worship. Jerome also made various translations of the Books of Judith and Tobit from an Aramaic version that has since disappeared and of the additions in the Greek translation of Daniel. He did not regard as canonical works the Books of Ben Sira and Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremy, the first two Books of the Maccabees, the third and fourth Books of Ezra, and the additions to the Book of Esther in the Septuagint. The Latin translations of these works in present-day editions of the Vulgate are not from his pen.

The translation of the Bible met with complaints from conservative circles of the Catholic Church. His opponents labeled him a falsifier and a profaner of God, claiming that through his translations he had abrogated the sacred traditions of the Church and followed the Jews: among other things, they invoked the story that the Septuagint had been translated in a miraculous manner. Jerome, however, rejected the story as legend. Despite the opposition which the new translation aroused in the ancient period (an opposition also supported by Augustine), on the one hand, and the unfavorable criticism directed against it by many humanists and participants in the Reformation, on the other, the Council of Trent (16th century) declared the Vulgate to be an authentic version. This today means only that the Vulgate is authentic from the judicial, but not from the critical point of view. In addition to translating the Bible, Jerome composed commentaries on it. His commentaries were the basis of medieval Christian biblical exegesis, and even Jewish exegetes occasionally quote him. The commentaries contain much exegetic material that Jerome received from his Jewish teachers, including several Midrashim that have been lost. He makes use of both the plain meaning and homiletical exegesis in his commentaries. In his commentary to the Book of Daniel (c. 407) he rejects the claim of Porphyry (347–420) that it is not prophetic but reflects the historical situation that existed at the time of the decrees of *Antiochus. The first of Jerome's Hebrew studies appears in *Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesin* in which he collates Christian exegesis with the Hebrew text. His *Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum* is apparently based upon the *Onomasticon* of Origen, which has since disappeared. This dictionary of personal names occurring in the Bible and the New Testament is arranged in the order of the Holy Scriptures, and in each book the names are cited in alphabetical order. The translations of the names, however, are not always correct.

During his visits to Palestine in about 373 and in the winter of 385 and after he settled there permanently in 386, Jerome familiarized himself with the country and also learned much about it from his Jewish teachers. His major work on the topography of Palestine is *De situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum* (c. 390), an adapted Latin translation of the Onomasticon of Eusebius. The translation supplements the source with much material that appeared in the fifth century, mainly in connection with the erection of churches in numerous holy places, such as Beth-El and Shiloh. Jerome also corrected what he viewed as inaccurate, e.g., the location of Bet Annava. Topographical material also appears in his various letters, especially in letter no. 108, a eulogy on the death of his friend Paula. In it, Jerome describes her travels in Palestine and takes advantage of the opportunity to mention many biblical sites, describing their condition at the time. The letter that he wrote after the death of Eustochium, the daughter of Paula, serves as a supplement to this description. In his comprehensive commentaries on the books of the Bible, Jerome cites many Jewish traditions concerning the location of sites mentioned in the Bible. Some of his views are erroneous, however (such as his explanation of the word *appadno* (אַפַּדְנוֹ), in Dan. 11:45, which he thought was a place-name).

Jerome was regularly in contact with Jews, but his attitude toward them and the law of Israel was the one that was prevalent among the members of the Church in his generation. He had a completely negative attitude toward the observances of both the early Christians and the Jews who converted to Christianity. This attitude was in contrast to that of Augustine, who was more tolerant in this matter, since in the eyes of Christians, the Torah preceded Christianity. The correspondence between Augustine and Jerome testifies that Augustine, as a theologian, was incapable of understanding the importance of Jerome's translations. On the other hand, Jerome was apparently incapable of original thought in the sphere of theology. One letter attributed to him (no. 19) that deals with circumcision and another (no. 149) that discusses the Jewish festivals were not compiled by him. One of Jerome's works that had a great influence on medieval Christian literature was *De viris illustribus*, which was compiled in Bethlehem in 392. Suetonius had published a book of the same name in about 113, dealing with the great Latin writers. Jerome's work dealt with 135 Christian literary personalities: he commences with Peter and ends with his own literary activity. He also discusses Philo, Josephus, and Justus of Tiberias, who were writers with both sectarian and Jewish backgrounds. The book contains errors and inaccuracies, but important information has also been preserved in it.

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[David Flusser]

JERUSALEM

The entry is arranged according to the following outline:

HISTORY

Name

The first mention of the city of Jerusalem is in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th–18th centuries B.C.E. The name is spelled wš mm and was probably pronounced "rushalimum." In the Tell el-Amarna letters of the 14th century B.C.E., it is written *Urusalim*, and in Assyrian *Ursalimmu* (Sennacherib inscription). In the Bible it is usually spelled *yrushlm* and sometimes *yrushlym* (pronounced "Yerushalayim"). The city of Salem (Gen. 14:18; Ps. 76:3) is evidently Jerusalem. The Greek *Hierosolyma* reflects the "holiness" (*hieros*, "holy") of the city. It seems that the original name was *Irusalem*, and the meaning of the two words composing it is "to found" ("*yarah*") and the name of the West Semitic god Shulmanu, or Shalim. The god may have been considered the patron of the city, which had contained a sanctuary in his honor. The popular later midrashic explanation of the name Jerusalem as "foundation of peace (*shalom*)" is associated with the poetic appellations given to the city.

The name *Jebus is that of the Jebusite people living in Jerusalem at the time of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, and the city was so designated until its occupation by King *David. The name Zion, whose meaning is not known, at first signified a part of the Jebusite city, probably the king's fortress – the "Stronghold of Zion" (II Sam. 5:7; I Chron. 11:5). King David called this part "David's City" ("*Ir David*"), which at first indicated the fortress (II Sam. 5:9; I Chron. 11:7). With the passage of time, both names became synonyms for the entire city. Jerusalem has many names of admiration and reverence given by the Prophets and later Hebrew poets: "The City," "God's City," the "Holy City," the "City of Justice," the "Faithful City," the "City of Peace," the "Beautiful City," etc.

Following the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 C.E., a new town was founded and it was renamed Aelia Capitolina after the family of Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus) and the patron gods of the city – the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. With the Muslim conquest in 638 C.E. the city continued to be known by its Roman-Byzantine name "Aelia," but later, from the Fatimid period onwards, the city was referred to as Bayt al-Maqdis (the "holy house," or the "temple"), and from the 10th century as al-Quds (the "holy").

[Samuel Abramsky / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Protohistory

The earliest evidence of the existence of man in the area of Jerusalem is from the prehistoric periods. Scatters of Upper Acheulean flint implements of Lower Palaeolithic age have been found in the area of Baqa' and the Rephaim Valley (mainly handaxes and flakes) to the southwest of the city, and in Sheikh Jarrah and on Mount Scopus to the north of the city. Epi-Palaeolithic implements have also been identified in the area of the "City of David." Neolithic sites are also known from the vicinity of Jerusalem, notably at Abu Ghosh and Motza to the west. Chalcolithic pottery was discovered during excavations in the area of the "City of David" attesting to the importance of its spring of water from very early times. Chalcolithic sites are known in the vicinity of Jerusalem (e.g., Khirbet es-Sauma'a which was investigated by Nasralleh in 1936), as well as in the Judean Desert to the east and close to Bethlehem to the south, but the first proper excavation of a Chalcolithic site was made at Sataf, west of Jerusalem, in 1989.

The Bronze Age

Jerusalem emerged into the full light of history together with many other ancient cities of Canaan in the Early Bronze Age. It was one in a series of towns settled on the north-south watershed road in the central highland region. Its natural advantages were restricted; its territory probably extended over only a limited area of land. The small Early Bronze Age II settlement (a hamlet or village) was situated on the lower southwestern hill of Jerusalem, close to the spring of Gihon. Excavations have brought to light fragmentary rectangular houses and pottery. Jerusalem is mentioned as a Canaanite city-state in the Execration Texts of the 20th–19th centuries B.C.E. In the earlier group of these texts, two kings, spelled *Yqrʿm* and *Šsʿn*, are mentioned; one more ruler appears in the later group, but his name (*Ba*…) is largely illegible. More information about this period, the age of the Patriarchs, is ob-

tained from the Bible. In Genesis 14:18, *Melchizedek, king of Salem [= Jerusalem], appears as priest of the "Most High" – in Hebrew *El Elyon*, a well-known Canaanite deity. Early Jerusalem, in common with many other cities in the Orient, was regarded as the property of a god whose vice regent on earth was its priest-king. This theocratic dynasty, the members of which bore an individual name combined with *ẓedek*, reappears in the time of Joshua, when *Adoni-Zedek was king of Jerusalem (Josh. 10: 1).

More information about Jerusalem in the Late Bronze Age is available in the El-Amarna letters of the 14th century B.C.E. Its ruler at the time was *ARAD Ḥeb/pa*; the latter (*Ḥeb/pa*) is the name of a Horite goddess and the ruler's name was pronounced either *Abdi Ḥeb/pa* or *Puti Ḥip/ba*. In one of his letters to Pharaoh, the king complains bitterly of the Egyptian garrison of Kaši (Cushite?) soldiers in the city and of the growing dangers from the *Ḥabiru (Hebrew?) invaders, with whom he and other kings loyal to Pharaoh were struggling. In the book of Joshua (10:1ff.), the king of Jerusalem was the head of the coalition of Amorite kings which fought against Joshua at Gibeon. He was defeated and killed, but his city was not conquered; although the tribe of Judah seems to have taken it temporarily (Judg. 1:8), they could not hold it. The division of Canaan into tribal lots assigned Jerusalem to Benjamin (Josh. 15:8; 18: 16) but it remained a Jebusite (not an Amorite) city until the time of David (Judg. 19:11–12), thus cutting the Israelite territory in two and separating the central tribes from the southern ones.

The topography and appearance of the Early and Late Bronze Age cities have still not been clarified, even though archaeological research has been going on in and around Jerusalem for more than a century. Scholars agree that the earliest city was situated on the eastern slope of the southeastern hill. The only spring in this area, the Gihon, was obviously the deciding factor in the location of the early city. New excavations have brought to light important fortifications from the Middle Bronze II on the eastern slope and around the Gihon Spring, including walls and towers. It appears that the hewing of tunnels to channel water had already been undertaken at this early stage. The narrow ridge in the southern part of the hill must have given Canaanite Jerusalem a good defensive position; the only weak spot was the narrow northern saddle, and it was here that the city wall was probably made strongest. In addition to walls, foundations, and water-supply installations, a series of tomb-caves, dated by their finds (mainly pottery) to the period from the Early Bronze to the Middle Bronze Age, have also been found. To the north of the city the presence of a fragment of an Egyptian stele and a libation slab may attest to the presence of Egyptians in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The appearance and size of the Late Bronze Age settlement (town or hamlet) has been much debated amongst scholars, and very few finds have been attributed to this pre-Davidic stage. One important discovery in the area of the "City of David" was that of architectural terracing (in Area G).

David and First Temple Period

CONQUEST BY DAVID. The story of David's conquest of Jerusalem is told in II Samuel 5:6ff. and I Chronicles 11:4ff. Having unified the tribes under his rule, David wanted to eliminate the foreign enclave of Jebusites that divided his own tribe of Judah from the rest of Israel. At the same time, he hoped that by taking Jerusalem – which was practically outside the various tribal areas – he would create a national capital and thus avoid inter-tribal jealousies. The capture itself was effected with surprising ease through a stratagem involving only "the king and his men," i.e., the standing forces and not the general levy of the Israelites; therefore, no one could dispute the royal possession of the conquered city. Opinions differ about both the recorded story of the Jebusites' parading their blind and lame on the walls and the stratagem that led to the conquest. It seems that the parade of the deformed may have been a magic rite, intended to arouse fear in the enemy. On the other hand, the new excavations show that a water system with tunnels was already in existence since the Middle Bronze Age, so it is not unlikely that it may have been the *ẓinnor*, or "gutter" (II Sam. 5:8), by which Joab and his men were able to scale and take the Jebusite settlement by surprise, penetrating behind its wall. David did not exterminate the vanquished locals; on the contrary, they seem to have been assigned certain administrative functions. *Araunah, who sold David the threshing floor outside the north wall of Jerusalem, where the Temple was to stand, may have been the last king of Jebusite Jerusalem (II Sam. 24:18–25). Having captured the city and defended it successfully against the Philistine assaults, David could establish it as "David's city" and the capital of the United Monarchy. By transferring the Ark of God there from its temporary abode at Kiriath-Jearim, he transformed Jerusalem from a Canaanite hamlet into a town sacred to God, the religious, as well as the political, center of Israel, the successor to Shiloh. It was due to this act that Jerusalem became the chief city of the Land of Israel (a position which neither its geographical nor its economic advantages seemed to warrant) and was frequently so throughout the ages.

According to the Bible, David's building work in Jerusalem was mainly of a utilitarian nature. He fortified the town and rebuilt the Jebusite citadel called "Zion." He may also have prepared for the extension of the city northwards by widening the saddle to the north by a massive "filling" (Millo) operation. The position of the Citadel is disputed: it may have stood at the northern and most threatened end of the City of David – some scholars believe that the stepped-stone structure uncovered in this area was connected to this citadel – or at its safest, southern end. David also built a house for his "mighty men" (his guards), probably with an armory adjoining, and prepared a dynastic tomb within the city according to royal custom (all other inhabitants were buried outside the walls). It has been claimed that rock-hewn chambers discovered on the eastern ridge in 1914 by R. Weill may have had something to do with this tomb. David inherited from the Canaanite rulers the "king's vale," a tract of fertile land close to the junction

of the Kidron and Ben Hinnom Valleys, which was irrigated from the surplus water of the Gihon Spring.

UNDER SOLOMON. Under Solomon the economic advantages of Jerusalem as the center of the Israelite empire became evident. Caravans from the Euphrates to Egypt could be directed through the royal capital, while for the Phoenician trade with Elath, the Red Sea, and Ophir a passage through Jerusalem was actually the shortest route possible. Additional factors in the rapid development of the city were the establishment of the royal stores, fed by contributions from the 12 districts into which Israel was divided, as well as of the headquarters of the royal merchants. Moreover, the presence of a chariot force, foreign guards, and a sumptuous court, including a harem, also contributed to its growth. The cosmopolitan character of the city at that period was emphasized by the construction, on a hill outside the city, of sanctuaries to foreign gods, which was later accounted as one of Solomon's sins.

The construction of the First *Temple and the adjoining royal palace by Solomon gave Jerusalem a unique character, a combination of a holy city with a royal city. The Temple (erected on the summit of the eastern hill just north of the royal palace), although small in dimensions, was famous for its costly materials and technical perfection. It was included in the circuit of the city walls by an extension northward, which brought Jerusalem on the eastern hill to another saddle. It is possible that at that time the saddle was already fortified by towers, later known as the Tower of Hammeah and the Tower of Hananel (Neh. 12:39). The royal palace, the largest building in the city, occupied the entire span between the two valleys, north of David's city. Besides the throne room and the *House of the Forest of Lebanon (guard and chariotry quarters), it had an inner court of women; attached to it was the special palace on the Millo, which housed the princess of Egypt, politically Solomon's most important spouse. No archaeological remains have survived that could be interpreted as representing the First Temple or royal palace from the time of Solomon.

UNDER THE KINGS OF JUDAH. When the United Monarchy split in about 930 B.C.E., after Solomon's death, Jerusalem remained the seat of the Davidic dynasty and the capital of the smaller Kingdom of Judah. This territorial decline was accompanied by a corresponding one in economic life. *Shishak (Sheshonq), king of Egypt, did not take Jerusalem during his invasion of Judah (c. 925 B.C.E.), but the ransom paid to avoid capture further impoverished the city. Jerusalem derived one advantage from the split between Israel and Judah: many priests and levites, expelled from the Northern Kingdom by Jeroboam, returned to Judah and Jerusalem and "strengthened the Kingdom of Judah" (II Chron. 11:13–17). The situation remained unchanged until the reign of *Omri, king of Israel (ninth century B.C.E.), when peace was made with the Northern Kingdom and the trade routes opened. Foreign influence followed in the wake of the alliance with Israel; in the days of Queen Athaliah, Jerusalem was the center of a revived Baalism. The coup d'état carried out by the high priest Jehoiada (II Kings 11) put an end to such backslidings. In the reign of *Amaziah (798–785 B.C.E.), Jerusalem was captured by King *Jehoash of Israel, who broke down 400 cubits of its northern wall. *Uzziah, who remained true to the alliance with Israel, repaired the breach and strengthened the walls: "And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by skillful men, to be on the towers and upon the corners wherewith to shoot arrows and great stones" (II Chron. 26:15). It was in the time of Uzziah that the voice of the prophet *Isaiah was heard in the city, making it the center not only of Temple worship but also of moral and social regeneration (Isa. 1:1).

Uzziah's successor, *Ahaz, attempted to curry favor with Assyria by building an altar in the Assyrian fashion and encouraging Babylonian astral cults in Jerusalem. His son *Hezekiah, counseled by Isaiah, prevailed against Assyrian influences. During his reign the Temple was purified and repaired (a prior repair was made under Joash). In anticipation of an Assyrian assault, Hezekiah reinforced the walls of Jerusalem and included in the city part of the Western Hill, the *Mishneh* (II Kings 22:14), or "second" Jerusalem, which was already settled in his time. Remains of fortifications have been uncovered on the Western Hill of Jerusalem, and some of these may represent the "other wall" built by Hezekiah (II Chron. 32:5). He also cut the famous tunnel under David's city, through which the waters of the Gihon flowed to the Pool of Solomon. The Assyrian army under *Sennacherib did indeed besiege Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E., but some kind of disaster in the Assyrian camp forced Sennacherib to agree to a treaty with Hezekiah, which left Jerusalem safe. Hezekiah was the last king buried in the Davidic tomb, in its upper passage. His son *Manasseh built, according to II Kings, altars to the "host of Heaven" and the Baalim (21: 3–5, 7). The Chronicler adds the story of Manasseh's captivity and repentance, after which he removed all the pagan altars and idols he had set up and "restored the altar of the Lord" (II Chron. 33:15–16). He was then able to add to the walls of Jerusalem and to strengthen them in many directions (II Chron. 33:14). Of the brief reign of Amon, who followed Manasseh, nothing of note for the history of Jerusalem was recorded.

Under King *Josiah, Jerusalem returned to its historical religious function. After the fall of both the Northern Kingdom of Israel and Assyria, it again became the spiritual focus of the entire remnant of the nation. After Josiah's death in the battle of Megiddo (609 B.C.E.), his weak successors vacillated between Egypt and Babylon. After the brief reign of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim came to the throne as a tool of Egypt; compelled to submit to the Babylonians, he soon rebelled but did not live to see the subsequent events leading to the surrender of Jerusalem. As early as 597 B.C.E., when *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, approached Jerusalem, King *Jehoiachin, together with his queen, ministers, and servants, came out and surrendered; Nebuchadnezzar crowned *Zedekiah king, who was the last king of Judah. Ten years later the Babylonian army laid siege to the city and captured it after several months. The Babylonian captain Nebuzaradan exiled most of the inhabitants:

"And he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house burnt he with fire" (II Kings 25:9). This disaster, of which the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel had given ample warning, left Jerusalem desolate for over 50 years.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Second Temple Period

RETURN TO ZION. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (587/586 B.C.E.) decimated its population, and it remained desolate for five decades. Its ruins represented the decline of Judah. Nevertheless, the Jewish people remained firm in their faith in Jerusalem, which was identified with their common history and their hope for national redemption. Psalms 137:5–6, uttered in Babylonian exile, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, Let my right hand forget her cunning…," is a moving expression of this hope.

In 536 B.C.E., after the fall of Babylon, Cyrus, king of Persia, who became the overlord of Judah, issued his famous declaration, which allowed those desiring to return to Zion to do so and to rebuild the Temple (see *Exile, Babylonian). The resettlement of the city and the rebuilding of the Temple were effected very gradually, as the surrounding nations were hostile to this activity. Only under Darius I in 515 B.C.E. did *Zerubbabel, the governor, and Joshua, son of the high priest Jehozadak, succeed in completing the Second Temple. The city remained almost empty, however; its walls were breached and its gates were burned down. In 445 B.C.E. *Nehemiah, son of Hacaliah, an important official at the court of King *Artaxerxes, moved by reports of the miserable conditions in the Holy City, decided to leave the court and go to Jerusalem. He was appointed governor of Judah and was mainly responsible for the rebuilding of the city. He organized the inhabitants of Judah and took security precautions necessitated by the bitter opposition of its neighbors, especially the Samaritans. First he repaired the wall, following its restricted course in the period of the monarchy around David's City: "They that builded the wall and they that bore burdens laded themselves, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his weapon" (Neh. 4:11). He then took steps to populate the city by commanding the nobles and one tenth of the rural population of Judah to settle there. He decreed an annual tax of a third of a shekel for the maintenance of the Temple. He suppressed the Tyrian trading market set up outside the city on the Sabbath, erected a strong fortress (the *birah*) north of the Temple, posted guards on the gates, and provided for the security of the city.

It was *Ezra the Scribe who was responsible for the restoration of the authority of the Mosaic Law and for making Jerusalem the undisputed religious center of Judaism. The rest of the Persian period is wrapped in obscurity. The many jar-handle inscriptions reading "Jerusalem" or "the city" show that it was an important administrative and fiscal center.

HELLENISTIC PERIOD. Jerusalem submitted peacefully, with the rest of Judah, to Alexander the Great (332 B.C.E.), who confirmed the privileges of the city. The visit of the king as reported by Josephus, however, seems legendary. After the death of Alexander (323 B.C.E.), the city suffered as a result of a series of wars for succession. *Ptolemy I, king of Egypt, seized it and deported a part of its population (according to a Greek historian, the conquest was made possible because the Jews would not go out to fight on the Sabbath). With the stabilization of Ptolemaic rule (301 B.C.E.), however, the relationship between Judah and Egypt improved, and a period of prosperity ensued. Judah had broad autonomy in domestic affairs and Jerusalem continued to be its administrative center. At the head of the administration were the high priests, descendants of Joshua, son of Jehozadak, and the Council of Elders, which bore the Greek name of *Gerousia*. The high priest was not only the religious head of Jerusalem and Judah but also its political and administrative leader. The *Gerousia*, despite its Greek name, was a direct continuation of the Council of Elders of the Persian times. It was composed not only of Jerusalemites, but also of heads of clans from provincial towns. The Temple was the center of the religious and social life of Jerusalem. Due to its presence, many priests (kohanim) lived there and formed a very important social class. A new class, that of the scribes (interpreters of the law), began to develop. In addition to the priestly families and the scribes, a number of noble families came into prominence. Among them was the House of Tobiah, which had extensive land holdings in Transjordan and grew rich from tax farming. These aristocratic families developed close ties with the royal court and the gentile noble families in the empire and thus came under the sway of the Hellenistic way of life.

The Seleucid conquest in 198 B.C.E. was welcomed by the Jews. They helped besiege the Egyptian garrison in the Citadel and were consequently compensated by Antiochus III. A new charter was granted confirming the right of the Jews to live by the "laws of their fathers." The population was exempted from taxes for three years, and the priests and scribes were exempted in perpetuity. In addition, the king forbade the bringing of unclean animals and even the skins thereof into the city. On the surface the situation in Jerusalem seemed to remain as it had been under the Ptolemies as far as its administration, the character of its institutions, and social conditions were concerned. In reality, however, the Hellenization of the upper strata of the society was intensified. The priests and the secular leaders came closer in their thinking and way of life to the corresponding classes among the non-Jews, and the Hellenistic influence seeped down to the lower classes. The leaders of the pro-Hellenistic movement who wanted radical changes were the houses of Tobiah and Bilgah. The traditionalists were headed by the high priest, Onias III, but even in his family there was a rift: his brother, *Jason, leaned towards the Hellenizers. The struggle became more and more polarized due to the general political situation and the financial crisis that resulted from the defeat of the Seleucid empire by Rome. The king strove to regain his power by aggrandizement of the cities in accordance with the Hellenistic tradition of the polis.

The official in charge of the Temple, Simeon of the house of Bilgah, made an effort to limit the powers of the high priest *Onias in the administration of the Temple, as well as in the economic life of the city. When his attempt failed, he turned to the Syrian governor and asked for his intervention. He pointed out that sums of money far beyond that required for ritual sacrifices were known to be in the Temple, and should, by right, be given over to the king's government. Thereupon, the king sent Heliodorus, his chief minister, to investigate. Onias opposed this move vigorously, pointing out that the monies did not belong to the Temple but were sums deposited there for safekeeping, and Heliodorus failed in his mission. Although there is no reason to believe that the king intended to harm the Temple or to intervene in religious affairs, the episode left a sediment of mistrust toward his government. Simeon continued in his attempts. There were riots in the streets of Jerusalem and Onias was compelled to ask the help of the government to maintain order.

In 175 B.C.E., with the ascent to the throne of *Antiochus IV Epiphanes, significant changes began to take place. His reign was marked by most energetic steps to Hellenize the empire. Antiochus indicated interest in the affairs of Jerusalem, and Jason seized the opportunity to convince the king to put him in the place of his brother, Onias III, as the high priest. Jason promised the king a considerable increase in taxes, as well as a large tribute, in return for his permission to make changes in the governing of the city. The two major reforms made by Jason, with the full support of the king, were the building of a gymnasium in Jerusalem and the change of the Jewish city into a Hellenistic polis (one of the many in the empire) to be known as Antioch.

The establishment under the Temple fortress of the gymnasium changed the whole spiritual and social atmosphere. It began to rival the Temple as the social center, especially among the young priests and laymen. This was a grievous blow to the traditionalists, particularly as, according to Greek tradition, the gymnasium was under the patronage of the gods Hermes and Hercules. The author of II Maccabees describes with great bitterness how, on a given signal, the priests left the Temple in order to view the games. The conversion of Jerusalem into a polis required a new census, which gave Jason and his supporters the opportunity to make changes in the register of citizens. Jason did not do away with the existing system of administration, and the traditional *Gerousia* continued to function together with the high priest. As the head of Jerusalem and Judah, he followed the line of the house of Tobiah, endeavoring to integrate the city into the general cultural and social life of the empire. Delegates from Antioch-Jerusalem were sent to Tyre to represent the city at the games in honor of Hercules.

Jason did not remain high priest for long; it seems that the king did not consider him sufficiently loyal. *Menelaus, an ardent Hellenizer of the house of Bilgah, was appointed in his place. He purchased his position for a high price, and a new chapter began in the relations between the Seleucid empire and Judah. The high priest, who had heretofore represented the interests of the Jews in the king's court, was now made an official of the administration. Menelaus was unable to fulfill his financial obligations to the king and was called to appear before him. His brother Lysimachus was left in charge and immediately availed himself of the opportunity to rob the Temple's treasury. Consequently, a revolt broke out against the rule of Menelaus in which Lysimachus was killed. The three members of the *Gerousia* who were sent to complain to the king against Menelaus were put to death, and the latter continued to enjoy the support of Antiochus.

Upon the return of the king from his first war in Egypt in 169 B.C.E., he visited the city and took away with him the golden altar, the candelabra, and other gold and silver objects found in the Temple. In the following year, when the king was again at war in Egypt, the rumor spread that Antiochus had died. At this point, the deposed Jason, at the head of a force of 1,000 men, broke into the city and gained control of all but the fortress in which Menelaus and his supporters and the permanent garrison defended themselves. On his way back from Egypt, the king seized Jerusalem, constructed a fortress, the *Acra, in a dominant position opposite the Temple, and stationed a garrison there. In 167 B.C.E. Antiochus issued decrees against the Jewish religion that were carried out with special severity in Jerusalem. The Temple was desecrated; its treasures were confiscated. Antiochus converted it into a shrine dedicated to the god Dionysus and ordered the erection of a huge temple of his favorite god, Zeus Olympius. Opponents of Antiochus' policy fled the city, while a Seleucid garrison and the Hellenizers remained in Jerusalem. All around, the countryside rebelled.

HASMONEAN PERIOD. The revolt led by *Judah Maccabee aimed at the purification of Jerusalem and the attainment of autonomy. The city was out of reach of the Jewish insurgents; however, they set up a successful blockade around the city and were able to beat back four successive attempts to relieve the Seleucid garrison. After the fourth victory of Judah in battle near Beth-Zur, they were able to reoccupy the Temple Mount, cleanse the Temple of pagan objects, rebuild the altar, and resume the sacrifices in December 164 B.C.E. Since that time Jews have observed the Feast of Dedication, or *Ḥanukkah, in memory of this occasion. After the death of Antiochus IV, his successor granted the Jews religious freedom and appointed a new high priest, Eliakim (Alkimos). The Temple walls were breached with the help of traitors, and Judah was forced to leave Jerusalem. After the death of Judah in battle (160 B.C.E.), his brothers, Jonathan and Simeon, had to operate from outside Jerusalem.

Due to the continuous conflicts and intrigues in the Seleucid empire, it became possible for the Hasmoneans to return to Jerusalem several years later. In 152 B.C.E. Jonathan was made high priest and governor of the Jews. He was allowed to reoccupy the city, with the exception of the Acra, which continued to be held by the king's garrison, and all his attempts

to gain control of it failed. He therefore built a wall to cut the Acra off from the city and strengthened the wall of Jerusalem. Simeon, Jonathan's brother and successor, finally expelled the garrison and eradicated the Acra of its pagan cults. A triumphal entry into the fallen fortress was made on the 23rd of Iyyar 141 B.C.E., the date which henceforward was celebrated as the day of the final deliverance of Jerusalem. It would appear that the construction of the ("first") wall around the Western Hill was initiated by Jonathan and continued by Simeon, and that this was done for ideological reasons to renew the visible ruins of fortifications that had originally surrounded the larger city in the time of Hezekiah and to celebrate the banishment of the Seleucid Greeks.

Early in the reign of John *Hyrcanus, Jerusalem was placed by Antiochus Sidetes VII under a heavy siege, which ended in a treaty under which the city wall was breached. Evidence of this battle was unearthed during the Citadel excavations near the Jaffa Gate, consisting of scatters of ballista balls and arrowheads. For the next six decades (until 63 B.C.E.) no enemy approached the city. Jerusalem became the capital city of the Hasmonean kingdom, which included large parts of western Palestine as well as areas of Transjordan. It was the center of ever-growing political, economic, and religious activity. The Temple became the ritual and religious center of a large number of people in the Land of Israel who had not previously come under the influence of Judaism. Jews in the Diaspora, converts to Judaism, and sympathizers with Judaism contributed to the wealth of the city by paying half a *shekel, and making other contributions. The sages of Jerusalem became renowned throughout Jewry, and their influence was felt wherever Jews resided. Trades and crafts developed in the city.

The "Letter of *Aristeas" contains a description of Hasmonean Jerusalem, with its triple wall, its markets, replete with all kinds of wares, its supply of drinking water, and so forth. It was a large and prosperous city. The Hasmonean palace was built on the Western Hill, dwellings were constructed in all parts of the city, and a new rectangular esplanade was built for the Temple. Segments of the "first" wall built during Hasmonean times have been uncovered in the Jewish Quarter, the Citadel, along the western Old City wall, and around traditional Mount Zion. Hasmonean pottery, coins, and arrowheads have also been recovered during excavations. To the end of this period belong some of the splendid monuments in the Kidron Valley, such as the Tomb of the Sons of Hezir (erroneously called the Tomb of St. James), the so-called Tomb of Zechariah, and the Tomb of Jason (in the Rehavia neighborhood), which contains one of the earliest drawings of a *menorah* and a picture of a sea fight (this Jason was apparently a retired sea captain).

No external enemy menaced Jerusalem, but it was the scene of violent civil strife in the days of Alexander *Yannai (Jannaeus). His widow, *Salome Alexandra, succeeded in restoring peace to the city, but after her death conflict broke out anew. *Hyrcanus II besieged his brother *Aristobulus II in the Temple with the aid of the Nabateans, but was forced to retreat. In the end this fratricidal war profited only the Romans. In 64 B.C.E., when Pompey decided in favor of Hyrcanus, the partisans of Aristobulus shut themselves up in the Temple and defied the decision of the Roman general. Pompey was forced to undertake a siege, since the Temple was now defended by a deep rock-cut fosse on the north. In 63 B.C.E., the Temple wall was breached and the Romans broke into the Temple itself. Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, but did not touch the Temple treasuries. He left the government to Hyrcanus and his adviser *Antipater the Idumean, the father of *Herod. In 40 B.C.E. Jerusalem was seized by the Parthians, who had invaded Judea as allies of Mattathias Antigonus. Three years later (37 B.C.E.), after a prolonged siege, Herod's troops and those of his Roman allies breached the walls of Jerusalem and penetrated the city. There followed great slaughter and looting, until Herod was forced to intervene in order to save the city.

HERODIAN PERIOD. King Herod, who reigned over Judea for 33 years (37–4 B.C.E.), completely transformed the external aspect of Jerusalem. His aim was to make his hold on the city secure, knowing full well how much he was hated by its population; to satisfy his liking for ostentation and splendor; and to placate the populace by providing work. His successful financial ventures and high taxation provided the means. Herod transferred the seat of civil power from the old Hasmonean palace to a new site in the northwestern corner of the city, within the "first" wall. His palace was protected on the north by three towers: Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamne; the base of one of these towers (probably Hippicus, though the matter is still debated), was inserted into the Hasmonean "first" wall, and this is clear from excavations inside the Citadel. The location of the other two towers is uncertain, although Josephus says that they too were built on the line of the "old" wall. Behind the three towers, to the south, extended Herod's palace, built on a podium, and protected to the west by a wall with towers through which one entered via a gate (the "gate of the Essenes"). Apparently the palace adjoined on one side the Agora or upper market. Within the wall were extensive gardens and the place which was divided into two separate blocks of buildings, called Caesareum and Agrippeum in honor of Augustus and his general Vipsanius Agrippa, respectively. The palace gardens were most likely supplied with water derived from the Mamila Pool (see Water Supply, below). A large sewer, referred to by Josephus as "Bethso," extended out of the base of the palace to the west and into the Hinnom Valley.

Herod's other projects in Jerusalem were on the eastern side of the city. He transformed the old Baris fortress into a more cohesive fortified tower-like structure dominating the Temple area, and called it Antonia, in honor of the triumvir Mark Antony. In the Temple area itself, the esplanade was enlarged, especially on its southern side, and it was given the trapezoid shape which is still preserved. The Temple Mount was surrounded by a wall built of large stone ashlars of which

the *Western ("Wailing") Wall is but a section. Beneath the Temple Mount were numerous water cisterns, passages, and conduits. The Temple Mount was surrounded by a portico with columns 50 ft. (15 m.) high. The entire southern side was taken up by a two-story triple hall, the "royal basilica." Herod also entirely rebuilt the Temple itself, doubling its height and richly adorning its exterior. Various gates led into the Temple Mount.

Extant remains of Herod's building activities in Jerusalem include towers in the Citadel; fortification walls around Mount Zion; the Bethso sewage tunnel; the podium of his palace on the Western Hill with a gate to the west; the Temple Mount walls; a flight of steps built on arches (Robinson's Arch) descending from the Temple esplanade at the southwestern corner to a paved street running from north to south; the passageways of the Double and Triple gates in the southern Temple Mount walls; the rock-cut portions of Antonia with its adjacent pool, the Struthion; and the Siloam and Bethesda Pools to the south and north of the Temple Mount, respectively. Besides these, the monument of Herod's family (mentioned by Josephus) has been identified with a round structure to the north of the city. The so-called Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley is also assigned to his reign; it gives an idea of the rich eclectic ornamentation of Herodian architecture current at that time.

UNDER THE ROMAN PROCURATORS. After Herod's death and the banishment of his son *Archelaus, Judea was made a province of the Roman Empire (6 C.E.). Jerusalem was ruled by Roman procurators who resided in Caesarea and thus ceased to be the capital of Judea. The procurators, however, would come to Jerusalem from time to time with their troops, especially during the three pilgrim festivals, when it was crowded with pilgrims from all over the country and from abroad. The governors would stay in Herod's old palace, which was used as a praetorium. In deference to Jewish religious sensitivity, the troops came to Jerusalem without their standards, which bore idolatrous images. The city government was in the hands of the high priest and the Sanhedrin, which fulfilled the functions of the *Gerousia* in the Hellenistic period, i.e., the municipal council. The last Jewish ruler over Jerusalem was Herod Agrippa (41–44), who began to build a new wall on the north side of the city (the "third" wall) but was stopped by order of the Romans. Under the procurators who succeeded him, sporadic riots broke out in the city, usually resulting in clashes with the Roman troops. One of the procurators, *Pontius Pilate (26–36), under whose rule the execution of *Jesus of Nazareth took place, constructed the first aqueduct which brought water to Jerusalem from the vicinity of Hebron. The small Christian community remained in Jerusalem until 66, when it retired to Pella.

Jerusalem's significance was more than that of the administrative center of a diminished Judea; it was the capital of the Jewish nation. The Temple, the Sanhedrin, and the great houses of study of the Pharisees turned it into a symbol for Jews everywhere. As Philo expressed it in his *Legatio ad Gaium*, Jerusalem was the metropolis not only of Judea, but of many lands because of its colonies. It was renowned even among non-Jews: the elder Pliny wrote that Jerusalem was the most famous among the great cities of the East. A legendary halo surrounded the city. It was the focal point of Jewish unity and attracted Jewish pilgrims and converts (e.g., Queen *Helene of Adiabene). Because of the Temple, the main priestly families resided there, as did many important aristocratic families that wished to be close to the center of affairs. Even scions of the House of Herod lived there from time to time, though their kingdoms were some distance away. Jerusalem was the center of spiritual activity. The heads of *Bet Hillel – Rabban *Gamaliel I and Rabban *Simeon son of Gamaliel – resided in Jerusalem. Houses of learning in the city attracted students from all over the country and from abroad. The city's status helped it to become an important economic center. Its area increased to one square mile and its population grew quite considerably.

One of the phenomena of Jerusalem during this period was the presence of many Jews from numerous countries, from Media and Elam in the east to Italy in the west, many of whom settled in the city. These immigrants preserved their different ways of life for long periods and congregated in distinct communities according to their lands of origin. Especially noticeable was the difference between Jews who spoke Hebrew and Aramaic and the Hellenized Jews who came from Egypt (especially from Alexandria), Cyrenaica, and Asia Minor, the latter groups having special synagogues of their own. In the last years before the destruction, social tension grew to such an extent that it affected the order and security of the city. In addition to the general enmity toward Roman rule, there were conflicts among the Jews themselves,, notably friction among different groups in the priestly oligarchy and tension brought about by the activities of the extremist fighters for freedom from the Romans (the Sicarii), who used violence and were not averse to killing their opponents. There was also an increase in the activities of visionaries and prophets who spread messianic expectations among the people and the pilgrims.

JERUSALEM AT THE END OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. The traveler's first glimpse of Jerusalem would have been from Mount Scopus (Har ha-*Ẓofim). Crossing the Kidron Valley, he traversed the "Tombs of the Kings" (of *Helena of Adiabene), and reached the "third" wall, which stretched from the direction of the Kidron Valley to the Psephinus Tower in the northwest. Entrance to the wall was from an area of gardens and vegetable fields through the Women's Gate. Behind it was the then sparsely populated New City or Bezetha. Approaching the "second" wall, which enclosed the area known as the "Mahtesh," the commercial quarter in the upper Tyropoeon Valley, one would see (beyond this wall) the wood and sheep markets, the Pool of Bethesda (or Sheep Pool), and the Pool of the Towers (today called the Pool of Hezekiah). The Pool of Bethesda was used as a place of purification by the many

Jews who attended the festivities in the Temple. The "second" wall, which ran in a broken line from the vicinity of Herod's Palace in the Upper City to the Antonia fortress, protected the city proper. Outside it were the tombs of Alexander and John Hyrcanus; within it were the various bazaars of the city. From this residential and commercial area one could proceed through the Water Gate or the Garden Gate into the Upper City. The latter, which was the aristocratic quarter, was extensively built up and covered the whole of the Western Hill of Jerusalem. Within it stood the palaces of the high priests and of the Hasmoneans. At its northwestern extremity rose the three towers protecting Herod's palace, respectively about 135, 120, and 70 ft. high. A bridge (the remnants of which are now called Wilson's Arch in honor of the 19th-century explorer of Jerusalem) joined the Upper City to the Temple Mount.

The Upper City was protected on the east by a rocky scarp facing the Tyropoeon Valley. This valley was a popular quarter with closely set houses and was called the Lower City; it extended to the southeastern hill (the so-called Ophel), which was originally the City of David. At its southern extremity was the large, rectangular, stepped Pool of Siloam (called by Josephus the "Pool of Solomon"), which was fed with fresh water derived from the spring of Gihon. Like the Bethesda Pool, the Siloam Pool was also used for the purification of travelers who reached Jerusalem for the Jewish holidays. Stairs descended from the Upper to the Lower City and also rose from the latter to the Temple area (via Robinson's Arch).

The esplanade of the sanctuary was protected by a high, massive wall, built of typical Herodian masonry with double margins. It was surrounded by open colonnaded porticoes, of which the southern one, the "royal basilica," was the most splendid. The Temple itself stood within yet another enclosure with steps; it was very high (about 150 feet) and glittered with gold and white marble "like a snow-covered mountain." The tower of Antonia (with a height reaching about 180 feet) overlooked the esplanade from the northwest. Outside the walls, and especially to the east and the south and the west, along the Kidron and Hinnom valleys, stretched the necropolis. Among the great and imposing tombs erected in the first century C.E. were the Tombs of the Judges or of the Sanhedrin in the Upper Kidron Valley and the so-called Tomb of Absalom and Tomb of Jehoshaphat in the central Kidron Valley.

As a fortified city, Jerusalem was rendered all the stronger by its topographical position. Situated on the southern slope of a ridge issuing from the watershed line, it was protected on the west, south, and east by the Hinnom and Kidron valleys, while on the north it had three strongly reinforced walls.

The Siege of Titus. In the autumn of 66 the misrule of the procurators finally provoked the outbreak of a revolt, which soon became a full-scale war. The Roman governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, advanced with his army to the gates of the Temple in an attempt to quell the uprising, but retreated after a disastrous defeat. For over three years, Jerusalem was free; the silver shekels (see *Coins and Currency) bearing the legend "Jerusalem the Holy" commemorate this period. However, internecine strife among the insurgents wasted the resources of the city, and only when the enemy approached in the spring of 70 did they join forces.

The Temple and the Lower City were defended by *John of Giscala, the Upper City by Simeon b. Giora. The attack was led by Titus, the son and heir of the emperor Vespasian, with an army of four legions at his disposal.

