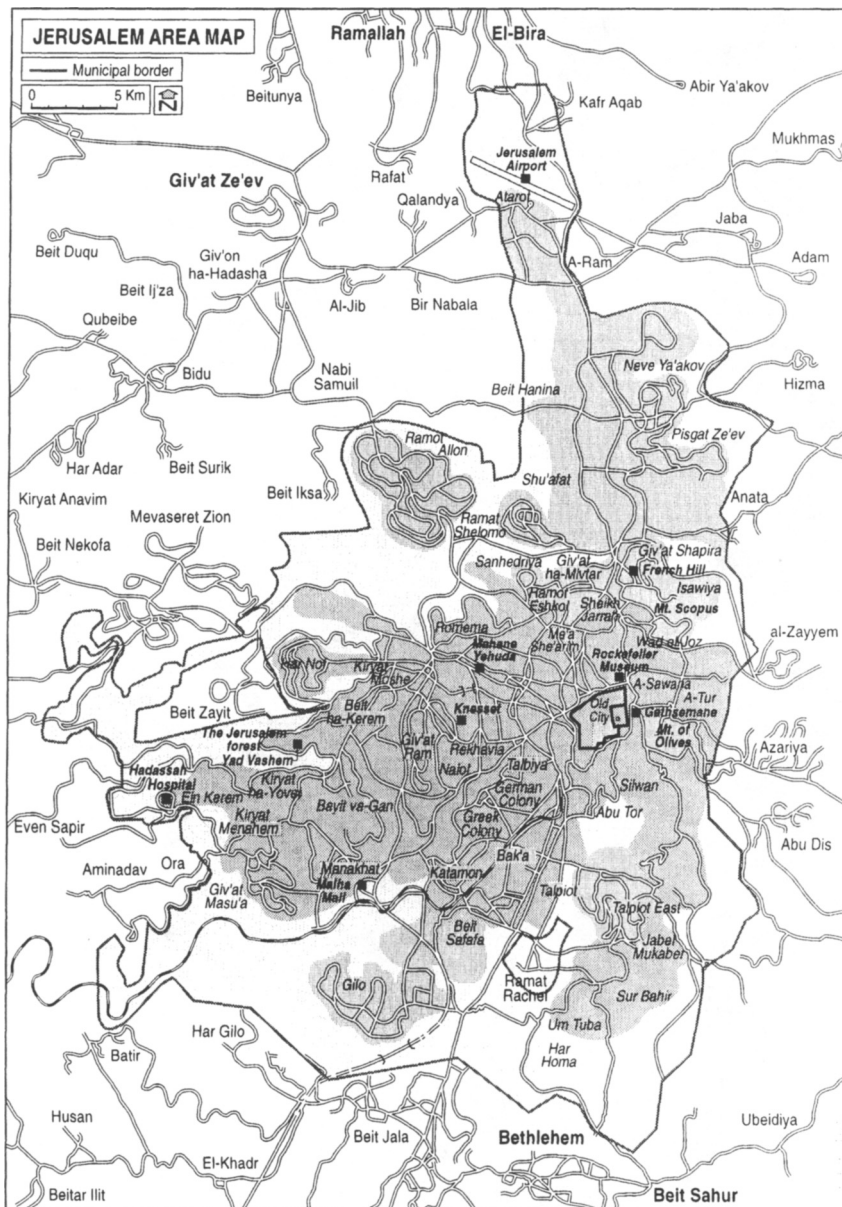


JERUSALEM: POINTS OF FRICTION – AND BEYOND



Map: Vered Shatil. Courtesy of Israel Kimhi, Jerusalem Center for Israel Studies.

Jerusalem: Points of Friction – And Beyond

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Preface

Introducing a new book that focuses on diagnosis of the issues at stake in Jerusalem requires some preemptive comment. Jerusalem is considered to be the major stumbling block for Israeli-Arab negotiations. No other issue has generated more blueprints for conflict resolution. In fact, not a few of the contributors to this joint report, produced through cooperation between an Israeli and a Palestinian research institute, have been participants on research teams before, working with other institutions that are also focusing on the future of Jerusalem.

The papers here are the fruits of the first stage of a joint research project on Jerusalem between the Truman Institute and the Palestine Consultancy Group, but they by no means represent the first time that the two institutes have joined forces. Ongoing since September 1995, the project joins a long and successful record of collaborative projects between the two institutions. It has included such topics as Joint Management of Shared Aquifers; A Study of Environmental Protection and the Ecological Impact of Waste; The Psychology of Peace and Conflict; Education for Coexistence; and Regional Economic Cooperation.

PCG founder Sari Nusseibeh was a pioneer in addressing the Jerusalem issue in cooperation with Israelis, as witnessed, among other publications, by his Jerusalem chapter in the book *No Trumpets, No Drums*,¹ co-authored with Mark Heller. The Truman Institute, together with the Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales et Stratégiques of the Free University of Brussels–ULB, published a report last year examining present-day Jerusalem and Brussels, the latter the capital of the European Community, Belgium, and Belgium's French and Flemish communities alike.²

All the work that has gone before notwithstanding, the Truman Institute and the PCG feel that it is both necessary and productive to continue to address the issue. Many seeds of promise were planted in Israeli-Palestinian dialogues that took place over the years; it was the Oslo "backchannel" that bloomed, providing us with creative ideas for the actual initiation of the current Israeli-Palestinian peace process, among them, mutual recognition between the two peoples and graduated pullbacks in the context of confidence-building measures, beginning

with "Gaza and Jericho First." But in the last year or two, events in Jerusalem have contributed heavily to the current freeze in the negotiation process: the violence in September 1996 after the opening of a new tunnel exit under the Old City; the March 1997 Jabal Abu Ghaneim/Har Homa settlement start; the subsequent house-takeover at Ras al-Amud; and the recurring bloodshed at the hands of Hamas' suicide bombers, who have selected Jerusalem as the main target of their deadly missions. These setbacks can only underscore the importance of joint sustained academic ventures, as reflected in this volume.

To what extent should solutions give priority to the needs of those who live in the city? What kind of participation in decision-making is the right of co-religionists of Jerusalem's people who never come to visit in their lifetimes? What role in resolving its future belongs to citizens of Israel or of a Palestinian state who do not live in Jerusalem and rarely see it? The work of Christians, Muslims, and Jews for whom the city is part of daily life can inform public perceptions about such problems. As project directors, Sari Nusseibeh and Moshe Ma'oz shared with the other researchers the original aim of the study: to explore the feasibility of a variety of options for a shared and non-imposed solution to the problems of a city that is home to two political communities. An undivided Jerusalem without claims of exclusive jurisdiction for either side was the starting point of these explorations.

The research collected herein was conducted over a period of a year and a half by Palestinian and Israeli research pairs or trios studying a particular angle of the Jerusalem problem. While much of the work was done individually, the teams met often, in spite of the obstacles in communication resulting from the closure of the West Bank (home of most of the Palestinian contributors). On several occasions the entire group was convened, allowing for the presentation of preliminary findings, the sharing of constructive criticism, and the anchoring of the ongoing research to the general purposes of the project.

Because the project features joint research between Palestinians and Israelis, it has been of paramount importance for the scholars to determine an agenda of the critical issues to be studied and then to agree on the formulae for investigating viable options that could gain acceptance in both communities. Varying degrees of co-authorship characterized the writing of the chapters herein; what they have in common is the eminent qualifications of participants in addressing the issues. We welcome this cooperation as a natural process in team-building.

The underlying approach to the joint study has been (a) to frame the issues within a historic perspective and with a forward-looking bias; and (b) to disaggregate the intricate problems that comprise the delicate problem of Jerusalem. At this stage our contributors focused on finding shared diagnoses of the problems, rather than prematurely moving into one-sided prescription. The issues they selected represent three levels of concern:

1. Issues at the *local/municipal* level involve the services provided to the inhabitants of Jerusalem on a daily basis. Riad Malki and Shlomo Hasson divided their study into two stages that parallel those of the overall project, with data collection and analysis of major trends preceding the planned formulation of a master plan for the city of Jerusalem.
2. Sovereignty issues are of great importance for both Israeli and Palestinian *national* aspirations. In terms of conflict resolution, the national issues stand out as the most difficult to resolve. Contributors Claude Klein and Jonathan Kuttab tackled three aspects of sovereignty and identified many more. Two are covered herein: access to the city and education.
3. The holy places are an *international* focus of concern by the adherents of the world's main monotheistic religions. Marwan Abu Khalaf, Marlen Eordegian, and Yitzhak Reiter studied the significant sites of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, and the historical attachments to them. Their categorizations may well be of service to negotiators when the final status of the sites is determined.

The material herein is the foundation for the intensive work that the project's second stage will demand. All three research teams agreed unanimously to continue on to the next stage. An important goal is to develop a limited number of models for solving the question of Jerusalem through negotiations. And even if the study does not yield a single solution that is acceptable to both sides, it can assist negotiators in understanding the "red lines" that the other party cannot cross. It also indicates the areas where common ground can be found, as well as the topics that require future discussion before such mutual agreement can be reached. We seek the means to continue our research and integrate the findings of this volume further in jointly elaborated papers. This first volume has as its main objective the elucidation of the constraints related to the issues selected. The next step will be to see how solutions can contribute toward implementation of goals reflecting the priorities of both communities. Our direction can be seen in the words of project co-director Sari Nusseibeh:

The city's own government should be so designed as to give more weight to the human quality of life of its own residents than to the assertive claims of its competitive national contenders. States should thus transfer privileges to the city's government, reinforcing Jerusalem's special status, but in such a way as to enhance religious harmony and tolerance rather than religious bigotry and extremism.

Outside the academic realm, we are mindful of grassroots response to the proposals that the next stage aims to generate. Our initiative is worth undertaking provided the teams can eventually reach out both to policymakers and to the public. One of the strategies in creating an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence is establishing a shared common identity among the Palestinian and Israeli inhabitants of Jerusalem.

* * *

I and my colleagues at the PCG would like to thank all those who have so patiently supported this project. Firstly, our thanks to the European Union and their representatives to Israel and the Palestinian National Authority, the Ford Foundation, and the Lawrence Glick Revolving Fund, for providing us with the means to conduct this joint venture. We would also like to recognize those individuals who have contributed to the success of this effort, including the entire research team, under the leadership of Prof. Sari Nusseibeh and Prof. Moshe Ma'oz. The primary researchers, mentioned above, were assisted by Daoud Ewais, Arij Hijazi, Rauf Malki, Yigal Mersel, Said Mitwalli, Majda Nashashibi, and Samhan Samhan. We would like to stress the role of Dr. Yitzhak Reiter and Dr. Issa Khater in the coordination of work schedules and academic cooperation between meetings and that of Idit Avidan, for program coordination.

Yitzhak Reiter also played an important role in coordinating materials for the book. Roza El Eini was responsible for initial editing of the chapter on the holy places and Jessica Bonn assisted with typing and corrections. The map of the holy places was produced by Vered Shatil, based on the 1994 map "Jerusalem: The Old City," used with the permission of the Survey of Israel. Finally, thanks to Chaia Beckerman, who once again has been responsible for the editing and production in book form of findings on the subject of Jerusalem, the subject perhaps the closest to her heart and interests.

Edy Kaufman
March 1998

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1

The Future of Jerusalem: Israeli Perceptions

Moshe Ma'oz

Among the many Hebrew names of Jerusalem is the renowned *ir shalem*, city of peace. Unfortunately, Jerusalem has for generations experienced deep religious, political and national conflicts. In particular, it has been a focus of the Palestinian-Zionist, Arab-Israeli and Muslim-Jewish disputes.

It is, therefore, hard to imagine that the current peace process between Israeli Jews on the one hand, and, on the other hand, Palestinians, other Arabs and Muslims, could be completed in a meaningful and durable way, without an acceptable solution to the Jerusalem issue. Such a solution will by no means be easy to achieve, given the deep emotional religious, cultural, historical, and national attachments of Jews and Arabs—Muslims and Christians—to Jerusalem.

Many or most Jews in Israel and abroad consider Jerusalem (*Yerushalayim*) as their symbol; the heart of their national, religious and cultural ethos; the historical and eternal capital of their old-new state. In addition to the numerous times it is mentioned in the Bible, Jewish Jerusalem has for ages been the topic of countless poems, novels and works of art produced by Jews (and Christians) all over the world.

A Historical Note

Jerusalem became the center of the Jewish people some 3,000 years ago (the anniversary was recently celebrated), and with the exception of some long intervals, Jews resided there throughout the centuries. Jewish exiles and their descendants continued to pray three times a day for their return to the city. On festivals Jews blessed each other with "Next Year in Jerusalem."

During various periods of its history, notably the Ottoman period, Jews came back (or “ascended”) to Jerusalem, and since the mid-nineteenth century they have outnumbered both its Muslim and Christian inhabitants. Subsequently, Jerusalem became the symbol and the headquarters of the modern Jewish national movement, the Zionist movement (Zion being one of Jerusalem's major names). In 1949, the year following the establishment of Israel, (West) Jerusalem was proclaimed as its capital, but it was not recognized by the majority of the world nations. Following the 1967 war, East Jerusalem—including the Old City—was captured and formally annexed to Israel. In spite of strong international condemnation, the *unified city* was proclaimed an “integral” part of Israel's capital. As the number of Jewish inhabitants greatly increased, several new Jewish suburbs were built around Jerusalem, mostly on confiscated Arab lands—partly crown land and partly private land.

The policy of the Israeli governments since 1967—both Labor and Likud—backed by most Israeli Jews, has been to maintain a unified Jerusalem; to Judaize or Israelize it, demographically and politically; to integrate its Arab population; and to insulate it from the Palestinian-populated West Bank.

Prior to the Oslo agreement with the PLO in 1993 and the Washington Declaration with Jordan in 1994, no Israeli government had agreed to put Jerusalem on the negotiating table. But, at the same time, Israel allowed free access to Christian and Muslim holy sites, while the *Haram al-Sharif* (the Temple Mount) was granted an autonomous status *de facto* under the management of the Jordanian controlled Council of *Awqaf* (religious endowments) and Islamic Affairs. In the Oslo agreement Israel has for the first time undertaken discussing the Jerusalem issue, in the negotiations with the PLO on the final status issues (along with borders, security, Palestinian refugees and Jewish settlements). In the Washington Declaration Israel made a commitment to grant “high priority” during the future negotiations on the final status of Jerusalem to Jordan's “historic role” at the Muslim holy sites there.

Scenarios

It can be assumed that during the negotiations on the final status of Jerusalem, the Israeli government—be it Labor- or Likud-led—will suggest a religious solution to the Jerusalem problem by offering Jordan, Egypt and Morocco, as well as other Arab and Islamic nations (provided they establish diplomatic relations with Israel), the guardianship of the Islamic holy sites in unified Jerusalem. In an attempt to defuse or mitigate the Arab and Islamic opposition to its control over all of Jerusalem, Israel may even offer a *de jure* special status to the Muslim holy shrines, or perhaps even an extraterritorial status, similar to that of the Vatican in Rome.

In the same vein, an Israeli government (more likely a Labor one) will probably suggest a kind of Palestinian autonomy or self-administration in East Jerusalem in municipal, cultural, social and economic affairs, but not in political matters.

Such an Israeli position was already been indicated in Labor party leader Shimon Peres' letter of October 1993 to Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Johan Jorgen Holst, stating that "all Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem, including the economic, social, educational and cultural and the holy Christian and Muslim places, are performing an essential task for the Palestinian population." Similarly, the former mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, had in 1977 suggested a network of boroughs for Jerusalem.¹ Modeled on the municipalities of London, this would enable the Palestinians in East Jerusalem to conduct their own affairs in many aspects of life.

Although such a solution may also involve functional sovereignty² or permit a certain political status to evolve for the Palestinians in Jerusalem, the Israeli official position has not changed: United Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty will remain Israel's "eternal and exclusive capital." This position which is supported by most Israeli Jews, derives not only from the national-religious uniqueness of Jerusalem to the Jewish people, and from the demographic and political predominance of Israeli Jews in the city. Many Israelis argue that, despite its holiness to Islam (and Christianity), Jerusalem always held a secondary status in these religions, after Mecca and Medina (or Rome and Constantinople). Similarly, Israelis argue that Jerusalem was never a capital of an Arab empire or state, not even of the Kingdom of Jordan during its control of the city (1948–1967), nor was it a capital of a Palestinian state—in fact, never has one existed.

Unfortunately many Israeli Jews are unaware, or do not acknowledge, that (East) Jerusalem has for decades been the political and spiritual center of the Palestinian national movement as well as the geographical and economic link between the northern and southern parts of the West Bank and between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. A variety of Palestinian national, cultural, social and religious institutions have functioned during long periods of time in Jerusalem, while its Palestinian inhabitants now number some 160,000 people—almost one-third of the total population. (And then there is the emotional and religious attachment to Jerusalem of more than 200 million Arabs and more than a billion Muslims). A solution to the Jerusalem problem that does not provide significant satisfaction to the national-political aspirations of the Palestinians will not be viable, even if their religious and municipal needs are fulfilled and several Arab and Islamic nations are content with a religious solution for Jerusalem.

In quest of a durable settlement to the Jerusalem issue, we can identify potential points of agreement between most Israelis and most Palestinians regarding the future of this city. Notably, there is widespread agreement that it should remain undivided. There is also a near-consensus that free access to the holy sites of all three religions should be continued. And many Jerusalemites—mostly Palestinians—support the creation of two municipalities or several boroughs, Israeli and Palestinian, within a Greater Jerusalem metropolitan system or under an umbrella city council.

By contrast, however, the issues of sovereignty and the status of the Old City still remain the major bones of contention between Israelis and Palestinians and therefore need to be tackled in creative, imaginative ways and in a gradual form. Ideally, Jerusalem ought to be the undivided capital of the two peoples, Israelis and Palestinians, and be designated as a sanctuary of peace. This would mean a joint sovereignty of both states or a “condominium” of Israel and Palestine, administered by an umbrella council and local district councils, with an Israeli parliament and ministries in the western sector and Palestinian ones in the eastern sector.

Another useful solution would be a “scattered sovereignty” in the undivided city: Israeli law applied in every Israeli majority district and Palestinian law applied in every Palestinian majority district, as if those districts were parts of Israel or Palestine. Other options for the future status of Jerusalem are shared sovereignty, functional sovereignty or divided sovereignty—with the Old City having a special status—administered by both the Israeli and the Palestinian governments or by representatives of the three religions.

Yet it is highly doubtful whether most Israeli Jews will be ready to accept any of these designs, because of the emotional, psychological or theological motives that underlie them. Perhaps more acceptable to not a few Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs would be the establishment of a Palestinian sovereign capital, *al-Quds*, in the eastern sections of Jerusalem, around Abu Dis and Azariyya, to be linked to the Palestinian municipality, or municipal sections, of the city. Most of the lands of these neighborhoods are formally in the West Bank and were never annexed to the Jerusalem municipality. The other sections of Jerusalem, mostly Jewish, would be under Israel’s sovereignty and continue to be its capital, *Yerushalayim*. The *Haram al-Sharif* would have a special status as an Islamic site under the guardianship of Arab and Islamic states, including Palestine and Jordan. The Old City would be administered by the Jerusalem umbrella municipal council, composed of Israelis and Palestinians and assisted by an interfaith committee of Jewish, Christian and Muslim religious sages.

Such a design for the future of Jerusalem might have been pursued gradually and with sensitivity at the final stage of the Israeli-Palestinian Oslo peace process, had Mr. Peres and a liberal-left coalition won the Israeli national elections. However, since the victory of Benjamin Netanyahu and the ultra-nationalist-religious Jewish forces who had made united Jewish Jerusalem their motto in the election campaign, the chances of a pragmatic solution for Jerusalem are rather slim. It is possible that Mr. Netanyahu will suggest a limited religious “solution” in Jerusalem, such as giving Jordan a major role in administering the Muslim shrines at *al-Haram al-Sharif*. But the new Israeli government will by no means offer any political solution to the Palestinians in Jerusalem, and perhaps not even municipal autonomy. One of the major arguments for such an omission is that “a territorial

solution in Jerusalem would likely tear the fabric of Israeli society and raise serious questions about the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state.”³

It is obvious that such a policy is likely to provoke deep resentment and widespread opposition and perhaps even ignite violence among Palestinians. It is also highly doubtful that Jordan will be willing to become a partner to Israel’s “religious solution” for Jerusalem, which excludes other Arab and Islamic nations. Consequently, Israeli failure to resolve the Jerusalem issue could not only bring about the resumption of the Palestinian *intifada*, but possibly also impair Israel’s peace with Egypt and Jordan, prevent an Israeli-Syrian agreement, reverse Israel’s newly established ties with other Arab and Muslim nations, and damage its position in the international community.

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2

The Future of Jerusalem: A Palestinian Perception

Sari Nusseibeh

In considering the future of Jerusalem, perhaps the ideal question one should start off by asking is: what ought Jerusalem be like or look like? This may be a more useful exercise than inquiring about contrary contentions and claims of disputants, as one might do in a case of negotiations.

If one could design an ideal conception of Jerusalem in answer to this question, it might then be easier to specify what Israelis and Palestinians ought to try to negotiate as they come to consider the future of this city. For it would then be a relatively mechanical matter to reach an understanding.

However, the problem with the question is that one may counter it with the following question: "An ideal Jerusalem to whom?" What Jerusalem ought to be or to look like to Palestinians may not be the same as what it ought to be or to look like to Israelis. Given this difference, we would be back to the difficulties with which we started. (Indeed, an ideal conception of Jerusalem to Israelis, it may be argued, is one that precludes negotiations with anyone in the first place.)

So the following suggests itself: why not try to design a solution that is ideal, not only to Israelis or only to Palestinians, but to both Israelis and Palestinians simultaneously? Wouldn't a combined conception that is ideal to both parties—if such a conception is possible in the first place—be more ideal to each of them than either of the separately ideal conceptions?

Here one may safely here talk about what we may call "synergetic idealism": a multiplier resultant of the combined ideal conceptions of the two parties. Arguably, such a synergetic ideal conception is more ideal, by its nature, than a unilaterally ideal conception. If so, then surely a synergetic conception would be more ideal, even to each of the parties separately, than a unilaterally ideal conception. Stated differently, one can

say that the “best possible world” in Jerusalem for each society is in fact that which is best for both societies. Stating the matter this way allows us to cross safely that otherwise unsurpassable gulf dividing the subjective (contrary conceptions) from the objective (the best possible world)—the underlying assumption being that where such a gulf is perceived to exist, the parties would rationally opt for an objective rather than a subjective strategy.

Positing a “best possible world” model as a desired end-product in this fashion would then enable the two sides to “negotiate their way backward,” so to speak, finally reaching agreement also on the intermediate steps that need to be implemented in order to reach that desired conclusion.

However, even assuming the mathematical correctness as well as the heuristic value of this argument in the abstract, various doubts may still be entertained. Why assume that one has to begin with the two parties in the first place? Specifically, why should the Palestinians be a factor in the design? Or why, if we are speaking in purely abstract terms, should the Israelis be such a factor? Or why only the Palestinians and the Israelis? Why assume that they should have equal weights? Or why assume the contrary? Or why assume, if the contrary, a specific distribution of weights, in contrast with any other?

Note that such questions arise only if we totally disregard the political realities which underlie the surface and fix our political gaze on one real world—the world in which Israel is in full control—thus denying both the existence as well as the political potency of dissatisfied claimants in parallel real worlds. (“Parallel real worlds” or realities are worlds that co-exist side by side without effectively recognizing each other. Typically, one such reality or world dominates other real worlds or realities occupying the same space. Contiguous or overlapping realities are normally “worlds apart,” and Israeli and Palestinian realities in Jerusalem in particular fall into this category.) However, the minute we abstract from one such world and take cognizance of these parallel worlds, then the need to find answers to those questions becomes immediately evident: Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims will simply not rest until they feel they have achieved an acceptable solution for Jerusalem. The process of abstraction, therefore, is a necessary ingredient in any design that purports to be stable and lasting.

However, simply to take into consideration the separate desires of different players in parallel real worlds is clearly not enough. Certainly, these separate (and often contrary) desires and aspirations have to be recognized. But a higher level of abstraction is still possible and required: if we abstract from real worlds altogether and instead address ourselves to an ideal or truly hypothetical world, then it would be possible to bypass these relevant but objectively unanswerable questions precisely because such a world would be ideal, and thus one in which real-world dissatisfied claimants are satisfied.

Is such a consideration of the ideal world pointless? Definitely not, as Plato, who was the first to posit and answer that question, argued. For the real world cannot but take account of the ideal world; or, conversely—even perversely—the ideal desires in

one real world can easily come into conflict (as in this case) with the ideal desires in that or in a parallel real world, thus making one ideal conception simply unrealistic, given another such conception. Given such conflicting conceptions, it is all too obvious that neither ideal conception from either one of the two real worlds would have a chance of becoming real, or of becoming lastingly real.

This is simply a respectably euphemistic way of saying that both sides will be at each other's throats, neither side giving the other a chance to settle down to a normal life. Paradoxically, therefore, a synergetic ideal conception of Jerusalem is one that ends up being more realistic than any other that can be conceived. It is thus more real, in addition to its being more ideal.

But what could such a conception look like? I shall venture only a few general guidelines for working out a model. I have suggested the parameters of specific models elsewhere.¹ These parameters, taken together with the legal guidelines endorsed by the international community, should help us develop choice models:

1. Being the earthly city that is considered in the three monotheistic religions to be closest to the divine and the spiritual gateway to that world, Jerusalem must be respected by all as a city above men, not as one that is to be subjected to their domination.
2. Jerusalem's citizens and the polities they represent should therefore act as the city's custodians, not its rulers. This is another way of saying that more value should be given to the city itself than to the inward-looking and parochial ambitions of its respective political claimants. This is a statement about human humility, or about putting God, and His city, before men and their small interests.
3. The city's own government should be so designed as to give more weight to the human quality of life of its own residents than to the assertive demands of its competitive national claimants. States should thus transfer privileges to the city's government, reinforcing the city's special status, but in such a way as to enhance religious harmony and tolerance rather than religious bigotry and extremism.
4. Jerusalem's centrality to the Western Christian world must be recognized and celebrated officially, perhaps through the appointment of a special envoy representing the various churches, on a rotational basis, in the city's government.
5. Jerusalem must be designated as a sanctuary of peace, and therefore as a place completely free of political violence of any shape or form.
6. Jerusalem's political status in the Israeli and Palestinian national and cultural heritage can be enshrined through its being made the undivided capital of the two peoples, in a way that does not detract from the above-mentioned principles.

In particular:

7. Jerusalem's physical shape and appearance, as well as its natural environment, must retain or regain its historical face, and the city must be protected against its defilement by the spread of cement construction.

8. Jerusalem's government buildings and offices should be limited to those that are absolutely essential, and foreign governments must likewise maintain offices at a minimal level. The bulk of these offices can be set up outside the city.

and:

9. Industry must at all costs also be prevented from establishing itself in the city or its immediate surroundings.

Keeping in mind the need to develop an appropriate human dimension or content that is consistent with the context already explained, the following must be upheld as guidelines in governing the city policy:

10. Municipal affairs can be divided into those which would better be run jointly, and those which would better be run separately. This implies the establishment of three interlocking governments for the city: Israeli, Palestinian, and Israeli-Palestinian.
11. Being a physically undivided city in the midst of two divided political entities (Israel and Palestine), the city's government should be empowered by each of the two states with special prerogatives, in legal and other matters.
12. A demographic balance which is such as to provide mutual security, free of potential existential threat, must be reached and maintained.
13. Joint institutions of must be created to further understanding between different faiths, creeds, and races; scholars should be invited and encouraged to engage in inter-religious research and dialogue; normal living activities for residents should be maintained and developed.

In conclusion, these principles or guidelines can be summed up as follows: Jerusalem must be a model for a constructive peace between Israel and its neighbors, and a source of hope for Israel and Palestine in particular. As Mr. Faisal Husseini, who holds the Jerusalem portfolio in the PLO, has put it: Jerusalem can act either as a sun that will infuse the entire Middle East with its warmth, or as a black hole that will swallow up and turn into oblivion all our hopes for peace and a better world.

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MASTER-PLANNING: INTRODUCTION

Riad Malki and Shlomo Hasson

The joint Israeli-Palestinian research project “Jerusalem: Points of Friction—and Beyond” intends to shed light on the situation today in East Jerusalem, examining the important issues facing the residents. The focus of this chapter, as an integral part of the overall project, is the *physical planning of the Jerusalem area*. The major goal of our team is to formulate a long-range strategic plan for development and to offer basic guidelines. A strategic plan, unlike statutory plans, would not elaborate on land use zoning, but rather would elaborate basic principles of future development in terms of spatial growth, transportation, economic development, and ecology. The plan seeks to rationalize future growth and economic activities in the region. One long-term objective is to prepare a *joint master plan* for Jerusalem, but only after determining the best political scenario for the future of the city.

Our objectives were determined according to stages and procedures for implementation; they differ for the two phases of the research. The objectives of the first phase were short-term and included the following: (a) understanding the background to the existing situation; (b) identifying the subjects for study; (c) examining prevailing conditions; (d) data collection; (e) identifying and analyzing major development trends and problems; and (f) suggesting follow-up measures to link this phase with the next one. The second phase, yet ahead of us, would address long-term objectives. We aim to chart several alternatives for future development, select one of them, and develop it into a joint master plan for the metropolitan area of Jerusalem. The chapters that follow represent our work at stage one.

Study Criteria

In the internal discussions between the team leaders, it was agreed that certain principles should be adopted to facilitate the common work that is intended to serve as a basis for the second phase of the project. The criteria were discussed in the early meetings and were immediately accepted by the joint team:

1. The intention of the study is to recognize the basic rights of all the residents of the city, without discrimination or favoritism.
2. The study acknowledges the existence of policies adopted and carried out by the different Israeli authorities that discriminate against the Palestinian residents of the city. The influence of such policies on the proceedings of the study—or the future planning and design of needed services and facilities as part of the master plan for the city of Jerusalem—is to be avoided.
3. The study acknowledges the existing gap in services and infrastructure between the two parts of the city, with the intention of focusing on highly needed services to redress the huge differences that exist between the two systems.
4. The study intends to promote harmony in design and continuity in services along the dividing line between the east and west of the city, with the objective of facilitating the real integration of services and facilities.
5. The study assumes Jerusalem as two open cities, with no restrictions on the movement of persons or goods, and encouragement of the creation of jointly operated areas intended for business, recreation, or culture.
6. The study assumes the establishment of joint steering committees to oversee the fulfillment of solutions and services and any other issue agreed upon by both administrations of the city, East and West.

Study Subjects

The principal subjects of the study were defined in joint meetings. They include the following: demography, the economic situation, transportation and traffic, basic services (water, sewage, solid waste, and electricity), housing, public services and social structures, and environmental pollution.

Defining the Study Area

A solution for the metropolitan region of Jerusalem is one of the most complicated issues on the Israeli and Palestinian agenda. The territorial-economic definition of metropolitan areas, which is based on geographic delineation of commuting times, is of minor significance in this case. Any territorial definition is politically sensitive. Thus it is important to draw the attention to the physical borders of the study area. Politically, there are two metropolitan areas in the Jerusalem region: an Israeli area and a Palestinian area. It is for the two parties to decide about the nature of economic cooperation in this region in terms of employment and service delivery: infrastructure, roads, and ecology—matters to be examined in detail in stage two of the study. This study intended to deal with *East Jerusalem* as the area in which most Jerusalemite Palestinians dwell. Yet for practical reasons, and in the absence of available data on this area, the Israeli and Palestinian teams alike had little choice but to rely on the data covering the District of Jerusalem as redefined by Israel after 1967, the district sometimes called in Israeli circles *Metropolitan Jerusalem*. Under the previous Jordanian administration, the District of Jerusalem

encompassed Ramallah, Jericho, and Bethlehem, and of course it included villages in proximity to the Old City that Israel zoned out of the municipal boundaries; for example, Abu Dis. The term *Jerusalem district* in the Malki paper, reflecting a Palestinian definition, generally refers to a larger area than the Israeli municipal boundaries, for it includes adjacent villages, though not towns.

Precise definition of territorial Jerusalem could to a degree facilitate the task of gathering data and the comparison of results with those of parallel studies, the problem being that other studies have faced difficulties similar to ours in defining the city's borders. There is no consensus among researchers. Moreover, the question of boundaries arises in internal discussions among Palestinians and among Israelis, and not only in joint endeavors.

3

A Master Plan for Jerusalem: Stage One—The Survey

Shlomo Hasson

Metropolitan Growth—Past, Present, and Future: Major Trends in Jerusalem's Development

Jerusalem from the Nineteenth Century until 1948

Until the beginning of the 1860s Jerusalem was a provincial town whose population amounted to no more than 15,000 people. For centuries the people of Jerusalem lived within the walls of what is known today as the Old City: an area of about one square kilometer which is divided into quarters—Muslim, Christian, Armenian, and Jewish. The growth of Jerusalem's population resulted in development of suburbs outside the city wall from 1860 onward. The Jews turned mainly to the western parts of the city and the Arabs to the eastern and northern sections.

The Ottoman rulers fostered peaceful coexistence among the ethnic groups by employing the *millet* system. This system recognized the cultural differences among the different ethnic groups and granted their members personal autonomy. Each ethnic group was allowed, according to the principle of personal autonomy, to practice its religion freely, to speak and to teach in its own language, and to develop its own leadership. Local leaders acted as representatives of the community and maintained contacts with the Ottoman officials in the area. None of the ethnic communities, however, had rights of sovereignty over the territorial area inhabited by its members. The supreme sovereign power was the Ottoman ruler.

Local government, which was initiated in 1863, included five council members: three Muslims, one Christian, and one Jew.¹ They were elected on one occasion only, in 1908; for the rest of the Ottoman period they were appointed. The munic-

pal budget was small and the scope of the council was limited. Under the rule of the Ottoman empire, the Muslims enjoyed a privileged status: the mayor of the city and the majority of the council were Muslims although the Jews constituted an absolute majority in the city. Eligibility to vote was limited to those property owners who paid taxes.

Under British rule between 1917 and 1948, Jerusalem was turned into the capital of Palestine. City plans were drawn up, the physical infrastructure was improved, and the system of government was modernized. The British also enfranchised a larger segment of the population (all persons paying municipal taxes) and introduced new municipal ordinances. Although they maintained the structure of the municipal government, they changed its composition by giving each religious group equal representation on the council.

Throughout the British rule over Palestine, Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem confronted each other at the municipal level. The confrontation revolved around three major political-symbolic issues: the council's ethnic composition, the mayor's ethnic affiliation, and the division of municipal projects among the ethnic groups.² Equal ethno-religious representation was conceived by the Jews as discriminatory, as was the automatic appointment of a Muslim mayor, since the Jews formed the majority of the city population. The hostile attitude of the city's mayor, the disproportionate representation, and the narrow functions and resources at the municipality's disposal led the Jewish sector to develop its own social, semi-public organizations. Many neighborhoods established local committees that managed different aspects of life in the area and sometimes even levied taxes.³

Throughout this period, urban politics served as a seismograph of the broader national conflict. Although British policy held that municipal authority should serve all the citizens and have no interest in serving political ends, both Arabs and Jews took a different position. For both groups control over the municipality had broader political and national ramifications. The rapid demographic increase of the Jewish population in Jerusalem during this time, which resulted in a larger Jewish majority, heightened the Arabs' suspicions. Fears soon spread among the Arabs that rising Jewish nationalism might entail Jewish claims for sovereignty over Jerusalem.

The situation in Palestine and the city of Jerusalem deteriorated rapidly. Thus, beginning in the early 1940s the city was administered by British officials. The Muslim mayor, who was found to be a member of the Arab Supreme Committee (the Palestinian national committee), was exiled by the British government. In 1945 the British formally assumed direct control over the city government. On 29 November 1947 the UN General Assembly approved the partition resolution providing for the division of mandatory Palestine into three entities: a Jewish state, an Arab state, and an international zone. The city of Jerusalem was to be proclaimed an international zone—a separate political entity (*corpus separatum*)—adminis-

tered by the United Nations. The plan did not specify the details of the city's administration.⁴

While the UN committee's discussions were in progress, fighting broke out in Palestine. The British mandate was terminated on 15 May 1948, and the Jewish section of the city was organized as a municipality. During the war, which lasted from the beginning of 1948 to March 1949, the city was in essence divided between Jordan and Israel. Aware of the international claims for Jerusalem, King Abdallah of Jordan and the Israeli government secretly negotiated the division of the city: East Jerusalem under Jordanian rule and West Jerusalem under Israeli rule. The cooperation between the two governments enabled them to defeat the UN decision concerning internationalization of the city. The contacts between Israel and Jordan produced the Rhodes agreement of 16 March 1949, which formalized the division of the city.⁵

Between 1948 and 1967

After 1948 the development of West and East Jerusalem was considerably influenced by the policies assumed by the two governments, Israel and Jordan. West Jerusalem was declared Israel's capital, which entailed its transformation into the national civic center. In the course of the struggle against the UN resolution to put Jerusalem under international control, the Israeli government encouraged the move of governmental functions and offices to Jerusalem, built new neighborhoods, and settled them with new immigrants, all in order to strengthen the Jewish presence in the city.

Things worked quite differently for East Jerusalem. Jordan's capital is Amman, and so East Jerusalem was treated as a second-rate city, and perhaps even less. Being a Palestinian stronghold, it was viewed with suspicion by the Hashemite monarchy and was conceived as a political threat to the hegemony of the Hashemite kingdom. The killing of King Abdallah in 1951, at the gates of the al-Aqsa mosque in East Jerusalem, only intensified the Jordanian fears. In a deliberate attempt to reduce the political significance of East Jerusalem, the Jordanian government transferred the government offices located in the city to Amman. The Jordanian government did, however, modify the boundaries of the city in order to include within them some neighboring villages.⁶

From 1967 to the Present

In the aftermath of the 1967 war, Israel went on to pursue policies and strategies that aimed at gaining control over land, strengthening the Jewish majority through planning and housing. East Jerusalem, including the Old City, was reunited with the western city, or annexed to it, depending on one's point of view, and the city's boundaries were expanded to include rural areas formerly under Jordanian control. These areas, along with the municipal area of East Jerusalem, are often referred to as East Jerusalem.

Following the geopolitical act of liberating/annexing East Jerusalem, the Israeli central government added 70,000 dunams (17,500 acres) to the territory within the city. The expanded city included Palestinian villages and public land, some of which had been classified as state land during the Jordanian regime. Of the 70,000 dunams, the Israeli government went on to designate 21,000 dunams (5,500 acres) for the building of new Jewish neighborhoods.⁷ Some of the land was considered by Israel as "state land" and some belonged to either Arab or Jewish land owners.

The category of state land had been introduced by the British Mandatory government. Article 2 of the 1922 Order-in-Council defined public land or state land as "all lands in Palestine which are subject to control of the government of Palestine."⁸ As a successor to the Jordanians, Israel regards itself as the custodian of all property belonging to the previous government, including land. This means that all land in the West Bank with the exception of private land and land under religious trust (*waqf*) is considered by Israel to be state land. The Palestinian attitude, however, is that all land in the West Bank belongs to Palestinians, either individually or collectively. Although the issue of land ownership may still be debated, the crucial geopolitical point is that "state land" has been used to accommodate only Israeli-Jewish residents.

Within the confines of these neighborhoods there live today about 170,000 Israeli Jews—that is, one-third of the entire Jewish population of the city. As a result, the Israeli-Jewish population forms a majority not only in the city as a whole, but also in the eastern part of the city. In the course of this process, the clear separation between East and West Jerusalem has been replaced with an urban jigsaw puzzle, with Arab and Jewish neighborhoods closely entangled.

To curtail Arab growth and expansion, large tracts of private Arab land, as yet undeveloped, have been designated through zoning ordinances as "green areas." When zoned as a "green area," the land remains under the title of its owner, but it is reserved for agricultural use exclusively. Within the areas occupied by the Arabs, expansion and growth have been thwarted either by ignoring the Arabs' housing needs or by responding to these needs in a partial manner. Most of the Arab areas in East Jerusalem still have no master plan, which makes it almost impossible for the Palestinians to attain building permits. Between 1982 and 1992, only 470,000 of 5,000,000 square meters built in Jerusalem were designed for Palestinians.⁹

An attempt to alleviate the housing shortage of the Palestinians by launching a new master plan for the northern part of the city was largely thwarted by the central government. The original plan, prepared by the Jerusalem municipality, sought to build 17,000 housing units for the Arab population. The plan was rejected by the District Planning Committee (a planning organ governed by the Ministry of the Interior) on the grounds that it could change the demographic balance between Jews and Arabs in the city. The modified plan approved the construction of only 7,500 housing units, which were to be built on 5,000 dunams of private Arab land.

This would mean that about two-thirds of the Palestinians who need a home will not be able to find one in the city.¹⁰

The Israeli policy, associated with land expropriation, land use zoning, and restrictions on housing, thus clearly impinges upon the Palestinians' basic human rights to build and live on their own land within Jerusalem. In the long run, such a policy may impair their national rights for self-determination and control over Palestinian lands.

The Current Situation

The strategic goals of the Israeli government remained unchanged: to maintain Jerusalem united under Israeli sovereignty. To attain this goal, the government seeks to strengthen the Jewish presence in the city. Among other means, it intends to do so by building several thousand housing units in Har Homa, a hill located at the southern edge of the city. Because of the political sensitivity associated with any modification of the status quo in Jerusalem—especially after the opening of a new exit to the archeological tunnel bordering the sensitive area of the Temple Mount in the Old City in the fall of 1996, the future of the Har Homa plan is unclear.

In sharp contrast to the government's policy during the 1970s and 1980s, the main wave of development today and in the foreseeable future is westward. Prestigious neighborhoods as well as commercial centers and offices are built at the western entrance to Jerusalem and in the southwestern end of the city. The underlying message to the Israeli citizens of Jerusalem is that city's center will move in the near future from its present location along Jaffa, King George, and Ben Yehuda Streets, to new locations at the western end of the city.

As to residential areas, the city is undergoing a process of suburbanization. A growing share of Jerusalem's population is leaving the city for the surrounding settlements. Mevasseret Yerushalayim and surrounding *moshavim* appeal to more affluent segments of the population, whereas Ma'aleh Adumim is preferred by the less affluent. Secular young couples are moving to Modi'in and Beit Shemesh and the ultra-Orthodox are moving to Beit Shemesh and Betar Illit. Within a few years, Mevasseret will become a major urban center, competing with Jerusalem to attract strong social groups and provide services to surrounding settlements.

Demographic Trends and Analysis of Demand for Housing

Jerusalem

In 1991 Jerusalem was home to over half a million people—417,000 Jews and 174,000 Arabs. The population of the city had nearly doubled over the previous 28 years, from 197,700 in West Jerusalem and 68,600 in East Jerusalem in 1967, to a total of 591,000 in 1991. Since 1967 the Arab population in Jerusalem has increased slightly as a percentage of the total population, from 25.8 percent, to 29.5 percent in 1995, while the Jewish population has undergone some decline

proportionally, but continues to exceed 70 percent of the total. Most of the Arab population (about 90 percent) is Muslim. The Christian population is divided among numerous denominations, the largest of which is the Greek Orthodox.¹¹

The geography of the city closely reflects its ethnic division. The Palestinians occupy the eastern part of the city, whereas the Jews occupy the western part and some eastern enclaves created after the liberation/annexation of East Jerusalem. The separation is almost total, and there are no areas of mixed population. The horizontal division is accompanied by vertical stratification in the economic and social spheres: The Israeli Jews are concentrated in managerial and professional occupations while the Palestinian Arabs are employed as blue-collar workers and to some extent in tourism and commerce.

The main conflict between Jews and Arabs revolves around national identity and sovereignty. In the center are two conflicting and uncompromised claims for control over the same territory. The Palestinian population rejects the legitimacy of Israel's authority over Jerusalem and does not formally recognize Israel's municipal control over the city. The Israeli government denies the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, and while willing to cede greater autonomous control to Palestinians over certain aspects of daily affairs, rejects their claim for sovereignty over at least part of the city.

Each side approaches the city with its own specific history and sense of identity. For the Palestinians, the centrality of Jerusalem derives from its geographic location, history of continuous residence, social-intellectual importance and religious identification. As Walid Khalidi writes: "Without East Jerusalem there would be no West Bank. It is...the pivotal link between Nablus to the north and Hebron to the south. Together with its Arab suburbs it is the largest Arab urban concentration in the West Bank. The highest proportion of the Palestinian professional elite under occupation resides in it. It is the site of the holiest Muslim shrines on Palestinian soil."¹² Indeed, the Palestine National Council declared in November 1988 that it sought "the establishment of the state of Palestine on our Palestine territory with its capital Jerusalem."¹³

For the Israelis, Jerusalem is the cradle of nationhood, the holiest city associated with the history of the Jewish people, and the source of its identity. As David Ben-Gurion stated: "Jerusalem is an integral part of Jewish history, in her faith and in the depths of her soul. Jerusalem is the heart of hearts of Israel...A nation which over 2,500 years has always maintained the pledge vowed by the banished people on the rivers of Babylon not to forget Jerusalem—this nation will never accept foreign rule after thousands of her sons and daughters have freed, for the third time, their historic homeland and delivered Jerusalem from destruction."¹⁴

Jerusalem's Metropolitan Region

The Israeli metropolitan area encompasses three municipalities: Jerusalem, Beit Shemesh, and Ma'aleh Adumim; three regional councils: Mateh Yehuda, Mateh

Binyamin, and Gush Etzion; and six local councils: Mevasseret Yerushalayim, Givat Ze'ev, Abu Ghosh, Betar Illit, Efrat, and Qiryat Ye'arim.

