arab and Jews. Within each of these two major ethnic categories, differences of origin, religious beliefs and practice are also significant. (...) Some of the other, more subtle distinctions within Jerusalem’s heterogeneous population have also gradually been reduced over time. This is the case in regard to the great multiplicity of Jewish ethnic groups –that is, Jewish immigrants and their descendants whose origins are in numerous European and Middle-Eastern countries– and, equally, with respect to the distinctions between Arabs who come from old-line Jerusalem Arabs from the Hebron region who migrated to Jerusalem. There can be little doubt that the frictions or conflicts between these subgroups have lessened partly as a result of the wide-scale Arab-Jewish polarization. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

The basic underlying issues in Jerusalem confronting Jews and Arabs is political and national. The problems are not religious or cultural divisions –both sides agree to respect the different ways of life of the other community. Nor is the problem of social and material inequalities or even outright discrimination: the Arab population does not regard the improvements of their incomes or living conditions
as relevant to their political position as an occupied minority. [Romann, Wingrod 1991]

**18. VISION OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE**

Christian, Moslem and Jew: there is no longer any chosen people, nor any “dominating spirit”, nor ear-marked religion, nor Messianism. For the Kingdom of Heaven is in one place only --where Christ always told us it is- within ourselves. [Ashbee 1923]

Does not the mental change wrought by the war now bring to all thoughtful men the chance of a new spiritual synthesis? To me, watching the Holy City from within, her poetry, her parasitism, and striving to find what is most vital in the faith of Christian, Moslem, and Jew, such a synthesis seems now to be possible. If we could only slough off the political unrealities, if we could only understand the other fellow’s point of view, his background (...) And then Mercutio with his Celtic vision lights up the poetry of life for me in a phrase: “Have faith, follow your star, and d——n the politicians!” [Ashbee 1923]

During my search for political solutions, I came to the realization that anyone who wants to play this dangerous game must accept three pre-conditions: first, he must rid himself of all myths; second, he must learn the lesson of the past; and third, he must not set himself up as a judge between opposing sides. [Benvenisti 1976]

There is an agreement between the leaders and the responsible parties --Jews and Arabs- that life in one basket demands a *modus vivendi*, not as an enforced value but as a realistic necessity. [Benvenisti 1976]

Perhaps the most important of all, is the fact that both sides became fully aware of the existence of the other, an existence which one had tried to ignore and the other as seen merely as something to be overcome. [Benvenisti 1976]

They all know, in the deepest recess of their hearts, that in the long run --via blood and fire, or via words of peace- the story will end somewhere near the Green Line: give or take five kilometres, give or take a couple of thousand dead. But even this is a best-case scenario, depending on whether or not we can extricate ourselves from the stranglehold of the self-appointed overlords on both sides. [Ha'aretz 2001]

Ronald Storrs, the Military Governor of Jerusalem, funded the Pro-Jerusalem Society shortly after the occupation of the city in 1918. The main objectives of the society were "the preservation and advancement of the interests of Jerusalem, its districts and its inhabitants".

Meron Benvenisti has served as Deputy Mayor for Arab East Jerusalem, after Israeli occupation from 1967 to 1978. He is the author of several books and articles on the polarized situation and the administration of present-day Jerusalem and development in the West Bank.

Michael Romann’s research had as its main objectives an examination of how, following 1967, Jerusalem’s two previous separate city systems became integrated in economic and spatial terms, and the practical expressions of the renewed relationships between the Arab and Jewish sectors.

Alex Weingrod’s study was designed as an anthropological analysis of those particular Jerusalem’s contexts where, for a variety of reasons, Jews and Arabs were drawn into regular, ongoing contacts. Field research included two residential border neighborhoods where Arab and Jews live in proximity.

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Tom Segev is a columnist for Ha’aretz, Israel’s leading newspaper, and the author of two now-classic works on the history of Israel. He lives in Jerusalem.

Nathan Englander is a one-man demog-raphic. Born in America into a strict orthodox community, he gave up Jewish religious practice and moved to Jerusalem to write [WBUR]

Elie Wiesel, a professor of humanities at Boston University, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986

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WBUR documentary This Year in Jerusalem: Inside Out, 2001.

Wiesel E., “Jerusalem in My Heart”, in New York Times, January 24, 2001
Image of Jerusalem
Homeland
Holy Places
International heritage
Colonialism
Orientalism | Zionism
Planning
Sovereignty
Arab-Jewish relations: past and present
Group Identity
spatial features: - neighborhoods
- street names
Segregation (ways of):
- spatial: - commercial activities
- outcomes of the Intifada
- social : education
- violating the rule: settlers
June 1967
Annexation
Facts on the ground
Jewish Quarter in the Old City
Tourism
The Jerusalem Model
Vision of peaceful co-existence
We do indeed live by symbols, whether they are tangible pieces of colored cloth or marble depictions of those the culture wishes to honor, or the more intangible messages generated by days of commemoration and celebration. To the extent that our worlds increasingly feature either dramatic regime changes [ ..] or the self-conscious recognition of the multicultural status even of stable political states, it should not surprise us that these symbols have become, in the language of contemporary philosophy, "essentially contested", with significant political energy put into achieving one or another resolution of such contests. We must, of course, try to clarify our own responses to these symbols, but it is naive in the extreme to believe that we can achieve any genuine consensus as to their place in the public realm. That would require the existence of a singular public, whereas the reality of our society is its composition by various publics who are constituted at least in part by their relation to conflicting symbologies. And, needless to say, all of these publics seek the particular validation that comes from their symbols occupying some places of respect within the general public realm.

[Levinson 1998]

LABYRINTH

There are no longer walls that separate Jews and Arabs, but numerous boundary signs are ever present and significant.

QUARTERS IN THE OLD CITY | PATHS ALONG THE SUQ
A narrow alley in the market place, 
on the way to the Western Wall. 
A Muslim Haj in a silken fez and long gown 
moves slowly, leaning on a cane. 
Two monks stand engaged in conversation. 
Three Orthodox Jews step briskly. 
Gown touches gown, murmur touches murmur. 
Surrounding stone with stony eyes... 
... As long as they share a presence here, 
side by side, there is a chance. They are the chance.

The poem, from "The Chance" by Aaron Bechor, was posted on the wall of an exposition in the Citadel Museum of the History of Jerusalem, the room displaying the variety of Jerusalemite cultural heritage in the twentieth century. The puppets dressed in traditional costumes were arrayed in small groups by affiliation, the underlying theme being the cohabitation of different communities within the City.
In the past, quarters in the Old City were named after the concentration of the Holy Sites to the three monotheistic religions, Jewish, Christian and Muslim. The pattern of residence was scattered and the adherents to the different faiths were living mixed in all the quarters, even though they preferred to cluster around the respective Holy Places. The term quarter used to refer to a multiplicity of neighborhoods named after important families, the geographical root of its residents (Armenian, Magharibi) or their religious affiliation; a series of quarters within Quarters in the Old City. In this context the Cardo and Decumanus were the main paths connecting different locations within the Old City. The public space of the streets and bazaars acted as an integrator for the heterogeneous population otherwise living in distinct residential compounds.