After reconnaissance and the establishment of camps in two places around the city, the Romans attacked the "third" wall near Herod's palace, hoping to penetrate the Upper City and thus end the siege in one stroke. They failed in their plan and had to content themselves with the breaching of the "third" wall and the occupation of Bezetha. Moving his camp to a place called the "Assyrian Camp" (now the Russian Compound), Titus attacked the "second" wall and scaled it after some bitter fighting in the narrow, winding bazaars. Now the siege began in earnest; attempts were made to attack by the usual methods (siege mounds with movable towers equipped with battering rams). But the besieged defenders fought with great determination, setting fire to the Roman machines of war and undermining the siege mounds reared against the Towers' Pool and the Antonia. Titus thereupon ordered the construction of a siege wall to blockade the city tightly in an attempt to weaken the population through hunger (the quantity of water in the cisterns was apparently sufficient to carry the city through the summer). After this process the attack was renewed. At the beginning of Av (August) the wall of the Antonia was finally stormed, and after a few days the Temple was set aflame (9th of Av). The Romans then spread over the Lower City and the Tyropoeon Valley, but they had to renew their siege operations against the Upper City, which only fell a month later. Most of the people in the city had either been killed or had perished from hunger; the survivors were sold into slavery or executed. The city was destroyed, except for the three towers of Herod and a portion of the western wall, which were spared to protect the camp of the Tenth Legion situated in the area of the old palace of Herod.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Menahem Stern / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

The Roman Period

Although Jerusalem remained in ruins for 61 years, part of the inhabitants (including some members of the Christian community that left for Pella during the siege) returned and settled around the legionary camp on the Western Hill. An inscription of an officer of the Tenth Legion, Fatalis, records that he lived there with his freedwoman Ionice, and there were many others like him. Numerous rooftiles stamped with the names and symbols of the Tenth Legion have been found. Later sources state that the returning Jews had as many as seven synagogues in that area. In 130 C.E. Emperor Hadrian visited Jerusalem and decided to establish a Roman colony on the ruins of the Jewish city. The governor, Tineius Rufus, performed the ceremony of plowing along the line of the projected walls in the name of the emperor and founder.

This ceremony is represented on coins of the colony, which received the name of *Aelia Capitolina in honor of the family name of the emperor and the Capitoline triad (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva). There is no evidence, however, that the city was captured by Bar Kokhba during the second revolt against the Romans, and Aelia Capitolina was physically only properly founded in 135 C.E. Hadrian decreed that no circumcised person should be allowed into Jerusalem and its territory under pain of death; even the Christian community was forced to change its bishop of Jewish origin for a gentile.

Aelia Capitolina was apparently built in the northern and central parts of the Old City of today, with the Roman camp of the Tenth Legion to the southwest, and with an additional quarter situated in the former Lower City, around the foot of the southwestern part of the Temple Mount. Many of the streets in the northern part of the city were originally established at this time. A forum existed at the junction of the *decumanus* (running from the Jaffa Gate area to the east) and *cardo* streets (the latter running from the Damascus Gate area to the south), with various buildings and a temple or shrine to Venus in the area of the present-day Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The other forum was situated to the northwest of the city, immediately north of the Temple Mount, with a triumphal arch (now known as the Ecce Homo arch), a shrine dedicated to Serapis and other cults, and purification pools. The location of the Capitoline Temple is debated, with some placing it in the western forum and others believing it was built on top of the ruined Antonia Fortress, overlooking the northwest forum. The Temple area (called the Quadra or "Square") was left outside the colony plan; various pagan statues were placed upon it with an equestrian statue of Hadrian in front. A large monumental inscription in Latin mentioning a "gate" has been found in the southern Temple area. Other known monuments of Aelia were a tetrapylon (four-arched gate), public baths, and steps leading to the nympheum (public fountain) outside the city, with twelve arches (the Dodekapylon), near the Pool of Siloam. The city was divided into seven wards, which for centuries bore the names of the first headmen, or amphodarchs. It did not have the rights of an Italian colony (*jus italicum*) and thus had to pay taxes on its lands. City coins were issued from the time of Hadrian to that of Valerianus (260) but are especially plentiful from the times of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Eleagabalus, and Trajan Decius. The 206 coin types evidence the gods worshiped in Aelia: Serapis, Tyche, the Dioscuri, Roma, Ares, Nemesis, and others are found in addition to the Capitoline triad. The worship of Serapis is confirmed by a dedicatory inscription; that of the goddess Hygieia is connected with the healing baths near the Bethesda pool.

Aelia was a quiet provincial city. The great events were imperial visits, such as that of Septimius Severus in 201, which was commemorated by an inscription discovered near the Western Wall. On this occasion the colony received the honorary title "Commodiana." Toward the end of the third century the Legio X Fretensis (still in Aelia at about 250) was transferred to Elath and replaced by a troop of Moors. In the second and third centuries, the Christian community in Jerusalem developed peacefully; one of its bishops, Narcissus, died a centenarian, after sharing the office with Alexander from Cappadocia. The latter established a famous library at Aelia. In his time Christian pilgrimages to the city began. The Jews also profited from a de facto relaxation of the prohibition against visiting Jerusalem as pilgrims.

Byzantine Jerusalem

The status of Aelia was completely revolutionized when the Christian emperor Constantine became master of Palestine in 324. At the Council of Nicaea, Macarius, the bishop of Aelia, reported to the emperor on the state of the Christian holy sites and persuaded the emperor's mother, *Helena, to visit Jerusalem (325). During her visit, the shrine or temple of Venus was destroyed and beneath it emerged a tomb identified as the Tomb of Jesus. According to slightly later Christian tradition the "True Cross" was also found at this time in a cave nearby. Constantine decided to erect a basilical martyrium at *Golgotha to mark the finding of the Tomb of Jesus. The church consisted of a forecourt leading to a basilica, a baptisterium, another court which may have contained part of the rock of Golgotha, and the Tomb of Jesus itself, which had been cut down to a cube, and which was then covered by a small building (edicule) surmounted by a dome supported on columns with silver capitals. The church was built by the architects Zenobius and Eusthatius of Constantinople, and was dedicated in 335. Another church, the Eleona, was built on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. The city then assumed a predominantly Christian character; the prohibition against the entrance of Jews into the city was renewed, with the exception of the 9th of Av, when they were allowed to lament the destruction of the Temple.

The growing importance of Jerusalem as a Christian center was temporarily interrupted by the emperor Julian the "apostate"), who reverted back to old pagan practices and favored Judaism. In 363 he ordered the reconstruction of the Temple and entrusted the task to his friend Alypius. Work went on until May 27, when an earthquake caused conflagration in the building stores. As the emperor had just started on his Persian Campaign, those responsible for the work suspended it. The death of Julian in Persia and the enthronement of the Christian emperor Jovian put an end to this project. During that time the bishop of Jerusalem was the eminent preacher Cyril, who was often exiled but always succeeded in returning (350–86). In his time Christian pilgrims of all countries, from Britain and Gaul in the west to Ethiopia, India, and Persia on the south and east, could be seen in the city.

Cyril's outstanding successor was John (396–417). During his episcopate numerous aristocratic families, led by St. *Jerome, fled from Rome to Jerusalem (385–419). Among them were noble and rich women, such as Melania and Poemenia, who erected churches and monasteries (Church of Ascension, 378, Church of Gethsemane, 390). The first hermits established themselves in the vicinity of Jerusalem at that time. The city

also served as a place of refuge for fallen grandees, such as the family of the minister Rufinus. In 428 the energetic Juvenal became bishop of Jerusalem. In 438 the empress Eudocia visited Jerusalem for the first time; due to her intervention, Jews were again allowed to live in the city. After her separation from her husband, Theodosius II, she settled permanently in the Holy City (444–60), spending lavishly on churches (including the basilica of St. Stephen north of the city). She also had a new city wall constructed around Mount Zion (parts of this wall were excavated in 1895–97). Both Eudocia and Juvenal became involved in the Monophysite controversy. By successful maneuvering, the bishop succeeded in obtaining the status of patriarch and authority over the churches of Palestine and Arabia in 451. He was opposed by the Monophysite monks, however, and had to be reinstated in his see by the Byzantine army.

During the reign of *Justinian (527–65), a Samaritan revolt (529) devastated the vicinity of Jerusalem. The churches outside the town were destroyed and had to be rebuilt, and the emperor added a magnificent basilica, the "Nea" (new one), within the city in the area of the present-day Jewish Quarter. Parts of this magnificent building have been uncovered by archaeologists. The overall features of the Byzantine city at the time of Justinian are well represented in the Madaba mosaic map. Inside the north gate (Damascus Gate) was a semicircular paved plaza with a column at its center, still commemorated in the Arabic name of this gate, Bāb al-ʿAmūd. Two colonnaded streets issued from the plaza leading south. The western one passed the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and continued to the Zion Gate by way of a tetrapylon, passing the church of St. Sophia and extending as far as the Nea. On the other side of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the forum, the palace of the patriarchs, and the towers and monasteries near Jaffa Gate were visible. The other road (which had an offshoot to the east gate) passed a public bath and ended at another inner gate. The Western Wall was visible east of this street. The Temple area was apparently a wasteland, with one east gate (the Golden Gate) and the Church of St. James at its southeastern corner. In the southern part of the city was the Church of Mount Zion, with its Diakonikon (deacon's church) and the baths at the Siloam Pool. The Probatica pool (Sheep Pool) and large basilical church existed in the northeastern corner of the city. At the time of Justinian, two Church councils were held in Jerusalem (536 and 553), mainly in connection with the Origenist disputes. The patriarch Eustachius, like his predecessor Juvenal, had to be installed by the army.

In the course of the last Byzantine-Persian war, the Persian army of Chosroes II approached Jerusalem in 614 and besieged it with the help of its Jewish allies. The city wall was breached, many inhabitants were slain, and the patriarch Zacharias and relics of the "True Cross" were taken into exile. The Persians handed the city over to the Jews, who ruled it under a leader known only by his symbolic name, Nehemiah. The Persian conquest led to the destruction of most of the churches in Jerusalem. After some time, however, the Persians handed the city back to the Christians, who began to rebuild their holy sites under Modestus. The victories of the emperor *Heraclius led to a return of the Byzantines; on March 21, 629, he made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem, bringing back the "True Cross" relic, and the Jews were again banished from there. When the Muslim forces invaded Palestine, Jerusalem was besieged from 637 onward. As there seemed to be little hope of rescue following the decisive battle of Yarmuk (636), the patriarch Sophronius, successor to Modestus, surrendered the city to the Muslim caliph *Omar in March/April 638.

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Arab Period

From the time Jerusalem was conquered by the Muslims Arabs (638), it remained a provincial town and never became the seat of rich princes who had chroniclers at their court. Consequently, Arabic historiography on Jerusalem consists of only one work, *al-Uns al Jalīl fī Taʾrīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl* ("The honorable company on the history of Jerusalem and Hebron"), which was written by Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī at the end of the 15th century. The modern historian must therefore combine accounts gathered from manifold sources.

After the Arabs had invaded Ereẓ Israel in 634 (see *Israel, Land of), four years elapsed until they took Jerusalem. In those years the city, somehow isolated from its hinterland, suffered greatly, as is demonstrated by the sermons delivered by the patriarch Sophronius. The accounts of the conquest of Jerusalem differ considerably; according to the most probable version, the caliph *Omar, then at the headquarters at al-Jābiya in the Hauran, sent ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs, a subaltern officer, to occupy the town. Some historians relate that the town surrendered under certain conditions, among which was the continued non-admission of Jews, who had not been allowed to live there under Byzantine rule. Goitein showed that this condition was probably imposed by the Umayyad Caliph Omar [the second] Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (reigned 717–720), not by "the right guided" caliph Omar b. al-Khattab. The inhabitants probably submitted under the usual conditions – that their persons, churches, and buildings would be safe as long as they paid the poll tax (*jizya*).

Omar's visit to Jerusalem shortly after the surrender has been the subject of divergent and clearly tendentious accounts. The Christian Arabic historian Eutychius, who wrote in Egypt at the beginning of the tenth century, says that Omar refused to pray in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, whereupon Sophronius showed him the site of the Holy Rock identified with the talmudic Even ha-Shetiyyah, the site of the Temple Holy of Holies, on which the world was believed to be founded. Muslim writers, on the other hand, relate how the Christians attempted to deceive the caliph, when he asked about the site of the Rock, by bringing him to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and to Mount Zion instead. Other sources relate that the Jewish convert *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār proposed to Omar that the Muslims should build their mosque in the north of the Rock, so they will turn towards the Rock when they turn to-

wards the *qibla* (direction of prayer) in Mecca, but that his proposal was turned down by the caliph. It is clear from the nature of the tales that the account transmitted by Eutychius was meant to safeguard the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, whereas the story about Kaʿb's failure discloses an anti-Jewish tendency. Apparently the attempt in this instance was to show that Omar refused to turn when praying to the Holy of Holies (see *Holy Places) of the Jews and to the Kaʿba at the same time. From these tales it may be assumed that Omar ordered the Temple area to be cleaned and a place for Muslim worship established there. Herbert Busse, who devoted more than three decades to research different aspects of Jerusalem in Islam, thinks that the real conqueror of the holy city is ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, one of the generals of caliph Omar. The rise of the city's place in Islam at the end of the seventh century caused the attribution of its conquest to a prominent person like caliph Omar instead of ʿAmr.

Various accounts confirm that Omar had Jews in his retinue who were his advisers, and that he entrusted them with keeping the area in good order. Although Omar did not accept Kaʿbs suggestion, quite rightly seeing in it a Judaizing tendency, Jewish traditions and beliefs influenced early Islam's attitude toward the holiness of the Temple Mount and its surroundings. These influences can therefore be seen as explaining why Omar did not pay attention to Sophronius' misleading information. Jewish tradition can also be recognized as the major factor in the ascription to Jerusalem of all events connected in Islam with the last judgment (see *Eschatology). In turn Muslim descriptions influenced later Jewish Midrashim (e.g., *The Book of Zerubbabel, Pirkei Mashiʾaḥ, Revelations of R. Simeon bar Yoḥai*), which show an intimate knowledge of the area of the Temple Mount, the Gates of the Ḥaram (the walled area of the Muslim sanctuaries), the *Mount of Olives (see below), Mount Zion, and their surroundings. All these descriptions show that Jews lived in Jerusalem in the early Arab period. The prevailing opinion, which is based on Christian sources, that the Jews were not allowed to live in the Holy City or its surroundings during the whole Byzantine period is not confirmed by any non-Christian source. One suspects that these reports are biased in order to glorify the victory of the Church, as there is extant literary and archaeological evidence that there was a synagogue on the so-called Mt. Zion where the Cenaculum now stands. There are also extant *piyyutim* from the same time. In any event there is no doubt that during the Persian conquest (614–28) Jews lived in Jerusalem. It seems that even after the recapture of the city by Heraclius many of them remained in its vicinity. This may have caused Sophronius' request that no Jews be allowed to stay in Jerusalem. H. Busse says in this context: "The History of the Ḥaram cannot be properly understood without taking into account the Jewish activities in Jerusalem."

A document (in Judeo-Arabic) found in the Cairo **Genizah* reveals that the Jews asked Omar for permission for 200 families to settle in the town. As the patriarch opposed the action strongly, Omar fixed the number of the Jewish settlers at 70 families. The Jews were assigned the quarter southwest of the Temple area, where they lived from that time (Assaf, BJPES VII, p. 22ff.). As various texts show, they could also pray in the neighborhood of the Temple area. A late source, R. *Abraham b. Ḥiyya (12th century), mentions that they had even been allowed to build a synagogue and a *midrash* (college) on that area (Dinaburg, Zion III, 1929, p. 54ff.).

Although many Arabs came to live in Jerusalem, the great majority of the inhabitants was still Christian. The information culled from *Genizah* fragments and other Rabbanite and Karaite sources concerning the earliest Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem during the *Umayyad period is insufficient for even a general description of historical events and the daily life of the Jewish community during Umayyad rule and the first hundred years of the *Abbasid dynasty. Even the date of such a major event as the transfer to Jerusalem of the talmudic academy from its seat in Tiberias during the late Byzantine and earliest Muslim periods is unknown.

UMAYYAD RULE. The Umayyad caliphs, who resided in *Damascus and in other towns and townlets of *Syria and Ereẓ Israel, showed a keen interest in Jerusalem, the holy city which was so near to their residence. Muʿāwiya, the founder of the dynasty, was proclaimed caliph in Jerusalem (660). He was the first who made great efforts in order to emphasize the status of Jerusalem as a holy place in Islam, collecting Jewish and Christian traditions glorifying the city and its vicinity and giving them an Islamic seal. It seems that he proceeded so as to repel the attacks of the Medinan leaders for leaving the holy cities of Hijaz, Mecca, and Medina. He probably erected the first primitive building on the place where the mosque known as al-Aqṣā (the further mosque, i.e., the furthest place reached by *Muhammad on his Night Journey) was built. The Frankish bishop Arculf, who visited Jerusalem in 670, describes this mosque as a rather ugly building whose walls consisted of simple planks, but which was able to hold 3,000 men. Above the Holy Rock the great Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik built a splendid cupola, Qubbat al-Ṣakhra (the Dome of the Rock). Its construction was finished in 72 A.H. (691), as can be seen from the inscription on it. Some Muslims believe that Muhammad placed his feet on the Rock on his Night Journey and therefore consider it holy. Both medieval Arabic writers and modern scholars, foremost I. *Goldziher, have expressed the view that ʿAbd al-Malik's purpose was to divert the pilgrimage from Mecca, where the counter-caliph *Abdallah ibn al-Zubayr resided. S.D. *Goitein has convincingly shown that the Umayyad caliph's intention was to build a magnificent Muslim house of worship in Jerusalem which would surpass the numerous churches there. A well-informed Arabic geographer explicitly said that the Dome of the Rock should be seen as a counterpart to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (Goitein, JAOS 70, p. 104ff.). A. Elad convincingly has determined that both Goldziher and Goitein were right: the first stressed the political motives, the second, the religious side. A number of scholars saw the construction of the Dome of the Rock as a

sign of ʿAbd al-Malik's desire to rebuild the Jewish Temple. The interest of the Umayyads in Jerusalem was also evinced in the many structures which they built in the vicinity of the Temple Mount. These have been uncovered by the excavations of B. Mazar and M. Ben-Dov.

A fact characteristic both of the tolerance of the Umayyads and of the role the Jews then played in Jerusalem is that ʿAbd al-Malik appointed some Jewish families as guardians and servants of the Ḥaram and decreed that they should be exempt from the poll tax (J. Raby and J. Johns (eds.), *Bayt al-Maqdis: ʿAbd al-Malik's Jerusalem* (1992)). ʿAbd al-Malik also had a government palace built in Jerusalem and the town's walls repaired. Sulaymān, one of his sons and successors, planned to make Jerusalem his residence but changed his mind and resided in Ramleh, which he had founded. From that time, Ramleh was the capital of southern Ereẓ Israel, and Jerusalem, which began to decline in importance, was neither the seat of a provincial administration nor the residence of a strong garrison which could provide work for craftsmen. The trade routes did not reach it, and the only product which could be exported from the surrounding area was olive oil. The last years of Umayyad rule were unhappy ones for the town for other reasons as well: after a revolt against the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, he had the town walls razed, and shortly thereafter an earthquake wrought havoc on the Dome of the Rock.

ABBASID RULE. The reign of the Abbasid caliphs, who came to power in 750, brought a long period of slow but progressive decay to Jerusalem. Ereẓ Israel was no longer at the center of the Muslim empire, and the caliphs residing in *Baghdad did not show much interest in the town. The first Abbasids continued to visit Jerusalem – al-Manṣūr in 758 and 771 and al-Mahdī in 780. Al-Mansur refused to allocate funds in order to finance the reparations. He ordered the removal of golden ornaments from al-Aqsa doors in order to coin them to pay the expenses. Al-Maʾmūn (813–33) never came to Jerusalem, although he spent some time in Syria and *Egypt, but he allotted certain sums for repairing the buildings in the Temple area. The later Abbasids showed no interest at all in the holy town. During the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim (833–42) a great disaster befell the city, when the peasants all over Ereẓ Israel rose under the leadership of a certain Abu Ḥarb, besieged Jerusalem, and sacked all its quarters, mosques, and churches; again many inhabitants fled. On the other hand, it seems that during this period the non-Muslims still enjoyed tolerance, especially the Christians, on behalf of whom Charlemagne successfully intervened with the caliph.

A new period in the history of Jerusalem began in 878, when it was annexed, with the rest of Ereẓ Israel, to the Egyptian kingdom of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. From that date the town remained under the dominion of the rulers of *Cairo, with interruptions during the Crusades (see below), until the Ottoman conquest (1516). After the downfall of the Ṭūlūnids in 905, governors appointed by the Abbasids again took over; in 941 Ereẓ Israel fell to an Egyptian dynasty, the Ikhshidids. Jerusalem itself was rarely mentioned in the chronicles of this period, because it did not play a role in the political life of the Near East. Arabic historians did not mention the town, aside from relating that the rulers of Cairo were brought to Jerusalem after their death to be buried there, a new custom which became current in this period. Christian authors, on the other hand, dwelled on the harassment and persecution of their coreligionists by the Muslims: it seems that fanaticism grew greatly in the course of the tenth century. The hatred between the various religious communities increased, as is borne out by a letter of complaint against the Jews which was sent in 932 by the Christians of Jerusalem to the Holy Roman emperor Henry I. In 938 and once more in 966 the Muslims attacked the Christians and sacked and burnt the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and other churches. On the latter occasion, when the Muslims were joined by the Jews, the patriarch was murdered and his corpse burnt.

According to *Genizah* sources, living conditions, for the most part, were difficult for Jews in Jerusalem. Aside from the tension and strife between Muslims, Christians, and Jews, the burden of various taxes and duties imposed upon the poor Jewish inhabitants was very heavy. A North African Jew describes the economic situation of the population in a letter (mid-11th century) as follows: "Meat is scarce and their cotton garments are worn out." *Solomon b. Judah served for a time as *ḥazzan* of the community, which persuaded him to accept its offer because he was a man capable of being satisfied with a small livelihood: "I accepted it and spent my time sometimes for better and sometimes for worse until this day;… but the Jerusalemites did not give me anything worth a *perutah*, because they do not have anything" (Mann, Texts, 1 (1935), 318). The majority of the community had to draw its livelihood from gifts sent from the Diaspora or offered during the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The Karaite *Daniel b. Moses al-Qūmisī (see below) proposed a practical scheme to maintain a strong Karaite community in Jerusalem: each town (in the Diaspora) should delegate five people to dwell in the Holy City and should provide for their maintenance. Clearly, some inhabitants were also busy as merchants and in trades and handicrafts, and it seems that copying of manuscripts for the Diaspora was one of the main sources of income.

Religious Life. As mentioned, the exact date when the talmudic academy was moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem is not known. It seems that arrangements were made for the academy's head and most of its important members to divide their time between Ramleh, the Arab seat of government, and Jerusalem. A part of the western slopes of the Mount of Olives served as the main gathering place for Jewish pilgrims, and the celebrations on the festivals were held there. Among the *Genizah* fragments at Cambridge, J. Braslavi found a guide to Jerusalem written in Arabic by a contemporary Jew. The extant portion gives Hebrew and Arabic topographical names, describes sites, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim alike, and supplies

a religious-historical background by references to the Bible and the Talmud. As the Jewish prayers inside the town, in the neighborhood of the Temple area, and at the Gates were gradually restricted, a place on the Mount of Olives was bought by the community for that purpose. On Hoshana Rabba, the seventh day of Sukkot, the gathering on the Mount of Olives was especially large, as the head of the academy, his deputy, or special messenger was accustomed to pronounce the fixing of the festival calendar for the following year and also to interdict the *Karaite adversaries (see below). That interdiction sometimes caused incidents and even brawls between the two parts of the community. The Karaites used their influence to get the authorities to intervene on their behalf and to make the head of the academy responsible for peaceful celebrations. Many pilgrims were accustomed to offer large sums of money for the maintenance of the academy and the payment of the many onerous taxes and duties imposed on the poor Jerusalem community.

The Karaites probably began to settle in Jerusalem during the second third of the ninth century. The report, related by a later Karaite source, that *Anan, the founder of this sect, emigrated with many followers to Jerusalem deserves no credence. *Genizah* sources confirm the information given by the Karaite *Salmon b. Jeroham (first half of the tenth century) that in the preceding century the Karaites began to build up a center in Jerusalem. They occupied a special quarter which was known as "the quarter of the Easterns," since most of its inhabitants were from *Iraq and *Persia. They called themselves *Avelei Zion ("the mourners for Zion"), as well as Shoshannim (lilies). The Karaite missionary propaganda and especially the appeals of Daniel al-Qūmisī succeeded in moving many of his fellow Karaites to spend their life in the Holy City. Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ (a younger contemporary and colleague of Salmon) gives interesting information about life in Jerusalem. Rabbanite disciples followed many of the doctrines of Karaism, and an important Karaite center began to develop in Jerusalem.

This missionary propaganda inevitably caused friction between the two parts of the Jewish population, and it has been assumed that Karaite activities influenced the old Rabbanite community to strengthen its position in Jerusalem. The Rabbanites also moved their academy (or a part of it) to Jerusalem in an effort to diminish the power of the Karaite *nasi* ("prince," descendant of David's stock) and the head of the Karaite academy in Jerusalem (*rosh yeshivat* Ge'on Ya'akov). *Aaron Ben Meir (first half of the tenth century), the famous opponent of Saadiah Gaon and head of the Rabbanite academy, describes the clashes between the two opposite parties and mentions that one of his ancestors was killed on the Temple Mount area by the Karaites and an attempt was made to kill others. By personal intervention at the caliph's court in Baghdad and with the help of influential coreligionists in Iraq, he was successful in his endeavor to diminish the power of the Karaites, who for thirty years presided over the Jewish community in Jerusalem and represented it before the Muslim authorities. Nevertheless, even after Ben Meir's successful intervention, the spiritual power of the Karaites in Jerusalem did not decline, and they could muster an array of authors, scholars, and religious leaders like Salmon b. Jeroham, Sahl b. Maẓli'aḥ, Japheth b. Ali, Ibn Zuta, Joseph ibn Nūḥ, Ali b. Suleiman, and many others. They did important research into the Hebrew language and wrote commentaries on the Bible and the precepts, which influenced all the Karaite communities in the Diaspora. During the leadership of *Solomon b. Judah, and especially his successor Daniel b. Azariah (1051–62), both of whom resided in Jerusalem and Ramleh alternately, the relations between the Rabbanites and Karaites improved. Indeed, the general situation in Ereẓ Israel was so bad that there was no place for internal strife.

General Description. The descriptions of the Arabic geographers and other writers make it possible to conceive of what Jerusalem was like in that period. It appears that the town – called at first by the Roman name Aelia, later Bayt al-Maqdis (the "holy house," or the "temple"), and from the tenth century al-Quds (the "holy") – was larger in the first four centuries of Muslim rule than at a later time. In addition to the strong town walls, which had eight gates, it also had a moat on some sides, especially to the north and south. The Persian traveler Nasir-i-Khusrau, who visited the city in 1047, says that it had high, well-built, and clean bazaars and that all the streets were paved with stone slabs. Most Arabic authors dwell on the descriptions of the Aqṣā mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Besides these buildings and the Citadel, there was the so-called mosque of Omar, built within the southern precincts of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 936. The town was still predominantly non-Muslim and had a great number of splendid churches. The Jews had two quarters, one southwest of the Temple area and one west of it, near the gate of the "cave" (perhaps Warren's Gate). A letter written in the late 11th century mentions Ḥārat al-Yahūd (the Jewish Quarter) near a church (Gottheil-Worrell, Fragments p. 120 l. 30). At the end of the tenth century the Christians apparently were still the strongest element in the town. The Arabic geographer al-Maqdisī (end of the tenth century), who was a Jerusalemite, complained that there were no Muslim theologians in the town and that nobody was interested in Islamic sciences, whereas the Christians and the Jews were numerous. He also said that it was difficult to make a living. In addition, he emphasized that there were always many strangers in the city, most of whom were surely pilgrims – Christians, Jews, and Muslims – but others also came to live in it permanently, such as members of dissident Islamic sects or adepts of Muslim mysticism. The Karrāmiyya, a Muslim sect from Persia, was strongly represented, as were various currents of Sufism. Some of the founders and leaders of the Sufis came to Jerusalem, among them Bāyazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, Bishr al-Ḥāfī, and in the 11th century al-*Ghazālī. The information about the political situation of the Jews in Jerusalem in the tenth century is varied. According to Salmon b. Jeroham the Muslims and the Christians persecuted the Jews and

tried to diminish their rights. Al-Maqdisī's assertion seems to be an exaggeration, at least in relation to the Jews.

FATIMID RULE. The *Fatimid conquest, following that of Egypt in 969, at first brought some relief to the Jewish population but ushered in a period of troubles. Whereas Egypt under the first Fatimids enjoyed security and economic prosperity, Ereẓ Israel suffered greatly from the wars between the Fatimids and their enemies, first the Qarmatians, who were accused of intending to change the *qibla* (Muslim direction of prayer) from Mecca to Jerusalem, and later the Banū Jarrāḥ, chieftains of the great Bedouin tribe of Ṭayyʾ who for 70 years tried to overthrow Fatimid rule. The coastal towns of Ereẓ Israel probably took a commensurate part in the revival of international trade in the eastern Mediterranean, but Jerusalem remained far from the trade routes. The plight of the Christians and the Jews in Jerusalem in the 11th century was especially precarious. The deranged Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim persecuted the non-Muslims and in 1009 had the churches destroyed, among them the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The latter was rebuilt, but once more was destroyed by an earthquake in 1034 and remained in ruins until the Byzantine emperor paid for its restoration in 1048. Only the Church of the Resurrection was rebuilt, however, and the basilica of Constantine was never restored.

The town apparently changed a great deal in those days. The decline of the old settled population – Jews, Christians, and Muslims – was only one of the changes. In 1033 the town walls were repaired, but the area within them was diminished, the entire area of Mount Zion remaining outside the walls. The decline of Ramleh in the middle of the 11th century and the increase of Christian pilgrims from European countries gave sorely afflicted Jerusalem another chance, but then, in the last third of the century it became a bone of contention between various political powers. In 1071 Jerusalem was taken by the Seljuk general Atsiz and annexed to the great empire of the sultans of Iraq and Persia. Five years later the inhabitants revolted against Atsiz, who had left to fight a war against the Fatimids, and when he returned and took the town once more, it was severely punished. Some years afterward the Seljuks appointed the Turkoman officer Urtuq prince of Jerusalem. In 1091 Urtuq left the town to his sons Suqmān and Īlghāzī, whose rule lasted no more than five years. In 1098 Jerusalem fell for a second time to the Fatimids, who held it against an attempt of the Seljuk prince Riḍwān. In 1099 Jerusalem was conquered by the crusaders.

[Eliyahu Ashtor and Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Crusader Period

The European Christian crusaders besieged Jerusalem from June 6 to July 15, 1099. When several attempts to seize the city by direct attack failed, they constructed siege towers and concentrated their forces on two weak spots: the first between the Damascus Gate and the tower in the eastern section of the northern wall and the second in the area of Mount Zion. The attack began on the night of Thursday, July 14, and was concluded the next morning. The troops of Flanders and northern France, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, scaled the walls in the northeastern sector, which was defended by both Muslims and Jews, the latter fighting to protect their own quarter nearby. At the same time, the Provençal force, led by Raymond of St. Gilles, surmounted the wall adjoining Mount Zion, while the Normans from Sicily, headed by Tancred, entered the northwest corner of the city in the vicinity of the tower (subsequently called the Tancred Tower).

The population, Muslims and Jews alike, was massacred. Many Jews perished in the synagogues that were set on fire by the conquerors; others were taken prisoner and sold into slavery in Europe, where the Jewish communities later redeemed them. Some Jewish prisoners were taken to Ashkelon (still in Muslim hands) along with the Egyptian commander of the city's fortress, who had surrendered; they were ransomed by the Jewish communities of Egypt and brought there. As a result of the massacre, the city was largely depopulated and the first period of crusader rule was a period of insecurity and economic difficulties. During the second decade of their rule, in order to repopulate the city, the crusaders transferred Christian Arab tribes from Transjordan and settled them in the former Jewish quarter, between the Damascus and Lions' Gates. In order to encourage people to settle there, the duty on food was reduced. As a matter of course, Jerusalem became the capital of the crusaders' kingdom, which was called the Kingdom of Jerusalem (*Regnum Hierusalem*), or Jerusalemite Kingdom (*Regnum Hierosolymitanorum*), or even Kingdom of David (*Regnum David*). Jerusalem was chosen to be the capital despite economic, administrative, and security problems due to its location in the crusaders' southernmost territories.

Jerusalem developed and flourished in the middle of the 12th century because of the concentration of all the government and church bodies there. The king's court, his administration, and the centers of the ecclesiastical institutions, as well as of the various monastic and military orders, were located there, providing a livelihood for a considerable number of permanent inhabitants. The most important factor in the development of Jerusalem at that period, however, was the stream of pilgrims from all countries of Christian Europe (there are records of pilgrims coming from as far as Russia, Scandinavia, and Portugal). Tens of thousands of pilgrims visited Jerusalem every year. These *pilgrimages were not only an important source of income but also added to the city's population, since a number of pilgrims remained there. Owing to its geographical position, however, it remained a consumer city, as in earlier and later periods.

THE CITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. Jerusalem during the crusader period was located within the walls of the previous Arab city. The basic pattern of the city remained the same, although there seems to have been an increase in the number of inhabitants. A period of construction began, the likes of which had not been seen since the time of Herod. Many

of the buildings that had remained intact were used for their former purposes. First and foremost was the citadel by the western gate (Jaffa Gate), which the crusaders called Turris David (David's Tower). It housed the king's garrison, the food warehouses for the army and probably for the entire city, and the customs administration for imports, which were directed through this gate. Adjoining the citadel was the king's palace, on the site of Herod's palace and the administrative center during the Roman Byzantine periods.

At first the king and his court had their residence in the al-Aqṣā Mosque and vicinity, but when this area was given to the Templars, the king moved to the vicinity of the citadel, which was traditionally associated with the rule over the city. Just as the citadel and the palace signified the secular power, the Holy Sepulcher and its environs signified the rule of the Church and its religious ritual. Near the Holy Sepulcher, rebuilt by the crusaders and reopened in 1140, stood the palace of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and opposite its southern entrance were the monasteries of the Benedictines and the area of the Order of St. John, the Hospitalers (now the New Market). The Templars were situated in the al-Aqṣā Mosque, which the crusaders called the Temple of Solomon (*Templum Solomonis*) and which is known in Jewish tradition as *Midrash Shelomo* (Solomon's House of Study). The German-speaking order of knights, a branch of the Hospitalers, was located near the Temple Mount (in what is now the Jewish quarter); the Order of St. Lazarus, the Leper Knights, was outside the city wall, near the present New Gate.

The establishment of the crusaders' rule invigorated Christian religious life. Throughout the 12th century many Christian traditions associated with Jerusalem and its vicinity were established, particularly those pertaining to the life of Jesus. Thus the tradition of Via Dolorosa was defined. The crystallization of these traditions stimulated an unusual amount of building in the city. Many Muslim shrines were turned into churches; for example, the Dome of the Rock ("Mosque of Omar") was called the Lord's Temple (*Templum Domini*) by the crusaders. New churches were also built, among them the new Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the most important architectural endeavor of the crusaders in Jerusalem, which was dedicated in 1149, 50 years after the conquest. The crusaders concentrated a number of churches under one roof. Some were built in the Byzantine period, including the Anastasis (Church of the Resurrection), which is the traditional site of the tomb of Jesus, the Martyrion, and the chapel of Queen Helena (Church of the Holy Cross). The ancient buildings did not blend well with the new structure, and there was a lack of symmetry among the component parts: a Byzantine church in the west, a Romanesque church in the middle. The southern gates (there was only a small gate in the west) are the best examples of crusader art in architecture and sculpture of that period. Among the outstanding churches built were the Church of St. Anne, in fine Romanesque style; the renovated "Tomb of Mary" church in the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and the churches of Mount Zion.

POPULATION OF THE CITY. Most of the inhabitants of 12th century Jerusalem were of European origin, except for the Eastern Christians – the Syrians (Suriani), the Jacobites, and the Copts, who lived in the northeastern corner of the city near the church of Santa Maria Magdalena. The Armenians, who had special relations with the crusaders, having two independent Christian monarchies in the northeast Middle East, were settled in the southwestern part of Jerusalem, around the Church of St. James. There were also Georgians from Caucasia (Georgiani), whose center was the Monastery of the Cross outside the walls of the city. The majority of the population was of French descent. French was the main language (official documents were written in Latin in the 12th century and in French in the 13th). The others congregated in ethnic or linguistic communities, such as the German knights mentioned above; the Spaniards, who settled near the Damascus Gate; the Provençals, near the Zion Gate; and the Hungarians near the New Gate. These communities had their own churches and later often hostels for pilgrims from their countries of origin. Muslims and Jews were not permitted to reside in the city; however, the Muslims came into the city for business purposes and some Jews settled near the Citadel. *Benjamin of Tudela tells of a few Jewish dyers whom he met while visiting Jerusalem.

THE FALL OF CRUSADER JERUSALEM. After the battle of Hattin (July 1187) the army of *Saladin besieged Jerusalem. The patriarch of Jerusalem and the secular commanders soon agreed to surrender, on condition that they would be allowed to ransom themselves from captivity and take their possessions with them. The city surrendered in November 1187 and remained in Muslim hands until 1229. All Christians, except for the Easterners, were forbidden to reside in Jerusalem. The Easterners were allowed to take care of the Holy Sepulcher and some of the other churches. Most of the churches were either restored as Muslim shrines and mosques, like the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā Mosque, or converted into Muslim charitable or religious institutions. The Church of St. Anne became a madrasa (religious college). The Jewish community was renewed as a result of the initiative of Saladin. Jews came into the city from other towns in the country, for example, Ashkelon, which was destroyed on Saladin's orders. Prominent among these was a group of Yemenites. Others came as immigrants from the Maghreb (North Africa) and Europe. A particularly important group of immigrants were those rabbis who came from France and England (1209–11). In 1218 *Al-Harizi reported that Saladin invited the Jews to settle in Jerusalem (*Tahkemoni*, Kaminke (ed.), 214–5, 353). It seems that the Jews lived in separate communities according to their country or town of origin.

In the third decade of the 13th century, Jerusalem suffered from a systematic destruction of its fortifications by the Muslims, as in other cities which seemed likely to serve as strong points for a renewed effort of settlement by the crusaders. The attempts by the Third Crusade to capture Jerusalem failed, even though the army got very close to the city. The walls of

Jerusalem were destroyed by the Arabs in 1219. Thus Jerusalem had no wall for more than 300 years, until the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent rebuilt it in 1537–41. What the Christians did not achieve by military action, however, they succeeded in obtaining by diplomatic negotiations. According to an agreement between al-Malik Al-Kāmil, the ruler of Egypt, and Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and the king of Germany, a corridor to Jaffa through Ramleh was agreed upon, and Jerusalem was divided between Christians and Muslims (Tell ʿAjjūl 1229). The Muslims received the area of the Temple Mount and freedom of worship therein; the Christians received the rest of the city, and Frederick had himself crowned King of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. During this second period of occupancy (1229–44), the crusaders tried to resettle the city, but the results were in no way comparable with their achievements during the 12th century, either in population or in economic life. In 1240 the rulers of Egypt, who were competing with Damascus for ascendancy in the area, asked for help from the hordes of the Khwarizm Turks, who attacked Jerusalem in 1244, sacked the city, massacred the Christians, and devastated the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Only a few Christian inhabitants of the city succeeded in escaping to Jaffa. *Naḥmanides mentions in his letter (written 1267) that he found only two Jewish dyers in Jerusalem, because during the Tartar (= Khwarizim) conquest some Jews had been killed but others escaped from the city. It seems that these found shelter in Nablus, because Naḥmanides remarks that the Torah scroll which they took with them was brought back to Jerusalem, when he succeeded in establishing a synagogue (Yaari, *Iggerot*, p. 85). The city suffered greatly and did not recover until the overthrow of the Ayyubids in Egypt by the Mamluks in 1250. Jerusalem became part of the Mamluk kingdom and remained so for over 260 years.

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

Mamluk Period

After the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the sultan of Egypt, in 1249, Jerusalem was incorporated into the kingdom of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, ruler of *Aleppo and Damascus. While this Syrian *Ayyubid was waging war with the *Mamluks – who had taken over in Egypt – the *Mongols invaded the Near East and penetrated into Ereẓ Israel at the beginning of 1260. The inhabitants of Jerusalem fled panic-stricken when the Mongol hordes swept over the country sacking the townlets and villages. When the Mamluks succeeded in September 1260 in defeating the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt (ʿEin-Ḥarod), Jerusalem, with all Ereẓ Israel, was annexed to their kingdom and remained under their rule until the Ottomans conquered Syria and Egypt in 1516/17. The situation of Jerusalem in the years after the retreat of the Mongols was very depressed. *Naḥmanides reported in 1267 that only a part of the inhabitants had returned to the city and there were no more than 2,000 living there, among them 300 Christians. He persuaded some Jews who had found shelter in the villages to return and reconstitute the Jewish community.

The Mamluks did not care to fortify Jerusalem and repopulate it. Under their long rule Jerusalem became a town of theologians whose life focused on the mosques and madrasas (Muslim theological colleges). Until the last quarter of the 14th century it belonged to the province of Damascus and was administered by a low-ranking Mamluk appointed by the *nāʾib* (deputy of the Sultan) of Damascus. In 1376 al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān made Jerusalem a separate province and henceforth its head was appointed by the sultan himself. The new administrative entity was a small one, comprising the Judean hill country with Hebron, although at times Ramleh and Nablus (Shechem) were annexed to it. The promotion of its head to a higher rank, however, did not signify a great change in its status. The post was often sold to the highest bidder, who later did his best to extort from the townspeople what he had paid. The complaints of the inhabitants sometimes brought about the dismissal of the *nāʾib*, but for the most part they had to submit to his tyranny. Another very important post in the administration of Jerusalem was that of the "superintendent of the two Holy Places" (*nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*), who was in charge of the sanctuaries of Jerusalem and *Hebron. He administered the endowments and supervised the activities of the staff. Sometimes this post was also held by the deputy of the sultan himself. It seems that the administration was not very efficient, even in the field in which the Mamluks were really interested, i.e., security. Letters of Italian Jews who settled in Jerusalem during the 15th century (see below) contain reports about the lack of security in the town's surroundings, where Bedouin were roaming.

In this period Jerusalem produced soap, manufactured from the olive oil which was supplied by the villages of central Ereẓ Israel, but the Mamluk authorities encroached upon this industrial activity, e.g., by the establishment of monopolies and the forced purchase of large quantities of the raw material at high prices. The Arabic historian Mujīr al-Dīn (d. 1521) dwelled on the catastrophic consequences of these measures, and one reads in the reports of Jews who settled in the town in the 15th century about the great difficulty of making a living. Even the frequent visits by groups of pilgrims could not change the economic situation. The pilgrims only made short visits and did their utmost to escape the extortions of the authorities as soon as possible. Consequently, Jerusalem remained a very poor town. The population did not increase considerably and Western pilgrims reported that many houses were empty or had fallen into ruin. At the end of the 15th century Jerusalem probably had no more than 10,000 inhabitants. The Dominican Felix Fabri, who was in Jerusalem in 1483, says that there were 1,000 Christians. The Jewish community numbered 100–150 families.