The total population in the Israeli metropolitan area of Jerusalem in 1994 was 707,000.

The Economic Structure and Assessment of Employment Potential and Demand for Jobs

The meeting between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem has entailed close interaction in the economic sphere and the creation of a single labor market. The labor market has reflected the different histories of the two groups. Years of Jordanian neglect resulted in an economic structure largely skewed toward blue-collar occupations, commerce and tourism. Israeli government policy, on the other hand, led to an economic structure based upon public services. Today, 64 percent of the Jewish labor force finds employment in professional, managerial, and academic occupations, compared with only 19 percent among the Arabs. The rate of Jewish participation in the labor force is 52 percent, but in the Arab sector the rate is only 37 percent, mainly due to a lower rate of participation among Arab women (seven percent compared with 42 percent among Jewish women). In general, the Jewish level of education and income is higher. Nearly 44 percent of the Jewish population has 13 years of schooling or more, compared with 11 percent among the Palestinian Arabs. Housing is less densely occupied among the Jewish population: 1.1 persons per room as against 2.0 among the Palestinian Arabs.¹⁵

The socio-economic gap between the two groups appears in every sphere: income, employment, housing, environment and physical infrastructure. The current policy of economic development may even widen the gaps between the two groups. The Authority for the Development of Jerusalem, a municipal *cum* governmental authority, has embarked upon an economic policy that seeks to broaden and strengthen Jerusalem's economic base. Recognizing that the economic structure of the Jewish population in Jerusalem is heavily biased toward public and personal services (41 percent of the Jewish employees), the authority sought to encourage the development of industry and tourism in the city. In line with this policy, large tracts of land in Har Hotzvim, Malcha and Pisgat Ze'ev have been designated for the development of high-tech industries. These industries are not as pollutant as the old industries were, and they attract highly educated personnel. In addition, there has been an intensive effort to increase the city's share of tourism by developing new hotels and other accommodations for tourists.

Indeed, tourism is the most promising economic branch for Jerusalem because of its high returns and its potential for growth. In 1994 the "person nights" in Israel's hotels totaled about 14 million; 2.9 million (20.4 percent) of them in Jerusalem. (In recent years there has been a slight decline in Jerusalem's share of tourism as measured by persons per night—from 22.8 percent in 1985 to 21.6 percent in 1993 and 20.4 percent in 1994.) There is a marked economic gap, how-

ever, between East and West Jerusalem. The lion's share of the tourists who come to Jerusalem stay in its western part: 80.7 percent of person nights in tourist hotels were in West Jerusalem. Moreover, the higher the hotel's rating, the higher West Jerusalem's share: 66.3 percent of person nights at the lower-rated hotels, 72.2 percent at the third level, and 86.8 percent at the second and first levels. In other words, East Jerusalem provides relatively inexpensive accommodations, sought after by less affluent tourists.

The closure which was imposed by the government of Israel on the West Bank in February 1994 has cut off East Jerusalem from its economic hinterland. Until the closure, East Jerusalem had served as the major political, economic, and social center for the people of the West Bank. From an economic point of view, Jerusalem has been a major labor market and service center for the Palestinians in the West Bank. The closure has significantly reduced the economic links between Jerusalem and the West Bank. Today, most West Bank buses are not allowed to enter Jerusalem. As a result, three new central bus stations were formed at the outskirts of the city just outside the closure lines, thus dramatically marking the detachment of East Jerusalem from its historical and economic hinterland. It should be pointed out that this is a one-way closure, allowing all Israeli citizens, as well as Palestinian residents of the city, to cross its lines whenever they wish.

Land Use Planning

Looking to the future, one may identify several trends: (a) further growth of high-tech industries in Manahat, Har Hotzvim, Givat Shaul, and Mevasseret Zion; (b) development of commercial centers; (c) development of hotels and tourist services; (d) increased urban density; (e) demarcation of areas for conservation; (f) renovation and urban renewal; and (g) improvement to the transportation system.

Development of Commercial Centers

Jerusalem is becoming a city of multiple, scattered commercial centers. The main centers are the central part of the Old City; the commercial hub of the western city, which will go through a process of redevelopment; the city center of East Jerusalem; and the fast-growing center of Manahat in the southwestern part of the city. There will be another center at the northern section of the city to serve the growing demand of this area. Commercial centers have developed at the metropolitan level: in Mevasseret Zion and Ma'aleh Adumim.

Development of Hotels and Tourist Services

New hotels are being built in the area of Mamilla, and old hotels will be revived and renovated, among them the Palace and Eden hotels.

Residential Areas

On the average, residential areas occupy about 60 percent of the city's area, posing a major challenge for city planners. The question facing the planners is

whether to opt for further increase of the built-up area or whether to confine development to the areas already built. The situation becomes more acute in Jerusalem because of the political sensitivity associated with urban development. It is the perception of this author that the Israeli government will pursue two options.

Firstly, the government will try to increase urban density. This will be accomplished through demolition of old neighborhoods and their replacement by high-density residential areas and by building in green areas. The municipal area of Jerusalem, which amounts to 130,000 dunams, accommodates about 600,000 people. On the same area in Paris there are 3,600,000 people. In other words, the city is under-utilized. Under-utilization is reflected in the costs of infrastructure services: long utility lines that serve a scattered population. Increasing urban density may lead to better and cheaper infrastructure services. The political question that the government will have to address is how to allocate the land among the two national groups and how to allocate the services.

Secondly, the government will pursue the metropolitan option. A large share of Jerusalem's growth will be absorbed in residential areas that will be developed in Jerusalem's metropolitan area. The two options to be considered by the government are the western and eastern ones (west of Ora and Aminadav versus Ma'aleh Adumim and its surroundings). In my view, the government will opt for the western option because of the political sensitivity associated with the eastern one.

There are several indications that Jerusalem will turn to the west and not the east. The building of offices, commercial structures, and high-level residential areas has progressed on a massive scale in the northwestern and southwestern parts of the city. Special consideration should be given to the building materials—that is, whether buildings, especially high-rise buildings, should be built of stone or of metal and glass.

Conservation, Renovation, and Urban Renewal

Demarcation of sensitive areas in the city's fabric for conservation is of utmost importance. Chief among these areas is the Old City as well as some old neighborhoods. To protect the Old City and its environment, it is imperative that high-rise building not be allowed within a certain perimeter surrounding the city.

Renovation of old sites along Jaffa Street is an ongoing process, as is urban renewal in some poor neighborhoods such as the Katamonim and along Olswanger Street. One of the main goals should be increasing building density within the city in order to maintain green and open spaces around it. City planning should, as far as possible, adhere, to the old planning concept of building on hilltops and leaving the valleys undeveloped. The valleys should serve as green "lungs" for the residents of the city.

Transportation

Access to Jerusalem should be enhanced by defusing congestion at the entrances into the city and by improving its internal transit system.

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4

The Physical Planning of Jerusalem

Riad Malki

INTRODUCTION

After the 1967 war, East Jerusalem was unilaterally annexed by the Israeli authority and thereby automatically became part of the “united city of Jerusalem.”¹ Complementary to this move was the disbanding of the elected Arab municipal council in East Jerusalem. A decree was issued putting the council out of work, leaving only the Israeli municipal body as the legitimate council for the entire city, with full jurisdiction over all parts of Israeli “united Jerusalem.”

Imposing control over East Jerusalem might have meant taking responsibility for providing all services to the city and its inhabitants, looking out for their needs, responding to increasing demands on limited resources, and through services integrating both sides of the city to look like one united city. Instead the process began with the immediate freezing of existing development projects that were intended to serve the Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem, the provision of only a minimum level of maintenance for existing infrastructure, and bureaucratic delay of any development plan in the eastern part of the city and any natural increase in the basic services supplied. In contrast, different Israeli ministerial and local offices competed over the quantity and even quality of services and facilities they could provide to Israelis interested in moving from inside Israel and residing in one of the new Jewish neighborhoods built on confiscated Palestinian land in Jerusalem or on the outskirts of the city.

Services such as electricity which were provided by Palestinian companies were discontinued and moved to Israeli companies as a simple dictate of Israeli sovereignty over the entire city, thus transforming the city in accordance with annexation decree. Yet while certain features of both infrastructures are connected, the aspects of operation, quality, and maintenance nonetheless differ, in no way reflecting two dimensions of the same network.

The Israeli approach described above, adopted by all the elected governments and municipalities since the annexation, created a lack of parity between the two sides of the city in terms of projects, services, and basic facilities. Instead of working toward equality between the east and west sides of the city, the designed and implemented policy helped to create major differences between them, almost to the point of rupture—creating the practical impression of east separated from west. The structure of two different cities was maintained despite the annexation decree of the late 1960s. Such a situation appears not only strange but contrary to the early intentions of the annexation decision—unless the meaning of the decision was to deepen divisions between the Palestinian Arab residents of the city and the Israeli Jewish residents, in terms of services, facilities, and developmental projects. The real idea behind the annexation was apparently to take the available land in the east for Jewish use, creating new Jewish neighborhoods with the best of facilities and a high standard of service equal to that in the west.

The Outcome of Israeli Policy

The official policy compelled increasing numbers of the Palestinian population to migrate. Incentives and privileges induced some families to move, while pressure and intimidation forced others outside city borders. Minimizing the number of Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem was one step in creating a Jewish majority in the eastern part of the city. As settlements began to be established on expropriated Palestinian land, a “Ministerial Committee on Jerusalem” was established. Its first decision was to declare the demographic ratio of 76 Jews to 24 Palestinians as policy.¹ In 1980, the Knesset adopted a Basic Law formally annexing the expanded city. With the integration of the new Jewish neighborhoods into the existing infrastructure and the provision of quality services in the western part of the city, the purpose of annexing the land was accomplished.

The neglect of the Israeli authorities in responding to the increasing needs of the Arab residents of the city explains the Palestinian ambition to take back East Jerusalem and the continued battle for the city. Israeli action in the city over the last three decades has had consequences beyond what has already been mentioned regarding development and level of infrastructure. It has introduced changes to the character of Jerusalem, highlighting Jewish history in order to strengthen Israel’s absolute claim over the ancient city. And the selective policy of favoring Jewish elements over non-Jewish elements, with all the rights that special laws provide them, comes at the expense of the Arab residents, who are denied the simple basic right to maintain residence in the city. In the intensive redesigning of the eastern part of the city, policies and laws were created that facilitated the work of different planning committees. The Jewish population was introduced by imposing new “facts on the ground” in the form of new neighborhoods on confiscated land.

It is the plight of the Israeli Arabs that is being reenacted in Jerusalem. Discriminatory official policies against the Palestinian Arabs who remained under

Israeli jurisdiction in 1948 were carried out through the years by the different Israeli governments. Discrimination becomes a classic pattern of behavior in Israeli treatment of Palestinians, wherever they are and regardless of any other consideration.

The Israeli authorities have prevented Palestinian counterpart institutions from contributing to the well-being of the Arab residents of the city through their contacts in the Arab world. In the past, the Israeli authorities reacted strongly to attempts at involvement by confiscating materials and money and even putting individuals in prison for making contacts with the "enemy." The authorities also kept tight control over the international non-governmental organizations operating in the Palestinian territories, preventing them from providing any material support to projects in the east of the city without Israeli acknowledgment and approval.

Compounding the impact of these policies, the PLO and the local Palestinian leadership and authorities took Israeli reaction seriously and imposed a censorship on themselves and their activities in East Jerusalem. In doing so, they deprived Palestinian residents of the benefits of Palestinian contributions, benefits obtained by other cities in the remainder of the occupied Palestinian territories. And the PLO, in accordance with local leadership and institutions, took a decision to boycott Jerusalem municipal elections. They ordered their followers not to have any dealings on a political level with the Israeli municipality, lest this lend it the legitimacy it is denied by international law. Boycotting the municipality was also a way to maintain the claim to legitimacy of the dissolved Palestinian Jerusalem city council. Such decisions prevented the Palestinians from having proper representation on the municipal council and prevented effective servicing of their ongoing needs.

PART I: DEMOGRAPHY AND HOUSING

Population Figures

East Jerusalem constitutes only one percent of the total area of the Occupied Territories (OT)—the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including East Jerusalem—but eight percent of all Palestinians living in the OT reside there. Gaza, with only six percent of the area, has 37 percent of the population, while the West Bank constitutes the remaining 93 percent of the land, with only 55 percent of the total population. Jerusalem, then, has the highest density of persons per square kilometer in the OT. While East Jerusalem hosts an average density of 2,600 persons per square kilometer, Gaza has an average density of no more than 1,700 persons, and the West Bank comes in a distant third with fewer than 200 persons per square kilometer. In the West Bank, one person in every four is considered a refugee, though two out of three of those classified as refugees live outside the refugee camps. The percentage of refugees in East Jerusalem is almost identical to the per-

centage in the OT as a whole. Israel's 1967 census recorded 66,000 Palestinians living in the extended area of East Jerusalem, 44,000 living inside East Jerusalem's 1967 borders and 22,000 living in the West Bank area annexed to Jerusalem by Israel.

While the population in East Jerusalem has doubled since 1967, its population growth was consistently less than the average in similar capitals of the Middle East. The annual population growth rate in East Jerusalem is 3.8 (while for the West Jerusalem it is only 1.4). The Israeli restrictions on Arab housing in East Jerusalem forced people to build illegal housing and to emigrate to other urban centers in the West Bank.

East Jerusalem, including the urban suburbs, is considered the largest urban center in the West Bank, and the second largest in the OT, after Gaza City. The third largest urban area is Khan Yunes and Rafah, including the surrounding refugee camps, while Nablus and the other West Bank urban centers come in fourth.

Population figures show an almost even distribution between females and males. A slight edge of 102 to 100 in favor of the female population is evident in age groups from 25 to 44 years and older, while a preponderance of males is found in age groups up to 24 years. In East Jerusalem 40 percent of the population is below 14 years of age, while 16 percent are less than five years old. The percentage of children aged 0–4 years in East Jerusalem is less than half of that in the corresponding age group in the Gaza Strip, and certainly a lower percentage than in the West Bank.

Ninety-six percent of the population in the OT are Muslims. While 90 percent of the Palestinian Christians live in East Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramallah and the rest of the West Bank, the Christians constitute only 15 percent of the Arab residents in East Jerusalem, and their numbers have been steadily declining.

The infant mortality rate per thousand in East Jerusalem was 11.4 for the years 1991–1993, compared with 7.7 for West Jerusalem. Infant mortality rates have improved markedly, dropping almost 60 percent in fifteen years. General death rates maintained a constant average of around four per thousand, less than the average 5.4 in West Jerusalem. The average family size in East Jerusalem is 5.3 persons, compared with 3.4 persons per family for West Jerusalem. The average is seven per family in the rest of the West Bank.

The tables in the appendix (Population Data) at the end of the chapter provide additional demographic information.

Demographic Manipulation

Policies were needed to carry out the first decision of the Ministerial Committee on Jerusalem: to preserve a demographic ratio of 76 Israelis to 24 Palestinians in the city. As mentioned, the primary means of creating and preserving this ratio was expropriation of Palestinian land; construction of Jewish settlements on the land; and restrictions on Palestinian building and land use through the adoption of plan-

ning policies, residency regulations, and other measures (such as lack of services) designed to push part of the Arab population to reside outside the extended borders of annexed East Jerusalem.

Population developments from 1967 to 1993 indicate that Israeli policies to increase the Jewish population and to decrease the Palestinian population succeeded in introducing so many Jewish residents into East Jerusalem that their numbers reached one-third of the Jewish population in all of the city. In June 1993 the Israeli government announced that the Jewish population in East Jerusalem was 155,000, surpassing the Palestinian population of 150,000 in the same area.² (See appendix, Table A-11).

While the non-Jewish average rate of natural increase (the balance of births over deaths) from 1982 to 1992 was higher than the Jewish average (2.8 and 2.2, respectively), the average annual growth rate in the city's population from 1985 to 1992 was the reverse: non-Jews: 2.2; Jews: 2.8). This pattern can be explained by the Israeli policies that encourage Jewish immigration into the city and policies encouraging Palestinian migration out.

Housing

The Research

Four different groups have conducted research related to housing conditions in East Jerusalem. A research unit from the Jerusalem branch of FAFO, the Norwegian institute of applied social science, collected abundant material in the late 1980s. Their raw data is still viewed as comprehensive reference material in need of analysis. A small survey conducted by a private team headed by Dr. Mufeed ash-Shami looked into demographic aspects of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. The study sample is too small to be considered seriously as a reference source on housing in East Jerusalem. A more detailed study was carried out by the Palestinian Ministry of Housing and Birzeit University's School of Engineering during the year 1996. Five thousand survey questionnaires were distributed across the West Bank, with a few in East Jerusalem. While the results are credible, the Jerusalem sample is small. A study conducted by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics during 1995 covered a wider sample of housing units in the West Bank, with a bigger share for East Jerusalem than the aforementioned study (1,101 of the 15,735 households that were successfully interviewed). These 1,101 households were 85.9 percent of those eligible in the Jerusalem sample.

Because of the Bureau of Statistics' professionalism in terms of data gathering and analysis and because its sample was much bigger than those in the other studies, we decided to work primarily with the data it gathered, considering also that offered by the Ministry of Housing for areas not covered by the Bureau.

Housing Conditions

More than 60 percent of households in the Jerusalem district live in single-family homes (34.5 percent) or two-family homes (32.9 percent). Dwellings housing three or more families are home to 26.1 percent of the households, while 4.8 percent live in apartment houses of five or more units. Apartment houses in partially commercial structures are home to an additional 1.6 percent.

Households are split fairly evenly between those in the city itself (51.2 percent) and those in the surrounding villages (45 percent). Only 3.7 percent of the households are in refugee camps. Unlike in West Jerusalem, apartment dwelling is the exception. Homeowners are in the majority: 64.3 percent of households, compared with 81.8 percent in the rest of the West Bank. An additional 27.4 percent of households rent the premises where they live, while 1.5 percent lease shelter from UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency). A somewhat larger group (6.8 percent) of households occupies its homes without payment of cash rent (as, for example, in the case of nuclear families living in buildings or compounds owned by extended family members).

The stone that is emblematic of Jerusalem building is the most common type of construction—it is found in 65.7 percent of the households. The rest are built of cement and bricks (18.3 percent), cement and stone (15.2 percent), or other materials (0.7 percent). The outer walls of 85.7 percent of the structures are made of stone; 8.8 percent have brick exteriors and 5.5 concrete.³

Jerusalem district households are considerably better off than those in the West Bank as regards main sources of drinking and cooking water. The percentage of households with access to tap water is 98.5 percent, compared with 71.4 percent in the West Bank. Of these, 4.7 percent experience cut-offs in the water supply on a weekly basis. Public sewage hookups are connected to 64.7 percent of the households, compared with only 19.2 in the West Bank. Most of the remaining households (34.1 percent) rely on septic tanks or cesspools, with 1.2 percent using other means. Almost all the households (99.5 percent) are connected to the electricity network. (See the sections on electricity, water, and sanitation, under “Infrastructure and Services,” for more information.)

Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem suffer from severe overcrowding. While Jews in Jerusalem enjoy a housing density of one person per room, Arabs experience a density of 2.2 persons per room.

Deterioration of Housing and Living Conditions

For those Palestinian Jerusalemites who remain within the municipal boundaries, the policies implemented by the Israeli municipal and central governments have a profoundly negative social impact, adversely affecting standards of living. Recent studies, including a socio-economic survey conducted by the Palestinian Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC), indicate the problems of housing and living conditions that Palestinians increasingly confront.⁴ An estimated 21,000 Palestin-

ian families suffer from inadequate housing or conditions tantamount to homelessness. This figure is an extrapolation of the results of a 1980 study on housing conditions in East Jerusalem commissioned by the Jerusalem municipality. It concluded that 18,000 additional housing units were then needed to serve Palestinians living in East Jerusalem.

Table 1: Household Density

PERSONS PER ROOM	% OF HOUSEHOLDS
fewer than one	12.5
1-1.9	45.6
2-2.9	25.9
3 or more	15.9
Average density	1.92

Table 2: Household Composition

ROOM	% OF HOUSEHOLDS
Kitchen	96.0
Bathroom	79.4
1 room	6.0
2 rooms	21.7
3 rooms	27.7
4 rooms	26.0
5+ rooms	18.6
0 bedrooms	6.1
1 bedroom	31.3
2 bedrooms	39.3
3 bedrooms	20.1

Israeli Housing And Planning Policies

The 1992 report of the Kubersky Committee on Jerusalem, established by the Israeli Ministry of the Interior, projects a Jewish majority of more than 77 percent for the Jerusalem region by the year 2020, with the increase in population split about evenly between the municipality and surrounding West Bank settlements.⁵

Israel has succeeded in its goal of maintaining a 3:1 Israeli:Palestinian population ratio, through intricate bureaucratic restrictions for Palestinian East Jerusalem residents. As alluded to in the introduction to this chapter, Israeli housing and planning policies are responsible for decreasing the Palestinian population while simultaneously increasing the Israeli population in East Jerusalem, policies such as the following:

1. *Enlarging municipal boundaries to include Palestinian land while excluding Palestinian population.* The annexed city was expanded from 27,000 to 30,750 acres through the inclusion of land from the surrounding West Bank villages. The new, extended boundaries were drawn to include as much land as possible from these villages, but to exclude concentrations of Palestinian population. A series of subsequent boundary expansions further increased the municipal area. On 14 August 1952, 35,500 dunams were expropriated in West

Jerusalem. On 26 July 1964, 38,100 dunams were expropriated, likewise, in West Jerusalem only. The far more extensive expropriations in the wake of the 1967 war included huge tracts of East Jerusalem land (108,000 dunams, on 28 June 1967). On 11 May 1993, another 123,000 dunams were expropriated. The 1992 annexation was of 15,000 dunams just west of city, including Kibbutz Ramat Rachel.

2. *Keeping Palestinian land unplanned or declaring "green areas" which cannot be used for housing.* Due to the lack of zoning in some sections and the zoning of available land as a "green areas" in others, building permits in East Jerusalem are almost impossible to obtain. If a perceived need to build Jewish settlements on these lands arises, however, the Municipality of Jerusalem simply abolishes the "green area" categorization. In some cases, Jewish housing units are built on confiscated sections of former "green areas," next to a remaining section of Palestinian land that must be left vacant. The Shu'fat Ridge and the Har Homa neighborhood are two recent cases in point.
3. *Excluding Palestinians from the planning process.* Since the annexation of East Jerusalem, the policy planning has always been the exclusive function and responsibility of officials in the municipality, whether elected or appointed. These Israelis have made decisions for the Palestinian east of Jerusalem regarding the planning needs, development plans, and future trends, without even consulting local residents or inviting them or their representatives to participate.
4. *Expropriating Palestinian land for Jewish construction and confining Palestinian construction to built-up areas.* Jerusalem municipal master plans set aside about half of the expanded area of East Jerusalem for Jewish settlements and Israeli institutions. Of the 18,250 acres in East Jerusalem, 7,250 have been expropriated or will soon be expropriated for the building of Jewish settlements. About 47 percent of the land, 8,750 acres, is unplanned or zoned as "green."⁶ That leaves only 14 percent of the land—2,500 acres—on which Palestinians can build, and most of it has already been built upon. Space for building in East Jerusalem is thus confined to a few remaining vacant parcels scattered among the 22,860 existing housing units. Planners estimate that the vacant land could accommodate no more than 15,000 units, far fewer than the number currently required, to say nothing of projected needs.
5. *Demolishing unlicensed Palestinian homes to keep areas vacant for future confiscation to further Jewish development.* Demolitions of Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem are carried out by officials from the municipality and the Ministry of the Interior on the premise that the structures were built or renovated without Israeli permits. Permits are exceedingly difficult for Palestinians to obtain. Since 1992 an annual average of 150 building permits have been issued to Palestinians in East Jerusalem, the majority for renovations or expan-

sions to existing buildings. In contrast, Jewish residents of West Jerusalem are issued between 1,500 and 3,000 permits annually. In 1994 only 162 building licenses were issued in East Jerusalem, compared with 1,553 in West Jerusalem.⁷ New housing starts are discouraged by special licensing procedures that apply only for Palestinians. Despite the ease with which West Jerusalem residents can obtain building permits, the city comptroller reports massive illegal construction: 2,019 cases in 1992 (compared with 226 violations in East Jerusalem) and 1,509 cases in 1993 (compared with 361 in East Jerusalem). In the vast majority of the West Jerusalem cases, the municipality provided real estate developers with retroactive approvals through a contrivance known as spot zoning. In contrast, spot zoning has never been utilized in Palestinian East Jerusalem. More than 220 Palestinian homes have been demolished by the Israeli authorities in East Jerusalem since mid-1986 for licensing reasons.⁸ Demolitions of Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem in the last decade were carried out at a rate of approximately 50 per year.

In sharp contrast is the rapid approval of housing plans for Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem: 30,000 new units are in the process of construction, approved since the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the Palestinians was signed in September 1993. The Israeli Ministry of the Interior has failed to approve long-standing plans for 10,000 additional housing units for Palestinians, despite the Jerusalem municipality's findings in 1980 that 18,000 housing units for East Jerusalem's Palestinians were needed immediately. In 1993 a plan to allow 7,500 units was finally approved, but has yet to be implemented, due to delays in required reparcellation.⁹

6. *Palestinian emigration from East Jerusalem.* Emigration is a significant repercussion of Israeli housing and planning policies and residency restrictions. A sample study conducted in 1993 by Dr. Bernard Sabella, political scientist at Bethlehem University, estimated that Palestinians have emigrated with their families in very large numbers since 1967.¹⁰

- 16,917 Palestinians from East Jerusalem have emigrated abroad.
- 12,080 Palestinian Jerusalemites were forced to move outside the borders of the annexed areas because of the lack of housing in East Jerusalem.
- 12,500 Palestinians are currently living in the northern Jerusalem area beyond the municipal boundaries and therefore are subject to loss of benefits.
- 7,630 Palestinian Jerusalemites were outside the country or outside the Jerusalem municipal boundaries in 1967 and were never issued Jerusalem identity cards. Therefore, under Israeli law they do not have the right to return.
- Several thousand more lost identity cards by living outside of East Jerusalem for six years or more and cannot return. Any land inherited or owned by these people in East Jerusalem is taken over by the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property.

Overall, the sophisticated use by Israel of zoning and planning procedures, accompanied by other measures, has resulted in the displacement since 1967 of an estimated 50,000 Palestinian Jerusalemites to outside the municipal boundaries or outside the OT.

PART II: INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Jerusalem's Palestinian population pays 26 percent of the total cost of municipal services through a property tax known as the *arnona*, but they receive only five percent of these services. By contrast, to encourage Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem, Jewish settlers are exempted from municipal tax for a period of five years, after which they are only charged at a reduced rate. In 1996 a seven-percent tax break for settlers was extended. This disparate treatment is further exacerbated by the zoning of Palestinian neighborhoods in the highest property tax brackets, in spite of blatantly substandard services and the residents' much lower incomes compared with Jerusalem's Jewish residents.

Published findings based on a 1992 municipality report indicate a pattern of discrimination in services and infrastructure between Palestinian and Jewish residents of Jerusalem. On 3 May 1994 Jerusalem mayoral advisor on Arab affairs Amir Cheshin publicized the findings of the previously unpublished report, which compared municipal expenditures in West Jerusalem with those in East Jerusalem (excluding Jewish settlements there). According to Cheshin, the report, covering a number of budget items, revealed that only 2 to 12 percent (in most cases, closer to 2 percent) of the total municipal budget for services was invested in infrastructure in East Jerusalem. The report stated that, "In half of the neighborhoods in the eastern city there is no organized sewerage system and other parts are in severe need of repair....Half the [water] system needs to be replaced and there are severe drainage problems." Other serious problems noted in the report included maintenance and lighting.¹¹

In response to the study, Mayor Ehud Olmert shifted blame to his predecessor, longtime former mayor Teddy Kollek: "For 27 years, not enough was done to close the gap between the two sectors, and the division became only greater...[we have] the slogans of a unified city and the reality of a divided city."¹² Nonetheless, Olmert has continued the same policies.

The *arnona* tax finances 50 percent of the following activities and services for the city residents:

1. *Fire department services.* There is only one facility in East Jerusalem, causing severe delays in response times.
2. *Parks and public playgrounds.* There are only two public parks serving East Jerusalem. One is in Beit Hanina, with no more than 50 square meters serving 50,000 residents of northeast Jerusalem. The other public park is located close

to the central business district, far from the residential neighborhoods in the center of the city.

3. *Services and activities for children and the elderly.* The municipality allocates \$500 million annually (1994 figures) for services for children and the elderly. Jerusalem statistics indicating that 27 percent of Jerusalem residents are under the poverty level do not include East Jerusalem. The city claims it does not have sufficient information on the social situation in East Jerusalem, thereby exonerating itself from providing adequate services to Palestinian elderly and children.
4. *Education: schools, kindergartens, and student clubs.* Detailed information follows.
5. *Electricity.* Detailed information follows.
6. *Water supply.* Detailed information follows.
7. *Sanitation, sewage and garbage collection.* Detailed information follows.
8. *Road construction and maintenance, lighting, signs, and parking.* Detailed information follows, under "traffic studies."

The Educational System

Schools in East Jerusalem are affiliated with different school systems, reflecting the different educational authorities operating in the city and the present status quo, a consequence of the Israeli occupation. School systems in Jerusalem are not significantly different from those operating in other Palestinian cities, with the exception of the Jerusalem public schools, which are run by the municipality. It refuses to permit any Palestinian interference in the functioning of these schools.

Public schools came under the control of the municipality only after the annexation of the Arab city of Jerusalem as a result of the 1967 war. The remaining schools continued to operate under other educational authorities, mainly private (Christian), UNRWA (United Nations sponsorship), and the Islamic *Waqf*.

Sixty percent of East Jerusalem students attend private schools. The public school facilities administered by the municipality are inadequate. Classrooms are overcrowded, with an average of 50 children per classroom, compared with 35 students in the average West Jerusalem classroom. Supplementary classrooms are often rented in inappropriate facilities, while the municipality has failed to issue building permits for private schools on the grounds that master plans have not been approved.

The average number of pupils per classroom remained steady at 28, up until the year 1993–94, when the average reached 30, continuing upward to 31 in 1995–96. Between 1987 and 1994, while the number of classrooms increased by 113, the number of pupils increased by 4,496. The total number of children ages 5–14 and 15–19 was 58,600 in 1994, while the total number of students registered in the different school systems during that year was 45,830. *This leaves a total of 12,770 children between the age of 5 and 19 not accounted for as pupils, unreg-*

istered in any of the existing school systems. While the average number of pupils per classroom, as stated, was 28 in 1987–88, reaching 31.20 in 1995–96, the primary schools went from 29.68 pupils to 32.62; the intermediate, from 28.84 to 30.00; and the secondary schools, from 29.63 to 31.18.

**Table 3: Classes and Pupils in Official Educational Institutions
in East Jerusalem, 1987–1988 and 1995–1996**

Year	Kinder- gartens	NUMBER OF CLASSES				Total No. of Classes
		Primary Schools	Interme- diate Schools	Secondary Schools	Education for Handicapped Children	
1987–88	50	305	118	80	22	575
1988–89	48	306	125	80	33	592
1989–90	47	307	124	93	33	604
1990–91	48	300	127	84	38	597
1991–92	48	286	180	98	39	651
1992–93	49	338	135	98	39	659
1993–94	58	347	169	103	11	688
1995–96	66	380	183	104	11	744
Year	Kinder- gartens	NUMBER OF PUPILS				Total Number of Pupils
		Educa- tion for Primary Schools	Interme- diate Schools	Secondary Schools	Education for Handicapped Children	
1987–88	1,331	9,052	3,403	2,370	-----	16,156
1988–89	1,301	9,145	3,524	2,412	110	16,492
1989–90	1,304	9,343	3,742	2,518	180	17,069
1990–91	1,181	9,471	3,880	2,557	135	17,224
1991–92	1,481	9,857	4,164	2,771	286	18,559
1992–93	1,510	10,090	4,235	2,890	310	19,035
1993–94	1,701	10,995	4,956	3,096	104	20,852
1995–96	1,947	12,394	5,489	3,243	101	23,174

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.

Table 4 shows that the number of pupils registered in official institutions was 20,852 of a total of 45,830, or 45 percent. In normal situations the authority has full responsibility for providing enough classrooms and schools to all pupils in the region under its control. It is up to the pupils and their parents to decide freely between public schools or other options. Yet in East Jerusalem many children register at private schools because public schools have limited absorption capacity, forcing potential pupils to seek academic shelter in other available educational systems. This explains why Table 3 shows only a slight yearly increase in the number of new classrooms with a similar increment for new pupils that does not correspond to the real increase in potential new pupils. To deflect attention from an official policy to discourage new students from enrolling in public school, and

from comparison of the total number of pupils annually compared with the population increments, the municipality has focused on the average number of pupils per classroom, rather than looking into ways to include more pupils in the public education system.

Table 4: Institutions, Classes, Pupils, and Average Number of Pupils Per Class in the Educational System in East Jerusalem, 1994–1995

	INSTITUTIONS	CLASSES	PUPILS	AVERAGE NO. PUPILS PER CLASS
Official Institutions:				
Kindergartens	21	58	1,701	29.3
Primary Schools	27	347	10,995	31.7
Intermediate	22	169	4,956	29.3
Secondary	6	103	3,096	30.1
Handicapped	3	11	104	9.5
Total	79	688	20,852	30.3
Private Schools	36	540	15,313	28.4
Waqf Schools	16	145	7,503	51.7
UNRWA Schools	6	59	2,162	36.6
GRAND TOTAL	137	1,432	45,830	32.0

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.

Electricity

Both Israeli and Palestinian sources have estimated that almost 100 percent of households in East Jerusalem are connected to the electricity grid.¹³ In 1988,

Table 5: Electricity Supply in East Jerusalem, by type of consumer, 1991–1994

YEAR	INDUSTRIAL CONSUMPTION		COMMERCIAL & PUBLIC CONSUMPTION		DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION			TOTAL USE (millions kw/h)
	use (millions kw/h)	no. of consumers (1000s)	use (millions kw/h)	no. of consumers (1000s)	average use (kw/h) sq	use (millions kw/h)	no. of consumers (1000s)	
'90–'91	27.7	0.3	70.8	14.8	2,512	166.5	66.7	285.2
'91–'92	36.4	0.3	85.9	15.0	2,753	188.7	68.5	385.4
'93	39.6	0.3	103.6	15.8	2,904	206.2	70.9	379.6
'94	40.1	0.3	108.7	15.9	2,986	227.3	71.3	393.4

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.

due to financial difficulties, the Jerusalem Electric Company was forced to sign an agreement with the Israeli electricity supplier giving up areas that had been under

its control, including the East Jerusalem settlements and military bases. The settlements, calculated as 33 percent of the total customer base, were consuming 43 percent of the electricity. The Israel Electric Corporation charges the Jerusalem Electric Company the full price of 25.16 agurot for each kilowatt (no reductions) and the Jerusalem Electric Company sells it to their customers at a rate of 28.18 agurot per kilowatt.¹⁴ The difference in price covers expenses—and salaries that are lucrative by OT standards.

Table 6: Number of Consumers in the District of Jerusalem, 1996

NAME OF AREA	NO. CONSUMERS	NAME OF AREA	NO. CONSUMERS
A-Ram	2593	Beit Duqqu	160
Dahiyat al-Barid	1994	Hizma	380
Abu Dis	1645	Silwan	2233
Beit A ^c nan	385	Sur Baher	1155
Jaba ^c	208	Beit Safafa, Sharafat	541
al-Jdeira	148	al-Tur	1966
Sheikh Hasan	329	al-Suwwana	384
Old Beit Hanina	207	al-Matar (airport)	775
Qibya	236	al-Sawahra	1394
Biddu	517	al-Thuri	930
al-Azariyya	2364	Wadi Helwa	459
Qalandia Camp	1037	Shu ^c fat	1561
Anata	1015	Shu ^c fat Camp	1057
Qalandia village	66	New Beit Hanina	1994
Bir Nabala	929	al-Musrara	189
al-Jib	426	Sheikh Jarrah	566
Qatannah	538	al-Isawiyya	767
Beit Surik	237	Qalandia	465
al-Sawahra	485	Kufr Aqab	808
al-Sharqiya			
Mekhmas	260	Wadi Joz, Bab al-Sahra	2847
Beit Iksha	166	Old City	5560
Beit Ijza	51		

source: Jerusalem Electricity Company, 1996.

Table 5 shows an increase in consumption of about 108 million kilowatts per hour over a period of four years in East Jerusalem, the equivalent of 38 percent of the original total consumption. The increase was not distributed evenly between industrial, commercial, and domestic use. For industry, the increased consumption reached 45 percent, while the increased consumption in the commercial sector peaked at 54 percent, leaving an increase of only 37 percent or a total of 227.3

million kilowatts per hour for the domestic sector. It is worth noting that in 1994 East Jerusalem, with 87,500 consumers, used 393.4 million kilowatts per hour, while West Jerusalem, with 160,900 consumers, used 2,049.3 million. In other words, East Jerusalem used only 19 percent of the amount of electricity used by West Jerusalem (16.1 percent of the total).

Water Resources and Sanitation

Wells

After the year 1948, Israel dug 27 deep wells in West Jerusalem, which affected the water quality and quantity supplied to East Jerusalem.¹⁵ Between the time that East Jerusalem was occupied in 1967 and 1976, Israel constructed seven new deep wells in East Jerusalem.¹⁶ Three of these wells are located in the area of Umm Tuba and Sur Baher. One of them is near Wadi Joz on the eastern side of Mount Scopus and another is located to the east of the settlement of Neve Ya'akov, while the last wells are located west of the settlement of Gilo and near al-Walja village in the Bethlehem District.

There are reports indicating that the Israel intends to drill ten or more additional wells in the area. Through field work carried out by the Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem (ARIJ), three new groundwater wells were identified in areas of East Jerusalem. Two of these wells are located close to the entrance of Mishor Adumim settlement on the Jerusalem-Jericho road. The third well is located east of the settlement of Ma'aleh Adumim. These wells supplied water to the Israeli settlements nearby.

Although there are more than 35 wells in Jerusalem district, the information available concerns only three of them, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Available Information About Three Wells in the Jerusalem Area

Well	Aquifer	SWL	Chloride (mg/l)	
1	LC	418	68	SWL = Static Water Level
2	LC	360	39	LC = Lower Cenomanian
3	UC	150	--	UC = Upper Cenomanian

source: Knorfield and Rosenthal, 1992.

One of the major springs in the Jerusalem district is the Silwan spring, located in the village of Silwan south of the Old City. Quite recently the Jerusalem municipality designated the site of this spring a tourist site, closed to all but those who pay to visit. The average annual flow of this spring is between 60,000 to

80,000 m³.¹⁷ Historically, this spring was a major source of water for Jerusalem. Table 8 shows the available information about the springs in the district.

Table 8: Springs In the Jerusalem District

CLOSEST TOWN OR VILLAGE	SPRING NAME	AVERAGE FLOW (M ³ /HR)
Silwan	Silwan	518.40
al-Azariyya	al-Houd	4.32
Qatannah	al-Balad	67.82
Beit Duqqu	Salman	30.24
	Jafna	12.96
Beit A ^c nan	Ajab	17.28
Hizma	Fora	1,166.40
	Jumaiza	129.60
	al-Ra ^c yan	345.60
al-Jib	al-Balad	8.21
Beit Surik	al-Balad	25.92

source: Palestinian Hydrology Group, 1989.

Piped-In Water Supply

Most populated areas of Jerusalem district are connected to a system of water pipes. An indoor public system supplies 98.5 percent of households, while 0.9 percent rely on an outdoor public system, 0.4 on individual wells, 0.1 percent on tanker trucks, and 0.2 percent on other sources of water. Most households (87.2 percent) never use secondary sources of water. Fully 98.4 percent stated that they do not experience water shortages.¹⁸ (Among the minority of households indicating reliance on secondary sources of drinking and cooking water, 4.7 percent used them once a week; 1.1 percent, once a month; and 6.9 percent, "rarely.")

The northern part of the district is supplied with water from the Jerusalem Water Undertaking. It includes the towns and villages of Anata, A-Ram, Beit A^cnan, Beit Duqqu, Beit Hanina, Beit Ijza, Beit Ikse, Beit Surik, Biddu, Bir Nabala, Hizma, Jaba^c, al-Jib, Judeira, Kufr Aqab, Nabi Samwil, Qatannah, al-Qbeiba, Rafat, and Shu^cfat. The price for each cubic meter supplied there is between NIS (new Israeli shekel) 3.00 and 4.50, depending on the amount of water consumed.

Other areas (mainly East Jerusalem) are supplied through the Municipality of Jerusalem and are connected to its network. Prices are similar. Part of the network was built by the Jordanians before 1967 and developed by the Israeli municipality by adding new lines. The lines in the Palestinian neighborhoods are laid over ground and they are slated to be replaced by a new underground water network.

In 1984 the municipality decided to start replacing the temporary network with a new one. By the middle of 1995 new lines had been laid in the Old City, Bab al-Zahira, Sheikh Jarrah, and Shu^cfat. Only 30 percent of the plan was carried out;

the remainder has still not been executed.¹⁹ An additional 2 million NIS is required for network development. The status of the plan as of May 1994 in other parts of East Jerusalem is as follows, according to Israel's Water Section Administration reports:

Beit Safafa: The town was connected to Bethlehem water network in 1980, after which it was re-connected to the Jerusalem network following replacement of the main lines. Further work would entail an additional NIS .35 million.

South of East Jerusalem: In the villages of Silwan, Abu Dis, Sur Baher and Umm Tuba, the temporary network is still in use and has not been replaced. The high variances in elevation between these villages (580–780 meters) produce large differences in pressure, and this creates problems. A 1984 plan prepared by the sewage and water department would divide the areas to the south of East Jerusalem into three basic pressure areas, constructing six reservoirs and using a pressure reducer to diminish the pressure in areas with low elevations. This plan requires NIS 18 million in additional capital, beyond the NIS 20 million first estimated (1984 figures). To date, 30 percent of these plans have been carried out.²⁰

Northeast of Sur Baher: A plan to replace the water network, requiring NIS 0.6 million in capital, has not been carried out because of construction of a road and sewage line.

Silwan and al-Sala^ca: The existing network is a temporary one which was constructed immediately after 1967. There is a plan to replace this network at a cost of approximately NIS 4 million.

Beit Hanina and Kufr Aqab: Most consumers are connected to the Al-Bireh-Ramallah network, which is supplied with water through the Jerusalem Water Undertaking. The network is very old and cannot meet the demands placed on it. The sewage and water department of the Israeli municipality has decided to replace it; the capital required for development is approximately NIS 18.3 million.²¹

The total capital required to cover the development of the water network in East Jerusalem according to the Israeli municipal specifications is around NIS 52.3 million. The lack of planning schemes and infrastructure plans creates difficulties in the development of the network. However, in general the water status at East of Jerusalem is relatively good. Major problems can be solved by planning and executing the new networks.

Wastewater

Wastewater infrastructure in the Jerusalem district is very poor. The Muslim and Christian Quarters in the Old City of Jerusalem are the only two areas that have adequate sewerage systems, due to the importance of the locations to tourism. In half of East Jerusalem neighborhoods, there is no organized sewerage system. According to the Municipality of Jerusalem, in 1994 there were 15 kilometers of sewerage lines in East Jerusalem, while the need exists for more than 150 kilome-

ters. In most of the district, where no wastewater networks exist, wastewater is disposed of in cesspools.

In the areas of al-Tur, Isawiyya, Sheikh Jarrah, Bab al-Zahira, Beit Hanina and Shu'fat Refugee Camp,²² 60 percent of the households are covered by a wastewater system. In the village of Bir Nabala²³ the figure is 80 percent. Anata,²⁴ in contrast, enjoys only 25 percent coverage, and in the Qalandia refugee camp²⁵ coverage stands at only 10 percent. Several villages in the Jerusalem district lack a wastewater network altogether, including Rafat, al-Jib, Biddu, Beit Surik, Beit Ijza, and Beit Iksha.

There are no records of the amount of wastewater produced in the Jerusalem area, but ARIJ estimates the amount to be approximately 12 mcm per year.²⁶ This figure is based upon a 35 m³/year (95 l/c/d) per capita water consumption by the 0.43 million inhabitants of the Jerusalem district. The assumed per capita water consumption is high, and thus the assumed figure for wastewater production is high. The 1991 figures from the annual report of the Jerusalem department in the Israeli Ministry of the Environment indicate that the amount of wastewater collected in Jerusalem (East and West) is around 100,000 m³/day (36.5 mcm/year). In the Jerusalem district there are more than 70 industries producing substantial amounts of wastewater, including as several leather tanning and manufacturing factories, a cigarette factory and two chemical product factories.

There is only one small treatment plant in Ein Karem, with limited capacity. It is able to treat only 13,000 m³/day of wastewater. The technology applied there is known as activated sludge, and at present it functions as a pilot treatment plant. The rest of the collected wastewater drains into the wadis to the east and west of Jerusalem. One of the wadis in which wastewater is disposed is the Kidron Valley, located on the southeastern side of the city. The wastewater produced in the Old City, Wadi Joz, Silwan, Abu Tor, and certain parts of the Talpiot neighborhood is disposed of into this wadi, together with the stormwater runoff. In addition to the disposing of wastewater into the Kidron Valley, wastewater is disposed of into Wadi al-Nar.²⁷ Raw wastewater mixes with the perennial water flow and a major part ends up in the Dead Sea, while some percolates into the ground, thus (most probably) contaminating the groundwater. When this mix of water is flowing, it is used for irrigating vegetables, which may then be eaten raw, inducing health hazards.