Today, the Quarters are segregated areas for ethnic/religious groups. In my opinion the use of a capitalization for Quarter, as seen in some literature, is the product of a divided urban psyche that categorizes and compartmentalizes identities within fundamentally physical precincts. One could say that a “mosaic structure” existed already before in the Old City, so where can one find the difference between past and present? As I exemplified, the mosaic pattern of the past was limited to residence while movement and commercial activities were taking place in a shared public domain. While the present condition of the ‘Four Quarters’ largely freezes movement across districts and, on the other hand, dialogue between communities, already divided by uneven material conditions of everyday life.

The Armenian quarter is mainly clustered around a walled monastic compound that closes its gates to the city at night. The Armenian community maintains alive the language and traditions of a distant and troubled homeland.1 The Christian quarter is the location of religious institutions, Patriarchates and churches, which occupy much of its land with big compounds inhabited mainly by foreign clergymen, while the Arab population is slowly diminishing together with the vitality of the area. The Muslim quarter is lacking in maintenance and infrastructure, and since 1967 it has seen an inexcusable decay that has left only the poorer residents to live here, while those who could afford it moved to East Jerusalem. This negligence by the municipality is part of a political strategy to exhaust the Arab population of the Old City.

1 The Armenian Kingdom was the first nation to embrace Christianity in 303 AD and they established a religious presence in Jerusalem already in the 4th century. A large secular immigration arrived the city during this century due to the Turkish persecution that escalated in an attempted genocide in 1915. The Armenian community of the Old City keeps alive a cultural heritage that risks disappearance in Armenia.
The Jewish quarter, soon after its reconstruction in the late 1960s had a heterogeneous Israeli Jewish population (the Arab residents having being expelled), but in recent years has become the home mainly to orthodox families and religious institutions while turning its back to the adjacent quarters.

The architect Moshe Safdie, resident of the Jewish quarter, describes the situation in these words.

"The alienation between most residents of the Jewish quarter and the Arab shopkeepers in the rest of the Old City is indeed unfortunate. As I said previously, I blame it on the government's ill-advised decision to evict Arab shopkeepers from the Jewish Quarter during the restoration. Had they let the Arab shopkeepers stay on rental basis, that might have increased the interaction. The people who live in the Jewish Quarter have developed a style of life that focuses primarily on the shopkeepers, banks and other services provided by the Jews within the Quarter. So while there was a measure of integration before 1948, with the Jews, Muslims and Christians all doing business together in the markets, the Jews now live a more or less segregated life.  

Within the present context of separation enforced by the Israeli, heterogeneous quarters with Arab and Jewish population are not socially sustainable and the intrusion of others is not tolerated. This is the case where Jewish orthodox settlers take residence in the Muslim quarter to provoke confrontation with the Arab residents, their goal being to eventually dispossess them and thereby gain total control.

The Cardo and Decumanus are still used as paths but, at the same time, they became borders. In particular the Decumanus separates the Jewish from the Muslim quarter and there is ambiguity in the territorial ownership of the street interface. In this context, the paths and bazaars are assimilated into a territorial psychology and become theatre of division. The world of the quarters is one in which the circulation arteries working within each neighborhood come to a bottleneck when reaching the interface. That is, the flow of people, goods and ideas which animates the streets, alleys and little squares within one quarter is suffocated, and sometimes cut off, when it comes to crossing its invisible boundary. Let me exem-
plify this condition by a walk along the "Cardo and Decumanus" paths\textsuperscript{3} defining this symbolic line, where markets occupy the almost totality of public spaces.

The length of the Decumanus from Jaffa Gate to the intersection with the Cardo, Suq el-Bazzar/David Street, is a tourist oriented market where the shops are run by Arabs, both Christian and Muslim, and Armenians. The transition between the Christian and the Armenian quarters is quite smooth even if, admittedly, the paths crossing north-south are quite few and located only just at the beginning and at the end of the aforementioned street. When one gets to the Cardo intersection, where direct accesses to the Jewish quarter are located, the situation turns quite different.

At night a gate blocks the access to the "Cardo shopping center" and policemen stand twenty-four hours a day at the intersection between the Jewish quarter road 33 and Tariq Bab al-Silsileh. This last street goes from the Cardo intersection to one of the gates of the Haram al-Sharif and is traversed by paths to the Western Wall. The boundary between the Jewish and the Muslim quarter gets here palpable in the rarefaction of the stores as one walks toward east where the hearth of the religious struggle, the Haram/Wall ensemble, lies. Just at the corner where the Haram meets the Western Wall, the Army confiscated the Madrassa Altankaziyya to accommodate the Israeli Border Police regional headquarters. Military observation posts on its roof monitor the surroundings. In the same manner, the paths bisecting the street north-south in the direction of the Jewish quarter have a police station supervising the flow of people and examining 'suspect' individuals.

The thoroughfare aligned with the Cardo, from Damascus Gate in the north to the archeological excavation of the Jewish quarter in the south, features two kind of markets so dissimilar, before and after the intersection with the Decumanus, that they could be as well two worlds apart. The first stretch, coming form Damascus gate, is an extremely lively Arab suq targeted to the needs of the local population with food, garments and utensils, without forgetting tourists' desires in particular around the crossing with the Via Dolorosa. Many walkways cross the bazaar west-east. In fact, the transition between the Muslim and the Christian quarter is not visible along the market, but it is enough to move either west or east along one of the paths to get into another atmosphere. The paths going into the Christian quarter

\textsuperscript{3} The use of the terms Decumanus and Cardo helps me to signify the total length of these thoroughfares as one entity opposed to the constituting small parcels, each named in a different way.

\textit{The Romans built the Aelia Capitolina in 132-135 AD, with a Tetrapsylon at the Cardo-Decumanus crossing. [Source: Sharon, 1973]}
feel quite empty, in which the density, of both the built fabric and the inhabitants, decreases as one walks away from the bazaar. Walking down into the Muslim quarter, on the contrary, one perceives the difference between paths allocated for tourists and the more private ones accessing the heart of a densely inhabited residential area. After crossing the Decumanus, one enters the enclosed, well-maintained, ‘on display’ world of the Jewish Cardo; a shopping area with expensive stores selling Judaica articles within a reconstruction that integrates commerce, archeological excavation and nationalist/religious ideology. Here the conservation of Roman findings is not perceived as a threat for the inhabitants of the modern Jewish quarter, on the contrary, the museum-like exposition becomes a chance to claim Jewish identity. Along this fashion a giant seven arms chandelier “Golden Menorah from the Temple Institute” is displayed in a window under the roofed area of the Byzantine Cardo while huge colorful paintings glorifying Psalms hang from the stony walls of the open-air section. At the same time, a lonely minaret visible from the same spot tells another history of the city.