Whereas the Mamluks did nothing for the development of Jerusalem's economy, they continued the policy and trends of the Muslims since the Crusades in underlining the religious importance of Jerusalem for Islam. Religious propaganda had found expression in the building of madrasas and *zawiyas* (convents – Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zawāyā*) for Sufis and the pro-

duction of guidebooks for visits to the Holy Places, especially in Jerusalem and in Hebron. The Mamluk rulers generously endowed religious establishments, such as mosques and colleges. These activities corresponded well with the efforts they made to appear as the champions of orthodox Islam. The sultan Baybars had the Dome of the Rock repaired in 1261 and in 1263 he founded a hospice for pilgrims not far from the western gate of the town. Qalāʾūn (1279–90) repaired the roof of the al-Aqṣā mosque and founded another hospice. The sultans Katbughā (1294–96) and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad (d. 1341) restored the wall of the Ḥaram, and the latter also repaired the gilding of the roofs of the al-Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Barsbāy (1422–38) made endowments for the upkeep of al-Aqṣā, and Jaqmaq (1438–53) repaired the roof of the Dome of the Rock once more. Tengiz, viceroy of Syria under the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad, built a great madrasa in Jerusalem. Other colleges were founded in the 14th century by the emirs Ṭushtumur and Arghūn and in 1482 by the sultan Qāʾitbāy. The Mamluks also spent large sums on the restoration of the water conduits which supplied the town (or more correctly the Ḥaram), among them Tengiz in 1338 and the sultans Khushqadam and Qāʾitbāy in the second half of the century. Princes from Persia and Turkey also founded madrasas and hospices for pilgrims in Jerusalem in that period. Thus, these numerous endowments resulted in the building of a great number of religious buildings, which became the striking feature of Jerusalem. (The travelogues of Western pilgrims and other sources give one a clear picture of Jerusalem in the later Middle Ages.)

Contradictory statements as to the existence of town walls point to the fact that Jerusalem was only partly enclosed by walls. Apparently the walls were not completely razed in 1219 and parts were rebuilt in 1229. The walled-in area probably included Mount Zion in the 14th century, whereas in 15th-century descriptions it appears as being outside of the walls, thus indicating changes in the area of the city. On the other hand, there were no suburbs outside the walls. Mujīr al-Dīn mentions some small groups of houses west and northwest of the town; north and east of it there were some *zawiyas* and churches. On the southern outskirts there were also *zawiyas* and a group of houses named after the sheikh Abu Thawr, who participated in the siege of Jerusalem in 1187. The ancient Byzantine town plan had disappeared, although "David Street" (Ṭarīq Dāʾud) – the street connecting Jaffa Gate and Bāb al-Silsila, the main entrance of the Ḥaram – remained the main artery of the town. The area north and west of the al-Aqṣā Mosque was occupied by many colleges and convents of Sufi mysitcs: Mujīr al-Dīn mentions 44 madrasas and about 20 *zawiyas*. The palace of the *nāʾib* was also located northwest of the Ḥaram. The area which the Christians held in the town was reduced, and Saladin had established a convent of Sufis in the former palace of the patriarch, north of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The church of the Hospitalers had become a Muslim hospital, a part of the hospital itself was also handed over to Sufis, and south of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher a mosque was built. Since the number of the madrasas had increased so markedly, Jerusalem became a center of Islamic studies in the later Middle Ages. The most important schools were al-Ṣalāḥiyya al-Tengiziyya, al-Muʿazẓamiyya, and al-ʿUthmāniyya, but other madrasas had students from other towns in Erez Israel, and even from other countries. The theologians who taught at the madrasas were the most distinguished group in the town's population. Among them there were families which for a number of generations had held certain prominent posts in the clerical hierarchy, such as the Ibn Jamāʿa, Ibn Ghānim, al-Qarqashandī, and al-Dayrī. Some of the teachers at the madrasas of Jerusalem were well known in the Muslim world, e.g., Ibn al-Ḥāʾim (d. 1412) and Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī Sharīf (d. 1500), both of whom were prolific writers in various branches of Islamic theology.

In view of the fact that the Muslim theologians played so great a role in the town, one can easily understand that persecutions of the non-Muslims were frequent. The atmosphere was charged with fanaticism, and the interventions of Christian princes who tried to protect their coreligionists were not always successful. For the most part, the outbreaks of Muslim fanaticism were directed against the Latin Friars (Franciscans) who had established a monastery on Mount Zion in 1334. Several times the Friars were imprisoned and sent to Damascus or Cairo. The possession of some sites on Mount Zion, which were coveted by Christians and Muslims, and sometimes even by Jews, became a point of contention. Time and again the chapel above the grave of David's supposed tomb passed from the Christians to the Muslims and vice versa. When the Christians built a church on Mount Zion in 1452 on the site where Mary is believed to have lived for a long time, it was immediately pulled down by Muslim fanatics. At times the Muslims penetrated into the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and other churches, devastated them, and destroyed some parts completely. In 1489 the Franciscans obtained permission once again to build a church on the site where Mary had lived, but in 1490 it was pulled down.

The role of the Jews in Jerusalem was very modest. Until the end of the 15th century their number was apparently quite small. In about the middle of the 14th century there was a yeshivah in the town whose head was a rabbi named Isaac ha-Levi Asir ha-Tikvah. At the beginning of the 15th century immigration of Jews from European countries began, but the attempt of German Jews to acquire the room above the supposed tomb of David almost brought it to a halt. The Christians applied to the pope, who asked the Italian merchant republics to stop taking Jews on board their ships sailing for Erez Israel; this happened in 1428. The Mamluk government also harassed the Jews, and in about 1440 it imposed a heavy tax on them to be paid yearly. Most Jews were craftsmen or petty merchants who could not afford to pay the tax and many left the town. Details on the economic situation of the Jews are given in a letter of R. Elijah of Ferrara, who settled in Jerusalem in 1438 and became rabbi of the community. R. Isaac b. Meir Latif (c. 1470) states that there were 150 Jewish families in

town, whereas *Meshullam of Volterra, who visited Jerusalem in 1481, spoke of about 250, but this was probably an exaggerated figure. Even in that period the Jews suffered greatly from heavy taxation and Muslim intolerance. In 1474 the Muslims destroyed an old synagogue, but the sultan intervened and after a long lawsuit had it returned and rebuilt. R. Obadiah of *Bertinoro, who went to Jerusalem in 1488 and became the spiritual head of the community, complained about its poverty and oppression, which caused Nathan *Sholal to move from Jerusalem to Cairo, where he became **nagid* (leader) of Egyptian Jewry. Obadiah found no more than 70 Jewish families and many widows in Jerusalem, but shortly afterward a change took place. On the one hand, the government abolished the heavy tax and the Italian republics once more allowed Jews to travel on their ships to Ereẓ Israel, and on the other hand, the immigration of the Spanish exiles began. A pupil of R. Obadiah related in a letter written in 1495 that about 200 Jewish families were living in Jerusalem.

In the beginning of the 16th century there were scholars in Jerusalem who took part in the controversy which arose over the fixing of the dates of the sabbatical (*shemittah*) years. Scholars in Safed also took part in the dispute, not missing the opportunity to underline their reverence for the Jerusalemites (see *Israel, Land of, History). R. Isaac *Sholal, who was the *nagid* of Jewry in Mamluk lands and resided in Cairo, moved to Jerusalem at the end of Mamluk rule and published ordinances (*takkanot*) for the welfare and good order of the community; they are quoted in R. Moses *Basola's travel book.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

Under Ottoman Rule (1517–1917)

SULEIMAN THE MAGNIFICENT AND HIS WORK. The present-day wall around the Old City of Jerusalem was the work of the sultan Suleiman I (1520–66), who was called al- Qānūnī ("the Lawgiver"), and in the West, the Magnificent. According to contemporary evidence, most of the wall was in ruins at the end of the Mamluk period and Suleiman, known for his widespread activities in the building of numerous mosques and public buildings in the empire, ordered that Jerusalem be surrounded by a wall in order to protect its inhabitants against marauding Bedouins. Some believe that the activities of Charles V in *Tunisia aimed against the Ottomans prompted the rebuilding of Jerusalem's wall, as a defensive measure.

The following statement was made by an anonymous contemporary "Jewish" inhabitant of Jerusalem or Hebron: "Jerusalem the Holy City has been destroyed through our sins. Nothing is left of the old structure except for a little of the foundation of the walls. Now, in 1537, they have begun to build the walls around the city by order of the king, Sultan Suleiman. They have also put a great fountain in the Temple…" (*Ha-Me'ammer*, 3, p. 211). The building of the wall made a great impression on the Jewish world, and Joseph ha-Kohen recorded it in his chronicle: "In that year 1540 [an insignificant error], God aroused the spirit of Suleiman king of Greece (= Rumelia) and Persia and he set out to build the walls of Jerusalem the holy city in the land of Judah. And he sent officials who built its walls and set up its gates as in former times and its towers as in bygone days. And his fame spread throughout the land for he wrought a great deed. And they did also extend the tunnel into the town lest the people thirst for water. May God remember him favorably" (*Sefer Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Ẓarefat u-Malkhei Beit Ottoman*, Sabionetta, 1554, 261b–262a). As is stated in the former source, the wall was rebuilt on top of its former remains, some of which dated to Second Temple times. In certain places the planner-engineer deviated from the ancient pattern, e.g., by leaving part of present-day Mount Zion outside the wall. According to tradition he was executed for this.

The construction of the wall lasted from 1537 to 1541, as is recounted in the 11 original inscriptions inserted in various parts of the wall, especially near the gates. Thus, for instance, the inscription near the Jaffa Gate (Bāb al-Khalīl, the Gate of Hebron) contains the date 945 A.H. (1538–39). The southern wall contains the Zion Gate (Bāb al-Nabī Da'ud, i.e., Gate of the "Prophet" David, since it is near "David's Tomb," which is on Mount Zion). Next is the Dung Gate (Bāb al-Maghāriba, or Moor Gate, because of its proximity to the quarter of the Maghreb Muslims). On a tablet nearby is the date 947 A.H. (1540–41). Further east along the southern wall are three gates which are closed off, dating to pre-Ottoman times: the Double Gate, the Triple Gate, and the Single Gate. Northward along the eastern wall is the Mercy Gate (which the Muslims call by the same name, Bāb al-Raḥma, or al-Dahriyya, i.e., Eternal, and the Christians call the Golden Gate). There are several legendary reasons for its being closed. Inside the area of the Temple Mount this gate has been divided into two since the early Middle Ages, one being called the Gate of Repentance (Bāb al-Tawba). In the east is the Lions' Gate (Bāb Sittna Maryam, the Gate of our Lady Mary, because of its proximity to the traditional birthplace of Mary, Jesus' mother; the Christians call it St. Stephen's Gate). On the northern side is Herod's (or the Flower) Gate (Bāb al-Zahra, a corruption of Sāhira since it leads to the plain of Sāhira (Sura 79:14) on which, as the Muslims believe, all creatures will congregate on the day of the resurrection of the dead (see *Eschatology)). The most magnificent of the gates is the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-ʿAmūd, Gate of the Pillar or Column). The seventh gate is the New Gate in the wall near the Christian Quarter (opposite the Hospice of Notre Dame), which was opened at the time of the sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1908) and for this reason was first called the Sultan's Gate; it was to facilitate the connection between the Christian Quarter and New Jerusalem.

Suleiman also introduced changes in the buildings on the Temple Mount. He ordered that the mosaics covering the walls of the Dome of the Rock be removed and replaced by beautiful marble tablets and facings, which adorned the building until the 1950s and were in part replaced during the repairs conducted by the Jordanian government. During Suleiman's reign four *sabīls* (public fountains) were set up in the city and

one outside it near the Sultan's Pool, in order to provide water for passersby. The most beautiful of these is opposite the Chain Gate (Bāb al-Silsila) in the wall surrounding the Temple Mount. The two Jewish sources mentioned above emphasize the special attention devoted to one of the age-old problems of Jerusalem, the city's water supply, especially for the Temple Mount area. The conduits bringing water from the vicinity of Solomon's Pools (near Bethlehem) were repaired and widened by order of Suleiman and his wife Roxelana, and in 1536 the Sultan's Pool was constructed on the foundations of an ancient pool. Its water was collected by means of the dam in the Hinnom Valley (on what is the present-day road to Mt. Zion) and on it is also the fifth *sabīl*.

In order to maintain the madrasas (Muslim theological colleges) and shelters for the Sufis (*zāwiya, khanqa, tekke*) which were established in former times, many properties (*waqf*) such as lands, shops, and flour mills were dedicated, bringing a flow of money to Muslim Jerusalem. Roxelana also established a khan (inn), and especially an *ʿimāret* (a soup kitchen providing free meals for students of the madrasas, dervishes, and other poor Muslims). These institutions were supported by taxes levied on numerous villages throughout the country. Repairs, which were ordered by the sultan, were made on the fortress near David's Tower (Turk. *Qishla*, winter barracks for the soldiers). A Turkish aga encamped at this fortress together with an escort of a troop of janissaries.

THE DECLINE OF JERUSALEM. After this period of construction, however, the development of Jerusalem was halted. The authorities did nothing to preserve the show pieces of Muslim architecture and prevent their destruction through the agency of time and of man. Administratively, Jerusalem was the seat of the governor of the district, or *sanjak* (Ar. *liwāʾ*; Turk. *sanjaq*, both meaning "standard"). However, the *mīr liwāʾ* or *sanjaq bey* (i.e., the governor) was usually of a lower status than the other local regional rulers (Safed, Nablus, Gaza), since the central authorities regarded Jerusalem as no more than a town bordering on the land of the Bedouin (*Arabistan*). Jerusalem's governor was subordinate to the general governor (Turkish *wali*) of the province (*eyālet*), usually that of Damascus, but sometimes to the *wali* of Sidon (and Acre), and had no direct contact with the central authorities in Constantinople. In 1756/1169 A.H., however, Jerusalem was raised for a short time to the status of an independent provincial unit (*eyālet*), ruled by a governor (*mutaṣṣarif*) bearing the standard of two *tughs* ("horsetails") – though only in the second half of the 19th century did it become an independent *mutaṣṣarifliḳ* ruled by a "two-tail" pasha – directly subordinate to the Sublime Porte in Constantinople (see below). In the city of Jerusalem the immediate control of all municipal matters was in the hands of the *qadi*. He was also the authority over all non-Muslims.

The Ottomans introduced no changes in the composition of the Muslim population of Jerusalem. During their 400-year reign only a few Turks settled in the country. The Turkish language did not take the place of Arabic, although a number of Turkish words were incorporated into the spoken Arabic. This absence of a permanently settled Turkish class facilitated the establishment of a kind of local nobility in Jerusalem, composed of the distinguished Arab families which derived their power and influence from farming taxes and duties (*iltizām*) and from their control of hereditary religious functions and, at the end of the Ottoman period, exercised administrative functions. These were the *aʿyān* (the notables, "eyes" of the community), the *effendi* (masters), e.g., the families of Khatīb, Dajjānī, Anṣārī, Khālidī, ʿAlamī, and later Nashāshībī and Ḥusaynī. Several of Jerusalem's Christian families were also well-known: Salāmeh, Tannūs, ʿAṭallah, and Katan.

One reason for the Ottoman rulers' disparaging attitude toward Jerusalem may have been its insignificance from a strategic and political point of view when there was no longer a danger of renewed Crusades. At the Ottoman conquest of Ereẓ Israel (1516) even the exact date of Jerusalem's capture was not noted. Because of its insignificance the rebels and invaders did not attempt to conquer it. The same situation existed at the time of Ẓāhir al-Omar, who in 1773 controlled the whole country except for Jerusalem. Similarly, Napoleon did not consider it necessary to conquer Jerusalem and was satisfied with the towns of the coastal strip and the plain. Another reason was the city's economic insignificance. According to the Ottoman records of land registration from the 16th century, the inhabitants of the district of Jerusalem were far fewer in number than those of Gaza, Nablus, and Safed. Accordingly, the income of Jerusalem's governor was smaller than that of the other governors. Apart from soap and Christian religious objects, almost nothing was manufactured in Jerusalem which could be exported to other districts or abroad. Nor did local trade play an important role in the city, since industry and craft did not develop in Jerusalem, which had no fertile rural areas surrounding it. Jewish, Muslim, and Christian sources were therefore justified in repeatedly emphasizing that most of the city's inhabitants were extremely impoverished. During the Ottoman Empire's period of abundance, the sultans regarded it as a duty to exempt the city's inhabitants from various taxes and even sent yearly contributions for distribution among the poor.

JEWISH JERUSALEM. Even before the Ottoman conquest there were many indications that Jewish Jerusalem was awakening from its lethargy. At the beginning of the 16th century it attracted the kabbalists who were awaiting the imminent redemption, such as Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi. Isaac Sholal, the *nagid* of Egypt, also settled in the city. After the conquest, and especially in light of the sympathetic attitude of Sultan Suleiman, which aroused such a positive response on the part of the Jews, it appears as if there existed, in effect, those political and social conditions which could enable Jerusalem to reassert its function as the spiritual and religious center of Judaism. David *Reuveni, a man of imagination and political courage, approached the Jews of Jerusalem. *Levi b. Ḥabib, who settled in the city and was one of the greatest scholars

of his time, attacked Jacob *Berab for wanting to reestablish ordination (*semikhah*) in Safed and succeeded in foiling that plan. *David ibn Abi Zimra and, later, Bezalel *Ashkenazi taught in Jerusalem. However, the overwhelming poverty of the scholars and all the Jewish inhabitants placed the city at a disadvantage, and Safed, which attracted in the 16th century the greatest scholars and most of the immigrants, superseded Jerusalem for a time in importance as a center.

However, the communities of Egypt and Syria (especially Damascus) aided the Jerusalem community, as is attested by Moses *Trani (De Trani): "All the holy communities which send contributions to Jerusalem know that, in addition to what is distributed among the scholars and the poor, they are also used for all the fines and penalties levied on the community, for the inhabitants of Jerusalem can pay only the *kharā j* (poll tax)… and the remaining burdens… have to be met from outside contributions; for if they did not do thus, no one would want to settle in the city" (Responsa, vol. 3, no. 228). The situation of the scholars and yeshivot was especially difficult, and there are recurring and repeated complaints about this in the literature of the period.

Apparently the local rulers hindered the consolidation of the city's Jewish population. According to official censuses in 1525, 1533–39, and 1553, the number of Jews in the town ranged between approximately 1,000 and 1,500. They lived in three quarters, Sharaf, al-Maslakh ("Slaughterhouse"), and Rīsha, which are coextensive with the present-day Jewish Quarter. David ibn Abi Zimra conveys in his responsa the interesting information that the Jewish Quarter is called the "City of Zion" by the Jews and Ṣahyūn by the Arabs. He explains that in the laws pertaining to the holiness of Jerusalem a distinction is to be made between that part to which these laws pertain, called by the Arabs *Quds* (= Jerusalem), and the other part ("Zion"), which is considered outside of Jerusalem. In 1586 the authorities deprived the community of the synagogue named after Naḥmanides (restored only after the Six-Day War).

After Safed's decline at the end of the 16th century Jerusalem was built up. Bezalel Ashkenazi, who had come from Egypt, played a major role in this rebuilding. He was not content merely to act as *dayyan* but also lent his help in the organization of material assistance and even went on a mission to organize aid and save the synagogue which had been confiscated. He died in the early 1590s, however – shortly after his immigration – and was unable to carry out his activities. His initiative persisted after his death and Jewish Jerusalem continued to recover. The stream of immigrants from Turkey, North Africa, Italy, and Western Europe soon turned to Jerusalem. One of the most distinguished and famous among them was R. Isaiah *Horowitz (immigrated in 1622), author of *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*, whose influence was of great spiritual importance for the community. He found a population in Jerusalem composed of Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Italians (who were considered one community), Maghrebis, and Musta'ribs (Moriscos). There was also a small Karaite community. Shortly after his arrival the community suffered severely from the persecution of the governor Muhammad ibn Farrukh (1625), which is described in the pamphlet *Ḥorvot Yerushalayim* (published anonymously in Venice, 1636). This governor, however, was removed from his post a short while later and the community recovered.

In general, the situation improved in Jerusalem, but the tax burden and other impositions were not eased. There are various extant sources from this period, including several interesting travel descriptions (see *Travels) – among them that of R. Moses Poryat of Prague (1650) – which make it possible to achieve a faithful reconstruction of the situation. There are also descriptions from the end of the 17th century which render an exact description of the situation in Jerusalem. There were then about 300 Jewish families, with nearly 1,200 persons. This number exceeded the quota established by the Ottoman authorities for the Jews in the city, and they therefore had to be bribed so that they would not expel the "extra" ones. The extortion of monies resulting from the increased numbers of Jews caused some of the people within the community to seek to limit the number of new settlers and make them go elsewhere.

The only possibility for the economic consolidation of the community was to send emissaries abroad to seek aid. Among the Jerusalem emissaries was *Shabbetai Ẓevi, who only arrived in the city in 1662 but made such a strong personal impression that shortly thereafter he was entrusted with the task of collecting contributions in Egypt. He did, in fact, succeed in raising considerable sums but he used them for disseminating propaganda for his movement. The sages of Jerusalem, who were not convinced by his messianic claims, excommunicated him and compelled him to leave Jerusalem. This, however, led to conflict and some of the Jerusalem emissaries who went abroad engaged in Shabbatean propaganda, caused friction within the Jerusalem community, and even undermined it economically and caused its breakdown, since they hindered an effective organization of aid to the community. Spiritually, in contrast, Jerusalem flourished during the 17th century. The city inherited Safed's place in the study of the Kabbalah. R. Jacob *Ẓemaḥ settled there in the late 1630s and edited the writings of R. Ḥayyim Vital with the help of the latter's son Samuel. He himself wrote a series of books and commentaries explaining the teachings of R. Isaac Luria and Vital. Other mystics also settled in the city and, from then on, Jerusalem became the center of the kabbalists.

An important contribution to the development of the city's spiritual life was made by Jacob *Ḥagiz, who came from the Maghreb (Fez) by way of Italy, as did most of the North African immigrants of that time. With the financial assistance of an Italian family of philanthropists he established the *bet midrash* Beit Ya'akov (1658), in which leading contemporary scholars taught talented disciples. These scholars included: R. Moses *Galante, R. Samuel *Garmison, R. Solomon *Algazi, and the important *posek* R. *Hezekiah da Silva, author of *Peri Hadash*.

At the end of the 17th century the Jewish community numbered approximately 1,000 persons. According to the record of poll taxes, there were around 180 payers of the **kharāj*. A quarter of them were scholars and rabbis; the remainder were craftsmen and small businessmen. Neither group belonged to the wealthy classes who paid the highest tax (*aʿlā*), only a quarter paid the intermediate (*awsaṭ*), and the great majority the lower tax (*adnā*).

Although the Shabbatean movement failed and seemed to abate at the end of the 17th century, the ferment it had aroused did not cease. A group, 500 strong, headed by Judah b. Samuel he-Ḥasid and Ḥayyim *Malakh, which contained extreme and moderate Shabbatean trends, came to Jerusalem from Poland in 1700 and settled in the courtyard which was later the site of the Ḥurvah synagogue. Before their arrival the population was around 1,200, about a sixth of whom were Ashkenazim. The group broke up quickly, however, since their behavior led to quarrels within the community, until the veteran inhabitants had to turn to Poland and Western Europe and request assistance in their battle against the newcomers. In addition, the burden of debts owed by the Ashkenazim to the Muslims became so heavy that they no longer could bear them or maneuver with the creditors. Due to disruptions on the roads in Europe, financial help did not arrive from there. On Nov. 8, 1720, the Arabs broke into the Ashkenazi synagogue and burned the Scrolls of the Law. They also seized the plot and held it until the migration of *Perushim* to Jerusalem approximately 100 years later (1816). For some time no Ashkenazi Jew could show himself in the streets of Jerusalem unless he disguised himself in Eastern dress. One of the first Ashkenazim who decided to return to Jerusalem was R. *Abraham Gershon of Kutow, brother-in-law of the Baal Shem Tov (c. 1750).

During that period of depression, the community of Constantinople had to take the Jews of Jerusalem under its wing. A "council of officials" was established in the capital of the Ottoman Empire which undertook the responsibility for clearing up the community's debts and arranging its financial affairs. The officials from Constantinople also instituted ordinances and special arrangements in order to prevent a recurrence of those events which had brought about the community's economic downfall. A special *parnas* was sent from Constantinople to supervise public affairs. Knowledge about the economic improvements resulting from these efforts became widespread and numerous immigrants again began to settle in Jerusalem, especially scholars. A special impression was made by the immigration of R. Ḥayyim b. Moses *Attar of Salé, who went with disciples from Italy and established a prominent yeshivah (1742) in a building which is still standing. According to the rule "competition among scholars increases wisdom," more yeshivot were established in Jerusalem and the sounds of study echoed in its alleys. Wealthy Jews from all parts of the Diaspora contributed to the establishment and maintenance of these yeshivot. This activity also led to the increase in written works, especially of responsa, which were published in Constantinople, Izmir, Salonika, and the towns of Italy.

At the end of the 18th century, however, there was another decline in Jerusalem's Jewish population. According to a possibly somewhat exaggerated estimate, approximately 10,000 Jews lived there in the middle of the century, but as a result of the insecurity in the southern part of the country, the decline in influence of the central authority in Constantinople, and also epidemics and natural disasters, the population at the end of the century was estimated at half that number or even less.

CHRISTIAN JERUSALEM. According to the Ottoman *defters* (lists of taxpayers) in Jerusalem, the number of Christian households increased from 119 to 303 between 1525 and 1533; if monks, clergymen, and bachelors are added, the increase was from 600 to 1,800 persons. In the villages surrounding Jerusalem – Bethlehem, Beit Jālla, Beit Ṣāḥūr – there were also Christian families. Most of them were permanent resident Syrian Christians, but all spoke Arabic. They were called "*Christiani dela centura*," i.e., the girdled Christians, referring to the *zunnār* which was their special mark of difference from the Muslims. In the course of time the sign was forgotten but the name remained. In their way of life the Christians were not different from the Muslims; their women covered their faces in the streets like the Muslim women and would not go among men. Several travelers point out that drunkenness and prostitution were widespread among the Christians: in particular, the last night of the Easter celebrations, when permission was granted to all the Christian inhabitants to congregate in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, was believed to have been occasion for wanton immorality.

The Muslims despised the Christians and in official documents sometimes called them "infidels." They were usually subject to all the restrictions applying to the "People of the Book" in relation to the erection and maintenance of churches and other religious institutions. The authorities delayed permission for repairs, and when any attempt was made to introduce something which had not existed previously, they were forced to remove the addition. In the words of R. *Gedaliah of Siemiatycze (beginning of the 18th century): "The idol-worshipers are also in exile here – like the Jews" (Yaari, *Massaʾot*, 341). According to him (loc. cit.) their number in Jerusalem was great and exceeded the number of the Ishmaelites (Turks and Arabs). They were not allowed to marry without obtaining permission from the governor, for which they had to pay the *rusūm* tax, and the appointment of their religious leaders had to be approved by the governor or the qadi of Jerusalem.

From a religious point of view the "*Christiani dela centura*" were not a single entity but were divided into the various Eastern sects and churches, the Latins, i.e., the Catholics, being a negligible minority. Christian visitors usually counted seven to nine religious communities with an established claim to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher: Franciscans, i.e., Latin Friars of the order of St. Francis, called the "Little Brothers";

Greeks, the Orthodox Melchites, members of the Byzantine Church; Georgians; Armenians; Abyssinians, also called "Indish"; Jacobites; Syrians; Nestorians; and Copts. Each community held a certain part of the Church, to which, as well as to various honorific ceremonial functions, it claimed a prescriptive right. There were frequent conflicts among the clergy, therefore, over real or imagined encroachments, and the Muslim authorities often had to mediate and decide between the combatants (during the Ottoman period, the British Mandate; later, the keys of the Holy Sepulcher were in the hands of a Jerusalem Muslim family). The Franciscan Friars, "Custodia Terrae Sanctae," were responsible for the Christian pilgrims who came to worship at the *holy places. They would transfer to the authorities the taxes levied on the pilgrims at the gates of the city near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which the Muslims deprecatingly called *al-Qumāma* ("a heap of rubbish") instead of *al-Qiyāma* ("the Church of the Resurrection"). Probably only a few of the pilgrims knew that the tax collected from them was for the Muslims in the city. Conflicts periodically broke out among the Franciscans and clergymen of the other communities.

ATTITUDE OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS. No less surprising than the coolness of the Ottoman authorities toward Jerusalem (see Decline of Jerusalem, above) was the attitude of the countries of Christian Europe – first and foremost among them France, the first European power to enter into a *capitulations agreement with the Ottoman Empire. Francis I, king of France and "the most Christian of Christians," saw himself as the defender of the Christian holy places and in 1528 complained about the confiscation of the church in Jerusalem, which was made into a mosque by the Muslims. This probably referred to the Cenaculum, the Church of the Last Supper on Mount Zion. The sultan made no response to the complaint but promised that the other places in the vicinity of the mosque would remain under Christian control and would not be harmed by the Muslims.

In 1535 a capitulations agreement was reached between Francis and Suleiman the Magnificent. It contained a clause, which stated explicitly that the pope could join the agreement and enjoy all its benefits. From that time on the Christian states, especially the pope, began to appeal to the French kings to protect the interests of the Christians and Christianity in Palestine. The capitulations were intended to regulate the activities of France in key places in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem. It was reasonable to expect that a permanent French representative in Jerusalem would also be responsible for the maintenance of Christian and pilgrim holy places. However, it was only about 100 years after the first capitulation agreement and about 80 after the appointment of a French consul in Tripoli, Syria (1544), that the first French consul in Jerusalem was appointed.

The following are excerpts from the writings of the Frenchman E. Roger, who visited Palestine in 1631, as he recorded in *La Terre Sainte* (1664; 461–4):

> The third consulate is that of Jerusalem which our king, the most Christian of Christians, St. Louis [the 13th, 1610–43], blessed be his memory, established in 1621 for the protection of our monks that by means of its influence they might establish and consolidate themselves in those places and overcome the insults and injustices inflicted on them by that barbaric people.

After describing the consul's duties toward the merchants, he continued:

> The fourth and fifth clauses [of the capitulations] deal only with the holy places and the monks inhabiting them, the pilgrims who also come to visit them, and other Christian passersby who are under the protection of that consul. They need him on every occasion in order to receive assistance and support in all their dealings with the Turks; he uses his influence to convince the Turks to maintain the capitulations and to practice according to the agreements. Nevertheless, the Turks do not refrain from perpetrating their tyrannical deeds both on the monks and the Catholic Christians who are not monks. These deeds would have been a thousandfold more difficult to bear were they not curtailed by that French consul whom the king has appointed for this purpose. A constant cause for praising and blessing our king is that in all the towns in which there is a consul or vice-consul a chapel is permitted in which he usually maintains two or three of our monks from the Jerusalem community, who celebrate a holy mass daily for our king in the presence of the consul and the merchants, both those living in the towns and those at anchorage or from the ports… The reason that the attitude of the Turkish authorities to the monks and the Christian Catholics in Jerusalem is worse than in any other part of the sultan's kingdom is that there is no consul there. For the Turks, seeing that M. Jean Lempereur, whom the king sent as consul, prevents their carrying out their usual tyrannies toward the monks, made false accusations against him to the pasha in Damascus and he was taken there by a troop of Turks. However, he proved his innocence and went to Constantinople. The pashas and qadis, who have since been in Jerusalem, do everything in their power to prevent his return, since he would hinder them from filling their pockets as they do in the absence of a consul. They daily invent new means, under the pretext of administrative action, of gradually destroying us. And when we have just escaped from one matter, they raise up another, a worse one in its stead. They do this not only during our lifetime but also after our death. For it is forbidden to bring a monk or a Catholic Christian for burial unless the guardian priest has first obtained the permission of the qadi who demands 12 dinars for it, although the contents of the permit, which I wish to include here in order to show the contempt in which they hold us, reads as follows: "I Abu Suleiman, qadi of Jerusalem, permit the guardian of the Franjis to bury the cursed monk, so-and-so…"

The attempts to appoint a consul to succeed Lempereur were futile, but in 1699 a French consul was again appointed in Jerusalem. However, he fled to Bethlehem several months later because of the pasha's oppression. Another consul, the third in line, went to Jerusalem in 1713, but he too was only able to hold out for a short while. From then until 1843 no French consul was appointed in Jerusalem; the consul in Sidon would come during Easter to the Holy Sepulcher in order to maintain the splendor of the Latin ceremonies.

The most important topic which interested the European public – or at least those broad sections of the public having no direct connection with commercial dealings – in connection with the Holy Land was without doubt the assurance of the rights of the Christian faith and the protection of its holy places, especially in Jerusalem, and of its faithful who came to worship at these places. Nevertheless, no other country besides France attempted to establish a consulate or at least a consular agency in Jerusalem. All their efforts were directed toward the maintenance of representatives in the commercial centers. The Franciscan order retained the function of looking after West European pilgrims, without regard for differences in religious ritual, i.e., including Protestants, Calvinists, etc. The problem of Orthodox pilgrims coming from outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire arose only during the 19th century; until that time pilgrims from Russia were not a significant component of the general stream. The faithful of the other Eastern Churches were subjects of the Ottoman sultan.

One characteristic feature in the lives of the Christian communities of Palestine should be pointed out: their spiritual rulers and religious institutions were outside the borders of Palestine. The Latin Church had an historical and dogmatic justification for this attitude, since Rome was its cradle and focus, but this was not the case with the Eastern Churches in general and the Orthodox Church in particular. Nevertheless, the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, whose church claimed priority in Christianity and thus greater rights to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Church of the Nativity (in Bethlehem), and other holy places, had his seat in Constantinople. Moreover, no church concerned itself with the establishment in Palestine of an institution of higher learning and education for its priests and monks. All the Christian travelers and tourists in Palestine reported the ignorance of all the lower clergy, both those included in the monastic orders and the "secular," i.e., those outside the orders who were scattered among the smaller communities and villages. The few clergymen on a higher level sent from Rome, Athos (the important center of Greek clergy), or Constantinople were involved in controversies over prestige, real or imagined, and in intercommunal conflicts and had no time free for study or teaching.

THE CHANGE IN THE 19TH CENTURY. Beginning with the end of the 18th century there was an increase in the interest of the European powers, primarily France and England, in the Middle East, especially from an economic point of view (see *Israel). The Christian powers began to display great interest in the Christian holy places, to be concerned for their protection and welfare, and to support their traditional administrators: the Eastern and Western Christian Churches, the Orthodox and Latin orders, and the new monasteries which had sprung up. This necessitated the prolongation of the capitulations agreements and the effective protection of European citizens and stateless persons under the protection of the foreign consuls, and even the sultan's non-Muslim subjects. It is clear, however, that the international powers, which now made an appearance in Jerusalem – France, Russia, England, Austria, and Prussia – did not regard religious matters as the major and principal motive for their activities. The true intentions of the European powers became manifest when they intervened in 1840 to put an end to Muhammad Ali's revolt against Ottoman rule (see *Israel, History, Ottoman Period).

In 1835 Ibrahim Pasha, who ruled Ereẓ Israel and Syria on behalf of his father Muhammad Ali, gave the Jewish community of Jerusalem permission to "repair" its four ancient synagogues, which were in a state of disrepair, after all previous requests to the Ottoman authorities had been rejected. They now began some basic projects which were tantamount to reconstruction. It was necessary to break down weak parts of the foundations, to replace the wooden ceiling in one of the synagogues, which had been covered with mats, by a stone dome, etc. There was a danger, when these demolition works were begun, that the permission could be cancelled under pressure from Muslim circles – since this actually was new construction, which was not permitted by Muslim religious law. Furthermore, there were not sufficient funds to complete the "repairs" quickly so that they could be pointed to as a fait accompli. A special emissary was sent in order to collect contributions for these urgent needs to the "towns of the inner west" (i.e., Morocco). Nevertheless, the community incurred numerous debts. A.M. *Luncz states in *Jerusalem* (1894; p. 211 n. 3), "The community's debts increased as a result of the repairs and expansion of the R. Johanan b. Zakkai and Istambuli synagogues undertaken by the sages and rabbis of the community during the rule of Ibrahim Pasha. The former had been very small and they expanded and improved it. The latter had been covered with mats for a long time and only then did they cover it with a stone ceiling."

In the emissary's letter to Morocco five synagogues were mentioned which were suffering the ravages of time and were in need of repair, including the synagogue of R. Judah he-Ḥasid, which had become a *ḥurvah* (ruin) since the "Shiknāz," i.e., immigrants from Eastern Europe, had been forbidden to settle in Jerusalem. Great efforts were made to have this harsh decree by the Ottoman rulers abolished. In 1836 Muhammad Ali published a firman which laid down the conditions for a legal arrangement for the resumption of immigration to Jerusalem from Eastern Europe. The firman was decreed with the active support of the European powers which aimed at increasing their influence among the Jewish population of East European immigrants. The few *Perushim*, the disciples of R. Elijah the Gaon of Vilna, who were tolerated in Jerusalem, immediately seized the opportunity and started to clean out the "Ḥurvah" and erect a synagogue, called Menaḥem Ẓiyyon, which was dedicated several days after the earthquake in Safed (24th of Tevet, 1837). During the tribulations which befell Safed several times in the fourth decade, many people began to leave the town and move to Jerusalem where conditions for settlement had improved; Jerusalem became the center of the *Perushim*, who influenced the Ashkenazi community.

ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES IN JERUSALEM AND INCREASED CHRISTIAN ACTIVITY. As the policy of supporting the Ottoman Empire against the rule of Muhammad Ali and his son Ibrahim Pasha came to be adopted by most of the European states, they began to pay attention to strengthening their position in the country. Thus, already in 1838 Britain made overtures toward opening a consulate in Jerusalem, the first in the city after the abolition of the French consulate more than 100 years previously. It was headed by a vice consul (1838) and later (1841) a consul (initially W.T. Young). Even before this the British consul general (whose headquarters was in Beirut) was represented in Safed and Acre by a consular agent, Moses Abraham Finzi, member of a distinguished Italian Jewish family, who was officially appointed to his position in May 1837. Since the Anglicans did not yet have their own churches in Jerusalem and no English Christians lived there, it was the British vice consul's declared function to protect the Jews – as was the function of the agent in Safed. Thus it was stated explicitly in the instructions of the Foreign Secretary Palmerston to Young on Jan. 31, 1839: "Viscount Palmerston has instructed me to signify that part of your function as British vice consul in Jerusalem will be to offer protection to the Jews in general…" He also had to take care of pilgrims and tourists from England.

Russia opened its own consulate in Jaffa in 1812 in order to assist Orthodox pilgrims who were beginning to come from Russia. It is learned from the reports made by Young during his first year in office that there was a Jewish agent in Jerusalem who represented the Russian consul and whose duty it was to take care of 40 Russian-Jewish immigrant families in Jerusalem. He maintained that the Russian consul removed one agent and appointed another in his stead, who was an Austrian subject, not a Russian.

Young also obtained possession of a letter from C.M. Basily to R. Isaiah *Bardaki. Basily had been appointed a short while previously (1839) as Russian consul for Syria and Palestine. His permanent seat was in Beirut, but in the course of time he moved to Jerusalem. Basily found it necessary to explain that Bardaki's appointment as consul of Russia had been made by his predecessor, Graf Alexander Medem. The style of the letter reflects an energetic man who already at the beginning of his career in the Middle East could control the situation. He was appointed consul general in 1844 and held important functions in guiding his country's policies in the Middle East. He had a broad range of knowledge and wrote an important work on contemporary events in Palestine and Syria.

Isaiah Bardaki, son-in-law of *Israel b. Samuel of Shklov, author of *Pe'at ha-Shulḥan*, played an important role in Jewish Jerusalem. After two or three years he became the consul of Russia and Austria and bravely combated missionary activities. Of special significance was his widespread activity in the internal matters of the *kolel* of the *Perushim*. Young expressed the fear that Isaiah Bardaki would attempt to represent all the European Jews. As a reaction to this report, he was immediately instructed by the Foreign Office in London to appoint a *wakīl* (officer-in-charge) for the English Jews in the same way that the Russian agent had been appointed. Young offered this position to David Herschell, son of Solomon *Herschell, Ashkenazi chief rabbi of England, but he refused to accept the post, as he wanted to keep out of the controversies among his brethren in Jerusalem. Another reason for his refusals, it appears, was the suspicion that the British intended to use him for purposes of intelligence.

Perhaps Herschell was also apprised of the intentions of religious circles in England to initiate missionary activities in Palestine; in fact, in 1840 an agreement was signed between Queen Victoria and Frederick William, king of Prussia, establishing an Anglican episcopacy in Jerusalem which would also supervise missionary activity in Palestine. The bishop would always be a member of the Anglican church and would be appointed alternately by the archbishop of Canterbury and the king of Prussia, while both countries would cover the costs. The first bishop who arrived in Jerusalem in 1841 was the apostate Michael Solomon *Alexander. Four years later permission was received from Istanbul for the establishment of a Protestant church in Jerusalem. Alexander immediately began his missionary activities, which were not in fact viewed with favor in the British Foreign Service since they raised many difficulties. James *Finn (1845–62), the British consul in Jerusalem who succeeded Young, was also accused of missionary intentions and was finally compelled to leave his post.

Cyril II, the Greek Orthodox patriarch for Jerusalem from 1845 to 1872, was a distinguished and, in many ways, a progressive person. He moved his abode from Istanbul, which had been used by his predecessors as the center for their activities, to Jerusalem, the official seat of the patriarchate. In 1849 he established a printing press near the Holy Sepulcher for his community's needs.

In 1843 France reopened its consulate in Jerusalem after a lapse of 130 years. This did not please the Franciscans, and they were especially disturbed by the fact that Pope Pius IX established a Latin patriarchate in Jerusalem (1847), one of whose functions was to check the increasing influence of the Orthodox and the Protestants. The Protestant clergy – Anglican, Prussian, and American – did in fact develop widespread missionary activities among the local population. Since activity among the Muslims was prohibited by the law of the land and could arouse the anger of the authorities, the missions conducted their activities among the Eastern Christian and Jewish communities. This led to the establishment of Protestant communities among the Christian Arabs of Palestine and Syria. A few Jews also converted for financial gain. There were also cases of Christians who converted to Judaism, well-known among them being the U.S. consul, Warder *Cresson, and David Classen, owners of an estate near Jaffa.

APPOINTMENT OF HAKHAM BASHI FOR JERUSALEM. In view of the rivalry for the support of the "alien" Jews of Palestine, the sultan was finally compelled to do something for his

Jewish subjects, particularly in Palestine. The firman of the beginning of Ramadan 1256 A.H. (end of October 1840), achieved by Montefiore, Crémieux, and Munk – after the blood libels in Damascus and Rhodes – for the protection of the Jews, was considered a kind of bill of rights for them, since it stated explicitly that the rights granted to all the subjects of the sultan in the Khaṭṭi sherif decree of Ġhane (1839 – see *Turkey) applied to the Jews as well. The Jews of Jerusalem particularly relied on the firman in defending themselves before Muhammad Pasha, the governor of the pashalik, against the blood libel, which was propagated at the beginning of March 1847 by the Greeks in Jerusalem, with the support of their patriarch.

One direct result of the changes in the status of Jerusalem was the appointment of a *ḥakham bashi* (chief rabbi) of Palestine, whose seat was in Jerusalem. In his *Jerusalem* (1892), Luncz points out the reasons for this appointment: "In the year 1840 [!] the government saw fit to elevate the holy city Jerusalem to the status of a district town and to place in it a pasha who in the course of his duties would govern its inhabitants and the inhabitants of the towns surrounding it, and by means of this elevation in its political status the Jews gained the right to appoint a chief rabbi authorized by the government as a *ḥakham bashi*… The leaders and elders of the community then realized that for the welfare and peace of their community, which had begun to spread and increase, it was necessary that the rabbi heading it should be authorized by the exalted government, so that he might be capable of standing in the breach and legally defending the rights of his community. And through the efforts of the minister Abraham di *Camondo of blessed memory, who knew the aforementioned rabbi [Abraham Hayyim Gagin] and esteemed him greatly, this aim was realized, and shortly after his appointment he received the statement (firman) of the king confirming him for the position, and he was the first *ḥakham bashi* of Palestine" (p. 210).