The Jerusalem municipality has plans to start to construct a wastewater treatment plant in the very near future, similar in scale to the Dan Region Reclamation Project (for the greater Tel Aviv area). The new facility would treat the wastewater of West and part of East Jerusalem, in addition to the wastewater of the West Bank towns of Bethlehem, Beit Jala and Beit Sahur.

A major problem is the emptying of cesspools, which are widely used in Jerusalem in the localities where no wastewater systems exist. These pits are emptied by vacuum trucks and the contents are disposed of either in the wadis or on agri-

cultural lands, which induces severe health hazards. As an example, septage from cesspools in Rafat, al-Jib and Biddu is disposed of at the entrances to these villages, while septage from Beit Surik, Beit Ijza and Beit Iksa is disposed of on agricultural lands. Flooding of cesspools is a problem in many villages, among them Biddu, al-Jib, Beit Ijza, Hizma, Kufr Aqab, Judeira, Rafat, Beit Surik, Beit A^cnan and Qalandia.

Wastewater from Israeli settlements is a further environmental problem. Flowing without treatment, it reaches nearby Palestinian villages, causing nuisance. The village of Qatannah is an example; there the wastewater of the Israeli kibbutz Ma^caleh Hahamisha flows near the Palestinian agricultural lands. The wastewater of Neve Ya^cakov flowing through Hizma is another example.²⁸

Solid Waste

The solid waste services in the Jerusalem district are likewise not adequate. There are no sanitary landfills in the area and waste management is carried out by either the Israeli municipality (in East Jerusalem, although the services are not adequate), by local village councils, or by committees of local citizens. As an example of the inadequacy of solid waste services in East Jerusalem, there are approximately 83 trash collectors, while the required number is around 125.²⁹ In addition, the containers are not emptied regularly, and most of the time the solid waste is burned inside the container, thus causing the deterioration of the air quality in the neighborhood.

There are two dump sites, one near the village of Abu Dis and the other near Shu^cfat. The area of the Abu Dis dump site, which is the main site, is around 300 hectares, but it is located in a Palestinian residential neighborhood. This site is managed by the Israeli municipality.³⁰ There is no information available about the Shu^cfat dump site, except that, as in Abu Dis, it is not a sanitary site.

In 1995 the Center for Engineering and Planning carried out a field survey for 33 Palestinian localities concerning solid waste services.³¹ In 80 percent of the surveyed localities, solid waste collection services do exist. It may be of interest to note here that only five to ten percent of taxes paid by Palestinians in East Jerusalem are spent on services, including solid waste, delivered to the Arabic part of the city.³² This explains why the services in East Jerusalem are so poor.

Traffic Studies

Introduction

Data on traffic in East Jerusalem are incomplete and almost unavailable to researchers and analysts, or at least unattainable for use outside the municipality, supposedly the only institution interested in such information. Moreover, the information is old and does not reflect the situation as it exists today. To upgrade the data, it is necessary to conduct complementary studies to either confirm the validity of the information or exclude its usage. Thus, despite constraints, our research

team tried to gather the needed data through fieldwork. It is always possible through a traffic count at certain intersections to identify the total number of vehicles entering or leaving an area.

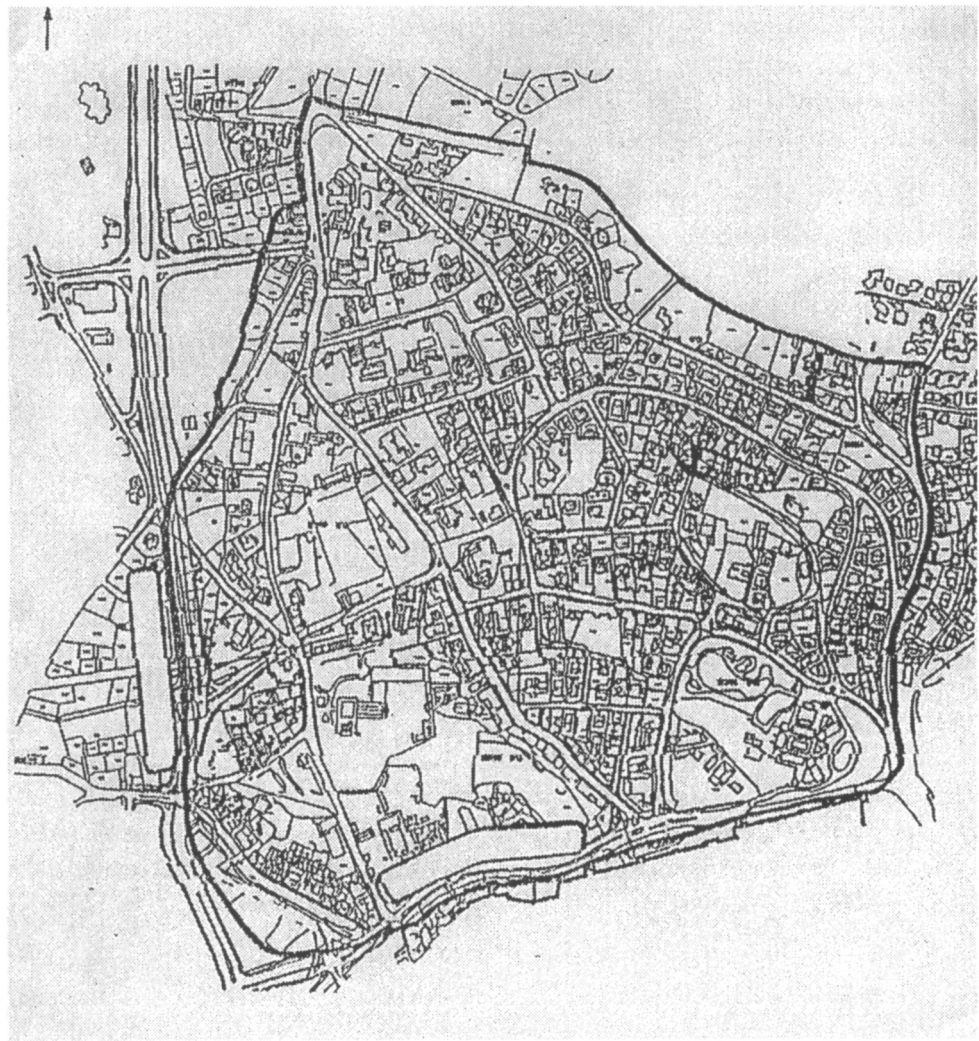
Traffic patterns have been greatly influenced by the decisions of the Israeli authorities imposing full closure on East Jerusalem. Closure prevents the Palestinians residing in West Bank and Gaza Strip from reaching East Jerusalem. East Jerusalem was always dependent on outside visitors coming to the city for a variety of purposes. This translated into a dynamic public transportation network, with active schedules and wide service coverage of areas outside the city. Strict imposition of the closure over time brought an end to this situation. Palestinian vehicles without Jerusalem license plates were prevented from reaching the city. This eliminated certain types of trips and reduced the amount of traffic to a minimum. Thus, the traffic count that we recorded does not in any way reflect the real situation which existed prior to the closure, and it is important to realize that the existing level of activity in East Jerusalem is at most half of what previously characterized the city. But since the present situation has continued since 1993, it is difficult to predict any other situation for the near future.

Roads built in East Jerusalem to connect settlements are maintained with adequate traffic signs and lighting, whereas streets inside the Arab neighborhoods are poorly maintained and lack adequate traffic signs and street lights. Streets are narrow with no possibilities for expansion and widening. The area close to the central business district and the Old City (see figure 1) suffers from congestion and parking problems, since it attracts a variety of visitors. The presence of both East Jerusalem bus stations near the central business district and the Old City adds to the appeal of the area, but at the same time it contributes to the congestion and delay in travel time for vehicles using the main streets.

Air and Noise Pollution

Car emissions are a major source of air pollution in Jerusalem district and are concentrated in the main streets of East Jerusalem. Because the capacity of the streets is not adequate to cope with the increasing number of vehicles, they are obliged to drive at low speeds, resulting in an increase of carbon monoxide emissions by 300 percent since 1993. A high concentration of lead in the air can be expected, due to the use of leaded gasoline by cars. Buses use diesel, which emit large amounts of sulfate. At the two main bus stations in East Jerusalem, buses usually keep their engines running. In addition to producing noxious emissions, this adds to noise pollution. The congestion also increases the severity of the noise pollution problem. Gas stations are located in residential areas, which induces health hazards due to accidental spillages and emissions of the volatile fuels.

Fig. 1



Though not traffic-related, further sources of air pollution bear mentioning here. One such source is the industrial area at Atarot. Dust particles and toxic gases are emitted from the chemical factories there. In the neighborhood of A-Ram, stone-cutting factories emit dust particles into the air. Available data indicate that another major pollutant of Jerusalem's air is ozone, which appears to be transported to the city from the industrial areas located along the coastal plains of Israel. There are also negligible concentrations of other gaseous pollutants. These emissions are carried westward to Jerusalem. And as we have seen, burning of solid waste in containers is a source of air pollution in the Jerusalem district and stems from the inadequacy of solid waste collection services.

Traffic Volume In and Out of Jerusalem

To address the impact of the closure in Jerusalem, the Rimal Engineering Consultant Group (RECG) conducted fresh fieldwork to take new realities into account and measure the effect on the movement of persons, goods and vehicles. RECG's first step was to identify the total volume of traffic entering and leaving the borders of East Jerusalem. The main locations considered essential for the study were those where Israeli military control stations (roadblocks) stand. These stations, once thought temporary, have turned out to have a seemingly permanent status, forcing the Palestinian population to accommodate itself to the new realities imposed unilaterally. The control stations identified for the study (see figure 2) were: (a) A-Ram / Dahiyat al-Barid; (b) al-Zayyem; (c) Ras al-Amud; and (d) Bethlehem.

The study ignored the other existing Jerusalem road connections, since they are used exclusively by the Israelis. The selected control stations connect the isolated East Jerusalem from its natural hinterland in the West Bank. These are the important control stations to consider if the intention is to cover the movement of most Arab vehicles going in and out of the city. The study lasted for twelve hours, from 7:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. A distinction was made between Palestinian and Israeli vehicles and between types of vehicles. Vehicle types included: private cars, buses, trucks, commercial vehicles, vans, and Israeli vehicles. The analysis yielded peak hour, peak volume, and total volume for the entrances and exits of the different control stations.

Traffic Counts at Major Intersections in the CBD

In our team's traffic count, the central business district was taken as the study area. On two occasions the Israeli police prevented the team from continuing its count, but it was lucky the third time, managing to continue counts for twelve hours and obtain most of the information needed. The team was also able gain access to parts of certain traffic studies done on behalf of the Jerusalem municipality in 1993, covering the central business district (CBD) of East Jerusalem.

Seven intersections were watched for a duration of 13 hours, from 6:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. The intersections were (1) adjacent to the Rockefeller Museum; (2) Sultan Suleiman, Salah Eddin, and Ibn Sina^c streets; (3) Sultan Suleiman, Nablus

fig. 2

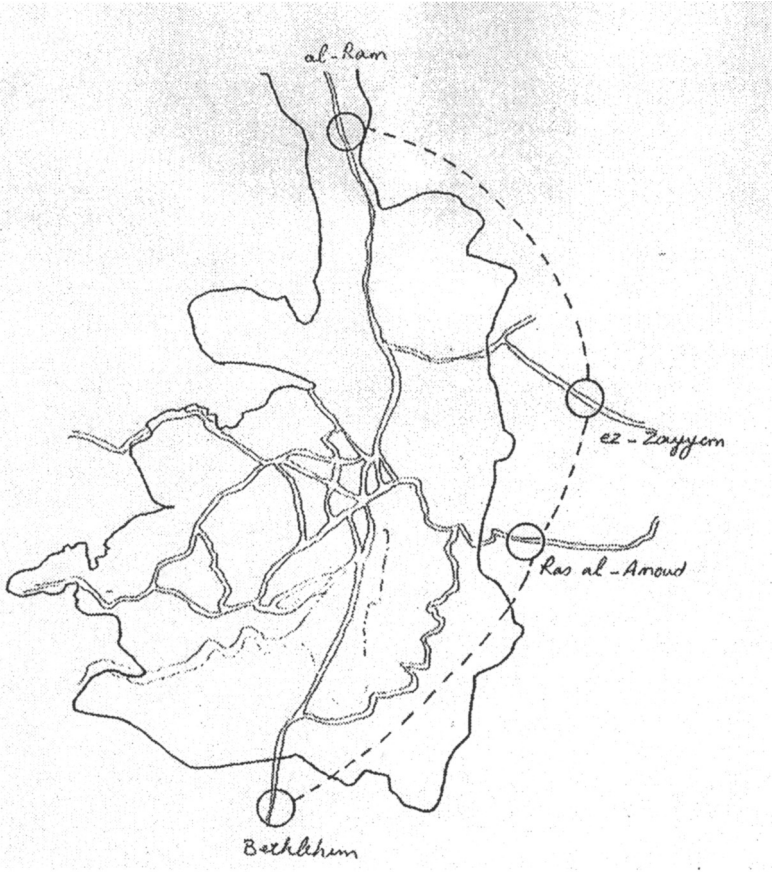


Table 9: Total Volume—Entrance

Time	Location			
	Ras al-Amud	al-Zayyem	Bethlehem	A-Ram
7:00–8:00	338	38	38	788
7:15–8:15	370	24	30	794
7:30–8:30	369	19	26	815
7:45–8:45	351	13	25	773
8:00–9:00	323	11	35	770
8:15–9:15	300	16	40	764
8:30–9:30	273	16	44	804
8:45–9:45	269	19	50	800
9:00–10:00	259	15	54	748
9:15–10:15	248	10	61	751
9:30–10:30	250	15	68	685
9:45–10:45	236	14	71	716
10:00–11:00	223	14	64	760
10:15–11:15	234	14	66	738
10:30–11:30	240	8	68	676
10:45–11:45	230	5	54	585
11:00–12:00	244	10	60	524
11:15–12:15	236	10	59	450
11:30–12:30	228	11	63	451
11:45–12:45	248	14	76	541
12:00–13:00	226	8	88	620
12:15–13:15	234	5	103	660
12:30–13:30	250	6	96	723
12:45–13:45	241	6	108	694
13:00–14:00	255	9	99	696
13:15–14:15	238	10	93	765
13:30–14:30	231	10	104	755
13:45–14:45	238	9	91	773
14:00–15:00	230	13	86	753
14:15–15:15	228	16	90	800
14:30–15:30	221	23	93	840
14:45–15:45	238	20	101	850
15:00–16:00	246	16	108	896
15:15–16:15	288	19	100	879
15:30–16:30	311	13	96	888
15:45–16:45	293	15	96	915
16:00–17:00	330	16	99	938
16:15–17:15	315	16	110	894
16:30–17:30	295	18	123	874
16:45–17:45	324	15	110	903
17:00–18:00	303	11	103	863
17:15–18:15	291	4	83	904
17:30–18:30	284	0	59	876
17:45–18:45	266	0	58	854
18:00–19:00	239	1	51	855

Table 10: Total Volume—Exit

Time	Location			
	Ras al-Amud	al-Zayyem	Bethlehem	A-Ram
7:00–8:00	219	58	23	985
7:15–8:15	264	49	24	999
7:30–8:30	301	40	24	979
7:45–8:45	295	43	28	956
8:00–9:00	283	44	26	965
8:15–9:15	283	58	26	934
8:30–9:30	278	60	28	961
8:45–9:45	278	71	28	956
9:00–10:00	270	73	31	893
9:15–10:15	256	66	35	913
9:30–10:30	263	65	43	914
9:45–10:45	254	50	43	903
10:00–11:00	234	44	44	916
10:15–11:15	250	34	46	900
10:30–11:30	283	28	39	886
10:45–11:45	300	24	49	826
11:00–12:00	309	31	51	804
11:15–12:15	319	36	54	846
11:30–12:30	269	33	60	828
11:45–12:45	266	31	60	879
12:00–13:00	284	25	63	891
12:15–13:15	284	28	65	883
12:30–13:30	346	38	74	884
12:45–13:45	345	44	70	878
13:00–14:00	328	46	69	861
13:15–14:15	291	39	63	820
13:30–14:30	259	35	60	795
13:45–14:45	274	38	60	819
14:00–15:00	263	40	64	840
14:15–15:15	299	46	64	845
14:30–15:30	294	56	59	863
14:45–15:45	303	51	54	836
15:00–16:00	335	60	50	850
15:15–16:15	354	66	56	873
15:30–16:30	403	53	60	885
15:45–16:45	405	53	66	945
16:00–17:00	451	39	70	993
16:15–17:15	496	23	65	1038
16:30–17:30	420	19	70	1153
16:45–17:45	424	11	70	1188
17:00–18:00	405	4	68	1191
17:15–18:15	374	3	70	1214
17:30–18:30	418	1	69	1134
17:45–18:45	393	1	68	1106
18:00–19:00	364	0	65	1054

Table 11: Total Volume/Entrance

Vehicle	Location			
	Ras al-Amud	al-Zayyem	Bethlehem	A-Ram
P	2445	90	474	6035
V	316	25	149	1473
B	121	9	144	151
T	206	26	41	686
C	125	11	75	864

Fig. 3

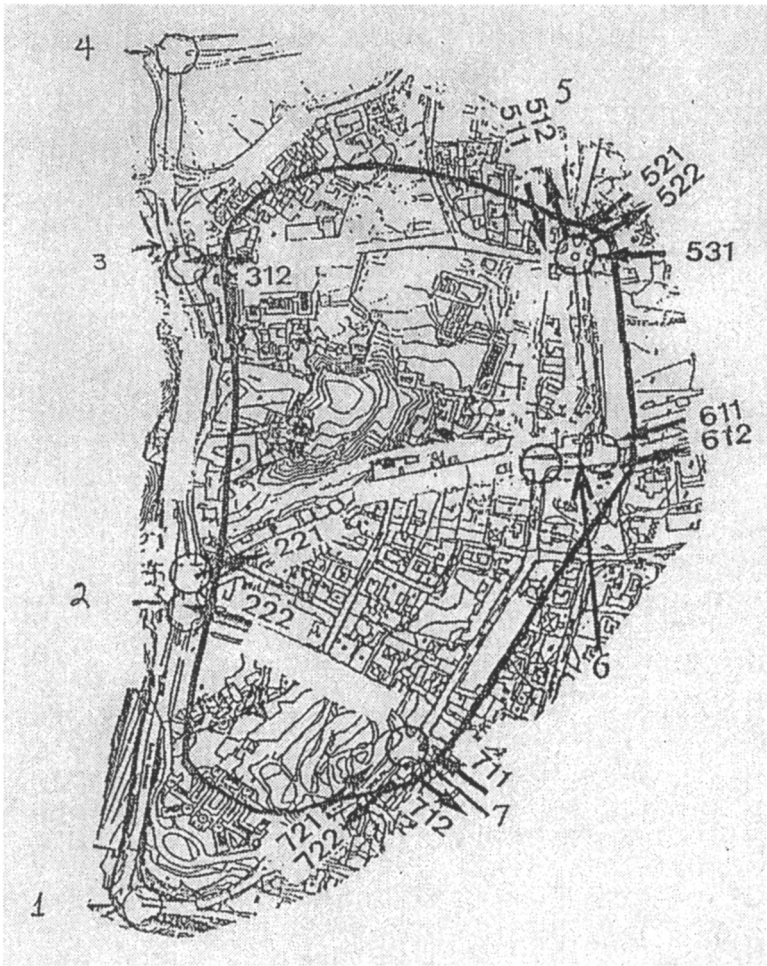


Table 12: Total Volume/Exit

Vehicle Class	Location			
	Ras al-Amud	al-Zayyem	Bethlehem	A-Ram
P	2619	118	360	7794
V	569	33	88	1813
B	115	9	163	204
T	213	269	6	818
C	228	35	6	596

Road, and Anbiya^c streets; (4) Sultan Suleiman and Road No. 1; (5) ^cAmru Ibn al-^cAas and Nablus Road; (6) Salah Eddin, al-Zahira, and ^cAmru Ibn al-^cAas; and (7) al-Zahira, Nur Eddin, and Harun a-Rashid streets (see figure 3).

Intersection 4, where Sultan Suleiman crosses Road No. 1, had the heaviest volume of traffic, followed by intersection 2: Sultan Suleiman and Salah Eddin streets. The intersections of local streets in the central business district are usually congested along Sultan Suleiman Street, whereas the volume along the northern intersections is less heavy.

Table 13: Peak Volumes

Location	Palestinian Vehicles			Israeli Vehicles		
	Peak Hour	Peak Volume	Total Volume	Peak Hour	Peak Volume	Total Volume
AL-ZAYYEM						
Entrance	7:00-8:00	38	161	7:00-8:00	1432	5957
Exit	10:00-11:00	73	463	16:00-17:00	675	5151
BETHLEHEM						
Entrance	16:30-17:30	123	883	16:30-17:30	60	349
Exit	12:30-13:30	74	623	13:30-14:30	24	161
RAS AL-AMUD						
Entrance	7:15-8:15	370	3214	7:15-8:15	105	239
Exit	16:15-17:15	496	3743	13:45-14:45	81	580
A-RAM						
Entrance	16:00-17:00	938	9209	17:00-18:00	191	1433
Exit	17:15-18:15	1214	11243	19:15-20:15	476	1623

Tables 14 and 15 show the traffic count at these intersections and the volume of vehicular traffic entering or leaving the study area between 6:00 A.M. and 19:00 P.M.

Table 14: Count of Vehicles *Entering* the Study Area

HOUR	INTERSECTION AND LOCATION (see figure)							Total
	2 / 221	5 / 511	5 / 521	5 / 531	6 / 611	7 / 711	7 / 721	
06:00–06:59	797	59	73	222	15	66	12	1,244
07:00–07:59	1067	131	101	340	50	127	19	1,835
08:00–08:59	1010	262	96	310	73	190	25	1,975
09:00–09:59	811	218	90	283	75	224	25	1,726
10:00–10:59	722	195	72	291	84	245	24	1,633
11:00–11:59	847	223	60	251	66	179	21	1,647
12:00–12:59	710	196	52	257	68	227	29	1,539
13:00–13:59	769	183	51	240	73	205	33	1,554
14:00–14:59	756	137	52	240	66	107	39	1,397
15:00–15:59	906	130	56	239	87	163	40	1,521
16:00–16:59	702	135	60	224	52	139	37	1,349
17:00–17:59	770	105	55	178	48	114	42	1,312
18:00–18:59	609	87	48	185	35	135	42	1,141
Grand Total	10,376	2,061	866	3,269	792	2,121	388	19,873

source: Municipality of Jerusalem, Division of Planning, 1993.

Table 15 : Count of Vehicles *Leaving* the Study Area

HOUR	INTERSECTION AND LOCATION							Total
	2 / 222	3 / 312	5 / 512	5 / 522	6 / 612	7 / 712	7 / 722	
06:00–06:59	96	170	129	43	214	32	20	704
07:00–07:59	176	215	169	33	498	74	43	1,208
08:00–08:59	229	195	132	51	643	100	61	1,411
09:00–09:59	281	182	174	33	565	101	82	1,428
10:00–10:59	224	41	155	30	581	92	90	1,213
11:00–11:59	220	14	183	31	583	112	73	1,216
12:00–12:59	230	4	180	25	576	88	90	1,193
13:00–13:59	241	12	173	24	592	73	93	1,208
14:00–14:59	205	22	152	28	473	51	65	996
15:00–15:59	254	20	162	25	616	71	57	1,205
16:00–16:59	204	15	132	31	524	56	81	1,043
17:00–17:59	240	40	100	19	536	64	76	1,075
18:00–18:59	216	51	88	21	502	57	43	978
Grand Total	2,816	991	1,929	394	6,903	971	874	14,878

source: Municipality of Jerusalem, Division of Planning, 1993.

Some 20,000 vehicles entered the central business district during the 13 hours between 6:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M., and some 15,000 vehicles left during the same time period. The most congested entrance was Salah Eddin street which accommodated approximately half of the entering vehicles. The remaining important entrances were Nablus Road from the northern side, with 16 percent, Harun a-Rashid Street from the northern side, with 11 percent, and °Amru Ibn °Aas from the western side, with 10 percent. The most congested exit station was Salah Eddin Street, exiting north, with 46 percent. Less congested were Harun a-Rashid Street toward the south, with 19 percent, and °Amru Ibn °Aas toward the west, with 13 percent. The peak entrance hour was between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M., with 9.9 percent of the total volume, while the peak exit hour was between 9:00 and 10:00 A.M. During the rest of the counting period there was no deviation in the average count for either direction.

Public Transportation

Prior to the closure of 1993, numerous Arab bus companies operated lines to and from East Jerusalem, connecting it to cities and villages across the West Bank. The old bus station served the areas south and east of Jerusalem, while the new bus station served northern Jerusalem.

Table 16: Old Bus Station Routes

ROUTE NO.	BUS COMPANY	ROUTE LINE FROM JERUSALEM TO:
36	Azariyya / Dahiyat Iskan Bus Company	Dahiyat Iskan / al-Azariyya
36	Silwan / Azariyya / Abu Dis	Silwan / Azariyya / Abu Dis
36	Azariyya / Ras al-Amud / Abu Dis	Azariyya / Ras al-Amud / Abu Dis
63	Science & Technology College / al-Sawahra	Science & Technology College / al-Sawahra
86	Silwan / al-Sala°a / Ras al-Amud	Silwan / al-Sala°a / Ras al-Amud
76	Silwan / al-Thuri	Silwan / al-Thuri
75	al-Tur / Maqased Hospital / Augusta Victoria	al-Tur / Maqased Hospital / Augusta Victoria
75	al-Tur / al-Zayyem	al-Tur / al-Zayyem
75	Mount of Olives / al-Tur	al-Tur
28	Jericho / Jerusalem	Jericho / Jerusalem
22	Bethlehem / Jerusalem	Bethlehem / Jerusalem
39	Jerusalem / Bethlehem / Arqub	Bethlehem / Arqub / Jerusalem
21	Beit Jala / Jerusalem	Beit Jala / Jerusalem
23	Hebron National	Hebron / Jerusalem
47	Beit Sahur	Beit Sahur / Jerusalem
51	Beit Fajjar	Beit Fajjar / Jerusalem
120	Natshe & D°ais	Hebron / Jerusalem / al-Lanbi Bridge (Jordan river)
--	Hebron / Jerusalem / Amman	Hebron / Jerusalem / al-Lanbi Bridge

source: *East Jerusalem Metropolitan*, Arab Study Society, 1993.

As a result of the closure, most of the companies operating between Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank cities were forced to reduced their fleets and trip frequencies. The Hebron National Company, for example, had operated 36 buses on its number 23 line, but was forced to reduce this to only four buses a day. Similarly, the Ramallah Bus Company's number 18 lines, went from running 18 buses a day to three on its original route. Other companies were forced to close down completely due to their inability to operate services to Jerusalem. The Jericho Bus Company was among those forced to cease operation.

Table 17: New Bus Station Routes

	BUS COMPANY	ROUTE LINE FROM JERUSALEM TO:
45	Villages Union (Itihad al-Qura)	Bir Nabala / al-Jib
59	Beit Surik	Beit Surik
74	Beit Hanina	Beit Hanina
78	Qalandia / al-Matar (airport)	Qalandia / al-Matar
81	A-Ram	A-Ram
54	Anata / Shu ^c fat	Anata / Shu ^c fat
82	Isawiyya	Isawiyya
77	Dahiyat al-Barid	Dahiyat al-Barid
5	Beit Ikksa	Beit Ikksa
38	Hizma	Hizma
83 /87	al-Matar / Qalandia	al-Matar / Qalandia
83	Samir Amis / Tal al-Qur ^c an	Samir Amis / Tal al-Qur ^c an
18	Ramallah / al-Bireh	Ramallah / al-Bireh
15	Tamimi	Nablus

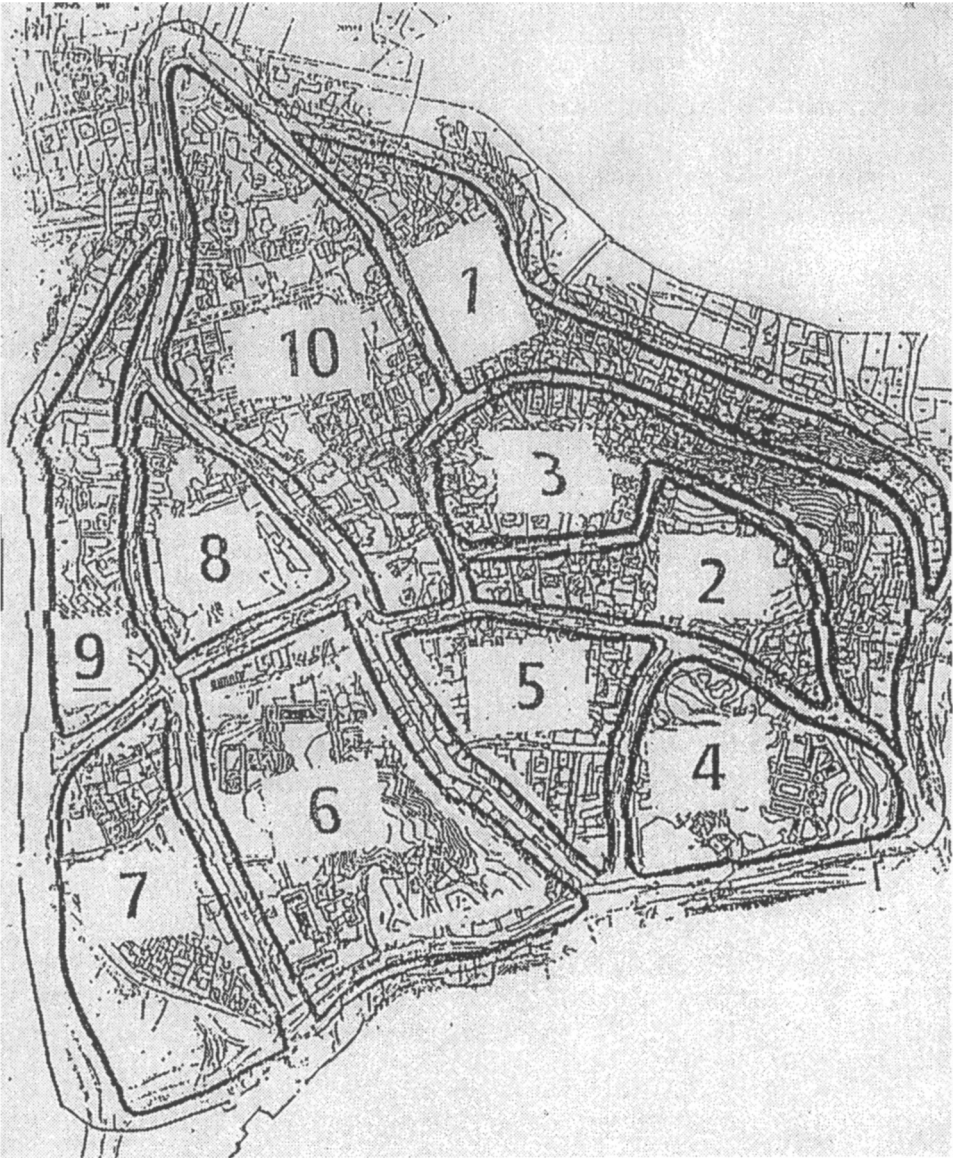
source: *East Jerusalem Metropolitan*, Arab Study Society, 1993.

A study conducted in 1993 by the Municipality of Jerusalem's Division of Planning measured the volume of bus traffic entering and leaving the central business district during a period of 13 hours between 6:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M. It found that 710 Arab public buses entered the study area going toward the bus station and 677 buses left during the same time period. The number of passengers transported by these buses was calculated at 9,583, while 10,701 passengers left the area. According to the same study, the peak volume for buses was between 7:00 and 8:00 A.M. and between 3:00 and 4:00 P.M.

Parking Studies

Our study undertook observation of the parking volume during the peak period within the central business district. For the purpose of the study, the district was divided into ten areas (see figure 4) and observed during two separate time periods: between 11:00 A.M. and noon and between 4:00 and 5:00 P.M. The study found a total of 2,630 permitted parking spaces, 1,835 (68 percent) of which were on the street, with the remainder in garages and paid parking lots. There are only 198 paid street parking spaces in East Jerusalem, in contrast to 12,500 private, municipal, and street parking spaces in West Jerusalem. In the core of the central

fig. 4



business district, represented by areas 4–8 in the figure, there are a total of 1,180 parking spaces, with half on the street and the rest belonging to paid garages.

The analysis revealed that the occupancy rate was higher during the morning hours than in the afternoon. The heaviest volume during the morning hours was in the commercial area of the central business district, with a peak rate of 116 percent. The figure is evidence of the widespread phenomenon of illegal parking. The residential areas suffer lower occupancy, with a peak of 20 to 30 percent of the present total capacity.

The absence of parking law or its implementation in East Jerusalem allows for abuse of the streets and minimal usage of the paid garages available. Since street parking is free, most of the drivers prefer it. And most of them prefer to leave their vehicles in the commercial area of the central business district to be close to their destinations, minimizing the walking distance.

The total number of occupied parking spaces in the morning was 1,452 or only 55 percent of the 2,629 total available parking spaces, while the afternoon occupancy was just 29 percent or 763 spaces, reflecting better usage of the available spaces in the morning—almost double the afternoon occupancy. Parking areas designated as 4, 5, and 6 had the highest occupancy ratio, since they are located in the heart of the commercial zone.

CONCLUSION

From the observations and data available, the state of infrastructure systems in East Jerusalem was found to be below expectations, in comparison to West Jerusalem or to other cities in the West Bank. The special political treatment of Jerusalem by both Palestinians and Israelis has contributed to negligence and discrimination. Palestinian residents of the city are the ones who suffer the most from official policies.

This assessment of the existing state of infrastructure in the Arab part of the city provides us with the basis to determine the requirements for upgrading services. The study was intended to identify major development trends and problems as part of a general view of the existing conditions, in the hopes of developing a conceptual work that can lead us to work toward a master plan for the entire Jerusalem area.

APPENDIX: POPULATION DATA**Table A-1: Population in East Jerusalem, 1967–1995**

YEAR	POPULATION	%
1967	68,600	25.8
1970	76,200	26.1
1972	83,500	26.6
1974	93,200	26.9
1975	96,100	27.0
1976	100,300	27.4
1977	103,700	27.6
1978	107,200	27.7
1979	110,800	27.8
1980	114,800	28.2
1981	117,400	28.3
1982	120,200	28.3
1983	122,400	28.6
1984	126,500	28.2
1985	130,000	28.4
1986	132,800	28.3
1987	136,500	28.3
1988	139,600	28.3
1989	142,600	28.3
1990	146,300	27.9
1991	151,300	27.8
1992	155,500	27.9
1993	160,800	28.3
1994	166,900	28.8
1995	170,000	29.1

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.**Table A-2: Annual Population Growth Rate in East Jerusalem: Selected Years from 1978 to 1994**

YEAR	%
1978	3.4
1980	3.6
1985	3.4
1987	2.8
1990	2.6
1991	3.4
1992	2.7
1993	3.4
1994	3.8

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.**Table A-3: Projected Population Growth, 1995–2010**

YEAR	POPULATION	%
1990	140,600	30.7
1995	166,000	30.5
2000	193,700	29.6
2005	222,500	28.4
2010	251,300	26.9

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.

Table A-4: Sources of Population Growth in East Jerusalem, 1985–1994

YEAR	POPULATION, START OF YEAR	NATURAL INCREASE	TOTAL GROWTH	POPULATION, END OF YEAR	ANNUAL GROWTH—%
1985	126.500	3.4	3.4	130.000	2.7
1990	142.600	4.2	3.7	146.300	2.6
1991	146.300	4.2	5.0	151.300	3.4
1992	151.300	4.6	4.1	155.500	2.7
1993	155.500	5.0	5.3	160.800	3.4
1994	160.800	5.1	5.3	166.900	3.8

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.

Table A-5: East Jerusalem Population by Age Group, 1986–1994

Annual Average, thousands

AGE	1994	1993	1992	1990	1986
4–5	26.4	25.0	23.7	21.1	19.9
14–5	40.4	39.5	39.1	38.5	36.4
19–15	18.2	17.7	17.3	16.5	14.0
24–20	15.6	14.8	14.0	12.9	13.2
29–25	12.5	12.5	12.7	12.3	10.2
34–30	11.9	11.1	10.4	9.3	7.6
44–35	15.5	14.8	14.4	13.4	11.6
54–45	10.3	9.8	9.3	8.4	7.5
64–55	6.5	6.4	6.4	6.1	5.6
74–65	4.1	3.9	3.7	3.4	3.1
+75	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.1
Total	163.8	158.1	153.4	144.3	131.4

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, 1994/95.

Table A-6: Population Growth in Jerusalem, 1967–1992

YEAR	POPULATION— NON-JEWS	%	POPULATION—JEWS	%
1967	68,600, most in East Jerusalem	25.8	197,700, in West Jerusalem	74.2
1992	155,500, most in East Jerusalem	27.9	401,000, more than 1/3 in East Jerusalem	72.1

Table A-7 : Population by Sex Within Age Groups, 1994

End of Year

	MEDIAN AGE	0–4	5–14	15–24	25–44	45–64	65–74	75+	TOTAL
in thousands									
males	18.5	13.8	20.9	17.4	19.6	8.1	1.8	1.1	82.6
females	19.9	13.2	20.1	16.9	21.3	9.0	2.4	1.4	84.3
total	19.2	27.0	41.0	34.3	40.9	17.1	4.2	2.5	166.9
Muslim	18.2	26.0	38.8	31.6	36.3	13.8	3.2	1.8	151.5
males	17.7	13.3	19.8	16.0	17.5	6.7	1.4	0.9	75.6
females	18.7	12.7	19.0	15.6	18.8	7.0	1.8	0.9	75.9
Christian	32.9	1.0	2.2	2.6	4.6	3.3	0.9	0.7	15.4
males	34.8	0.5	1.1	1.3	2.5	1.9	0.6	0.5	8.4
females	30.7	0.5	1.1	1.3	2.1	1.4	0.4	0.2	7.0
percentages									
total		16.2	24.6	20.5	24.5	10.2	2.5	1.5	100
males		16.7	25.3	21.0	23.7	9.8	2.2	1.3	100
females		15.7	23.9	20.1	25.3	10.6	2.8	1.7	100
Muslim		17.2	25.6	20.9	23.9	9.1	2.1	1.2	100
males		17.6	26.2	21.2	23.1	8.9	1.9	1.1	100
females		16.8	25.0	20.6	24.8	9.3	2.4	1.2	100
Christian		6.4	14.2	17.1	29.7	21.6	6.1	4.8	100
males		6.0	12.9	15.6	29.7	23.0	6.9	5.9	100
females		6.9	15.7	19.0	29.7	20.0	5.2	3.5	100

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook, 1994/95*.

Table A-8: Population by Age Group and Area, 1994

End of Year

End of Year									
NAME OF AREA	MEDIAN AGE	0-4	5-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65-74	75+	TOTAL
in thousands									
Old City	19.5	5.0	7.1	5.9	6.7	3.6	1.0	0.5	29.9
Christian Quarter	28.2	0.4	0.8	0.9	1.1	0.9	0.3	0.2	4.7
Armenian Quarter	31.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.1	2.1
Jewish Quarter	20.0	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	2.3
Muslim Quarter	16.9	4.0	5.5	4.2	4.3	2.0	0.5	0.2	20.7
Northeast	21.8	24.1	38.3	30.3	46.4	20.6	4.8	2.9	167.5
Bet Hanina, Shu ^c fat	19.4	7.4	10.8	9.5	11.3	4.7	1.1	0.7	45.4
Isawiyya, al-Tur	19.2	4.2	6.3	5.0	6.7	2.6	0.6	0.3	25.6
Sheikh Jarrah, Nablus Road, Bab al-Zahira, American Colony	30.7	0.6	1.4	1.2	2.2	1.3	0.5	0.3	7.6
East/Southeast	21.2	13.1	22.7	20.6	25.3	12.0	2.7	1.6	98.0
Silwan, Abu Tor	17.1	5.5	8.3	7.0	6.7	2.4	0.5	0.3	30.8
Arab al-Sawahra, Sur Baher, Beit Safafa	18.6	3.8	5.5	4.9	5.5	1.9	0.4	0.3	22.3
Total	19.2	26.7	40.2	34.1	40.6	17.1	4.2	2.5	165.4
percentages									
Old City	16.8	23.9	19.8	22.3	12.2	3.3	1.8	100.0	
Christian Quarter	9.2	17.6	18.3	24.5	19.6	6.1	4.7	100.0	
Armenian Quarter	8.7	14.7	17.1	28.8	19.3	7.4	4.1	100.0	
Jewish Quarter	15.8	22.7	21.2	24.2	12.9	1.9	1.3	100.0	
Muslim Quarter	19.5	26.4	20.2	20.9	9.7	2.4	0.9	100.0	
Northeast	14.4	22.9	18.1	27.7	12.3	2.9	1.7	100.0	
Bet Hanina, Shu ^c fat	16.2	23.8	20.9	24.9	10.3	2.4	1.5	100.0	
Isawiyya, al-Tur	16.6	24.5	19.3	26.1	10.2	2.2	1.0	100.0	
Sheikh Jarrah, Nablus Road, Bab al-Zahira, American Colony	8.4	18.6	15.9	29.6	16.8	6.2	4.5	100.0	
East/Southeast	13.4	23.2	21.0	25.8	12.3	2.7	1.7	100.0	
Silwan, Abu Tor	18.0	26.9	22.7	21.8	7.8	1.7	1.1	100.0	
Arab al-Sawahra, Sur Baher, Beit Safafa	17.2	24.8	22.1	24.6	8.5	1.7	1.2	100.0	
Total	16.2	24.3	20.6	24.6	10.3	2.5	1.5	100.0	

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook, 1994/95.*

Table A-9 : Population Density per Dunam, 1983–1994

End of Year

NAME OF AREA	1983	1985	1987	1990	1992	1994
Old City	29.3	30.1	31.1	31.8	33.0	34.3
Christian Quarter	24.0	22.5	25.8	35.7	26.0	26.0
Armenian Quarter	16.3	20.0	17.8	17.8	17.5	17.5
Jewish Quarter	15.7	16.9	17.0	17.7	17.9	18.0
Muslim Quarter	39.1	44.0	41.2	42.4	44.6	47.2
Northeast	2.4	2.7	3.1	3.7	4.0	4.4
Bet Hanina, Shu'fat	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.7
Isawiyya, al-Tur	3.7	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.4	4.7
Sheikh Jarrah, Nablus Road, Bab al-Zahira, American Colony	5.0	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.0	5.0
East/Southeast	2.1	2.4	2.6	2.9	3.0	3.2
Silwan, Abu Tor	5.4	5.7	6.1	6.5	6.9	7.4
Arab al-Sawahra, Sur Baher, Beit Safafa	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook, 1994/95.***Table A-10: Households by Size and Population, 1994**

Persons per Household

Persons per Household										
AVERAGE PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD	1	2	3	s	5	6	7	+8	Total	
IN THOUSANDS	5.27	3.3	2.6	2.9	3.6	4.0	4.2	2.7	6.6	29.9
PERCENT	11	8.7	9.7	12	13.4	14	9	22.1	100	

source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook, 1994/95.*

Table A-11: Palestinian Communities in the Jerusalem District

COMMUNITY	TYPE	TOTAL AREA IN DUNAMS	BUILT-UP AREA IN DUNAMS
Jerusalem (Arab Area)	city	4,100	7,330.3
New Beit Hanina	suburb		1,558
Jabal Mukaber	suburb		588
al-Sawahra al-Gharbiyya	suburb	73,100	535
Dahiyat al-Barid	suburb		1,118
al-Ghuzayil	suburb		142
Qalandia Camp	camp		675
Abu Dis	village	28,232	1,538
Umm Tuba	village		223
Biddu	village	5,392	493
Beit Ijza	village	2,362	142
Beit Iksa	village	8,473	350
Old Beit Hanina	village	15,839	138
Beit Duqqu	village	5,393	238
Beit Surik	village	5,700	245
Beit Safafa	village	1,514	1,265
Beit Inan	village	10,105	402
Bir Nabala	village	2,692	613
Jubb al-Rum	village		83
Jaba	village	13,407	253
al-Judeira	village	2,044	140
al-Jib	village	8,205	358
al-Hazmiya	village		145
Hizma	village	10,438	378
Rafat	village	3,777	243
A-Ram	village	5,598	1,653
al-Zayyem	village		508
Silwan	village	4,128	2,650
al-Sawahra al-Sharqiya	village		1,158
Sharafat	village	1,974	285
Shu'fat	village	5,215	2,219.2
a-Sheikh Sa'ed	village		473
Sur Baher	village	8,371	1,478
Anata	village	30,728	1,465
al-Azariyya	village	11,179	1,750
al-Isawiyya	village	10,417	1,538
al-Qbeiba	village	3,084	570
Qatannah	village	4,550	819
Qalandia	village	3,940	70
Kufr Aqab	village	5,472	440
Mekhmas	village	13,479	179
Nabi Samwil	village	2,150	15
Khirbet al-Lahem	<i>khirba</i> (housing cluster)		15
Total			36,478.5

source: Palestinian Geographic Center (PALGRIC), 1996.