The images forming this chapter have been taken over the length of my stay. The very first days I just walked around the quarters to get a feeling for the atmosphere peculiar to each one. Sometimes I also choose a theme; for example ‘identity symbols displayed on the walls’ generated the series of images with graffiti, or the ‘Suq crossing’ series helped to focus my analysis. A main regret regards the series at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which I shot one morning very early with a wrong exposure: just a few devotees were praying and one could a the mystical atmosphere that was completely lost during the crowded daytime. The most suggestive footages are those taken at night or at sunrise, since the atmosphere of the Old City is almost surreal then. After getting more familiar with the setting, I started to take pictures whenever something attracted my attention as giving a particular feeling of a community daily life. The walks in the quarters were very different experiences depending on the more or less comfortable feeling I had when wandering loosely along narrow paths to see where they headed. Yes, I have to admit I am very curious and I overcame most of the obstacles along my ‘little inquiry within the fabric of the Old City’. When I planned to go back just a few months after the the Al-Aqsa Intifada started, I had to ask myself if I would have enjoyed the same freedom and

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4 It is hard to imagine descendants of the Roman Empire, Italians for example, coming back to claim any right over this piece of the city.

5 See the quote by Dumper in Thematic 16. [Tourism]
comfort walking outside of the major paths. Not being able to speak neither Arabic nor Hebrew my answer was, sadly, “no”.

The photographs are arranged by quarter, to give a feeling of the different atmosphere in each area.
The images in these two pages portray the Greek Orthodox community. Photographs 1 to 4 show the procession at Jaffa Gate during a religious festival [photo 1 is taken from my room].
At the Holy Sepulchre Church: sitting in the courtyard
Holy Sepulchre Church: taking a group picture in the courtyard

Holy Sepulchre Church: the Ethiopian chapel
Access to the H. Sepulchre from the Suq

Sketches
-left: entrance to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem
-right top: altar in the Church of the Dominus Flevit
-right bottom: view of the Church of St. John and the Dome of the Rock
Identity symbols, graffiti and luminous signs
-from top left clockwise: Happy New Year, a
cross, Happy Christmas, cross and crescent.
Top: Via Dolorosa
Bottom: outside Lion’s Gate at friday

Muslim quarter
Street scenes
Top: Damascus Gate and a view of the market inside the Gate
Bottom: Tamarind syrup vendor and buyers in front of the Gate
Market scenes: left, chess players in front of a handicap parking sign

Suq Al-Qattanin and the police control at the Bab [gate] facing the Haram
Views from the Haram al-Sharif
Kids playing in front of house decorated with stencils celebrating the completion of the Pilgrimage to Mecca
Scenes at the Western Wall
Top: sketches of the Cardo reconstruction
Bottom: the Jewish Cardo, excavation of the Byzantine site and exposition of paintings celebrating the Psalms; Judaica store.
Top:
left, view of the Quarter from Bab la Silsileh
right, fortress like reconstruction of the
Yeshivahs facing the Wall

Bottom:
a school inside the quarter, kids training to
jump the wall
FOOTNOTE  I did not take pictures inside the Armenian compound since I was a guest of the Aghazarian family. With them I experienced the daily life of the small community and the evening activities of the 'cultural clubs'. I even watched on tv Italy's soccer team playing in the European Cup. All those images are saved in my mind.
Sunrise views of Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives from the roof of my hostel
What does “accessible” mean? A commonsense interpretation would be that the public could use the space in the same manner as it did in any public space, with the same manner freedoms and the same constraints. [Whyte 1980]

To what extent may a space be read or decoded? A satisfactory answer to this question is certainly not just around the corner. ... The fact remains, however, that an already produced space can be decoded, can be read. [Lefebvre 1991]
In this section I am going to illustrate my findings on the principles contributing to a territorial perception of public space and subsequently producing a screening effect on its users. As space practitioners, architects and planners who want to understand the qualities of public domain in a divided urban context, every transformation we project over the cultural interfaces in Old City has to be very careful. Possible changes have to take into consideration how the inhabitants, first users and visitors view these public spaces, only then, can they articulate a proposal. The time dimension is fundamental to understand how people perceive the street in different moments within the daily or weekly rhythm of public spaces, for example, the relationship the communal and religious rituals that contribute to a group’s presence. A design intervention that ranges between renewal and rigorous preservation could have an outcome, in use and perception, fluctuating from major to none. This result will depend on our ability to understand which role has fragmented a community and assigned to this specific place within the wider realm of public spaces in the Old City.

The grid of paths/borders in the Old City is defined on the edge of quarters that are bounded by cultural membership. In this context, public spaces provide a chance to meet/understand.accept the other or mark a clear refusal of any exchange, thus becoming a theatre of negotiation. For a positive outcome, communication between the parts requires mediation of cultural identities and restraint of fundamentalism on each side. At first sight, the outposts of the Quarters – as I have previously characterized them - are perceived to be aligned along a street, but they are, in fact, much more fluid.

The study-area stands at a symbolic intersection of four quarters -Armenian, Christian, Muslim and Jewish- where two major urban axes cross each other, within a highly contested walled city. The covered space of the Suq, which runs along the Decumanus, together with the terraced surface of roofs, frames a unique site to which various groups lay claim. This nodal area condenses, vertically as well as horizontally, all the elements of what I called a "cultural interface,". The historic fabric of the Old City has such a minute texture that leaves no room, at the street level, for further reconfiguration in areas of contact between the segregated quarters. Therefore, along the bazaars, daily patterns of usage performed by the quarters’ inhabitants create a parallel reality different due to the background of the residents.

1 The Roman Cardo and Decumanus still shape the urban grid of the Old City which dates back to the ancient Aelia Capitolina built in the second century AD.

2 A cultural interface, following the model of liminal flow crossovers, is an in-between space where communication between different groups can happen.
I would like to use the words of an outsider living in the Jewish Quarter, Canadian architect Moshe Safdie, to give a variegated viewpoint of the Suq.

“Our house is at the extreme northern end of the Jewish Quarter, two building away from the principal east-west Arab market which runs between the Quarters along David Street and the Street of the Chains from the Temple Mount right up to Jaffa Gate. Most Jewish Quarter residents have turned their backs on the life of the Arab markets and get their supplies from the thinly stocked grocery store in the hearth of the Jewish Quarter. They do their heavy shopping once a week on Thursdays, the day when the supermarket in downtown Jerusalem reluctantly agrees to deliver to the Jewish Quarter. However, Michal and I have discovered that we can find almost everything we need within a five minute walk to the Arab Market.”