The imperial authorization of appointment (*berāt humāyūn*, at the beginning and in the body of the document), which was issued in Istanbul in 1841, was of vital significance for the Jewish community of Jerusalem and Palestine. Of special significance were the rights indirectly guaranteed the community, since they indicated a legal breakthrough in the restrictions concerning the synagogues and *battei midrash*. In all versions of the *berāts* it was established that the reading of the law – i.e., reading from the *Sefer Torah* – in the house of the *ḥakham* or in other Jewish houses was in accordance with the Jewish religion, and that it was permitted to hang up curtains over the arks of the law and lamps, i.e., to set up permanent places of worship. In these *berāts* there is a certain shrewdness which permits the Covenant of *Omar – which prohibits the establishment of new synagogues and *battei midrash* – to be overlooked, and permission is given to hold public worship everywhere without running the risk of disturbances and oppression. The synagogues and their properties are protected – they may not be harmed or seized in collection of debts, which formerly occurred frequently. Each *berāt* delineated the rights and obligations of the *ḥakham bashi* and the community, and it was renewed with each new appointment to the position by the imperial authorities.

CAPITULATIONS IN THE 19TH CENTURY. The European states probably did not rely on the written promise of the *Khaṭṭi humāyūn* (i.e., the order whose beginning was written by the sultan's own hand), which was given (1856) to the sultan's subjects but not their own, and they took care to safeguard the physical and property rights of those under their protection, as well as caring for the holy places. Britain and France also sought to ease restrictions on economic expansion, to gain a liberal law that would enable their subjects to buy land, etc. Opposing them, the sultan maintained that he could not both recognize the special status of alien subjects on the basis of the capitulations and grant them complete equality with his own. If Britain and France wished to obtain economic rights for their subjects, they would have to give up their protection according to the capitulations.

Jerusalem, however, did not remain only an attraction for pilgrims. The scope of the activity of the foreign consuls widened because of the intrigues between them and the agencies and institutions for special functions, which were connected with them. Jerusalem became the residence of the various delegations, religious and secular, which were devoted to a wide range of activities in education, missionary work, medicine, and charity. The Jews were the first of the city's inhabitants to foresee this development, which involved a transformation in the status and importance of Jerusalem. The founders of the Naḥalat Shivah quarter, who left the Old City, were the pioneers and builders not only of the new Jewish Jerusalem, but of Greater Jerusalem with all its communities and nationalities.

[Haïm Z'ew Hirschberg]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JERUSALEM, 1840–1917. Muhammad Ali's successful uprising against the central authorities in Istanbul, which had only been terminated under pressure from the European powers, had demonstrated the weakness of Ottoman rule. The growing interference of foreign powers in Ottoman affairs was particularly perceptible in Jerusalem, which was no longer off the beaten track. Improved communications with Europe, as the result of the use of steamships on regular sea routes, facilitated an increased flow of visitors and pilgrims. The Ottomans tried to improve their administration and the relative security that ensued encouraged an increase in immigration, which brought about a revolution in the composition of the population of Jerusalem within less than 40 years.

The opening of the British consulate in Jerusalem was followed within a few years by the inauguration of Russian, Prussian, Austria-Hungarian, Sardinian, Spanish, and United States consulates. In 1848 the first "bank" was opened by the *Valero family. In the absence of Ottoman postal services, the Austrians opened a post office in the same year, followed by

France, Prussia, and Italy. The press of the (Latin) Custodianship of the Holy Land was opened in 1847, followed in 1848 by the Armenian press and five years later by that of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate. The status of the Holy Places determined in an Ottoman decree of 1757 was confirmed in 1852 (the "Status quo"; see *Holy Places).

These were preceded, however, by the Hebrew press of Israel *Bak, which had been transferred from Safed after the 1837 earthquake and, in about 1841, published the first book printed in Jerusalem, Ḥ.J.D. *Azulai's *Avodat ha-Kodesh*. Apart from religious works, polemical tracts, and, later, newspapers were also printed by this press. Despite the fact that in the unanimous opinion of the visitors the Jews were the most abject and lowly of the population, changes were introduced in their lives as well. In order to free them from dependence on the missionaries, Montefiore established a clinic in Jerusalem in the early 1840s, to which he sent medications periodically and which functioned for 20 years. He also subsidized the services of a physician, Dr. Frankel, who came in 1843. The number of Jerusalem's inhabitants in 1845 has been estimated at 15,000, including 6,000 Jews.

The Crimean War, which was partly caused by struggle for control over the Holy Places, again demonstrated the weakness of the Ottoman empire vis-à-vis the European powers, whose representatives in Jerusalem became increasingly more influential – even defeated Russia increased its influence in the city. The great prestige of France was attested by the fact that in 1856 the sultan Abdul-Mejid gave the Ṣallāḥiyya building (the ancient church of St. Anne) as a gift to Napoleon III. It was renovated by its new owners and became the most impressive remnant of Crusader architecture in Palestine. Bells were installed for the first time in the Monastery of the Cross in the same year and in 1867 in the Holy Sepulcher; church bells became an integral part of the sounds of the city. In 1858–59 the Austrian hospice (now the Government Hospital on Via Dolorosa) and the hospice of the German Johanniter Order were built. Crowds gathered to gaze at the two-wheeled vehicles – surplus from the Crimean War – used in the building, for they were the first vehicles seen in the city. The filth in the city was still so great, however, that a "cleanliness society" was established under the auspices of the pasha, but to no avail. As late as the 1860s tourists were complaining about animal carcasses lying in the city's gates and streets. These carcasses, often of animals which had died during the frequent droughts, were devoured by the stray dogs depicted in many pictures of the period.

The 18-bed Rothschild Hospital was opened in 1854 and a small "rival" institution, which later became the Bikkur Ḥolim Hospital, was opened at about the same time by the *Perushim*. In 1856 a school named after the Austrian Jewish nobleman *Laemel was opened due to the efforts of L.A. *Frankl; it was the first modern school for boys in Jerusalem.

In the summer of 1859, through the initiative of the Ashkenazi community and with the aid of the "Hod" (= Holland Deutschland) *kolel*, a plot of land was bought near Mt. Zion, and by 1861 the first of the "*battei maḥaseh*" (shelter houses) were built on it. Sir Moses Montefiore, who again visited Jerusalem in 1855 and 1857, contributed more than any other single man of his generation to changing the city's face in general. In 1855 he used funds from the legacy of the American philanthropist Judah Touro to acquire a plot of land west of the walls, despite many legal difficulties, to house Jews who were living in the dark cellars of the Old City. On the plot which he had bought, he also built a windmill, which became one of the landmarks of the city and was its first "industrial" structure. Building this quarter raised difficulties, since it was supposedly too close to the Citadel, and Montefiore was only permitted to continue building after the Russians had begun building outside the city. Montefiore got the authorities to move the municipal slaughterhouse (*maslakh*) from the end of the street of the Jews, near the Zion Gate – where it had been since the Mamluk period – outside the walls. He also planned a railroad from Jaffa, the paving of interurban roads, and even afforestation, but without any practical outcome. The city's population in 1856 was estimated at 18,000.

The year 1860 marked the beginning of the growth of the "new" city and the relative decline of the Old City. Jerusalem began to emerge from behind the walls and construction started on an impressive series of buildings (inns, a cathedral, and hospitals) in the present-day Russian Compound. The buildings were erected in the Maydan area, which until then had served as a parade ground for the Turkish army and an encampment for tourists. At the same time, the building of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, the first Jewish quarter outside the walls, was completed by Montefiore (the Yemin Moshe quarter was added to it in 1894). At the same time, further northwest, the German Protestant priest Ludwig Schneller built the Syrian orphanage for orphans from the massacres of Christians in Syria. This institution expanded and became the pride of the German residents of Palestine. It burnt down in 1910 but was rebuilt. More Jewish quarters were founded: Maḥaneh Yisrael, built by Oriental Jews in 1868, and Naḥalat Shivah (1869) on the main road to Jaffa. The establishment of these quarters resulted several years later in the opening of the city gates (which had been closed at night and during the Muslim midday prayers on Fridays) 24 hours a day, and this greatly contributed to the security outside the city. Communication between the new quarters and the Old City was by paths through stony fields, which soon became roads and some of them (starting with Jaffa Road) even paved streets, although in 1917 there were still no tarred streets in the city. In the 1870s cabs and carts began to make their appearance in the streets of new Jerusalem, and on his last visit in 1875 Montefiore drove from Jaffa in a carriage. False rumors regarding a visit by the sultan in 1864 resulted in practical attempts to level the alleys of the Old City. The water supply was very poor, despite several attempts by the administration and the waqf (in 1812, in the 1850s, and 1860s) to repair the ancient conduit from ʿAyn ʿArrūb and Solomon's Pools; the stone pipes were regularly sabotaged by the fellahin.

During the frequent drought years, water was brought by animals and carriers in filthy animal-skin bags from En Rogel (Bi'r Ayyūb) and the Gihon Spring (Umm al-Daraj), through the Dung Gate and sold at high prices. However, the water supply mainly depended on the cisterns near the houses in which rainwater collected; in the 1860s there were almost a thousand of them. This water was only fit for drinking as long as it was not contaminated by sewage water (there was no sewage system), and the pollution of the drinking water brought about a severe plague in 1864, which claimed hundreds of victims and led to the city being placed in quarantine for four months. Sir Moses Montefiore came again in 1866 to help the inhabitants, Jews and non-Jews, and contributed money for improving the water supply. By 1863 two newspapers, *Ha-Levanon*, published by the *Perushim*, who set up a new press for the purpose, and *Ḥavaẓẓelet*, published by Israel Bak and the Ḥasidim, appeared in the city, competing against each other until they were closed down by the authorities. *Ḥavaẓẓelet* reappeared in 1870, followed by numerous short-lived journals. In 1868 a Jew opened the first modern bakery – a small but notable improvement in a city where many of the inhabitants had to bake their own bread. By 1865 the city was linked to the Coastal Plain by the Turkish telegraph, which contributed to security, trade, and convenience. In 1866 negotiations began for the paving of a "carriage route" to Jaffa, which was completed in 1868; it had to be repaired in preparation for a visit by the Austrian emperor Franz Josef, who was returning from the opening ceremony of the Suez Canal. Another visitor of that year was the heir to the Prussian throne (later Emperor Frederick III), who received the eastern Muristan area as a gift from the sultan in order to build a church. In the 1850s and 1860s Jerusalem attracted noted archaeologists and students of the Bible and the Ancient East, including C. Warren, W.R. Wilson, C. Schick, M. de Vog, F. de Saulcy, and other well-known scholars (see below: Archaeology).

In 1867 the German hospital was built for lepers, who until that time used to dwell near the city wall at the end of the street of the Jews. In 1868 the Germans built on a prominent site outside the city (now King George Avenue) the Talita Kumi school for Arab girls; there was already a school for Jewish girls. In the same year the magnificent building in the Latin patriarchate was built within the walls northwest of the Jaffa Gate. The French Soeurs de Sion convent was built on the Via Dolorosa. The Jewish community too was not inactive. In 1864 the first Jewish school for girls, named after Evelina de *Rothschild, opened despite the vociferous protests of the religious zealots. In the same year the magnificent Beit Ya'akov Ashkenazi synagogue was completed in the courtyard of the Ḥurvah of R. Judah he-Ḥasid. It had taken seven years to build, and shortly after its dedication, construction began on the Tiferet Yisrael (Nisan Bak) synagogue, which was completed in 1872.

In the 1860s the Jewish population in the holy city steadily grew, because of increased immigration and the reduced death rate. In the middle years of the decade the Jews became a majority in the city for the first time in 1800 years. The British consul reported in 1865 that there were approximately 18,000 residents in the city (as in 1856), of whom 8–9,000 were Jews. From that time the Jewish community continually gained in strength.

The development of Jerusalem continued in the 1870s, as testified by the establishment of a "municipal council" (*majlis baladiyya*) in 1877. The German Quarter was founded by the *Templers in 1873 and a road was built to reach it, which also served the Mishkenot Sha'ananim quarter and the eye hospital built by the Order of St. John in 1876. From this road developed the paved road to Bethlehem and Hebron. There were already two hotels in the city: one near the Damascus Gate and the other in the Christian quarter near the Pool of Hezekiah. However, the pilgrims preferred the inns of their communities and wealthy tourists still set up encampments outside the walls.

Near the road to Bethlehem the Arab Abu Tor (Ṭūr) quarter began to develop, apparently in the 1870s. Unlike the Jewish quarters, which were built as uniform blocks, usually as closed courtyards (for security reasons), the Arab and Christian quarters grew organically and slowly. Among them was Katamon which gradually grew near Saint Simon, the summer residence of the Greek patriarch. In north Jerusalem there were also signs of settlement, and Arab houses were built in Karm al-Sheikh (near the present-day Rockefeller Museum), west of it (near the present-day Herod's Gate, or Bāb al-Zahra), and to the north in Wadi Joz (Jawz). Due to this expansion, Herod's Gate was opened in 1875. Near the Damascus Gate, apparently at that time the Musrarah quarter was built. A first scientific demographic survey at that time counted 20,500 inhabitants in Jerusalem, including 10,500 Jews.

In 1871 the mosque of the Mughrabis was built in the Old City. In the Via Dolorosa the rebuilding of the church of St. John was completed (1874), followed two years later by the monastery of the White Fathers (Pères Blancs). In the course of the work many archaeological remains were discovered. Other excavations resulted in the discovery of Bethesda. Outside the city French Jewish apostates built the Ratisbonne monastery (1874). The city's expansion toward the northwest and the north was entirely due to the activities of the Jews. The Me'ah She'arim quarter was established in 1874; Even Yisrael in 1875; and shortly thereafter (1877) the Beit Ya'akov quarter, which was later assimilated into the neighboring Maḥaneh Yehudah (1887). In 1876 the traditional tomb of *Simeon the Just near the road to Nablus was bought, one of the few holy sites to come into the possession of the Jews. The Tombs of the Kings located nearby were acquired in 1878 by French Jews, who transferred them to the French government several years later (1885). The Ḥabad synagogue (Keneset Eliyahu) was dedicated in 1879.

In the 1880s Jerusalem gradually began to acquire the character of a "Western" city. Road links were established with Nablus to the north and Jericho to the east. A regular carriage service was established with Jaffa (the carriages usually left

in the afternoon and, after spending the night at Sha'ar ha-Gai (Bab al-Wād), arrived in Jaffa at noontime the following day). The first modern shops were opened, as well as banking agencies. To cater to the increase in tourism, workshops were opened for woodwork, mother-of-pearl, and embroidery. Jerusalem's cosmopolitan character was recognized by the Turks, and from 1887 it became the capital of an independent sanjak, ruled by a governor holding the title of *mutaṣarrif*, who was directly responsible to Constantinople. He was advised by a *majlis idāra* (district council), as distinct from the *majlis baladiyya* headed by the mayor. Latin Orthodox, Armenians, Protestants, and Jews participated in both bodies. The Turkish garrison consisted of an entire battalion.

In 1881 the American Colony was built north of the Old City and many Swedes settled in it. On the way from the Damascus Gate to the American Quarter the British general Charles Gordon claimed to identify, in 1883, the tomb of Jesus. The place, which was named the "Garden Tomb," was bought by Protestants in 1895.

Considerable construction was carried on by the foreign powers, especially the French. In 1880 they built the convent of the Soeurs du Sainte Rosaire on Mamilla (now Agron) Street, in 1884 the convent of St. Claire (in the southern part of the city), in 1886 the monastery St. Vincent de Paul (on Mamilla Street), in 1888 the convent of the Soeurs de Reparatrice (near the New Gate), and in 1889 the St. Louis hospital. In 1881, with the aid of the French, the Armenian Catholics built the church of Our Lady of the Spasm in the Via Dolorosa. In 1886 the Germans built (on present-day Hillel Street) the Catholic Hospice and Schmidt College. In 1887 they dedicated the Leper Hospital (in Talbiyyeh). In the same year they separated themselves from their Anglican partners (since 1841) and established a separate Lutheran community, headed by an independent clergyman who built his house on the present-day Shivtei Yisrael Street. In 1888 the Russian royal court built the church of Gethsemane, with five onion-shaped towers, on the slopes of the Mt. of Olives.

In 1883 the Ohel Moshe and Mazkeret Moshe quarters (in present-day Agrippas Street) were built. At about that time the Battei Ungarn (Hungarian Houses) were constructed opposite Me'ah She'arim. In 1884 the Diskin orphanage was established. In the 1880s (apparently in 1889) Yemenite Jews settled in the village of Silwān (Kefar ha-Shilo'aḥ) – an unusual area in the history of Jewish settlement in Jerusalem (the place was abandoned by Jews in the disturbances of 1936–39). In 1887 the Maḥaneh Yehudah quarter was established with its large market, and two years later the Sha'arei Ẓedek quarter (Abu Baṣal) was built west of it. The number of Jerusalem's residents at the end of the decade was 43,000, including 28,000 Jews, 7,000 Muslims, 2,000 Latins (Catholics), 150 Greek Catholics, 50 Armenian Catholics, 4,000 Greek Orthodox, 510 Armenians, 100 Copts, 75 Abyssinians, 15 Syrians (Jacobites and Malkites), and 300 Protestants.

From the early 1890s and for many years thereafter, the French hostel of Notre-Dame de France was prominent northwest of the Old City. Its construction, claimed to be on the biblical Garev hill, began in 1887. Two other French institutions were established north of the Damascus Gate after 1892: the school of the "Frères" and the Church of St. Etienne of the well-known biblical institute (École Biblique; established 1890). The same year was marked by another important event, the completion of the railroad from Jaffa to Jerusalem, also a French enterprise. The French company bought the construction rights that had previously been granted by the sultan to a Jerusalem resident, Joseph *Navon. The width of the rails was one meter and its equipment was bought from surpluses of the Panama Canal company, which had gone bankrupt. The scheduled travel time (seldom attained) on the train, which left once a day, was two and one-half hours from Jerusalem to Jaffa and three hours from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The company had to struggle against numerous financial difficulties in the absence of extensive freight traffic.

In the fall of 1898 Jerusalem was placed in a turmoil by the impending visit of the German kaiser William II and his wife. In order to enable the visitors to enter the Old City by vehicle, the Turks filled up the moat of the Citadel and made a gap in the wall near the Jaffa Gate. The emperor's purpose was to dedicate the Erloeser Kirche (Redeemer Church) in the Muristan (on lands given to his father in 1869). The Turks gave the visitor another gift: a plot of land on Mt. Zion on which the Dormition Abbey was built. While in Jerusalem, the emperor granted an interview to Theodor *Herzl.

In the meantime the building of Jewish quarters continued: in the north the Simeon ha-Ẓaddik quarter (1891), the Bukharan quarter (also called Reḥovot; 1892), and Bet Yisrael (1894).

At the turn of the 20th century the population was estimated at 45,600, including 28,200 Jews (15,200 Ashkenazim), 8,760 Christians, and 8,600 Muslims. Evidently the number of inhabitants did not increase greatly, perhaps because of the difficulties raised for Jewish immigration. Despite this, the city continued to develop in every direction except (for geographical reasons) eastward, though the crest of the Mt. of Olives began to be covered with buildings, mainly churches and religious institutions, and a few private homes such as in the al-Ṭūr village. In 1900 the city comprised about 60 separate Jewish quarters, the spaces between which gradually became filled by new buildings and quarters. Paths became roads and later streets. Jaffa Road, near the city wall, acquired a distinctly urban character. Most of the changes in the city from now on occurred outside the Old City walls. Ha-Nevi'im (Prophets) Street became a main artery. Along it were the English Hospital, the German Hospital, the French St. Joseph monastery, the Rothschild Hospital, and the Italian Hospital (built in a medieval Florentine style). North of it the Ethiopians built their church. The German Catholic Hospice of St. Paul was completed opposite the Damascus Gate. On the road northward the Anglican Church of St. George was built. Within the walls, the Muristan market was completed (1905). Near the southern wall the Dormition Abbey was built in 1906.

The round building was constructed on the model of German castles. The Augusta Victoria convalescent home and hostel on Mt. Scopus was dedicated in grand style in 1910. In 1900 the American School of Oriental Research was established in Jerusalem.

Before the outbreak of World War I the Jewish quarters of Zikhron Moshe (1905), Sha'arei Ḥesed, Aḥavah, Even Yehoshu'a, Battei Varsha (Warsaw Houses), and Ruḥamah (all c. 1908) were built and Givat Sha'ul began to grow in the extreme west (1910). In 1906 Boris *Schatz established the *Bezalel Art School. The number of inhabitants in 1912 was estimated at more than 70,000, including 10,000 Muslims, 25,000 Christians (half of them Greek Orthodox), and 45,000 Jews. The number of Jews had increased by some 17,000 in the course of a dozen years, most of them settling in the New City, to which the center of gravity shifted. The area of the city reached about 5 sq. mi. (13 sq. km.) and the map of Jerusalem in 1914 already foreshadowed the development of the city (at least the western part) during the subsequent 50–60 years.

There are no authoritative statistics about the city's population at the beginning of World War I, but it was estimated at 80,000, including temporary residents. The development of the city came to a halt after Turkey's entry into the war at the end of 1914, and the only large building to be completed was, apparently, Zion Hall, presenting movie shows and theatrical performances from 1916.

The consuls of the Entente countries left Jerusalem during World War I, the U.S. and Spanish consuls remaining as neutral representatives to observe the action of the Turks. Epidemics, famine, arrests, and expulsions wreaked havoc among the inhabitants, whose number at the end of the war was estimated at only 55,000. Toward the end of 1917, as the British approached, the Turks had to abandon the city, and it was surrendered to the British. On Dec. 11, 1917, General *Allenby, commander in chief of the British forces, entered it, accompanied by French and Italian representatives.

[Walter Pinhas Pick]

SOCIO-INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY. Although the Ashkenazi population of Jerusalem ceased to exist as a distinct community in 1721, the Ashkenazim continued to appear in the city either as residents or as tourists. In 1812 an epidemic broke out in Safed and some of its Jews, including the leaders of the community, R. *Israel of Shklov and R. *Menahem Mendel of Shklov, fled to Jerusalem. The latter decided to settle permanently in the Holy City and revive its Ashkenazi community. In 1816 he established his home in the city, and around him was formed a small nucleus of about a dozen disciples of Elijah of Vilna, who quickly set up a center for learning and prayer in the yeshivah of Ḥayyim b. Moshe Attar, which was placed at their disposal by the Sephardi community. The latter, which was well established, took the handful of Ashkenazim under its protection since officially its leaders served as the legitimate representatives of the Jews vis-à-vis the ruling authorities. The Ashkenazim were still persecuted by the Muslim residents, who regarded them as the inheritors of the debts from 100 years previously. Even now the Ashkenazim were compelled to don Sephardi dress so that their origin would not be recognized. Contemporary evidence shows that the Ashkenazim, and their head Menahem Mendel, prayed in the Sephardi synagogue and even had to use a Sephardi to complete their own *minyan*. This situation continued until the 1830s, when the numerous calamities suffered by Safed – epidemics, robberies, and above all the earthquake of 1837 – forced its Jews to flee to Jerusalem, and the spiritual leadership and the major center of the Ashkenazi community in Ereẓ Israel was transferred from Galilee to the Holy City.

From this period on the social, spiritual, and economic life of the Jerusalem Jewish community began to be more firmly based. The dominant figure of the Ashkenazi community of the 1860s was R. Isaiah Bardaki (see above). On the other hand the rabbi of the Sephardi community secured official recognition from the authorities in 1840, in the form of the title *ḥakham bashi* (see above). The situation of the Ashkenazi community was also eased. Its efforts and diligence bore fruit, and Muhammad Ali announced that the debts of its ancestors to the Arab creditors were void. The homogeneity of the first settlers was thus destroyed and a meaningful pluralism began. While the first nucleus was composed mainly of *Perushim*, disciples of the Vilna Gaon, the immigration to Palestine now brought additional elements, such as the members of "Hod" (Holland-Deutschland) and "Ohavei Zion" (lovers of Zion), some of whom adhered to the spirit of European culture. This immigration brought scholars, entrepreneurs, and educators such as R. Yehosef *Schwarz, Eliezer Bergman, and Isaac Prag. From 1840 the ḥasidic community began to consolidate itself in the city. Its leaders were Israel *Bak and his son Nisan, who were opposed to the leadership of the *Perushim*. This pluralism led to the emergence of separate social groups, which originated from a particular district or town and maintained independent **kolelim* that competed for independent **ḥalukkah*.

With the increasing strength of the Ashkenazim, there was growing friction between them and the Sephardim. Apart from linguistic, historical, cultural, and halakhic differences between the communities, economic and political bases of contention were added, and a fierce struggle for positions of strength within the community developed. With the aid of the foreign consuls who were interested in strengthening the position of the Ashkenazim and had them under their protection, and with the assistance of European Jewry, the Ashkenazim were released from Sephardi suzerainty. The custom of transferring heirless legacies to the treasury of the Sephardi community was abolished; the Ashkenazim set up a separate cemetery and even established independent *sheḥitah*; and they reached regular agreements with the Sephardim regarding arrangements for collecting *ḥalukkah* funds. Thus the Sephardi community lost a considerable income, although they incurred many debts as representatives of the Jewish commu-

nity vis-à-vis the authorities, being responsible for handing over various taxes and other unofficial expenditures connected with the right of passage to the Western Wall, maintenance of Rachel's Tomb, etc.

However, in day-to-day life social and cultural relationships were formed between the various communities. It cannot be said that there were breakthroughs in the communal boundaries, but personal contact made its impact. This was especially the case among the younger generation, to whom the world of the East was not as strange and foreign as it was to their fathers, and some of them even tried to mingle. In the course of time mixed marriages between Ashkenazim and Sephardim began to occur. There were also reciprocal influences in language, customs, and folklore. Ashkenazim would pray in Sephardi synagogues and even wore Oriental clothing when there was no longer any need for this. Though these manifestations were not very common, they were significant in light of the deep differences between the communities.

It would be incorrect to assume, however, that the Sephardi community was entirely homogeneous. There were bitter struggles within it against attempts to break off and create separate communities. Especially well known is the struggle of the Mughrebis. Among the other communities the Georgians, and later the Bukharans, should be mentioned. In general, the power of the *ḥakham bashi* was decisive, and the authorities granted legal validity to his judgments. The *bet din* was composed of nine *ḥakhamim*. Even judgments of corporal punishment are known to have been handed down. The Ashkenazim had a separate *bet din*, which is first mentioned after the arrival of R. Samuel *Salant in Jerusalem in 1841. From that time and for many decades onward he led the community, R. Meir *Auerbach serving together with him as *av bet din* and rabbi of the community.

One of the major problems concerning the population of Jerusalem was that of education. The children and youth received their education at the *ḥeder* and the *talmud torah*, which were modeled on Eastern European institutions, or in the *kuttāb* (Ar. boys' schools), the Oriental counterpart. The older members of the community studied regularly in the *battei midrash* of their *kolelim*. The purpose of those who came to settle in the holy city was "to worship God on His holy mountain," to be free of all material concerns, and to devote themselves to purely spiritual matters. However, with the increase in the number of Jews and the growth of a young generation which had been born in Jerusalem, it was difficult for large numbers to maintain this ideal. A number of institutions and individuals – mainly outside the *yishuv* – took up the question of productivization. Efforts were made to teach young people handicrafts and even a modicum of general secular knowledge. For this purpose Montefiore, Frankl, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle, and others tried to establish boys' and girls' schools in Jerusalem, but their attempts were received with violent hostility and fierce opposition. Those who opposed these plans feared that their religious aims would be frustrated, basing their opposition on the experiences of the Haskalah in Europe.

The old *yishuv*, however, did not stagnate. With the increase in immigration and the maturing of the second generation of settlers, a new type of leader arose, public workers, scholars, and publicists such as Yosef *Rivlin, Israel Dov *Frumkin, and Abraham Moses Luncz, who were more responsive to contemporary problems. A local press was established, including *Ḥavaẓẓelet, Ha-Levanon, Yehudah vi-Yrushalayim*, and *Sha'arei Ẓiyyon*, which was considered the organ of the Sephardi community. The establishment of new neighborhoods outside the walls prepared the ground for new initiatives. Attention was given to the solution of economic problems. Mutual aid programs, which were highly developed among Jerusalem's inhabitants in the form of dozens of charitable institutions, began in certain instances to assume a character other than that of mere material assistance. Attempts were made to engage in social and cultural activities. A typical example was the Tiferet Yerushalayim company founded by ḥasidim.

The Jewish population of Jerusalem toward the end of the 19th century could be divided into three principal groups: one promoting extreme adherence to the old way of life without changing anything; the second, the moderates, practical people, tradesmen, and the like, who were devoted to religious tradition but willing to absorb new ideas; and the third, a more limited group of *maskilim* who had been educated in Palestine or abroad or new settlers such as Eliezer *Ben-Yehuda, who advocated revolutionary ideas.

[Joshua Kaniel (Mershine)]

Under British Rule (1917–1948)

In the second week of December 1917, the Turkish troops and officials began to evacuate the city. On December 9, the mayor, a member of the Husseini family, walked with a white flag to the hill overlooking Liftā (Mei-Neftoah) to surrender it to the British, but found only two privates who were looking for water. The surrender of the city was formally effected only on December 11, after a last battle with the retreating Turks near Sheikh Jarrāḥ, when General Allenby, commander in chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, made his official entry. He entered the Old City on foot through the Jaffa Gate, and his proclamation, which made no mention of the *Balfour Declaration, was read from the steps of the Citadel in English, French, Italian, Arabic, and Hebrew.

In the conditions of war, especially with the normal wheat supplies from Transjordan and overseas cut off, Jerusalem was plagued by starvation, which the British military authorities tried to ameliorate by food rationing. The first military governor of Jerusalem was Ronald Storrs, until then Oriental secretary to the British residency in Cairo. No sanitary arrangements whatsoever existed in the Old City and hardly any in the newer quarters outside the walls. A British architect was brought in to report on the condition of the buildings in the Temple area, which the Turks and Muslim au-

thorities had allowed to fall into neglect. On July 1, 1920, the military administration, officially called the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, was replaced by a civil administration under a *high commissioner who resided in Jerusalem. The first to hold office was Sir Herbert *Samuel, whose term lasted until 1925.

Jerusalem was a conglomerate of districts and neighborhoods, each with its own character. The Old City, within the walls, contained the holy places – the Temple area with the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā Mosque, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the Via Dolorosa, and the Western Wall. To the west new quarters had developed in the later Ottoman period along Jaffa Road to Maḥaneh Yehudah, spreading north to religious quarters around Me'ah She'arim and south to the railway station and the German (*Templer) Colony. To the east were various Christian establishments and the site of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus; and, dotted around, various newer quarters – some Jewish, some Christian, some Muslim, and some mixed, such as Bak'a, the Greek Colony, and the Armenian Colony. The city was slowly recovering from the setback caused by World War I. The 1922 census showed a population of only 62,578, of whom 33,971 were Jews, 14,699 were Christians, 13,413 Muslims, and 495 others. The Jewish population of Jerusalem, estimated in 1910 at about 45,000 (over one-half of the Jews in Ereẓ Israel), had been reduced by the end of the war, through expulsions, disease, and maladministration, to 26,600.

The civil government soon set up administrative institutions in Jerusalem, including a Supreme Court (composed of a British chief justice, one other British judge, and four Palestinian judges). Storrs founded the Pro-Jerusalem Society (later dissolved) for the preservation and embellishment of the city and a school of music (later presented to the Jewish community). In 1922 a British-French arbitration tribunal fixed the sum payable by the Palestine government for the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway, owned by a French concessionary, at 565,000 Egyptian pounds. In the same year houses and buildings that had been taken over by the government were restored to their previous owners. The Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus was formally opened by Lord Balfour in 1925. In 1928 the concession for the supply of electricity (within a radius of 12 mi. (20 km.) of the city) was taken over by the Jerusalem Electric and Public Services Corporation Ltd. (with British and Jewish capital).

One of the first acts of the British administration was to appoint a new municipal council consisting of two Moslems, one of whom acted as mayor, two Christians, and two Jews, one of whom, Yiẓḥak Eliachar, was deputy mayor. In 1924 a new council, with three members from each community, was appointed. In 1924 the municipal council was elected for the first time – with four members from each community. In 1934, under the Municipal Councils Ordinance of that year, the city was divided into twelve constituencies, each electing one councillor. Six of the constituencies were Arab and six Jewish, although 75% of the taxpayers were Jews. The government always appointed a Muslim as mayor, despite the Jewish majority, on grounds of precedent, with one Christian Arab and one Jewish deputy. There was also a community council, *Va'ad ha-Kehillah*, representing both Ashkenazim and Sephardim, to look after specifically Jewish affairs, especially in the religious sphere. It was first elected in 1918 on the initiative of the Zionist Organization's Palestine Office. From 1932 it was elected under regulations issued by *Keneset Israel, the representative body of the *yishuv*.

The progress of the country, due partly to the ordered administration and mainly to Jewish immigration and development, was shared by Jerusalem. This was reflected in the 1931 census figures, which showed a population of 90,503, including 51,222 Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians, and 52 others. The economy of Jerusalem, however, remained based on the city's being an administrative, religious, political, and educational center, industry continuing only on a small scale. Jerusalem was the seat of the Zionist Executive (later the Executive of the Jewish Agency), the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, the Va'ad Le'ummi (national council of the *yishuv*), the Chief Rabbinate, the Muslim Supreme Council (established in 1921), and the Higher Arab Committee (1936). The residence of the high commissioner for Palestine (which included Transjordan) was in the Augusta Victoria hospital building on Mt. Scopus until it was severely damaged by the 1927 earthquake. The Russian Compound in the center of the city became an important administrative area, its buildings being taken over for police headquarters, the central prison, the law courts, and the government hospital.

Water supply to Jerusalem was a constant problem during this period. It was dependent mainly on the storage of rainwater runoff from the rooftops into cisterns dug out in the foundation rock. This system led to serious shortages in years of drought, and there were years when water had to be brought up from the coast by train (as in 1928). Matters were improved somewhat in 1918, when the army repaired the pipeline from Solomon's Pools, a short distance outside the city, to a reservoir in what is now the Romemah quarter. In 1920 this line was extended, and pumping machinery was installed at Solomon's Pools to increase the supply. Water was added from the ʿAyn Fāra springs in 1928, from the ʿAyn Fawwār springs in 1931, and from the more distant Wadi Qilt (on the way to Jericho) in 1935. It was only in that year, however, that Jerusalem's perennial dependence on the vagaries of rainfall was finally solved by the construction of a pipeline from Ra's al-ʿAyn on the Coastal Plain, replacing the old supply from five different sources and halving the cost of water.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY. As the Jewish population increased – with a fillip due to the move from the Old City, as a result of the 1929 and 1936–39 attacks on them – new suburbs were built, some adjoining existing built-up areas and others less continuous (depending on where land could be bought). In the course of the years they formed one conurbation, including Romemah (1921); Talpiyyot (1922); Beit ha-Kerem

(1923); Mekor Ḥayyim, Mekor Barukh, Reḥavyah, Kiryat Moshe, Naḥalat Aḥim (1924); Bayit va-Gan, Maḥanayim, Sanhedriyyah (1925); Kiryat Shemu'el (1928); Ge'ullah and Kerem Avraham (1929); and Arnonah and Tel Arzah (1931). The character of these quarters was determined by the groups by or for whom they were established. Some were inhabited by Orthodox Jews, who could thus maintain undisturbed their religious practices and the quiet of the Sabbath. Others were established by professional groups or teachers, such as Beit ha-Kerem. Small workshops were concentrated in the commercial center (the center of the town) facing the Old City walls. Reḥavyah was designed for white-collar workers and people in the professions. By and large the character of each section was maintained, though, as they grew into one another, the social divisions were blurred. At the same time, the outward appearance of Jerusalem gradually changed in response to economic pressures, the increasing population, and the rising land value. Sir Ronald Storrs insisted on all buildings, private as well as public, being built of or faced with Jerusalem stone, which gives the city so much of its character. In the 1930s and 1940s, some relaxation was permitted, owing to the high cost of stone, so that in Reḥavyah, for example, some houses were built in concrete. Further afield, several kilometers from the center of Jerusalem, were Atarot (1920), Neveh Ya'akov (1924), and Ramat Raḥel (1925/26). At Atarot (Qalandiya) a small airport was built. The kibbutz of Ramat Raḥel, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was of special interest in its being the first attempt at combining agriculture with urban services (fruit growing with a laundry and bakery for the Jerusalem population). It also provided workmen for the city and ultimately became an extension of Talpiyyot and Arnonah.

Jerusalem was transformed from the neglected, poverty-stricken provincial town of Turkish times to a capital city. Among the public buildings erected in the years of British administration are the Pontifical (Jesuit) Biblical Institute (1927); the nearby French Consulate; the Catholic Church of All the Nations at the Garden of Gethsemane (1924); St. Andrew's Church (Scottish; 1927); the Nathan Straus Health Center (1928); the Jewish National and University Library on Mt. Scopus (1930); the Government House, later the headquarters of the UN Truce Supervision Organization, municipal offices, St. Peter in Gallicantu Church (1931); the Jewish Agency Compound (1932), the YMCA, with Jerusalem's first swimming pool (1933), the King David Hotel, the first of international standard in the city (1930); the Central Post Office; the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus; and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum facing the northeast corner of the Old City wall (1938). Between 1938 and 1942 the al-Aqṣā Mosque on the Temple Mount was embellished with pillars of carrara marble, a gift from Mussolini. The earthquake in 1927 did considerable damage to the Augusta Victoria hospital on Mt. Scopus and to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher.

In 1936 the Palestine Broadcasting Service began operations, with offices and buildings in the city and the transmitting station in Ramallah. The Hebrew daily newspaper *Haaretz* appeared at first in Jerusalem but later moved to Tel Aviv. An older, established Jerusalem daily, *Do'ar ha-Yom*, had already closed down. On the other hand, the *Palestine Post* (later the *Jerusalem Post*), founded in 1931, remained in Jerusalem.

ARAB-JEWISH CLASHES. The development of the city was accompanied by disturbances that developed into violence against the Jews and the National Home provisions of the Mandate. The first outbreak occurred during Passover 1920. Despite the presence of a considerable number of British troops in the country, heavy attacks accompanied by looting were directed against Jews in Jerusalem. Before order was restored, five Jews had been killed and 211 wounded, including several women and children; four Arabs were killed and 21 wounded. The Arab mobs had been incited by rumors that the Jews intended to take hold of the Muslim holy places. The 1921 riots in Jaffa and some of the Jewish settlements did not reach Jerusalem, but the creation of the Supreme Muslim Council by government order in that year and the election of Hajj Amin al Husseini as its president promised trouble. He had earlier been appointed mufti of Jerusalem, over more moderate candidates, by the high commissioner in the vain hope that the responsibility and experience of office would moderate his violent anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish feeling. He controlled the Muslim religious endowments, the waqf, and enjoyed the right to appoint and dismiss judges and other officers of the Shari'a courts and the patronage that went with these powers, though the salaries of the Shari'a judges were paid by the government. A more moderate Arab group, the National Defense Party, controlled by the influential Nashashibi family, was also formed in Jerusalem.

Signs of trouble, however, were not wanting. In 1925 a general strike of Arabs, which extended to Jerusalem, was organized in sympathy with the Arab revolt in Syria against French rule; again in 1926 there was a strike in protest against the official visit to Jerusalem of the French high commissioner in Syria, de Jouvenel. Quiet, nevertheless, was maintained until 1928. On Sept. 23, 1928, on the eve of the Day of Atonement, Jews introduced a screen to divide the men from the women during the service held at the Western Wall, but, to preserve the "status quo," the police forcibly removed it during the following day's services. In the name of the Supreme Muslim Council, the mufti declared that "the Jews' aim is to take possession of the Mosque of al-Aqṣā gradually." A General Muslim Conference met, presided over by the mufti. In the next few months building operations were carried out near the city wall, which the Jews saw as intentional interference with their praying. The heightened tension, with demonstration and counter-demonstration at the wall, burst into flame on August 23, 1929. Attacks by Arabs on Jews throughout the country, including Jerusalem (though more seriously in Hebron and Safed), lasted until August 29, when they were put down with the aid of troops rushed in from Egypt after 133 Jews and 116 Arabs had been killed and 339 Jews and 323 Arabs wounded in Palestine (most of the Arabs by troops or police). Jewish

merchants abandoned the Old City and established the new commercial center outside the walls. After a British Commission of Inquiry, chaired by Sir Walter Shaw, reported on the political background of the outburst, an international commission followed (in 1930), but no agreement regarding the Western Wall could be reached. At the end of 1931 a Muslim Conference, attended by 145 delegates from all over the Muslim world, met in Jerusalem. Its public proceedings were not political and did not lead, as had been feared, to disturbances, but they further strengthened the mufti's position.

Tension remained high. On Oct. 13, 1933, the Arabs declared a general strike. A demonstration was staged at the government offices in Jerusalem, though prohibited by the government, and was dispersed by troops. Trouble spread to other parts of the country, and on October 28 and 29 there was renewed rioting in Jerusalem, but with one profound change: whereas the 1920–1921, and 1929 riots had been directed only against the Jews, they were now aimed against the government as well.

In 1936 troubles broke out again in Jerusalem, as well as in other parts of the country. A Supreme Arab Committee (later known as the Arab Higher Committee) was established, with the mufti as president. It resolved on a general strike and the nonpayment of taxes until Jewish immigration was stopped. Arab shops were closed in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, with those Arabs who refused to join being intimidated. The strike and more active disturbances continued until the arrival in Jerusalem of the Royal Commission, with Lord Peel as chairman, on Nov. 11, 1936. An atmosphere of tension nonetheless remained. At this time the population of Jerusalem was 125,000, of whom 76,000 were Jews.

In its report the Royal Commission recommended the partition of Palestine into two separate states – Arab and Jewish – with a new Mandate covering Jerusalem and Bethlehem (over an enclave "extending from a point north of Jerusalem to a point south of Bethlehem") with access to the sea "provided by a corridor extending to the north of the main road and to the south of the railway, including the towns of Lydda and Ramleh, and terminating at Jaffa." The policy of the Balfour Declaration was not to apply to this enclave, and "the only 'official language' should be that of the Mandatory Administration." Its revenues were to be provided by customs, duties, and direct taxation, and any deficit was to be made good by the British Parliament. Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem could opt for citizenship in the Arab or the Jewish state.

The Arab campaign of sabotage, intimidation, and murder, increasingly directed against moderately inclined Arabs, continued throughout 1937, with occasional Jewish reprisals. Jewish buses were bombed, and the potash convoy from the Dead Sea to Jerusalem was attacked. For several days in October, a curfew was imposed in the municipal area of Jerusalem. There were also attacks on Jewish transport on the main road connecting Jerusalem with the coast. Jewish reprisals culminated in November in large-scale attacks on Arabs and an Arab bus in Jerusalem by the *Irgun Ẓeva'i Le'ummi (IZL). To ensure the safety of worshipers at the Western Wall, a new road was opened through the Old City, avoiding the mainly non-Jewish quarters. Following an assassination attempt on the British inspector-general of the Palestine police force and the murder by Arab extremists of Jews and moderate Arabs, the Arab Higher Committee was declared unlawful and Hajj Amin al-Husseini was deprived of his office as president of the Supreme Muslim Council and his membership on the waqf committee. He fled to Lebanon; the Arab mayor of Jerusalem was deported to the Seychelles Islands together with other members of the Arab High Committee; and Daniel *Auster, the Jewish deputy mayor, was appointed by the government to act as mayor – the first Jew to head the Jerusalem municipality. (In the following year a new Muslim mayor was appointed.)