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1. On 27 June 1967 the Israeli Knesset approved an amendment to the "Law and Administration Ordinance" (LAO). According to paragraph 11B, "The law, jurisdiction and administration of the State shall extend to any area of *Eretz Israel* designated by order of the government." A second amendment, to the Municipalities Ordinance Law, allowed the Minister of the Interior to enlarge, by proclamation, the area of the municipality by inclusion of any area designated by order under the aforementioned paragraph 11B of the LAO. Immediately thereafter, Israel demolished the Maghrabi Quarter of the Old City (135 houses and two mosques) and evicted its residents, together with 5,500 other Palestinians who resided in the old Jewish Quarter.
2. *Ha'aretz* (Israeli daily), 6 July 1993.
3. Palestinian Ministry of Housing, 1996.
4. Palestinian Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC).
5. Cited in *Kol Ha'ir* (Jerusalem weekly), 24 March 1995.
6. Sarah Kaminker, *Palestine-Israel Journal* 2:2 (1995).
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9. The Jerusalem municipality requires that total reparcellation be completed in the allocated area for development before granting building permission and before approving any master plan for the developing area under consideration. Ownership of the land is often disputed by different owners and family members. If a family owns 50 dunams, for example, the land must be divided between them before an application for permission to build will be accepted. Many times the families are not ready or are in disagreement as to how to divide the land.
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31. The Center for Engineering and Planning, 1995.
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ASPECTS OF SOVEREIGNTY: INTRODUCTION

Jonathan Kuttab and Claude Klein

The researchers on the sovereignty team began with the assumption that the present situation—comprehensive Israeli sovereignty over all areas of Jerusalem—cannot be maintained. Furthermore, the concept of sovereignty and its etymology in all languages suggests an absolute discretionary power that is exclusive and is not obliged to take into account any considerations other than its own. Such a situation is untenable in Jerusalem, where vital interests are at stake for the Israelis and the Palestinians, as well as for the international community—interests that need to be accommodated.

To resolve the dilemma, it was decided to break down the attributes and expressions of sovereignty into its myriad components. For each component identified, the team would seek concrete solutions and actual models for solutions that would accommodate, pragmatically, the interests of all three parties: the Israelis, the Palestinians, and the international community.

Such an approach negates the call for a physical division of the city and side-steps the legal issue of sovereignty. Instead, it seeks specific solutions for definite problems, while exploring how such solutions can act as models for resolving other problems, or components of sovereignty.

The team broke down the subject of sovereignty into some fifteen specific issues to be studied and addressed separately:

- health
- education
- municipal services
- legislation
- law enforcement
- legal jurisdiction (civil and criminal)
- currency
- professional licensing
- building permits
- zoning and land use
- entry and border control
- flags and symbols
- seat of government
- official language
- access to Jerusalem
- official holidays
- standards and measurements

Discussion began with three issues that were viewed as relatively simple: education, access to the city, and hospital administration. In the case of these issues, the team found that it was possible to outline pragmatic accommodations that address the needs of both communities within the context of the current systems, and without necessarily negating their claims of sovereignty. The team also reached agreement on the issue of access to Jerusalem (with the exception of the holy places, the subject of another team's investigations).

5

Access to Jerusalem and the Holy Places

Jonathan Kuttab and Claude Klein

Introduction

One aspect of sovereignty is a state or other entity's right to limit, regulate, or deny access to the area of its territorial control. No nation, however, can demand the right to exclude others from the territory of Jerusalem, which is so rich with holy and historical sites of significance to the three major monotheistic religions and to both Israelis and Palestinians.

Beyond global interest in Jerusalem and the need for access to it as a religious entity, the holy city also currently serves as the heart of the Palestinian territories—not only in the spiritual sense but also as the center of Palestinian economic and commercial life, communications, education, medicine, diplomatic contacts with the outside world, and much more. By cutting off access, Israel imposes great hardship on the surrounding villages and towns that rely on East Jerusalem for basic services, as well as on the 160,000 Arab residents of city and the immediate vicinity who are cut off from their natural hinterland. Moreover, the city is the communications axis between the north and the south of the West Bank and cannot be easily circumvented. The social and family ties of East Jerusalemites are interwoven with the fabric of life in the rest of the West Bank. Each family has members in the other area and needs to reach them for weddings, feasts, celebrations, and funerals, and simply to maintain friendships that cannot be artificially cut off.

Israeli rule has introduced into the eastern section of the city a large Jewish population that requires continuous access to the State of Israel for innumerable services. Israelis as well as Palestinians have a strong sense of identity and belonging to Jerusalem, and both fervently demand, at a minimum, free access to it,

unimpeded by foreign, hostile, or unsympathetic powers. Neither side can allow the discretionary power of the other to control their free access to Jerusalem.

This particular aspect of sovereignty would seem most easily resolved by providing open access into Jerusalem both from Israel and the Palestinian territories. Border controls for foreigners could be handled by either the Israelis or the Palestinians, depending where the tourist or pilgrim chooses to land first, but those who have a valid visa to enter either side should be allowed free and automatic access into Jerusalem. Similarly, individuals already living in Israel or Palestine should have the same access.

Such was the vision contemplated in almost every single declaration or statement by politicians from either side. Israeli governments, both Labor and Likud, at all levels and in all international fora, have consistently maintained that they, unlike others, guarantee freedom of religion and free access to these holy places in Jerusalem and will not infringe upon or restrict the rights of others to worship as they deem fit, nor will they use their authority to limit or deny the religious rights of others. However, since the Gulf War and particularly since the wave of bomb attacks and explosions in 1995–96, Israel has imposed, usually in the name of security, severe restrictions on entry of Palestinians into Jerusalem. It has endeavored to cut off East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank economically, geographically, politically, and in every other way as well.

One result of illegally annexing East Jerusalem to Israel—an annexation that was severely condemned by the international community—is the imposition of the same restrictions on Palestinians entering Jerusalem as on Palestinians entering the State of Israel. Thus, while no one can doubt Israel's legal right to regulate movement of Palestinians into its sovereign territory, each of the moves that Israel made to restrict the entry of Palestinians into East Jerusalem has been resented and hotly contested by Arabs. The international community, including the United States of America, has unanimously denounced Israel's action as illegal, unilateral, and void, since no other country has recognized its annexation of East Jerusalem.

Legal and Other Impediments to a Solution

In projecting a scenario for the future, we must contend with both the current situation and with possible Israeli arguments for continuing it in some form. When East Jerusalem came under Israeli control in 1967, Israeli law recognized the anomaly of annexing it to Israeli sovereign territory without annexing its citizens as well. The boundaries of Jerusalem were redrawn after the 1967 war to include as much territory as possible and the least possible number of Palestinians. Those Palestinians who were within the boundaries of the expanded Jerusalem municipality were issued blue Israeli identity cards by the Israeli Ministry of the Interior, rather than the orange identity cards issued by the Military Government for the residents of the rest of the occupied territories. They were not automatically given

Israeli citizenship, although it was implied that they could apply for it. A few thousand actually did so.

The legal status of the vast majority who did not apply, as later clarified by the Israeli High Court in the case of *Mubarak Awad versus the Minister of Defense* (H.C.T. 282/88) was that of “permanent resident” under the 1952 Law of Entry into Israel. The paradox—that these individuals had not “entered” Israel, but rather, Israeli law and administration had entered their area—was ignored by the justices in that case. The “permanent residents” would lose their right to reside (and their right, therefore, to enter Jerusalem, whether from abroad or from the rest of the West Bank) if (a) they stayed out of the country for more than seven years; (b) they acquired foreign citizenship; or (c) they acquired another permanent residence. The authorities considered this latter condition to apply whether a person acquired another residence formally or through activities that indicated that he or she had “abandoned” Jerusalem residency and taken on another location as the “center of their life and work.”

The identity cards first issued in 1967 carried the strange notation, “This document does not constitute proof for purposes of the Law of Entry into Israel of 1952.” This is now understood to mean that the physical possession of the identity card is not a guarantee of recognition of permanent residency status by the Israeli authority and that people may lose that status without even knowing of it if their names are removed from the computerized population registry.

Recently the Israeli authorities have been enforcing the regulations more rigorously and have even stated publicly that Jerusalemites who reside in Ramallah, Bethlehem, or elsewhere in the West Bank outside the Jerusalem municipal boundaries would also lose their status. Some individuals have run afoul of this system with respect to registration of children born to them when one but not both of the parents are Jerusalem residents or when a child is born in the West Bank or abroad, rather than in a Jerusalem or Israeli hospital.

Israel has placed permanent checkpoints strategically at a number of road entry points into East Jerusalem. Earth and stone barriers have also been placed at a number of dirt roads to prevent access through side streets. These checkpoints are strategically located to control the vehicular traffic into city, but they are ineffective against pedestrian entry. Palestinian cars entering East Jerusalem from these checkpoints, as well as pedestrians walking close to them, are stopped by Israeli soldiers and police officers and requested to show blue identification cards proving that they are East Jerusalem residents or that they have valid permits to enter into Israel. Such entry permits are issued by the military government or civilian administration in the West Bank dweller’s area of residence.

Initially, the basis for these permits was Military Order No. 5, which declared the whole of the West Bank a closed military zone and stated that individuals could enter or leave only in accordance with a personal or general permit. In the past, a general permit allowed entry to all women and men alike, but not the right

to stay overnight in Israel. The regulation was not enforced. Individuals holding West Bank identity cards could easily enter Israel and East Jerusalem. Only those who were known security risks, including former prisoners, were issued with special green identity cards, which meant they were not eligible for entry into Israel or East Jerusalem.

In recent years, the situation has worsened as the entire population has been prohibited from entry into East Jerusalem and Israel, with the exception of those with specific permits. These permits were originally given out quite liberally, both to individuals and for vehicles. However, after each incident in Israel, all permits would be canceled. Each time, new permits, usually of a different color, were issued gradually. Individuals were categorized by profession, and the categories determined who could obtain permits first after each cancellation. Journalists, doctors, health workers, and employees of foreign NGOs or consulates in East Jerusalem, were among the first to receive permits. Permits were issued for shorter and shorter time periods, requiring increasingly frequent frustrating trips to the military government to have them renewed.

Laborers who needed to work in Israel, in accordance with Israeli economic interests (particularly in the construction and agricultural sectors) received permits under the same procedures. In most cases, no decision was made to accommodate the specific social, professional, or human needs of the Palestinians, including the East Jerusalemites. East Jerusalem schools found themselves without West Bank teachers or students; offices lacked their employees or clients; families went without visits from West Bank relatives. All applicants were treated as Palestinians needing entry into Israel itself.

The team preparing this study rejects the current situation and the approach it reflects as being incompatible with any kind of mutually acceptable resolution of the issues concerning residency and the right of entry into Jerusalem.

Security Arguments

Much of the justification offered for prohibiting or strictly regulating the entry of Palestinians into East Jerusalem derives directly from legitimate security considerations that are invoked in order to restrict the entry of workers into Israel. Israel could address this by controlling points of entry from Jerusalem or by relying on security cooperation with Palestinians regarding entry from Palestinian areas. Without entering into a full-scale discussion as to whether the Palestinian laborers have the right to enter Israel to work, it is very clear that in the context of annexed East Jerusalem the security argument is totally unreasonable and invalid for a number of reasons.

First, a large Arab population resides in East Jerusalem. A person from the Occupied Territories can easily find refuge and hide among this population (the classical "fish in the sea" concept in liberation movement parlance). There are strong social and community ties between East Jerusalemites and the rest of the

West Bankers. Many Jerusalemites live in the West Bank, and those who do not, almost without exception, have strong business, family, and social relations with the rest of the West Bank. The institutions of East Jerusalem, including schools and hospitals, are all staffed with West Bankers and provide services to West Bankers. Therefore, from a security point of view there is no possibility of distinguishing East Jerusalemites from the West Bank residents. A determined terrorist has no problem whatsoever melting into the landscape in East Jerusalem, and unless the same severe restrictions are made for the entry of East Jerusalemites into Israel, such restrictions of entry of West Bankers into Jerusalem will be futile. Yet Israel chooses not to restrict entry of East Jerusalemites into Israel and has never proposed such restrictions.

It is true that there are no official borders and no border control over points of separation between East Jerusalem and Israel proper. However, the reality is that police presence, road structures, and actual practice on the ground have in fact created an effective separation between East and West Jerusalem. Palestinians who look suspicious, whether from the West Bank or from East Jerusalem, are routinely stopped and checked as they move from East Jerusalem across the previous "no-man's land" that is now Highway No. 1, into West Jerusalem. A number of high-profile security institutions, such as the national headquarters of the border police, the national police headquarters, and the Russian Compound police complex, also create a security presence at the divide between East and West Jerusalem.

Secondly, the security argument is undermined because the borders between the West Bank and East Jerusalem are completely porous, with a homogeneous civilian population living almost all along that line. The points of entry on foot are innumerable and cannot and have not been patrolled or restricted. The restrictions have been largely on the main roads, with checkpoints choking the movements of vehicles from the West Bank into Jerusalem. No effort can effectively prevent the movement of determined individuals, nor the introduction of explosives, weapons, and the like, from the West Bank into Jerusalem. Furthermore, movement of individuals and weapons from the West Bank into Israel itself is extremely easy because unlike the Gaza Strip, it has not been more or less hermetically sealed off from Israel. Suggestions to seal it have been voted down as expensive and unlikely to be in any way effective.

In light of these factors, denial of access for Palestinians to East Jerusalem on security grounds is a red herring and is highly dubious from the professional security point of view, whatever the social or political implications may be.

Entry of hostile individuals, such as known international terrorists and bomb experts, is a separate consideration. Israel has the right to prevent such individuals from entering East Jerusalem and moving with ease to West Jerusalem and the rest of Israel. Currently this is not an issue, since Israel controls the entry points into all the Palestinian territories from abroad and there is a high level of cooperation

between Israel and international security services to prevent such individuals from coming into the Palestinian territories. In the future, if there is an independent state that has control over its own borders, Israel may have a legitimate concern over whether an individual can enter the Palestinian territories and then utilize open access between them and East Jerusalem in order to achieve illegal entry into Israel itself.

The European countries struggled with such a legitimate concern when they decided to essentially open up the borders between their different countries. The only answer is better cooperation between the intelligence services of Israel and Palestine in order to monitor and eventually prevent the entry of such individuals to either Palestine or Israel. To restrict the movement of all people into Jerusalem, however, is too high a price to pay for a particular vigilance that is at any rate not foolproof. Determined terrorists with an infrastructure that has the ability to forge documents and operate across international borders are unlikely to be stopped by a mere checkpoint at A-Ram, on the road into Jerusalem. The principle of open access to Jerusalem and the holy places would be lost for a small and uncertain return in security terms.

Conclusion

The principle of open and free access to Jerusalem is a vital interest of Israelis, Palestinians, and the international community. The current situation restricting Palestinian access to those East Jerusalemites who hold permanent residency in the city creates great hardship for the population of East Jerusalem itself as well as for the surrounding hinterland that is dependent upon the city. Open access to East Jerusalem is of great importance to all Palestinians, but beyond that, to the international community as a whole. The security concerns cited for limiting and restricting such access are not convincing and the real reason behind curtailed access appears to be an interest in achieving exclusivity in and hegemony over the city.

We believe that as a minimum in any permanent resolution, open access to the city and its holy places must be assured and permitting entry into Jerusalem cannot be the sole prerogative of either party. Security considerations must be addressed, but a working solution can be found to satisfy them that does not infringe on open access to Jerusalem and the holy places in it.

6

Education As A Paradigm?

Claude Klein and Jonathan Kuttab

Education should be one of the simpler issues for Israelis and Palestinians to resolve, for the educational system in Israeli-controlled East Jerusalem already operates relatively autonomously. Since 1967 the State of Israel and the Municipality of Jerusalem have adopted a policy concerning education that is far from intransigent. We will first describe the Israeli legal framework for education, investigating where flexibility lies in that system. Afterward, we will describe the actual situation in East Jerusalem; the way Israel has enforced—or not enforced—its legal prerogatives in East Jerusalem. Finally we will suggest a model that can be derived from existing realities and potentials. It should be noted, however, that one may posit Palestinian law as an equally valid basis for accommodating Jewish schools in a unitary Jerusalem.

PART I: EDUCATION IN ISRAELI LAW

Introduction

The main laws regulating education in Israel are (a) the Compulsory Education Law of 1949 and the regulations adopted under it; (b) the State Education Law of 1953 and the regulations adopted under it; (c) the School Supervision Law of 1969 and the regulations adopted under it; and (d) the Education Law (new version) of 1978 and the regulations under it.

Most of the schools in Israel are what is known as official or state educational institutions. At these institutions the state, through its main authorities, supervises and is responsible for every element—beginning with the curriculum and ending

with regulations for registration and transfer. Yet for historic reasons a very developed system of independent (non-official) education exists in Israel.

Historical Background

A 1933 education ordinance promulgated by the British remained in effect until 1949. The ordinance was based on the necessity for basic and uniform legislation that would encompass a wide variety of schools, educational philosophies (trends), communities, religions, and ethnic groups. The provisions of the ordinance were essentially formal, their aim being to create minimal standards for study conditions—in particular with regard to the registration of schools and teachers—and for issuing permits for sanitation and building plans.¹

The educational system comprised Muslim Arab schools, Christian schools, and Jewish schools. In each category were schools that were privately owned and operated, government-owned schools (public schools), and religious schools. The ordinance also distinguished between the method of financing of the aforesaid institutions, the main distinction being between supported schools and unsupported schools. The ordinance provided for intense control over institutions receiving public financing, but it avoided interference with religious schools, especially those not financially supported by the government.

In 1949 the Compulsory Education Law was enacted by the Israeli Knesset (parliament). This law determines three essential arrangements: (a) compulsory registration of the pupil with the local education authority, an obligation incumbent upon parents; (b) regular study by pupils in an official or recognized education institution (also an obligation of the parent); and (c) provision of free education by the state.

The starting point of the Compulsory Education Law was the continuation of four existing trends in Jewish education: the General Zionists, Labor, Mizrahi, and Agudat Israel. The General Zionists were the mainstream trend. The Labor trend had its origins in the kibbutzim and other communal settlements and tended to be more open to educational innovation and more socialist in orientation. The Mizrahi trend of the religious Zionists stressed religious as well as general studies. The schools of Agudat Israel (and other ultra-Orthodox, anti-Zionist groups) were outside of the national framework, forming a *de facto* trend.

The Compulsory Education Law did not change this division. Rather, it imposed the obligations outlined above (as stipulated in the 1933 ordinance, which also continued to be in force) on the institutions' autonomy of action. In 1953 the Knesset approved the State Education Law. This law was the result of stormy political struggles around the aspiration to unify the different educational trends into a single central one under the auspices and control of the state, while maintaining a uniform plan of study, instruction, and educational standards.² The law also enabled the education authorities to divide the country into registration areas, in order to achieve a more effective distribution of public resources for education.

The law created two main trends: state education (which incorporated the Labor trend and the General Zionist trend) and state-religious education (primarily Mizrahi). Agudat Israel refused to be included in state-religious education since it feared that its autonomy would be endangered. Thus, following political struggles, the law recognized *de facto* a third educational trend, known as the independent education trend. Many regulations were added to the law over the years, which address such matters as registration, transfers, supervision of curricula, and supervision of the schools themselves.

In 1969 the Knesset adopted the School Supervision Law. It seems that its adoption was, *inter alia*, connected with the extension of jurisdiction to Jerusalem two years before and was intended to contribute to furnishing tools for establishing control over the eastern part of the city. The principle of the law is the broad supervisory authority given to the Ministry of Education and Culture (hereafter, the Ministry of Education), an authority which also applies regarding all the schools that are not state schools according to the State Education Law. In fact, as we shall see, this is the main supervisory arrangement regarding independent education. Various regulations were added to this law, but it may be clearly said that the scope of intervention and supervision according to the Supervision Law is much less than that applied when it comes to the state-run educational institutions.

In 1978 a new version of the mandatory Education Ordinance was enacted, but the ordinance had lost its importance in Israeli law after the 1969 Supervision Law was enacted.

Definitions

The schools discussed here may be classified according to three parameters: recognition, ownership, and financing.

School Recognition

Here we will distinguish between official schools, recognized schools, and exempted schools. The distinction is found in the Compulsory Education Law, which stipulates the obligation of parents to send their children to state or other recognized educational institutions.³

An *official (state) school* is a school declared to be such and maintained by the state (directly or indirectly).⁴

A *recognized school* is an official educational institution and any school declared as such by the Minister of Education. The significance of the recognition is that even if a school is not official, it may be recognized as far as the obligation of a child to study is concerned. Independent educational institutions (most of which are indeed recognized) are accepted under the law in terms of fulfillment of the obligation.

Exempt schools: The Compulsory Education Law enables the minister to exempt parents from the obligation to send their child to a recognized educational

institution when the child is engaged in regular studies in an unrecognized school.⁵ The operative significance of this instruction is the lack of supervision.

School "Ownership"

This is primarily a technical classification, and its main significance lies in the definition of who is responsible for the implementation of various directives that apply to a school.⁶ A distinction is made here between public schools (schools run by the state or by the local authority), private schools (the majority of schools in the category of independent education), and religious-track schools (also private schools, but the directives regarding religious proprietorship are slightly different.

School Financing

Public schools are fully financed by the state. With regard to the non-public schools, there is an intermediary category: supported schools, versus those that are not supported financially by the state. The classification of the school in terms of monetary support is important, for there is in fact a strong relation between the level of supervision and the scope of governmental financing. This is also the result of directives and legal arrangements other than those found in the education laws, mainly directives in the area of auditing, whether of state or local authorities. The issue of financing has bearing on the matter of the juridical discretion of the High Court of Justice—the Court is far less likely to intervene in the school's functioning when state funds are not involved.

The Mainstream: State Education and State-Religious Education

This section examines the major regulations covering state and state-religious education, in order to provide a general comparison, while examining the autonomy of the entire system, and independent education in particular.

Recognition, Ownership, and Financing

State education and state-religious education, as defined below, exist only in official schools, and they are recognized for the fulfillment of the Compulsory Education Law. As we will see later, the law also applies in part at recognized schools that are not official. School ownership concerns institutions owned by the state or the local authority. The State Education Law, however, adopts the term "maintenance" rather than "ownership," in order to extend enforcement to properties that are leased or rented. The costs of running schools are financed principally by the government.

Defining State Education

State education refers to education under the supervision of the Minister of Education, provided by the state using a set curriculum, with no relation to political party or religious trend, nor identification with any other non-governmental or-

ganization.⁷ The principles of state and state-religious education are identical; the difference lies in the nature of the institution and its teachers and students.

The Program of Studies

Section 4 authorizes the Minister of Education to determine the curriculum in any state institution. The regulation enables the minister to establish for non-Jewish schools special programs of study that parallel those in the Jewish schools. The program of studies is divided into three parts:

The basic program constitutes 75 percent of the total study time determined as the state studies program by the Minister of Education. These hours are financed by the ministry. Another 25 percent of the hours may be determined by the Minister—for example, religious emphasis at religious schools⁸—or by the request of parents.⁹ Financing of these hours is also governmental. Hours over 100 percent may be authorized by the minister at the parents' request if they are financed entirely by the parents or by a local authority that pledged to cover costs.

The division of the school program into basic, supplementary, and additional components makes it possible to unify different groups under the rubric of state education, while allowing them to emphasize particular areas of learning. For example, the network of "Tali" schools (the name is an acronym for "reinforcement of Jewish studies") does not want to be part of the Orthodox state-religious trend and opted for the basic religious program common to the state schools, while instituting its own special supplementary program emphasizing Jewish studies.

Registration and Licensing

The 1959 regulations of the Compulsory Education Law and of state education (vis-à-vis registration) provide for the registration of students in state institutions near their homes.¹⁰ It is not compulsory for a school to have a license;¹¹ if the teachers and other workers are state employees, the school is exempt from licensing requirements, and this is the case at most official schools.

Supervision

The 1956 state education regulations (supervision arrangements) provide for pedagogic supervision at the schools. The regulations authorize the director-general of the Ministry of Education to establish a pedagogic secretariat to supervise the implementation of the program of studies and authorize textbooks and workbooks used at the institutions. There is a separate pedagogic secretariat for state-religious education. The regulations authorize the minister to appoint a director and a supervisor with overall authority for each district¹² and to appoint the supervisors in the district who go into the schools.¹³

Appointment of Teachers and Principals

The appointment of an educational institution's principals and teachers is to be made by the director-general, in consultation with the pedagogic secretariat.¹⁴

Transfers To and From an Institution

The 1959 official education regulations enable parents to submit a request at any time in order to transfer their child from one educational institution to another.¹⁵ The regulations clearly determine which transfers are permitted. The important point for us here is the ability to transfer from one official institution to another and from an official institution to a private one and vice-versa. Likewise, it is possible to transfer a pupil from an official institution to an exempted one. The reverse possibility is not mentioned in the regulations.

Unofficial Recognized Education: The Independent Alternative

As mentioned, because of political struggles and historical circumstances, state education is not universal. Both the Compulsory Education Law and the State Education Law left open the possibility of unofficial recognized education. The primary implications are less supervision as well as less financing by the government, while allowing for organizational and educational autonomy. Most of the schools in the independent education category are among those that are state-recognized but unofficial. The term "independent education" tends to be used to refer to Agudat Israel's network of schools, but it is important to clarify that the term also includes the educational institutions of the Orthodox Sephardi Shas party (a network known as "HaMa'ayan" ["Torah education spring"]), as well as individual schools that for various reasons seek greater autonomy. Examples include the Reali school in Haifa; the Noam school, associated with national-religious education; Arab schools in East Jerusalem; and the schools of other educational trends, for the most part belonging to different Christian denominations. Below we will examine the main components of independent education.

Recognition

As explained earlier, a pupil's attendance at a recognized school discharges the obligation of the parent, as spelled out in section 4 of the Compulsory Education Law. The specific conditions for recognition of a school, found in the 1953 official education regulations (recognized institutions), are given in terms of different categories, as follows.

Ownership

Usually an unofficial school is privately owned or is owned by private organized group or by a religious community. Those operating the schools belonging to the networks of independent educational institutions are then able to represent them collectively before the authority. This in fact led to the creation of independent mechanisms of supervision for these schools, for implementation of the law, and for establishing autonomy in studies and curriculum. The autonomy not only circumvents state interference but enables initiative.

Financing

The State Education Law of 1953 introduced the principle that the possibility exists of schools remaining independent—meaning that they become recognized though unofficial—but the financing of maintenance and management expenses is the obligation of the parents.¹⁶ And it should be emphasized that according to the Compulsory Education Law, free education is only provided to students at an official educational institution.¹⁷ But the State Education Law, which established the directives regarding unofficial recognized educational institutions, enables the Minister of Education to set regulations at his/her discretion determining the level of state support at an educational institution that is not recognized.¹⁸ In the case of the ultra-Orthodox independent educational institutions (those of Agudat Israel and Shas), the Ministry of Education determined that it would finance 74 percent of the teachers' salaries. Further expenses—the balance of the salaries and all the expenses pertaining to construction and maintenance of the school, equipment, meals, transportation, and so on—are to be financed by the educational networks themselves. In reality, the government allocates much more than 74 percent in the case of ultra-Orthodox independent education, in three major ways:

First, exclusive funds are allocated as part of coalition agreements—directly from the state treasury. (This is even spelled out by specific legislation: the 1991 Economic Arrangements Law). The argument for the demands of independent education is two-fold. Any student in the country, without regard to the type of the school in which he or she is enrolled, is entitled to an equal appropriation. And the claim is made that the financial requirements of the Orthodox sector are greater because of the need to have boys and girls in separate classes and the need for separate training of male and female teachers. Beyond political considerations, the support given points to the readiness of the state to take into account and advance populations with special educational needs.

Second, Orthodox independent education benefits from appropriations through the local authorities, primarily for land allocation, construction, and maintenance, in accordance with the decision of local coalitions in each settlement.

Third, the Ministry of Religion allots money to these schools as religious institutions. It is often claimed that independent education enjoys greater total resources than does state education. Full information on the scope of financing to the different networks, and even the numbers of students whom the financing is for, is lacking.

The Program of Studies

The State Education Law enables the Minister of Education to designate a school as a recognized educational institution that may carry out a basic program adjusted to the school's requirements.¹⁹ According to the 1953 regulations for recognized institutions, the program of studies—both educational activities and extra-curricular activities—should be included in the request for such a designa-

tion. The minister will not make such a designation unless the institution carries out the basic program according to the regulations. The regulations stipulate that the basic program in a recognized school will constitute 75 percent of the total study hours in a state institution,²⁰ but the minister can reduce this, as long as the usual standards for state educational institutions are maintained. It is important to understand the significance of this regulation—the obligation of the school to ensure a number of classrooms hours, but there is no interference as the contents taught during those hours (for example, history must be taught for a specified number of hours, but there is no determination from above of the era to be taught, the specific teaching method to be employed, and so on). The autonomy is quite extensive. It should be stressed that supervisors have the right to visit any class in an institution under their supervision, during any lesson;²¹ finding that the curriculum being taught is not the one approved constitutes cause for annulment of the institution's recognition.²² In actuality, the program of studies is determined by the pedagogic secretariats for independent education. They publish textbooks and study aids and supervise the independent education schools.

Student Registration

The State Education Law determines that if a student wants to attend a recognized unofficial educational institution, it is enough to register at the institution.²³ The significance here is that there is no compulsory registration in the registration areas; no obligation for students to study at the school determined by the registrar (or the local authority). Accordingly, whoever wants to study at an unofficial recognized educational institution is given the possibility of choosing both institution and location. Likewise, the Ministry of Education considers unofficial recognized education as a state registration "area." The existence of this area which is not geographically determined provides parents with greater autonomy in choosing schools for their children.

School Licensing

The 1969 Supervision Law for schools applies to the unofficial recognized schools, and it deals with licensing. According to section 3, "No person will establish a school and maintain it without a license according to this law." The request must be submitted to the director-general of the Ministry of Education, who then passes the request on to the local education authority and to the local committee for planning and construction. Indeed, according to the 1970 regulations on school supervision,²⁴ the request should include details concerning the curriculum, including the allocation of time to different subjects, a list of educators, a budget, and the sources of funding. If the institution is a recognized one (as described in the 1949 Compulsory Education Law), it is not obligated to transmit the curriculum, schedules, or the list of educators.²⁵ According to the Supervision Law, a permit from the health authorities is required.²⁶

The conditions for granting licenses provide for a complete examination of the proposed educational institution, but it is mainly technical details that are in fact inspected: construction and sanitation, for example, rather than curricula. Indeed, it is not clear to what extent the Ministry of Education avails itself of the powers to implement any of the supervision orders mentioned, including those pertaining to the process of granting a new school license. There is ample documentation in official sources and those of the independent education networks (which seek to emphasize inequality between state schools and their own) of crowded conditions, lack of equipment, and improper construction. If we add to this the amazing statistic that there are only *two* supervisors for all of Orthodox independent education, we may conclude that there is a real gap between the legality and reality.

Supervision

According to the Supervision Law, the books and curriculum in a school are under the supervision of the Minister of Education and Culture, in accordance with the general directives applying to that school.²⁷ The director-general and the health authorities have permission to enter the school at any reasonable time to see whether orders are adhered to. They are also entitled to receive from the principal and his/her employees any information needed to implement this law. Upon finding a deviation, they are authorized to demand its correction by the owner of the license. Section 32 gives the director-general the authority to close the school if the conditions of the license are not being fulfilled, if deviations are not corrected, or if incitement against the state is being carried out at the school. Discrimination on a racial basis (especially relevant in the case of the Agudat Israel independent educational institutions, which are accused of bias against Oriental Jews) may be a cause for closing the school.²⁸ It is important to remember that an important component of the supervision has to do with keeping the conditions of the license, as outlined above. The authority may cancel the license of the educational institution if its conditions are violated (and moreover, may close the school).

As to economic supervision, it is difficult to estimate the actual extent of financing at all the schools and organizations because of the large number of funds and the methods of financing (through general budget regulations and through local authorities). In theory, financial plans are submitted for state and municipal audit, but in actuality there is no ongoing supervision of the budget, although the Ministry of Education has an accountant (a state employee) for the independent education networks. The accountant audits the money received from the Ministry of Education.

Licensing of Teachers and Principals

The Supervision Law stipulates that "no one will employ a person in education unless the person has written authorization from the director-general that certifies that there is no objection to his employment."²⁹

Transfers To and From an Institution

The official education regulations enables transfer by a student from one private institution to another, as well as transfer from a private institution to an official institution and vice-versa.³⁰

Exempted Institutions—Fully Independent Education

The third category of schools is exempted institutions. As mentioned, the Compulsory Education Law enables the minister to exempt parents from the obligation to send their child to an official institution if the compulsory program exists at a given unrecognized institution.³¹ The historic background to this special regulation is the state's ambivalent attitude toward sectors of the population and educational trends that do not recognize the existence of the state. There is a desire on the one hand not to interfere with their curricula and lifestyle, but on the other hand, to maintain a minimum syllabus for secular studies. It is clear that the State Education Law does not apply to such an institution. An institution that receives an exemption from the Compulsory Education Law, from the State Education Law, and from the Supervision Law, is not subject to external control at all. It does not need any license to legitimate its establishment. There is no obligation to meet the conditions required for state recognition. There is no supervision of the curriculum, the level of instruction, or the qualifications of the educators and directorate. Nor is there any supervision of sanitary conditions or building standards. These institutions do not receive and are not interested in any state financing. Thus they enjoy the greatest autonomy. The number of students at the exempted institutions is very small, and most are affiliated with Neturei Karta (the most radical ultra-Orthodox Jewish group) and other private religious schools.

Toward the Future

Through the years, various groups have made use of the possibilities unofficial recognized education offers. In fact, it embodies the education for the future: decentralization of authority to the autonomous school, while government support to education budgets is continued.

Some groups claim more; in their view independent education provides the best education in the country—in most cases offering a long school day, transportation and hot meals, an intensive program of studies, and involvement in the community sponsoring the school. Educators increasingly share the attitude that granting autonomy to a school is the appropriate way to allot optimal resources and personnel. Many claim that having uniform, governmentally sponsored education is obsolete and that the general trend should be toward decentralization of authority, granting greater autonomy, reducing supervision and interference, and indeed, privatizing education and educational matters.

The Ministry of Education also supports this trend and does not create difficulties for groups that prefer association with unofficial recognized institutions. One reason for this is the recognition that Israeli society is too heterogeneous for education according to a uniform and pre-determined curriculum that enables very little flexibility and adjustment.

The readiness on the part of the Ministry of Education to also exempt institutions from supervision is notable, again as part of the general tendency toward granting greater autonomy.

PART II: APPLICATION OF THE SYSTEM IN EAST JERUSALEM SINCE 1967

The “extension of Israeli jurisdiction” to East Jerusalem (the official designation in 1967 military ordinances of the steps taken by the Israeli authorities in East Jerusalem) should have produced an extension of the Israeli legal framework to the existing educational system in that part of the city. This could have meant that the Israeli Arab educational system would apply³² (existing alongside the large traditional sector of private [religious] schools in East Jerusalem). In fact, the situation evolved differently. The Israeli authorities (mainly the Jerusalem municipality), who first attempted after the 1967 war to implement the Israeli system, changed their approach. The picture today provides a starting point in the search for a model.

Two kinds of schools coexist in East Jerusalem. The “official” government schools are run by the Jerusalem municipality. The unofficial or private schools are run by a variety of institutions. However, not even the official schools are similar to the schools on the western side of Jerusalem or to the Israeli Arab schools. The schools in East Jerusalem try to keep to the formal framework of the previously applied Jordanian law, for technical as well as political reasons (for example, the need to conform to the standards on the West Bank and relatively large numbers of students who go on to universities in the Arab world). Thus, Israeli law is only partially implemented there.

In Gaza and the West Bank territories under the control of the Palestinian National Authority, a new Palestinian education law is still being drafted, and there are calls to make it flexible enough to accommodate a variety of arrangements in addition to the standard *tawjihi* (Jordanian matriculation) curriculum. In particular, Palestinians are calling for a system that accommodates other curricula used in private schools.

Official Public Schools

When, immediately after the “extension of Israeli jurisdiction” to East Jerusalem in 1967, the Israeli authorities tried to apply the Israeli Arab curriculum to the

former Jordanian schools, the result was an exodus from the schools. By 1970 only 25 percent of the Palestinian students remained, whereas before 1967 63 percent had studied in the public schools. Thus, in 1970 a new policy was adopted, offering a theoretical choice between the Israeli and Jordanian curricula. This led, in turn, to the exclusive adoption of the Jordanian program in 1979 (keeping a minimum of Hebrew language as an added compulsory subject).

Nevertheless, it should be stressed that minimal control by the Israeli authorities has remained. The Municipality of Jerusalem maintains buildings and pays the teachers. The Ministry of Education exercises control over the programs. This control is resented by Palestinians and it is viewed as being exercised in a manner that is completely out of touch with the genuine interests of the students or the Arab community. Few if any classrooms have been added to the ones existing in 1967, and the situation of these schools has been marked by deterioration and neglect and the lack of resources for libraries, laboratories, sport facilities, and extra-curricular activities. In addition, the staffing of the schools has generally been viewed as a function of politics, whereby teachers, and especially principals, required security clearances and the individuals hired were generally poorly qualified academically and professionally for their positions. The refusal of the Arab community in East Jerusalem to actively participate in the political process and life of the municipality has of course contributed to this situation, but the picture as a whole reflects neglect and deterioration in overall standards and services provided by state schools.

Private and Unofficial Schools

Like their Israeli counterparts, private, unofficial schools in East Jerusalem (60 in number) refuse any form of submission to the authorities. They comprise the following:

- The Husni al-Shab Schools, now numbering 16, were created in 1967 by the al-Makhassed Islamic Charitable Society. They were intended to replace the state schools and meet the needs of students who left them but could not be absorbed in the existing, largely Christian, private schools.
- The private schools were created by individuals or by non-governmental organizations. They are independently financed and thus suffer from severe economic problems.
- The community schools are religious schools established by various Christian denominations found in the Jerusalem (Latin, Greek Orthodox, Anglican, and so forth). A large number of Muslims attend them as well. Some of the schools now accept subsidies from the Israeli authorities and have started teaching Hebrew as well as "*Medinat Israel*" (Israeli civic instruction), these being the requirements of the Israeli authorities. Nevertheless, the schools remain independent.

- UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) schools use the Jordanian-Palestinian curriculum. According to Jordanian law, “private or foreign educational institutions can be established by virtue of a license issued by the Ministry of Education. This license can be permanent or temporary, according to the principles established by the Ministry.”

The above demonstrates that on the Palestinian side—in this case, on the basis of the Palestinian law—there is a framework that allows recognition of “other schools.” This could lead to the establishment of a “cooperation model,” based upon *mutual* recognition, rather than our model here, which begins with one party’s system accommodating the interests of the other party.

PART III: TOWARD A SOFT MODEL OF COEXISTENCE

First, it seems important to emphasize here the essence of the existing situation. Very soon after the “extension of the Israeli jurisdiction over Jerusalem,” the Israeli authorities came to understand that any attempt to enforce the Israeli (Arab) education system in East Jerusalem was doomed to fail. Supervision over the educational system in East Jerusalem was then reduced to a strict minimum, taking into account the diversity of the existing system, as described in the previous section. Such a policy had been adopted in the Jewish sector, as shown in the first section: the *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox) schools—which actually offer a certain degree of diversity—are subjected to very limited supervision. It appears clear that the Israeli system is capable of producing a “soft model”: disregarding or to “forgetting” its claims of sovereignty in certain areas. We suggest that this can provide us with a model for coexistence.

An Israeli Perspective

From the Israeli point of view, the idea consists of an extrapolation of an existing model for coexistence. The starting point of the model is the existing “recognition” formula (or the exemption formula). The recognized schools and the exempted schools represent a legal framework for the purpose of satisfying the obligations that derive from the Compulsory Education Law. This flexible solution, first invented in order to solve delicate questions within the Jewish population—specifically, those posed by the ultra-Orthodox sector—was later applied to the eastern part of the city of Jerusalem, in order to avoid direct confrontation with the Arab population. The same flexibility can engender positive structures for coexistence, and not simply uneasy compromises.

A Palestinian Perspective

The Palestinian side can be easily accept many of the provisions in Israeli law because they are quite similar to Palestinian educational law. However, the Supervision Law of 1969 gives the Israeli authorities very broad and arbitrary powers to grant or refuse licenses and to exercise supervisory control over schools.

The flexibility in Israeli law that has been utilized successfully to grant a large degree of autonomy to separate school systems in Israel, could be utilized to accommodate the Arab schools in Jerusalem, but only if powers granted to the Israeli Ministry of Education are specifically transferred to the Palestinian Ministry of Education, or the entire East Jerusalem school system is approved *ab initio* as valid and acceptable for purposes of the Supervision Law. Leaving the Israeli Ministry of Education the power to approve or disapprove of particular schools, teachers, principals, or curricula would be totally unacceptable to Palestinians, because no matter how liberal and accommodating a particular Ministry of Education or Israeli government may be, there is always the danger that recognition or acceptance will be withdrawn, leaving the entire East Jerusalem school system subject to Israeli authority, control, and regulation that could be used arbitrarily.

Furthermore, the schools in East Jerusalem need to be accepted as an integral part of the overall Palestinian educational system and be free to use its curricula and be subject to its authority and inspection and licensing. Otherwise, the Israeli authority's accommodation will always be unstable, and hence, unacceptable.

In the same vein, the obligation of parents to ensure that their children study in a "recognized educational institution" must be seen in conjunction with the educational law prevailing in the West Bank, which also mandates compulsory and free education until the ninth grade.

The issue of ownership of schools also needs to be addressed, because of the negative experience that Palestinians have had with Israeli authorities asserting ownership of public institutions and property and then freely utilizing such public property for exclusively Jewish purposes.³³

Financing the schools would still be a problem under this model. Heavy municipal taxes (*arnona*) are levied on East Jerusalem residents and they feel that they get very, very little in the way of services in return. If whatever proportion of the tax is attributable to education were to be transferred directly to the Palestinian Ministry of Education or its East Jerusalem department, it could then supervise and control education in East Jerusalem in a truly independent fashion. Without such a mechanism for financing, schools would remain financially dependent on the State of Israel and the Israeli municipality, or they would be constantly impoverished and in need of charitable contributions from outside Jerusalem to maintain even minimal services.

It is well known that "he who pays the piper calls the tune," and the Israeli authorities have been calling the tune in terms of appointing teachers and princi-

pals to the Arab public schools in East Jerusalem, on the basis of the decisions and recommendations of the security services rather than on the basis of qualifications. It is only possible to address frequently heard charges that Israel appoints teachers in East Jerusalem schools who are totally unqualified if the Palestinians themselves have the authority to appoint teachers in their public schools.

A separate issue is that of licensing and permits for building, and siting of schools in the Arab neighborhoods. While this issue is not specifically within the scope of this chapter on education, together with the issue of financing education it points to some of the difficulties with the model proposed. While we are attempting to seek specific pragmatic solutions for each of the elements of sovereignty, we must also recognize that some issues are interrelated and cannot be discussed in isolation. Education may be an area where accommodation can be sought and a pragmatic solution found that enables a separate and autonomous educational system for Arabs and another for Jews, yet some radical changes are nonetheless required to fully accommodate the interests of both sides. One of them is neutralizing supervisory authority by one side over the schools of the other, as well as insuring true autonomy for each side in running its own school system free from arbitrary or discretionary authority (whether exercised or threatened) by the other side.

Future Applications

The model of applying flexibility in the Israeli system to accommodate needs and interests on the Palestinian side has potential for education, with the provisos noted above. Reliance on such a system becomes more equitable if in other areas the Palestinian system is the starting point, with ways found to address Israeli needs and interests.

There is another model that could be applied: that of mutual recognition. This might be particularly germane in addressing the accreditation of lawyers, hospitals (including the arrangements for licensing physicians), and so forth. Under such a model, accreditation by either Israel or Palestine would be recognized by both entities. This model is already seen in the acceptance by both the Palestinian Authority and Israel of driving licenses issued under either jurisdiction. In a broader sense we might even consider the extension of the model to questions such as accreditation of foreign diplomats and consuls. The system will be analyzed in depth later. Suffice it to say here that idea under exploration is that of double accreditation, by Israel and by Palestine.

References

1. The Minister of Education was given the authority to enter a school at any reasonable time, but was limited to asking general information about the names and numbers of students and teachers and the qualifications of the latter. It was clearly stated that the principal (who is authorized by the minister) could not demand any change in the program of studies. The purpose of the visits was designated as maintenance of public order and proper administration.
2. For an in-depth account of these struggles, see Tom Segev's *1949: The First Israelis* (New York: The Free Press, and London: Collier Macmillan, 1986).
3. Compulsory Education Law, section 4.
4. Compulsory Education Law, section 1.
5. Compulsory Education Law, section 5.
6. Major directives in the 1969 Supervision Law apply to the proprietors of a school: compulsory registration, obtaining approval for construction, building standards, and more.
7. Section 2 defines the goals of state education: "To base education in the state upon the values of Jewish culture and scientific achievement; on love of homeland and on loyalty to the country and to the people of Israel; on consciousness of memory of the Holocaust; on agricultural training and labor; on pioneering readiness, and on the aspiration to a society based on liberty, equality, tolerance, mutual help, and love of humanity."
8. State Education Law, per section 5.
9. State Education Law, per sections 6–7.
10. The regulations include the directives for the registrars and the local authorities, as well as the criteria for dividing cities and regions into registration areas.
11. Sections 3–11 of the 1969 Supervision Law notwithstanding.
12. Regulations 7–8.
13. Regulations 11–12. The regulations give the primary authority to the supervisors, who are allowed to visit any lesson and any class in an institution under their supervision to see whether the instruction and curriculum are in accordance with the basic program. If deviations are found, the supervisor is allowed to demand their correction and even to demand the cessation of studies until the situation is remedied (Regulation 13). Likewise, a supervisor may check the facility itself to ensure adherence to standards for maintenance and sanitation, as well as monitoring pedagogical methods, levels of achievement, the nature of discipline and disciplinary means, and the condition of the library and of teaching aids. Moreover, it is the supervisor's task to evaluate the work of the principal and teachers (Regulation 15).
14. Regulation 18.
15. Regulation 2.
16. State Education Law, sections 32–33.
17. Compulsory Education Law, section 9A.
18. State Education Law, section 11.
19. State Education Law, section 11.
20. Section 2(7)C.
21. Regulation 6(A).
22. Section 10.
23. State Education Law, section 20.
24. License requests, regulation 2.
25. Regulation 4.
26. Supervision law, section 6. A license will not be granted to a group of persons who are not set up as a corporation (section 7), nor will it be granted to a person or corporation convicted of a felony with disgrace or offense to state security (or under investigation for the same

[section 8]). According to section 9, the minister is not to grant a license without being convinced that standards appropriate for the type and level of the school are assured. Such standards pertain to the curriculum, schedules, duration of studies, equipment, security, and more. An appeal is possible in the case of refusal by the director-general, whose decision is then examined by an appeals committee appointed by the Minister of Education (section 14). In the 1971 directives regarding supervision of schools (criteria for granting licenses), the requirements in each category are carefully detailed.