In the bazaar the network of alleys, always bustling with shoppers and tourists, has been already assimilated into the “divided mentality” of the Quarters. Therefore, there is an Armenian / Arab and a strictly separated Jewish section to the Suq. For those who are afraid of the predominantly Arab character of the market, or simply do not want to bother with the crowd, the only option left is to move up to the roof level. Where an outline of the boundaries is still undefined and thus presents itself as an opportunity to correct the world below it. The main access is from Suq al-Hussor, a lateral alley leading from the main street through the Armenian quarter eventually ending up in the Jewish quarter. From the roof one could connect the courtyard of Khan al-Sultan in the Muslim quarter and a residential alley leading into the hearth of the Jewish quarter. This variety of paths, together with the amazing panorama of the Old City’s landmarks makes this terrace a potentially successful public space. Unfortunately, the establishment of a compound “For the Revival of the Torah Instruction and Jewish Settlement in the Old City of Jerusalem” just above Arab houses of the Muslim quarter is calling for new boundaries. As one could see from the photographs, police fencing has been established along the line of the market alley underneath. At the same time a control tower with cameras is overlooking the area. The maps in the following pages illustrate all the elements in detail. What I would like to stress, though, is that the roof is one last chance of a public space to be used by residents of different quarters and tourists. When this terrace will become another bounded territory along the interface, there will be very few hope left for common movement systems within the Old City.
The direct observation of this interface has been translated, into maps which exemplify the conditions of Suq el-Bazaar/ David Street, the central Suq made of three parallel alleys\(^3\), along Bab al-Silsileh road, on the roofs above the intersection. These four sections are organized along the west-east walk from Jaffa/ Hebron Gate to the Temple Mount/ Haram al-Sharif. I named this analysis "Territory / Screening / Medium" to reflect my understanding of how segregated public spaces are defined. By a screening of paths that users with several factors contribute to create a different psychological geography. The means to this end include kind of goods exchanged in the market place, visual control measures, illumination contingency and physical design elements.

As I speculate about how a "cultural interface" could unravel the labyrinth of these paths, the following comes to mind:

- A public space that is not strictly defined in functional terms or physical typology [soft and hard boundary signs] that allows for new configurations to suit multiple users;
- A public space that lies along movement systems that are not strictly territorial in their destination are more likely to be used by different groups at the same time;
- A public space in a "neutral" setting, where the surroundings are not idiosyncratic to one party either because the environment does not refer to any community or because it has elements each cultural group can refer to, is more appropriate to welcome different players;
- A public space with legible spatial features, such as clear accesses and understanding of paths directionality, is perceived as safer and therefore more comfortable.

These principles are exemplified in the map of the roof, but physical attributes alone are not sufficient to create an interface. They have to be joined by a different state of mind for the inhabitants using the space, much like the little Arab kids ‘surfing’ on the sloped terrace that is used by them as a playground because they do not see, not yet, the in-visible walls dividing the roof. I hope this confidence in one’s surroundings will come back once the political struggle between Israeli and Palestinians reaches an agreement. Maybe then paths will cease to be labyrinths that deceive the other and will allow vehicles of communication to cross the bor-

\(^3\) From west to east, Suq al-Lahamin, Suq al-Bashoura and Suq al-Khowajat.
ders. When political dialogue resumes, allowing equal rights and possibly a voice that concerns itself with both the Arabs and Jews of the Old City, my observations will provide an insight into the reconfiguration of public spaces where culture can interface.

This plan shows the areas of study in which I subdivided the Suq at the Cardo-Decumanus intersection. In green Suq al-Bazaar, in orange Bab al-Silsileh, perpendicular in beige the 3 parallel ancient Suq while the black outlines the roof terrace.
From this page to the next one, the three maps show my initial reading of the Decumanus' role in the urban structure of the Old City.

1. Reading of the Decumanus according to Lynch's urban elements;
2. Study of the major routes for religious groups on the way to their shrines; it highlights the intersection and sharing of paths;
3. Reading of the intensity of the edge condition between the quarters.
Analysis of the Paths along the Decumanus
The street covers the western portion of the Decumanus and it is one of the principal entrances to the Old City and the market areas. It is located between the Armenian and the Christian quarters.

**GOODS:** Traders deal in souvenirs and popular foods. A tourist favouritesouvenirs are the decorated Armenian ceramics. The street is a route for every inhabitant, but tourists make up the majority of the customers in the market.

**ACCESS:** the main entrance is from Jaffa Gate and Omar Ben el-Khatab square, where visitors switch from different means of transportation [taxi-buses] to the pedestrian traffic of the bazaars. The alley intersects the street to the north which leads to the Muristan market and is the route for Christian Holy Places. A lieys to the south lead to St. Mark street in the Armenian quarter. These routes travel along the Suq al-Hussur where one can find the staircase to the roof.

**LIGHT:** the stretch from the west accesses the Muristan arch which is an open air space that is blocked bya metal curved roof blocks, that disturb natural light and the change feeling of the space. From here onwards one enters the 'tunnel' of the Arab suq.

**TIME:** The markets usually open around 8 in the morning, but only when tourists start to pour in the alleys around 9. This completely changes the feeling of the space. On Sundays some Christian vendors close their shop. In the early morning Orthodox Jews walk to the Wall to pray. At night the street is deserted and empty.

**VISUAL CONTROL:** The high volume of tourists and passerby makes the street a very lively and 'watched' area. Israeli policemen and soldiers concentrate their walks in the covered, darker section of the market. Videocameras are placed in strategic locations.
The three Suqs are a major thoughfare for people coming from the main gates, Jaffa and Damascus, which are at the pivotal location to switch directions. The three alleys separate the Christian from the Muslim quarter. Only pedestrian traffic is allowed on these paths.

**SUQ AL-LAHAMIN**
(WESTERN ALLEY)

**SUQ AL-BASHOURA OR AL-TUJjar**
(MIDDLE ALLEY)

**SUQ AL-KHOWAJAT**

The meat merchants suq is one of the few markets whose traders more or less continue to live by their title.

The 'jewellers market' used to serve as the Mamluk headquarters. Is connected with Suq Alattarin, the 'spices market' and one of the most ancient suqs in the city. This alley hosts the garment market.

**GOODS:** The meat market attracts local Arab customers; the central alley displays souvenirs mixed with different goods and is the main path for tourists. The eastern market sells clothing for Arab residents.

**ACCESS:** The alleys are connected to the south with the Suq al-Bazaar [and from there to Jaffa Gate] and to the north with the intersection between the street flanking the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer [this leads to the Munistan and the Holy Sepulchre Church]. The Suq Khan al-Zeit that continues until Damascus Gate.

**LIGHT:** The alleys are stone vaulted with lightwells from the roof which are distributed along its length. During the day stores need additional artificial lighting; in particular the eastern market is quite dark.

**TIME:** The markets usually open around 8 in the morning, but only tourists start to pour in the alleys around 9 give the space a completely different feeling. During noon prayer, Muslim vendors close their shops for an hour or so. At night the streets are deserted and empty.

**VISUAL CONTROL:** Israeli policemen control the intersection with Tariq Bab al-Silsileh twenty-four hours a day. This is a strategic position to observe people flowing east-west and north-south. A gate blocks the access to the Jewish Cardo at night. Videocameras record the street scene along the suqs.
Bab Al Silsileh road is situated along the dividing line between the Muslim and the Jewish quarters. It connects the market strip with the Haram al-sharif and the Western Wall. The streets contains the highest concentration of archeological sites in any single road inside the Old City. The Sabil [fountain in fig. 6] was first built during the reign of Sultan Suleiman in 1537, at the present it is largely neglected and in need of restoration.