Conditions worsened in 1938 with an intensified campaign of murder, intimidation, and sabotage. The Arab gang warfare now gradually developed on organized and, to some extent, coordinated lines, with still only isolated Jewish reprisals. Constant attacks were made on Jewish traffic to Jerusalem from the coast and armed robberies multiplied in the surrounding Arab villages by marauding parties seeking food, money, and lodging. Uncooperative Arabs and members of the Nashashibi family and party were murdered, the party having withdrawn from the Arab Higher Committee. In October, as the Government Report for 1938 states, "the Old City, which had become the rallying point of bandits and from which acts of violence, murder and intimidation were being organized and perpetuated with impunity, was fully reoccupied by troops" in an "operation of considerable magnitude." In the same year the British government sent out the Palestine Partition Commission (known, after its chairman, as the Woodhead Commission). It produced three plans, all providing for the Jerusalem area to remain under Mandate and outside the proposed Arab and Jewish states. Jewish proposals for the inclusion of "parts of Jerusalem" (reference being to the parts of the new town outside the Old City) were rejected, and in the end none of the proposals was adopted.

WORLD WAR II AND AFTER. After the outbreak of World War II, Jerusalem became a military headquarters. The German inhabitants of the quarter known as the German Colony were interned or expelled, and their houses were taken over by civilian and military personnel, while other public buildings in the city belonging to German institutions were taken over by the government or army. Before Britain's entry into World War II, its new anti-Zionist policy, announced in the White Paper of May 1939, which severely restricted Jewish immigration and land purchase (see *White Papers), led to mass protests and to violent actions by the dissident Jewish IZL which, in May 1939, set fire to the Department of Migration. These actions of violence continued until the outbreak of the war. In 1944 difficulties developed over the Jerusalem mayoralty, when the mayor (a Muslim) died, and the Jewish deputy mayor, who was appointed in his place, claimed full

mayoralty, the population in the municipal area being estimated at 32,039 Muslims (21%), 27,849 Christians, and 92,143 Jews (61%). In the absence of agreement, the government finally appointed a Municipal Commission, all of whose members were British officials.

After 1944, when IZL and *Loḥamei Ḥerut Israel (Leḥi) renewed their anti-government violence, Jerusalem was particularly involved. Many government buildings were blown up, culminating in July 1946 in an explosion that destroyed a wing of the King David Hotel housing government and military departments, with heavy loss of life.

In November 1947, when the United Nations decided on the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, it also called for the internationalization of Jerusalem as a "corpus separatum." The Jewish authorities reluctantly accepted this, as well as other parts of the UN decision, but the Arabs rejected it. The Trusteeship Council of the UN appointed representatives of Australia, China, France, Mexico, the United States, and Britain to work out plans for the administration of the area, but the UN General Assembly failed to reach a decision. In the meantime, the city, nominally still under British rule, was lapsing into anarchy. The Old City, including its Jewish population, was cut off from the new, while the areas outside the walls were divided between the Jews and the Arabs in warring camps. The British forces enclosed themselves against attacks by IZL and Leḥi in barbed wire areas in the New City cleared of Jewish inhabitants (these areas were known by the Jews as "Bevingrad," after the unpopular British foreign secretary). Jewish Jerusalem was put under virtual siege by Arab attacks on supply convoys on the one road from the coast, while the British troops did little or nothing to prevent the assaults. To cope with the emergency, the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Le'ummi established the Committee of the National Institutions for Matters Pertaining to Jerusalem (shortened to the Jerusalem Emergency Committee), headed by Dov *Joseph. In April the six Jewish members of the municipal council issued a proclamation to the Jewish citizens announcing that they had assumed the functions of a municipality for the area under Jewish control.

Arab Jerusalem did not suffer similarly as it was open to the Arab-populated parts of the country to the north, south, and east. Part of the Jewish Agency building in the center of the city was blown up by Arabs, with loss of lives, and the offices of the *Palestine Post* and a large residential and shopping block in Ben Yehudah St. were blown up, the last two almost certainly by anti-Jewish terrorists in the British Police. The nearby Jewish settlements of Atarot and Neveh Ya'akov to the north of Jerusalem, surrounded by an Arab population, were abandoned. Deir Yāsīn, an Arab village near the western outskirts of Jerusalem, from which attacks were launched on the adjoining Jewish areas, was attacked by IZL and Leḥi, with 254 of its inhabitants reported killed. A few days later a Jewish convoy taking staff to the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus was attacked and destroyed, with 78 doctors, nurses, and others killed. This occurred only some 200 yards from the British military post that was responsible for safety on the road. The water pipeline from the coastal plain at Ra's al-ʿAyn was cut. This presented the most serious threat to the Jews of Jerusalem, while it did not affect the Arabs, since a very large proportion of the Jews lived in houses built after construction of the pipeline and therefore lacked cisterns to catch the winter rains. Fortunately, a farsighted water engineer had earlier advised the Jewish authorities to make a survey of all Jewish-inhabited houses with cisterns and fill and seal them. When the pipeline was cut this supply, rationed and distributed by water trucks throughout the siege – even under continuous Arab shelling – saved Jewish Jerusalem.

Mt. Scopus with the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital and the adjoining Arab village, ʿIsawiyya, became a Jewish-held enclave cut off from the New City, as did the Jewish quarter of the Old City and areas to the south. Contact with these areas was occasionally possible only by troop-protected convoys. The streets dividing the Jewish and Arab areas became front lines, barbed-wired positions, with posts on the Jewish side manned by members of the Haganah, IZL, and Leḥi. Control of the Arab side passed to armed Arab groups and then to the Transjordan army, the British-officered Arab Legion, which had not been withdrawn in spite of British promises. At midnight May 14/15, 1948, when the last of the British forces and government withdrew from Jerusalem, thus ending the mandatory rule that had lasted since 1917, the Jews took control of the government buildings in the center of the town, including the general post office, the police headquarters and the broadcasting studios.

The Arab siege, however, continued for another two months, until it was broken by the construction of an alternate route through the hills from the coast (popularly called the "Burma Road") and the laying of a new water pipeline. The whole of western Jerusalem and the Mt. Scopus enclave were in Jewish hands, but Arab guns shelled the Jewish areas, killing 170 civilians and injuring a thousand. Food and water were still strictly rationed and the population was without electricity and fuel. To keep the bakeries going, oil was removed from all houses possessing central heating systems. As the Jews were cut off from the ancient cemetery on the Mt. of Olives, a temporary Jewish burial place was prepared near the Valley of the Cross, where a tiny landing strip was also set up for the occasional Piper Cub planes that flew Jewish leaders in and out.

When the Arab countries invaded Palestine, Egyptian and Iraqi troops approached the outskirts of Jerusalem, joining the Transjordanianian Arab Legion units. Ramat Raḥel changed hands several times in fierce fighting before the Arab forces were finally repelled. Meanwhile the Arab Legion closed in on the Jewish quarter of the Old City. On May 19, 1948, the Palmah breached the wall at the Zion Gate but had to withdraw. After intense fighting, with Jews and Arabs confronting one another at a distance of only a few yards and Jewish supplies of food and ammunition almost exhausted, the Jewish quarter of the Old City surrendered on May 27. Some 1,300

elderly men, women, and children, and wounded men were evacuated to the New City and others were taken prisoner. A general cease-fire for the Jerusalem area was proclaimed on June 11, 1948, leaving East Jerusalem, including the Old City, to the Arabs in Transjordanian hands and West Jerusalem in Israel hands. Jerusalem being still under siege, the Israeli Provisional Government remained for the time being in Tel Aviv.

[Semah Cecil Hyman]

The Divided City (1948–1967)

For some time the position of Jerusalem remained uncertain. The city was divided in two by a cease-fire line running roughly north-south tangentially to the western wall of the Old City, the relations between the two sides being regulated by agreement between the local commanders of the Arab Legion and the Israel Defense Forces. A resolution dealing with the temporary administration of the city had been adopted by a special subcommittee of the UN General Assembly but was not carried by the assembly itself. Egyptian troops still threatened the city from their positions in the Bethlehem area. Despite the establishment of the IDF as the new state's only armed force, IZL and Leḥi units continued to exist in Jerusalem. On July 7 a special agreement for the demilitarization of the Scopus area was concluded between Israel and Transjordan.

During the ten days of fighting that followed the expiry of the first truce on July 7, 1948, the Israel forces broke the Egyptian lines and took Ein Karem (Ein Kerem) on the western outskirts of the city. On the night of July 16/17 the IDF nearly broke into the Old City from Mount Zion, while IZL and Leḥi forces breached the New Gate, but they were forced to withdraw a few hours before the second truce went into effect.

Count *Bernadotte, the UN mediator, had proposed on June 27 from his headquarters in Rhodes that Jerusalem be handed over to Transjordan. The Provisional Government of Israel had categorically rejected the proposal. On July 26, two days after his arrival in the country, he proposed the demilitarization of the city, but this was also unacceptable to Israel, as it would have left the Jewish population defenseless. On August 1, to regularize the position, the Provisional Government declared Jerusalem to be under martial law and appointed Dov Joseph as military governor. Bernadotte set up the UN Truce Supervision Organization, with its seat in the former Government House. The assassination of Bernadotte on Sept. 17 impelled the government to order the disbandment of the IZL and Leḥi units, putting all armed forces in Jerusalem under IDF command. In operation Yo'av (Oct. 15–22) the Egyptian forces in the south were isolated and withdrew, being replaced by the Arab Legion. On Dec. 13, 1948, the Transjordanian parliament confirmed the annexation of the Arab-controlled areas of Palestine and a week later the Transjordanian government appointed a new mufti of Jerusalem.

The population of the Israel-held area of Jerusalem took part in the elections to the Constituent Assembly (later called the First *Knesset) in January 1949, and at the beginning of February the provisional government announced that Jerusalem was no longer to be considered occupied territory. The Knesset held its first sessions (Feb. 14–17) in the hall at Jewish Agency headquarters, where the members took the oath, Chaim *Weizmann was elected president of the state, and the Transition Law (the "Minor Constitution") was adopted. According to article 8 of the armistice agreement with Jordan (April 3, 1949), a joint committee was to be set up to make arrangements for, inter alia, the renewal of the operations of The Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus and free access to the Jewish holy places in the Old City, the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives, and the institutions on Jordanian-held Mount Scopus. However, although these matters had been agreed upon in principle by both sides, the article remained a dead letter, as Jordan refused to cooperate.

When the Jerusalem issue was again discussed by the UN General Assembly in November 1949, the Israel government opposed the idea of internationalization but offered to sign an agreement with the United Nations guaranteeing the security of all holy places under its jurisdiction. On Dec. 10, however, the Assembly approved a resolution calling for international control over the whole city of Jerusalem and its environs and charged the Trusteeship Council to draft a statute for an international regime for the city. The Israel government reacted vigorously. On Dec. 13 it announced in the Knesset its decision to speed up the transfer of its offices to Jerusalem, proposed that the Knesset go back there, and proclaimed that Jerusalem was and would remain Israel's eternal capital. On Dec. 26 the Knesset resumed its sittings in the capital, meeting in a modest building (the Froumine building) in the center of town that had been erected for use by a bank. Both Jordan and Israel continued to oppose internationalization and the proposal was ultimately, in effect, dropped.

For a period of 19 years, Jerusalem was a divided city. In early 1948 its population was estimated at 165,000: 100,000 Jews, 40,000 Muslims, and 25,000 Christians. The city's area was about 10 sq. mi. (28 sq. km.). The battles waged in and around Jerusalem for three-quarters of a year; the UN decision to internationalize the city, the transfer of the Arab center of gravity to Amman, and the establishment of the de facto seat of the government and the legislature in Tel Aviv were the causes of a precipitous decline in population on both sides of the front. The population of the Israel side (West Jerusalem) was estimated at only about 69,000 (including 931 Christians and 28 Muslims) in 1949, and that of the Jordanian side at about 46,000 as late as 1956.

EAST JERUSALEM. In May 1948, East Jerusalem was occupied by the Arab Legion. Its first act was the destruction of the Jewish Quarter, including almost all the synagogues (Ḥurvah, Nisan Bak, etc.) and Jewish institutions (*Battei Maḥaseh*, Yeshivat Porat Yosef, etc.). The ancient cemetery on the slope of the Mount of Olives was desecrated. Jerusalem was proclaimed the "second capital" of the Hashemite Kingdom of

Jordan; it also became a district capital. East Jerusalem was entirely cut off from an approach to the Mediterranean coast, and the conversion of the former British military airfield of Qalandiya into a civil airport for the town alleviated its isolation only slightly.

East Jerusalem now turned to the east bank of the Jordan, through which all its relations with the world at large were conducted. In the 1960s a direct road to Amman, via Abdullah Bridge, was added to the old Jericho-Salt road. Traffic to the north via the Sheikh Jarrāḥ quarter was dominated by Israel forces. This situation was slightly improved by the construction of a new road that connected the Mt. Scopus area to the vicinity of the Rockefeller Museum through the upper Kidron Valley, thus diverting the daily traffic from the border region. In 1948 East Jerusalem had been completely cut off from the Bethlehem-Hebron region and a very steep and tortuous road was built through Abu-Dīs, the lower Kidron Valley, and Beit-Sāḥūr. It was only after a few years that an improved, though also steep and tortuous road, was constructed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, via Ra's-Maqābir and Ṣūr-Bāhir. It was 10 mi. (17 km.) long, in comparison with the old 3 mi.- (5 km.-) long road through Talpiyyot, which was dominated by Israel.

The Jordanian-held part of Jerusalem had no electricity for several years until a new power station was built in Sha'fāt to replace the original one near the German Colony, which was in Israeli hands. Water supply remained very poor after the line from Ra's al-'Ayn (Rosh ha-Ayin) was cut off, but a limited quantity was supplied by springs in the northeast of the city, and a narrow water pipe was later laid from Solomon's Pools. The economy of East Jerusalem was based almost entirely on tourism, pilgrimages, and religious and research institutions. The only large factory was the cigarette works at al-'Azariyya. The Jordanian government was located in Amman, and Arab Jerusalem did not wield much political influence. Due to geographical conditions (the barrier of the Kidron Valley and its extensions), the city hardly developed to the south and only a little toward the east (Silwān, Ra's-al-'Amūd, al-Azariyya, Abu-Dīs) and on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. On the other hand, there was much construction on the northern side, and the area between the Old City's northern wall and Wadi Joz (Jawz) became partly a shopping district (Saladin Street, Jericho Road, and their extensions) and largely a crowded residential district. The residential area of East Jerusalem, the greater part of which was not within the boundaries of the city itself, extended over a length of 7 mi. (15 km.) through Sha'fāt, Beit Ḥanūn, and Qalandiya, almost reaching the outskirts of al-Bīra. The number of inhabitants, however, never surpassed 65,000, of whom about 25,000 lived within the walls of the Old City.

The relatively small number of luxury buildings erected in the eastern part of the city under the Jordanian administration included several large hotels, the largest of which – the Intercontinental – was built at the southern extremity of the Mount of Olives. In 1963, the "eastern" YMCA was erected on the Nablus Road. Government House was situated on Saladin Street; the St. John Hospital for eye diseases and, next to it, the French Hospital and the British consulate-general were erected in Sheikh Jarrāḥ. The Dominus Flevit Church was built on the slope of the Mount of Olives (1953). Arab refugees were rarely seen in the city itself, except for the area of the improvised buildings in the destroyed Jewish Quarter and the remains of the German Compound. Their camps were situated in the south near Bethlehem (Dahīsha) and in the north (Kafr 'Aqab) and northeast ('Anatā). Because of the Israel enclave on Mt. Scopus, which dominated all principal roads to the town, and the proximity of the frontier to all the important parts of the city, a sense of uneasiness hovered over East Jerusalem throughout the period. The presence of the Jordanian army was felt everywhere and there were occasional clashes between sections of the local population and the Arab Legion soldiers. The outstanding events in the city during the period included the assassination of King Abdullah (1951), the fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (1953), and the visit of Pope Paul VI (1964).

WEST JERUSALEM. The cessation of hostilities and the conclusion of the armistice agreement with Jordan left the Israel sector of Jerusalem situated at the eastern extremity of a "corridor" that was almost devoid of Jewish settlements. To the north, east, and south, hostile Arab territory surrounded the city. At first the city's population was diminishing and its political future was obscure. The Jewish city began to recover quickly, however, when it was proclaimed as the seat of the Knesset and the capital of the State of Israel at the end of 1949. Water supply was resumed, at first through an emergency pipe and later through pipelines of considerable capacity, whose sources were in the corridor and the coastal plain, and an immense water reservoir was built in the southwest of the city. The electricity network was connected to the national grid. On May 1, 1949, the first train since the war arrived in the city, after Israel had gained control of the entire railway track as a result of territorial arrangements with Jordan. A landing strip for light planes was constructed in the western part of the town.

The direct highway to Tel Aviv through Arab-held Latrun remained closed, but traffic to Jerusalem was renewed along the "Road of Valor," which was constructed from Ramleh through Naḥshon to the Hartuv junction, south of the War of Independence "Burma Road." Additional approach roads were constructed from Ẓorah through Ramat Razi'el to Ein Kerem and Castel (Me'oz Zion). Another road ascended through the Elah Valley to Ẓur-Hadassah and Ein Kerem, while an emergency track was laid out along the railway line from Hartuv to the Bar-Giora junction. Hadassah's hospital and other services were housed in rented premises in the center of the city, as its buildings remained isolated in the Israel enclave on Mt. Scopus and could only be reached every fortnight by a convoy under the protection of the UN. Later on, a new Hadassah Medical Center was built on a slope overlooking Ein Kerem. In addition to the hospital, the center grew to include a medi-

cal school, a training school for nurses, a school of dentistry, and a large range of clinics. The Hebrew University and its library, which had also been compelled to leave their buildings on Mt. Scopus, resumed their activities in the city, with provisional headquarters in the Italian Terra Sancta school. In the early 1950s the construction of a new campus on Givat Ram, a hill between Reḥavyah and Beit ha-Kerem, was initiated. Campus buildings included a stadium, a synagogue, a planetarium, and the new National Library, inaugurated in 1961. On the western outskirts of the city, the Convention Center, Binyanei ha-Ummah ("National Buildings"), used for concerts, dramatic performances, exhibitions, and congresses, was built. In 1951, the 23rd Zionist Congress, the first to be held in Israel, took place there.

Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, the only border-crossing point between Israel and Jordan was opened to the United Nations in Jerusalem off the historic road leading from Damascus Gate to Nabī Samwīl (and the Coastal Plain). In time the "Mandelbaum Gate" (named after the Jewish owner of the destroyed building that had stood on the spot) became the official crossing point for tourists, with passport-control and customs offices. A second but unofficial crossing point existed for several years in the demilitarized zone around the former Government House, which had become the UN headquarters, in Ra's Maqābi.

In the late 1950s a start was made on the construction of the new government center, Ha-Kiryah, opposite the new university campus, housing the Prime Minister's Office and ministries of Finance, the Interior, and later, Labor. A compound of one-story buildings was put up for the Foreign Ministry south of Romemah. On a hill to the southeast of and above Ha-Kiryah, the large Knesset building, which was built with the contributions of the Rothschild family, was completed in 1966. To the south of the Knesset are situated the Shrine of the Book and the Israel Museum (completed 1966–67). This ensemble of impressive buildings, which links the center of the city to the western districts (Kiryat Moshe, Bet ha-Kerem, and their extensions) added to the beauty of Jerusalem and visibly symbolized its position as the capital of Israel.

Although the UN General Assembly resolution of 1949 calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem was a dead letter, it was still on the record, and most countries, including the major powers, refused to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, setting up their embassies and legations in Tel Aviv or its environs. President Weizmann continued to reside in Reḥovot, but after his death in 1952, diplomats went up to Jerusalem to present their credentials to his successor, President Ben-Zvi, and visit the Foreign Ministry and the Prime Minister's Office. Gradually, too, the boycott weakened and a number of embassies moved to or were established in the capital. In 1970, out of 46 foreign missions in Israel, 22 were in Jerusalem – those of two European countries: the Netherlands and Greece; 10 African: Central African Republic, Congo Brazzaville, Congo Kinshasa, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malagasy, Niger, and Upper Volta; and 10 Latin-American: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Panama, Venezuela, and Uruguay. In addition, 11 other countries maintained consulates or consulates-general in the city.

Besides numerous office buildings, the large Histadrut headquarters, and Heikhal Shlomo, the center of the Chief Rabbinate, were erected in the center of town. A branch of the Hebrew Union College was built near the King David Hotel, overlooking the Old City walls, and the buildings of the Academy of Sciences and Humanities were built, overlooking the south of the city from Talbiyah hill. Next to it sites of the presidential residence and the Jerusalem theater were chosen, both in advanced stages of construction at the beginning of 1971. To the southwest, the town is dominated by Mt. Herzl, renamed when Herzl's remains were reentered there in 1949. Since then, the summit of this hill has become a national cemetery where V. *Jabotinsky, J. *Sprinzak, L. *Eshkol, and others were buried. On the northern slope of Mt. Herzl is a military cemetery, and toward the west is Yad Vashem, a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, including a research center. On the western side, the bow-shaped Jerusalem Forest encloses the town.

Many religious institutions have been established in Jerusalem since 1948. These include the Porat Yosef yeshivah, which was forced out of the Old City; the yeshivot of Belz, Netiv Meir, and Merom Zion; Yad ha-Rav Maimon and its religious college; etc. In the religious quarters an abundance of synagogues were built. New religious concentrations, resembling a second-generation Me'ah She'arim and its surroundings, were formed in the north of the city (Kiryat Mattersdorf) and in the west, at the entrance to Givat Sha'ul.

Extensive housing projects for new immigrants were erected along the armistice line in northern Jerusalem and in the northwest (Shemu'el ha-Navi St., Romemah Illit), as well as in Musrara (Morashah). The main development of the city, however, took place in the south and southwest. The southern districts, Abu-Ṭūr (Givat Ḥananyah), Bak'a (Ge'ulim), the German Colony (Refa'im), and Katamon (Gonen), which were inhabited by Christians and Arabs until 1948, became completely Jewish, while among them and next to them large new housing projects were erected (Talpiyyot, Bak'a, Katamonim, the Rassco Quarter, Givat Mordekhai, etc.). On a height overlooking the city from the southwest, Bayit va-Gan expanded, and to the south of it Kiryat ha-Yovel, Kiryat Menahem, and Ir Gannim were established and filled with a population of tens of thousands. The former Arab villages of Māliḥa (Manaḥat), Deir Yāsīn (Kefar Sha'ul), and Liftā (Mei Nefto'aḥ) were expanded and repopulated; Ein Kerem was incorporated into Jerusalem, as was part of Beit Ṣāfāfā. On Mt. Zion, the Ministry of Religious Affairs established a new religious center around the reputed tomb of David, containing the Holocaust Vault and the Temple Observation Point, as a substitute for the lost Old City. To make up for the loss of the Mount of Olives, new cemeteries were consecrated in Sanhedriyyah and on Har ha-Menuḥot.

In order to diversify the sources of livelihood in the capital, considerable efforts were made by the Israel government to develop industry. Several small and medium-sized factories for electrical and metal products, pencils, pharmaceutics, etc. were opened and a large flour mill and silo were built. Publishing houses and printing shops became important contributors to the economy. Industrial estates were built in Romemah, Mekor Barukh, Givat Sha'ul, and Talpiyyot by the Jerusalem Economic Corporation, in which about 90% of the shares were held by the government and the rest by various public bodies. Considerable impetus was also given to the tourism industry, and several large hotels were built (Kings, President, Holyland, Diplomat, etc.). After the solution of the water problem, several swimming pools were built. The University Stadium, a large sports field in the German colony, and indoor facilities in the Histadrut building, provided opportunities for sports. Beit ha-Am (where the Eichmann Trial was held in 1961) contained a hall for lectures and theatrical performances and a large municipal library. More public parks and gardens were laid out and a Biblical Zoo was opened.

A number of factors contributed to give Jerusalem a distinctive character among Israel's cities: the larger proportion of families going back several generations, newcomers from Asia and North Africa, students and university personnel, and government and other public officials among its population; the dignified public buildings and picturesque, old-established neighborhoods; the almost universal use of stone or stone facing (except in some outlying districts) in both residential and public construction; and its position as the home of the foremost university and the seat of the President, the Knesset, and the government. It was an important center for exhibitions and conventions – national, world Jewish (notably the Zionist Congresses), and international, which, even if they transacted most of their business in Tel Aviv, usually held at least their ceremonial opening sessions in the capital.

The general tone of public and cultural activity was quiet and restrained: there were no sidewalk cafes and little night life. The city was visited from time to time by the Philharmonic Orchestra and the Tel Aviv-based theater companies, which performed at Binyanei ha-Ummah, Bet ha-Am, the Histadrut's Mitchell Hall, or the distinctive Khan Theater, which had once been an Arab inn. Indigenous musical activities were provided mainly by the Broadcasting Services Orchestra and the Rubin Academy of Music. Art exhibitions were held at the Israel Museum, the Jerusalem Artists' House (which took over the premises of the *Bezalel Museum), and private galleries.

Jerusalem also became an economic and administrative center for the villages in the "Jerusalem Corridor," which connected Jerusalem with the rest of Israel (Bet Zayit, Mevasseret Yerushalayim, Me'oz Zion, Orah, Amminadav, Even Sappir, Bar Giora, Nes Harim, Mevo Betar, Ramat Razi'el, etc.), and the city was no longer threatened by isolation in a period of emergency. According to the census of 1961, its population was 166,300, including, it is estimated, several hundred Muslims and over 1,000 Christians. In 1967, the number of inhabitants was estimated at about 185,000.

SECURITY. As the border between Israel and Jordan ran through the middle of Jerusalem, there was constant vigilance on both sides. The Old City walls were hidden from view by high barriers across Jaffa Road and other streets, but from time to time Arab Legion sentries on the ramparts sniped at people in the streets of West Jerusalem and exchanges of fire developed. In April 1953, for example, the shooting went on for over 24 hours. In July 1954 it lasted for three days before a cease-fire was arranged through the UN observers. Occasionally, too, Arab infiltrators killed civilians in outlying areas. In September 1956 members of an archaeological convention examining antiquities near Ramat Raḥel were fired at from a Jordanian army post and four people were killed. There was a spate of incidents in June and July 1962, four Israelis being killed and five wounded. On the whole, however, the Jordanian authorities were not interested in making trouble and efforts were sometimes made, by informal contacts between local commanders on both sides, to reduce tension.

A constant focus of friction was the demilitarized zone on Mount Scopus. Every now and then the Jordanians would hold up the fortnightly convoy carrying replacements for the Israel police garrison that looked after the University and Hadassah buildings on the Mount, and there was tension between the garrison and the inhabitants of the Arab village of Issawiya in the Israeli part of the demilitarized zone. In January 1958 Francis Urrutia, representing the UN Secretary-General, made an unsuccessful attempt to get agreement on the implementation of Article 8 of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement (see above). In May 1958, after Jordanian soldiers had opened fire on Israel patrols on the Mount, a UN officer, Col. George Flint, and four Israeli policemen were killed by Jordanian fire. This time Ralph Bunche, assistant to UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, and then Hammarskjöld himself, visited Jerusalem and Amman in efforts to solve the problem, but without success.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS. After the departure of the British, an enlarged municipal committee was formed, consisting of the six Jewish councillors and representatives of the Va'ad ha-Kehillah and the Jewish quarters. In January 1949 the Ministry of the Interior nominated Daniel Auster as the head of a municipal council of similar composition and Reuven Shreibman (Shari) as deputy. In November 1950 the first municipal elections took place on the party list proportional representation system. The results reflected the fragmentation of the population on social, religious, and communal, as well as political and ideological, lines. The largest party in the new council, Mapai (Israel Labor Party), won only 25% of the votes and was closely followed by the United Religious Front (16%), General Zionists (16%), and Ḥerut (11%). The Progressives won 8% and a number of district and communal lists had 18% between them. Shlomo Zalman *Shragai (Mizrachi) was elected mayor, with the support of a coalition consisting mainly of his own party,

the General Zionists, and Ḥerut. (For an account of the parties, see *Israel, State of: Political Life and Parties.) The city had difficult administrative, financial, and social problems with which to contend. The staff had been accustomed to the Oriental atmosphere of the Muslim mayoralty, and the organization of finance and services was primitive. The citizens had not been in the habit of regularly paying rates, especially in the extensive slum areas. Orthodox districts, like Me'ah She'arim, were to a large extent a law unto themselves. The new mayor was hampered in dealing with these problems by dissension inside the coalition and obstruction by the opposition. In August 1953 an inquiry commission appointed by the Ministry of the Interior produced an unfavorable report. Shragai resigned, being succeeded by Yiẓḥak Kariv, of his own party. The difficulties persisted, however; in April 1955 the Ministry dissolved the municipal council and appointed a committee of officials to run the municipality until the elections. In 1955 the head of the Mapai list, Gershon *Agron, was elected mayor with the support of Agudat Israel, the Progressives, and Aḥdut ha-Avodah. When Agudat Israel withdrew from the coalition, he retained his position with the aid of a defecting member of the National Religious Party. Agron died a few days before the 1959 elections and was succeeded by Mordekhai Ish-Shalom, who held the post until 1965. In that year Teddy *Kollek, running a personal campaign on the *Rafi ticket, won 20% of the votes and formed a coalition with Gaḥal (Ḥerut-Liberal bloc) and the religious parties. During the emergency preceding the Six-Day War in 1967, the opposition was invited to share in responsibility and an all-party administration was formed. After the 1969 elections, in which Kollek headed the united Labor-Mapam Alignment list, he was reelected at the head of an all-party coalition.

The Six-Day War and After

For Jerusalem, the *Six-Day War was only a three-day war, from Monday morning (June 5, 1967) to Wednesday afternoon. The battles began with the Jordanian seizure of UN headquarters and their attempt to break through from there to the south of the city, to the accompaniment of indiscriminate shelling of the Jewish areas. The breakthrough was halted in time, and in a counterattack the Israel forces retook the UN headquarters, barred the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, and occupied the village of Ṣur-Bāhir. At a later stage there were hard-fought battles for the occupation of the Arab Abu-Tūr quarter. The most difficult struggle, however, took place in northern Jerusalem, where Israel forces broke through to the Police School and Ammunition Hill slightly to the north of it. There was another breakthrough into Sheikh Jarrāḥ and the American Colony, and on Tuesday all of East Jerusalem north of the walls of the Old City (Bāb al-Sāhira (Zahra), Wadi Joz) was seized. Contact was also made with the Israel enclave on Mount Scopus. On Wednesday, June 1967, Israel forces broke through the Lions' Gate and took the Old City. United Jerusalem again became the capital of the nation. In the battles for the city and its surroundings about 180 Israel soldiers lost their lives, in addition to the civilians who were hit by shells, etc. As on many occasions in its history, the city was again attacked from the west and the north, although the final breakthrough came from the east.

The damage caused by the three days of fighting, which was not severe, was repaired, mines were cleared away, military positions and protective walls were destroyed, barbed-wire fences were removed, the roads between the two parts of the town were joined, and all the gates of the Old City were once more opened. The two parts of the city were officially reunited on June 28, 1967, and inhabitants from either side could visit the other for the first time in almost 20 years. East Jerusalem was connected to the Israel water supply network and the water shortage was overcome. The electricity network, however, was not united to that of Israel and continued to be operated by a Jordanian company.

The holy places of Christendom came under Israel rule. The university buildings on Mount Scopus were restored, and studies were resumed in them from the fall of 1969. A bungalow quarter was erected to accommodate students. To the west of this area, on Givat ha-Mivtar, a residential neighborhood was built, and the large Ramot Eskhol Quarter was erected between it and the Sanhedria Quarter, encompassing northern Jerusalem. A start was made on the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City.

One of the most important consequences of the unification of Jerusalem was the resumption of archaeological research within the Old City (in the Citadel, the Upper City, and near the western and southern walls of the Temple Mount), which, in addition to the scientific results, brought about a change in the landscape of the city. The ancient Jewish cemetery, which covers the slopes of the Mount of Olives, was restored. Efforts were made by the government of Israel and Israel public institutions to transfer their offices to Jerusalem, particularly the eastern section. Police headquarters were moved from Tel Aviv to a previously uncompleted Jordanian government building in Sheikh Jarrāḥ. Jerusalem is now distinguished by the duplication of many of its institutions, one of the last signs of the division of the town for 19 years. There are two Hadassah hospitals, two large museums, two YMCA buildings, two university campuses, many double consulates, and even two central bus stations.

Following the Six-Day War, united Jerusalem became the central attraction for tourists and many new immigrants. Thousands of Jewish students from the Diaspora, particularly from the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, enrolled at The Hebrew University, and many remained. Tourism to Jerusalem reached the peak figures of about 400,000 visitors a year (in 1968, 970,000 "nights" were registered at the hotels in the city). New immigrant centers, i.e., hostels for individuals and families were established in Katamon Tet (1968) and Mevasseret Zion on a hill west of Jerusalem (1970). The mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, and the government encouraged the settlement of new immigrants in Jerusalem, and Israeli architects drew up a master plan for the Jerusalem of the future

(in the 21st century). It did not apply, however, to the ancient parts of the city, including the Old City and a belt surrounding its walls and Mt. Scopus, the Mount of Olives, etc., which have been preserved in their traditional form.

[Walter Pinhas Pick]

REUNIFICATION: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS. With its reunification on June 28, 1967, Jerusalem restored its traditional character as a multi-national and multi-ethnic city. The population totaled about 265,000: 199,000 Jews and 66,000 Arabs. The non-Jewish population was composed of two religious sectors: the larger Muslim community of 54,000 (83%) and the various Christian factions numbering 11,000 (including 4,000 members of the Greek Orthodox Church, 3,600 of the Latin Church, and 1,200 Greek Catholics). The Jewish community thus comprised three-quarters of the population. The fact that it was the decisive majority was not novel, as a Jewish majority had existed in the city since the last third of the 19th century.

The municipal unification of Jerusalem brought into the city's boundaries areas that had been under Jordanian municipal jurisdiction before the Six-Day War (mainly within the boundaries defined during the Mandate period), as well as a broad area that had been organized under village councils or had not enjoyed municipal status. Consequently, population groups that had never been urban were included in the city's area and in the jurisdiction of the municipality and Israel government authority. The resulting population was mostly heterogeneous, from slum dwellers and semi-nomadic Bedouin to members of the upper middle class, who had moved beyond the limits of the Jordanian city and set up magnificent suburbs to the north. The Arab population was concentrated in these areas. About 33% of it (23,000) lived inside the Old City walls; about 38% (25,000) in the northern suburbs, most of them modern; and about 26% (17,000) in the southern parts, including the villages of Silwān, Abu Ṭūr, and Ṣur Bāhir.

The rate of natural increase among the Arab population, which is slightly less than double that of the Jewish, could increase the proportion of Arabs in the city from a quarter to a third within 20 years. The Israel government, realizing the potential difficulties of this situation, expended great efforts to provide more accommodation for Jews in the city and to eradicate distinctions between the western and eastern parts. In 1967–69 there were only a handful of Jews living east of the former dividing line, but from the end of 1969, when the construction of new quarters began to be completed (e.g., Ramat Eshkol), the settlement of Jews in the eastern part of the city accelerated. In 1970 the government decided to add impetus to the establishment of Jewish quarters in the southern, northern, and northwestern parts of the Old City. As a result of these efforts, the number of Jews moving to Jerusalem reached 5,000 per year, twice as much as in the years immediately before the Six-Day War. In this way the numerical balance between Jews and non-Jews was maintained in the unified city.

During the period of the city's division, the existence of two municipalities governed by states with such differing policies, rates of development, and character resulted in the development of two different cities. So different were their economic systems and social structures that it was sometimes difficult to believe that they were both parts of the same city. West Jerusalem quickly recovered from the damage it had suffered during the War of Independence, but from 1948 to 1967 its population decreased in proportion to that of the rest of the country; whereas in 1948 it had 9.6% of the total population of the State of Israel, at the end of 1960 this ratio had decreased to 7.7%. The economy of West Jerusalem was based mainly on a constellation of public services (government, university, Jewish Agency, and Hadassah) that employed about 30% of its labor force; about 17% was employed in industry, and 14% in business and banking. Tourism, in which Jerusalem had a relative advantage, did not play a central role. Only 13% of the hotels in Israel were located there, while 32% were in Tel Aviv. One of the major obstacles to the development of the city's economy was the fact that West Jerusalem had almost no economic hinterland, while in Haifa and Tel Aviv a great part of the economic activity extended to nearby townships and settlements, and their scope of influence extended far beyond their municipal boundaries. The scope of Jerusalem's influence on the narrow underpopulated corridor that connects it with the coast was necessarily very limited.

In contrast to West Jerusalem, East Jerusalem under Jordanian rule retained its position as the largest city of the West Bank and it continued to serve as the center of a very broad economic and demographic hinterland. The city was the center of most of the financial institutions of the West Bank, as well as 85% of the tourist companies, and it also had the greatest concentration of the wholesale trade, the independent professions, and the trade in durable goods. Production per employee in East Jerusalem was 50% higher than the average in the West Bank as whole, and the average income per person was also proportionally higher. Nevertheless, the economy of East Jerusalem was based mainly on one activity: tourism. The influence of every decrease in the number of tourists would extend to the various branches of the economy and result in crisis. On the contrary, their policies of economic incentives and government aid were aimed basically at the capital, Amman, and the East Bank, as opposed to the West Bank, including Jerusalem. East Jerusalemites who wished to establish economic enterprises in their city had either to abandon their projects or implement them in Amman. Amman also received a distinct preference with regard to financial and cultural institutions. This policy led to a slowdown in the economic development of East Jerusalem and in acceleration in the development of the capital of the kingdom across the Jordan River which was implemented mainly by entrepreneurs from the West Bank, primarily from Jerusalem.

Although the economic status of East Jerusalem was more stable than that of the western half of the city, a comparison of the two reveals a formidable gap in favor of the Jewish

sector of the city. On the eve of the Six-Day War, the average yearly income per person in West Jerusalem was fourfold that of the eastern part. In West Jerusalem the income per person was estimated in 1965 as IL3,400 while in the eastern part it was only IL 900. East Jerusalem contributed only 6–7% of the buying power of the unified city, in contrast to its 25% of the population. Under such circumstances it was extremely difficult to effect the economic integration of the two parts of the city and annul the effects of the war in a relatively short time. The Six-Day War resulted in a number of economic difficulties in East Jerusalem: the temporary cessation of tourism, on which the city's economy had been based; the loss of the Jordanian authorities and army as a source of economic demand; disruptions in trade between the various parts of the West Bank; the closing of the banks; the lack of liquidity; and the absence of economic stability. These brought about a serious economic crisis, which found immediate expression in mass unemployment. Four months after the war, unemployment in the eastern part covered one-third of the labor force, in contrast to 7–8% on the eve of the war. Especially affected were the building trades, transportation, and hotels. Services, such as restaurants, cafés, bakeries, and garages, which were also affected, recovered quickly due to rising demands from Israel tourists.

Within a few months, the process of economic disintegration ceased, and speedy action on the part of the authorities brought about a distinct improvement in the economic situation. The process of rehabilitation was accelerated by the huge public investments made in the city following the war, especially in construction. At the end of 1969 employment returned to its prewar level. About half of the businesses in East Jerusalem were better off than they had been on the eve of the war. The most outstanding improvement was in the situation of salaried workers. More than 5,000 workers and employees out of a labor force of about 18,000 were employed in West Jerusalem, earning salaries that were 150% higher than those they had received on the eve of the war. The recovery process had some negative manifestations, however. Price levels increased by 40–50%. About half of the businesses in East Jerusalem, especially those which could not compete with similar business in the western part of the city, were affected to varying degrees of severity.

The integration of the economic systems, and especially the implementation of the principles of a modern welfare state, brought about far-reaching changes in Arab society in East Jerusalem. The distribution of income and property became more equalized. Israel wages were paid to thousands of Arab workers, and a slow increase in the wages of Arabs employed in the Arab sector brought a general improvement in the standard of living. National Insurance, especially birth benefits and benefits to families with many children, aided in the improvement of the status of women. Nevertheless, the damage to the relative economic position of the upper middle class brought complaints of "discrimination" and "Jewish control" of certain branches, especially the import of durable goods and tourism. Because of the atmosphere of long-range political insecurity that continued to exist among the Arabs of East Jerusalem, no plan for capital investments was implemented. The closing of Arab banks continued to influence the lack of liquidity and the scarcity of sources of credit. In view of developments in 1968–70, a warning had been voiced that the integration of East Jerusalem's Arabs into the city's united economy might lead to their concentration in low-income employment requiring manual labor and might have undesirable social and inter-ethnic results.

Another unsolved problem was that of the employment of white-collar workers. With the unification of the city, many Jordanian government officials, travel agents, lawyers, etc. became unemployed. Only the Arab employees of the Jerusalem municipality and a small number of government employees (formerly Jordanian) were integrated into the institutions of the unified municipality and Israel government offices. Out of 500 people who worked in all levels of the Jordanian government on the eve of the war, only about 150 were absorbed, some of them in the military government. This problem was more of a political nature than an economic one. Some of the white-collar workers could not find employment in their professions for economic reasons; lawyers were not employed because they boycotted Israel courts. Most of them, however, especially civil servants on intermediate or senior levels, were unemployed because the functions they had fulfilled were transferred, with the change in authorities, to Israel government offices. The degree of integration of white-collar workers in the economic and administrative system became an important indicator for the reconciliation of Jerusalem's population to the new situation created by the unification of the city.

The unification of Jerusalem opened a new chapter in the complex relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in the State of Israel. For the first time in its history, Israel had to absorb a developed Arab urban unit with advanced social stratification, considerable economic power, a high level of education, and a tradition of participation in the highest levels of government. Jerusalem, after its unification, became the greatest concentration of urban Arab population in the country. The percentage of high school graduates in East Jerusalem rose steadily under Jordanian rule, and in 1967, 38% of the males had completed high school and 9% had had higher education. The educational level of the Arab residents of the city was higher than that of the inhabitants of Judea and Samaria and even higher than the average of all the non-Jews in Israel, among whom the urban population was a small minority.

In contrast to the Arabs in Israel, who initially lacked an educated, stable urban class, the inhabitants of East Jerusalem lived for 20 years under independent Arab rule, during which it was the center of authority for the entire West Bank. The leadership of East Jerusalem was the major exponent of Arab-Palestinian nationalism and was integrated into the Jordanian establishment. Periodic disagreements with Amman aside, it was one of the outstanding elite groups in the Hashemite

kingdom. When the city was unified, there were a considerable number of former ministers, ambassadors, members of parliament and Senate, and senior officials in East Jerusalem, in addition to an efficient and capable municipal administration. In its attitude to Israel the East Jerusalem population was one of the most extreme elements in Jordan. The Palestine Liberation Organization (see *Israel, State of: Arab Population – Arab National Movement) had great influence there, and many members of extremist parties, both right and left wing, resided in the city. As was customary in the Jordanian educational system, pupils were educated toward extreme pan-Arabism and revanche; even excerpts from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were found among the teaching materials. The chauvinistic extremism stemmed, inter alia, from the fact that about 11,000 inhabitants of the city were formally refugees, i.e., the head of the family was born in an area that had been included in the State of Israel in 1948.