27. Supervision Law, section 28B.

28. Section 32A(1).

29. Section 16A. The law adds that withholding approval may be only for specific reasons: conviction of a felony against the state security, a felony of disgrace, or an attitude that may hurt the students. The director-general is authorized to cancel a teacher's certification if these reasons apply. In such a case, the license holder is required to dismiss the teacher; refusal to do so it may lead to the closing of the institution.

30. Section 2(F).

31. Compulsory Education Law, section 5.

32. In the schools of the Arab sector in Israel, instruction is in Arabic, with Hebrew being taught from the fourth grade on. Arab culture and tradition are also part of the curriculum. As in the Jewish sector, there are official schools wholly supported by the state, other kinds of recognized schools, and exempt schools.

33. In a specific case in Wadi Joz in East Jerusalem, public land was used for building a girls' school to alleviate the overcrowding in Ma'moniyya School. The project was halted at the last minute when extremist elements in the Jerusalem municipality succeeded in scrapping it in favor of plans for a yeshiva. Palestinian schools elsewhere in the West Bank (in the middle of Hebron, for example) have been turned into nuclei for extremist and provocative Jewish settlement in the midst of the Arab population. Only retaining the ownership of schools in Arab institutions such as the Waqf (Islamic endowments) or placing ownership directly with the Palestinian Ministry of Education will guarantee that no such abuse occurs.

7

Thoughts on a Medical Model

Jonathan Kuttab

The Need for Regulation

Among the sovereign rights as well as the responsibilities of any state is the setting of proper standards and regulations for the practice of professions which affect the public. One of these is the medical profession, and the need to regulate encompasses hospitals, clinics, and medical facilities, as well as doctors. Each state sets its own standards and criteria as well as professional examinations and public quasi-public bodies which regulate, supervise, and inspect the conduct of professionals.

Within the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), Jordanian law applied until 1967, and the Jordanian doctors' union acted as a professional association as well as an official body in regulating the profession of medicine. A board of examiners reviewed the academic and professional credentials of every individual who wanted to practice medicine in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and membership was granted to those who met the standards. Therefore, the doctors' union, whose membership was closed, regulated the behavior of its members and exercised the necessary professional control and regulations over its members. It had a separate branch for the West Bank, and another for the East Bank.

The Jordanian Ministry of Health worked closely with the Medical Association on a professional basis. Hospitals which were established in the kingdom applied for licensing from the Ministry of Health and although no written regulations set firm standards for the granting of licenses, the ministry usually granted licenses based on general principles, since most organizations that set up hospitals were foreign organizations that applied their own standards. Government hospitals, by definition, were licensed by the Ministry of Health and were equipped and staffed within the meager means of the Jordanian government.

In the State of Israel there were more advanced standards and greater direct control by the Ministry of Health and the government in licensing hospitals and doctors. Because of the influx of doctors from different parts of the world, it was necessary to set minimum standards, particularly after the wave of immigration from Eastern Europe and Russia. It was felt some effort must be made to ensure proper standards befitting the State of Israel.

When Israel occupied East Jerusalem and unilaterally applied Israeli law and administration there, it was faced with a situation whereby a number of hospitals already existed and doctors in it were licensed. These hospitals and doctors did not seek or accept Israeli licensing. In order to avoid direct confrontation with them, Israel unilaterally granted these hospitals temporary licenses and applied a policy of *de facto* recognition and minimal interference.

The Situation Today

Three major hospitals operate in East Jerusalem. Initially, they were meant to cover all the medical requirements of the Palestinian citizens inside Jerusalem and those of all the villages surrounding it. Because of the closure, all Palestinians living outside the checkpoints have been deprived of the services of these hospitals. Only with great challenge to the Israeli authorities, and most of the time without any permit, were Palestinians residing outside Jerusalem able to reach these hospitals to receive medical attention.

One of these health institutions is the Makassed Islamic Charitable Society, which established its hospital on the Mount of Olives in 1965. It offers medical services to a large number of Palestinians. In fact, with a hospital personnel of 722 employees, divided between specialists, residents, interns, staff nurses, practical nurses, technicians, administrative workers, and cleaning staff, this major health institution was able to receive a total of 14,128 in-patients in 1993 and 14,004 in 1994. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that these figures are lower than the number of patients treated in the year 1992, precisely because of the closure. Moreover, it was the first time since 1982 that there was a drop in the number of patients treated in the hospital, whereas, due to demographic increase and the inability of the Palestinians to open new hospitals, there should have been an increase. The out-patients numbered about 80,000 in the year 1992, while a drop was experienced in the year 1993, following the aforementioned closure.

Since the Palestinian hospitals did not apply to Israel for any funding assistance in any way, there was little direct reason for interference and they continued to conduct their business autonomously. Over the years, while this situation continued, Israel nonetheless gradually introduced more and more of its requirements. The reaction of the hospitals was to resist totally any incursion of their independence or any application of Israeli law to them where it was felt that this was politically motivated, but to comply and cooperate when the interference was clearly

professional. For example, the three hospitals readily comply with the requirement in Israeli law to report cases of contagious and rare diseases, since there is a public interest in reporting each such case in order to control and prevent the spread of epidemics and contagious illnesses.

In addition, through a number of private initiatives, close cooperation was developed on a purely professional basis between these hospitals and the better equipped and staffed hospitals in Israel. Referring difficult cases to specialized doctors and hospitals in Israel became a standard practice, and occasional training courses for nurses, technicians, and specialists in Israeli hospitals were carried out. Such projects were readily acceptable to all segments of the Palestinian community and there was no reluctance to engage in them. The exception was in a few cases when it was felt that the Israelis were making political capital through open publicity and taking advantage of such cooperation. In fact, medicine was the one area where Palestinians and Israelis, regardless of political points of view, readily cooperated and interacted.

A Model for the Future

In light of the above, a model can be constructed for a uniform scheme to regulate the hospitals and the doctors in the Arab and Jewish sections of Jerusalem. The emphasis would be on technical and professional standards. It is no secret that the Israeli standards are higher than the Palestinian ones because of the higher standard of living and services available in Israel. However, within Jerusalem a number of creative options can be considered:

1. *Mutual recognition*, whereby any hospital or doctor licensed by the Israeli regulatory body would be accepted as licensed to practice in the eastern part of the city and vice-versa. This option may not be acceptable to Israel because it would allow the lowering of professional standards and would appear to enable Palestinian doctors to practice in Israeli hospitals without undergoing additional qualifications.
2. The creation of a new regulatory body for the whole unified city of Jerusalem, comprised of an equal number of doctors from both sides who would set standards applicable in both areas. This Jerusalem medical board could utilize or accept as valid whatever portions of the tests already given in the two jurisdictions it deemed suitable and then make its own additional requirements. It is entirely possible that the "Jerusalem Boards" would become a prestigious form of licensing that would be sought by other doctors in Israel and Palestine, denoting that the person who has passed them met a higher professional standard. All doctors both from Palestine and Israel should be free to take such a test if they choose to. The emphasis should be on professional and technical qualifications and not on ethnicity, citizenship, or residency.

3. Each section of the city would be under the supervision of its respective board (Palestinian or Israeli), with each hospital being responsible for doctors associated with it or permitted to practice in it. This is basically the current situation; it is tolerated by Israel but does not in fact comply with Israeli law. This third solution would simply make the current situation *de jure* and remove the threat of interference, inspection, or criminal sanctions against Palestinian doctors practicing in the East Jerusalem hospitals who are not licensed to practice in Israel.

THE HOLY PLACES:

INTRODUCTION

Yitzhak Reiter, Marlen Eordegian, and Marwan Abu Khalaf

A study of the holy places of Jerusalem conducted by three scholars—an Israeli Jew, a Christian Armenian, and a Palestinian Muslim—is more than the typical academic work. In the Middle East in general and in Jerusalem in particular, every individual identifies or is identified with a particular people and faith. Implicit in our project is the belief that we three scholars can transcend personal webs of emotions, loyalties and interests, and contribute to the cultivation of a solution to the very complicated issue of Jerusalem—by producing a study that can help in mediating the claims of our communities.

If we were to attempt to establish the absolute truth of various claims, then our task would be impossible. But there is another more humble truth, relative but nonetheless very real: the truth of human perspective and behavior. We can observe human behavior and ascertain what people believe to be holy, and we can hold up such patterns of behavior and beliefs next to each other. And while it is in the interest of some that such forces remain buried so that they can be manipulated in order to further particular interests, it is our intention that these forces be brought to the surface. In Jerusalem especially, politics and religion influence each other: a place acquires political significance when it is believed to be holy, and influential figures, in true Machiavellian fashion, exploit religious feelings and deliberately “increase” the holiness of a place in order to strengthen their side’s claim to political sovereignty. Of course, neither politicians nor religious leaders admit to having attributed temporal, political significance to that which is supposed to be eternally holy, nor do they admit having attached the label of holiness to that which is purely political.

We began our work by first defining the scope of our project: not holiness in and of itself, but holiness as it appears in the world. Holiness in and of itself is a subject for metaphysicians or theologians and their critics. We did not concern ourselves with an ideal image, but with representations of human behavior. In keeping with this approach, we agreed that no claim from a group of people or

institution could be disregarded without investigation. For example, Muslims doubt the claim that the Western Wall revered by Jews is a remnant of the Temple; they believe that the wall is holy because the prophet Muhammad tied his steed al-Buraq to it before ascending to heaven. Jews claim in response that no written record of this event is to be found within the Muslim tradition until the twentieth century, when Jerusalem and the land of Palestine became objects of a political struggle between the Palestinian and Zionist national movements. They claim that only in the twentieth century did Muslims identify al-Buraq with the Western Wall of the Temple Mount.

Our next task as a group was to agree on a definition of holiness (again, according to its popular rather than ideal meaning) and then to categorize the holy places of Jerusalem. We turned to the attempts made after World War I to define the term "holy places," as no definition existed before then. The answers of the Ottoman Status Quo, the British Mandate, and UN resolutions were all found to be insufficient. We thus constructed more rigorous definitions for ourselves.

In constructing these definitions we encountered various difficulties. For example, there are different levels of sanctity at the holy places. There are sanctuaries venerated by a majority of believers, and there are sites whose importance or relative holiness are disputed. We also faced a methodological complication because in each of the three faiths involved there are different trends and denominations—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism; Schools of Law, Fundamentalists, and others in Islam, and a host of different churches in Christianity. And then there are often subdivisions within each grouping.

If this complexity were not enough, popular belief and action sometimes contradict the formal institutional law of a religion. But as stated above, our methodology is empirical, and so we noted group claims and behavior over the claims of religious establishments. We did refer to the traditional religious texts, historically the primary sources for delineating the nature of holiness, when they helped us to identify the assumptions underlying popular belief and behavior. Familiarity with these sources deepened our understanding of the contemporary scene. To draw the limits of our project, however, it should be clear that if a traditional text asserted the holiness of a particular place, but this text had no influence upon popular belief and behavior, we passed it over. Contrariwise, if a certain place was popularly revered, but there was no source for this reverence among the traditional sources, we favored the popular practice.

Generally speaking, we based our categorization, which may be viewed as part of an, "updated definition," upon two criteria. First was the relationship between the public and the place—the degree to which the place has been an object of veneration (in religious ceremony). Second was the function of the place itself—is it used for a religious purpose such as worship or advanced theological learning? We believe that this two-fold categorization will assist us in the second

stage of our work when we attempt to design concrete options for how to treat the holy places of Jerusalem.

We encountered some difficulties along the way. The question of religious endowments proved to be problematic. We concluded that although endowments were piously dedicated, they are not holy places unless they serve a religious function and thus fall into the second of our criteria. We were uncertain whether Christian seminaries, priests' dormitories, clinics, and other such places that are administered by a church endowment for public purposes and which are part of an urban church compound, are holy places or not. Therefore we did not include them in our general definition. Another point of disagreement was the question of monuments established in the past as religious buildings (houses of worship or theological schools) which today serve other purposes or do not have any function at all. We included them in our list of religious buildings, but we disagreed about it. If for some reason the three of us doubted the basis of a claim to holiness, we disregarded the claim. For example, the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs included in the 1995 list of Jewish holy places under its supervision, the gates of the Old City of Jerusalem. We could not find any basis for such a position or any source to back the claim. Moreover, no one in the Jewish religious establishment could provide us with any grounding for such a claim. Therefore we did not consider the gates of the Old City as holy places.

We have listed a number of holy places according to our system of categorization, and we have attached a brief historical description of each place as an explanation for why it has been included. We hope that this project will help people to distinguish the various elements involved in the way that different groups relate to the holy places of Jerusalem. We are aware that we have set ourselves a difficult mission and that our work will encounter critique from different religious groups as well as from other parties. We ask that readers send us their comments and criticisms so that these can serve us in the second stage of the research. (This feedback can be sent to the Truman Institute or to the PCG.)

Part III (The "Question of the Holy Places" and the Origins of the Status Quo) and Part IV (Toward a Definition of a Holy Place) were worked out jointly by the three of us. Other sections in this chapter, addressing the perceptions of Jerusalem and the concept of holiness in the three religions and listing and mapping the holy sites and buildings, were written separately, each author according to his or her religious affiliation (Reiter, Jewish; Eordegian, Christian; and Abu Khalaf, Muslim).

8

Between Divine and Human: The Complexity of Holy Places in Jerusalem

Yitzhak Reiter, Marlen Eordegian, and Marwan Abu Khalaf

PART I: THE UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JERUSALEM

Jerusalem is unique among the cities of the world, with special although differing claims on the religious and cultural sentiments of millions of Jews, Christians, and Muslims. It is holy for the three monotheistic religions because of religiously significant events that took place in the city. It is therefore important to set out the nature and meaning of Jewish, Christian and Muslim commitments to Jerusalem and their implications. We hope that such an approach will contribute to the discovery of common ground and lead to constructive policies and programs for the welfare of all the peoples in the region.

The Significance of Jerusalem for Jews

For the Jewish people, Jerusalem is not merely a locus of holy sites or religiously and historically significant memories. The city itself is holy,¹ and for at least 3,000 years it has symbolized the very existence of a nation that was ostracized, exiled, and massacred, but never despaired of the promise that ultimately the nation of Israel would be returned to the land of Israel and its central city, Jerusalem. Jerusalem has become synonymous with hope and meaning in Jewish life. From biblical times—when God, as tradition teaches, spoke of the place that He would choose for His people—to the return of the Jewish people to Zion in our day (however improbable it seemed until then), the continuous and unwavering cen-

trality of Jerusalem in Jewish life has been unquestioned.² (The name Zion properly indicates the Temple Mount and later came to signify Jerusalem the capital city, and eventually, the entire Holy Land.)

Jerusalem was a Canaanite settlement and the capital of the Jebusite people before becoming the Jewish capital. When, in 1006 B.C.E., King David unified the tribes of Israel and captured Jerusalem, establishing there the center of his kingship, Jerusalem became the primary symbol of the tribes' transition from "peoplehood" to "statehood." The sacred nature of the city was assured when, during the reign of King David, the Ark of the Covenant was brought up from Kiryat Ye'arim, west of Jerusalem, and later placed by his son Solomon in the First Temple. As a reward for his act God promised King Solomon that: "Your dynasty and your sovereignty will stand firm before me and your throne be forever secure" (2 Samuel 17:16). From that moment Jerusalem became fully assimilated into the religious consciousness of all the tribes of Israel.

The centrality of the city of Jerusalem to the Jewish people was implicit in the dire warnings of the prophets that God would withdraw His protection from the city and its inhabitants, should the people prove unfaithful to Him. The Talmud records that because of three transgressions—immoral sexual behavior, unwarranted bloodshed, and idolatry—Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians, in 586 B.C.E.³ The city's Jewish inhabitants were sent into exile and the First Temple destroyed.⁴ In Babylon the Jews were faced with the challenge of surviving as a people the destruction of their spiritual and political center. Their sense of devastating loss was poignantly expressed in Psalm 137:

By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept when we remembered Zion.
Upon the willows there we hung our harps, when our captors demanded of us
songs; our tormentors asked of us mirth: "Sing us some of the songs of Zion!"
How shall we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land? If I ever forget you, O
Jerusalem, withered be my right hand! May my tongue cleave to my palate, if
ever I think not of you, if ever I set not Jerusalem above my highest joy!⁵

While the Jews had been driven from Zion, Zion remained in their hearts. The dream of the restoration of Jerusalem came to symbolize both Jewish national survival and fidelity to the commandments of the Torah, the first five books of the Bible. The dream of Jerusalem's restoration also symbolized the awaited messianic era when the Jews would be restored to Zion and Zion to the Jews, with all peoples acknowledging God as Sovereign.⁶ This sequence is reflected in the standard *Amidah* prayer, the central part of the daily service recited by observant Jews three times a day, during which they pray for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and for the flourishing of the Messiah. The precise meaning of "messianic era" is not clear and has been discussed by sages and authorities throughout the ages. The traditional significance of being buried on the Mount of Olives, across from the Temple Mount, is based in part upon the desire to be ready at hand for the coming of the

Messiah. The prohibition of burial within the walls of the city itself was another sign of reverence for its sanctity.

The Second Temple was built in 515 B.C.E., after a decree by Coresh, the King of Persia, and was later destroyed by the Romans in 70 C.E. Throughout the reigns of the Hasmonean rulers (leaders of the Jewish community after the revolt against the Greeks in 16 B.C.E.), and until the first Jewish revolt against the Romans in 70 C.E., Jerusalem was a center of pilgrimage three times each year, during the festivals of Sukkot (Tabernacles), Pesah (Passover), and Shavuot (Pentecost). It was said that, "He who has not seen Sukkot in Jerusalem has not seen life."⁷ After the second Jewish revolt was put down (132–135 C.E.) and a 1,800-year period of exile began, the image of Jerusalem in Jewish thought took on three dimensions: that of historical Jerusalem, whether controlled by Jews or by other nations; that of Jerusalem destroyed; and that of heavenly Jerusalem, the object of God's promises and continuing commitment (promises which, according to tradition, cannot be reneged upon). The significance of the city of Jerusalem itself was also discussed in *halacha*, traditional Jewish law. Long after the Jews were sent into exile and the Temple razed, Jewish scholars went on debating the proper structuring of life and worship in the city.

The destruction of the two temples and the control of Jerusalem by non-Jews deeply affected the Jewish people, and this was expressed in worship and prayer. Anywhere in the world, Jews who acquit themselves of their religious obligations pray in the direction of Jerusalem and the Temple Mount, mourn the destruction of both the First and the Second Temple on the fast day of the Ninth of Av (a Hebrew month), and recite the solemn promise, "If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand wither" (Psalms 137). Three lesser fast days also commemorate events leading to the destruction of the First or Second Temple: the Fast of Gedaliah, the Tenth of Tevet, and the Seventh of Tammuz. Even during the Jewish marriage ceremony, a glass is broken under the wedding canopy, as a reminder, in the midst of the rejoicing, of the destruction of the Temple. Likewise, it is a custom to leave a small section of a new home unplastered or otherwise unfinished in memory of the destruction.

The hope for Jerusalem restored has been a source of sustenance. The plea of the Midnight Prayer (*tikkun hatzot*) by the holy places is for Jerusalem's reconstruction (*bniya m'hadushet*). Those paying condolence calls to mourners express the hope that they will be consoled by the rebuilding of Jerusalem. And both the Passover ceremony, known as the *seder*, and the liturgy for the Day of Atonement end with the invocation, "Next Year in Jerusalem!"

The reality of Jerusalem destroyed has always been contrasted with a vision of the city's eternal significance. In Jewish law Jerusalem is considered the center, or navel of the world, from which benefits to all nations flow. The beauty of Jerusalem is thought to exceed all other beauties of the world: "Of the ten portions of beauty which came down to the world, Jerusalem took nine."⁸ It was in Jerusalem,

the tradition teaches, that all great events of history took place or are destined to occur, from the creation of the world, the binding of Isaac, and the establishment of the inner sanctuary of the Temple—the “Holy of Holies”—to the dawn of the messianic era and the resurrection of the dead.

The significance of Jerusalem is also apparent in the proliferation of sources, from the Bible onward, that refer to the city. The Hebrew Bible mentions Jerusalem by that name some 700 times and by the name Zion some 150 times. The implicit references to Jerusalem and Zion are even more numerous. Post-biblical Jewish literature similarly reflects Jerusalem’s focal importance in Jewish thought; in rabbinic literature—both Talmud and Midrash—references to Jerusalem abound, as they do in classical Jewish liturgy.

It is the centrality of Jerusalem in Jewish law and history, then, that gives the city its significance. Because it was the capital of the country whenever it enjoyed independence, and because of the political centralization of worship in the Temple, Jerusalem came to embody Jewish national and spiritual aspirations. The words of Isaiah 2:3 and Micah 4:2 therefore have both immediate and contemporary meaning, as well as eschatological significance: “For out of Zion will come forth Torah, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.”

When the Jews imagined heavenly Jerusalem, it was to give direction and meaning to their hopes for the restoration of earthly Jerusalem. Hence, when they hoped for the restoration of earthly Jerusalem, they saw Jerusalem as the first and most necessary component in the fulfillment of their universal messianic expectations.⁹

The Significance of Jerusalem for Christians

The early church recognized the primacy of Jerusalem as the center of the Christian message. In the New Testament Jerusalem symbolizes the new people of God redeemed by the Messiah, Jesus Christ. It is here that Christ will return to fulfill the Word of God and that the Last Judgment will take place (Rev. 21:1–3). It is the center of the world, Jerusalem, that will be the scene of salvation, the focal point of the messianic age.

The significance of Jerusalem for Christians has two inseparable elements: the holy places associated with the life and teachings of Christ—with His crucifixion, burial and ascension—and the community of Christians living in the city. Although it is the “new Jerusalem” (“heavenly Jerusalem”) that symbolizes the city of God for Christians (Rev. 3:12), nevertheless, pilgrims from all over the world encounter God in the earthly city. For many Christians, visiting the holy places associated with the life and preaching of Jesus Christ; being present in an environment where history comes to life; has proven an inspiration to their fulfilling the commandment of taking the Gospel into the world (Mark 16:15). Jerusalem for them is the place where the gift of the Spirit is present; where the Church was es-

established (Acts 2). The first Christian community came to incarnate the ecclesiastical ideal in this city. The Church—the body of Christ, or the community of believers in Christ—is an earthly reflection of the spiritual entity in heavenly Jerusalem.¹⁰

The Christian Vision of Jerusalem

Christians envision Jerusalem as the place foretold of salvation in and through Jesus Christ. That is, Christians recognize in their faith the long history of the people of God, with Jerusalem as its center, as the history of salvation which fulfills God's design in and through Jesus Christ. The one God chose Jerusalem to be the place where His name alone would dwell in the midst of His people so that they might offer worship that is worthy of Him. The prophets looked up to Jerusalem, especially after the purification of the exile of the Hebrews: Jerusalem was to be called the "City of justice, faithful City" (Isa. 1:26–27), where the Lord dwells in holiness as in Sinai (cf. Ps. 68:18). They prophesied that the Lord would place the city in the middle of the nations (Ez. 5:5), where the Second Temple was to become a house of prayer for all the peoples (Isa. 2:2, 56:6–7). Jerusalem, aglow with the presence of God (Isa. 60:1), is meant to be a city whose gates are always open (Isa. 11), with peace as magistrate and justice as government (Isa. 17).¹¹

Jerusalem the Land

Jerusalem is Christianity's holy land, associated with the most important events in Christianity. Yet there is a remarkable absence of reference to the land in the New Testament. The Apostles were unconcerned with the location of the various appearances of the Risen Lord.¹² These occurrences were considered unique in character, unrepeatable, and confined to a limited period, but not geographically located. Indeed, Jesus went to Jerusalem with the aim of creating a community worthy of the name of the people of God. The Book of Revelations proclaims the anticipation of the new, heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 3:12, 21:2, cf. Gal. 4:21–27, Heb. 12:22). The name "Jerusalem" in the New Testament signifies not an earthly city, but a heavenly one, which is the archetype of the Church. It becomes a symbol of the final or ultimate community, where God dwells with His own. Thus, the New Testament itself exhibits a marked tendency towards what might be called a "de-territorialization" of the concept of holiness. Christians see the fulfillment of the Lord's promise in Jesus Christ, who embodies the temple of God (Rev. 21:22). It is not the Temple that is the center, but Christ; it is not the Holy City or Land that constitute the "area" of holiness, but the new community, the body of Christ.¹³ According to this view, the Church belongs to an already existing heavenly city.

However, the land retains its physical significance in Christianity. The need to remember Jesus entails the need to remember the Jesus of a particular land. Jesus belongs not only to time, but to space; and the spaces that He occupied take on a

significance of their own, so that the *realia* of Judaism continues as *realia* in Christianity. History in the tradition demanded geography.¹⁴

Earthly Jerusalem, in the Christian tradition, prefigures heavenly Jerusalem. It becomes the image and symbol of the Promised Land—heavenly Jerusalem. Jerusalem is no longer only a land and earthly heritage; it is in a special way the spiritual heritage of humankind in need of salvation.¹⁵ Paul shares in the apocalyptic view that heavenly Jerusalem already exists on high. But those who live by faith in Christ already live the life of the New Jerusalem and are citizens of Heaven (Gal. 2:19–21, Phil. 3:20). Christians on earth already share the glories of the heavenly city, which belongs to that realm “where eye hath not seen nor ear heard”: a vision that emphasizes the transcendental meaning of the land. Therefore, the New Testament finds holy space wherever Christ is or has been; it personalizes “Holy Space” in Christ, who, as a figure of history, is rooted in the land.

The Significance of Jerusalem for Muslims

The spiritual importance of *Beit al-Maqdis*¹⁶ (Jerusalem) and *Masjid al-Aqsa* (the Aqsa Mosque) derives from the fact that for sixteen months¹⁷ the mosque was the first *qibla* (direction of prayer) for Muslims. It is Islam’s second most holy mosque, after Mecca. Furthermore, Jerusalem is commonly associated with the “night journey” (*isra’*) of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to the Masjid al-Aqsa, as recorded in the Quran (17:1), as well as his ascension (*mi’raj*) to Heaven to receive the principles of Islam from Allah (God). Both events happened one year before the *hijra*, Muhammad’s move from Mecca to Medina, in 622 A.D.¹⁸

Accounts of these famous events record that on his way to Beit al-Maqdis, the Prophet Muhammad visited the tomb of the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) in Hebron (*al-Khalil*), where he performed two prostrations (*rak’a*).¹⁹ He also visited the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, where the Prophet Jesus (‘Isa) was born, and performed two *rak’as* there as well. Hence, the holiness of Jerusalem to Islam has very strong roots, since Islam respects all the prophets before the time of Muhammad, though granting him primacy over and above those of Judaism and Christianity.

Jerusalem became an Islamic city in the first half of the seventh century A.D. when the Muslims entered the Holy City (in 15 A.H./636 A.D., during the reign of the second Muslim caliph, ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab). According to the historical sources, ‘Umar came in person for the purpose of receiving the surrender of the city from its patriarch, Sophronius, who refused to give it up to anyone else. The sources also state that the Caliph declared a special covenant (*sulh*, ‘*ahd*) to the Christians living in the city; its text developed over time into the form known as the Covenant of ‘Umar (*al-‘uhda al-‘umariyya*). In this covenant the Caliph guar-

anteed religious freedom and the safety of the churches and secured the lives, fortunes and properties of the people living in Jerusalem.

The Muslims recognized the area of Mount Moriah, with the Rock where the Aqsa Mosque stands, as the most holy spot in Beit al-Maqdis for the Islamic religion. The significance of Jerusalem for Muslims is documented in the Quran, in verses that mention it using the name of *al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, and in the prophetic traditions (*hadith*) of Muhammad, which give several accounts relating the importance of Jerusalem. Among them is the tradition, "Whoever wants to see a part of Paradise, let him look to Beit al-Maqdis."²⁰ According to another tradition, recounted by the last Orthodox caliph, 'Ali ibn Abi Taleb, "The most exalted spot is Beit al-Maqdis and the most exalted rock is the Rock of Beit al-Maqdis."²¹

The importance lent to Jerusalem led the Umayyads to strengthen their political and religious relationship with Beit al-Maqdis. This first becomes apparent with the Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiya, who took his oath of allegiance (*bay'a*) in Jerusalem and was known as the "Prince of the Holy Land" (*Amir al-Ard al-Muqaddasa*). There can be no doubt that 'Abd al-Malik regarded Jerusalem as a holy place, in particular, the site of Mount Moriah, where he laid out the plan of Haram al-Sharif as it exists to this day. The connection with Jerusalem was also strongly developed by 'Abd al-Malik, no stranger to such ideas since he had resided for a long time in Syria-Palestine and was the governor of the province of Filastin during the caliphate of Mu'awiya, which ended in 750 A.D.

In order to understand further the Islamic significance of Jerusalem, we have to turn to the *fada'il* literature, the elegies about the religious merits of Jerusalem.²² The *fada'il* literature may have existed from the time of the Prophet and continued to be transmitted in the Umayyad and later Islamic periods. The earliest *fada'il* books by Abu Bakr al-Wasiti and Ibn al-Murajja were compiled before the Crusades. But this type of literature was produced principally in response to the Crusades, to draw the attention of Muslims to Jerusalem and to preach *jihad* (holy war) to free Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the Crusaders. The *fada'il* literature is a late source for this discussion, but it is vital for understanding the Islamic meaning of Jerusalem and the Aqsa Mosque.

The Islamization of Jerusalem occurred in the first year A.H. (620 A.D.), the year when Allah ordered Muslims to face the city as their first *qibla* as they performed their daily prostrations, and when the night journey and ascension to heaven took place. Because Jerusalem was greatly revered before Islam, Allah made it a site of reverence for Muslims as well, just as the *ka'ba* in Mecca had been built by the Prophet Ibrahim and his son Isma'il (Ishmael)²³ and then turned into the first holy place of Islam.

The reason, therefore, that Allah had Muslims pray toward Jerusalem (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) for sixteen months and then ordered them to pray toward the *ka'ba*, and the reason that the night journey occurred between the two mosques—

al-Masjid al-Haram in Mecca and the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem—is in fact to confirm the link between Islam and the pre-Islamic religions.

PART II: THE “QUESTION OF THE HOLY PLACES” AND THE ORIGINS OF THE STATUS QUO

For millions of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, no other place has as profound a symbolic meaning as that carried by Jerusalem. A common perspective among the Jews and the Christians is that Jerusalem is the awaited place of the Lord: the Jews believe that the promised arrival of the Messiah will happen here, and for the Christians, it is the place of the second coming of the Messiah, of the already fulfilled promise. Both religions consider the city to be the navel of the world, and the followers of all three religions believe that Jerusalem will be the site of the Last Judgment.

The origins of the question of the holy places can be traced back to the mid-seventeenth century. Long before the development of “the question of Jerusalem” (which arose formally in 1947), the European powers’ concern over the holy places of Christendom in Palestine drew the attention of international diplomatic circles. The capitulatory treaties that the European powers concluded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the Ottoman empire, providing guarantees for unhindered worship by their respective religious communities, marked the beginning of an active European influence in the empire and first turned the matter of the holy places into a “question.” This question formed a constituent part of the interests of the Christian powers in the Middle East, particularly in the nineteenth century, acquiring an overwhelmingly international dimension and playing a dominant role in shaping policy toward the region.²⁴

Significantly, the Muslim rulers of Palestine were not obligated to make special arrangements concerning the holy places of Islam or Judaism in order to appease the European powers. Arrangements of an international nature were made only as regards the Christian holy places within the empire: that is to say, the issuing of the decree widely known as the “Status Quo”²⁵ and the numerous decrees preceding it. Hence, until World War I, the question of the holy places, as such, was a reference to the Christian holy places of Palestine.

Under British Mandatory rule in Palestine (between 1922 and 1948), the issue of the holy places acquired its present-day form, connoting the holy places of the three great religions in the region. In fact, the Mandate presented the British with the obligation to both establish a National Home for the Jews in Palestine, and to fulfill its international and moral obligation, which was less known and less forcibly stressed, to preserve the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places.²⁶

Accordingly, Article 13 of the Mandate for Palestine gave the Palestine administration the responsibility of “preserving existing rights and of securing free

access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum." Article 14 of the Mandate envisaged the appointment of a special commission of an international nature to study, define, and determine rights and claims in connection with the holy places.²⁷ It should be noted that the holy places, religious buildings and sites mentioned in these articles referred to those of all the religious communities of Palestine: Jewish, Christian and Muslim. Thus far, Britain has been the only ruler of Palestine to acknowledge the international nature of the question of the Holy Places in its statutory law. This acknowledgment was further strengthened by its promulgating the Palestine (Holy Places) Order in Council in 1924, which permanently withdrew jurisdiction of the holy places from the municipal courts.²⁸

Subsequently, the United Nations dealt with the question of Jerusalem and the Holy Places as inherited from the British. Both of the organs it entrusted to address this issue, the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, established special bodies to inquire into the matter and to make their recommendations accordingly. This time, the question of the Holy Places was included within the political context and addressed as "The Question of Jerusalem and the Holy Places."

All the UN recommendations acknowledged the importance of maintaining the "existing rights in respect of Holy Places, religious buildings and sites," and, in view of their location, proposed the establishment of a special regime for Jerusalem, whether an international regime or in the form of international guarantees.²⁹ However, the Arab and Jewish claims concerning Jerusalem were somewhat fewer after the 1948 de facto division of the city between Jordan and Israel, pending a solution to the problem of Jerusalem, the holy places included.

With the peace process initiated at the Madrid conference in 1991, the question of Jerusalem acquired new significance. By this time, the international community recognized the question as a local one. The holy places became the third constituent element of the question of Jerusalem, to be dealt with by the parties concerned in the upcoming negotiations concerning the future status of the city (the other elements being sovereignty over the city and the physical planning of it).

The "Status Quo"

"Status Quo" is a common term in the history of the Holy Places of Christendom. It first came into use in 1852, when Sultan Abdul Mejid (ʿAbd al-Majid) II issued a *firman*, or decree, maintaining the existing rights in the Christian sanctuaries, which dated back to 1757. The inviolability of the Status Quo was endorsed by the signatories of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, who agreed that any changes made required their consent.³⁰

The regulations set out in this firman later became widely known among the Christian communities concerned as the "Status Quo." It applied to the Christian Holy Places owned in common; that is to say, to the shrines associated with the birth, resurrection, and ascension of Christ (the Church of the Nativity in Bethle-

hem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, respectively), as well as the Virgin's Tomb and Deir al-Sultan. In the first three of these sanctuaries, Greeks, Armenians, and Franciscans have common rights. At the site of the Virgin's tomb, Greeks and Armenians have equal rights, whereas at Deir al-Sultan, the rights are in dispute between the Abyssinians and the Copts.

The Status Quo is the basis for administering and regulating the rights and privileges of the above-mentioned communities officiating in the major shrines of Christianity. The Status Quo served to maintain the existing religious practices of public worship, decoration of altars, use of lamps, candelabra and tapestries, and the most minute acts of proprietorship.³¹ Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Status Quo has been widely accepted as the key element to coexistence for the Christian communities in Jerusalem. The term Status Quo in this study refers to the regulations of the 1852 Ottoman decree.

The British Definition of "the Holy Places"

Problems concerning the holy places in the Holy Land almost invariably deal with certain terminologies employed. The most important of those terms is the definition of a "holy place." Strangely, despite the term "holy places" being mentioned in the clauses of the capitulatory treaties signed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the European powers and the Ottoman Empire, and despite its frequent mention throughout the last century, it was first used in a statutory form by the British in the above-mentioned Palestine (Holy Places) Order in Council of 1924.

For the purpose of adjudicating matters related to the holy places, the British attempted to define "the Holy Places" contemplated in the Order in Council. They concluded that:

...the Order was limited in its application to those places and buildings in Palestine to which an almost universal tradition accords the veneration of humanity because of their connection with historic events in the story of the three great religions forever associated with the name of this land.³²

Thus, a distinction was made between Holy Places as envisaged by the Order in Council and other places of religious worship. The "Holy Places" referred to in the Order in Council comprised more than the sites subject to the regulations set by the Status Quo of 1852—but certainly did not include all religious sites (for example, churches, mosques, or synagogues, even if popularly known as holy places). Whether or not a site is a "holy place" in this technical sense depended not on title of ownership or guardianship, but on the degree of veneration in which it was held.³³ This definition had no political purpose but was meant for internal judicial use.

(For an explanation of how we came to the definitions used herein, see the introduction to this chapter, as well as the next section.)

PART III: TOWARD A DEFINITION OF A HOLY PLACE

A holy place is distinguished from any other, its significance based on a unique character that no human action can confer. The functions of a holy place are three-fold and point to the fundamental symbols that create the patterns of life in a religion and culture. First, a holy place is a locus of interaction between the divine and human worlds; a place of communication with divinity, where people go to meet God. The place, which removes the temporal distance between the worshiper and the mystical event, is one where the divinity is present. Hence, the place provides an image of the realm of divinity. Second, it is a place of divine power. And third, it serves as a visible icon of the world—a visual metaphor for a religious world—giving it form and giving a structure to its inhabitants.³⁴

There are two main factors that strengthen the holy nature of a place. One is its veneration by a considerable number of adherents of a religious faith. A variety of traditions may develop around a holy place, which thereby becomes even more powerfully sacred. Accordingly, continuous pilgrimage to a holy place expresses and intensifies its sacred nature. A site's holiness can thus be gauged by applying to it the criteria of veneration and antiquity, or time. A holy place is also a locus of ritual activity. It is holy because it hosts a religious function. Hence, the rituals that people practice at certain locations mark out their sacredness and distinguish them from other given places.

Based on the description above, a definition can now be given of the term "holy place," as it is perceived on different levels of the followers of the different religions. For example, in Christianity the places where the mysteries of salvation took place are considered holy. But then, so too are churches, because they signify the body of Christ, the incarnate deity. Widely accepted explanations of the term "holy" convey three different nuances. *Webster's* defines the word as "having a divine quality"³⁵ or "devoted entirely to the deity or the work of the deity,"³⁶ while the *Oxford Dictionary* defines "holy" as "associated with God or with religion."³⁷ A holy place, in the sense of the first meaning given above, might be a place or site where an event of a divine nature happened: a transcendental event, such as a miracle, associated with the life and work of a religion's founder. According to the second and third meanings, it could also be considered as a place that humans have devoted to God: places of religious worship, or religious education.

Again, a synthesis of these three explanations results in a broad definition of the term "holy places." As such, holy places constitute all the sanctuaries, holy sites, places of worship, religious buildings, and religious sites. For the purpose of this study, however, a distinction is drawn between these places, buildings or sites³⁸ in the following manner:

A *sanctuary*³⁹ is a place enclosed within a building that is consistently venerated by most of the followers of a religion, and to which they manifest evident attachment because of its particular association with a founding figure of the religion or with an event of foundational or transcendental⁴⁰ importance for that religion.

A *holy site*⁴¹ means a place, whether or not it is enclosed within a building, which is venerated by most of the followers of a religion because of its association with a founding figure of that religion.

A *place of worship*⁴² is an enclosed building used for ceremonial religious worship.

A *religious building*⁴³ is (a) a building enclosing a sanctuary or standing on it or next to it, whose religious function is directly concerned with the veneration of that sanctuary; (b) a building that is a place of worship; (c) a building that used to serve as a place of worship but which no longer has that function; or (d) a building, or group of buildings, containing a place of worship in its aforementioned meaning, arranged so that the members of a religious order can live as a community, set apart from the world in work, study, and prayer.

A *religious site* means (a) the spatial location of a sanctuary, holy site, place of worship, or religious building, together with sufficient space around it to maintain its integrity in terms of security, seclusion, access, or historical associations, or in urban, architectural, artistic, or analogous terms; (b) ruins of places of worship;⁴⁴ (c) a holy place that is not a building or does not prominently contain one—for example, a cemetery; or (d) a place or location (whether built or unbuilt) with distinct religious uses or strong religious associations, or religiously significant historical or cultural associations, which does not qualify for the designations “sanctuary,” “holy site,” “place of worship,” or “religious building,” as applied here.

Holiness And Holy Places in Judaism

Broadly speaking, holiness is vested in places associated with the supernatural power and “presence” of God. Although God’s “being” is understood to be beyond definition, His power and presence relate to this world and Jews often symbolize it by the appellation “Name” (*HaShem*). Three times each day observant Jews say as part of their prayers, “You are holy, and Your name is holy.”⁴⁵ A sanctuary is said in Hebrew to be a place where God has “put His name.” Such a place is called *kodesh* (holy) and vested with the qualities of holiness, as well as the restrictions deriving from this status.⁴⁶

Holiness is thus closely associated with the presence of the Deity. That which is most closely into contact with Him is accordingly the most holy of all. The innermost recess of the Temple (*dvir*), where His presence dwelt and where the high priest alone could enter, and only on the most sacred day of the post-exilic calen-

dar, the Day of Atonement, was the most holy sanctuary (*kodesh Hakadoshim*). The terms in the original Hebrew are difficult to understand and to translate. But it follows that because God's presence is so intensely connected to the Temple Mount, it is to be considered the most holy place in the world.⁴⁷

However, the exact boundaries of the Temple can no longer be determined. Because, according to Jewish thought, a holy place must be treated with special care, both to protect its holiness and for the sake of the layperson who is "unaware" of the spiritual power of holiness, the ancient rabbinic establishment ruled that it is forbidden to enter any part of the Temple Mount compound.

The Temple's holiness prevails in the synagogue because some of the religious obligations there are modeled on the Temple service. Therefore, a synagogue is regarded as a "quasi-Temple." The three daily prayers—morning, afternoon, and evening—correspond to the three daily sacrifices that were offered up in the Temple. The actual sacrifice in the Temple was not considered efficacious without correct intention on the part of the person who brought it. What remains now is only the thrice-daily prayer; that is, the intention.⁴⁸ Even when a synagogue is ruined, according to Jewish law, the land remains holy.⁴⁹

A religious college (*beit midrash*) is a holy place because there the commandment to study Torah—the five books of Moses, the Prophets, the Writings, the Mishnah and the Talmud, as well as other classical texts and commentaries—is fulfilled. A *beit midrash* also doubles as a place of prayer, but its holiness exceeds that of a synagogue.⁵⁰ Behavior in a *beit midrash* is restricted, in keeping with its status as a holy place.⁵¹

Tombs of saints that become places of worship are popularly regarded as holy because it is believed that memorial of the deceased may assist the memorializer and bring heaven's mercy to him or her. The Talmud (the compilation of discussions among the heads of the Jerusalem and Babylonian academies between the second and sixth centuries C.E.) explains that the biblical verse "He came to Hebron" (Num. 13:22) refers to prayer at the tombs of the patriarchs.⁵²

Cemeteries are regarded as holy places of a sort after a special ceremony of dedication. Consecrating the sites for the purpose of burial brings them respect and honor. The ancient Jewish cemetery in East Jerusalem is located on the Mount of Olives.

While Jewish endowments are dedicated according to Jewish law, they are not regarded as holy places per se. Only if they serve as places of worship are endowments considered holy.