Khan al-Sultan al-Wakala [fig 7] the caravanserai was renewed in 1386 and named after Sultan Barquq. The courtyard and the surrounding chambers were built during Mamlukes ties. The shops and market streets to its south and west were either built or rebuilt in the Crusader’s period.

GOODS: Coming from the market strip there are souvenir shops and grocery stores. From the intersection to the Wall to the Haram gate there are only a handful of shops still open.

ACCESS: On either side of the street numerous alleys intercept, leading to Muslim owned properties to the north and Jewish ones to the south. Regular Arab users of the area are accustomed to the roof passage that is reached via a staircase in the Khan’s courtyard [marked in green in the map].

LIGHT: The western stretch has no natural light coming in. The rest of the street is open air but displays several metal nets to separate the Jewish residents on top from the Arabs residents at the bottom and prevent the throwing of objects between the groups.

VISUAL CONTROL: the border police has expropriated the Madrassa al-Tankaziyya for their headquarters, from which they control both the Wall Plaza and the access to the Haram. Several police post are located along the paths leading to the Jewish quarter.
Sloped terrace facing north, in the background the belfry of the Redeemer's church. Arab kids are 'surfing' of a wooden plate at the sunset.

The roof terrace is a space that is hidden, there is no sign on the street to mark its access, that reveals a different world from the Suq below it.

When I walked around this space I realized that the terrace, which seems to be an apparently undefined space, features boundary signs to mark the territorial areas.

I 'measured' the publicity of different areas with the growing feeling of discomfort I had when walking on the territorial paths. For example the walkway leading into the Jewish quarter [to the east] is designed as a private space, with covered parts and small courtyards. It felt like I was going to step at every moment into somebody's house, until I finally reached the 'public' street again.
ROOF TERRACE OVER THE SUQ-CROSSING
The geography of the roof terrace has changed due to the establishment of a Jewish settlement in the area which traditionally belonged to the Muslim quarter.

In red I marked the paths used by the Jewish residents and in green the ones used by the Muslim inhabitants. In yellow 'public spaces' such as the main access [a metal staircase from Suq al-Hussur]. Area A accommodates a variety of users. In grey are void spaces over streets or courtyards. I

In blue the territorial elements transform the space. Police fencing along the path leading to the settlement, as well as low walls to 'landscape' the area in front of the Jewish quarter houses, creates boundaries -more or less visible.

The watch tower and the police walkway above the suq's roof provide visual control to the settlers.
The spatial principals for a 'friendlier' public space followed my analysis of the ability of area A to accommodate different users much more than the other parts of the roof.

- The ambiguity of the area A, with the higher panoramic terrace and the sloped one, creates a place where both Jewish and Arab kids feel comfortable to play. The area does not have a defined function and it is bounded to the north and the south by "neutral" elements, belonging to the Lutheran Church.

- The area A, delimited by a courtyard to the north and the street to the south, is a sort of 'island' not linked to the territorial paths. It is a destination in itself.

- The higher terrace features panoramic views of the major landmark of the Old City as well as of Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives.

- The terrace over area A has legible spatial features and is open to visual control by the surroundings.
These images show the transformation of the sun screens over Suq al-Bazaar/ David Street.

The curved roof has been put in place in 1993, the middle image shows the construction process, that really changed the perception of the space.

The roof terrace has a limited relationship with the street below. A visual clue that is the final opening and the only thing left to connect them. The two elements are now separated both visually and physically. In addition the perception of the Suq below has totally changed since there is no more direct natural lighting. The feeling of darkness of the Suq area has thus been enhanced.
A visitor to most of the West Bank towns is rarely made aware of the simmering hostilities underlying daily life, but here the proliferation of guns and concrete barricades, and the wary manner in which Palestinians and Jewish settlers passing on the street watch each other, are highly visible and unnerving reminders as to the explosive nature of Hebron.

[Israel and the Palestinian Territories, a Lonely Planet travel survival kit, 1996]

Anyone who has wondered about the effectiveness or wisdom of the bizarre techniques being used today by the Israel Defense Forces to fight the Intifada—breathing closures, strangulating sieges, temporary blockages, impassable ditches, permanent concrete partition—can stop worrying. The heads of the settler movement are the one who have recommended and approved these measures.

[Ha’aretz, March 16, 2001]
The cultural interface of the roofs above the Cardo-Decumanus crossing in Jerusalem, is a last opportunity to avoid the experience of exclusion that is part of daily life for the inhabitants of Hebron.  

I decided to show this harsh reality in order to remind us the vital importance of this opportunity where different groups can live in public spaces even within a divided city. Once such ambiguous places that allow everybody to walk his/her way through undefined boundaries being defined, what is left is just a dead-end. Both spatially where the paths are blocked, and metaphorically where dialogued failed there is replaced separation, which lead eventually to violence, as the only way to go.  

The situation in the Old City of Hebron is a warning of the deadly outcome that total segregation created in an urban environment where communication has reached the dead end; where blockades and military positions are cutting off connections of daily life between neighborhoods. This fragmented urban fabric has torn the lives of its inhabitants into a reality comparable to a slow suffering death. The urban economy for the Palestinian population is strangled by military occupation. While the Jewish settlers cannot envision a life in the town without guns and barriers, which is a deadly option in itself.  

The shocking experience of Hebron to an outsider is brought alive in memories I shared with a friend back at Petra Hostel in Jerusalem. Jim, an Irish friend in his late twenties, was the first to travel to the West Bank. Though a shy traveler, he was interested in hearing stories from people in the places visited. One day he came back from Hebron and told me “You have to go and see it with your eyes.
The town of Hebron [al-Khalil in Arabic] is the place of greatest unrest in the dispute between Israel and the Palestinian Authority over the territories in the West Bank. As the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount in Jerusalem, Hebron features a contended—once shared—Holy Place for Muslims, Jews and Christians: the Abraham Sacred Enclosure containing the tombs of the Patriarchs. The Haram al-Hibrahimi has been in 1994 the theatre of bloodshed when a Jewish settler stepped into the mosque and opened fire on the Muslims in prayer, killing twenty-nine people. This tragic event lead to the present separation of entrances to the mosque and synagogue within the compound, which is strictly enforced by the Israeli soldiers. The major source of conflict is, nevertheless, the presence in the center of the town of a hard-core Zionist community, which has gone on record saying that it is their desire to see the Arabs driven out of Hebron. To guard these 400 settlers from the 12000 Palestinians among whom they live there are some 2500 Israeli soldiers and police with numerous roadblocks, checkpoints and barricades.

Top: View of the center of the city
Below: the restoration of the Suq and the Old City seen from the Haram [AKAA 1998]
I recall stepping out of the bus from Bethlehem and looking around and thinking "Big mistake coming here" but as I walked around trying to get my bearings, everyone I asked for directions were extremely helpful, actually much more so than those in Jerusalem. I young man who I begin to talk with, took time out of his day to show me around the center of the town as he explained the day to day practicalities of living in Hebron. He would tell me where he could and could not go in the suq area and how the central area was still in control by the Israeli even though it was overwhelming Palestinian. He also told me about how the settlement became slowly established since the 1970’s. He pointed out buildings around the central suq where settlers had bought the upper floors and Palestinians would run the shops from the ground floor. The most telling comment he made was "It fells like the Jews are living on top of us".