The Jewish population was agreeable in some respects and not agreeable in others to the improvement of relations with the Arab minority. The large number of Oriental Jews and their Israel-born children – more than 50% of the Jewish population of the city – was significant in this matter, as this group was familiar with the Arabic language and the Arab way of life and culture and could theoretically serve as a bridge between the two segments of the population. However, the immigrants from Muslim countries who had come to Israel after the War of Independence (about a quarter of the total Jewish population) were, paradoxically, a potential cause of tension. Partly because they had suffered oppression and persecution in their countries of origin, they were sometimes influenced by latent urges to revenge in their attitude to the Arab population of East Jerusalem. Other sections of the Jewish population, mainly native Israelis and immigrants from Europe and English-speaking countries, lacked familiarity with Arabs and their way of life and often misunderstood them – either regarding them in an unrealistic romantic way or suspecting them as a hostile, alien element.

The two populations, which suddenly found themselves living in one city, bore the acute psychological influences of the Six-Day War, apart from the past legacy of the Jewish-Arab conflict. The Jewish population felt a sharp sense of release from the burden of fear that existed during the pre-war period and euphoria over the unification of the city and the liberation of the Western Wall and the other holy places. The Arab population was astonished by the swift conquest of their city and suffered from a deep sense of shame after their decisive defeat. On the other hand, the factor that caused the greatest surprise among the Arab population was the humane and fair treatment accorded to them by the soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces. Influenced by Arab propaganda describing Jews as murderers of women and children, the Arabs awaited the worst. Fear gave way to astonishment and feelings of gratitude.

There was an initial atmosphere of goodwill and good-neighborliness that found dramatic expression on the "day of reunification" (June 28, 1967). When the barriers were removed and free movement between the two parts of the city was allowed, the Jewish and Arab masses mingled without incident. The atmosphere of peace and harmony in the city appeared unreal to those who witnessed it. Indeed, it lasted only a few short weeks, during which these feelings slowly abated. The two sides began to adjust themselves to the new reality. Repeated incidents and the loss of lives recreated the tension within the Jewish population. The Arab population found itself subject to a rule that, although tolerant and understanding, was nonetheless foreign, with which they could not and did not wish to identify, and to whose continued existence they could not reconcile themselves. The Israel authorities quickly learned the complex problems of the Arab sector and also found ways to solve them effectively. Nevertheless, several points of friction were created by a lack of understanding and knowledge of the mentality of the Arab population. This lack of understanding stemmed mainly from an approach to the population of East Jerusalem similar to that employed to the Arab population of the State of Israel before the war, disregarding the differences between the two communities. Likewise, attempts were made immediately to put into effect the procedures of Israel administration, without allowing the inhabitants of East Jerusalem sufficient time to adapt to the ways and means unfamiliar to them.

In the course of time, the inhabitants of East Jerusalem became accustomed to these procedures, and at the same time the Israel authorities became familiar with the feelings of the inhabitants on certain matters. This mutual adaptation erased most of the points of friction, the major one being the problem of taxes. The East Jerusalemites, accustomed to the Jordanian fiscal system, which levied low taxes and in return rendered a low level of services, did not, at first, understand the principles of the Israel welfare state, demanding high taxation and providing a high level of services. Taxes connected with war and security caused additional complaints, since the inhabitants of East Jerusalem regarded their payment as "treason against the Jordanian kingdom," which was in a state of war with Israel.

In terms of their civil status, the inhabitants of East Jerusalem were Israel residents with Jordanian citizenship. (They could apply for Israel citizenship, but practically none of them did so.) This status allowed them to vote for and be elected to the Jerusalem municipality but not to the Knesset. As Jordanian citizens, they could cross the cease-fire line and visit in Jordan, while they also had the right to move freely throughout Israel, like other residents. Despite the distinct improvement in many areas of relations with the authorities and the adjustment of the inhabitants of East Jerusalem to the way of life that developed in the unified city, relations were clouded by the fact that the population of East Jerusalem avoided all political cooperation that could be interpreted as voluntary acknowledgement of the unification of Jerusalem. Members of the Arab municipal council, who were invited to join the unified city council, refused to do so; lawyers refused to appear

in Israeli courts; companies refused to be registered as Israeli companies; and the Shari'a courts refused to become part of the Muslim judicial system of Israel, despite a far-reaching compromise suggested by Israel. Nevertheless, the boundaries between political cooperation, which was regarded as "treason," and the minimal reconciliation necessary for coexistence were very elastic. Thus, for example, the mass voting by inhabitants of East Jerusalem in the municipal elections of October 1969 was not viewed as collaboration.

Political tension remained mostly latent, but it broke out a number of times and was expressed mainly in business strikes and demonstrations. Feelings of political frustration and tension were also nourished by a number of actions taken by the Israel authorities to insure the Jewish character of the city and enforce Israeli control of the eastern part. In broad areas of the eastern part Jewish dwellings began to be erected. The acts of Arab terrorists aggravated the inter-ethnic tension. After one act of terror, which claimed a number of civilian casualties in West Jerusalem (the "Night of the Grenades," August 18, 1968) young Jews attacked Arab civilians and damage was inflicted on Arab shops. Strong and unequivocal measures on the part of the Israeli government and its major leaders put an end to the hooliganism, and later acts of Arab terror (such as the explosions which in 1968–69 killed and wounded many people in a marketplace, a supermarket, the students' cafeteria in The Hebrew University, etc.) did not elicit revenge on innocent Arabs. Nevertheless, the security forces increased their supervision over the Arab residents. Membership in terrorist cells and possession of arms caches were punished, inter alia, by the destruction of several houses and the confiscation of others. All these measures resulted in alternately rising and falling tension. A major event influencing the atmosphere between the communities was the short-lived shock of the fire in the al-Aqṣā Mosque on August 21, 1969, which quickly abated when the culprit proved to be an insane Christian tourist from Australia, although the incident was blown up to major international proportions by all the Arab States.

In Jewish public opinion there were two different approaches to dealing with the Arab population. All Jews were ready to grant the Arabs full citizenship rights as individuals, but some would deny them the right of national political expression or separate representation, whereas others held that the Arabs should not only be granted individual rights but should be recognized as a national minority with legitimate aspirations of their own, entitling them to separate representation. This argument never came to a head, as the Arabs themselves refused to cooperate in any attempt at an interim arrangement and were not ready to accept any suggestion of separate representation or any kind of political organization.

By 1970 distinct progress had been made in the process of integrating the Arabs of East Jerusalem into the life of the city, and inter-ethnic relations developed and improved, despite negative forces that operated throughout the period. Nevertheless, there were still basic political differences of approach between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority with regard to the future of the city. The integration of the communities and nationalities in Jerusalem was progressively implemented, mainly in the economic sphere and in areas necessary for municipal survival. There was little social contact between the two groups, but the fact that thousands of Arab workers were employed in West Jerusalem led to significant contacts and new understanding. The deepening of reciprocal harmonious relations, however, ultimately depended upon the general solution to the Israel-Arab conflict.

[Meron Benvenisti]

The decade following 1967 was marked by the most intensive development in Jerusalem since King Herod 2,000 years before. The city tripled in size by the incorporation of East Jerusalem, under Jordanian rule from 1948 to 1967, and within seven years had the largest population of any city in Israel. Almost a third of the area of East Jerusalem – the bulk of it, rocky, non-arable hills – was expropriated for the construction of nine housing developments on clear strategic lines. Four of them – Gilo, East Talpiot, Neveh Ya'akov, and Ramot, each larger than most development towns – were cast in a wide arc around the outermost edge of the city. Five others – Ramot Eshkol, French Hill, Ma'alot Dafna, Sanhedria ha-Murḥevet, and Givat ha-Mivtar – were built across the battlefields of the Six-Day War to establish a link with Mount Scopus.

Eleven thousand apartments were built across the former border and by 1977 there were close to 40,000 Jews living in these new development areas, constituting some 15% of the city's Jewish population.

The government had succeeded in creating a physical ring around Jerusalem that would make it impossible to divide the city again. It was less successful, however, in the other major objective – reinforcing the Jewish presence demographically. The September 1967 census recorded 197,000 Jews and 71,000 non-Jews (including 3–5,000 non-Arabs, such as Armenians and other non-Arab Christians). However, in spite of the influx of immigrants and the transfer of some government offices from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem the percentage of Jews declined from 73.4 to 72.5. Ten years after the Six-Day War, Jerusalem's population had increased by more than a third, numbering 370,000, of whom 268,500 were Jews and 102,000 non-Jews, and by 1981 it was 412,000, with 295,000 Jews and 117,000 non-Jews. While the average Jewish annual increase was 3.3% – considerably higher than the national average – the non-Jewish rate was 3.8%; the Arab figure due to a higher birthrate, a substantial decrease in the mortality rate, and a halt in emigration from East Jerusalem which had prevailed throughout the Jordanian regime.

The economic boom even attracted immigration from across the Jordan River under the family reunion scheme. In addition, thousands of West Bank Arabs took up residence illegally in East Jerusalem, whose numbers are not included in the official population figures.

JEWISH-ARAB RELATIONS. The relations which developed between Arab and Jewish people in Jerusalem during the decade were shifting and ambiguous. They added up, however, to coexistence – a less satisfactory condition, perhaps, than friendship, but still infinitely superior to easily imaginable alternatives. Tranquility was achieved by a policy of liberality towards the Arabs, including open bridges and de facto control of the Temple Mount by Muslim authorities.

The West Jerusalem economy and the Arab work force grew to depend on each other. Arabs from East Jerusalem and the West Bank constituted about 15% of the 110,000-strong labor force in the Jewish economic sector, mainly in construction. More Arabs worked in the Jewish sector of Jerusalem than in the Arab sector and drew 60% higher wages than they had formerly received.

Nine thousand Arabs from East Jerusalem, including wives of 2,000 workers, joined the Histadrut, Israel's labor confederation, which assured them the same pay and benefits as Jewish workers. Arab and Jewish workers sat together on labor committees in West Jerusalem factories, and in some places Arabs were chairmen, and they participated together in social and cultural activities.

The David Yellin Teachers' College in Beit Hakerem, which had been training Jewish teachers since 1914, began accepting East Jerusalem girls in 1974. The first group of 25 graduated two years later, after completing a special course taught in Arabic. Every summer thousands of youths from both sides of the city participated in the municipality's Youth Capital day camp and periodic sports contests were held between Arab and Jewish youth clubs.

There was Arab-Jewish integration on the underworld margin of both societies. Here, Arabic-speaking Jews and East Jerusalem Arabs, sharing a common subculture, "trusted" each other enough to commit armed robberies together. The police quickly broke up these gangs, but fringe society contacts continued. West Jerusalem streetgang workers noted that their Jewish charges and their Arab counterparts were at ease in one another's company. The police were likewise integrated, engaging in joint patrols, but most of the police on the streets of East Jerusalem were local Arabs.

Nevertheless, East Jerusalem Arabs were still not reconciled to Israeli rule. The Arabs felt that Israel was altering the Arab character of East Jerusalem and endangering the Arab way of life by exposing it to an alien culture. Israeli authorities though aware that the allegiance of Jerusalem's Arabs could not be bought by higher salaries or improved services, nevertheless provided them.

The thousands of substantial houses – villas by Israeli standards – built on the hills of East Jerusalem attested to the unprecedented prosperity achieved by Jerusalem's Arabs, particularly laborers, since they came under Israeli rule. Before 1967, 41% of East Jerusalem homes had no running water and 60% had no electricity, whereas by the end of the 1970s only those living in isolated rural areas were without running water and virtually every house had electricity. The abundance of water supplied to the Old City after 1967 proved too much for the old Turkish sewer-drainage pipes which burst under the pressure, causing the inundation of building foundations and the collapse of several structures. In a massive operation expected to last decades, the municipality began gutting the alleys of the Old City in order to build a modern infrastructure. Among the utility lines being laid underground was cable television, to permit the removal of the antennas, cluttering the Old City skyline. The approaches to Damascus Gate, both from inside and outside the city walls, were completely remodeled.

The Arab Sector. Where no park or playground existed in Jerusalem under Jordanian rule, there were six a decade later. Where no kindergartens existed, there were 50. Where no lending library for adults existed, there were four, plus a mobile library serving outlying villages. Where only 73 families received welfare payments under the Jordanians, 900 families were receiving them in 1977 and 4,500 families received pension payments from Israel's National Insurance. In addition, 9,000 East Jerusalem families with three or more children received the same monthly National Insurance payments for each child as did Israeli families. These benefits were given in spite of the fact that the East Jerusalemites chose to remain Jordanian citizens and that Israel had no vested interest in promoting the Arab birth rate. A special government fund also provided more than 4,000 mortgage and business loans to East Jerusalemites whose own banks closed in 1967.

More was done to promote Arab culture in East Jerusalem after the city's unification than had ever been done under Jordanian rule. This included subsidizing their first professional theater group, expanding community centers, arranging for schoolchildren to attend an Arab play and an Arab musical performance every year, and even providing a Jewish dance teacher to launch an Arab dance troupe when no Arab teacher could be found.

Unlike the Arabs living in Israel since 1948, East Jerusalem Arabs did not sever ties with the Arab world. Besides being free to cross the Jordan River bridges in either direction, they could maintain their Jordanian citizenship while remaining official residents of Israel and citizens of an Israeli city with full voting rights in municipal elections. East Jerusalem students were originally required to study a curriculum similar to that of Israeli Arabs, but they were later granted the right to study a Jordanian curriculum (plus six hours of Hebrew and civics) and even to take examinations certified by the Jordanian Ministry of Education, so that they could proceed to universities in the Arab world.

According to Israeli experts, an increasing number of Arabs preferred an open city. This would have meant Arabs and Jews exercising sovereignty over their respective areas, with free passage from one side to the other. Although this might have seemed an ideal solution to many, Mayor Teddy Kollek strongly opposed it, warning that it would allow terrorists to turn Jerusalem into a Belfast overnight.

BUILDINGS. The texture of the city was altered physically, socially, and culturally through the 1970s. High-rise buildings, some of them exceeding 20 stories, punctured the Jerusalem skyline for the first time. Architect Moshe *Safdie pointed out that these high-rises had been approved while the city was still divided. "They could only have been conceived when you weren't thinking about what the skyline would look like from the other side."

Sixty km. of roads and 182 km. of sewage lines were built. The government channeled more than twice as much money into Jerusalem in the first five years after reunification than it had during the previous 12. In addition to the new housing developments, enormous resources were invested in the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City and the Hadassah Hospital and Hebrew University facilities on Mount Scopus.

Little was done, however, to strengthen the outmoded city center, groaning under the weight of the additional population it now had to serve. The plan for a Ben Yehuda street mall remained stalled, except for a small, block-long strip. The number of private offices doubled during the decade, and the government increased its floor space by a third but, with little new construction to accommodate them, the offices spilled over into Reḥaviah and other residential neighborhoods. The population in neighborhoods near the center declined substantially, while the western garden suburbs of the 1930s – Beit Hakerem and Bayit Vegan – increased their population by two-thirds in the five years after the Six-Day War. A plan for the massive redevelopment of the Mamilla district outside Jaffa Gate, which called for razing of the entire district and its replacement with modern commercial, residential, and hotel structures as well as a large underground parking lot at the entrance to the Old City, was approved in principle, but implementation was held up by shortage of funds and concern over its ambitious nature.

A proposal to build a 25,000-seat sports stadium at Shuafat in northern Jerusalem likewise encountered strong opposition, particularly from religious residents in the approaches to the stadium, who objected on account of the traffic and noise and the consequent desecration of the Sabbath. Nevertheless, earthwork began in 1979 but was subsequently halted. Sha'arei Zedek Hospital, one of the city's oldest, built a large new facility at the edge of Bayit Vegan to replace its antiquated building on Jaffa Road. The original Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus was restored at great expense by the Hadassah Organization to serve as a regional hospital for Jews and Arabs in northern Jerusalem.

In spite of a few blots on the landscape created by inadvisable building, the city grew more beautiful during the 10 years. The ugly antisniper walls and the ruins of no-man's land were removed. Some of the best views in Jerusalem were opened up by the demolition of the ruined buildings outside the city wall between the Jaffa and New Gates, and by renewed access to Government House Ridge and Mount Scopus.

RESTORATION. Sensitive to the city's physical heritage, the authorities attempted to restore many of its old buildings and quarters rather than subject them to urban renewal. The most notable instance was the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, where painstaking restoration was undertaken. An attempt was made to save all old buildings still structurally sound, while new construction was kept in scale. Archaeologists were given priority over the builders, even though this often meant expensive delays while excavations were carried out. Building plans were often changed to incorporate ancient remains in basement museums or leave them exposed.

There were also extensive restoration efforts outside the Old City walls. The old Turkish khan, or inn, opposite the railway station was converted into a handsome theater, while the Yemin Moshe Quarter was converted from a slum to a luxury neighborhood, The century-old structure known as Mishkenot Sha'ananim, the first building to be built outside the ancient walls, was reconstructed as a guest house for visiting artists, scholars, and writers. Preservation plans were also drawn up for neighborhoods with special character like the German Colony and Sheikh Jarrah.

PARKS AND OPEN SPACES. An elaborate open-space system was developed, including a 600-acre national park around the Old City. Apart from the creation of the new ring of housing developments, this open-space system could be the distinguishing mark made on the city during the decade. One of its most interesting sections was an Archaeological Garden incorporating ancient remains uncovered along the southern and western fringes of the Old City.

The municipality's gardening department itself almost transformed the city by creating a green matrix that softened the stony character of the desert-fringed city, On the eve of the Six-Day War, there were 23 parks in the city covering 25 acres. Ten years later there were 170 parks covering 425 acres. The six children's playgrounds that existed then grew to 78, and three "vest-pocket" parks became 150. Traffic islands were now lush with flowers. Around the fringes of the city the Jewish National Fund planted some 700 acres of forest.

A score of sculptures were installed in public places, including the last monumental work of Alexander Calder, a 12-meter high stabile installed in Holland Square at Mount Herzl.

HOUSING. Slum areas such as the Katamons were upgraded by adding rooms to cramped apartments and planting numerous gardens in the area. Housing conditions in the city improved considerably during the decade. The 30,000 apartments built or started in the Jewish sector in the ten years were almost half as many as existed in 1967 and were generally larger and better built. Four-room apartments, which constituted only 8% of the total built in 1961, constituted 40% of the units built in 1970. High-rise living, unknown in Jerusalem before 1967, became commonplace. To answer the greater demand for privacy, hundreds of terrace apartments with separate entrances were built.

In spite of vigorous efforts to expand Jerusalem's modest industrial base (non-smokestack industries) to offer a greater variety of employment opportunities, the percentage of the Jewish population employed in industry declined from 14.5 to 11.4, while employment in public services rose from 43% to 49%, The government, with 14,000 employees, remained the largest employer.

An area for heavy industry was opened in 1976 at Mishor Adumim on the Jericho Road, 15 km east of Jerusalem. The united city saw new commercial patterns developing. Tourists flooding the city preferred to sleep in West Jerusalem, where the number of hotel rooms tripled, and to shop in East Jerusalem, where the number of souvenir shops tripled. The number of bars and nightclubs increased from 12 to 28 by 1975, while the number of small kiosks selling candy and newspapers declined from 153 to 144. There was only a modest increase in personal services since 1967 – the number of doctors increased by 25% and barbers by 7% – but the number of engineers, insurance agents, and building contractors increased by 150%.

JEWISH SECTOR UNDER THE MAYORALTY OF TEDDY KOLLEK. Strenuous efforts were made to close the gap, at least the visible one, between underprivileged Jews – mostly from Arab countries – and the relatively privileged.

Nearly 1,000 indigent families were provided with apartments in the new outlying neighborhoods, Thousands of others were given subsidies to rent apartments in town or to improve their own apartments. Where physically possible, extra rooms were added onto existing apartments to enable residents to remain in the neighborhoods where they had established roots.

The municipality invested heavily in upgrading the neighborhoods into which immigrants had hastily settled during the 1950s and early 1960s. It was from these neighborhoods that the so-called Black Panthers, disaffected youths demanding a better way of life, had emerged after the Six-Day War. Parks were built to provide outdoor play areas for children of large families confined in small apartments. Schools were built, sometimes at the rate of 350 classrooms a year, roads were paved, and street lights installed.

Flowers and trees planted by the municipality and regularly uprooted overnight by local youths were, at last allowed to take root as alienation gave way to a feeling of pride in the neighborhood.

The network of youth clubs and 10 community centers, created during the decade, contributed much to social stability. Disadvantaged youths, whose older brothers had drifted into antisocial and even criminal activity, found outlet for their energies and interests in these facilities.

Neighborhood schools were eliminated in an effort to reduce social tensions through integration between children from middle-and lower-class neighborhoods. Most of the city's schools ultimately contained students from such neighborhoods at a ratio of roughly 60–40. Some educators maintained that mixing does not constitute true integration, which requires intensive efforts with disadvantaged children and their parents to close the educational gap. They have acknowledged, however, that it reduces social tension.

The most difficult social problem towards the end of the decade lay not in the slums, but in the newly built neighborhoods. Entire blocks of houses were filled with slum evacuees or with new immigrants from Georgia and Bukhara, whose cultural assimilation presented difficulties. This concentration created cores of social problems from the very start. The authorities finally came to the conclusion that it was best to disperse the slum evacuees and the immigrant families – one or two to a building – so as to promote their assimilation. In order to overcome the negative image acquired by the Neveh Ya'akov neighborhood because of settlement difficulties, the Housing Ministry offered mortgage terms so attractive that it managed to sell the apartments to young Israeli couples and other socially strong elements. Neveh Ya'akov became the first of the new neighborhoods to be filled.

A violent dispute between ultra-Orthodox and secular Jews broke out at the end of 1978 when a new road was opened to the neighborhood of Ramot. Ultra-Orthodox elements, maintaining that the road violated the sanctity of the Sabbath in religious neighborhoods it skirted, demonstrated alongside the road virtually every Sabbath and frequently threw stones at cars. Despite availability of an alternate route, the dispute has continued.

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS. One of the most notable changes in the city during the past decade was in the cultural climate. The Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, which drew about 200 persons to its weekly concerts in 1970, filled the 900-seat Jerusalem Theater almost every week seven years later. Good plays brought to Jerusalem by Tel Aviv theater groups in 1970 would perform only three or four times and then to half-empty halls. By 1977, a hit show could fill as many as 16 houses. The Jerusalem Theater's subscriptions quadrupled in four years. Two lively pocket theaters opened in the city, and the renovated khan became an active center for theater and chamber music.

Part of the reason for the new climate was a changing population. The percentage of adult Jews in Jerusalem with at least one year's post-secondary education rose from 18.7 in 1961 to 25.2 in 1972. (In East Jerusalem it rose from 5.2 to 5.5% between 1967 and 1972.) Of the 72,000 increase in the Jewish population in the decade, 20,000 were new immigrants, mostly from the Soviet Union and Western countries, with a tradition of concert and theater going.

The other major factor was Mayor Kollek, who was the prime mover in creating much of the city's cultural infrastructure – the Israel Museum, the Jerusalem Theater, and the Khan. He also initiated the Mishkenot Sha'ananim guest house. His administration began building a cultural audience for the future by arranging that every schoolchild in Jerusalem attend at least one theatrical and one musical performance a

year. Violinist Isaac Stern was the initiator of the Jerusalem Music Center, just behind Mishkenot, richly endowed with videotape facilities, where some of the world's greatest musicians meet with Israeli music teachers and students in order to permit them to partake directly of the musical idiom beyond Israel's borders.

The cultural life of the city was augmented by several important new facilities. These included a museum of Islamic art dedicated to the late Hebrew University scholar L.A. Mayer and a museum portraying past life in the Jewish Quarter. A new youth wing for Arab and Jewish youth was opened by the Israel Museum in East Jerusalem to accommodate spillover from the youth wing in its main building.

Freedom of Religion. Never in history had there been such religious freedom in Jerusalem as prevailed after the reunification of the city. The Muslims were unrestricted in their religious practice and the Supreme Muslim Council had de facto control of the Temple Mount. Access by non-Muslims was permitted to general visitors through the Moghrabi Gate, except during Muslim hours for prayer. For Christians, unification meant easy access between holy places on both sides of the city and the lifting of land purchase restrictions imposed by Jordan on their side of the city.

The world still did not recognize Israeli rule over the Old City and East Jerusalem. Visiting national leaders had their national flags removed from their cars when they crossed the line which formerly divided Jerusalem in two. At Independence Day receptions, the diplomatic corps still imbibed its soft drinks just outside the walls of the Old City rather than joining the main party inside the Citadel, because that would have implied their recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Old City. The adoption of the Jerusalem Law in 1980, officially declaring the whole of Jerusalem as Israeli territory and under Israeli rule, was condemned by the United Nations Security Council – the United States abstaining – and all the countries which had embassies in Jerusalem moved them to Tel Aviv.

The Perfection of Beauty. In spite of all the changes which had taken place in Jerusalem during the 1970s, the essential character of the city remained unchanged, Its beauty remained in the stone facing on all buildings, which gave a unifying texture to all parts of the city – in the picturesque alleys and courtyards of the older neighborhoods, in the quiet and lushly planted streets of middle-class neighborhoods, and in the sculpted hills surrounding the city.

The anniversary of the reunification of the city, the 28th day of Iyyar, was proclaimed as Yom Yerushalayim, Jerusalem Day, and was celebrated with increasing enthusiasm from year to year.

In the following decade, despite the optimistic spirit of the post-Six-Day War period, Jerusalem continued to be a city of tensions, primarily between Arabs and Jews. The initial post-1967 goal of an integrated population foundered, largely as a result of a long series of attacks (often stabbing) carried out by Arabs, sometimes evoking reprisals by Jews. In 1990, in an incident on the Temple Mount, 21 Arabs were killed and over 100 injured by Israeli forces. Tensions were also exacerbated, especially during the Shamir regime, when Jews moved into Muslim neighborhoods, including the Muslim Quarter of the Old City and the village of Silwan. In many respects the city was divided almost as much as before 1967, with little social intercourse between Jews and Arabs.

The Palestinian *intifada* brought many instances of stone-throwing by Arabs at Jewish buses and cars in East Jerusalem. There was a prolonged protest shutdown of Arab stores and a sharp fall-off in the number of Jews visiting the Arab parts of the city, including the formerly crowded marketplaces of the Old City. The Palestinians reiterated that in some form Jerusalem, or part of it, must be included in any Palestinian entity. The issue was not faced squarely in the first rounds of the peace process, but Israel refused to have Jerusalemites included in the Palestinian delegation.

The population of Jerusalem at the end of 1992 was 558,000, of whom 401,000 were Jews and 157,000 Arabs (whose percentage in the total population had risen from 25 to 28 since 1967). The growth in the Jewish population was largely due to the Russian immigration, and the new suburbs of Gilo, Neveh Ya'akov, Har Nof, Pisgat Ze'ev, and Ramot mushroomed. There was also, however, an outflow of the Jewish population as many were attracted by the favorable terms offered by settlements in the West Bank within easy commuting distance of Jerusalem.

The ultra-Orthodox (*ḥaredi*) population continued to thrive and hundreds of new yeshivot and synagogues have been built in the city since 1967. There were frequent tensions with the ultra-Orthodox, who often held demonstrations to protest Sabbath desecrations and alleged desecrations of graves by archeologists or construction workers. Their projections in the population grew constantly due to immigration and a very high fertility rate, and they ultimately constituted over 20% of the Jewish population. Jerusalem's Sabbath character took a surprising turn in the late 1980s when for the first time pubs, discotheques, and some cinemas began to open on Friday nights. In the past, ultra-Orthodox protests had managed to snuff out attempts to open entertainment facilities on Sabbath eve and young Jerusalemites who sought such outlets had to travel to Tel Aviv. In time, the Friday night life in Jerusalem became so lively that it even occasionally drew Tel Aviv youth.

A quarter-century after its unification in the 1967 Six-Day War, Jerusalem continued its dynamic transformation into a modern urban center. With the completion of most of the new housing developments launched in the wake of the 1967 war, efforts focused on providing facilities to serve the vastly increased population. In the south of the city, a 15,000-seat soccer stadium was opened in 1991, providing Jerusalem with its first major sports facility. At the insistence of its foreign donor, it was named Teddy stadium, honoring Mayor Teddy Kollek. Nearby, a 100,000-square-meter enclosed shopping mall, said to be the largest in the Middle East, was opened in 1993. Op-

posite Jaffa Gate, development of the new Mamilla quarter as a commercial-residential link between the Old City and West Jerusalem finally began with the construction of luxury housing, more than a decade after the previous inhabitants of the area had been evacuated. An ambitious new City Hall complex was dedicated alongside the building that had filled that role for half a century.

A major new road, Road Number One, was built to bring traffic from north Jerusalem to the city center, passing near Damascus Gate. The road's three kilometer alignment followed the line that had served as no-man's-land between Israeli and Jordanian Jerusalem before the Six-Day War. A new museum complex began to take shape alongside the Israel Museum with the dedication of the Bible Lands Museum and a science museum. The Israel Supreme Court moved in 1992 from its old quarters in the center of the city to a striking new building in the Government Center. The biblical zoo also shifted to more elaborate new quarters in the south of the city. A major expansion of the Binyanei ha-Ummah Convention Center was launched to help meet the growing demand of international congresses seeking to hold their meetings in Jerusalem. In northern Jerusalem, the last and largest of the massive post-Six-Day War housing developments, Pisgat Ze'ev, with 12,000 units, was nearing completion.

On the Temple Mount in the Old City, the gold-colored annodized aluminum dome covering the Islamic shrine, the Dome of the Rock, was replaced by a dome gilded with real gold.

Teddy Kollek, first elected mayor in 1965, served in that capacity until replaced in the 1993 elections by Ehud *Olmert.

[Abraham Rabinovich]

Since the mid-1990s the city of Jerusalem has undergone many changes – demographic, economic, social, physical, and geopolitical. The main changes took place as a result of the deterioration in relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The city has been affected by relentless terrorist attacks, as a result of which there has been serious economic decline; the lack of trust between Jews and Arabs living in the city has increased; the Jewish population in its part of the city has severed its link with the Arab population; and the jewel in the crown of the fight against Palestinian terrorism has been the erection of a security fence around Jerusalem, which has had considerable economic and social consequences and implications for the city's residents, Arabs and Jews. However, despite the serious security situation, there has been no let-up in the development of new neighborhoods in the city, the upgrading of infrastructure, and the addition of many new roads.

AREA AND POPULATION. Since 1993 the municipal area of Jerusalem has not changed from around 50 sq. mi. (125 sq. km.). In this respect, Jerusalem is the largest of Israel's cities (Tel Aviv covers 20 sq. mi. (50 sq. km.) and Haifa 23 sq. mi. (60 sq km). In terms of population, too, Jerusalem is Israel's largest city. As estimated by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, at the end of September 2005 Jerusalem had some 716,000 residents, by comparison with 591,400 living in the city in 1995. In other words, the city's population has grown by 21% in one decade.

Jerusalem's population is made up of three main groups – the Jewish secular and traditional population, the Jewish ultra-Orthodox population, and the Arab population. The following table shows the changes that have taken place in the city over the past decade in the ratio between the two main groups.

Table 1: The population of Jerusalem by population groups 1995–2004

Year	Total	%	Jews	%	Non-Jews	%
1995	591,400	100	417,000	70.5	174,400	29.5
2004	706,400	100	469,300	66.4	237,100	33.6

Source: *Jerusalem Statistical Yearbook*, Israel Research Institute, Jerusalem 1997. For 2004 data, Israel Research Institute, Jerusalem, 2005.

A comparison of the population data of the past decade shows a continuation of the trend of decline in the relative share of the Jewish population of Jerusalem in comparison with the Arab population, from 70% in 1995 to 66% at the end of 2004. If these demographic processes continue and there is no change in the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, by 2020 the Arab population will be 42% of the total population of the city.

The distribution of the city's population in 2004 shows that slightly more than 400,000 residents live in what is usually called East Jerusalem, that is, the area annexed to the city in 1967 when Jerusalem was reunited. Of these, around 45% (some 180,000) are Jews living in Jewish neighborhoods built since 1967. These neighborhoods include Ramat Eshkol, Givat Shapira, Givat Hamivtar, Neveh Ya'acov, Gilo, Ramot Alon, East Talpiot, Pisgat Ze'ev, the Jewish Quarter, Har Ḥomah, Ramat Shelomo, and others. In other words, almost half of all the residents living in "East Jerusalem" in 2004 were Jews.

Since 1967, when the city was reunited, the population has increased by 160%. The Jewish population has increased by 135%, while the Arab population has increased by 233%. The rapid increase of the Arab population is a result of the natural reproduction rate of this group, on the one hand, and negative migration on the part of the Jewish population, on the other. The Jewish population of the city has increased by an average of 1.1% a year, whereas the Arab population has increased by an average 3.6% a year.

Since 1995, some 163,600 people have left the city and 97,100 have moved in. Over the past decade, therefore, the city has lost 66,500 residents, or an average of approximately 6,000 people a year. Around half of those leaving moved to metropolitan Jerusalem – to the towns and communities around the city (Mevasseret Zion, Ẓur Hadassah, and Ma'aleh Adumim), but the other half moved farther away to other parts of the country. Surveys have shown that most of those who

left are young people with a higher education. In recent years, the young ultra-Orthodox population is also leaving the city for Jerusalem's satellite towns such as Betar Ilit and Beit Shemesh, or the more remote communities of Kiryat Sefer and Modi'in Ilit.

CHANGES IN THE CITY'S ECONOMY. Jerusalem is the poorest of Israel's large cities. The reasons for this situation are connected to the makeup of its population, part of which does not play an active role in the work force and in the city's economy. The rate of participation in the work force in Jerusalem is low by comparison with the other large cities. In 2004 it stood at only 45%, compared with 61% in Tel Aviv and 55% in Israel as a whole. The low rate of participation in the work force is due to the social-cultural structure of the city's population. Ultra-Orthodox men, for the most part, prefer to study in yeshivah and not go out to work, and Arab women also do not play a significant part in the civil workforce. If we add to this the size of the Arab and ultra-Orthodox families in the city, and the large number of dependents per wage earner, the inevitable result is a large number of families below the poverty line.

Further evidence of the economic weakness of the city is the low per-capita income in Jerusalem by comparison with other parts of the country. In 2001, per capita income in the city was only NIS 1,961, compared with NIS 4,458 in Tel Aviv or NIS 3,485 in Haifa. Both the average monthly income and the average wage for salaried and self-employed families in the city are low by comparison with Tel Aviv, Haifa, and the country as a whole. A combination of the population characteristics and the city's employment structure contribute to the low average income in Jerusalem. The low rate of participation in the work force characteristic of the Arab population and the Jewish ultra-Orthodox population has a considerable effect on the average wage of the city's residents. In addition, the city is the national capital and the center of government, with many government offices and other national institutions in which salaries are average, by comparison with a relatively small number of people employed in the higher-paying professions such as finance, insurance, and the high-tech industries. Almost 50% of employed people in Jerusalem work in public service (public administration, education, health and welfare services, etc.), by comparison with 28% in Tel Aviv. In 2004 only 14% of all employed people in Jerusalem worked in business and financial services, as compared with 31% in Tel Aviv. The percentage of those employed in industry is also low in the city, 7% as against 10% in Tel Aviv and 17% in Israel as a whole. The relatively low level of salaries in the city affects the scope and scale of consumption by the residents, and the commercial life of the city.

In addition to the fundamental factors accompanying the economy of the city for many years, over the past decade Jerusalem has been forced to contend with serious terrorist attacks, more than any other place in the country, as Palestinian terrorism saw the city as a central target for its activities. Around 60% of all terrorist activity in the second Intifada took place in Jerusalem, exacting the heavy cost of more than 500 dead and thousands wounded. The main branches of the city's economy that were affected were commerce and tourism. Jerusalem is a tourist city of the first order. Not a tourist comes to Israel without spending a few days in Jerusalem. As a result of the terrorist attacks, tourism was seriously affected. There was a drastic reduction in the number of overnight stays in hotels in the city, from 3.4 million nights in 2000 to 1.2 million in 2002. Overnight stays by tourists from overseas dropped even more sharply, from 2.9 million in 2000 to 639,000 in 2002. Tourism, which, as mentioned, is one of the most important economic branches in the city, recovered to a certain degree in the course of 2005, with the number of overnight hotel stays in the city increasing to 1.9 million. The drop in the tourist branch hit the entire network of tourist services, including tour guides, restaurants, jewelry and souvenir shops and many other services. Many businesses closed, and others faced bankruptcy. According to the data of the municipal Chamber of Commerce, more than 1,400 businesses closed during the worst years. Hardest hit were the merchants of East Jerusalem and the Old City. Tourist traffic, especially domestic Israeli tourism, stopped coming to East Jerusalem. Even at the beginning of 2006, commerce in the city had not completely recovered, despite the fact that the relative calm of 2005 brought more and more tourists and Israelis back to Jerusalem.

An analysis of the municipal *arnona* tax data since 1995 shows that despite the bad years, there has been an increase in the number of offices and businesses in the city. In 1995 Jerusalem had 15,445 businesses and offices paying rates to the municipality, and by 2004 these had been joined by more than 3,100 new businesses. There has also been an increase in the number of factories and workshops (more than 700) during the past decade.

One of the industries that has succeeded in establishing a foothold in the city is the biotechnology industry, basing itself on Jerusalem's unique advantage: its proximity to academic institutions, research bodies, and leading medical centers. In 2005 there were some 60 biotechnology companies in the city, employing 1,500 people. Jerusalem is home to almost 25% of Israel's biotechnology industry. The city hosts important factories in this field, such as Teva, AVX, and others. Jerusalem also has the largest concentration of technology incubators, intended to support high-tech ventures. In the past decade one such incubator (the Van Leer Jerusalem Technology Incubator) accompanied the establishment of more than 50 successful start-up companies. Another incubator (JVP) dealt with more than 30 projects in the past decade, from which a number of successful companies developed.

The city has a number of successful industrial areas, including Har Ḥotzvim, which has around a quarter of a million square meters of knowledge-intensive industries such as Intel, Teva, Sigma, Phasecom, AVX, NDS, and others. Over the past decade the area has developed considerably, and houses companies such as Amdocs, Mango, Foxcom, and others.

Another technology park was established in the course of the last decade in the Malkhah neighborhood (Malkhah Technological Park), on an area of around 60,000 square meters, employing 1,400 people. Other technological parks are located at the Givat Ram campus of the university and in Pisgat Ze'ev.

In addition to the high-tech industry, which is very important to Jerusalem, the city also has other areas of employment that have developed considerably in the past decade, such as the Givat Shaul industrial zone, with a built-up area today of 350,000 square meters. Other parts of the city that have developed are the industrial zones of Talpiot and Atarot. The latter has suffered severely in the past five years as a result of its location on the northern border of Jerusalem, and many factories have abandoned it and moved out of the city.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM. The education system in Jerusalem is the largest and most complex municipal system in Israel. There are three main frameworks in the city's education system: state education, ultra-Orthodox education, and Arab education. Each of these frameworks contains secondary streams. State education includes the state and the state-religious streams; ultra-Orthodox education is divided between independent education and the *talmud torah* schools; and Arab education includes the municipal system, a private system, a church system, and the Muslim Waqf system.

The main change that has taken place in recent years is the constant increase in the number of students in the ultra-Orthodox and Arab sectors, and the gradual decrease in numbers in the state and state-religious education system. The table below shows the changes:

Table 2: Students in Jerusalem's education systems 1995 to 2005

Education system	1994/1995	2004/2005
State and state religious education	72,308	62,339
	(50.1)	(33.2)
Ultra-Orthodox education	51,250	83,223
	(35.5)	(44.4)
Arab education*	20,748	42,063
	(14.4)	(22.4)
Total / percentage	144, 306	187,625
	(100)	(100)

* Not including students in private, church, and Waqf education, representing at all times half the total number of Arab students in the city.

The great decrease over the past decade in the state and state-religious education sector, from 50% of all students in the city to only 33%, can clearly be seen. The ultra-Orthodox sector has increased by 9%, and the Arab sector by 8%.

Higher education. University education in Jerusalem has also undergone changes in the past decade. The number of students at the Hebrew University continues to decline as a percentage of all students in the country. In 1995, 20,300 students studied for all levels at the Hebrew University, at the time representing 21% of all students in Israel. In the 2003 academic year, 120,555 students studied at universities around the country, and 21,598 of these studied in Jerusalem, representing 18% of all university students in Israel.

Technological education in Jerusalem received a boost with the opening of the College of Technology. Technological education in Jerusalem includes a number of other colleges such as Hadassah College, the Lev Institute of Technology, and other institutions.

CHANGES IN HOUSING. In 1995 the Jerusalem Municipality collected residential rates from 149,400 apartments. At the end of 2004, it collected residential rates from 180,500 apartments, 144,300 of them (80%) in the Jewish sector and 36,200 (20%) in the Arab sector. Since 1995 some 31,000 apartments have been added in the city. 19,000 of these are in the Jewish sector (61%) and 12,000 in the Arab sector (39%).

New neighborhoods have been added, which has considerably increased the area used for housing. In the south of the city, between Bethlehem and Kibbutz Ramat Raḥel, the Har Ḥomah neighborhood was under construction, housing 2,000 families and slated to have a total of 6,500 housing units. Between Beit Hakerem and Bayit Vegan the new neighborhood of Ramat Beit Hakerem has been built, with 2,200 housing units. Another new neighborhood in the south of Jerusalem was being built on the land of Kibbutz Ramat Raḥel. Another was under construction on the site of the former Allenby Camp, on the road to Bethlehem and Hebron. At the southwestern edge of Jerusalem two new neighborhoods have been established: Manaḥat, close to the stadium named after Teddy Kollek, Jerusalem's legendary mayor, and Givat Masu'ah, near Moshav Orah on the fringes of Jerusalem's municipal boundaries. These two neighborhoods have around 4,200 housing units. To the north of Jerusalem (on the Shu'afat ridge) a religious ultra-Orthodox neighborhood called Ramat Shelomo was being built with 1,800 housing units. In the northeastern part of the city the Pisgat Ze'ev neighborhood, the largest of the Jewish neighborhoods built after the unification of the city in June 1967, continued to be developed. The main construction since 1995 was in the eastern and southern parts of the neighborhood, including a large commercial center at its heart. The neighborhood has also expanded northwards, joining up with Neveh Ya'acov, the northernmost Jewish neighborhood in the city.

Residential construction has naturally not passed over the older neighborhoods in the heart of Jerusalem. Many houses have been built on vacant lots in older neighborhoods such as Mekor Ḥayyim and Talpiot, additional stories have been added to existing buildings in the center of town, and in historic neighborhoods such as Rehavia, Talbieh, the German Colony, Baka, Beit Hakerem, and the ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods of Geula, Kerem Avraham, Reḥovot ha-Bukharim, Tel Arza, and Mekor Barukh, which have gradually become areas occupied by ultra-Orthodox Jewish residents.