The Concept of Holiness in Christianity

"Holiness" is the great word in religion; it is even more essential than the notion of God. Real religion may exist without a definite conception of divinity, but there is no real religion without a distinction between holy and profane.⁵³

Any attempt to define the term “holy” is an inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational. For centuries, a recurring problem in religious philosophy has been the question of whether anything in the realm of the transcendental or divine can be demonstrated as an existing reality to the skeptical inquirer. Rudolf Otto, the renowned German theologian, in his classic study *Das Heilige* (the idea of the holy), realized that there is no demonstration by argument that can substitute for religious experience itself.⁵⁴

However, Nathan Soderblum (1866–1931), the Swedish historian of religions and a pioneer in the field, has a different approach to explain the term “holiness.” The original concept of “holy” denotes that which is apart from ordinary life.⁵⁵ In the academic study of religion in the English-speaking world, reference to “the holy” implied an appreciation of divine potency as a reality. In the Church, the term is used to suggest divine, supernatural power. “Holiness” means revelation of divine power.⁵⁶ The New Testament continues and completes the most spiritual of the teachings and expressions of the Old Testament prophets and psalmists with respect to holiness. Inanimate objects and places, such as the Temple and Jerusalem, are described as holy by virtue of their special association with God. However, as mentioned earlier, the concept of holiness for Christianity has become increasingly ethical, having moved from the outward to the internal. The New Testament is explicit in emphasizing this ethical nature of true holiness. Indeed, much of the principal ritual expression of holiness is bound up with the notion of purity. Christians themselves are enjoined to be veritable temples sanctified for the offering of purely spiritual sacrifices. They must consecrate body, which is God’s temple, as well as spirit. True holiness in Christianity applies to the spiritual. It is in the moral likeness to God that human perfection or holiness consists. By dying on the cross, by purifying human guilt, Christ both fulfilled and abolished the whole sacrificial system and became the objective ground of the believer’s new understanding of holiness before God.⁵⁷

Thus, the root of Christian holiness is faith, and its flower is love; and the sphere for the cultivation of this holy love in Christ is His Body, the society of the Christian Church. It is the holy that makes love divine. Christian holiness results from the imparting to humankind God’s own holiness, as mediated through Christ in a new creation.⁵⁸

The Concept of Holiness in Islam

Holiness and Holy Places

Holiness in Islam is a spiritual concept representing various terms including purification, blessing, and veneration of the Almighty God. However, in order to understand the word holiness, it is important to find its meaning in the Quran, as it appears there several times over. In the second *surah* (chapter) of the Quran,

al-Baqarah (the cow), verse 30, holiness is rendered as *nuqaddisu laka*, meaning "we, the angels, sanctify ourselves to you." In the same *surah* (verse 87), the term holiness appears as *Ruh al-Qudus*, the Holy Spirit. This, according to sources,⁵⁹ indicates the Angel Gabriel, who descends to the prophets to purify their spirits. The same term also appears in the *surah al-Nahl* (the bee), verse 102.

In another *surah*, *al-Ma'ida* (the spread table), verse 21, the term appears as *al-'ard al-muqaddasa* (the holy land). The same source maintains that this is a representation of Beit al-Maqdis, as it is the purified land because it is considered as the land of the Prophets and the faithful.⁶⁰ In *surah al-Hashir* (the exile), verse 23, "holy" appears as *al-quddus*, a term which is also found in *surah al-Juma'a* (the congregation), verse 1. The meaning is that God is pure, without son or partner.

The term also appears in *surah Taha* (Taha being a name), verse 13, and in *surah Naza't* (those who drag forth), verse 16, as *al-wadi al-muqaddas* (the holy valley), where God spoke to the Prophet Musa (Moses), telling him he was in the holy valley and should take off his shoes. This is a clear indication that because of its holiness and purity, the place was to be respected.⁶¹

A survey of Jerusalem shows several kinds of Islamic holy places: mosques, *madrasas*, *zawiyas*, *khanqahs*, *ribats*, and mausoleums.

The *mosque* is the most important religious feature in Islam. Muslims built mosques wherever they settled and they can be seen in any town or village throughout the Islamic world. The location of a mosque was usually in the center of the town, often beside the *Dar al-Imarah*, the Emirate House. The mosque serves as a place of assembly for religious, social, and political meetings.⁶² It is recorded that Muslims erected a mosque in Jerusalem soon after they entered the city. Established by the Muslim Caliph 'Umar,⁶³ it came to be known as the al-Aqsa Mosque (the distant mosque).⁶⁴

A *madrasa* is a theological school founded to teach the four Sunni doctrines: *al-Shafi'i*, *al-Hanafi*, *al-Malaki*, and *al-Hanbali*. There the Quran is read and inculcated; interpreted and recited, and there the prophetic traditions (*hadith*), Islamic law (*shari'a*) and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) are taught.

Madrasas were first established during the Saljuk period in Persia and Iraq in the fifth century A.H./11 A.D. The system of *madrasas* flourished in Syria and Egypt during the twelfth century, supported by the Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din. The structure of a *madrasa* building is differs from that of a mosque. Its four *iwans* (halls) surround a courtyard; the largest is the *qibla iwan*. Other halls used for functions related to worship, teaching, or daily life adjoin the school.⁶⁵

A *zawiya* is devoted to receiving Sufis (Islamic mystics), who travel all over the Islamic world from one *zawiya* to another, seeking to learn and teach. It is also a place to host foreigners, poor people, and worshippers by providing them with food and clothing. The *zawiya* building closely resembles the *madrasa* and is joined with halls used for various services. A *sheikh* is usually appointed to each

zawiya with servants and other employees to take care of the residents and visitors.⁶⁶

The word *khanqah*, according to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*,⁶⁷ is a composite word of Persian origin meaning a building usually reserved for Muslim mystics belonging to a dervish order. It is a religious building based on the *iwan* system, composed of a courtyard surrounded by four *iwans*, with no minaret or *minbar* (a platform used for preaching in a mosque) in its confines. The *khanqah* incorporates a mosque and may include tombs, a school, or a public fountain.⁶⁸ Important evidence about the early *khanqahs* in Jerusalem was recorded by the geographer al-Maqdisi.⁶⁹ By his account, they belonged exclusively to the theological ascetic sect of the Karramiyya, which flourished in Khurasan; a group from the sect was living in Jerusalem.

The *ribat* is a military and religious building for religious fighters who defend the borders of the Islamic empire. However, when in the later Islamic period the religious element became predominant, the *ribats* were reserved for the use of Sufis, devotional services, and hosting travelers and pilgrims. The examples that may be seen in Jerusalem today are all from the Mameluke period and were only used for religious purposes.⁷⁰

A *mausoleum* is a tomb complex for a sultan or *amir* (prince) or for saintly individuals. They are of different types: the plain and simple ones are called *qubba* or *turba* and are usually covered by a dome or attached to a *madrassa* or mosque. They first appeared on the scene in 5 A.H./11 A.D. and continued to be built throughout the Ottoman period.⁷¹

PART IV: A COMPENDIUM OF HOLY PLACES

Jewish Holy Places in Jerusalem

Sanctuaries and Holy Sites

The Temple Mount

The two locations of paramount significance in Jerusalem are the Temple Mount and the Western Wall. Today the site of the Dome of the Rock, the *Temple Mount* (*Har HaBayit*) was once the site of the two Jewish temples. The First Temple served as a resting place for the Ark of the Covenant, and both temples were the center of national religious observance.

King David sought a city where he could establish his capital and build a temple dedicated to the worship of God. Jerusalem—a Jebusite stronghold located near the border between the territories of David's tribe, Judah, and King Saul's tribe, Benjamin, and containing the northern tribes as well—was chosen. King Saul had preceded David to the throne, and since David's ascension to power had displaced Saul's sons, Jerusalem's location on the border of Judah's and Benja-

min's territories helped settle a potentially destructive situation. Jerusalem's location avoided the further insult to Saul's tribe and family that would have resulted from building a capital in the territory of one of the other tribes, especially David's own.⁷² The legendary friendship between David and Saul's son Jonathan represented an overcoming of division and a harmonizing of powers on the individual level. King David needed to achieve this harmony of powers on the national level as well. Thus Jerusalem's position on the border of Judah's and Benjamin's territories also had tremendous symbolic significance, heralding an era of harmony for a national community that viewed its existence within the framework of holy texts and their archetypes.

As for the particular site of the Temple, Jewish tradition holds that when King David conquered the city he bought the "threshing floor" of Araunah the Jebusite, located on Mount Moriah, in order to erect the Temple there.⁷³ Nor is this site considered an accidental choice. Adam, the first man, is said to have been created from the dust of Mount Moriah and to have lived there after his expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Abraham saw a pillar of fire descending from heaven to the top of Mount Moriah and thus knew that this was the place to offer up his son Isaac as a sacrifice.⁷⁴

David chose the site but did not build the Temple himself, for it was a task considered unfit for a man of war. Instead it was built by his son and heir, King Solomon. Plans for its building are found in 1 Kings 6–8, and in 2 Chronicles 2–4.⁷⁵ In 586 B.C.E. Solomon's Temple was destroyed by the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar and the Jewish community was sent into exile. When the first group of exiles returned from Babylon in 536 B.C.E., they began, under the direction of Zerubbabel and the prophet Haggai, to rebuild the Temple on the same site. The Jewish community in Jerusalem at that time, however, did not have the resources Solomon had, and the Temple they built was more modest than the original. In the last decades of the first century B.C.E., King Herod took upon himself the task of renovating and expanding the Temple and its courtyards. The Talmud says that, "whoever has not seen the Temple of Herod has never in his life seen a beautiful building."⁷⁶ The size of the Temple Mount was doubled and the exterior courtyards were opened to the public for commerce and gathering. They were also a place where daily prayers were recited and texts were proofread and transcribed, and where the Sanhedrin (high court) met to teach and adjudicate legal questions. Parts of the retaining walls of Herod's Temple (including the Western Wall) and the Temple platform survive today, but almost all traces of Herod's buildings were destroyed in the Roman and Muslim periods following the final destruction of the Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E.⁷⁷

The *walls and gates of the Temple Mount*, as part of *Har HaBayit*, are respected as holy sites. The Temple Mount and the Temple Courtyard were surrounded by high walls, and such power was associated with the site that simply

gazing upon them was said to cure one's ailments. Access was gained to the Temple Courtyard through one of several gates. The following can still be seen today.

The *Gate of Mercy* or *Golden Gate* is the closed gate in the eastern wall of the Temple Mount, facing the Mount of Olives. It is an important holy place for all three of the great religions in Jerusalem because of its associations with messianism and the afterworld.⁷⁸

The *Gate of the Tribes*, situated on the northern side of the Temple Courtyard, was the gate through which the tribes of Israel entered. The *Triangle Gate* or *Triple Gate* is also located on the southern side of the Temple Courtyard, together with the *Double Gate* (sometimes referred to as the *Hulda Gate*) and the *Single Gate*. The Triangle Gate is so named for its triple archway. It is approached by steps from the south, and excavations around the steps indicate that they date from the period of Herod. The Triple and Double gates have been closed since Ottoman times.

Other gates, whose names vary according to the source, include the *Gate of the Inspector*, the *Iron Gate*, the *Gate of the Cotton Merchants*, the *Gate of Purity* (or *Gate of the Bath*), the *Gate of the Chain*, the *Gate of Peace*, and the *Gate of the Shechina*, all located on the western wall of the Temple Mount. (All but the last two are translations of Arabic names.)

The Western Wall

The *Western Wall* (*Kotel*) is, as a relic of the Temple, the holiest Jewish site in Jerusalem. It is also called the *Wailing Wall* because for centuries Jews have come here to mourn the destruction of the Temple. It is part of the remaining section of the Herodian retaining wall which surrounded the Temple Courtyard on Mount Moriah. The wall extends for a span of 485 meters, although much of it is hidden by buildings. The wall rises twenty-six rows of stones above ground, with some seventeen more rows buried below.⁷⁹

The Mishnah attests to the Western Wall's holiness, stating that the divine presence (*Shechina*) never departs from there. Prayer at the Wall again became a widespread practice in the 1500s, with the influx into Jerusalem of Spanish Jews fleeing the inquisition in Spain. In 1887 Baron de Rothschild tried to secure rights to the Wall for Jewish worshippers, but his offer of purchase was refused.

The Mount of Olives

The Mount of Olives, in Jewish mystical tradition, is the place where the *Shechina*, the indwelling presence of God, resides (2 Samuel 15:32). Numerous legends about the resurrection of the dead have been woven around the Mount of Olives. Also called the Mount of the Anointing (*hamshaha*), it was the place where, according to the Mishnah, torches were brought to proclaim the beginnings of the new month and festivals. The legendary red heifer was slaughtered there and its remains used to purify the contamination of the dead.

From the time of the First Temple to the present, 70,000 Jews have been buried on the Mount of Olives, among them numerous renowned religious and political figures.^{79a} See also *Cemeteries*, below.

Mount Zion

Mount Zion refers to the southeast corner of Jerusalem, below the Temple Mount. An ancient building there, probably a synagogue, became associated with the tomb of David and his successors (discussed under *Burial Places*). While Mount Zion is today located outside of the walls of the Old City, at the time of the Second Temple it was within the walls. Legend has it that the architects hired by Sultan Suleiman to reconstruct the wall in 1546 left it out, managing to separate what was previously considered to be inseparable, and were beheaded for their mistake.⁸⁰

Places of Worship and Religious Buildings

Active Synagogues

After 1967 Israel prepared a list of seventy synagogues in the Old City, of which thirty had been operating at the end of the British Mandate.⁸¹ Of the approximately 1,500 synagogues in Jerusalem, the following are located in the Old City of Jerusalem.

1. *Ramban Synagogue*, on the Jewish Quarter Street, near the Cardo.
2. *Yohanan ben Zakai Synagogue*, the largest of the four historic synagogues under one roof at Tiferet Yerushalayim Square, and the *Synagogue of Elijah the Prophet (Elijah HaNavi)*, or *Middle Synagogue*. The other two synagogues are the *Istanbuli Synagogue*, built by the Jews of Istanbul; and the *Talmud Torah Synagogue*, oldest of the four.
3. *Or HaHaim Synagogue*, in the Old Yishuv Court, containing the ruined HaAri Synagogue.
4. *Menachem Zion Synagogue*, 37 Street of the Jews.
5. *Birkat HaTorah Synagogue*, in the Hurva.
6. *Beit El Synagogue* (including Yeshivat HaMequbalim–Beit El).
7. *Tzuf Dvash Synagogue*, on Plugat HaKotel Street.
8. *Hayyei HaOlam Synagogue*
9. *Eytz HaHaim Synagogue*, including the non-operative Kotel Varsha.
10. *Tzemech Tzedek Synagogue*
11. *Hazon Yehezkiel Synagogue* (Ateret Cohanim, in the Muslim Quarter).

Yeshivot

Houses of religious learning (*yeshivot*) are also places of worship. In the Old City these include:

1. *Yeshivat Esh HaTorah*, Batey Machaseh Square.
2. *Yeshivat Betochachey Yerushalayim*

3. *Yeshivat HaKotel*
4. *Yeshivat Habad*
5. *Yeshivat Porat Yoseph*
6. *Yeshivat Ateret Cohanim*, in the Muslim Quarter.
7. *Yeshivat Torat Cohanim*, Ateret Cohanim, in the Muslim Quarter.
8. *Yeshivat Shuvu Banim*, Ateret Cohanim, in the Muslim Quarter.

Burial Sites

Tombs

Other religious buildings and sites include tombs and cemeteries. There are numerous tombs of saints and other places of popular belief in the Jerusalem area.

The *Cave of the Ramban* is in northeast Jerusalem on the way to Mount Scopus, in the area of Sheikh Jarrah. The Ramban—the renowned Rabbi Moshe, son of Nachman (Nachmanides 1194–1270)—came to Jerusalem from Spain in 1267. He was a physician, philosopher, kabbalist and Biblical exegete who fled from Spain after being accused of committing crimes against Christianity by Dominican friars he had bested in a debate. When he arrived in Jerusalem he found the Jewish community in disarray. He set up a yeshiva and began to draw students to the city. Some traditions hold that this rock cavern is the site of his grave, but others say he was buried in Silwan, in Hebron, or even in Acre.⁸³

The *Cave of Shimon the Tzaddik*: According to the Roman historian Josephus Flavius, Shimon HaTzaddik (Simon the Just) was the high priest of the Temple during the reign of Alexander the Great. Josephus writes that Shimon HaTzaddik greeted Alexander upon his arrival in Jerusalem and was in turn treated with great respect by the Macedonian leader. There is reason to doubt the accuracy of Josephus's account because of discrepancies between the years of Alexander's reign and Shimon's service as high priest. Shimon HaTzaddik is held to be the author of the saying, "Upon three things the world is based; upon the Torah, divine service and the practice of charity."⁸⁴ His grave, located next to the cave of the Ramban in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in northeast Jerusalem, is an important site of pilgrimage for observant Jews.⁸⁵ Today it serves as a synagogue.

The *Tomb of King David* on Mount Zion, located south of the walls of the Old City, is identified in Jewish tradition as David's burying place; it has been mentioned in Jewish sources at least since the tenth century C.E. The site is today on the lower level of a building on Mount Zion that houses Muslim and Christian holy places as well.⁸⁶ Some evidence suggests that the chamber referred to as David's Tomb was actually built by the Crusaders. The site is a popular place of worship, especially during the holiday of Shavuot (Pentecost), as tradition says that David died on this festival.⁸⁷

The *Tomb of Zechariah* is located east of the Old City at the foot of the Mount of Olives in the Kidron Valley beyond the Gate of Mercy. The structure, shaped like an Egyptian chapel and adorned with Ionic columns, is solid and had no

opening, meaning that it was most likely a sepulchral monument rather than a tomb. The "tomb" has been assigned to the second half of the first century B.C.E.⁸⁸

The Tomb of Hulda the Prophetess: Hulda is mentioned in 2 Kings (22:13-18) as the figure with whom King Josiah consulted on the restoration of Jewish law in Israel. She is one of seven female prophets mentioned in the Bible. A kinswoman of the Prophet Jeremiah, she is said to have preached repentance to the women while Jeremiah preached to the men. In his commentary on the Book of Kings, the medieval scholar Rashi writes that Hulda led an academy outside one of the gates to the Old City, and so it came to be known as Hulda's Gate. Josephus wrote that the name of the gate came from a monument erected in her memory. Hulda is mentioned again in a collection of rabbinical aphorisms that states that only the tombs of King David and Hulda the Prophetess may be kept in Jerusalem because they were there since the days of the early prophets. The tomb, however, is not located inside the city walls but on the peak of the Mount of Olives, to the south of the Church of the Ascension.⁸⁹

The Grave of Rabbi Haim ibn Attar: The eighteenth-century Rabbi ibn Attar was called "Zion Or HaHaim" after the title of his book, "Zion Or HaHaim al Ha-Torah," a mystical commentary on the Torah. His grave, located near the Tomb of Absalom, is an important pilgrimage site. Each year, on the fifteenth day of the Hebrew month of Tamuz, the anniversary of his death, religious Jews go to the grave to pay their respects.⁹⁰

The Pillar of Absalom or Absalom's Tomb, located to the east of the Old City in the Kidron River Valley at the foot of the Mount of Olives, is traditionally believed to be the pillar referred to in the Bible as the monument erected by Absalom, the rebellious son of King David: "Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself the pillar, which is in the king's dale, for he said, 'I have no son to keep my name in remembrance,' and he called the pillar after his own name" (2 Samuel 18:18). Archeologists trace the building's origins to the first century C.E. and have not found a connection with Absalom.⁹¹

The Tombs of the Sanhedrin and the Tomb of the Small Sanhedrin may be found in the northwest Jerusalem neighborhood of Sanhedria, which takes its name after the graves. It is not certain that these are in fact burial places of the members of the Sanhedrin, or high court, but they are clearly the graves of more than seventy people of high status from the Second Temple period. The Tomb of the Small Sanhedrin is located near the cave of Shimon HaTzaddik in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood. The site was a meeting place for the Sanhedrin at times when they could not gather in the Temple courtyard.⁹²

The Cave of the Priests or the Cave of the Sons of Hezir, located in the Kidron Valley next to the Pillar of Absalom, is the burial place for the "Sons of Hezir," one of the twenty-four families of Jewish priests (Cohanim) who served in the Temple. The cave is also called *Beit Hofshit*, the "Shelter of King Uzziah," and the "Tomb of Saint James." The tomb consists of underground burial chambers

and a facade cut into the rock. The facade is in the Doric style and was the first Jewish tomb in Jerusalem to use Greek architectural features. Based on these features, the tomb has been dated to the latter half of the second century B.C.E. The tomb was identified as that of the Hezir family when their name was discovered carved above the entrance.⁹³

The *Cave of the Prophets*: One tradition places the tombs of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi on the upper slope of the Mount of Olives, not far from the church of the Ascension and the Tomb of Hulda the Prophetess. Haggai was the prophet said to have urged on the rebuilding of the Temple, resumed in 530 B.C.E.⁹⁴

The *Tombs of the Kings*, located in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood on the way to Mount Scopus, comprise a burial complex of thirty-one tombs that have been dated to the first century C.E. The burial place of Queen Helene, a convert to Judaism from the land of Adebena (Iraq), who came to live in Jerusalem with her son Izates and Monbaz, was excavated here. Another tradition calls this the tomb of the family of Calba Savua, the father-in-law of the famed Talmudic scholar Rabbi Akiva, and one of the richest men in Jerusalem. The cave is officially the property of the French government.⁹⁵

The *Cave of Pharaoh's Daughter* or *Court of the Guards* is not really a holy site for the Jews, but it is the most famous and most impressive tomb found in the necropolis located in the village of Silwan (along the eastern slope of the Kidron Valley, opposite the southern edge of the Temple Mount and the southern part of the city of David).⁹⁶

The *Cave of Zedekiah* is located below the walls of the Old City, near the Damascus Gate. In the Book of Jeremiah, the prophet tells us that Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, fled from the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar into this cave, which had served as the quarry from which the stones for the First Temple were cut. The cave led into a series of tunnels that reached all the way to the plains of Jericho. The king escaped to these plains, but there was captured by Nebuchadnezzar's soldiers. The British named this cave "King Solomon's Quarries."⁹⁷

Cemeteries

The *Mount of Olives*, mentioned in the Bible, is part of a necropolis that forms a belt around Jerusalem, stretching from Sanhedria in the northwest to Talpiot and Ramat Rachel in the south. This most important burial site stretches across the Mount of Olives, from near the Augusta Victoria Hospital, through the Kidron River Valley to the village of Silwan. It is the most ancient Jewish cemetery in the world. Jewish tradition states that the Lord will stand on the Mount of Olives, and the dead will first be resurrected there at the end of time. This belief has made the Mount of Olives and the Kidron Valley below it a choice burial site throughout generations of Jewish history.

The mountain itself has historical significance beyond its foretold role in the resurrection. It is mentioned in the Book of Samuel as the place where King David worshipped before the First Temple was established (2 Samuel 15:30). The court of the Sanhedrin announced the new moon by placing lighted beacons at the top of the Mount of Olives. After the seventh century, when Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem, they met on the Mount of Olives to celebrate festivals and other public ceremonies. Today many observant Jews make pilgrimages to the Mount of Olives in order to pray at the grave sites of the great rabbis and other holy people buried there.⁹⁸

The *Cave of Ovadiah from Bertinoro*: Ovadiah (Obadiah) ben Avraham Yare was a rabbi from northern Italy who made a remarkable journey to Jerusalem from Italy, via Messina, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Cairo, arriving in Jerusalem in 1488. During his journey he wrote several long letters describing his experiences and observations. In Jerusalem he established himself as a spiritual and communal leader. He taught, preached, and established funds to provide for the poor and for the burial of the dead. He died in 1510, and his tomb is located in the Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives, facing the spring of Gihon. He is remembered and revered not only for his community work but also for his commentaries on the Mishnah, which are considered equal in importance to those of Rashi on the Talmud.⁹⁹

Other Religious Sites

A number of houses of worship and endowments that no longer function according to their original purpose, such as hospitals, historical sites, antiquities, or cultural properties, are not defined here as holy places, but warrant mention. The Ophel, David's Citadel, and the Pool of Siloam are described following the listing of synagogues no longer used for worship. These synagogues are all to be found within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰

Inactive Houses of Worship

1. *Hurvav Rabbi Yehuda the Hasid Synagogue (Beit Ya'akov)*
2. *The Gates of Zion Synagogue*
3. *The Courtyard Synagogue (Hatzar haHurva)*
4. *Midrash Eliahu Synagogue*
5. *Yeshurun Community Synagogue (Kahal Yeshurun)*
6. *Beit Menahem* (of the Habad community)
7. *Ahavat Zion Synagogue* (of the Dutch and German communities)
8. *Hessed El Synagogue*
9. *Ohel Ya'akov Synagogue*
10. *Torat Haim Synagogue*
11. *Shomrei HaHomot*
12. *Ohel Yitzhak* (for the Hassidic community) and *Beit Yoseph* (for the Prushim)

13. *Ohel Aharon* (for the Karliner Hassidic community)
14. *Knesset Yehezkel (Ezekiel)*, located near Tiferet Yisrael.
15. *Beit Meir Synagogue*
16. *Tiferet Yisrael (Rabbi Nissan Bek)*, located on Misgav Ladach Street.
17. *HaQara'im Synagogue*
18. *Hassidei Braslov Synagogue*
19. *Moroccan Synagogue*
20. *Yeshivat Kol Yehuda*
21. *Yeshivat HaMequbalim Sha'arei Shamayim*
22. *Yeshivat Imrey Binah*
23. *Talmud Torah Sephardi*
24. *Yeshivat Torat Haim*
25. *Yeshivat Sukkat David* (of the Yemenite community)
26. *Yeshivat Menahem Zion Synagogue*, in the Hurva courtyard.¹⁰¹

The Ophel, the Pool of Siloam, and David's Citadel

The *Ophel*, meaning fortification, stronghold, or acropolis, is the name of the hill rising above the Kidron Valley and was part of the site of the City of David. It was at one time occupied by the Jebusites, an ancient Canaanite tribe. It is not the highest hill in the area, but it is protected on three sides by deep valleys and it is close to the Gihon Spring, the source of water for the area. The spring was left outside of the walls of the Jebusite settlement and was accessed by a deep shaft (Warren's Shaft, named for Sir Charles Warren who discovered it in the 1860s) on the ridge inside the city wall reaching down to the water level. Scholars believe that King David, having determined that Jerusalem was to be his capital, led his forces through the water shaft and into the city, thus conquering the Jebusites. King Solomon and the rest of the kings of Judea were crowned and anointed at the Gihon Spring. A stone projection on the slope of the Ophel, called "the horn of Ophel," was used to gauge the water levels in the Kidron Valley. The story is told of Rabbi Eliezer, who, when asked, "When do we begin to pray for the rain to cease?" answered, "When a man stands on the horn of Ophel and wets his feet in the waters of the Kidron." The Rabbis added, "Not only his feet but his hands, too."¹⁰²

The *Pool of Siloam (Shiloah)*: In a defensive measure against an Assyrian attack, King Hezekiah had a tunnel built beneath the City of David, redirecting the waters of the Gihon River from the Kidron Valley into the Pool of Siloam in the central valley to the south of the Old City. He thus deprived the Assyrian army, which was apparently suffering from plague, of water. The pool, however, predates the tunnel and was of great religious and political significance. It was used as the *mikve* (ritual bath) of the high priest before he performed the services on the Day of Atonement. Moreover, all the kings of the House of Judah were anointed with the waters of the pool before assuming the throne.¹⁰³

Located just south of the Jaffa Gate is the stronghold referred to as *David's Citadel*, dominated by the "Tower of David." The tower seen at the site is actually the Tower of Phasel, one of three towers (Phasel, Hippicus, and Mariamne) built on the northern wall of King Herod's palace. Herodian masonry survives to two-thirds of the present height of the tower. However, there is archeological evidence indicating that by the seventh and eighth centuries B.C.E., during the First Temple period, this area was already part of the Jerusalem city wall, and there is clear evidence that Herod's Palace was built over the remains of the Hashmonean fortifications of the second century B.C.E. The citadel was partially destroyed in 70 C.E. with the Roman conquest of Jerusalem, and it may have been used as the living quarters of the Tenth Roman Legion. Subsequent Byzantine, Arab and Ottoman rulers of Jerusalem reconstructed and added to the citadel complex.¹⁰⁴

Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem

Over the centuries, various Christian communities settled in Jerusalem and consecrated the places associated with the life and teachings of Christ, and His miracles. Considering the numerous Christian holy places in and around Jerusalem, the list here, prepared in accordance with the definitions given in the previous section is rather limited. An attempt has been made to provide a detailed listing of the holy places of Christendom within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings—the Mount of Olives and Mount Zion—hallowed in the history of Christianity. In order not to elongate the listing further, however, only sanctuaries and holy sites are described in detail.

Sanctuaries

As mentioned earlier, the holiness of a sanctuary may derive from, among other things, antiquity, the consistency and continuity of veneration by worshippers, and the consistency, continuity, and numbers of religious pilgrims and their acts of worship over time. Some of the sanctuaries of Christendom are shrines whose proprietorship is shared by the major Christian communities and to which the regulations of the Status Quo apply; others are shrines that are within the exclusive jurisdiction of one religious community. The major sanctuaries described below are those to which the regulations of the Status Quo do apply: the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and its dependencies, Deir al-Sultan, the Sanctuary of the Ascension, the Cenacle, and the Tomb of the Virgin.

The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and its Dependencies

For more than sixteen centuries the Basilica, also known as the *Church of the Resurrection*, has been venerated by Christians as the site of the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of Christ. All the events described in the New Testament that occurred during the three days before the resurrection of Christ are closely associ-

ated with the site of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre is situated in the Christian Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem.

In 135 A.D., the Emperor Hadrian erected an altar to Venus on the site of the tomb of Christ and a statue of Jupiter above the Calvary. Later, Emperor Constantine had the Roman works removed and erected a new building. Completed in 335, it was destroyed in 1009 by the "mad" Fatimid Caliph Hakim. In 1048 it was restored in its entirety by Emperor Constantine Monomachus. It was after the subsequent restoration of the Crusaders in the twelfth century that the formerly scattered sanctuaries were united under one monument in the form of a cross.¹⁰⁵ An earthquake hundreds of years later, in 1927, left the building in precarious condition. The British Mandatory government undertook the carrying out of repairs, and in 1939 it put up shoring. Only in 1958 was a major plan for repair and restoration agreed upon by the Orthodox, Latin, and Armenian religious communities.¹⁰⁶ During the years between 1978 and 1984 these communities agreed to reinforce the framework of the dome and plaster the inner surface. With decoration completed in 1997, the renovation of the dome was finished.¹⁰⁷

Apart from the many places of worship (convents, churches, and chapels) built within and around the compound of the Holy Sepulchre, the Basilica incorporates: (a) the *Golgotha* or *Calvary*—site of the crucifixion of Christ, which constitutes the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth stations of the Cross; (b) the *Stone of Unc-tion*—the place of anointing the lifeless body of Christ, according to Jewish burial custom, before placing it in the tomb; and (c) the *Edicule*—which encloses the *Chapel of the Angel* and the site of the tomb of Christ. The *Sepulchre*, which is 2.07 meters in length and 1.93 meters in width, is the fourteenth station of the Cross.

Worship at the Basilica is subject to the regulations laid down by the Status Quo of 1852. The hours when the various communities hold services are normally agreed on by the superiors concerned. As is true of other holy places, in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre the three major communities (Greek Orthodox, Armenian and the Franciscans) alone are considered as having proprietary rights. The sole exception is the small chapel attached to the western wall of the Edicule, which is in the possession of the Copts. The three major communities are each represented by a superior clergy member permanently residing at the precincts of the Church and no other congregation is entitled to be represented.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the right to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in sacerdotal procession is theirs alone. Others are permitted to enter in procession provided that no sacerdotal vestments are worn.¹⁰⁹ In the event that a visiting Coptic, Jacobite or Abyssinian prominent ecclesiastic desires to visit the Holy Sepulchre, notification is made to the Armenian patriarchate, who arranges for the opening of the door and his reception at the entrance.¹¹⁰

Deir al-Sultan

Deir al-Sultan is the Ethiopian monastery situated on the roof of Saint Helena's Chapel, one of the major chapels in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. It consists of a courtyard around the dome of the chapel and a cluster of hovels occupied by the Abyssinian monks. Since the early nineteenth century the ownership of Deir al-Sultan has been disputed by the Copts and the Ethiopians. For this reason it was included in the Status Quo arrangements made by the Ottomans and the British.¹¹¹

Other Sanctuaries

The Sanctuary of the Ascension consists of a circular yard enclosed by a high wall, in the center of which is a round domed octagonal building, covering the rock believed by the faithful to be the exact venue of the Ascension of Christ (Acts 1:9–11) and bearing the imprint of His foot. The Church was erected before 387 A.D. In 1187, however, the Church of the Ascension was transformed into a mosque, and for many centuries the site has been held by Muslims. At present, only remains are left of the old buildings. The sanctuary is situated on the summit of the Mount of Olives. It is one of the five sanctuaries to which the regulations of the Status Quo apply, and it is venerated by all the religious communities that hold rights in them.

The Cenacle is situated on Mount Zion and is thought to be the place of the Last Supper (Luke 22:7–13) and the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:1–4). The present building was erected by the Franciscans in the fourteenth century. The lower floor, where the cloister was added in the sixteenth century, was inhabited by the Franciscan friars. On the upper floor was situated the Church of the Cenacle. Until its occupation by the Muslims in the sixteenth century, the entire compound of the Cenacle was the only Franciscan convent in Jerusalem. In 1552 the convent came under Muslim control. In the same century, the shrine of the Tomb of David was built on the first floor, while the second floor was turned into a mosque with a *mihrab*, which indicates the direction of Mecca in a mosque.

The building of the historical Church of the Cenacle consists of two levels. The hall at the lower level, which is divided into two parts, is believed to be the Upper Room where on Holy Thursday Jesus had the Last Supper with His disciples. The western side of this hall was dedicated to the Washing of the Feet (John 13:5–20) and the eastern side to the Apparitions of the Risen Christ (John 20:19–29). A flight of steps on the western side leads to the second level, which is considered to be the place of the Descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost.

In 1967 the entire building came under Israeli control. Since then worship has been conducted in the Upper Room on the occasion of Pentecost by the Franciscans, the Greek Orthodox and the Armenians. Franciscans hold an extra service there on Holy Thursday.

Conducting worship at the Cenacle is not subject to the regulations laid down by the Status Quo in 1852, because, as mentioned, the Cenacle was at that time

under Muslim control. Nevertheless, this does not reduce the significance of the Cenacle, where the memory of the Institution of the Eucharist, the mystery of faith, and the New Priesthood are venerated. These elements make up the great reality around which Christianity is built. Without them the Christian religion is but a shadow, because without the sacrifice of the Altar there is no true divine service. There is no altar without an offering, and no priest without a sacrifice.¹¹² Thus, after the Descent of the Holy Spirit, a new Zion arose for Christians, whose fulfillment they saw in the words of Isaiah: "For the law will go forth from Zion." (Isa. 2:3).

*The Tomb of the Virgin*¹¹³ is the site where the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus, was buried by the Apostles. The church enclosing the tomb dates from the Crusader era. It was founded by Queen Melisande and a great part of it was constructed underground. The Church is situated in the Kidron Valley, near the Garden of Gethsemane, which without doubt was the property of one of Jesus' disciples.¹¹⁴ The general principles of the Status Quo apply to the Church of the Virgin. It is under the joint control of the Orthodox and the Armenians. Syrians and Copts have only the right to hold services there.

Holy Sites

Holy sites are places of worship, as defined earlier, or locations where events associated with the founding of a religion happened.

The *Pools of Bethesda (Probatika)* are believed to be the site of the miracle of the healing of the paralytic (John 5:2–9). The Pools are within the enclosure containing the *Church of Saint Anne* and a Greek Catholic seminary run by the White Fathers.

The *Pool of Siloam (Shiloah)* is the site where the miracle of the man born blind opening his eyes took place (John 9). It is located in the Kidron Valley.

The *Convent of Pater Noster (The Lord's Prayer)* comprises a cloister and a church, where the Lord's Prayer in different languages may be found on the walls. This site is believed to be built over the grotto where Jesus taught His disciples to pray (Luke 11:1–4) and revealed to them divine mysteries (Matt. 24, Luke 21). The Convent is situated on the Mount of Olives, and is administered by the French government.

The *Basilica of the Agony*, which is also known as the *Church of All Nations*, is the site of the prayer and agony of Jesus on the evening that preceded His Passion and Death (Matt. 26:36–45). The present church, consecrated in 1924, stands on the site of the Basilica built in the fourth century. The Basilica is situated in the Garden of Gethsemane, and is under the control of the Franciscans.

The *Grotto of Betrayal (Gethsemane)* is the site of the cave where Jesus spent many nights with His disciples. It was here that He received the treacherous kiss of Judas and was arrested by the soldiers and servants of Caiaphas (John 18:1–11, Luke 22:39–46, Matt. 26:36–46). The site is attached to the Church enclosing the

Virgin's tomb. It is the only monument that has preserved intact its primitive form, from the time of Jesus Christ. The Grotto has belonged to the Franciscans since 1392. It was restored in the years 1956–1959, with the entrance being widened and entirely rebuilt, a new pavement laid, and three new altars installed.

The *Convent of the Holy Archangels* is the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the High Priest, where Jesus was led after His arrest (John 18:13). This convent bears two memories associated with Christ. In the courtyard of the convent is believed to be the *olive tree* to which Jesus was tied on the night he was brought to trial. Local inhabitants of Jerusalem call the place *Deir al-Zeytuneh* (convent of the olive). On the exterior wall of the Church is a stone that “burst into melodious Hosanna” when Christ replied to the Pharisees that the stones would cry out (Luke 19:40). The church, completed at the end of the twelfth century or early thirteenth century,¹¹⁵ is in honor of the angels, who according to the expression of the Church Fathers, covered their faces when an officer of Annas struck Jesus (John 18: 22). On the northern side of the Church is the *first prison of Christ*, where Jesus was kept while awaiting His trial. The Convent of the Holy Archangels comprises part of the Armenian Convent situated on Mount Zion.

The *Convent of Saint Savior*, built in the sixth century, stands on the traditional site of the *House of Caiaphas*, where Jesus was brought for His second trial (John 18:24). Enclosed in a chapel is the *second prison* of Christ, where He stayed on the night of Holy Thursday before being taken to Pilate. The *stone* that traditionally covered the Tomb of Christ and was rolled away by the Angel (Matt. 28:2) is believed to have been brought to the Convent of Saint Savior, and serves as the altar of the chapel. The courtyard of the Convent is identified with the site of *Peter's Denial*, while the trial of Jesus was proceeding in the palace of Caiaphas (Matt. 26:69–75). The Convent of Saint Savior is situated on Mount Zion. Its exclusive ownership is vested in the Armenian Patriarchate.

Via Dolorosa

Via Dolorosa (the Way of the Cross) is the path on which Jesus walked from the Praetorium to the Calvary. This route is marked by fourteen stations. The first nine are along the streets and the last five are within the Holy Sepulchre.

The *First Station* is the *Praetorium* (the judgment hall), in the Antonia Fortress, where Pilate questioned Christ privately (John 18:28). It was here that Jesus was condemned to death (Matt. 27:24–26, Mark 15:12–15, Luke 23:23–25 John 19:14–16). The station is in the courtyard of al-Omariyya College.

The *Second Station* is the *Lithostrotos*, the paved court of the Antonia fortress, where the public part of the trial took place (John 19:13). Here Christ was presented to the public and scourged and the words “*Ecce Homo*” (“Behold the Man”) were said; here Pilate washed his hands and condemned Him to death on the Cross. The site of the *Lithostrotos*, which is identified as the venue of the Imposition of the Cross (John 19:17), was acquired by the Sisters of Sion in 1856.

On the site stands the *Convent of the Sisters of Sion*, with its Basilica of *Ecce Homo*. At the entrance to the Lithostrotos is the *Convent of the Flagellation*, which has been the seat of the *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* (Franciscan Biblical School) since 1927. The Convent contains the Chapel of the Flagellation, believed to be on the site where Jesus was scourged, and the Chapel of the Condemnation and of the Imposition of the Cross.

The *Third Station* is traditionally thought to be the site of the first fall of Christ. It is marked by a little chapel. The *Fourth Station* is held to be the traditional site where Jesus met His mother. Next to the Fourth Station is the entrance to the Armenian Catholic Church of "Our Lady of the Spasm." The sites of both the Third and the Fourth Station were bought by the Armenian Catholics in 1856. At the *Fifth Station* Simon of Cyrene helped Jesus to carry His cross (Matt. 27:32, Mark 15:21, Luke 23:26). The Station is at the beginning of the Via Dolorosa, and is marked with a Franciscan oratory built in 1895. The *Sixth Station* is where Veronica wiped the face of Jesus and is the traditional site of the house of Veronica, identified with the woman who suffered from hemorrhaging for twelve years (Luke 8:43). On the site of the Station stands a Greek Catholic church built in 1895.

At the *Seventh Station* Jesus fell the second time. The site was bought by the Franciscans in 1875, and is marked by a chapel. At the *Eighth Station* Jesus consoled the women of Jerusalem (Luke 23:27). The Station is marked by an altar in the Greek Monastery of Saint Charalambos. And at the *Ninth Station* Jesus fell for the third time. The Station is marked by a shaft of a column enclosed in the pillar of the Coptic Saint Anthony's Church.

The last five stations are situated within the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. The *Tenth Station* marks the stripping off of Jesus' garments; the *Eleventh Station*, His being nailed to the cross; the *Twelfth Station*, His dying on the cross; the *Thirteenth Station*, where He was taken down from the cross; and the *Fourteenth Station*, His being laid in the tomb.

The *Church of the Three Marys*, which until the twelfth century was used by the Armenians,¹¹⁶ is occupied by the Disse family and is also known as *Dar Disse*. (It was probably given to the Disse family by the Mamelukes). The Church of the Three Marys is believed to have been built on the site where Jesus appeared to the women on their way to announce the good news of the Resurrection to the disciples assembled in the Cenacle (Matt. 28:8-9).

The *Church of the Visitation* is the traditional site of one of the two houses of the High Priest Zachary (Luke 1:40), where the Virgin Mary visited Elizabeth and recited the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55). It is a Catholic church in Ein Karem.

The *Church of Saint John the Baptist* is the traditional site of the high priest Zachary's other house and the birthplace of Saint John the Baptist (Luke 1:57). It is also located in Ein Karem, in the hands of the Catholic church.

The *Church of Saint Mark* is the site of the house of Mary, the mother of John, surnamed Mark. Tradition has it that Saint Peter went to this house after his mi-

raculous deliverance from prison. The church, in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City, is part of the Syrian convent.

Places of Worship

Places of worship are where ceremonial religious devotions are conducted by a religious group. All the sanctuaries, churches, and chapels that serve as houses of active religious worship are places of worship, as are convents and monasteries. Places of worship include:

1. The *Basilica of Saint Stephen*,¹¹⁷ built on the tomb containing the relics of Saint Stephen. The new basilica is part of the complex of the *École Biblique et archaéologique Française*, in East Jerusalem, under the control of the French Catholic Church.
2. The *Cathedral of the Holy Trinity*, property of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission abroad (New York), situated in the Russian Compound in Jerusalem.
3. The *Cathedral of Saint George*, the main Anglican church in East Jerusalem.
4. The *Cathedral of Saint James the Brother*, in the parvis of the Holy Sepulchre (Greek Orthodox).
5. The *Cathedral of Saint James the Great*, in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City. This is the site of the house and tomb of James, brother of Christ, and the site where the head of James the Major was buried.
6. The Catholic Church's *Chapel of Bethpage* is located in the village of Bethpage (Beit-Tul).

Churches include

1. *The Church of the Ascension*, on the Mount of Olives. In 1893 six mosaic floors with Armenian inscription dating back to the fifth or early sixth century were found in the compound of this Church. According to a document on the wall of the church, the site of one of the mosaic floors is where the head of Saint John the Baptist was discovered.¹¹⁸ The church is the property of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission of the Russian Church abroad (its administrative center is in New York).
2. *Dominus Flevit*, a Catholic church on the Mount of Olives, is built in the shape of a tear in memory of Jesus' weeping over Jerusalem. The site was marked first by a Crusader church, which was destroyed afterward by the Mamelukes. An interesting excavation on the property (1953–55), revealed a tomb from the Late Bronze period and a necropolis, thought to have been used from 135 B.C. to 300 A.D.¹¹⁹ The present church was built in 1955, on the site of the fifth century Byzantine monastery.
3. *Dormition Abbey*, on Mount Zion, is the site of the Dormition of the Virgin, acquired by the German Emperor (for German Catholics) in 1898. The inte-

rior of the Benedictine church is a replica of Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aix-la Chapelle.

4. *The Church of the Pentecost* is within the Zion Monastery on Mount Zion, a Greek Orthodox site.
5. The Lutheran *Church of the Redeemer* was built by the Prussians in 1898, in memory of the resurrection of the Redeemer Christ. The Church is situated in the *Muristan*, the area around the Hospital of Saint John (the Order of Hospitallers or the Knights of Saint John), near the Holy Sepulchre.
6. *Saint Andrew's* (the *Church of Scotland*) is in West Jerusalem.
7. *Saint Anne's* is a church on the site of the house of Saint Anne, mother of Virgin Mary, and the latter's birthplace), It is situated within the great enclosure which is known locally as *Salahiyya* (of Salah al-Din), nearby Stephen's Gate in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City; it is the property of the French government.
8. *Saint Gregory's* is the Armenian church in the German Colony.
9. *The Chapel of Saint John*, also Armenian, is in the parvis of the Holy Sepulchre.
10. *Saint Lazarus* is the Greek Orthodox church in Bethany (al-Azariyya).
11. *Saint Lazarus* is also the name of the Catholic church in Bethany.
12. *Saint Mary Magdalene* is the Russian church in Gethsemane (the New York-administered branch of the church).
13. *Saint Modestos*, a Greek Orthodox church, is in Abu Tor.
14. *Saint Paul's*, in West Jerusalem, is a Protestant church.
15. *Saint Peter in Gallicantu*: Excavations on Mount Zion brought to light a street with steps (per Neh. 12:37) leading down from the Cenacle to the Pool of Siloam/City of David. The Catholic church is that of the Assumptionist Fathers.
16. *Saint Thomas'*, in East Jerusalem, is the Syrian Catholic church.
17. *Saint Simeon's* is a Greek Orthodox church at Givat Havradim in West Jerusalem.