You get that sense in the suq every time you look up from the dark narrow crowded street, you see the military positions, overhead walkways for the settlers and, electrified fencing, with netting covering all the streets from the overhead settlements. Closed-circuit security cameras and huge gates cut streetscapes in half marking the start of an Israeli settlement.

The man showing me around told me that he cannot visit Jerusalem since he does not have a permit. Jerusalem is less than two hours drive. The man who showed me around made his living typing letters for people and allowed me the comfort to feel safe in what is normally a place fueled by tension.

When I visited the Haram al-Khalil (Hibrahimi Mosque) I was shocked by how the Palestinians were treated at the entrance by the Israeli soldiers. Basically, as soon as a foreigner joined the queue they were pushed aside. As I walked to the entrance, all I could say was a loud "Sorry" and I said I was Irish. The kids laughed at me which was good.
the soldiers asked my religion, I practically screamed "Catholic" at them, even though I do not consider myself part of my religion.

After visiting the mosque and synagogue I headed in a northeasterly direction trying to get to the Jewish settlement of Qiryat Arba. But, as soon as I got outside of the Haram al-Khalil compound, I was lost in a maze of completely run down huge Arab buildings. There were no people in the narrow streets unlike the suq area and huge piles of building debris filled the streets. [see images in next pages]

I spotted a young Palestinian kid about ten who began following me as I tried to find my way out. I asked him for directions but got no reply. As soon as I turned my back to him I felt this rock hurtle pass my head. I turned and shouted "Mush Jehud", but he just stood his ground and stared blankly at me.

I then walked back to the settler enclave, which looked very functional and non-descriptor. I bought a meal in a very American looking cafeteria and found the atmosphere to be suspicious. A like feeling you get in American cowboy films about settlers in the old west. Everybody with a gun having an impression of false bravura. You could see firm in their eyes that every minute of every day was spent being wary and frightened. Why people would want to put themselves in that position for whatever religious belief is beyond me. Also I made the mistake of asking a group of Israeli soldiers for directions only to get from the enclave back to the suq area. They were really ignorant and my reaction was to ask them "what are you going to do, shoot me?" They just looked at me and then realized I was on the point of heat exhaustion so they just shrugged and handed my guidebook back to me.

It is amazing to see two mutually exclusive cultures banged up against one another as they do in Hebron. I can only imagine how much worse it has became since the trouble started again last year.
Images in these two pages: Israeli control measures at the accesses to the Haram al-Hibrahimi and views of the compound.
Baker and juice vendor in the renovated Suq close to the Haram
The restoration of the Old City won an Aga Khan award for Architecture in 1998 [map above], which described the results of the project in the following terms.

"The Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC), a group which includes officials, concerned local residents, and NGOs, assumed responsibility for restoring and upgrading the historic houses and urban fabric. Work began in 1995 and is ongoing. The revitalisation of Hebron Old Town has also had a positive economic effect on the city; the shops located underneath the restored and re-occupied houses are once again active commercial centres, like the souks. Because of the pride and concern of the local community, the once abandoned and dilapidated old town is now healthy and vibrant. The remarkable architecture of Hebron Old Town has been saved."

I had the pleasure to walk around the area and talk with people very proud to show me how the old buildings were coming alive again. I also had to deal with the kids in the photographs, who after we played together decided to throw little rocks at me. It is part of the culture of conflict they are grow up with.
View of Holy Sepulchre Church and Mosque of Omar with Mount Scopus at the back
If you ask me, it is we who are doing real coexistence—we live in neighborhoods with the Arabs, send our children to joint schools. The Arabs accept me as an existing phenomenon, because we spend all of our lives together. We played together in the courtyards.

[Sami Elbo, Chairman of Lev Jaffa neighborhood, Jaffa—Israel 2000]

I call it the city of the preconceived notion. Everyone has their absolutist view of this place and what it has to be. People are threatened by different viewpoints. I am just a guy living in Jerusalem because I like the city and there's got to be room for that too.

[Englander 2001]

I still believe human bridges can be built between the two communities, through reciprocal visits between students, teachers, musicians, writers, artists, business leaders and journalists. Perhaps in 20 years, the children of these people will be better equipped to approach that most burning of questions: Jerusalem.

[Wiesel 2001]
In contemporary multi-ethnic cities, the urban fabric is often the contested common ground for parallel cultural narratives but, if diverse groups are to co-exist in public space, a process of negotiation of competing identities must occur. As Sanford Levinson described it “all of these publics seek the particular validation that comes from their symbols occupying some places of respect within the general public realm” and “therefore no small matter whether these publics can indeed agree on some common civil rites and symbols or whether we are indeed doomed to an even-more-fractioned discourse about the most basic use of public space and the construction of a public narrative (and ultimately a public psyche) that pays due heed to the complexities of the past that we share, with whatever unease.”¹

Cities divided by ethno-religious-nationalistic conflicts include Jerusalem, Belfast, Beirut, Mostar and Nicosia. However, the same dispute between different identities in public space is enacted in cities where these tensions do not culminate in actual civil war. In these places, division is meant to cut off the connection and cross-breading between its different urban realities². If we agree, that a city is where people circulate and exchange ideas, then one should also agree that a spirit of cultural integration is important for a richer urban setting.

At a political level Jerusalem is a Holy City with contested capital-status among Israelis and Palestinians, the struggle crystallizing an irreconcilable dichotomy³. But, looking more carefully one would see social divisions and conflicts within the wide-scale polarization between Palestinians and Israelis. Israeli citizens are comprised mostly of Jews, yet there exist a great multiplicity of ethnic groups. The largest minority in this group is Arabs, who are comprised of Christian and Muslim. Palestinian Arabs, both Muslims and Christians, in Jerusalem have a special residency status within Israel without being citizens. The heterogeneous populations in Jerusalem have their own perception of public spaces and cultural boundaries within the city. The orthodox Jews have a different idea on the appropriate use of sacred space from the secular Israeli. Among the Christian denominations there is constant fighting over the ownership of shared shrines. The Arab population is also not a unified entity, in which Muslims and Christians usually live, in different quarters.

The Old City is the core of religious/nationalistic claims rooted in the historical presence of numerous faiths. I purposefully chose to focus my attention on public secular spaces, not an additional level of competing claims over the Holy Sites that

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² Doreen Massey argues that the conceptualization of space through the lens of difference “inherently implies the existence in the lived world of a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces: crosscutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox and antagonism.” [Fincher, Jacobs 1998]

³ Nevertheless, many observers –as Noam Chomsky- contend that the battle over the Holy Places in Jerusalem is used merely to distract the public attention from the ongoing dispute over settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank.
is already a composite spatial situation. Religious faith, in present day Jerusalem, is absolutely polarizing. Each belief is too entrenched in rhetoric to make any concessions; religious hierarchies are unable to engage in dialogue since they have compromised the Spirit of their brotherhood for the politics of Doctrines. As part of a larger political confrontation, every act of constructing one version of sacred space involves, literally and metaphorically, the deconstruction and undermining of another space. For example, the extension of an area valued sacred, i.e., the Western Wall, generates a fear and further dispossession among Muslims, who worship at the Haram al-Sharif located just above the Western Wall. Moreover, the repeated excavation of tunnels, initiated by the Rabbinate and the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs, running under the buildings of the densely inhabited Muslim quarter had the effect to increase the Awaqf Authority justifiable concerns. If sacred space within the Holy City of Jerusalem is divided into precincts, the only possible common ground for different publics is the daily-use of secular spaces. Secularization of the Old City is, thus, not a choice but a necessity.