Large-scale construction has also taken place in the Arab sector of Jerusalem, as shown by the statistics above. The form

of construction in the Arab sector is different from that in the Jewish sector; there is almost no construction by public companies, most of it being private, family construction. The main concentrations of building have been in the northern Arab neighborhoods of Beit Hanina and Shu'afat, but also in the neighborhoods encircling the Old City, such as Ras el-Amud, Wadi Kadum, and A-Sheikh. In the residential areas of the Bedouin in the southeast of the city (Sawahara al-Arabia) there has also been considerable construction, as well as in A-Tur, Abu Tor, and the southern villages of Zur Baher, Umm Tuba, and Beit Safafa. The main change in the form of Arab construction in the past decade has been one of scale; from single and two-story houses to multistory buildings. In addition to Arab construction within the Jerusalem municipal area, many houses have also been constructed outside the municipal boundaries, mainly in the area of A-Ram, north of Neveh Ya'acov, where, in practice, a new town has grown up. Between Ma'aleh Adumim and Jerusalem the town of A-Zayim, established by residents of A-Tur, has also expanded considerably and considerable construction has taken place in recent years.

It can therefore be seen that the competition between the two people, Israelis and Palestinians, over Jerusalem continues unabated and each side tries to create facts on the ground to the best of its ability, capturing land by means of residential construction. This is based on the assumption that it is the spatial distribution of buildings that will determine the future borders of the state.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF INSTITUTIONS. In addition to new residential neighborhoods and increasing the density of older neighborhoods, over the past decade there has been considerable construction of public, government, and administrative institutions in the city. The Safra Municipal Complex was completed and serves all the city's residents; the Supreme Court was inaugurated at Givat Ram; and new government offices were added to the Government Campus: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Tourism, the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Labor, and the Israel Land Administration. The Knesset and the Israel Convention Center both have new wings. The old Sha'arei Zedek Hospital in Jaffa Road has been renovated and taken over by the management of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, and not far off, at the Western entrance to the city, a new central bus station has been built. On Mt. Herzl the Yad Vashem Museum has been built and the Herzl Museum has been renovated. Beit Shmuel in the former Mamilla neighborhood has been enlarged, and near the Yemin Moshe neighborhood the Begin Center has been constructed. New buildings have also been constructed on the Mt. Scopus University campus: the Yitzhak Rabin Jewish Sciences building, the sports center, and student hostels. Kiryat Moriah in Talpiot has been expanded, and, on the borders of the German Colony, the Hartmann Education Center has been constructed.

A number of new hotels were built during the period, completing the city's accommodation network. Three of these were built along the "seam line" of Route 1, close to the former Mandelbaum Gate; two in Herzl Blvd.; and one in King David St. as part of the Mamilla renovation. Many religious institutions and yeshivot were built, the largest being the Belz Yeshivah in Romema. The two large promenades built along the Armon Hanatziv ridge (Hass and Sherover) have been joined by the Goldman Promenade, continuing eastward to Armon Hanatziv and the new neighborhood of Nofei Zion. The Biblical zoo has also been expanded and has a new sculpture garden.

INFRASTRUCTURES AND ROADS. The past decade has seen considerable expansion of roads and infrastructures in the city. In terms of the water supply, the fourth pipeline from the coastal plain has been completed, and a big reservoir underneath the sports field of Ziv School in Beit Hakerem has been built. The effluent treatment system has been completed and a waste water purification plant has been built for the entire western and southern drainage basin in Naḥal Sorek. The supply of electricity to the city has been considerably increased, and the power substation in Emek Refaim has been renovated.

The new roads have really revolutionized the city. First and foremost, the main north–south traffic artery, Begin Blvd., was completed and a new access road to the city was developed, joining up with the Ma'aleh Beit Horon–Modi'in road (Route 443). The tunnels road southward to the Eẓyon bloc has been completed, as well as a new east–west road linking Hebron Road to the neighborhood of East Talpiot. The past decade has been characterized by the construction of new road tunnels. Five new tunnels have been constructed: the tunnels on Route 60 to the Eẓyon bloc; the Mt. Scopus tunnel toward Ma'aleh Adumim, creating a new entrance to Jerusalem from the east; the tunnel at the foot of the Old City walls under Ha-Ẓanḥanim Road, linking the Jaffa Gate to Route 1; and the Begin Blvd. tunnel under the entrance to the city. Another new road making use of bridges joins Pisgat Ze'ev and Neveh Ya'acov to the French Hill junction, encompassing the historic Ramallah Road. Another road under construction in 2006 in Emek ha-Arazim is Route 9, creating an additional entrance to the city from the west and linking the Motza junction with the Ramot junction and Begin Blvd. at the foot of Har Ḥotzvim.

In preparation for the construction of a light railway in Jerusalem, new public transport lanes have been laid along Jaffa Road, Hebron Road, Keren Hayesod St., and Herzl Blvd. Near Mt. Herzl, work started on the big parking lot which is part of the planned mass transport system.

CULTURE, ART AND ENTERTAINMENT. Jerusalem is a city with many cultural and art institutes. The city has more than 30 museums, hundreds of galleries, and other cultural institutions. Over the past decade the appearance and content of Morasha's Museum on the Seam, also known as Turgeman Post, has changed; the Underground Prisoners Museum in

the Russian Compound has been renovated; and a new wing has been added to the Bernard Bloomfield Science Museum. The Menachem Begin Heritage Center, housing exhibitions and lecture halls, has been built in the area overlooking the Old City and Mt. Zion. A number of theaters have also been established in the city in the past decade, including the Laboratory Theater in the old train station, the Noah's Ark Theater, the Cylinder Theater, the Comma Theater, and the Yellow Submarine. The Ma'aleh Association for Television and Cinema Studies has also been established. A number of new bands and ensembles have been formed, including Musica Aeterna, the Ankor Choir, Arabesque, A-Capella, and others.

New entertainment districts have developed in the city, in the neighborhood of the old railway station in Emek Refaim, along with many bars and restaurants in the area of Shlomzion Hamalka St., Naḥalat Shiva, and Monbaz St. in the center of town.

POLITICAL, MUNICIPAL AND GEOPOLITICAL CHANGES. Since Teddy Kollek lost the mayoral elections in 1993 there has been a gradual revolution in Jerusalem in terms of municipal politics. The ultra-Orthodox public had a decisive weight in the upset in the 1993 election, and the weight of the ultra-Orthodox voter in the city has been gradually increasing. This may be set against the low turnout by the city's Arab population, which has never been above a few percent. In the 1998 election the Shas movement increased its hold considerably and the high rate of voting among the city's ultra-Orthodox population made United Torah Judaism the largest faction in the municipality. In January 2003 the city's mayor, Ehud Olmert, decided to take up Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's offer and join the government. As a result, elections in the city were brought forward and the candidate of the religious United Torah Judaism party, Uri *Lupoliansky, was elected with a majority of 52%. For the first time in the electoral history of Jerusalem, the religious parties achieved a majority in the City Council. In many respects this was an internal political revolution affecting the city's image, since despite the democratic elections, a situation had arisen in which representatives of one-third of the Jewish population of the city held the reins of municipal government, a situation that was not viewed with satisfaction by the secular majority, whose voter turnout at the municipal elections was lower than its numerical weight in the city.

The changes in the national geopolitical sphere are taking place against the background of an increased awakening of Palestinian nationalism, the failure of the Oslo accords, and the loss of trust between the two population groups, Jewish and Arab, in the city. The events of the first and second Intifada years and increasing Palestinian terrorism created serious tension between Jews and Arabs in Israel in general and in Jerusalem in particular. The two populations have taken a mutual step back from each other, and an ethnically polarized system has emerged in Jerusalem. The Arabs have withdrawn into their neighborhoods, and so have the Jews. Visits by Jews to the Old City and by Arabs to the Israeli city center in West Jerusalem have ceased. The security incidents and the curtailment of Palestinian movement in and around the city have deepened the economic gap between the two population groups, and exacerbated the state of public services in the eastern part of the city.

The terrorist attacks led the government of Israel, under pressure of Israeli public opinion, to take the dramatic decision to erect a physical barrier between the Palestinian and Israeli populations. Implementation of this decision in the Jerusalem area has led to a far-reaching change in the city's status, its economy, the welfare of its Arab residents, and its appearance.

THE SECURITY FENCE. Construction of the security envelope around the city is perhaps the most dramatic change to have taken place in Jerusalem since its reunification in June 1967. The route of the fence around Jerusalem was drawn up largely on the basis of security considerations, and this is also its purpose. However, it creates a new and difficult situation for a large part of the Arab population. The longer-term influence of the fence will affect the entire city, including its Jewish population. The security fence has been under construction in the Jerusalem area since 2003 and was due to be completed in 2006. In all other parts of the country, along Israel's border, the fence separates the Palestinian population from the Israeli population. In Jerusalem the situation is different. In practice, the fence separates Palestinians who are resident in the city and hold Israeli identity cards from other Palestinians resident in the West Bank and other Arab residents of Jerusalem who have moved out to live in suburbs outside the city. The fence is being erected, for the most part, along the municipal boundary and includes 230,000 Arab residents within the city. In certain areas it also deviates from the path of the municipal boundary and excludes a number of Arab Jerusalem neighborhoods. As a result of the fact that the fence cuts neighborhoods off from the city, tens of thousands of Arabs holding Israeli identity cards remain outside the fence. These people need to come into Jerusalem every morning for studies, work, medical services, to visit relatives, for prayers etc. As residents of the city, they are entitled to do so by law. Thousands of others, who also carry Israeli identity cards, have moved, over the years, to suburbs outside the city and today they find themselves outside the fence. The immediate demographic result of the situation that has arisen has been the migration of thousands of families back into the city. Their return to Jerusalem has created a serious housing problem, an increase in the cost of real estate in East Jerusalem, and a considerable worsening of residential density. All these do not enhance the socio-economic situation in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the extra Palestinian population upsets the delicate demographic balance between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem. The economic situation of many of the city's Arabs and the residents of the surrounding villages is very poor, due to the loss of work places, the loss of consumers, and difficulties of

access. The health service and education system in East Jerusalem have also been adversely affected, and many people have been cut off from their relatives.

It is still difficult to assess the full impact of the fence on the social and economic status of Jerusalem and on future relations between Arabs and Jews in the city. It is even harder to anticipate the reactions and behavior of the city's Arab residents. A large number of them have been caused personal hardship and a considerable degree of frustration and anger. In such a situation this frustration and suffering is likely to be channeled by extremists toward hostile actions.

Many questions remained unanswered, such as: What will be the future status of the security fence when peace talks with the Palestinians are renewed? To what degree will the fence affect reciprocal relations between Jerusalem and its hinterland? Does the fence not return the city to its position as a border town, similar to its situation between 1949 and 1967? Other questions relate to the future civil status of Arab residents holding Israeli identity cards who have been excluded by the fence; to the efficient functioning of passages through the fence; and to the effect that the fence will have on tourism and pilgrimage between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

THE JERUSALEM METROPOLITAN AREA. In the past decade the Jerusalem metropolitan area, spreading from Hebron in the south to the Shilo Valley in the north and from Jericho in the east to Beit Shemesh in the west has undergone considerable change. Until the end of the 1990s, greater Jerusalem functioned as a single economic unit with economic, social, and cultural ties between the main city – Jerusalem – and the Palestinian and Israeli communities around it. Gradually, as a result of the security incidents and the government of Israel's response to them, the communities of the Palestinian area are cutting themselves off from Jerusalem. The city continues to maintain economic and cultural ties with the Israeli communities in the area, both those within the Jerusalem district to the west and the Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria; Betar Ilit, Efrat, and the Eẓyon bloc to the south of Jerusalem; Ma'aleh Adumim, Kefar Adumim, Adam, and other small communities to the east; Pesagot, Beit El, Ofra, Mikhmash, Givat Ze'ev, new Givon and Bet Horon to the north and northwest of the city.

In 1990, the entire metropolitan population (not including the city of Jerusalem) numbered 600,000 residents. Only around 17% of them (100,000) were Jews. 48% of the Jewish residents lived in the Jerusalem district within the Green Line, and 52% in the communities of Judea and Samaria. Fifteen years later, at the end of 2004, the population of this same area was estimated at 1,597,000 residents. The Jewish population was 22,000, 45% of them living in the communities of Judea and Samaria and 55% in the Jerusalem district within the Green Line. The Jewish population in the metropolitan area increased during this period by 115%, as against an increase of 27% in the Jewish population within Jerusalem. The population of the Jewish communities of Judea and Samaria increased by 90%, whereas within the Green Line the population grew at a higher rate of 145% during the same period.

The large Jewish communities in metropolitan Jerusalem today are Beit Shemesh (65,000), Ma'aleh Adumim (30,000), Betar Ilit (27,000), Mevaseret Zion (22,000), and Givat Ze'ev (11,000).

The Arab population of the same area numbered some 500,000 residents in 1990 and 1,132,000 residents in 2004, an increase of 126%. The relative weight of the Jewish population in the metropolitan area within Judea and Samaria increased slightly and stood at the end of 2004 at 20% as against 17% 15 years ago.

Metropolitan Jerusalem only partially operates as a single functional area. The majority of the metropolitan area is populated by Palestinians, who are cut off in practice from Jerusalem, a situation that will be exacerbated when the security fence around the city is completed. This fact damages the economy and the centrality of Jerusalem as a metropolitan city for all the residents of the region. It serves as a metropolitan city for only 20% of the region's population – the Jewish population.

[Israel Kimhi (2nd ed.)]

GEOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Geography

Jerusalem is located on the ridge of the Judean Mountains between the mountains of Beth-El in the north and of Hebron in the south. To the west of the city are slopes of the Judean Mountains, and to the east lies the Judean desert, which descends to the Dead Sea. The geographical position of Jerusalem is linked to the morphological structure of the Judean Mountains, which appear as one solid mass unbreached by valleys, although vales and ravines are found on their western and eastern descents. This unbroken length of mountains turns the city into a fortress dominating a considerable area. Its position at the crossroads leading from north to south and from west to east enhances its importance: only by ascending to its plateau is it possible to cross the mountain. The road through the length of the mountains follows the plateau, and any deviation to east or west meets with steep ravines on one side and deep canyons on the other. This road, connecting Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Nablus (Shechem), is of the utmost consequence, and Jerusalem is located on its axis, at the very point where it crosses the road from the coast to the Jordan Valley. Jerusalem is about 9 to 10 mi. (15 to 17 km.) from the western boundary of the Judean Mountains and only about a mile (2 km.) from their eastern boundary.

THE CLIMATE. Jerusalem's climate is Mediterranean, with a rainy, temperate winter and a hot, completely dry summer; there is a high percentage of solar radiation throughout the year, especially in the summer.

The annual rainfall in Jerusalem is about 20 in. (500 mm.). The rainy season continues from September to May, and ap-

proximately 30% of the annual rain falls by December, with 40% in February and March. There are about 47 rainy days annually on the average. On most of these days there is about 0.2 in. (5 mm.) of rainfall; 1.2 in. (30 mm.) of daily rainfall occurs about five or six times during a season; and once or twice there is as much as 2 in. (50 mm.). Particularly heavy rainfalls were recorded between Nov. 5 and Nov. 9, 1938, amounting to 8 in. (200 mm.) or 30% of the precipitation of that year. In the period from Dec. 13 to Dec. 23, 1951, over 14 in. (358 mm.) fell (57% of the annual rainfall). In the 100 years during which records of rainfall were kept (1840–1950), there were two years with less than 12 in. (300 mm.) of rainfall in the entire wet season, six years with less than 16 in. (400 mm.), and three years with more than 40 in. (1000 mm.). Snow in Jerusalem is infrequent. When it does fall, it occurs mainly in January and February and can last about four or five days.

The average annual temperature in Jerusalem is 66° F (19° C). The average temperature in August, the hottest month, is 75° F (24° C) and in the coldest month, January, is 50° F (10° C). The average daily temperature from December to February is usually under 52° F (11° C). From the middle of February until the beginning of April, the temperature rises to an average of about 59° F (15° C). At the end of April it rises to about 68° F (20° C) and remains at that level until the end of July. In August it reaches 77° F (25° C), and from then until the end of October the daily average is about 68° F (20° C). The minimum temperature in the month of January goes down to 41° F (5° C). The maximum temperature during the *sharav* (heat wave) reaches 95° F (35° C). The regular wind in Jerusalem is a western one, but occasionally it is northwesterly or southwesterly. Winds do not originate in Jerusalem and its vicinity. Jerusalem is subject to heat waves during the months of May and June, as well as September and October. These periods are characterized by intensive heat and low humidity and usually last a few days. The humidity drops 30–40% below the average and the heat increases by about 27° F (15° C). The average daily humidity in Jerusalem is about 62%. The humidity drops until noon and rises toward evening. The amount of dew in Jerusalem reaches 0.8–1 in. (20–25 mm.) as an average during the 100 to 150 annual nights of dew.

FLORA. In Jerusalem, remnants of ancient trees are to be found, including the Jerusalem pine (*Pinus halepensis*, the tallest forest tree in Israel), the gall oak (*Quercus infectoria*), the common oak (*Quercus calliprinos*), the Tabor oak (*Quercus ithaburensis*), the Palestine terebinth (*Pistacia palaestina*), the mastic terebinth (*Pistacia tenticus*), the arbutus, and the wild olive. Traces of ancient vegetation were found in Tel Arzah, on Mount Scopus, on the French Hill, in the Valley of the Cross, the German Colony, Ein Kerem, Bet ha-Kerem, Talpiyyot, and Agron Street.

BOUNDARIES. The only boundary of Jerusalem that remained unchanged after the Six-Day War (1967) was its western boundary. It descends southwest from Har Ḥoẓevim to the village of Mei-Nefto'aḥ (Liftā) and west to Har ha-Menuḥot and from there to Kefar Sha'ul, Bet Zayit, Ein Kerem, the Hadassah medical center, Kefar Shalma, and Ir Gannim. The new boundaries of the city were extended north, east, and south. North of Mount Ḥoẓevim, the boundary includes the villages of Shaʿfāṭ, New Beit Ḥanīnā, and Qalandiya to the airport at Atarot, and then returns eastward to the Jerusalem-Ramallah highway, encompassing within the boundaries of the city the hilly area between Jerusalem and Atarot. The eastern boundary includes the natural mountainous framework of Jerusalem: Mount Scopus, the Mount of Olives, the village of Al-Tūr, the Old City, and the village of Silwān. The new boundary on the south includes the villages of Ṣūr Bāhir and Beit Ṣafāfā and continues the length of the Valley of Rephaim to the juncture with the western border. Greater Jerusalem within these borders has an area of 26,250 acres (105,000 dunams) and forms one organic unit.

TOPOGRAPHY. The watershed of the region passes through the city in a north-south direction via Mount Scopus, the Sanhedriyyah Quarter, Romemah, Maḥaneh Yehudah, Terra Sancta, the YMCA, Givat Ḥananyah, the Mandatory Government House (later the headquarters of the UN observers), Talpiyyot, and Ramat Raḥel. There are some mountain ridges branching off the watershed to the east and west. On the low eastern ridge, which descends to the river bed of Kidron, the ancient city was built. A western ridge divides the Christian and Armenian quarters of the Old City and ends on Mount Zion. It was here that the Upper City was built. A number of ridges penetrate to the west and south of Jerusalem: the ridge of Beit Yisrael, the ridge on which the Mandatory Government House stands, the ridge of Ha-Kiryah (Israel government center), the Kiryat ha-Yovel ridge, the Gonen ridge, and the ridge of Ir Gannim. The ridges and the branches of the mountains form valleys that greatly influence the structure of the city. These are divided into two groups: those facing Naḥal Kidron in the east, and those facing Naḥal Sorek in the west. Naḥal Ben Hinnom, which demarcates the southwestern boundary of historical Jerusalem, flows into Naḥal Kidron. Another tributary of the Kidron is Naḥal Egozim, which divides the Bet Yisrael Quarter from Mount Scopus. Naḥal Sorek borders Jerusalem on the north and the west. In the south the Valley of Refa'im is a tributary of Naḥal Sorek.

The topography of Jerusalem forms five main natural basins. The eastern basin includes the Old City and the drainage basin of Kidron and Ben Hinnom. The northern basin includes the Romemah, Tel Arzah, and Sanhedriyyah quarters. The southern basin includes the German and Greek colonies, Ge'ulim, Talbieh, Mekor Ḥayyim, Bet ha-Kerem, Bayit va-Gan, Kiryat ha-Yovel, Ein Kerem, and Ir Gannim. The central basin includes the government center (Ha-Kiryah), The Hebrew University, and the Israel Museum. As most of the ridges and the valleys extend in a north to south direction, only a few extending from east to west, the city has developed lengthwise. Mount Scopus is 2,700 ft. (827 m.) and the Mount of

Olives is 2,640 ft. (805 m.) high, whereas the Old City is some 200–260 ft. (60–80 m.) lower. Mount Herzl and Bayit va-Gan are 2,340 ft. (835 m.) high, whereas nearby Ein Kerem is only 2,230–2,300 ft. (650–700 m.) high.

[Elisha Efrat]

THE OLD CITY. The present-day walls of the Old City, built from 1536 under the Turkish sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, enclose a smaller area than that of the Second Temple period. The location of its seven gates (Herod's, Damascus, and New Gates in the north, Jaffa Gate in the west, Zion and Dung Gates in the south, and St. Stephen's (Lions') Gate in the east) is thought to be identical to that of the gates of antiquity.

Inside the walls of the Old City, where all the inhabitants lived until the middle of the 19th century, four quarters are distinguished: in the northwest corner, the Christian Quarter, grouped around the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; in the southwest, the Armenian Quarter; in the center and northeast, the Muslim Quarter; and, in the south, the Jewish Quarter. From St. Stephen's Gate westward to the Holy Sepulcher runs the Via Dolorosa, which passes through the Muslim Quarter and is flanked by several churches, monasteries, and Christian charitable institutions. The artificially flattened ground on Mt. Moriah, where the Jewish Temple stood, later became the site of two of the holiest shrines of Islam: the Dome of the Rock (Omar Mosque) and the Aqṣā Mosque. The Temple Area is surrounded by the colossal Herodian enclosure wall, preserved in the east, south, and west; a larger section of the Western ("Wailing") Wall, the most venerated site in Jewish tradition, was bared to view after 1967, and archaeological excavations around the southern edges of the Temple Mount have added to the knowledge of the city's structure in the Second Temple period and later. Between the Western Wall and the Armenian Quarter lies the Jewish Quarter, which had to surrender in the 1948 fighting. Under Jordanian rule, this quarter deteriorated, and all its synagogues were systematically destroyed. Following the Six-Day War (1967) reconstruction was started there.

THE NEW CITY. As a result of the gradual population rise, space between the walls of the Old City became ever more crowded, particularly in the narrow Jewish Quarter. Jews were therefore the first to found new quarters outside the walls; in 1858 Mishkenot Sha'ananim was built west of the Old City, soon followed by Yemin Moshe and by Naḥalat Shivah in the northwest. At about the same time, churches began to establish hostels and other institutions outside the walls for the benefit of the growing flow of Christian pilgrims: the buildings of the Russian Compound are notable among these.

The New City spread mainly toward the northwest along the road leading to the port of Jaffa. From this direction most goods were brought, and pilgrims, both Jewish and Christian, arrived from overseas and enlivened trade in the city. In the first Jewish quarters the houses were crowded together, primarily for security reasons; the Yemin Moshe quarter was even surrounded by a wall and its gates closed every evening. Those first quarters which the inhabitants built exclusively with their own means (e.g., Naḥalat Shivah) were shabby in appearance and lacked uniformity in style and layout. Others, where construction was partly or wholly financed by philanthropists (like Yemin Moshe, which was aided by Sir Moses Montefiore and bears his name), were better planned, generally with rows of houses of one or two stories. The Me'ah She'arim quarter took on particular importance. Founded in 1874 by pious Jews from the Old City, it has remained a stronghold of Jewish Orthodoxy.

At the end of the 19th century, the first garden suburbs made their appearance; those of non-Jews (e.g., German Colony and Greek Colony, Katamon, etc.) preceded modern Jewish quarters (Reḥavyah, Beit ha-Kerem, Talpiyyot, etc.). In all these, attempts were made to lend beauty to the individual house and surrounding garden and to plan streets, water, sewage and electricity networks along rational lines, while details were kept within the framework of the urban outline scheme.

The British Mandatory authorities aimed to preserve Jerusalem's beauty and historical treasures. All outer house walls had to be built of the fine local stone, which is both durable and in harmony with the landscape. Rules limiting the height of structures and floor space percentage covering the ground were issued, and care was taken to retain open spaces and preserve the skyline, particularly of sites of natural beauty and historical interest. An effort was made to fit the main roads to traffic densities, and a ring road was planned to connect the outer suburbs with each other. On the other hand, the authorities rejected industrialization as not befitting Jerusalem's character, and they did not encourage a rapid population growth.

CITY PLANNING (1948–1967). In the first years of the State of Israel, the most pressing tasks were repair of the damage caused in the War of Independence, absorption of new immigrants, and preparation of a new outline scheme fitting in with the border which then divided the city between Israel and Jordan; at a later stage came zoning into residential, commercial, administrative, cultural, and industrial units.

With The Hebrew University campus, the Knesset, and the Israel Museum as pivotal points, a large center of legislative, administrative, cultural, and commercial institutions was laid out. The whole area was well integrated in the general plan of the capital. Care was taken to preserve and restore sites of archaeological and historical interest, to maintain open spaces, and to develop green belts.

Jerusalem's hilly topography was taken into account: the ridges and upper slopes, which are well drained in winter and cool and agreeable in summer, were reserved for building, while valleys were earmarked for parks, gardens, and fruit orchards.

The de facto borders that surrounded Israel left the west as the only direction for Jerusalem's expansion. It was therefore decided to let the outline scheme hinge on the Binyenei

ha-Ummah (Convention Center) at Romemah, the dominant height of the Jerusalem urban area which lies astride the main western entrance of the city. Accordingly, the existing commercial center was planned to expand northwestward to Romemah. The buildings of the Government ministries (Ha-Kiryah) and the new Knesset edifice, surrounded by lawns and gardens, adjoin this area to the south. Still further south lie the impressive campus of the university and the National Library, the Israel Museum, and related institutions. This whole complex is thus situated between older quarters in the east and the expansion belt of residential suburbs (Kiryat Moshe, Bet ha-Kerem, Bayit va-Gan, Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) in the west and southwest. The Hadassah Medical Center is the extreme point of westward expansion.

Contrary to the British view, industry is now regarded as an element indispensable to Jerusalem's economy. Owing to the city's geographical position, light industries are easiest to develop here. In addition to the enlarged existing industrial area at Tel Arza in the northwest, a second, at Givat Sha'ul in the west, was developed.

Owing to economic and security considerations, the planning authorities regarded the road system linking the capital to the rest of the State as particularly important. After the War of Independence, a single highway to Tel Aviv in the northwest was open; the railway line became usable again after border corrections in the Israel-Jordan armistice of 1949. Since then, additional roads, which converge on the city from the west and southwest, were constructed.

As elsewhere in the country, the large new suburbs in the west and southwest (Katamon, Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) were laid out as self-contained neighborhood units. Prior to 1967, they had to absorb many newcomers settling in Jerusalem and to aid in thinning out the overpopulated older quarters further east, some of which had been earmarked for replanning and reconstruction. In an outer circle around these suburbs spread a green belt of parks, forests, and playgrounds. Landscaping and planting of parks and lawns accentuated sites of historical interest all over the city. Although the law prescribing the facing of buildings with natural stone was relaxed in part of the city to prevent unnecessary rises in the cost of popular housing, it was retained for all representative sections of the city.

Growth And Planning After Reunification (1967). Immediately after the Six-Day War, all military installations, fences, and shell-proof concrete walls which had separated the two parts of the city were removed, and the connecting streets and roads paved and opened. Next, unseemly structures obstructing the view of the Old City wall were torn down, the wall itself and its gates painstakingly repaired, and the first gardens of a planned green peripheral belt planted in front of it. Inside the Old City, hovels were demolished close to the Western Wall. Two additional rows of its ashlars, hidden in the rubble, were uncovered and a wide square in front cleared, paved, and rendered suitable for prayer. The reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter and its historic synagogues was started and institutions of religious study moved in, their pupils forming the nucleus of the Old City's renewed Jewish community. South of the Temple Mount, archaeological excavations were started early in 1968. The slight damage caused to Christian churches and institutions during the fighting was speedily repaired and church building and renovation work (e.g., on the Holy Sepulcher), which had been in progress prior to June 1967, were resumed. Jerusalem's boundaries were redrawn, giving the capital a municipal area exceeding 100 sq. km., the largest in the country (see Boundaries, above).

One of the main problems of the Jerusalem master plan lay in reconciling the desire for a continuous built-up area with the necessity to preserve and enhance numerous historical sites, sacred to three world religions, such as the entire Old City, the Kidron and Ben Hinnom Gorges, the "City of David" to the south, Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives, and many more. Both inside and outside the Old City walls, gardens were laid out or were planned, while other areas to the east and south were earmarked as public open spaces or sites for preservation and reconstruction.

Another difficult task, which after June 1967 assumed great urgency, lay in securing efficient traffic arteries leading through and around Jerusalem. The existent main thoroughfares had become totally inadequate, particularly Jaffa Road, which carried the bulk of both urban and interurban traffic. A network of new broad roads was blueprinted in order to provide alternative approach routes from all directions, enabling vehicular traffic to cross the municipal area to destinations beyond it (e.g., from Bethlehem directly to Ramallah) without clogging Jerusalem's main arteries. Adequate parking facilities had also to be provided throughout the city. The numerous protected historical sites and edifices and, primarily, Jerusalem's hilly terrain rendered this program highly expensive, as entire complexes of nonessential buildings would have to be demolished. In addition, earth-moving work, on a very large scale, would have to be carried out and long road tunnels excavated in the ridges.

In order to arrive at an acceptable joint solution to the traffic, social, and economic problems, planners preferred not to concentrate industry, commerce, administration, tourism, etc., each in a separate area, but rather to distribute them evenly throughout the city, thus shortening the distances between residential quarters and sites of employment and more evenly spreading traffic flow during rush hours. As more and more Government ministries and other central offices moved to the capital, an increasing need was felt to depart from the original plan of concentrating all government buildings in Ha-Kiryah but to distribute them over other sections, including East Jerusalem.

The Hebrew University saw the return of its original campus atop Mount Scopus, where, beginning with the Harry S. Truman Research Center, an intensive restoration and building program was launched in 1968, comprising lecture halls and dormitories for thousands of students. Other institutes of

learning, e.g., yeshivot, Christian theological seminaries, etc., were constructed in various parts of the city.

In view of the growing need for tourist accommodation and services in Jerusalem, large sums of public and private capital were invested in hotel building, and suitable sites were earmarked for these purposes throughout the city, with an area in the south, on a ridge northwest of the former Government House, planned as the principal hotel center. The capital attracted increasing numbers of industrial enterprises, particularly in the electronics and other science-centered industries, for which new areas were set aside in the south, north, and northeast.

New housing developments called for the largest share of both space and investments. While the southwest (Kiryat ha-Yovel, etc.) continued to serve as the sector of intensive apartment building, and vacant lots elsewhere were increasingly being used for new constructions, a concentrated effort was being directed toward the favorable terrain in the north, beyond the former armistice line. New residential quarters, under construction since 1968, promised to provide accommodation for tens of thousands of citizens, both Jews and non-Jews, and to link western Jerusalem with Mount Scopus in the east and Shaʿfāṭ in the north.

[Efraim Orni]

Archaeological Research

Ever since the 19th century, when Jerusalem first became the focus of antiquarians and explorers, the complexity of studying so many superimposed ancient periods under the city, combined with the fact that so many of its important sites are inconveniently situated beneath buildings that are the focus of the three principal religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), have made methodical archaeological research there a particularly difficult and challenging task. Investigation and recording of the visible ancient remains of ancient Jerusalem took place during the 19th century by many explorers: E. Robinson C. Mauss, E. Pierotti, T. Tobler, C.J.M. de-Vogüé, among others. Their work is invaluable because subsequent building activities in the city have destroyed or covered up many of the ancient remains that they recorded. Since the first proper mapping of Jerusalem in 1864 by C. Wilson during the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, the city has been almost continuously studied by explorers and archaeologists, with much work being undertaken in the area of the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount), the Southeastern Hill (the "City of David"), and the Western Hill (traditional "Mount Zion"). Important work was undertaken by C. Warren (from 1867), especially around the Temple Mount, on behalf of the British Palestine Exploration Fund. During the latter part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century much work was done on the ancient topography of the city and its monuments by C.R. Conder, C. Schick, H. Vincent, and others. Important excavations were conducted by F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie (1894–97) on the Western Hill, by R. Weill (1913–14, 1923–24), by R.A.S. Macalister and J.G. Duncan (1923–25), by G.M. FitzGerald and J.W. Crowfoot (1927–28) on the Southeastern Hill, and by K.M. *Kenyon (1961–68) in various parts of the city.

During the 1970s and early 1980s large-scale excavations were conducted in Jerusalem by B. Mazar (1968–78) at the southern and southwestern foot of the Temple Mount, by N. Avigad (1969–83) in the Jewish Quarter, and by Y. Shiloh (1978–85) in the "City of David."

Excavations were also conducted in various areas on Mount Zion by M. Broshi (1971–78) and further remains have been uncovered in the area of the Citadel near the Jaffa Gate by H. Geva, G. Solar, and R. Sivan and others. Excavations have also been conducted by D. Bahat in the tunnels along the western Temple Mount wall.

New excavations have been undertaken in various parts of the city during the 1980s and 1990s, particularly by V. Tzaferis, S. Wulff, D. Amit, and others in the area of the Third Wall to the north of the Old City; by R. Reich, A. Meir, and others in the Mamila area to the west of Jaffa Gate; by R. Reich and E. Shukrun in the area of the Gihon Spring, along the east slope of the City of David, and in the area of the Pool of Siloam; by R. Reich and Y. Bilig in the area of Robinson's Arch; by G. Avni and Y. Baruch in the area close to Herod's Gate; and by G. Avni and J. Seligman in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Much work has also been conducted in the surroundings of Jerusalem with many small excavations conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority.

BIBLICAL PERIOD. *The City and Its Fortifications.* Charles *Warren (1867–70) was the first to try to ascertain the line of the ancient fortification wall of the biblical city by the excavation of a number of pits and tunnels, especially to the southeast of the Temple Mount, with the discovery of what he identified as the wall of Ophel. Warren's work focused subsequent archaeological attention on the significance of the Southeast Hill, now known as the "City of David," as the place where the oldest parts of Jerusalem might indeed be unearthed.

Clermont-Ganneau and H. Guthe (1881) found additional wall segments that extended the line of the "Ophel wall" along the eastern slope of the City of David. At the southern end of the City of David, next to the Siloam Pool, F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie (1894–97) discovered a massive barrier wall that served to dam the southern end of the Tyropoeon Valley. They also discovered the continuation of this fortification wall on the slopes of the Western Hill above the Hinnom Valley. They identified in this fortification line two phases of construction and attributed the earliest phase to the time of the First Temple. Modern research cannot sustain this general attribution, with the latest phase now dated to the Byzantine period and the earliest to the Second Temple period, but it is still possible that small wall segments incorporated into the earlier phase of that wall do indeed date back to the Iron Age. M. Parker's expedition (1909–11) concentrated on digging in the area of the Gihon Spring and on the slope above it, where an additional segment of a fortification wall was discovered. (The results of Parker's expedition were eventually published

by L.H. Vincent.) The southern end of the City of David was investigated by the Weill expeditions (1913–14, 1923–24), which revealed an additional build-up of fortifications.

R.A.S. Macalister and J.G. Duncan (1923–25) excavated a considerable area in the north of the City of David in the area above the Gihon Spring. They discovered segments of fortification walls, towers, and revetments whose earlier use they attributed to the biblical city. Inside the line of fortifications they uncovered a number of strata, the lowest of which they attributed to the Canaanite and Israelite cities. The J.W. Crowfoot and G.M. Fitzgerald expedition (1927–28) dug close to the area mentioned above. The results of their excavation, however, showed that most of the remnants discovered there could not be dated earlier than the Roman and Byzantine periods. They also investigated a gate (the "Gate of the Valley"), above the Tyropoeon Valley on the west side of the city (the width of the wall is approximately 28 ft. (8.5 m.), which is probably Hellenistic in date.

Various scholars subsequently published research based on these archaeological finds, namely K. Galling, G. *Dalman, J. Simons, L.H. Vincent, M. *Avi-Yonah, N. *Avigad, B. *Mazar, and others.

A difference of opinion immediately arose among these scholars regarding the topography and size of biblical Jerusalem, from the time of David and Solomon and to the destruction of the First Temple.

The excavations that were conducted by (later Dame) Kathleen Kenyon, between 1961 and 1967, opened a new page in the history of archaeological research of the city. Kenyon excavated at many locations on the Southeastern Hill, with a few areas on the Western Hill and inside the Old City (notably in the Armenian Garden). The fact that Kenyon's excavation areas were generally limited in size was eventually seen to be detrimental to the veracity of some of the important conclusions she published. However, in Kenyon's "great cut A," which was made on the slope between the line of the upper wall discovered by Macalister and Duncan in 1925 and the Gihon Spring below, the key to understanding the topography and the boundaries of the city in its earlier periods first became clear. The system of fortifications discovered by Macalister and Duncan was found to have been built on the remnants of walls and structures dating back to the beginning of the Iron Age. Hence, the line of fortifications uncovered by Macalister and Duncan had to date from the Second Temple period or later. Lower down the slope in Kenyon's "cut A," which was deepened in some places to bedrock, some 82 ft. (25 m.) above the Gihon Spring, a thick fortification wall was found built of large fieldstones which could be dated to the Middle Bronze Age. Kenyon showed that these fortifications survived until the eighth century B.C.E. and that during the reign of Hezekiah a new wall, whose width was approximately 18 ft. (5.5 m.), was built at the same place.

On the basis of a few trial excavations areas conducted on the eastern slope of the Western Hill, which did not bring to light remains from the Iron Age, Kenyon was confirmed in her opinion that there was no continuation of the Israelite city west of the Tyropoeon Valley. Her view regarding the restricted size of the Iron Age city was later contested and proven to be wrong as a result of Avigad's discovery of a fortification wall in the Jewish Quarter (see below), but Kenyon adamantly continued to insist that this enlarged city did not include the southern part of the Western Hill. Kenyon found that the narrowness of the city area on the Southeastern Hill was overcome by the construction of a series of graduated terraces filled in with stones and supported by stone walls that rose from the base of the city – the eastern wall – upslope. According to Kenyon, this system was used in Jerusalem from the 14th century B.C.E. and throughout the Iron Age period. It was identified with the "Millo," mentioned in I Kings 9:15. Kenyon demonstrated that the Canaanite city existed solely on the Southeastern Hill, and that its area approximated 15 acres (60 dunams). Ceramic evidence was adduced from the 10th century B.C.E. for the extension of the city northwards to the area of the modern-day Temple Mount. Some have speculated that this may have been where Solomon's administrative and palace buildings were situated. The total area of the Solomonic town was thought to have been approximately 120 dunams. Remnants of ashlar buildings, and the discovery of a proto-Aeolic capital by Kenyon, provided hints about splendid buildings that existed there in First Temple period Jerusalem, perhaps similar to those in Samaria and Megiddo.

While Kenyon produced important archaeological evidence concerning the early development of Jerusalem in the area of the Southeastern Hill, her results and interpretations in regard to the area of the Western Hill and in the Old City have largely been superseded by excavations carried out there by Avigad and others since 1967 (see below). Kenyon was of the opinion that there was no Iron Age settlement on the Western Hill. However, already during the excavations in the area of the Citadel by C.N. Jones (1934–40) Iron Age pottery was found, and this was confirmed during the later excavations by R. Amiran and A. Eitan (1968–69) at the same spot, with the discovery of floors and pottery. Although Iron Age pottery and walls were found by Kenyon's colleague A.D. Tushingham in the area of the Armenian Garden, these were interpreted as representing remains of activities that took place outside the city.

During N. Avigad's excavations (1969–83) in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, fragmentary houses were found dating from the Iron Age, in addition to pottery, stamped handles, and figurines. His main find was that of a length of city wall (about 8 meters thick) running in a northeast-southwest direction across the Western Hill. Additional segments of Iron Age fortifications were discovered during subsequent excavations, all of which confirmed that the Iron Age city was very large and incorporated a large part of the Western Hill, contrary to Kenyon and others.

Archaeological excavations conducted by B. Mazar (1968–78) to the south of the Temple Mount brought to light additional remains which could be dated to the Iron Age, and

some of these remains were later examined in greater detail by E. Mazar, who suggested identifying part of them as a gateway complex leading down to the Gihon Spring. Excavations by Y. Shiloh (1978–85) in the area of the City of David brought to light further remains from the Iron Age and clarified some of Kenyon's original work in regard to the terrace/stepped stone-structure (in Area G), the fortification line, and the water system associated with the Gihon Spring. Very clear signs of the Babylonian conquest of the year 586/587 B.C.E. are known from Shiloh's excavations and, together with evidence uncovered by Avigad on the Western Hill, they serve to confirm the destruction of Jerusalem at the end of the First Temple period. Later excavations by R. Reich and E. Shukrun have revealed that the first fortifications in and around the Gihon Spring were from the Middle Bronze Age, and that the Iron Age fortification system on the east slope of the City of David may very well have included a lower fortification wall close to the bottom of the slope.

Necropolises. The tombs discovered by Parker (1909–11) on the slope above the Gihon were dated by Vincent to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. Kenyon discovered a series of tombs from the Middle Bronze Age on the Mount of Olives, in the same area where Warren had also found early tombs in the 1860s. Tombs that were rich in finds from the Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages were found near the Dominus Flevit Church and excavated by S. Saller (1954). Tombs with many important objects from the Late Bronze Age were also found in the Naḥalat Aḥim neighborhood (Amiran, 1961) and in the area of the UN headquarters. A series of rock-hewn tombs of the First Temple period are known east of the City of David in the area of the Silwan village, and these were studied in some detail in modern times by D. Ussishkin. Some of these tombs in Silwan were already investigated by explorers in the 19th century, notably by F. de Saulcy in 1865, who investigated the monolithic "Tomb of the Daughter of Pharaoh," and C. Clermont-Ganneau, who examined a number of tombs – among them one with the inscription " []yahu who is over the house." At the southern end of the City of David, Weill (1913–14) found monumental rock-cut chambers that he identified as the tombs of the House of David, but this identification still requires proper verification. Rock-cut tombs from the Iron Age were also investigated by Israeli scholars from the 1970s, notably by G. Barkay, A. Mazar, and others, in and around the city, notably to the north of the Old City (in the area of St. Etienne), in the Hinnom Valley, and elsewhere.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD. *The City and Its Fortifications.* Remains from the period of the Second Temple, and particularly from the time of King Herod (37–4 B.C.E.), served as a starting point for archaeological investigations from the 19th century. Terms and names connected with this period were obtained from the descriptions of the city as presented in the writings of the Jewish historian *Josephus. In 1867–70, C. Warren was engaged in an investigation of the Herodian enclosure walls of the Temple Mount, following on from the Ordnance Survey mapping of the Temple Mount made by C. Wilson in 1864 (published in 1865). Warren's descriptions and precise sketches of the topography of Jerusalem, particularly of the structure of Temple Mount walls, are still used by scholars. Many of the underground passages and gates of the Temple Mount studied by Wilson and Warren are now largely inaccessible to scholars. Among the structures they investigated were "Robinson's Arch" and "Wilson's Arch." Warren also uncovered a part of the foundation of the first arch of "Robinson's Arch" (later revealed in its entirety by Mazar in the 1970s) and was the first to suggest that it might have served as the base for a flight of steps leading to the valley below – a view he later abandoned but which was confirmed during Mazar's excavations. Warren also examined the vaulted areas on the southwest side of the Temple Mount, popularly known as "Solomon's Stables." He also correctly identified the site of the Antonia fortress, adjoining the northwest corner of the Temple Mount. The area was subsequently investigated by Clermont-Ganneau (1871) and Vincent and Marie-Aline de Sion (1955), but the walls and pavements which they thought belonged to the Herodian Antonia turned out to be of later Roman date (i.e., the remains shown in the convent of the Soeurs de Sion). C.N. Johns (1934–40) uncovered important remains of the northwestern corner of the "first" wall fortification system in the courtyard of the Citadel near the Jaffa Gate, dating from Hasmonean and Herodian times. This fortification line was associated with the large tower (identified as Phasael or Hippicus) which is commonly called David's Tower. (It has a preserved height of 66 ft. or 20 m.) Remnants of the "first" wall have been uncovered to the south of the Citadel, around Mt. Zion, along the edges of the Valley of Hinnom and as far as the City of David and the Kidron Valley. Fragments of this fortification line were studied by C. Schick and H. Maudsley (1871–75) in the area of the "Bishop Gobat School" on the southwest slope of traditional Mount Zion. Later, F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie (1895–98) uncovered substantial parts of this fortification wall around Mount Zion and as far as the Kidron Valley; Bliss and Dickie uncovered a two-phased fortification system, of which the earlier dated to the Second Temple period and the later to the Byzantine period. New evidence regarding the "first" wall was brought to light as a result of N. Avigad's excavations along the northern stretch, uncovering part of a gate (the Gennath Gate?), and M. Broshi's excavations along the western stretch, between the Citadel and the south-west angle of the Old City of today, bringing to light Hasmonean and Herodian fortifications and a gate (the Essene Gate?) that led into the city.