Convents and Monasteries

Convents and monasteries in Jerusalem are numerous indeed. The listing:

1. The *Apostles at Viri Galilaei* (the residence of the Greek Orthodox patriarch), on the Mount of Olives.
2. *Archangels Michael and Gabriel* in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
3. *Baiphoros*, in Bethpage (Greek Orthodox).
4. *Dabra Gannat*, in West Jerusalem (Ethiopian).
5. *Efthymios*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
6. *Holy Cross*; the site of this Byzantine period monastery, near the Rehavia quarter of West Jerusalem, is believed to be the traditional site of the tree from which Christ's cross was made (Greek Orthodox).¹²⁰

7. *Mar Elias*, on the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road (Greek Orthodox).
8. *Meghali Panayiya/Blessed Virgin Mary*, at Khan al-Aqbat in the Christian Quarter of the Old City (Greek Orthodox).
9. *Meskaba Qedusan (Saint Takia Haymanoth Church)* in Bethany (Ethiopian).
10. *Metochion of Gethsemane*, in the parvis of the Holy Sepulchre (Greek Orthodox).
11. *Praetorium (Prison of Christ)*, on the Via Dolorosa (Greek Orthodox).
12. *Prodromos/Saint John the Baptist*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
13. *Ratisbonne Monastery*, in West Jerusalem (Catholic—Fathers of Sion).
14. *Saidnaya*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
15. *Saint Abraham*, in the parvis of the Holy Sepulchre (Greek Orthodox).
16. *Saint Alexander Miewsky*, near the Holy Sepulchre (New York-based Russian Ecclesiastical Mission).
17. *Saint Catherina*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
18. *Saint Charalambos*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
19. *Saint George*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
20. *Saint George*, in the Christian Quarter (Coptic).
21. *Saint George*, in the Armenian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
22. *Saint Joachim and Anna*, at Saint Stephen's Gate (Greek Orthodox).
23. *Saint John the Baptist*, in Ein Karem (Greek Orthodox).
24. *Saint Nicholas*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
25. *Saint Nicodemus*, in al-Adas, the Muslim Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
26. *Saint Onouphrios*, in the Hinnom Valley/Abu Tor (Greek Orthodox).
27. *Saint Panteleimon*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
28. *Saint Pelagia*, on the Mount of Olives (Greek Orthodox).
29. *Saint Saviour's*, the Franciscan friars' residential complex in the Christian Quarter (Catholic).
30. *Saint Simon*, in the West Jerusalem neighborhood of Katamon (Greek Orthodox).
31. *Saint Spyridon*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
32. *Saint Stephanos*, in Gethsemane, believed by the Greek Orthodox to be the site of stoning of Saint Stephen (Greek Orthodox).
33. *Saint Theodoros*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
34. *Saint Vassilios*, in the Christian Quarter (Greek Orthodox).
35. *Saint Vincent*, in the Mamilla area of West Jerusalem (Catholic).
36. *Saint Zachariah*, in Ein Karem (Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, Moscow Patriarchate).

Patriarchates and Seats of Religious Representatives

1. The *Apostolic Delegation* on the Mount of Olives is the seat of the Apostolic Delegate of the (Roman) Holy See.

2. The *Armenian Catholic Patriarchate* is the residence of the Armenian Catholic patriarchal vicar, at the Fourth Station of the Cross on the Via Dorosa).
3. The *Armenian Convent of Saints James* is the seat of the Armenian Patriarchate, in the Armenian Quarter. Within the convent walls are situated the Cathedral of Saints James, the Convent of the Holy Archangels, a library, museum, and health center, communal clubs, and religious and secular residential quarters.
4. The *Central Convent of Saints Constantine and Helena*, in the Christian Quarter, is the seat of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate. It includes the churches of Saint Thekla and Saint Dimitrios and the Polyclinic of Saint Benedictos.
5. The *Convent of Mor Moroun*, in the Armenian Quarter, is the residence of the Maronite patriarchal vicar. The site, which contains a chapel, serves as a hostel.
6. The *Convent of Saint Mark*, in the Armenian Quarter, is the seat of the Syrian Jacobite Bishopric in Jerusalem.
7. *Custody of the Holy Land* is the name of the residential quarters in the Christian Quarter of the Franciscan Friars.
8. The *Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission* is on Shivei Israel Street, outside the Old City.
9. The *Greek Catholic Patriarchate*, inside the Jaffa Gate, is the residence of the Greek Catholic patriarchal vicar. The building contains the Church of the Annunciation and serves as a hostel.
10. The *Latin Patriarchate*, also at the Jaffa Gate, is the residence of the Latin patriarch and clergy. It houses the Church of Jesus Christ.
11. The *Monastery of Saint Philip the Deacon*, near the Eighth Station of the Cross, is the residence of the Ethiopian Archbishop.
12. *Saint Anthony's Church and Monastery* is the seat of the Coptic Bishopric, at the Ninth station of the Cross.

Religious Buildings

Religious buildings¹²¹ are structures that serve a religious or educational purpose exclusively, as part of the proper exercise of the particular religion, and that are administered by representatives of that religion. Alongside the sanctuaries, holy sites, and places of worship (as previously defined), religious buildings are the seats of religious representatives and residential quarters of members of religious orders.¹²² monasteries, convents and educational buildings erected on properties owned by a religious institution and administered by it (such as seminaries).

Several *Protestant churches* are also counted among the religious buildings, for their leaders, disassociating themselves from the Oriental churches, do not view them as holy places.

1. *Augusta Victoria*, the Lutheran compound on Mount Scopus, encompasses a hospital, a chapel, and a lecture hall.
2. The *Narkis Baptist Congregation* is in downtown West Jerusalem.
3. The *Nazarene Church* is in East Jerusalem, outside the Old City.
4. Another *Nazarene Church* is inside the Jaffa Gate.
5. The *Pentecostal Church of God* is on the Mount of Olives.

Major religious buildings that are educational in purpose are as follows:

1. *The Armenian Theological Seminary* in the Armenian Quarter.
2. *College des Freres*, inside the New Gate (Catholic).
3. *The Franciscan International Seminary*, within the compound enclosing the Convent of Saint Savior, on Saint Francis Street in the Christian Quarter (Catholic).
4. *Franciscan Sisters of the Cross from Lebanon*, a girl's parish school (run by the Franciscans, in the Christian Quarter (Catholic).
5. *Institute of the Holy Virgin Mary* (Schmidt's Girl's College; Catholic).
6. *Martin Luther School*, in the Christian Quarter (Lutheran).
7. The *Pontifical Biblical Institute*, built in 1924–27, adjacent to King David Street (Jesuit).
8. The *Pontifical Missionary Library*, in the Notre Dame complex (Catholic).
9. *School of Sion*, a theological seminary within the Sion Monastery on Mount Zion, housing the Pentecostal Church (Greek Orthodox).
10. The *Spanish Biblical and Archaeological Institute* for Spanish priests, in Bethany.
11. *Saints Tarkmanchatz Secondary School*, part of the Armenian Patriarchate.
12. *Saint Antony's Coptic School*, within Saint Antony's Monastery.
13. *Saint Dimiana's Girls' School*, another Coptic school in the Christian Quarter.
14. *Saint Dimitrios*, part of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.
15. *Saint Joseph's*, on the Street of the Prophets in West Jerusalem (Catholic).
16. *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* (Convent of the Flagellation; Catholic).
17. *The Swedish Theological Institute*, on the Street of the Prophets.
18. *Terra Sancta College*, in West Jerusalem. The structure, topped by a statue of the Virgin Mary, was built in 1927 and taken over by the Franciscans in 1929. It served as a college until 1948. Since then it has served as part of the Hebrew University. The Franciscans retain part of it.
19. *Terra Sancta School*, in the Christian Quarter (Catholic).

Hospices are found in several places in and around the Old City:

1. The *Austrian Hospice*, on the Via Dolorosa, in the Muslim Quarter.
2. *Casa Nova*, in the Christian Quarter (Catholic).
3. *Christ Church*, inside Jaffa Gate (Anglican).

4. *House of Abraham*, on the Mount of Scandal (Syrian Catholic).
5. *Lutheran Hospice* (Watson House), located in the Armenian Quarter.
6. *Notre Dame de France*, outside the New Gate (Catholic).
7. *Paulus House*, a German complex outside Damascus Gate, encompassing the German *Schmidt's Girls' College*, the *Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Sisters of Mary Ward), and *Paulus Guest House*.
8. *Preussisches Johanniter Hospiz*, in the Christian Quarter (Lutheran).
9. *Saint Vincent de Paul* is on Shlomo HaMelekh (King Solomon) Street in the Mamilla neighborhood.

Convents

Convents in the Old City are numerous. Those listed below serve as places of worship primarily for the sisters in residence and not the general public. All are Catholic (Latin) unless otherwise indicated. The last four listed are of Salesian Sisters.

1. *Benedictine Sisters*, on the Mount of Olives.
2. *Little Sisters*, in West Jerusalem.
3. *Calvary Sisters* or *Missionaries of Calvary* (Spanish Sisters—Girls School), in the Christian Quarter.
4. *Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary* (White Sisters), in the Damascus Gate area.
5. *Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, behind the Terra Sancta College in West Jerusalem.
6. *Gorny* (Sisters' Convent), in Ein Karem (Russian Ecclesiastical Mission—Moscow Patriarchate).
7. *Ivrea*, in East Jerusalem.
8. *Mary*, on the Mount of Olives (Protestant).
9. *Poor Clares*, on Hebron Road.
10. *Rosary*, by Jaffa Gate.
11. *Rosary*, on Agron Street in West Jerusalem.
12. *Rosary*, in Ein Karem.
13. *Saint Charles Borromeo*, a convent in the German Colony housing a German hospice, a school, and homes for girls and the aged.
14. *Saint Joseph*, a convent near the Jaffa Gate that runs a parish girls' school.
15. *Saint Elisabeth (Dom Polski)* Convent and Hospice, in the Christian Quarter.
16. *Saint Elisabeth (Dom Polski)* Convent and Hospice, in East Jerusalem.
17. *Saint Elisabeth (Dom Polski)* Convent and Hospice, in West Jerusalem.
18. *Saint Vincent de Paul* (also a school), on Agron Street.

Religious Sites

Religious sites are historical or cultural buildings or other places with religious associations that do not fall under the category of "sanctuary," "place of worship,"

“holy site,” or “religious building”; for example, cemeteries, tombs of saints, ruined sites of places of worship, and the like. Among them:

1. *Birkat al-Hamra* (Red Pool): It was here that the prophet Isaiah gave King Ahaz the miraculous sign concerning the Child Immanuel (Isa. 7:14). Today Birkat al-Hamra is a garden and the property of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.
2. *Cemeteries*¹²³ (Armenian, Catholic, and Greek Orthodox) on Mount Zion.
3. *Desert of Saint John the Baptist*, the grotto in Ein Karem where according to tradition Saint John lived as a hermit (Catholic).
4. *Haceldama/The Field of Blood*: the Potter's Field, which was bought by the High Priests with thirty pieces of silver, the price of Judah's betrayal (Matt. 27:3); also known as *Charnier* or *Charnel house*. (In Abu Tor; Armenian.)
5. *The Garden Tomb*, in East Jerusalem, an interdenominational site.
6. *The Gardens of Gethsemane*, sacred to Christians as the site of the events of the night of Holy Thursday: the Agony, Betrayal, and Arrest of Christ. It is also the place where Jesus usually withdrew with His Apostles in order to instruct them. The Gardens include the Grotto of the Apprehending of Jesus and the Grotto of Isaiah. The site is Greek Orthodox, Catholic, and Armenian.
7. *James, the Brother of Jesus*, a ruined sixth century monastery at the site of the martyrdom of Saint James the Lesser, in the Valley of Jehoshapat (Armenian).
8. *The Hill of Evil Counsel*, near Bethlehem road, where according to tradition Jews met to take counsel against Jesus.
9. *The Mount of Olives*, sacred to Christians not only as the site of the Ascension, but also as the scene of Jesus weeping over Jerusalem, the resurrection of Lazarus, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the prophecy of the Last Judgment and Jesus' last words to His Apostles.
10. *Simon the Leper*, site of the house where Jesus was invited for supper, in Bethany (Catholic).
11. *Site of the departure for the triumphal entry into Jerusalem*, in Bethany (Catholic).
12. *Saint Polyctus*, site of the sixth century ruined monastery, near Damascus Gate (Armenian).
13. *Saint Thomas*, site of the ruined church, in the Armenian Quarter (Armenian).
14. *Stone of Meeting*, in Bethany (Greek Orthodox).
15. *Tomb of Lazarus*, in Bethany, in the past in common by Catholics, Armenians, and Greek Orthodox. Presently the site is held by Muslims. Christian pilgrims venerate the site by their occasional visits there.

Muslim Holy Places in Jerusalem

With the mention of Jerusalem in the Quran under the name of al-Masjid al-Aqsa (the Farthest Mosque), the city as a whole became a holy site. The foremost holy site is *al-Haram al-Sharif*. Jerusalem acquired numerous holy places and buildings that were constructed during the Islamic period: mosques, *madrasas*, *zawiyas*, mausoleums, and *ribats*.

Sanctuaries and Holy Sites

Al-Haram al-Sharif

Located on the southeast side of the Old City of Jerusalem on the hill called Mount Moriah, Haram al-Sharif is surrounded to the east and south by the city walls, which date back to the Ayyubid, Mameluke and Ottoman periods, and to the west and north by arcades built during the Mameluke and Ottoman periods. Within the wall of the Haram there are several holy buildings which were constructed mainly to commemorate religious events. The most significant of these are al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, and al-Buraq.

Al-Aqsa Mosque

The *Aqsa Mosque* was built between 90–96 A.H./709–715 A.D., by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid, son of °Abd al-Malik, the builder of the Dome of the Rock. The plan of the mosque comprises central and lateral naves. The central nave is wider and higher than the lateral wooden roof, plated with lead sheets and with a dome on the southern side; it is surrounded by three lateral naves on its east and west sides. Those to the west are roofed with cross-vaults supported by stone arches and piers dating back to the Mameluke period. The eastern ones are roofed with concrete and supported by columns and stone arches. The mosque's seven gates are open to the north. The tenth-century geographer al-Maqdisi, however, indicated that the Aqsa Mosque had fifteen gates open to the north side—evidence of the many modifications and restorations that the Mosque has undergone throughout the centuries.

In 130 A.H./746 A.D. a serious earthquake damaged the building, but for various reasons the restoration was undertaken only in 136 A.H./753 A.D. by order of Abu Ja°far al-Mansur, the second caliph of the Abbasid dynasty. He had the gold and silver plaques that covered the gates of the mosque removed and made into dinar and dirham coins that were spent on the mosque's reconstruction (completed in 154 A.H./771 A.D.) Another earthquake, in 158 A.H./774–75 A.D., damaged most parts of the building built by al-Mansur except the southern area (the *qibla* side). That same year, Caliph al-Mahdi ordered the rebuilding of the mosque. Al-Maqdisi recorded in 360 A.H./970 A.D. that the mosque had fifteen naves and fifteen gates.¹²⁴

In 424 A.H./1033 A.D. yet another earthquake caused widespread destruction in Jerusalem. The restoration of the Haram began almost immediately thereafter, in 425 A.H./1034 A.D., and lasted until 427 A.H./1036 A.D. Undertaken by the Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir li-Iʿzaz Din Allah, it resulted in the reduction of the mosque to seven naves. In 458 A.H./1065 A.D. the Caliph al-Mustansir ordered the modification of the facade and carried out other necessary restorations as well. Between 429 and 583 A.H./1099–1187 A.D., the Templar knights occupied the mosque. The Templars built the central bays of the northern porch and a chapel illuminated by a rose window on the east side (the current *mihrab* Zakariyya) and the vaulted annexes on the east and west sides. The western annex is now the building in which the women's mosque and the Islamic Museum are located.

In 583 A.H./1287 A.D. the Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din liberated Jerusalem and ordered a number of repairs, especially to the main *mihrabs*, as attested to by the inscription on the mosaic decorating the upper part of a *mihrab*.¹²⁵ In 614 A.H./1217 A.D. the northern porch built by al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa had only three gates. In 746 A.H./1345 A.D. two lateral vaulted naves and two gates were added to the east side. These modifications had been ordered by two Mameluke Sultans, al-Malik al-Kamil and al-Malik al-Nasir Hasan.¹²⁶

During 1924–25, the Aqsa Mosque foundations were reinforced and the southern wall and the roof of the central nave were also rebuilt. The two earthquakes that followed in 1927 and 1937 caused more damage, which necessitated extensive restoration between 1938 and 1942.

The Dome of the Rock

The *Dome of the Rock* was built by the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan between 66 and 72 A.H./685–691 A.D. He allocated the taxes of Egypt for seven years to finance its construction. The Dome covers the Holy Rock from which the prophet Mohammad ascended to heaven on his night journey. It is octagonal in shape: an outer octagon forms the structure of the building; an inner octagon made up of arcades carries the ceiling, extended from the outer octagon and the dome's drum; and a circular arcade whose piers are separated by three columns carries the circular masonry drum bearing the wooden double-domed structure. The building is covered with mosaic decoration, marble and ceramic tiles, and stucco designs. The main decorative elements are plants, geometric designs, and calligraphy.

The building underwent many restorations that maintained the original plan and design.¹²⁷ The first of these was ordered by the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun in 216 A.H./831 A.D. after the cupola collapsed during an earthquake. Later restorations were undertaken in 413 A.H./1022 A.D., during the time of al-Zahir li-Iʿzaz Din Allah, son of the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim, and it is not known whether the inner mosaics of the mosque's drum were damaged at that time.¹²⁸

During the Crusader period (1099–1187 A.D.), no major modifications to the Dome of the Rock were made. However, the Rock, from which pilgrims had been removing souvenirs, was covered with marble plaques and crowned by an altar. A wrought iron screen was also erected around the Rock; it remained in place until 1964, when it was removed during restorations undertaken by King Hussein of Jordan.¹²⁹ It was preserved in the Islamic Museum of the Haram al-Sharif complex.

After Salah al-Din liberated Jerusalem in 583 A.H./1187 A.D., he ordered all the inner walls and pillars to be covered in marble. Some scholars believe that he also instigated the renovation and gilding of the drums' mosaics. The commemorative inscription reads that Salah al-Din ordered the renovation of the Holy Dome decoration in 586 A.H./1189 A.D.¹³⁰

During the Mameluke period (1250–1516 A.D.), the sultans took an active interest in the building's condition and made restorations to many parts of it. In 669 A.H./1270 A.D., al-Malik al-Zahir Baybars restored the exterior mosaics dating from the first century A.H./seventh century A.D. Sultan al-Malik al-^cAdil Zain al-Din Katabgha al-Mansuri renovated the mosaic of the Dome of the Rock in 694 A.H./1294–95 A.D., and in 718 A.H./1318 A.D.¹³¹ Sultan Muhammad Ibn Qalawun restored the interior and exterior of the Dome. Sultan al-Ashraf Qaitbay had the four doors of the Dome of the Rock covered with decorated copper plaques in 872 A.H./1467 A.D., as can be read on an inscription on the inside of the dome.¹³²

Around the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, major renovations were begun, especially of the facade. Originally the octagon was crowned with a balustrade composed of arcades and small columns. Later this facade was covered in tiles.¹³³

The geographer and historian al-Maqdisi tells us that in 360 A.H./985 A.D. the walls of the *Sakhra* (Dome of the Rock), including the drums, were covered both inside and out with marble and mosaic, similar to the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. Al-Maqdisi recorded that: "The walls are covered with various types of marble up to twice the height of a man, then from this point to the ceiling, mosaics on which are represented trees, capitals, cities and inscriptions."¹³⁴ These mosaics, as has already been mentioned, were restored several times over. However, since the exterior mosaics had suffered a great deal from weathering, it became necessary to remove them, and they were replaced by ceramic tiles by the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in 969 A.H./1516 A.D.

Holy Sites

Al-Buraq

Al-Buraq is a part of the western wall of the al-Haram al-Sharif. Its holiness to Muslims derives from their belief that the Prophet Muhammad had tied up Buraq (lightening) a wondrous animal, half horse, half man, in this place at the night of

his ascension. The Jews call it the Western Wall or Wailing Wall, according to their belief that it forms part of the remains of their Temple, built by Herod in 18 B.C. and destroyed by Titus in 70 A.D. It is 47.5 meters in length and 17 meters in height, built of large stones, some measuring about 12.5 meters in length.¹³⁵

Places of Worship

*Mosques Inside the Walls*¹³⁶

Numerous other mosques are found within the confines of the Old City.

1. *Dar al-Imam Mosque* is located within the Haram north wall, near Bab al-ʿItim Gate.
2. *Qubbat Musa Mosque* is located within the Haram western wall, near Bab al-Silsilah Gate (David Gate). It dates back to 647 A.H./1249-1250 A.D.
3. *Bab Hutta Mosque* is located within the Haram northern wall, near Bab Hutta.
4. *Kursi Suleiman Mosque*, located within the Haram eastern wall, dates back to 600 A.H./1200 A.D.
5. *Al-Maghariba Mosque* is located within the southwest corner of the Haram walls. It was built by al-Sheikh ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Nabi al-Maghribi al-Masmudi in 707 A.H./1303 A.D., during the Mameluke period. However, the current building dates from 1283 A.H./1871 A.D.
6. *Bab al-Ghawanmeh Mosque* is in the northwest corner of the Haram wall, near Bab al-Ghawanmeh. It dates from 698 A.H./1298-1299 A.D.
7. *Al-Sheikh al-Khalili Mosque*, on the western side of the Aqsa Mosque, near Bab al-Silsilah, is 12 meters long and 5 meters wide, with a niche on the southern side indicating the direction for prayer. It probably dates from the Mameluke period.
8. *Khan al-Zeit Mosque* or *Abu Bakr Mosque* is located within the city wall in the Khan al-Zeit market. It too probably dates from the Mameluke period.
9. The *Small ʿUmari Mosque* is located within the city wall on the southwest side of the Aqsa Mosque in the Maghribi Quarter. It measures 5 square meters, with a small niche on the southern side indicating the direction for prayer.
10. The *Great ʿUmari Mosque* in the Maghribi Quarter is named after ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab. It dates to 878 A.H./1473 A.D. A rectangular building, it is 7 meters in length and 3 meters wide, with a prayer niche on the southern side, and it is topped by a minaret 15 meters high.
11. *Swaikit ʿAllun Mosque* is located within the city wall in the Swaikit ʿAllun market, which extends from Jaffa Gate to the intersection of al-Bazar market and the Christian Quarter. It dates from the Ottoman period.

12. The *Citadel Mosque*, located within the walls of the citadel on the west side, is a small room measuring 8 square meters, with a small minaret on its south side. It dates back to the Mameluke period: 710 A.H./1310 A.D.
13. *Al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya Mosque* is located in the Christian Quarter, close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It probably dates from the Mameluke period, from the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.
14. *Al-Disi Mosque*, in the Maghribi Quarter on the southwest side of the city, is about one kilometer from the al-Aqsa Mosque.
15. *Umar Ibn al-Khattab Mosque* is located on the south side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It dates from around the fifth century A.H./twelfth century A.D.
16. *Qaymari Mosque* is located on the northwest corner of the city wall, on the west side of New Gate. It dates from the tenth century A.H./sixteenth century A.D.
17. *Al-Hayyat Mosque* is located within the city wall, in the Christian Quarter, on the east side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It dates from 589 A.H./1193 A.D.
18. *Qalawun Mosque* is located within the city wall in the Christian Quarter close to al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya Mosque. It was built by the Mameluke Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun in 686 A.H./1288 A.D.
19. *Al-Ya'qubi Mosque* is located within the city walls in the Jaffa Gate area, in what was once a Roman building. Built in the seventh or eighth century, it was made into a mosque by Salah al-Din.
20. *Al-Muthabbat Mosque* is located within the city walls on al-Qirami Street close to the Islamic Orphans School. It was built by Saif al-Din Muthabbat, probably in the Mameluke period.
21. *Qirami Mosque* is located within the city walls, close to the Cotton Market (Bab al-Qattanin) in al-Wad Quarter. It is attributed to Sheikh Shams al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Qirami, who died in Jerusalem in 780 A.H./1386 A.D. and was buried in his *zawiya*. The building dates from the time of Salah al-Din.
22. *Khan al-Sultan Mosque* is part of the Khan al-Sultan, located within the city wall close to al-Attarin Market. It was probably built by the Mameluke Sultan al-Zahir Baybars, in 661 A.H./1263 A.D.
23. *Al-Sheikh Mikki Mosque* is located within the city wall on Bab al-Sahira (Herod's Gate) Street. It is one of the older mosques of Jerusalem. The tomb of Sheikh Mikki, for whom the mosque is named, is inside the mosque.
24. *Al-Sheikh Rihan Mosque* is located in the al-Sa'diyya Quarter in Aqabat al-Sheikh Rihan.
25. *Masjid al-Mawlawiyya* is located in al-Sa'diyya Quarter in Ibn al-Jarrah street, close to Damascus Gate. Its dimensions are 8 by 12 meters. Its stone minaret is 12 meters high, and it dates from 990 A.H./1586 A.D.

26. *Al-Mi'dhana al-Hamra Mosque* is located in al-Sa^cdiyya Quarter. A small mosque of 9 by 4 meters, it dates from 1112 A.H./1700 A.D.
27. *Al-Sheikh Lu'lu' Mosque* is located close to Damascus Gate. An endowment of Badr al-Din Lu'lu', it dates from 781 A.H./1380 A.D.
28. *Mus^cab Ibn ^cUmair Mosque* is located within the city wall on the west side of Damascus Gate, in front of the Sheikh Lu'lu' Mosque.
29. *Al-Shurbaji Mosque* is located within the city wall near Damascus Gate. According to an inscription inside the mosque, it was built by Sheikh ^cAbd al-Karim Mustafa al-Shurbaji in 1097 A.H./1686 A.D.
30. *^cAla al-Din al-Basiri Mosque* is located within the city wall, near the prison gate. It was built by ^cAla al-Din al-Basiri in 666 A.H./1268 A.D.
31. *Al-Saiji Mosque* is located within the city wall at the end of al-Wad street close to Bab al-Qattanin (the Cotton Gate).
32. *Al-Jami^c al-Kabir Mosque*, located in the Jewish Quarter, was built before 878 A.H./1473 A.D.

*Mosques Outside the Walls*¹³⁷

1. *^cAbdeen Mosque* is located in the Wadi al-Joz area northwest of the al-Aqsa Mosque, about 500 meters from the city wall. It was built by ^cAbd al-Muhsin ^cAbdeen in this century, in 1939.
2. *Hijazi Mosque* is located in the Wadi al-Joz industrial area. It was built by al-Sheikh Rashid Hijazi, also in this century.
3. *Al-Sahira Mosque*, to the north of Herod's Gate, was built in 1373 A.H./1964 A.D.
4. *Al-Adhami Mosque* is located in the al-Sahira district, close to the bus station. It was built in 1960.
5. *Al-Mas^cudi Mosque* is about 500 meters to the north of the Damascus Gate, on Nablus Road. Built in 1323 A.H./1910 A.D., it was the endowment of Shams al-Din al-Bilqim.
6. *Al-Sheikh Jarrah Mosque* is located about one kilometer northwest of Damascus Gate, on Nablus Road. It was built in 1313 A.H./1900 A.D.
7. *Al-^cAyn al-Tahta Mosque* is located near the Silwan spring (Ayn Silwan). It was built in 1321 A.H./1910 A.D.
8. *Al-Sheikh ^cAbdallah Mosque*, in the middle of the Silwan neighborhood, was built during the Ottoman period.
9. *Bir Ayyub Mosque* is located in the village of Silwan close to Bir Ayyub on the road to al-Thuri. When it was built is not known, but it appears to be a relatively old mosque.
10. *Ras al-^cAmud Mosque* is located on the road to Jericho in the Ras al-^cAmud area. It was built in 1964.
11. *Salman al-Farisi Mosque* is located in al-Tur, on the Mount of Olives. It was built in 1923 A.D.

12. *Al-°Alami Mosque*, also located in al-Tur, was named after the Sheikh Muhammad al-°Alami. It was built in 1147 A.H./1730 A.D.
13. *Abu Dis Mosque* is the old mosque of the village, located in its center. It was built in 1351 A.H./1932 A.D.
14. *Al-°Uzair Mosque* is located in al-°Azariyya on the road to Jericho. It was built in the Ottoman period during the rule of °Abd al-Hamid.

Religious Buildings

*Zawiyas*¹³⁸

1. *Al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya* is located close to Bab al-Ghawanmeh. It was built by Baha al-Din al-Naqshabandi al-Bukhari in 1025 A.H./1616 A.D.
2. *Al-Zawiya al-Hindiyya* is located at Herod's Gate within the walls of the city. It was built in the ninth century A.H./fifteenth century A.D.
3. *Al-Zawiya al-Rifa°iyya* or *Abu al-Su°ud* is located within the Haram al-Sharif walls, under the minaret of Bab al-Ghawanmeh. It dates to the Ottoman period.
4. *Al-Zawiya al-Lu°lu°iyya* is located within the Damascus Gate. It was built by al-Amir Badr al-Din Lu°lu° during 764–778 A.H./1363–1378 A.D.
5. *Al-Zawiya al-Bustamiyya* is located in the Mashariqa quarter. It is the endowment of Sheikh °Abd Allah al-Bustami, built before 770 A.H./1368 A.D.
6. *Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya* or *Zawiyat al-Afghaniya* is located in al-Wad Quarter. It was built for the Afghans of Jerusalem by °Abd al-Qadir al-Julani in 1040 A.H./1630 A.D.
7. *Al-Zawiya al-Mawlawiyya* is located in al-Sa°diyya quarter. It was built by °Abdawand Kar Bek in 995 A.H./1586 A.D.
8. *Al-Zawiya al-Khanqiyya* (*Khanqah al-Salahiyya*) is located in the Christian Quarter. It was founded by Salah al-Din in 585 A.H./1189 A.D.
9. *Al-Zawiya al-Khanthiyya*, founded by Salah al-Din in 587 A.H./1191 A.D., is located outside the southern wall of the Haram.
10. *Al-Zawiya al-Kubakiyya* is located in the Mamilla Cemetery outside the city walls. It was built in 688 A.H./1289 A.D.
11. *Al-Zawiya al-Mihmaziyya*, an abandoned mosque, is located close to Bab al-°Itim, north of the Haram al-Sharif. It was founded by Sheikh Kamal al-Din Mihmaz in 745 A.H./1345 A.D.
12. *Al-Zawiya al-Qiramiyya* is located in al-Wad Quarter. It was founded by Sheikh Salih Shams al-Din Abu °Abd Allah Muhammad al-Turkman in 788 A.H./1387 A.D.
13. *Al-Zawiya al-Majidiyya* is located in the Nabi Dawud mausoleum to the north. It was founded by the Ottoman Sultan °Abd al-Majid II (1255-1263 A.H./1839-1860 A.D.).

14. *Al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya* is located outside the wall between Bab al-Sahira and Damascus Gate. It dates from 762 A.H./1361 A.D.
15. *Al-Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya* is located in the Sheikh Jarrah Quarter, north of the Old City, north of the American Colony. It is the endowment of al-Amir Husam al-Din al-Jarrah, dating from 598 A.H./1201 A.D.

*Khanqahs*¹³⁹

1. *Al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya* is located close to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was founded by Salah al-Din in 585 A.H./1188 A.D.
2. *Al-Khanqah al-Dawadariyya* is located close to Bab al-ʿItim. It is the endowment of al-Amir ʿAlam al-Din Abu Musa Sinjir, dating from 695 A.H./1295 A.D.
3. *Al-Khanqah al-Fakhriyya* is located on the southwest side of the Haram al-Sharif. It is the endowment of Fakhr al-Din Abu ʿAbd Allah Muhammad ibn Fadl Allah, dating from 730 A.H./1230 A.D.

*Madradas*¹⁴⁰

1. *Al-Madrasa al-Ghadiriyya* is located between the Bab al-Asbat (Saint Stephen's Gate) minaret and Bab Hutta to the north of the Haram area. It was built by Khatun, the wife of al-Amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad Ibn Delghadr, in 836 A.H./1432 A.H.
2. *Al-Madrasa al-Karramiyya* is located on the north side of Haram al-Sharif, close to Bab Hutta on the east side. It was built by Karim al-Din ʿAbd al-Karim Ibn al-Muʿalim in 718 A.H./1318 A.D.
3. *Al-Madrasa al-Basitiyya* is located at the north of the Haram close to Bab al-ʿItim. It was built by Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Hurawi in 834 A.H./1430 A.H.
4. *Al-Madrasa al-Aminiyya* is located at the north side of the al-Haram al-Sharif, to the west of Bab al-ʿItim. It was built by Amin al-Din ʿAbd Allah in 730 A.H./1329 A.D.
5. *Al-Madrasa al-Farisiyya* is located on the north side of the Haram area. It was built by al-Amir Faris al-Biki ibn al-Amir Qitlu, in 750 A.H./1349 A.D.
6. *Al-Madrasa al-Milkiyya* is located on the north side of the al-Haram, on the right side of Bab al-ʿItim. It was built by al-Amir Saif al-Din al-Hajj al-Malik al-Jukindar in 741 A.H./1340 A.D.
7. *Al-Madrasa al-Asʿardiyya* is located on the north side of the Haram to the left of Bab al-ʿItim. It was built by Majid al-Din al-Asʿardi prior to 749 A.H./1347 A.D.
8. *Al-Madrasa al-Jawiliyya* is located in the northwest corner of the Haram area, close to the Bab al-Ghawanmeh minaret. It was built by al-Amir ʿAla' al-Din Sinjir al-Jawili in 713 A.H./1312 A.D.

9. *Al-Madrasa al-Muhdathiyya* is located in the northwest corner of the Haram area. It is the endowment of al-Muhdith ʿIzz al-Din Abu Muhammad ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-ʿAjami, from 762 A.H./1360 A.D.
10. *Al-Madrasa al-Hasaniyya* is located on the west side of the Haram close to Bab al-Nazir. It was built during the rule of al-Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay and was the endowment of al-Amir Hasan al-Kishikli in 837 A.H./1433 A.D.
11. *Al-Madrasa al-Jawhariyya* is located a few meters from Bab al-Hadid (Iron Gate), on the west side of the Haram. It was built by Jawhar al-Qanqbay al-Khazandar in 844 A.H./1440 A.D.
12. *Al-Madrasa al-Badriya* is located on the west side of the Haram on the road to Bab al-Qattanin. It was the endowment of al-Amir Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Abi al-Qasim in 610 A.H./1213 A.D.
13. *Al-Madrasa al-Muʿadhamiyya* is located on the northern side of Haram, in front of Bab al-ʿItim. It was built by al-Malik al-Muʿadham ʿIsa in 614 A.H./1217 A.D.
14. *Al-Madrasa al-Salamiyya* is located outside the Haram on the north on the road between Bab al-ʿItim and Bab al-Asbat. It was the endowment of Majd al-Din Abu al-Fida Ismaʿil al-Salami in 700 A.H./1300 A.D.
15. *Al-Madrasa al-Tankaziyya* is located on the west side of the Haram outside Bab al-Silsilah. It was built by al-Amir Tankiz Ibn ʿAbd Allah in 729 A.H./1328 A.D.
16. *Al-Madrasa al-Tushtumuriyya* is located on Bab al-Silsilah street. It was built by Tushtumur ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Dawadar al-ʿAlaʿi in 784 A.H./1382 A.D.
17. *Al-Madrasa al-Arghuniyya* is located on the west side of the Haram, outside Bab al-Hadid. It was built by al-Amir Arghun al-Kamili in 758 A.H./1357 A.D.
18. *Al-Madrasa al-Manjakiyya* is located on the west side of the Haram, north of Bab al-Nazir. It was built by al-Amir Saif al-Din Manjak in 762 A.H./1361 A.D.
19. *Al-Madrasa al-Khatuniyya* is located on the west side of the Haram, to the north of Bab al-Qattanin. It was built by Aghel Khatun, the daughter of Shams al-Din Muhammad Ibn Saif al-Din al-Qazaniyya al-Baghdadiyya, in 755 A.H./1354 A.D.
20. *Al-Madrasa al-Taziyya* is located on the west side of the Haram, on Bab al-Silsilah street. It was founded by al-Amir al-Din Taz ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Nasiri in 763 A.H./1362 A.D.
21. *Al-Madrasa al-Hanbaliyya* is located on the west side of the Haram, on the way to Bab al-Hadid. It was the endowment of al-Amir Baidmir al-Khawarizmi in 775 A.H./1373 A.D.

22. *Al-Madrassa al-Lu'lu'iyya* is located on the west side of the Haram. It was the endowment of al-Sultan Sha'ban al-Amir Lu'lu' Ghazi in 781 A.H./1379 A.D.
23. *Al-Madrassa al-Sabibiyya* is located on the north side on the Haram close to al-Madras al-Jawiliyya. It was built by °Ala al-Din °Ali ibn Nasir al-Din circa 800 A.H./1400 A.D.
24. *Al-Madrassa al-Kamiliyya* is located on the north side outside the Aqsa Mosque. It was the endowment of Hajj Kamil of Tripoli in about 800 A.H./1400 A.D.
25. *Al-Madrassa al-Basitiyya* is located to the north of the Haram, close to Bab al-°itim. It was the endowment of Zain al-Din °Abd al-Basit ibn Khalil al-Dimashqi in 834 A.H./1438 A.D.
26. *Al-Madrassa al-°Uthmaniyya* is located on the west side of the Haram close to Sabil Qaitbay. It was the endowment of a Turkish princess, Asfahan Shah Khatun, the daughter of al-Amir Mahmud °Uthman, in 840 A.H./1437 A.D.
27. *Al-Madrassa al-Muzhiriyya* is located on the west side of the Haram, near Bab al-Hadid. It was built by al-Ziri Abu Bakr ibn Muzhir al-Ansari in 885 A.H./1480 A.D.
28. *Al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya* is located on the west side of the Haram, north of Bab al-Silsilah. It was built by Sultan Ashraf Qaitbay in 880 A.H./1475 A.D.

Ribats¹⁴¹

1. *Ribat °Ala al-Din al-Basiri* is close to Bab al-Nazir, one of the western gates of the Haram. It was founded by °Ala al-Din Idghadi in 666 A.H./1268 A.D.
2. *Ribat al-Mansuri* is close to Bab al-Nazir. It was the endowment of al-Malik al-Mansur Qalawun, in 681 A.H./1282 A.D.
3. *Al-Ribat al-Kurd* is located near Bab al-Hadid, very close to the Haram wall. It was founded by al-Saifi Kurd, one of al-Sultan Qalawun's Mamelukes (white slaves), in 693 A.H./1293 A.D.
4. *Al-Ribat al-Zamani* is in front of the °Uthmaniyya school, on the western wall of the Haram. It was the endowment of Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Zaman in 881 A.H./1476 A.D.
5. *Ribat Bairam Jawish* is located in the al-Wad area. It was the only *ribat* founded in the Ottoman period, in 947 A.H./1541 A.D. by Bairam Jawish ibn Mustapha.

Religious Sites

Cemeteries¹⁴²

1. *Mamilla Cemetery* is located on the western side of the city, about two kilometers from Jaffa Gate. It is the largest Muslim cemetery in Beit al-Maqdis. Many of the Prophet Muhammad's companions and followers were buried in

this cemetery during the conquest of Jerusalem from the Byzantines in 636 A.D., and this is where Salah al-Din camped to liberate Jerusalem from the Crusaders.

2. *Al-Sahira Cemetery* is located a few meters to the north of al-Sahira or Herod's Gate. It was mentioned by Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali in 1400 A.D. and by the traveler °Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, who indicated that large numbers of righteous people were buried here.
3. *Bab al-Rahma Cemetery* is near the eastern wall of al-Haram al-Sharif. Many of the Prophet Muhammad's companions and the fighters who came to liberate Jerusalem are buried here.
4. *Al-Mujahidin Cemetery* is located at Bab al-Asbat (Saint Stephen's Gate) to the north of Bab al-Rahma (Gate of Mercy) Cemetery. It was constructed by al-Amir Qunswa al-Ghuri in 872 A.H./1464 A.D.
5. *Al-Nabi Dawud Cemetery* is located in al-Nabi Dawud Quarter on Mount Zion. There are in fact three cemeteries in this area, all of which belong to the Dajani family.

Mausoleums

1. *Al-Sa^cdiyya Mausoleum* is located at Bab al-Silsileh close to the Tankaziyya School. It was the endowment of al-Amir Sa^cd al-Din Mas'ud ibn al-Amir al-Isfehan, during the rule of al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun, 711 A.H./1313 A.D.
2. *Turkan Khatun Mausoleum* is located on Bab al-Silsilah Street, to the north. While the year of construction is unknown, an inscription on the building indicates that it is the burial place of Turkan Khatun, the daughter of Tag Tai Ibn Salju Tai al-Azbaki, who died in 753 A.H./1352 A.D.
3. *Barakat Khan Mausoleum* is located on Bab al-Silsilah Street in front of al-Madrasa al-Taziyya. It was constructed in 792 A.H./1389 A.D.
4. *Turbat al-Sitt* or *Khasiki Sultan Mausoleum* is located in °Aqabat al-Tikiyya outside the western wall of the Haram. It is also called *Khaski Sultan*, as the burial place of Khaski Sultan, the wife of Suleiman the Magnificent (960 A.H./1552 A.D.).
5. *Al-Qaymariyya Mausoleum* is on the west side of Jerusalem. Many Muslim fighters are buried there, most of them from the al-Qaymari family. It dates from 650 A.H./1250 A.D.
6. *°Ukasha Mausoleum* is located in northwest side of the city, in the area known as al-Nabi °Ukasha Quarter. It was destroyed by Jews on 27 August 1929 during the religious and political disturbances of that year.¹⁴³
7. *Al-Jaliqiyya Mausoleum* is located on Bab al-Silsila Street near the Taziyya Madrasa. It was built in 707 A.H./1307 A.D.
8. *Al-Kilaniyya Mausoleum* is located to the west of the Taziyya Madrasa. It was built in 753 A.H./1353 A.D.

References

Dr. Israel Lippel reviewed the draft manuscript pertaining to the Jewish holy places. We are indebted to him for his insightful comments.

PART I

1. Mishnah Kelim 1, 6–9.
2. R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, *The Meaning of Jerusalem to Jews, Christians and Muslims* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Study Group for Middle Eastern Affairs, 1983), 14.
3. Tosefta Menuhot 13:22.
4. John Bowker, "Feasibility Study for the Roads of Faith." Unpublished paper, submitted to UNESCO, 1992, 6.
5. *Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem* (Daily Prayer Book), trans. and annotated with an introduction by Philip Birnbaum (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1949), 758.
6. Raphael Jospe, "The Significance of Jerusalem: A Jewish Perspective," *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, 2:2 (1995): 37.
7. Sukkah 51b.
8. Esther Rabbah (Vilna), 1:17.
9. Jospe, "The Significance of Jerusalem," 33.
10. Werblowsky, *The Meaning of Jerusalem*, 9.
11. "The Significance of Jerusalem for Christians." Unpublished memorandum of their Beatitudes the Patriarchs, and of the heads of Christian communities, Jerusalem, 14 November 1994. A copy is held by each of the signatory churches.
12. This may be attributed to the fact that during the first two centuries the early Christians expected a speedy end to the age they lived in, and therefore had little interest in preserving the memory of the holy sites. Moreover, as members of a persecuted religion, they were unable to make public pilgrimages or erect shrines. J.W. Parkes/R.P./S.P.C., in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), s.v. "Holy Places."
13. Werblowsky, *The Meaning of Jerusalem*, 7.
14. Marc H. Tanenbaum and R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, eds., *The Jerusalem Colloquium on Religion, Peoplehood, Nation, and Land*. Proceedings, Truman Research Institute Publication no. 7 (Jerusalem: The Truman Institute, the American Jewish Committee, and the Israel Interfaith Committee, 1972), 152.
15. Msgr. Michel Sabbah, *Reading the Bible Today in the Land of the Bible. In pulchritudine pacis*. Pastoral Letter 4 (Jerusalem: Latin Patriarchate Printing Press, 1993), 53.
16. *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1971), s.v. "Bayt al-Maqdis."
17. al-Suyuti, in A. Ramadan, ed., *Ithaf al-Akhissa fi Fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (Cairo, 1984), 183–184.
18. The Quranic verse that confirmed the night journey (*al-Isra' wa-al-Mi'raj*) is the first verse of *surah* 17, which was given the name *al-Isra'*. The verse reads: "Glory to Allah who did take His Servant for a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose precincts We did bless, in order that We might show him some of Our Signs, for He is the one who heareth and seeth [all things]." 'Abd Allah Yusuf 'Ali, *The Meaning of the Holy Quran* (Brentwood: Amana, 1991). The most significant *hadith* concerning the religious status of the Aqsa Mosque is "You shall journey to but three *masjids* (mosques): al-Masjid al-Haram (in Mecca), al-Aqsa (in Jerusalem), and my Masjid (Medina)." Mentioned in Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, vol. 2 (1981), 58, and Muslim, *Sahih Muslim*, vol. 2 (1978), 975–76.

19. Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, *Al-ʿUns al-Jalil fi-Tarikh al-Quds waʿal-Khalil*, vol. 1 (Amman, 1973), 238–239.
20. al-Hanbali, *Al-ʿUns al-Jalil*, vol. 1, 238–239.
21. M. Dabbagh, *Biladuna Filastin*, vol. 3 (Beirut, 1988), 82–83.
22. Abu Bakr al-Wasiti, *Fadaʿil al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, in I. Hasson, ed., (Jerusalem, 1979); Ibn al-Jawzi in Jbraʿil Jabbur, ed., *Fadaʿil al-Quds* (Beirut, 1980); al-Hanbali, *Al-ʿUns al-Jalil*, Ibn al-Murajja, Abu al-Maʿali al-Musharraf, in Ofer Livne-Kafri Shafram, ed., *Fadaʿil al-Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalil wa Fadaʿil al-Sham* (1995); and others.
23. al-Hamawi, *Muʿjan al-Buldan*, vol. 5 (Beirut, 1979), 464–465.