I certainly believe that the conservation of an area's cultural heritage is an important factor in the healthy development for a community. But in Jerusalem this process seems to be condemned to generate conflict, where one's cultural belonging is asserted in opposition to another. How could it, then, be possible to discharge the language of politics and replace it with the relationship of people to place? As space practitioners we have the ethical duty, I believe, to not just be passive or over-determine the answer with civic abstractions of peaceful coexistence. This is achieved through a reading of the spatial practices by which different users have constructed their places following codes in a segregated territory and of the social processes that have generated this new quality of public space. The design of places and/or policies has to be preceded by a thoughtful study of the outcomes for the daily life along the "interfaces". My reading of the paths around the Suq-crossing has been an attempt to translate such an approach within the context of the Old City, where transformations of physical space aimed at a partisan territorial claim.

Within the quarters of Old Jerusalem, the configuration of public spaces and/or the transgression of established boundaries play a major role in the political/religious debate. Sacred spaces, with their iconography, is a clear example of 'contested' room, a street or a simple building that could be exemplified by multiple symbolic values. As I have illustrated, a group's presence in everyday life is asserted through
an articulation of paths that makes public spaces visible—known, accessible, legible, familiar—to a group while turning them invisible—as a labyrinth—to the other. This pattern creates in the other group a level of anxiety, which unravels only when one can find the thread turning the unknowable territory of the labyrinth into a knowable place.

The Quarters are presently segregated by ways of appropriation of the public spaces, i.e., paths that should accommodate each individual, which have been privatized by various groups. In this context the public trajectories, which used to be the glue keeping together the pieces of the mosaic have disappeared in view of a state of mutually reinforced exclusion. The “cultural interfaces” are falling into a state of limbo, waiting for a solution that everybody hopes would come. In the meantime, the level of stress between the Jewish and Muslim quarters derives from an attempt to polarize the interface for one group’s advantage. That is, after the occupation in 1967 the Israelis became victims of an ever-present phobia of Palestinians, and regarded the Jewish quarter as an enclave within enemy territory, the Old City inhabited by Arabs. Therefore they felt the need to overlook every movement along its edges and escort ‘their’ people with soldiers. This process has produced two physical results, which have been exemplified in the analysis of the Paths along the Decumanus.

Where the density of the urban fabric leaves no buffer zone, as in the Suq crossing, the answer of the Israel state has been to exert strict control of the accesses—through gates and police patrolling—at the ground level and the creation of an alternative route on the roof. Here Jewish settlers are slowly trying to recreate an analogous segregated condition through fencing and landscaping, but the process is not completed yet leaving a chance for residents of the Muslim quarter as well as for tourists to traverse the same paths. Where there is enough width to avoid such close contact with the other border a void is created to separate the two, as revealed along Tariq Bab al-Silsileh. Here, since the flow of tourists has been cleverly diverged along different paths many Arab shops along the street shut down their business, leaving the street almost empty and, therefore, much easier to control. In this case Israeli police “regulates” the flow of people entering the Jewish quarter through strategic positions, recessed from the street along the incoming paths, or with proper checkpoints when one gets closer to the Western Wall Plaza. One naturally wonders what is the next step. Does anybody want a wall coming up

4 A young soldier with a rifle follows every group of students walking even within the Jewish quarter, when I asked why one of them told me it is the law. Since then, I always wondered how is possible to grow up without fear if you’re taught since childhood that the evil Arabs might harm you any time, and you need a soldier to protect you. The point being that, even if you think there’s a need to protect your students, why being so ostentatious about it? A gun in a pocket would be enough.

5 The landscaping of the terrace surface with designed benches, steps and flowerbeds just in front of the Jewish quarter houses is a way of appropriating public space, by marking it with a recognizable architecture. I have to admit that, while sitting there, I had the uncomfortable feeling of eyes pointed at my neck from the adjacent windows.
in the middle of the Old City to separate Israelis and Palestinians along the same manner in which Greek and Turkish Cypriotes live in divided-Nicosia? I am afraid the tragic answer is already present in the city of Hebron, West Bank. Here an outsider could walk through the streets of the Old City, like I did, while the young Israeli soldier, whom I asked directions to reach the back of the Haram al-Hibrahimi, didn’t have a clue of how the other side looked like. This paradox repeats itself in Jerusalem, where foreigners are free to walk around the Old City while inhabitants live segregated in Quarters. A separation enforced by fear imposed by one side on the other, always perceived as an enemy, that might harm us, due to cultural difference. If one agrees with Meron Benvenisti, that “life in one basket demands a modus vivendi, not as an enforced value but as a realistic necessity”, then one should also believe that, sooner or later, Israelis and Palestinian will have to negotiate the status of Jerusalem. And create measures to relieve her suffering hearth.

The reader should now consent to a historical digression, which exemplifies the role of planning in tackling issues of the built and social fabric in cities as complex as Jerusalem. The British planning, conceived in the first half of the twentieth century, left an influential vision for the development of Jerusalem inside and outside the Old City’s walls. So much so, that the architects and planners of Jordanian and Israeli ruled Jerusalem felt a need to connect their schemes with the one elaborated by English experts. In spite of that, during the years of the British Mandate, Jerusalem was transformed from a perfect experiment in which the administrators tested their enlightened architectural regulations into a city so divided that it was ready to explode. Through my observation it became apparent that the British Mandate planning efforts failed in the end due to a colonial vision for Jerusalem that was unable to incorporate the romantic/picturesque image and the charged symbolism of the Holy City without taking into consideration the complexities associated with its transforming social reality.

Once peace is regained in Jerusalem, via the process of a peace agreement only then can space practitioners be called to develop a non-sectarian vision for the Old City. Since the Biblical vision shared by the British has failed due to doctrinal rivalries, both political and religious, maybe the time has come to be concerned with the material reality of the Old City, leaving heavenly concerns within the Holy Sites precincts. Rethinking a plan for the Old City demands a holistic image, which incorporates both people and architecture in its guardianship of cultural heritage. Since
the built fabric of a city without its residents is like a beautiful but empty shell, a body
deprived of its vital organs, an archeological site.
In “The Torn City” Benvenisti quotes a Palestinian resident of the Old City:

“The Arab character of Jerusalem consists of architecture, customs, religion,
language and inhabitants ... the city will lose its Arab character when the
Arabs cease to be a majority in its streets.”