PART II

24. For a detailed study of the “question of the Holy Places” and the texts of the relevant treaties see, respectively, Walter Zander, *Israel and the Holy Places of Christendom* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), and J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record, 1535–1914*, vol. I (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1956).
25. On the concept of the Status Quo, see further on.
26. William Fitzgerald, “The Holy Places of Palestine in History and in Politics,” *International Affairs*, 26 (1950): 7.
27. *Mandate for Palestine and Memorandum by the British Government relating to its application to TransJordan*, approved by the Council of the League of Nations on September 16th, 1922. It should be noted that “holy places” in this chapter signifies the places referred to in Article 13 and Article 14 of the Mandate.
28. *Reports of Mandatory Powers Submitted to the Council of the League of Nations in Accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant and Examined by the Permanent Mandates Commission during its Seventh Session, October 1925, Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Administration under Mandate of Palestine and TransJordan for the Year 1924* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1925). For a detailed account of events leading up to the promulgation of the Palestine (Holy Places) Order in Council, of 1924, see Walter Zander, “On the Settlement of Disputes About the Christian Holy Places,” *Israel Law Review*, 8 (1973): 351–360.
29. See, for example: *Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry*, report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom (UNSCOP, 1946), 61; United Nations Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly (supplement no. 11); United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, “Religious Interests and Holy Places”—report to the General Assembly, vol. 1 (Lake Success, N.Y.: United Nations, 1947), 36; UNGA, OR, second session, supplement no. 1, Resolutions of 16 September–29 November 1947, Resolution 181 (II), 131–150; UNTC, OR, second session: third part, document T/118/Rev.2: “Statute for the City of Jerusalem” (draft prepared by the Trusteeship Council), 21 April, 1948, Article 36. See also UNTC, OR, sixth session: annex, vol. 1, document T/L.72, draft statute for Jerusalem provisionally adopted by the Trusteeship Council in the course of the second reading, 28 March 1950, Article 38.
30. It was at the Congress of Berlin that the *firman* issued by the Sultan in 1852 was declared as the “Status Quo of the Holy Places.”
31. For an historical account of the Status Quo and the nature of the rights of the various Christian communities officiating in the Holy Places to which the Status Quo applies, see the then-confidential study prepared for the Government of Palestine: L.G.A. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places, with an Annex on The Status Quo in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, by Abdullah Effendi Kardus (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, for the Government of Palestine, 1929), 3–14.

32. Israel State Archives (hereafter ISA), CS02, 2/B, G 90-112, B/3/42, Land Dispute, 25 March, 1942, letter from Harold MacMichael, the High Commissioner, to the Chief Secretary.
33. Marlen Eordegian, "The British and Israeli Practice of the Status Quo," unpublished manuscript (November 1995), 13.

PART III

34. Joel P. Brereton, in *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), s.v. "Sacred Space." Although "sacred" and "holy" may today be considered equivalent terms, the former has come into common use in English relatively recently, in the twentieth century. In the process it absorbed some, but by no means all, of the semantic range of "holy"; specifically, it referred to respected or venerated objects, but not to divine aspects themselves. See William G. Oxtoby, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. "Holy, Idea of the."
35. *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1991), 576-577 (3a).
36. *Ibid.*, 576 (2).
37. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 409.
38. It should be mentioned that the use of the terms "holy place," "religious building," and "religious site" follows the distinction made by the British Mandatory authorities in Palestine, and the UN resolutions concerning the question of Jerusalem.
39. A "sanctuary" is (a) a consecrated place, such as the Holy of Holies of the Jewish Temple; or (b) the most sacred part of a religious building (*Webster's, op. cit.*). The term thus implies a distinction between "the sacred" and "the profane." It is a place where human beings meet because of its association with the dwelling or manifestation of the sacred. *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, s.v. "Sanctuary."
40. It should be mentioned that in Judaism the only event of extreme importance for the religion is of transcendental nature; i.e., the renewal of the Covenant on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 34).
41. "Site" is used in the sense of the place or scene of an occurrence (*Webster's, op. cit.*).
42. "Worship," as defined by *Webster's, op. cit.*, is (a) an act of expressing reverence to a divine being; or (b) a form of religious practice with its creed and ritual. For Christianity, the significance of an altar, which is situated in every church or chapel, is to offer sacrifice—the consecrated eucharist.
43. A "building" is the roofed and walled structure put up for permanent use (*Webster's, op. cit.*). "Building" here may mean part of a building, or a group of buildings. In addition to the four types of buildings mentioned, there are the charitable endowments, which constitute an inseparable part of the Christian faith.
44. Unique factors affect Jerusalem's ruined places of worship, i.e., their locality in the Holy Land and their ownership by various religious groups. For the purpose of this study places of worship are considered under the section on religious sites.
45. "Thou art holy and thy name is holy." *Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem* (Daily Prayer Book), trans. and annotated with an introduction by Philip Birnbaum (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1949), 89 and elsewhere.
46. *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, s.v. "Holy," 431 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, s.v. "Holiness," 731 ff.
47. See Mishnah Kelim 1: 6-9.
48. Maimonides, *Hilchot Tshuva* 1:1.
49. Maimonides, *Hilchot Tefila* 11:11.
50. Maimonides, *Hilchot Tefila* 11:14.
51. Maimonides, *Hilchot Tefila* 11: 5-10.

52. Sotah 34a. The passage reads, "Rava said, 'This teaches us that Calev withdrew from the scheme of the spies and went to pray at the tombs of the Patriarchs.'"
53. Nathan Soderblum, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh: 1913), s.v. "Holiness (General and Primitive)."
54. William G. Oxtoby, *Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. "Holy, Idea of the."
55. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Holiness (General and Primitive)."
56. *Ibid.*
57. R.H.Coats, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. "Holiness (NT and Christian)."
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Tanwir al-Miqbas min Tafsir Ibn Abbas* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, n.d.), 13.
60. *Ibid.*, 91.
61. Pickthal, *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an* (Tripoli, n.d.), 405–419, 788–790; Ibn Abbas, *Tanwir al-Miqbas*.
62. Abu Khalaf, "The Religious Factors in Settlement Patterns in Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," in *Studies in the History and Archeology of Jordan*, 4 (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1992), 348.
63. Al-Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-Ta'qasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim* (Leiden, 1906), 169.
64. J. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1948), 1–2.
65. A.R. Ghalib, *Encyclopedia de l'architecture Islamic* (Beirut, 1988), 358.
66. *Ibid.*, 211.
67. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1980 ed., s.v. "khanqah."
68. Ghalib, *Encyclopedia de l'architecture*, 157–158.
69. Al-Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-Ta'qasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim* (Leiden, 1906), 182.
70. Ghalib, *Encyclopedia de l'architecture*, 195–196.
71. *Ibid.*, 257–258

PART IV

72. The friction between David and Saul also reflected on a deeper level the archetypal fissure between the tribes of Joseph and Benjamin, on the one hand, and Judah, on the other. As recorded in Genesis, Joseph and Benjamin were the sons of the matriarch Rachel, while Judah was the son of Leah; the sons of Rachel represented foundation-building, whereas Judah represented kingdom-building. As Joseph, son of Rachel, preceded the tribes of Israel into Egypt, becoming Pharaoh's viceroy, Saul, from the tribe of Rachel's son Benjamin, preceded David, from the tribe of Judah, as the first king. And in the same way that Joseph's reconciliation with his brothers resolved the dissonance among siblings that plagues the Book of Genesis—from Cain and Abel, to Ishmael and Isaac, to Esau and Jacob—the bond between David and Jonathan, fraternal in nature, rectifies the dissonance between David and Jonathan's father Saul.
73. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Temple Mount."
74. Zev Vilnay, *Legends of Jerusalem* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1973), 64–85.
75. See *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Temple Mount."
76. B.T., Baba Batra 4:1.
77. *Ibid.*; George A. Smith, *Historical Geography of Jerusalem*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1907), 194, 486–494; Kathleen Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3,000 Years of History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), 55, 139–154.
78. Smith, *Historical Geography*, 516–517.
79. Teddy Kollek and Moshe Pearlman, *Jerusalem, Sacred City of Mankind: A History of Forty Centuries* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 105; Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating*, 142.

- 79a. Israel Lippel, "The Mount of Olives in Religious Traditions" (in Hebrew), *Kivunim* (World Zionist Organization) 4 (April 1993).
80. Sarah Fox Kaminker, *Footloose in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Footloose Publishers, 1982), 19, 34–35.
81. Interview with Israel Lippel, 30 January 1998.
82. Kaminker, *Footloose*, 139, 144, 147–150; Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs.
83. Vilnay, *Legends*, 243; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Nachmanides."
84. Avot 1:2.
85. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Simeon the Just."
86. Smith, *Historical Geography*, vol. 1, 135–170.
87. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "King David."
88. Vilnay, *Legends*, 257; Kaminker, *Footloose*, 19, 34–35.
89. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 26, 72; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Hulda the Prophetess."
90. Interview with Israel Lippel.
91. Vilnay, *Legends*, 249–253; Smith, *Historical Geography*, vol. 2, 463.
92. Michael Avi-Yonah, "Archaeological Research," in *Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1973), 247–248; interview with Israel Lippel.
93. Vilnay, *Legends*, 254–255; Kaminker, *Footloose*, 34–35.
94. Kaminker, *Footloose*, 27.
95. Israel Lippel.
96. David Ussishkin, *The Village of Silwan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1993), 43–62.
97. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating*, 166–168; Kaminker, *Footloose*, 100–102; Vilnay, *Legends*, 238–241.
98. Avi Yonah, *Archaeological Research*, 245–249; Vilnay, *Legends*, 285–295; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Mount of Olives."
99. Peters, *Jerusalem*, 401–402, 407–408, 474–475; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Ovadia from Bertinoro."
100. This list is based on information from the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs.
101. Kaminker, *Footloose*, 139, 144, 147–150; Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs.
102. Quoted in Vilnay, *Legends*, 259–260.
103. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating*, 69–77; Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (London: Ernest Benn, 1974), 152–195; Israel Lippel.
104. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating*, 19, 23, 142; Smith, *Historical Geography*, vol. 1, 135–170; Smith, *Historical Geography*, vol. 2, 487–488.
105. Andre Parrot, *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1995), 78–80.
106. John N. Tleel, ed., *To Triphyllo: 1952–1972*, monthly magazine, special issue (Jerusalem: Yanetz (Victor's) Printing Press, 16).
107. *Sion: A monthly of religion, literature and philology*, 71:1–3 (official publication of the Armenian Patriarchate), (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1997), 102.
108. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places* (London: HMSO, 1929), 19.
109. *Ibid.*, 23.
110. *Ibid.*, 24.
111. For a detailed account on this dispute, see Cust, *The Status Quo*, 37–42. See also Kirsten Pederson, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Studia Oecumenica Hierosolymitana, 1983), 48–49, 130–33, 136–38.

112. Eugene Hoade, *Guide to the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1984), 301.
113. Mary, the mother of Jesus, known as Mother of God or the Blessed Virgin, is considered preeminent among the saints. She became the object of piety, especially in the Roman Catholic Church, expressed in such dogmas as that of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption. (*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Mary.")
114. Hoade, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 225.
115. Mkrtitch Aghawnuni, *Ancient Armenian Monasteries and Churches in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: SS. Jameses Press, 1931):111.
116. *Ibid.*, 170.
117. The Basilica of St. Stephen and the Cathedral of St. James the Great are shrines that contain holy relics. However, as the number of the shrines in the Holy Land, in general, and in Jerusalem, in particular, are very limited, they have been listed under "Places of Worship."
118. An Armenian monastery of St. John the Precursor existed on the Mount of Olives in the seventh century. Anastas Vardapet, *On the Monasteries in the Holy City of Jerusalem* (Venice: St. Lazarus, 1896), 5; Hoade, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 263.
119. Bagatti and Milik, *Gli scavi del Dominus Flevit* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1958).
120. For more legends related to the Valley of the Cross, see Vassilios Tzaferis (Jerusalem: E. Tzaferis, S. A., for the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, 1987, 7–8.
121. It should be mentioned that from a Christian point of view charitable endowments are considered under "religious buildings." The Church is by its very nature missionary. A cardinal determinant of the healthy functioning of the Church lies in its pastoral duties; i.e., in the degree of its involvement in matters of temporal nature. In this regard, the founding of charitable endowments—such as schools and health centers—constitutes an integral part of the essential missionary dimension of the Church. Thus, such buildings can be referred to as places associated with religion, and holy in the sense referred to earlier. For the purpose of this document, however, the intention is only those charitable buildings that are found on a religious site, or whose founding is directly associated with worship at that site. Schools and health centers situated in such places are categorized here as religious buildings.
122. Patriarchates, some seats of religious representatives, and residential quarters of members of religious representatives that contain a sanctuary or a place of worship are understandably founded for the preservation of those places and thus constitute part of them.
123. Cemeteries are considered to be holy places because Churches require that the cemeteries they own be blessed. C.M. Power, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Cemeteries, Canon Law of."
124. Al-Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim* (Leiden, 1906), 169.
125. Aref El Aref, *The Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque* (Jerusalem, 1955), 162.
126. Guy Le Strange, *History of Jerusalem under the Muslims, 650–1500 A.D.* (Beirut, 1965), 24–33.
127. Marwan Abu Khalaf, "The Religious Factors in the Settlement Patterns in Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, 4 (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1992), 347–350.
128. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh* (Beirut, 1978).
129. Joshua Prawer, "Jerusalem in Crusader Days," in Y. Yadin, ed., *Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1976), 102–108; al-Suyuti, in A. Ramadan (ed.), *Ithaf al-Akhisra fi Fada'il al-Masjid al-Aqsa*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1982–1984).
130. Van Berchem, *Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptonum Arabicarum*, vol. II:1/2 (1925); Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali, *al-ʿUns al-Jalil fi Tarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil*, vol. 1 (Amman, 1973), 339.
131. al-Hanbali, *al-ʿUns al-Jalil*, vol. 2, 87.
132. Van Berchem, *Materiaux*, 289.

133. *Ibid.*, 335–36.
134. al-Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi Ma'rifat al-'Aqalim*, 157, 169, 170.
135. Aref El Aref, *al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1961), 498.
136. al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil*; M. Kafrawi, *Masajid Beit al-Maqdis* (Jerusalem, 1973); El Aref, *al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh al-Quds*.
137. Kafrawi, *Masajid Beit al-Maqdis*; El Aref, *al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh al-Quds*, 491, 497.
138. al-'Asali, *Islamic Institutions of Learning in Jerusalem* (Amman, 1981); El Aref, *al-Mufasssal fi Tarikh al-Quds*, 499–504.
139. al-'Asali, *Islamic Institutions*, 330–339.
140. al-'Asali, *Islamic Institutions*, 315–29; Y. Ghawanmeh, *Tarikh Niyabat Bayt al-Maqdis fi al-'Asr al-Mameluki* (Amman, 1982), 1477–174; al-Hanbali, *al-Uns al-Jalil*, 34–47.
141. al-'Asali, *Islamic Institutions*, 315–329.
142. El Aref, *al-Mufasssal*, 505–509.
143. *Ibid.*, 509–514.

Appendix: Listing of Holy Places

List 1: By Category

MUSLIM HOLY PLACES

map no.

1. *Aqsa Mosque* E6
2. *Dome of the Rock* D5
3. *Al-Buraq* E5
4. *Dar al-Imam Mosque* C5
5. *Bab Hutta Mosque* C5
6. *Al-Maghariba Mosque* E5
7. *Bab al-Ghawanmeh Mosque* C5
8. *Al-Sheikh al-Khalili Mosque* D5
9. *Khan al-Zeit Mosque / Abu Bakr Mosque* D3
10. *Small °Umari Mosque* D5
11. *Great °Umari Mosque* E5
12. *Swaikit °Allun Mosque* E3
13. *Citadel Mosque* E2
14. *Al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya Mosque* C3
15. *Al-Disi Mosque* E5
16. *°Umar Ibn al-Khattab Mosque* D3
17. *Qaymari Mosque* C1
18. *Al-Hayyat Mosque* D3
19. *Qalawun Mosque* D3
20. *Al-Ya°qubi Mosque* E2
21. *Al-Muthabbat Mosque* D4
22. *Qirami Mosque* D4
23. *Khan al-Sultan Mosque* E4
24. *Al-Sheikh Mikki Mosque* B5
25. *Al-Sheikh Rihan Mosque* B5
26. *Masjid al-Mawlawiyya* B4

map no.

27. *Al-Mi°dhana al-Hamra Mosque* B4
28. *Al-Sheikh Lu°lu° Mosque* B3
29. *Mus°ab Ibn °Umair Mosque* B3
30. *Al-Shurbaji Mosque* B3
31. *°Ala al-Din al-Basiri Mosque* C5
32. *Al-Saifi Mosque* D4
33. *°Abdeen Mosque* *
34. *Hijazi Mosque* *
35. *Al-Sahira Mosque* A4
36. *Al-Adhami Mosque* A4
37. *Al-Mas°udi Mosque* A3
38. *Al-Sheikh Jarrah Mosque* A3
39. *Al-°Ayn al-Tahta Mosque* H5
40. *Al-Sheikh °Abdallah Mosque* F7
41. *Bir Ayyub Mosque* G6
42. *Ras al-°Amud Mosque* *
43. *Salman al-Farisi Mosque* A7
44. *Al-°Alami Mosque* *
45. *Abu Dis Mosque* *
46. *Al-°Uzair Mosque* A7
47. *Al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya* *
48. *Al-Zawiya al-Hindiyya* A4
49. *Al-Zawiya al-Rifa°iyya* C5
50. *Al-Zawiya al-Lu°lu°iyya* B3
51. *Al-Zawiya al-Bustamiyya* C5
52. *Al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya (Zawiyat al-Afghaniyya)* D4

53. *Al-Zawiya al-Mawlawiyya* B4
54. *Al-Zawiya al-Khanqiyya*
(*Khanqah al-Salahiyya*) C3
55. *Al-Zawiya al-Khanhiyya* E6
56. *Al-Zawiya al-Kubakiyya* *
57. *Al-Zawiya al-Mihmaziyya* C5
58. *Al-Zawiya al-Qiramiyya* D4
59. *Al-Zawiya al-Majidiyya* H2
60. *Al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya* A4
61. *Al-Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya* A3
62. *Al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya* C3
63. *Al-Khanqah al-Dawadariyya* C5
64. *Al-Khanqah al-Fakhriyya* E6
65. *Al-Madrassa al-Ghadiriyya* C6
66. *Al-Madrassa al-Karramiyya* C6
67. *Al-Madrassa al-Basitiyya* C5
68. *Al-Madrassa al-Aminiyya* C5
69. *Al-Madrassa al-Farisiyya* C5
70. *Al-Madrassa al-Milkiyya* C5
71. *Al-Madrassa al-As'ardiyya* C5
72. *Al-Madrassa al-Jawiliyya* C5
73. *Al-Madrassa al-Muhdathiyya* C5
74. *Al-Madrassa al-Hasaniyya* C4
75. *Al-Madrassa al-Jawhariyya* D5
76. *Al-Madrassa al-Badriyya* D4
77. *Al-Madrassa al-Mu'adhamiyya* B5
78. *Al-Madrassa al-Salamiyya* C5
79. *Al-Madrassa al-Tankaziyya* D5
80. *Al-Madrassa al-Tushtumuriyya* E4
81. *Al-Madrassa al-Arghuniyya* D5
82. *Al-Madrassa al-Manjakiyya* C4
83. *Al-Madrassa al-Khatuniyya* D5
84. *Al-Madrassa al-Taziyya* E4
85. *Al-Madrassa al-Hanbaliyya* D5
86. *Al-Madrassa al-Lu'lu'iyya* D4
87. *Al-Madrassa al-Sabibiyya* C5
88. *Al-Madrassa al-Kamiliyya* C5
89. *Al-Madrassa al-Basitiyya* C6
90. *Al-Madrassa al-°Uthmaniyya* D5
91. *Al-Madrassa al-Muzhiriyya* D5
92. *Al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya* D5
93. *Ribat °Ala al-Din al-Basiri* C5
94. *Ribat al-Mansuri* C5
95. *Al-Ribat al-Kurd* D5
96. *Al-Ribat al-Zamani* D5
97. *Ribat Bairam Jawish* C4
98. *Mamilla Cemetery* *
99. *Al-Sahira Cemetery* A4
100. *Bab al-Rahma Cemetery* D6–D7
101. *Al-Mujahidin Cemetery* B7
102. *Al-Nabi Dawud Cemetery* H3
103. *Al-Sa'diyya Mausoleum* D5
104. *Turkan Khatun Mausoleum* D4
105. *Barakat Khan Mausoleum* E4
106. *Turbat al-Sitt (Khasiki Sultan)*
Mausoleum C4
107. *Al-Qaymariyya Mausoleum* D5
108. *°Ukasha Mausoleum* E4

CHRISTIAN HOLY PLACES

map no.

109. *The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre* D3
110. *The Sanctuary of the Ascension* *
111. *The Cenacle* H2
112. *The Tomb of the Virgin* C7
113. *Deir al-Sultan* D3
114. *The Pools of Bethesda* B6
115. *The Pool of Siloam* H5

map no.

116. *Convent of Pater Noster* *
117. *Basilica of the Agony* C7
118. *The Grotto of Betrayal* C7
119. *Convent of the Holy Archangels*
F3
120. *Convent of St. Savior* G2
121. *Via Dolorosa* C3, D3
122. *Church of the Three Marys* E2

123. *Church of the Visitation* *
124. *Church of St. John the Baptist* *
125. *Church of St. Mark* E3
126. *Basilica of St. Stephen* A3
127. *Cathedral of the Holy Trinity* *
128. *Cathedral of St. George* *
129. *Cathedral of St. James the Brother* D3
130. *Cathedral of St. James the Great* F2
131. *Chapel of Bethpage* *
132. *Church of the Ascension* *
133. *Dominus Flevit* *
134. *Dormition Abbey* G2
135. *Pentecost Church* G2
136. *Church of the Redeemer* D3
137. *St. Andrew's* II
138. *St. Anne's* B6
139. *St. Gregory's* *
140. *Chapel of St. John* D3
141. *St. Lazarus (Orthodox)* *
142. *St. Lazarus (Catholic)* *
143. *St. Mary Magdalene* *
144. *St. Modestos* *
145. *St. Paul's* *
146. *St. Peter in Gallicantu* G2
147. *St. Thomas'* *
148. *St. Simeon's* *
149. *Apostles at Viri Galilaei* *
150. *Archangels Michael and Gabriel* C2
151. *Baiphoros* *
152. *Dabra Gannat* *
153. *Efthymios* C3
154. *Holy Cross* *
155. *Mar Elias* *
156. *Meghali Panayiya/Blessed Virgin Mary* D2
157. *Meskaba Qedusan (St. Takia Haymanoth Church)* *
158. *Metochion of Gethsemane* D3
159. *Praetorium* C4
160. *Prodromos/St. John the Baptist* E3
161. *Ratisbonne Monastery* *
162. *Saidnaya* C3
163. *St. Abraham* D3
164. *St. Alexander Miewsky* D3
165. *St. Catherina* C2
166. *St. Charalambos* C3
167. *St. George (Greek Orthodox)* C2
168. *St. George (Coptic)* D2
169. *St. George (Greek Orthodox)* F3
170. *St. Joachim and Anna* B6
171. *St. John the Baptist* *
172. *St. Nicholas* D2
173. *St. Nicodemus* C5
174. *St. Onouphrios* *
175. *St. Panteleimon* D2
176. *St. Pelagia* *
177. *St. Saviour's* C2
178. *St. Simon* *
179. *St. Spyridon* B3
180. *St. Stephanos* C7
181. *St. Theodoros* D2
182. *St. Vassilios* C1
183. *St. Vincent* *
184. *St. Zachariah* *
185. *Apostolic Delegation* *
186. *Armenian Catholic Patriarchate* C4
187. *Armenian Convent of SS. James* F2
188. *Central Convent of SS. Constantine & Helena* D2
189. *Convent of Mor Moroun* E3
190. *Convent of St. Mark* E3
191. *Custody of the Holy Land* C2
192. *Finnish Evangelical Christian Mission* *
193. *Greek Catholic Patriarchate* D2
194. *Latin Patriarchate* D1
195. *Monastery of St. Philip the Deacon* C3
196. *St. Anthony's Church and Monastery* D3
197. *Augusta Victoria* *
198. *Narkis Baptist Congregation* *
199. *Nazarene Church, East Jerusalem* *
200. *Nazarene Church, Jaffa Gate* E3
201. *Pentecostal Church of God* *
202. *Armenian Theological Seminary* F2

203. *College des Freres* **D1**
 204. *Franciscan International Seminary* **C2**
 205. *Franciscan Sisters of the Cross from Lebanon* **C2**
 206. *Institute of the Holy Virgin Mary/Schmidt's* **A3**
 207. *Martin Luther School* **D3**
 208. *Pontifical Biblical Institute* *
 209. *Pontifical Missionary Library* **C1**
 210. *School of Sion* **G2**
 211. *Spanish Biblical & Archaeological Institute* *
 212. *SS. Tarkmanchatz Secondary School* **F3**
 213. *St. Antony's Coptic School* **D3**
 214. *St. Dimiana's Girls' School* **D2**
 215. *St. Dimitrios* **D2**
 216. *St. Joseph's* *
 217. *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* **C5**
 218. *Swedish Theological Institute* *
 219. *Terra Sancta College* *
 220. *Terra Sancta School* **C3**
 221. *Austrian Hospice* **C4**
 222. *Casa Nova* **D2**
 223. *Christ Church* **E2**
 224. *House of Abraham* *
 225. *Lutheran Hospice (Watson House)* **E3**
 226. *Notre Dame de France* **C1**
 227. *Paulus House* **A3**
 228. *Preussisches Johanniter Hospiz* **C3**
 229. *St. Vincent de Paul* *
 230. *Benedictine Sisters* *
 231. *Little Sisters* *
 232. *Calvary (Spanish) Sisters* **C3**
 233. *Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary* **A3**
 234. *Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary* *
 235. *Gorny (Sisters' Convent)* *
 236. *Ivrea* *
 237. *Mary* *
 238. *Poor Clares* *
 239. *Rosary (Jaffa Gate)* **D2**
 240. *Rosary (Agron Street)* *
 241. *Rosary (Ein Karem)* *
 242. *St. Charles Borromeo* *
 243. *St. Joseph* **E2**
 244. *St. Elisabeth (Dom Polski)* **C3**
 245. *St. Elisabeth (Dom Polski)* *
 246. *St. Elisabeth (Dom Polski)* *
 247. *St. Vincent de Paul* *
 248. *Birkat al-Hamra (Red Pool)* **H5**
 249. *Cemeteries on Mount Zion* **G2, H2, H3**
 250. *Desert of St. John the Baptist* *
 251. *Haceldama/The Field of Blood* *
 252. *Garden Tomb* **A3**
 253. *Gardens of Gethsemane* **C7**
 254. *James, the Brother of Jesus* **E7**
 255. *Hill of Evil Counsel* *
 256. *Mount of Olives* *
 257. *Simon the Leper* *
 258. *Site of the departure for the triumphal entry into Jerusalem* *
 259. *St. Polyctus* **A3**
 260. *St. Thomas* **F2**
 261. *Stone of Meeting* *
 262. *Tomb of Lazarus* *

JEWISH HOLY PLACES

map no.

263. *Temple Mount* **D6**
 264. *Western Wall & Kotel HaMa'aravi Synagogue* **E5**
 265. *Mount of Olives* *
 266. *Mount Zion (& David's Tomb)* **F4**
 267. *Ramban Synagogue* **F4**

map no.

268. *Yohanan ben Zakai Synagogue & Eliahu HaNavi Synagogue* **F4**
 269. *Or HaHaim Synagogue* **F3**
 270. *Menachem Zion Synagogue* **E4**
 271. *Birkat HaTorah Synagogue* **E4**
 272. *Beit El Synagogue* **F4**

273. *Tzuf Dvash Synagogue E4*
274. *Hayyei HaOlam Synagogue E4*
275. *Eytz HaHaim Synagogue E4*
276. *Tzemech Tzedek Synagogue F4*
277. *Hazon Yehezkiel Synagogue D4*
278. *Yeshivat Esh HaTorah E4*
279. *Yeshivat Betochachey Yerushalayim E4*
280. *Yeshivat HaKotel F4*
281. *Yeshivat Habad F3*
282. *Yeshivat Porat Yoseph F4*
283. *Yeshivat Ateret Cohanim D4*
284. *Yeshivat Torat Cohanim D4*
285. *Yeshivat Shuvu Banim D4*
286. *Cave of the Ramban **
287. *Cave of Shimon the Tzaddik **
288. *Tomb of Zechariah **
289. *Tomb of Hulda the Prophetess **
290. *Grave of Rabbi Haim ibn Attar **
291. *Pillar of Absalom / Absalom's Tomb **
292. *Tombs of the Sanhedrin / Tomb of the Small Sanhedrin **
293. *Cave of the Priests / Cave of the Sons of Hezir **
294. *Cave of the Prophets **
295. *Tombs of the Kings **
296. *Cave of Zedekiah **
297. *Cave of Ovadiah from Bertinoro **
298. *Hurvah Rabbi Yehuda the Hasid Synagogue / Beit Ya'akov E4*
299. *Gates of Zion Synagogue **
300. *Courtyard Synagogue / Hatzar haHurva E4*
301. *Midrash Eliahu Synagogue*
302. *Yeshurun Community Synagogue / Kahal Yeshurun **
303. *Beit Menahem **
304. *Ahavat Zion Synagogue **
305. *Hessed El Synagogue **
306. *Ohel Ya'akov Synagogue **
307. *Torat Haim Synagogue **
308. *Shomrei HaHomot **
309. *Ohel Yitzhak & Beit Yoseph **
310. *Ohel Aharon **
311. *Knesset Yehezkel (Ezekiel) **
312. *Beit Meir Synagogue E4*
313. *Tiferet Yisrael (Rabbi Nissan Bek) E4*
314. *HaQara'im Synagogue E4*
315. *Hassidei Braslov Synagogue F4*
316. *Moroccan Synagogue E4*
317. *Yeshivat Kol Yehuda F4*
318. *Yeshivat HaMequbalim Sha'arei Shamayim F4*
319. *Yeshivat Imrey Binah F4*
320. *Talmud Torah Sephardi F4*
321. *Yeshivat Torat Haim C4*
322. *Yeshivat Sukkat David D4*
323. *Yeshivat Menahem Zion Synagogue D4*
324. *The Ophel **
325. *Pool of Siloam (Shiloah) **
326. *David's Citadel **

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<i>Abu Bakr Mosque</i>	9	<i>al-Madrassa al-Jawhariyya</i>	75
<i>Abu Dis Mosque</i>	45	<i>al-Madrassa al-Jawiliyya</i>	72
<i>Adhami Mosque</i>	36	<i>al-Madrassa al-Kamiliyya</i>	88
°Ala al-Din al-Basiri Mosque	31	<i>al-Madrassa al-Karramiyya</i>	66
°Alami Mosque	44	<i>al-Madrassa al-Khatuniyya</i>	83
<i>Aqsa Mosque</i>	1	<i>al-Madrassa al-Lu'lu'iyya</i>	86
°Ayn al-Tahta Mosque	39	<i>al-Madrassa al-Manjakiyya</i>	82
<i>Bab al-Ghawanmeh Mosque</i>	7	<i>al-Madrassa al-Milkiyya</i>	70
<i>Bab al-Rahma Cemetery</i>	100	<i>al-Madrassa al-Mu'adhamiyya</i>	77
<i>Bab Hutta Mosque</i>	5	<i>al-Madrassa al-Muhdathiyya</i>	73
<i>Barakat Khan Mausoleum</i>	105	<i>al-Madrassa al-Muzhiriyya</i>	91
<i>Bir Ayyub Mosque</i>	41	<i>al-Madrassa al-Sabibiyya</i>	87
<i>al-Buraq</i>	3	<i>al-Madrassa al-Salamiyya</i>	78
<i>Citadel Mosque</i>	13	<i>al-Madrassa al-Tankaziyya</i>	79
<i>Dar al-Imam Mosque</i>	4	<i>al-Madrassa al-Taziyya</i>	84
<i>al-Disi Mosque</i>	15	<i>al-Madrassa al-Tushtumuriyya</i>	80
<i>Dome of the Rock</i>	2	<i>al-Madrassa al-°Uthmaniyya</i>	90
<i>Great °Umari Mosque</i>	11	<i>al-Maghariba Mosque</i>	6
<i>Hayyat Mosque</i>	18	<i>Mamilla Cemetery</i>	98
<i>Hijazi Mosque</i>	34	<i>al-Masjid al-Mawlawiyya</i>	26
<i>Khasiki Sultan Mausoleum</i>	106	<i>al-Mas°udi Mosque</i>	37
<i>Khan al-Zeit Mosque</i>	9	<i>al-Mi'dhana al-Hamra Mosque</i>	27
<i>al-Khanqah al-Dawadariyya</i>	63	<i>al-Mujahidin Cemetery</i>	101
<i>al-Khanqah al-Fakhriyya</i>	64	<i>Mus°ab Ibn °Umair Mosque</i>	29
<i>al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya</i>	14	<i>al-Muthabbat Mosque</i>	21
<i>Mosque</i>		<i>Nabi Dawud Cemetery</i>	102
<i>al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya</i>	62	<i>al-Qaymari Mosque</i>	17
<i>al-Madrassa al-Aminiyya</i>	68	<i>al-Qaymariyya Mausoleum</i>	107
<i>al-Madrassa al-Arghuniyya</i>	81	<i>Qalawun Mosque</i>	19
<i>al-Madrassa al-As°ardiyya</i>	71	<i>al-Qirami Mosque</i>	22
<i>al-Madrassa al-Ashrafiyya</i>	92	<i>Ras al-°Amud Mosque</i>	42
<i>al-Madrassa al-Badriya</i>	76	<i>Ribat °Ala al-Din al-Basiri</i>	93
<i>al-Madrassa al-Basitiyya</i>	67	<i>Ribat al-Kurd</i>	95
<i>al-Madrassa al-Farisiyya</i>	69	<i>al-Ribat al-Mansuri</i>	94
<i>al-Madrassa al-Ghadiriyya</i>	65	<i>al-Ribat al-Zamani</i>	96
<i>al-Madrassa al-Hanbaliyya</i>	85	<i>Ribat Bairam Jawish</i>	97

<i>Sa'diyya Mausoleum</i>	103	<i>‘Uzair Mosque</i>	46
<i>Sahira Cemetery</i>	99	<i>al-Ya‘qubi Mosque</i>	20
<i>Sahira Mosque</i>	35	<i>al-Zawiya al-Adhamiyya</i>	60
<i>al-Saifi Mosque</i>	32	<i>Zawiyat al-Afghaniyya</i>	52
<i>Salman al-Farisi Mosque</i>	43	<i>al-Zawiya al-Bustamiyya</i>	51
<i>Sheikh ‘Abdallah Mosque</i>	40	<i>al-Zawiya al-Hindiyya</i>	48
<i>Sheikh al-Khalili Mosque</i>	8	<i>al-Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya</i>	61
<i>Sheikh Jarrah Mosque</i>	38	<i>al-Zawiya al-Khanqiyya</i>	54
<i>Sheikh Lu’lu’ Mosque</i>	28	<i>al-Zawiya al-Khanthiyya</i>	55
<i>Sheikh Mikki Mosque</i>	24	<i>al-Zawiya al-Kubakiyya</i>	56
<i>Sheikh Rihan Mosque</i>	25	<i>al-Zawiya al-Lu’lu’iyya</i>	50
<i>Shurbaji Mosque</i>	30	<i>al-Zawiya al-Majidiyya</i>	59
<i>Small al-‘Umari Mosque</i>	10	<i>al-Zawiya al-Mawlawiyya</i>	53
<i>Swaikit ‘Allun Mosque</i>	12	<i>al-Zawiya al-Mihmaziyya</i>	57
<i>Turbat al-Sitt Mausoleum</i>	106	<i>al-Zawiya al-Naqshabandiyya</i>	47
<i>al-Turkan Khatun Mausoleum</i>	104	<i>al-Zawiya al-Qadiriyya</i>	52
<i>‘Ukasha Mausoleum</i>	108	<i>al-Zawiya al-Qiramiyya</i>	58
<i>‘Umar Ibn al-Khattab Mosque</i>	16	<i>al-Zawiya al-Rifa‘iyya</i>	49

CHRISTIAN HOLY PLACES

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<i>Apostles at Viri Galilaei</i>	149	<i>Cathedral of the Holy Trinity</i>	127
<i>Apostolic Delegation</i>	185	<i>Cemeteries (Armenian, Catholic & Greek Orthodox) on Mt. Zion</i>	249
<i>Archangels Michael & Gabriel</i>	150	<i>Cenacle</i>	111
<i>Armenian Catholic Patriarchate</i>	186	<i>Central Convent of SS. Constantine & Helena</i>	188
<i>Armenian Convent of SS. James</i>	188	<i>Chapel of Bethpage</i>	131
<i>Armenian Theological Seminary</i>	202	<i>Chapel of St. John</i>	140
<i>Augusta Victoria</i>	197	<i>Christ Church</i>	223
<i>Austrian Hospice</i>	221	<i>Church of St. John the Baptist</i>	124
<i>Baiphoros</i>	151	<i>Church of St. Mark</i>	125
<i>Basilica of St. Stephen</i>	126	<i>Church of the Ascension</i>	132
<i>Basilica of the Agony</i>	117	<i>Church of the Redeemer</i>	136
<i>Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre</i>	109	<i>Church of the Three Marys</i>	122
<i>Benedictine Sisters</i>	230	<i>Church of the Visitation</i>	123
<i>Birkat al-Hamra (Red Pool)</i>	248	<i>College des Freres</i>	203
<i>Calvary Sisters</i>	232	<i>Convent of Mor Moroun</i>	189
<i>Casa Nova</i>	222	<i>Convent of Pater Noster</i>	116
<i>Cathedral of St. George</i>	128		
<i>Cathedral of St. James the Brother</i>	129		

<i>Convent of St. Mark</i>	190	<i>Meghali Panayiya/Blessed Virgin Mary</i>	156
<i>Convent of St. Savior</i>	120	<i>Meskaba Qedusan (St. Takia Haymanoth Church)</i>	157
<i>Convent of the Holy Archangels</i>	119	<i>Metochion of Gethsemane</i>	158
<i>Coptic Bishopric</i>	196	<i>Monastery of St. Philip the Deacon</i>	195
<i>Custody of the Holy Land</i>	191	<i>Mount of Olives</i>	256
<i>Dabra Gannat</i>	152	<i>Mount Zion Cemetery</i>	249
<i>Deir al-Sultan</i>	113	<i>Narkis Baptist Congregation</i>	198
<i>Desert of St. John the Baptist</i>	250	<i>Nazarene Church, E. Jerusalem</i>	199
<i>Dominus Flevit</i>	133	<i>Nazarene Church, Jaffa Gate</i>	200
<i>Dom Polski</i>	244	<i>Notre Dame de France</i>	226
<i>Dormition Abbey</i>	134	<i>Paulus House</i>	227
<i>Efthymios</i>	153	<i>Pentecostal Church of God</i>	201
<i>Ethiopian Bishopric</i>	196	<i>Pontifical Biblical Institute</i>	208
<i>Field of Blood</i>	251	<i>Pontifical Missionary Library</i>	211
<i>Finnish Evangelical Christian Mission</i>	192	<i>Pool of Siloam</i>	114
<i>Franciscan International Seminary</i>	204	<i>Pools of Bethesda</i>	113
<i>Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary</i>	232	<i>Poor Clares</i>	238
<i>Franciscan Sisters of the Cross from Lebanon</i>	205	<i>Praetorium</i>	159
<i>Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary</i>	234	<i>Preussisches Johanniter Hospiz</i>	228
<i>Garden Tomb</i>	252	<i>Prodromos/St. John the Baptist</i>	160
<i>Gardens of Gethsemane</i>	253	<i>Ratisbonne Monastery</i>	161
<i>Gorny (Sisters' Convent)</i>	235	<i>Red Pool</i>	248
<i>Greek Catholic Patriarchate</i>	193	<i>Rosary (Agron Street)</i>	240
<i>Grotto of Betrayal</i>	118	<i>Rosary (Ein Karem)</i>	241
<i>Haceldama/Field of Blood</i>	251	<i>Rosary (Jaffa Gate)</i>	239
<i>Hill of Evil Counsel</i>	255	<i>Saidnaya</i>	162
<i>Holy Cross</i>	154	<i>St. Abraham</i>	163
<i>House of Abraham</i>	224	<i>St. Alexander Miewsky</i>	164
<i>Institute of the Holy Virgin Mary/Schmidt's</i>	206	<i>St. Andrew's Church</i>	137
<i>Ivrea</i>	236	<i>St. Anne's Church</i>	138
<i>James, the Brother of Jesus</i>	254	<i>St. Anthony's Church & Monastery</i>	196
<i>Latin Patriarchate</i>	194	<i>St. Antony's Coptic School</i>	213
<i>Little Sisters</i>	231	<i>St. Catherina</i>	165
<i>Lutheran Hospice/Watson House</i>	225	<i>St. Charalambos</i>	166
<i>Mar Elias</i>	155	<i>St. Charles Borromeo</i>	242
<i>Martin Luther School</i>	207	<i>St. Dimiana's Girls' School</i>	214
<i>Mary</i>	237	<i>St. Dimitrios</i>	215
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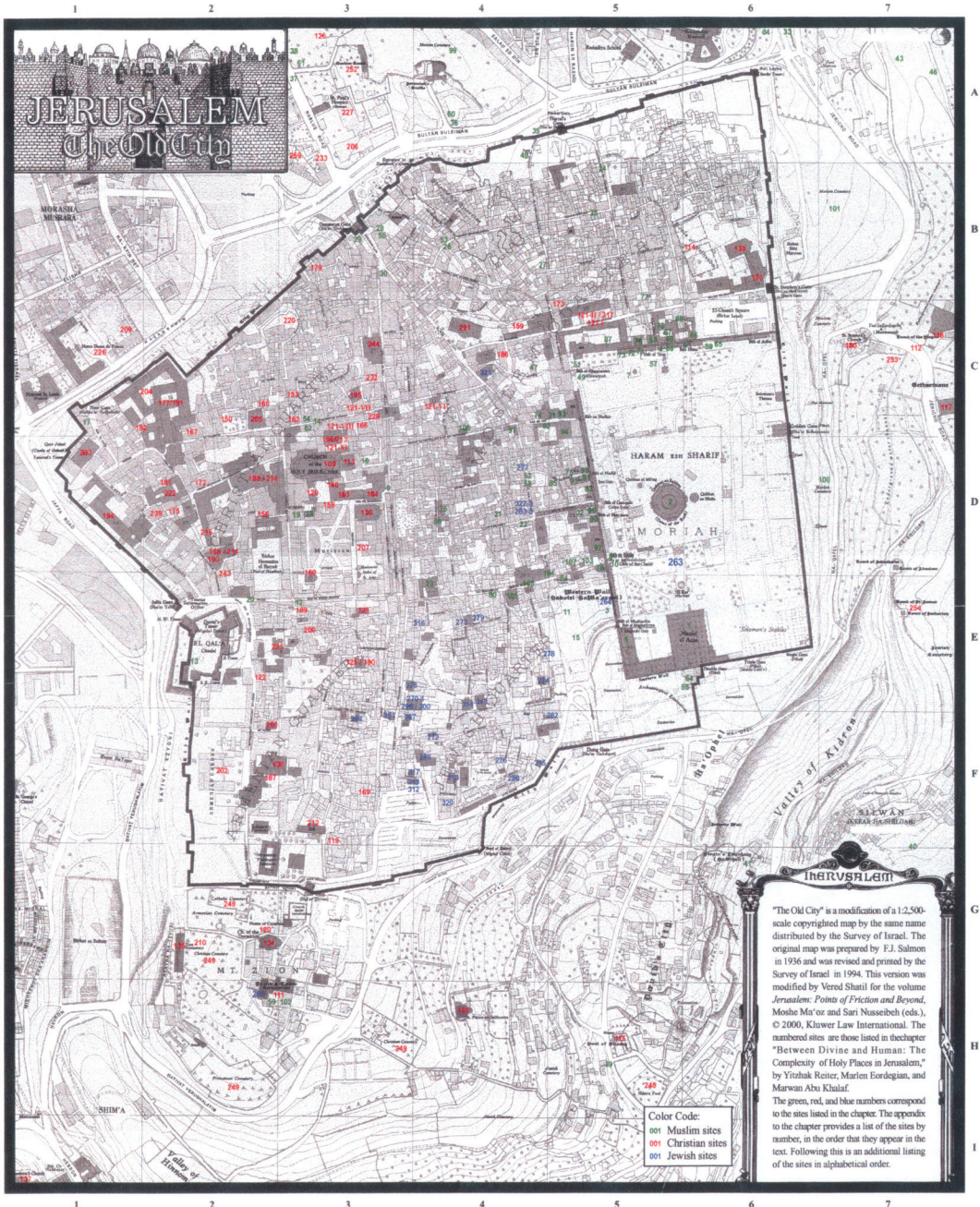
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The green, red, and blue numbers correspond to the sites listed in the chapter. The appendix to the chapter provides a list of the sites by number, in the order that they appear in the text. Following this is an additional listing of the sites in alphabetical order.

Color Code:
100 Muslim sites
200 Christian sites
300 Jewish sites