Some people think that razing Jerusalem to the ground would eliminate the source
of conflict. I wonder if the seed of quarrel springs from the architecture of the Old
City or if, instead, it is nourished by the fear of dispossession of its secular as well
as religious residents. Another hallucination, catastrophic in its own way, evokes
Jerusalem as a normalized touristic destination for those people, who come to
enjoy its material and spiritual pleasures. A sort of museum displaying a millenary
history of destruction and holy wars, where additionally one could also lodge in
luxuriously renovated crusaders or mamluk buildings... Averse, I push the image
out of my mind and start wondering what could one day save the Old City from
being consumed by mass tourism.

In both cases, I believe the answer lies in educating the people of Jerusalem.
Giving the children of today and tomorrow a chance to meet the members of anoth-
er community in the streets and squares of the Old City, and teaching them to value
cultural heritage without crystallizing the fabric of the Old City through past conflicts.
"Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else."

"I have no desires nor fears," the Khan declared, "and my dreams are composed either by my mind or by chance."

"Cities also believe they are the work of the mind or of chance, but neither the one nor the other suffices to hold up their walls. You take a delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders, but in the answer it gives to a question of yours."

"Or the question it asks you, forcing you to answer, like Thebes through the mouth of the Sphinx."  

One could say the reality of social segregation I described in Jerusalem is one existing in many cities. So why should the Old City be different?

"Few cities combine the same symbolic values of Jerusalem, and a vast majority of the international community has already invested emotionally too much in the Holy City to let it be just another mirror of human failures. As if, conflicts which are tearing to pieces many countries and cities have to be worked out with a positive outcome at least in Jerusalem – the metaphysical city sacred to the three monotheistic religions."

"How could one conciliate multiple realities in a single vision and still preserve analytic focus or argument?"

"The Old City, earthly and heavenly at the same time, demanded a holistic approach to her irreconcilable needs and I have been challenged by this thesis to make a sense, at least at a personal level, of the complexities of Jerusalem. Through this research, I realized that the essence of the Holy City is unutterable, other than through reflections, and I decided to focus on a vision familiar to my practice. I tried to unravel a ball of paths within the Old City, the goal being to describe how the inhabitants of this contested place assert everyday a group's presence in public spaces and suggest that through that understanding one might locate a trajectory for co-habitation."


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**BOLLENS**


**DUMPER**

Planning and housing policy "conquest by architectural means?".

**EL-EINI, ROZA**

A review of five books devoted to the politics and history of Jerusalem. The works considered make it clear just why the city plays a crucial part in the Arab-Israeli peace process. The books discussed are Governing Jerusalem: Again on the World’s Agenda, by Ira Sharansky; The Politics of Jerusalem since 1967, by Michael Dumper, To Rule Jerusalem, by Robert Friedland and Richard Hecht; and Intimate Enemies: Jews and Arabs in a Shared Land and City of Stone; The Hidden History of Jerusalem, both by Meron Benvenisti.

**KHATIB**

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and the Cardo area, restoration of the
citadel/city museum. rehabilitation of the
mosque quarter: open space inside lion’s
gate. The exclusivity of building in
stone.

ROMANN, WEINGROD
Jerusalem between Past and Present;
living along the ethnic border, between
conflicts and accommodation

SAFDIE
Life in the Old City, archeological obsta-
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UNESCO
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1004 BCE - Jerusalem is established as the capital of a united Israel ruled by King David.

960 - King Solomon builds the First Temple. All that remains of the temple is a retaining wall - the Western or Wailing Wall - revered by many Jews the world over.

586 - The city is razed by the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar; the Jews are exiled to Babylon.

538-37 - Jews return to the city. The Second Temple is constructed.

322 - The city falls to the forces of Alexander the Great.

164 - Judah Maccabee defeats the Seleucids and recaptures Jerusalem.

37 - Rome appoints Herod Agrippa as ruler of Judea with Jerusalem as its capital.

132 - 135 CE - Simon Bar Kochba leads a failed rebellion against the Roman occupation. Jerusalem is destroyed; the Jews are exiled from the city; hundreds of thousands of Jews are eventually deported from Palestine. The Romans rebuild the city and name it "Aelia Capitolina".

313 - Roman Emperor Constantine recognizes Christianity

326 - Constantine builds Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Learn more

638 - After a long siege, Caliph Omar captures the city from the Byzantines.

691 - "The Dome of The Rock" is built by Caliph Abd al-Malik on the Temple Mount. Islamic tradition holds that the Dome covers a rock from which the Prophet Muhammad ascended into heaven.

715 - Al-Aqsa Mosque is completed.

1095 - First Crusade is unleashed by Pope Urban II.

1099 - Crusaders storm Jerusalem and massacre the Jewish and Muslim inhabitants.

1187 - Salah al-Din captures Jerusalem from the Crusaders.

1229 - Crusaders regain Jerusalem.

1244 - Mamluks drive Crusaders from the city and restore Muslim control.

1517 - The city becomes part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire.

1537 - 1541 The city's walls are restored during the reign of The Ottoman Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent. These walls still stand today.

1831 - Egypt, ruled by Mohammed Ali, captures Jerusalem. The European powers jockey for control of the Levant. Egypt rule lasts for nine years until the region reverts once again to the Ottomans.

1860 - The first Jewish settlement established outside the Old City
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>The Ottomans cede control of Palestine, including Jerusalem, to the British.</td>
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<td>1917</td>
<td>The Balfour Declaration is issued as an expression of British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.</td>
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<td>1922</td>
<td>The League of Nations appoints a Palestine Mandate to the British. Haj Amin el-Husseini becomes the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.</td>
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<td>1929</td>
<td>Wailing Wall Incident - Clashes between Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem are triggered by acts near the Western Wall that both sides consider provocative. Fighting escalates into a small-scale civil war and culminates in the massacre of the Jewish inhabitants of Hebron.</td>
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<td>1936-1939</td>
<td>A massive Arab revolt is triggered by increasing Jewish immigration and British Colonial rule.</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>The Jewish paramilitary group Irgun blows up part of the King David Hotel in West Jerusalem killing 92 British soldiers and Arab and Jewish civilians.</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>The United Nations approves Resolution 181 - a partition plan dividing Palestine into two states: one Arab, one Jewish. Jerusalem is to be administered by an international trusteeship.</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>End of the British Mandate and the declaration by the Jewish Agency of the State of Israel. War breaks out between the Arabs and Jews. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians are displaced as a result of the conflict.</td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td>Israel and Arab states sign an armistice. King Abdallah of Jordan annexes the West Bank including East Jerusalem and the Old City. Israel retains control of West Jerusalem.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Abdallah is assassinated at the Temple Mount by Palestinian nationalists.</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>The Suez War.</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>Israel defeats the military forces of Egypt, Jordan and Syria and obtains control of all of Jerusalem including the Temple Mount.</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Palestinian National Charter.</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>Yom Kippur or October War.</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Israel passes law declaring Jerusalem the Capitol of Israel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Palestinians begin the Intifada (resistance) in the Occupied Territories.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization negotiate a Declaration of Principles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Israel-Jordan peace treaty.</td>
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