The line of the "second" wall has been reconstructed by scholars largely on the basis of written sources, rather than on archaeological findings. The opinions of many scholars regarding the wherabouts of this wall were heavily influenced by the study of the location of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus, which were supposed to have been situated outside the city walls. Established facts, however, are few. The line of the wall began at the "first" wall near the Citadel, passing to the south of the area of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and eventu-

ally reaching the Antonia Fortress. Conrad Schick originally found a collapsed fortification line on a rocky scarp to the southwest of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher – partly confirmed by Kenyon who dug near the Muristan Bazaar – and a fosse that may have been associated with the "second" wall, thus placing the area of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus outside the city. Some scholars have dated the construction of the "second" wall to the Hasmonean period, though others have attributed it to the time of the establishment of the Bezetha Quarter at the time of Herod the Great.

The course of the "third" wall, the construction of which took place at the time of Agrippa I (40–44 C.E.), has been disputed by scholars. Vincent, Simons, Kenyon, and Henessy fixed the course parallel to the line of the Ottoman wall in the northern part of the Old City of today. The opinion of E.L. *Sukenik and Mayer (1925–27), however, seemed better founded when they identifed the "third" wall with the line of the wall they uncovered – seen already by Pococke in the late 18th century and by Robinson in 1838/1852 – along a distance of approximately 1,600 ft. (500 m.) extending from the Italian Hospital to the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. The line of wall includes towers facing north.

Excavations of this line in the 1970s by E. Netzer and S. Ben-Arieh confirmed the date of this wall and supported its identifications as the "third" wall. The wall was built carelessly and is far simpler than the other Second Temple fortification walls known in Jerusalem. The general consensus of opinion has been that this wall was first begun at the time of Agrippa I and was only completed at the time of the outbreak of the revolt in 66 C.E. in order to protect the "New City" from the Roman legions.

Significant information regarding the layout and appearance of the city during the late first century B.C.E. to 70 C.E. emerged from the excavations conducted by Mazar in the area of the southern edges of the Temple Mount, by Avigad in the Jewish Quarter excavations, and by Broshi on Mount Zion. Houses found there were first established in Hasmonean times (early first century C.E.) and were later replaced by new structures – many palatial in appearance – at the time of Herod the Great and in the first century C.E. The Herodian buildings that have been unearthed had cellars and ritual baths (*mikva'ot*) in their basements, with sumptuous rooms, many of which were adorned with wall paintings or with stucco decorations. Many artifacts from the Second Temple were uncovered: pottery, stone vessels, coins, and others.

A seven-branched **menorah* – one of the oldest known examples – engraved into a plaster wall – was found in one of the houses overlooking the Temple Mount to the east. One inscription indicated that the house belonged to the priestly Bar Kathros family. The houses were violently destroyed in 70 C.E. with the capture of the city by the Romans.

The layout of the area around the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount has become clear as a result of the extensive excavations by B. Mazar and more recently by more limited work by R. Reich and Y. Bilig. Alongside the southern wall of the Temple Mount a wide street, paved with stone slabs, leading to Hulda's Gates, was discovered. A large flight of steps extended up to this gate. Nearby were ritual purification pools (*mikva'ot*). The base of "Robinson's Arch" was uncovered, which in all likelihood supported a flight of steps descending from a gate in the Temple Mount to the Lower City.

In the Second Temple period, based on the present state of archaeological research, Jerusalem expanded in the Hasmonean period (late second century B.C.E.) from the area of the small Hellenistic town on the Southeast Hill to the Western Hill, and it subsequently incorporated a very large area indeed. From the time of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.) the city was substantially modified with major building operations at the sites of the Temple and palace in the Upper City, with work on improving the city fortifications as well. New fortification walls (the "second" and "third" walls) were subsequently added, and the Jerusalem that was destroyed by Titus and the Roman legions was a very large city indeed, extending over some 450 acres (1,800 dunams).

Necropolises. The cemeteries of Jerusalem during the Second Temple period extended like a belt around the city from present-day Sanhedriyyah in the northwest, through Givat ha-Mivtar, Mt. Scopus, the Mt. of Olives, and the hill of the UN headquarters, to Talpiyyot and Ramat Raḥel in the south. Almost one thousand tombs have been investigated and a catalogue of their locations and finds has been prepared by A. Kloner and B. Zissu. The internal plan of the tombs is simple, as was the custom then. On the sides of the central chambers are tunnel-like burial recesses (Heb. *kokhim*), occasionally within arched recesses (arcosolia). The dead were laid out on the benches of the central chambers or within the *kokhim*, and once the bodies had decomposed the bones were gathered into limestone ossuaries. A shrouded body of a leper (who suffered from Hansen's Disease) was discovered in a tomb in the lower Hinnom Valley. Some of the larger tombs have carved exteriors or monuments (e.g., the so-called Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley) or sometimes carved interiors (e.g., a few tombs in the Akeldama area). As early as 1863 de Saulcy cleaned out the Tombs of the Kings and discovered there the decorated sarcophagi that may possibly have belonged to the family of Queen Helena of Adiabene. Clermont-Ganneau completed the excavation of those tombs. He also partially cleaned the tomb known as Absalom's Tomb (1891). In 1891 Schick published the discovery of the so-called Tomb of the Family of Herod, found near the site on which the King David Hotel was subsequently built. In 1924 N. Slouschz cleared Absalom's Tomb. From 1926 to 1940 E.L. Sukenik studied approximately 40 Jewish funerary complexes in the city (such as the tomb of the Nicanor family discovered on Mt. Scopus). Avigad investigated the various burial sites of Jerusalem, especially in the Kidron Valley (1945–47). Jason's Tomb from the Hasmonean period was excavated in Reḥavyah by L. Raḥmani (1954), who also investigated the burial sites of Sanhedriyyah (1961). In 1968 V. Tsaferis excavated several tombs at Givat ha-

Mivtar, northeast of the city. One of them contained 35 burials, including one of a young man called Yoḥanan, who had died by crucifixion. Hundreds of limestone ossuaries and simple graves were investigated on the western slope of the Mt. of Olives, near the Church of Dominus Flevit by P.B. Bagatti and J.T. Milik (1953–55). The major findings in this cemetery are from the Herodian period; however, it was used from the Hasmonean period to the Byzantine period. The subject of tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem was investigated by A. Kloner in 1980. Numerous tombs continued to be excavated during the 1980s to 1990s, with fewer excavated since the year 2000 due to the Israeli government's agreement with the Ultra-Orthodox Jewish community in Jerusalem to disallow the excavation of human bones.

THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD. Following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. and the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 C.E.), a Roman city was built in its stead named Aelia Capitolina in the second century C.E. The camp of the Tenth Roman Legion (Fretensis) was situated in the area of the Citadel and Armenian Garden and is represented by the discovery of numerous rooftiles bearing the mark of the legion and with symbols of a galley and wild boar. The size and the position of the camp have been debated, and new suggestions have unsuccessfully attempted to place the camp at other locations. Kilns and other remains of the Tenth Legion have been found in the area of Givat Ram and Binyanei Ha'uma to the west of the city. Aelia was largely built up with temples, buildings, and with a western forum, and with streets and triumphal arches on the north side of the present Old City. The north gate of Aelia Capitolina was found beneath the Damascus Gate, and an inscription referring to the Roman name of the city was found chiseled upon the gate. At the beginning of the Via Dolorosa is a Roman triumphal arch, now called Ecce Homo, in the area of the Bethesda Pool which had a temple of Serapis. Clermont-Ganneau investigated the area of the Via Dolorosa in 1873–74, discovering a large pagan Roman vase with stamped decorations of gods and altars. Excavations by Kenyon (1961–67) and others in the Muristan area and around the Church of the Holy Sepulcher have shown that the area was included within the boundaries of the Roman city and that the area had been substantially filled in with the construction of numerous substructures for the superimposed buildings and temples that were built in this area (the western forum). Close to the southwest corner of the Temple Mount, Mazar uncovered a kiln, latrines, and other structures dating from this period. An inscription inscribed on stone and dating to the days of Septimius Severus (beginning of the third century C.E.) was also found. Another Latin inscription came to light in the southern area of the Temple Mount, which referred to a monumental gate that existed somewhere in the area. The southern aqueduct was duplicated in Roman times by a high-level line from Ein Etam.

THE BYZANTINE PERIOD. The city flourished during this period and it became the focal point for Christian pilgrimages. The main building changes occurred in the areas that were strongly associated with Christian tradition (for example the area of Golgotha and the Tomb of Jesus). At these places, churches, monasteries, and hospices were built. The city again spread across the Eastern and Western Hills and to the south of the Temple Mount. The excavations of Macalister and Duncan, Crowfoot and Fitzgerald, Weill, Hamilton, Kenyon, and more recently by Mazar, Shiloh, Reich, and Shukrun have brought to light remnants of streets, dwellings, and public buildings covering the south of the city. Traditional Mount Zion was also encircled by a wall. Remnants of this wall had been discovered by Warren near the Ophel (later partly excavated by Mazar), above the Hinnom Valley by Bliss and Dickie, and along the western side by Broshi. The construction of this wall is usually dated to the middle of the fifth century C.E. and is connected with the building activities of Empress Eudocia in Jerusalem. Avigad's excavations in the Jewish Quarter (1970) revealed substantial portions of the Nea Church, built by Justinian in the mid-sixth century C.E. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher has a long history of investigations spanning the work of mapping by Wilson and Schick in the 19th century, the architectural appreciation by M. Harvey in the 1930s, and the archaeological work by V. Corbo and C. Couasnon from the 1960s to the 1980s (see the summary of all the discoveries by Gibson and Taylor). The original church was founded in 325 C.E., following the destruction of pagan buildings in the area and the discovery of the Tomb of Jesus, which was undertaken by Bishop Macarius at the behest of Constantine the Great. The main portal to the basilical martyrium, contrary to the accepted form, was in the east, with the apse facing the Tomb of Jesus, which was surrounded by a circular structure (the rotunda). Excavations conducted by White Fathers (1864–67) to the northeast of the city, brought to light various remains, including remnants of a large church built above the Pool of Bethesda. Nearby were found remnants of a second Byzantine church that had been incorporated into the crusader church of St. Anne. Bliss and Dickie (1894–97) dug above the Siloam Pool and uncovered the remains of a church which they dated to the time of Eudocia. J. Germer-Durand, who dug in the eastern slope of Mt. Zion at the end of the 19th century, revealed dwellings and a church. P.G. Orfali (1909, 1919–20) excavated the remains of the Gethsemane Church in the Kidron Valley. Vincent (1959) and Corbo (1959) discovered the remains of the Church of the Ascension on the top of the Mt. of Olives. Avi-Yonah (1949) discovered remains of a church and a monastery in the area of Givat Ram. Bagatti and Milik (1953–55) uncovered a cemetery of the Byzantine period in Dominus Flevit on the Mt. of Olives. New excavations in different parts of the city during the 1980s and 1990s revealed many more architectural and artifactual remains from the Byzantine period.

The Byzantine city was destroyed at the time of the Persian conquest in 614, but there is no evidence that the Muslim conquest in 638 was destructive. Numerous structures were erected in the area of the southwest corner of the Temple

Mount at the time of the Umayyads at the beginning of the eighth century. On one of the stones in the Herodian Wall of the Temple Mount an inscription was engraved by a Jewish pilgrim (though the date of this inscription is disputed) who arrived in the city during early Islamic times. The text of the inscription was taken from Isaiah 66:14: "And when you see this your heart shall rejoice and your bones shall flourish like young grass."

[Michael Avi-Yonah / Shimon Gibson (2nd ed.)]

Water Supply

FIRST AND SECOND TEMPLE PERIODS. The location of Canaanite Jerusalem on the eastern ridge near the Kidron riverbed was related to the discovery of the only water source in the entire area on the eastern slope of the ridge. This was the Gihon Spring, which supplied 7,000–40,000 cu. ft. (200–1,100 cu. m.) daily during periods of 30–40 minutes, with interruptions of four to ten hours (according to the season). As early as the Middle Bronze Age, the inhabitants of Jerusalem dug a tunnel to assure the water supply in the event of a siege. At first they attempted to sink a shaft straight down to the water level, but did not succeed because of the hardness of the rock. They then dug an angular tunnel with stairs; at its end was a shaft ("Warren's shaft") 43 ft. (13 m.) high, which descended to the level of the spring and through which water could be drawn without the enemy's knowledge. It is possible that this system was the "gutter" (*ẓinnor*) mentioned in the account of the conquest of Jerusalem by David and his warriors (II Sam. 5:8). In addition to the tunnel, near the spring were several open canals extending southward that carried the excess spring water to the fields and gardens along the Kidron riverbed. At the end of the eighth century B.C.E., Hezekiah, king of Judah, initiated the excavation of a new 1,765 ft. (535 m.) tunnel which extended from a level of 2,086 ft. (636 m.) to 2,080 ft. (634 m.), passing in the form of two arches under the hill of the City of David. This tunnel conducted the waters of the Gihon to the Siloam (Shiloah) Pool in the valley between the two hills. The well-known *Siloam inscription recounts the excavation of the tunnel and the "day of the tunnel" in which "the stone cutters made their way toward one another ax-blow by ax-blow." The excavation of this tunnel was a considerable engineering feat, and since then the waters of the Gihon have flowed to the Siloam Pool. The pool was initially covered and hidden from enemies, as discovered in excavations.

In earliest times the inhabitants of Jerusalem had already increased the meager supply of the Gihon Spring by digging cisterns and pools. Of the two types of reservoirs, the cisterns were more difficult to make, but they were better for preserving water against evaporation. After the discovery of waterproof lime mortar, the number of cisterns in the ancient city grew equal to (if not greater than) the number of houses. Interestingly, very few cisterns have been found from the time of the First Temple. Most of those that are known date from Second Temple times. The most famous is a double cistern known as Struthion (Gr. *strouthos* – "ostrich"), located under the court of the Antonia Fortress southwest of the Temple; its maximum dimensions were 160 ft. (49m.) in length, 23 ft. (7 m.) in width, and 56 ft. (17 m.) in depth. A great number of cisterns were dug in the area of the Temple Mount (45 according to the last count), the largest among them being the Bahr el-Kabir (Ar. for the "Sea"), whose capacity was 140,000 cu. ft. (12,000 cu. m.). There were two other cisterns of 94,000 cu. ft. (8,000 cu. m.) and 60,000 cu. ft. (5,000 cu. m.) capacity.

The major pools in the area of Jerusalem are the Siloam Pool at the southern end of the central valley; the Serpents Pool (probably north of the city); the Pool of Towers (Hezekiah's Pool) north of the Fortress; and Mamilla Pool (first mentioned in the Byzantine period), located between the Jaffa Gate and the watershed line. Three of the ancient pools are not open today: the Ḥammām al-Shifāʾ Pool in the upper central valley, which may be the biblical "Upper Pool"; the Pool of Israel, which served as a ditch for the northern boundary of the Temple Mount; and the Sheep Pool, also north of the Temple Mount at some distance from it. The latter is mentioned in the New Testament (John 5:2–4), where it is called Bethesda (Beit Ḥisda), and apparently also in the Copper Scroll from the Dead Sea caves. It is a double pool and has two levels. The New Testament states that healing powers were attributed to it, and excavations of the site have revealed that a health rite took place there during the Roman period. The lower of the two pools was probably used for washing sheep, which were then sold for sacrifices at the nearby Temple.

At the end of the Second Temple period, it was clear that the growing city could not be supplied from the waters collected in the cisterns and pools, especially during mass gatherings of the three pilgrimage festivals. Pontius Pilate therefore decided to build an aqueduct from the springs of the ʿArrūb River near Hebron. It was an open canal which passed through four tunnels near Bethlehem. In order to preserve the gradient of the water level, which assured a steady flow from the springs to the Temple Mount, the aqueduct wound along the 2,574 ft. (766 m.) contour line so that, although the direct distance from the ʿArrūb River to Jerusalem is no more than 13 mi. (21 km.), the aqueduct was 42 mi. (68 km.) long. On its way southward, it also collected the water of Ein Etam (Solomon's Pools), south of Bethlehem. During the rule of Septimius Severus, a second aqueduct on a higher level was added, extending from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem. The latter crossed the valley near Rachel's Tomb via a line of pipes operated by syphon pressure, which in many cases split the stone links.

FROM THE ROMAN PERIOD. From the Roman period to the end of the Ottoman period, Jerusalem's water supply was based mainly on rainwater collected in the city's cisterns and pools. The original Spring of Gihon had long been blocked; its location was unknown, and its waters flowed through Hezekiah's tunnel to the Siloam Pool. According to Christian tradition, these waters were used by Jesus to heal the blind man (John 9:7), and the site thus became sacred to Christians. As early as

the fourth century C.E., the pilgrim of Bordeaux mentions a pool surrounded by colonnades used for bathing for healing purposes. The empress Eudocia built a church and a hospital above the pool. In the early Muslim period as well, the waters of the Siloam were regarded as having special powers, but in the course of generations the pool was neglected, and the tunnel of Hezekiah became partially blocked. The waters of the Gihon, which had ceased to flow through the tunnel, broke out to the Kidron River. Thus the Gihon Spring was rediscovered in the 14th century, and its name reappeared for the first time in a Jewish source from the 16th century. With the rediscovery of the Gihon, the site of the spring was consecrated. Christians established it as the spot where Mary had washed Jesus' swaddling clothes and therefore called it the "Virgin's Fountain." The waters of the Gihon Spring today flow again through Hezekiah's tunnel to the new Siloam Pool built in the 19th century.

During the Ottoman period the waters of the Gihon were drawn and sold in the streets of Jerusalem, but in the 19th century they became polluted from sewage water reaching the spring, and eventually they were used only for watering the flower beds of Kefar ha-Shilo'aḥ (Silwān). The Rogel Spring served Jerusalem throughout the generations as a secondary source of water. During the Ottoman period its waters, like those of the Gihon, were drawn and sold in Jerusalem, but it too primarily became a source of the water for Kefar ha-Shilo'aḥ.

A number of changes occurred in later times in the system of public pools known from the Roman period. With the concentration of Jerusalem on the western hill, the pools at the lower part of the central valley were neglected. The ancient Siloam Pool was apparently reconstructed during the Byzantine period, but was later neglected, filled with silt, and called by the Arabs the Birkat al-Ḥamrā' (Pool of the Red Earth). The pool of Ḥammām al-Shifā', near Bāb al-Silsila (the Chain Gate) of the Temple Mount, was known from medieval times but was later blocked to enable the collection of subterranean waters, which were drawn from the pool via a shaft. The pool of Beit Ḥisda (Bethesda) continued to be in use in the Byzantine period and was called the Probatike pool but was later blocked. Likewise, the Struthion pool fell into disuse.

Crusader sources mention three pools in Jerusalem: Lacus Legerii, northwest of the Damascus Gate, outside the city walls (today, Arḍ al-Birka); Lacus Germani, the ancient Snake Pool rebuilt by Germanus in 1176 (today known as Birkat al-Sultan in the Hinnom Valley); and Lacus Balneorum, the "Pool of Baths" (the ancient Pool of Towers) called Birkat Ḥammām al-Biṭrīq and Hezekiah's Pool by Christian travelers. This pool is joined by an aqueduct to the Mamilla Pool, which is at the head of the Hinnom Valley. The Mamilla Pool itself continues to be mentioned in the Umayyad period. The three latter pools were reconstructed and renovated during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. The Arabic name Birkat al-Sultan was given because of the expansion and renovation carried out on it by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in 1537. Other pools in Jerusalem, the dates of whose construction are not clear, are St. Mary's pool near the eastern wall of Jerusalem and the al-Hajj pool north of the city wall, opposite the present-day location of the Rockefeller Museum. Plastered cisterns in the courtyards of houses served as a major source of water throughout all the periods. In mid-19th century, 950 cisterns were counted in the Old City, while at the end of the Ottoman period the cisterns of the entire city, including the suburbs outside the walls, numbered 6,600, with a total capacity of over 17,000,000 cu. ft. (500,000 cu. m.). In 1919 the British determined that the total capacity of the cisterns and pools of Jerusalem, including those on the Temple Mount, was approximately 53,000,000 cu. ft. (1,500,000 cu. m.).

The local sources, however, were not sufficient to meet the needs of the city, and throughout most of the periods water continued to be conducted to Jerusalem from the area of the ʿArrūb springs and Solomon's Pools. The use of the aqueduct during the Byzantine period is known from a Greek inscription that prohibits the cultivation of land at a distance of 15 cubits from the aqueduct. The reference is apparently to the aqueduct on the lower level, which was built at the time of the Second Temple and continued to be used during this period. It is reasonable to assume that this aqueduct was also in use during the Muslim and Crusader periods, and it is known that it was rebuilt during the Mamluk period, when the third pool was also built at Solomon's Pools, south of Bethlehem. Waters collected there were conducted to Jerusalem via the aqueduct. At the beginning of the Ottoman period, the lower aqueduct continued to function, and Suleiman the Magnificent even built a number of *sabīls* (public fountains) that received their waters from the aqueduct. At the beginning of the 18th century, however, a clay pipe was built into the aqueduct, and its operation entailed difficult engineering problems. The pipe was blocked and often went out of use. Various attempts to improve the aqueduct in the 19th century were unsuccessful, but at the beginning of the 20th century the clay pipe was rebuilt as far as Bethlehem, and from it a narrow iron pipe conducted a limited amount of water – about 180 cu. m. daily – to Jerusalem.

The problem of water supply was very grave at the end of the Ottoman period, to the extent that Jerusalem's inhabitants were compelled to buy water brought by train or on the backs of animals from a considerable distance. With the British conquest (1917) the need for an immediate solution to the water problem arose. The cisterns in the city were purified, and the first water project built by the British army was based on the water sources in ʿAyn ʿArrūb. The old well there was renovated, a pump was built, and an iron pipeline 15 mi. (24 km.) long was laid down to the reservoir in the Romema quarter. In 1921 Solomon's Pools were renovated, as was an ancient water project in Wadi al-Biyār which lies south of pools for collecting rainwater. Waters from this wadi and from the area of al-Khaḍr, as well as spring water in the vicinity, were collected in Solomon's Pools and pumped from there to the iron pipelines from ʿAyn ʿArrūb. In 1924 the water was conveyed from ʿAyn

Fāra in the bed of Wadi Qilt, north of Jerusalem. This project considerably increased the amount of water supplied to Jerusalem. At the same time, around 1,400 cubic meters were supplied daily from the outside, but there was still considerable use of private cisterns. With the fast growth of West Jerusalem, the water problem again became grave and the need arose for an additional abundant source of water. In 1934 the pipeline from the abundant springs at Rosh ha-Ayin (Ra's al-ʿAyn) near the coast was built, finally solving the problem of the water supply for the city until 1948. During the Israel War of Independence (1948), West Jerusalem suffered from lack of water because several pumping stations of the Rosh ha-Ayin pipeline were captured and damaged by Arab forces. Later the government of Israel built a new pipeline from the same source which supplied West Jerusalem with water. The reunified city, after the Six-Day War (1967), was supplied from the western as well as the southern and northern sources which served East Jerusalem during the Jordanian rule.

[Michael Avi-Yonah and Amihay Mazar]

Cartography

Since the beginning of mapmaking, the geographical position of Jerusalem was shown on most of the manuscript maps of the world, such as the maps at the cathedral of Herford and of the Ebstorf monastery. It appeared on the "Tabula Peutingeriana" and on all the maps of the Near East and the Holy Land. The cartographical symbols employed on these maps are of the conventional semi-pictorial design and therefore do not provide any information on particular features of the city.

PICTORIAL MAPS. The earliest topographical description of Jerusalem is the bird's-eye view of the "Holy City of Jerusalem," the central piece of a map of the Holy Land preserved on the mosaic floor of a ruined basilica at *Madaba, in Transjordan. The mosaic, dated between 560 and 565 C.E., depicts an oval-shaped city surrounded by walls, with six gates and 21 towers. It shows the "Cardo maxima," the colonnaded main thoroughfare, together with four smaller streets and 36 other features of the city – such as public squares and buildings, churches, and monasteries – and contains the oldest presentation of the Western Wall. This "map" shows Jerusalem as viewed from the west, whereas during the following centuries the city was predominantly portrayed from the east, since the view from the Mount of Olives encompassed the most important sections of the medieval town (i.e., all the parts of the Temple Mount and most of the stations of the Via Dolorosa). Typical examples of this mode of presentation are: the large map engraved by Erhard Reuwich, a Mainz woodcutter and printer, after drawings made by him on the spot in 1483; the woodcut made by Jacob Clauser for Sebastian Muenster's cosmography (published 1544 in Basle); and the copper engraving reproducing a drawing made in 1682 by Cornelis de Bruin. These productions were often copied by the many artists who were unable to paint pictures based on personal observation.

HISTORICAL MAPS. Another approach is represented in the work of the biblical scholars who, for religious reasons, intended to clarify the state of the city during different periods of biblical history, concentrating mostly on New Testament times. These mapmakers were often unfamiliar with the topography of the city and derived their knowledge from the literary sources at their disposal, i.e., the Bible, the works of Josephus and classical Greek and Latin writers, and certain passages of the Talmud. Best known among these maps are the works of the Dutch astronomer Pieter Laiksteen (dated 1544 and republished in 1573 by Benito Arias-Montano), Christian van Adrichem (Cologne, 1584), and the Rev. Thomas Fuller (London, 1650). Other maps, mostly engraved by Dutch craftsmen, appeared in many editions of the Bible and became very popular as an aid to understanding the text.

COMPARATIVE MAPS. Laiksteen opened a new chapter of cartographic development with his twin set of town maps, the first attempt to present a comparative topography of New Testament Jerusalem and the walls and buildings in the city of his own time by graphic means. The prime motive for the creation of such maps was the desire to defend the authenticity of the holy places. The correctness of their location was piously accepted by countless generations of pilgrims, but with the spread of the Reformation in 16th-century Europe, an ever growing number of pilgrims – mostly from Britain and Germany – disputed the ecclesiastical tradition promulgated by the Franciscan friars in their capacity as the officially appointed "Custodians of the Holy Land." In view of the fact that Empress Helena's Church of the Holy Sepulcher was not outside the present walls of the city, as suggested by the Gospels and Jewish tradition, an endless discussion arose, culminating in 1883 with Charles C. Gordon's identification of Jeremiah's Grotto with Mount Calvary. In order to decide this dispute, the actual course of the city walls during Roman times had to be ascertained, as the position of the Third Wall would automatically establish the location of the "True Calvary." The first map designed to solve this problem was made by the Franciscan friar Antonio degli Angelis, who lived in Jerusalem and Bethlehem from 1569 to 1577. Friar Antonio constructed a town plan based on fairly exact observations and/or actual measurements and the delineation of the course of the Third Wall. This map, published in 1578 by a monastery in Rome, was lost and is known only from a 1584 bibliographical note by Christian van Adrichem. The map was later republished and appeared in 1609 as a plate in Bernardino Amico's *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*. This engraving was the work of Antonio Tempesta, but the artwork for a further edition, published in 1620, was entrusted to Jacques Callot. These two important artists added many "improvements" and embellishments, while Natale Bonifaci made a modest engraving for Johann Zuallart's travelogue (Rome, 1587). Bonifaci's version has often been copied, mainly for pilgrims interested in pictures suitable as illustrations for their reports, and has

been reproduced in many 17th-century travel books of the Holy Land.

SURVEY MAPS. In 1818 an Austrian physician, Franz Wilhelm Sieber, traveled through the Near East, spending 42 days in Jerusalem. He decided to produce an exact map based on reliable measurements, because he was aware of the "mistakes and curious differences existing between all the plans published up to now" and was interested in furthering the "very important study of biblical history." He walked in and around the city and, in the disguise of a botanist or as a doctor dispensing medical advice to the population, acquainted himself with the terrain and determined the geographical position of the places he chose as points of observation. He took "approximately two hundred geometrically correct bearings, ascertained the course of the Kidron Valley, the circumference of the walls, and the position of the Temple and the mosques." His many excursions helped him fill in many smaller details, corrections and additions. His nicely engraved map appeared as an appendix to the report on his travels (Prague and Leipzig, 1823; Prague, 1826).

Until that time the Muslims placed formidable difficulties in the way of an accurate survey. In 1818 Sieber had to camouflage his work of mapmaking as Cornelis de Bruin, the Dutch landscape painter was obliged to do in 1682. During the 19th century, however, the change of political climate in the Near East provided foreign scholars with much more liberty to execute their research. The decisive point in the development of Jerusalem cartography was reached after the bombardment of Acre, when the presence of the British fleet afforded the Corps of Royal Engineers the opportunity to conduct surveys in the country. One party was dispatched to Jerusalem and, in 1841, worked openly for six weeks in and around the city without encountering any opposition. The official completion of the survey was marked by the officer in charge, Col. R.A. Alderson, personally taking the measurements of the Citadel. This was the first time that Jerusalem was mapped for nonreligious (i.e., military) considerations. Another survey, made by the Royal Engineers in 1864–65, was also conducted for purely secular reasons: it was sponsored by a benefactress eager to improve Jerusalem's water supply. This work, the Ordnance Survey, became the basis for all reliable maps of the city. Besides these British efforts, other nations (France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, and the United States) have contributed to the mapping of the city and the topographic recording of its surrounding. These maps, while rarely offering new intelligence about fundamental facts, often serve as documentary evidence on the progress of settlement, the construction of new buildings, etc. The same information can be derived from the maps accompanying various guide books. All these maps were made by foreigners acting without any assistance from the Turkish government. No official survey of the territory was made until the British Mandatory administration established its own survey department, which prepared and printed many useful maps. After 1948 its work was taken over by the Survey of Israel, which enlarged the scope of publications considerably.

[Herrmann M.Z. Meyer]

IN JUDAISM

In the Bible

In the Pentateuch, Jerusalem is mentioned only once, incidentally, by the name of Salem (Gen. 14:18), in connection with *Melchizedek. The injunctions to worship God "in the site that He will choose" (e.g., Deut. 12:4) do not specifically refer to Jerusalem. The obscure verse "On the mount of the Lord there is vision" (*yera'eh*; Gen. 22:14), referring to the mountain in the "land of Moriah" on which Isaac was nearly sacrificed (Gen. 22), may signify an identification of the mountain with the site of the Temple; however, definite evidence for the designation of the Temple Mount by the name "Mt. Moriah" is found only in a source from the Second Temple period (II Chron. 3:1).

The uniqueness of Jerusalem as the royal city and the center of the worship of the Lord dates from the period of David (II Sam. 6–7; 24:18–25; I Chron. 21:18–22:1). During the First Temple period, when the Temple Mount was referred to as "Mt. Zion," the name "Zion" also occasionally embraced the whole of Jerusalem (cf. e.g., I Kings 8:1; Isa. 1:27). The promise of an eternal dynasty (II Sam. 7), delivered by Nathan to David in conjunction with the question of the erection of a Temple in Jerusalem, also implied eternity for Jerusalem as the royal city and the city of the Temple, although its name is not explicitly mentioned. The conception of the eternity of Jerusalem in the Bible is related to the monarchy of the House of David and must be understood as part and parcel of it.

During the reign of Solomon, the unique status of Jerusalem as the royal city was established by the erection of the Temple, which invested the monarchy, as well as the site, with an aura of holiness. In the prayer of Solomon (I Kings 8), in which the Temple is considered a house of worship, "the city" ("which Thou hast chosen") is linked with the "house." The Temple is perceived as the eternal seat of the Lord ("a place for Thee to dwell in forever"), and there is no doubt that this conception of a double eternity – that of the dynasty of David and that of the symbolic residence of the Lord – imparted sanctity to the whole city.

In Psalm 78:68 the choice of Mt. Zion symbolizes the choice of Judah after the abandonment of Ephraim and Shiloh, and the Temple on Mt. Zion is conceived as a continuation of the Tabernacle of Shiloh. In Psalm 132, which describes the bringing of the ark to the city of David, Zion is conceived not only as a city chosen by the Lord for the monarchy but also as the place and seat of the Lord – His resting place and His abode; in other verses, it is explicitly stated that the Lord has attached, or will attach, His name to Jerusalem (e.g., II Kings 21:4). Psalm 122 is a hymn of admiration and love for Jerusalem (cf. Ps. 87). Royal justice ("there thrones for judgment were set, the thrones of the House of David"; Ps. 122: 5) is particularly emphasized as the virtue of Jeru-

salem – possibly in the wake of the reforms of Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 17:4–11).

It is perhaps in contrast to this that Jeremiah foresees (3:17) that in the days to come "Jerusalem shall be called the throne of the Lord" – the symbol of divine righteousness and justice (cf. Ps. 89:15), a quality that is attributed to the throne of David. In the prophecy of Jeremiah (33:16), the ideal Jerusalem is also called "The Lord is our righteousness," with reference to the justice and mercy which will be dispensed in days to come by the king, upon whom this title is also conferred (23:5–6; 33:15). The expression "habitation of righteousness and holy hill" (Jer. 31:22 (23)) is also to be explained as referring to Jerusalem, even though it is seemingly applied to "the land of Judah and its cities" in general. Isaiah's "city of righteousness" (Isa. 1:26; cf. 1:21, 27) – an epithet for Jerusalem – is to be understood not as a poetic expression but as a reference to its mission to dispense justice and righteousness and to be the seat of the judges. It is not impossible that in all these appellations, there is also an echo of the name Zedek which was borne by the pre-Israelite kings of Jerusalem – Melchizedek and Adoni-Zedek (Josh. 10:1) – and which was possibly derived from an ancient name of the town.

The greatness and the splendor of Jerusalem are described in the Bible in hyperbolic poetic imagery: in Psalms – "beautiful in elevation, the joy of all the earth" (48:3 (2)), "the perfection of beauty" (50:2), and so on; in Lamentations, expressing yearning for the past – "full of people… great among the nations, princess among the cities" (1:1), "the perfection of beauty, the joy of all the earth" (2:15). In the Song of Songs (6:4), the beloved is compared to Jerusalem (and to Tirzah), the symbol of beauty and loveliness. In the "Song of Ascents" (Ps. 122, 125, and 132), the pilgrims praise Jerusalem in hyperbole; in Psalm 137, "Zion" and "Jerusalem" are symbols of the whole country, and their destruction ("the day of Jerusalem") is a symbol of the Exile.

In the Prophets and in Lamentations, the name and the concept of Jerusalem are frequently employed to represent the whole of Judah; Jerusalem embodies the conduct and the deeds of Judah and is occasionally identified with Judah, as well as with the whole of Israel, for good or ill. Sometimes, however, the parallel between "Jerusalem" or "Zion," on the one hand, and "Judah," the "cities of Judah," or "Israel," on the other, emphasizes – in praise or in disparagement – not that which is common to them but the central, independent status and the special features of the elected city. The "daughter of Jerusalem" and the "daughter of Zion" also signify both the city and the kingdom, either as an expression of affection or as a designation of the sinful city and nation. Prophetic literature reflects different trends in the historical-religious conception of Jerusalem, according to the conditions and circumstances in which the prophet waged his struggle against idolatry, and in support of the belief in the Lord. In opposition to the heathen notion that the power of the Lord of Israel over Jerusalem is not different from that of the gods of Damascus, Arpad, Hamath, and others over their respective cities, Isaiah, during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, emphasized the idea of the uniqueness of Jerusalem: as the city of the Lord of Israel, the true God, its status and fate differ from that of all other cities whose gods are no more than idols (10; 29; 30; 31; 33; 37; 38); even the mighty Assyrian conqueror shall not vanquish Jerusalem, which is assured of divine protection for the sake of the honor of His name and the name of David, His servant. It appears that, as a result of the miraculous salvation of Jerusalem from the hands of Sennacherib, in accordance with the prophecy of Isaiah, the sense of the uniqueness and the might of the city became implanted within the nation; those Psalms that stress Jerusalem's title "city of God" and God's intervention as its protector (e.g., 46; 48; 76; 87) apparently belong to this period.

Isaiah's conception was, however, given to distortion, and it turned into a belief in a quasi-magic immunity which the city, and the "Temple of the Lord" which was in it, bestowed upon its inhabitants. Jeremiah rose against this new idolatrous conception; he rejected – seemingly in contrast to Isaiah – any distinctiveness attributed to Jerusalem. He maintained that the divine protection of the city was contingent upon the people's following the ways of God; if they forsook God, Jerusalem would be abandoned to the historic fate of all the other cities which fell before the Babylonian conqueror and were destroyed (7; 17; 19; 21; 25; 27; 34, et al.). The gap between the mission of Jerusalem – to be "the faithful city… full of justice" (Isa. 1:21) – and its actual state as "… rebellious and defiled, the oppressing city" (Zeph. 3:1) preoccupies all the prophets, who react to this discrepancy in pain or in anger. For Ezekiel, this gap between the vision and the reality becomes the cornerstone of his prophecy concerning Jerusalem before its destruction. All the faults and the sins of Israel, from the time they left Egypt until the days of the prophets, are attributed to Jerusalem, which is described as having surpassed Samaria and Sodom in its corruption and wickedness. In a cruel itemization, Ezekiel enumerates the "abominations of Jerusalem" (16; 22; 23 etc.); he is the only one of the prophets from whose words it is inferred that the anticipated destruction is to be regarded as an irreversible decree.

All the prophets share the expectation of an exalted future for Jerusalem – a loftiness which includes both physical splendor and a sublime religious-spiritual significance; this anticipation refers at times to the near future and at times to the end of days. Jeremiah's vision of the rebuilt Jerusalem (30: 18–19; 31:37–39) is a realistic one, and it includes a detailed demarcation of its enlarged area, the whole of which will be "sacred to the Lord." Zechariah (8:3–5) also anticipates that Jerusalem will be called "the faithful city, and the mountain of the Lord of Hosts, the holy mountain"; its streets will be filled with "old men and old women" and "boys and girls" will play there. Ezekiel raises the Holy City of the days to come above actual and historic reality; it is only indirectly implied that he is referring to Jerusalem – whose name is not mentioned at all and whose site is not indicated: "a city on the south… up on a very high mountain" (Ezek. 40:2). Its description (45:1–8; 48:8–22,

30–35) does not evoke the image of an ordinary city or even of a royal city or capital but that of a background for the Temple, a city entirely sanctified to God, the abode of the Divine Presence, whose name will be "the Lord is there." The image of Jerusalem at the close of the Book of Zechariah (14:16–21) is similar, but – unlike in Ezekiel – the sanctity of the city of the Temple is of a universal nature, which will be recognized by all the nations. The description of "the mountain of the House of the Lord" and "the House of the God of Jacob" as the place from which learning, justice, and peace will emanate to all the nations (Isa. 2:2–4; Micah 4:1–3) identifies the mountain and the house with Zion and Jerusalem. The chapters of consolation in the Book of Isaiah (40–66) contain an abundance of expression of fervent love for Zion and Jerusalem, on the one hand, and descriptions of its future greatness and splendor in a hyperbolic poetic style, on the other. When the universal character of the center of divine worship is emphasized (56:7; 66:18–21, et al.), there is no clear distinction between the Temple and the city. In the prophetic descriptions of the visionary Jerusalem and its history, there are numerous miraculous eschatological elements (Isa. 24:23; 27:13; 54: 11–12; Ezek. 47:1–12; Joel 4:2, 12–21; Zech. 12, 14).

[Samuel Abramsky and Jacob Liver]

In Halakhah

Because of its special holiness, Jerusalem is treated in the *halakhah* differently from other cities. "Jerusalem was not divided among the tribes" (i.e., there could be no permanent ownership of it), and thus even outside the field of the sacrifices and Temple services, there are several laws which do not apply to the city. In other walled cities a house which was not redeemed by the seller within one year of the sale remained in the permanent possession of the purchaser and did not revert to the seller in the Jubilee year; this law did not apply to Jerusalem (BK 82b; and see Ar. 9:6 and 32b; Z.M. Pineles, *Darkah shel Torah* (1861), p. 165). In Jerusalem it was also forbidden to rent houses to pilgrims; they were to be given lodgings gratis, and, according to Eleazar b. Simeon, it was even forbidden to rent beds (Tosef. Ma'as. Sh. 1:12; see S. Lieberman *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 2 (1955), 722 ff.). Indeed, it was customary for the residents to vacate their homes (ARN[1] 35, 104, cf. Tosef. Suk. 2:3) for which service they received the skins of the sacrificial animals (Tosef. Ma'as. Sh. 1:13). These special laws clarify the Mishnah: "No one ever said 'The place is too confined for me to lodge in Jerusalem'" (Avot. 5:5; Yoma 21a).

The laws of the **eglah arufah* ("broken-necked heifer"), the *ir ha-niddaḥat* ("town to be destroyed for idolatry"), and "plagues in buildings" did not apply to Jerusalem (BK 82b; cf. Tosef. Neg. 6:1). The first law requires the elders of the city nearest to a murder victim to decapitate a heifer in a ceremony whose purpose is twofold: to disclaim responsibility for the crime and to expiate the defilement of their land incurred by the blood spilt (Zev. 70b). But this law does not apply to Jerusalem because its citizens do not own the city's land, and they do not belong to one tribe. A city which had gone over completely to idolatry had to be totally destroyed because the sins of the people were conceived of as being visited in their property, as was also the understanding of the phenomenon of "leprosy in buildings." Thus these laws did not apply to Jerusalem, which could not be punished for the sins of its inhabitants.

A whole series of *halakhot* were intended to remove from Jerusalem anything which would increase ritual impurity. Therefore no trash heaps were allowed which could produce insects, nor was it permissible to raise chickens which peck at trash heaps (BK 82b; but see Eduy. 6:1). Places of burial were allowed only outside the walls of Jerusalem; in addition no existing graves were maintained in Jerusalem "except for the graves of the House of David and the grave of Huldah the prophetess which have been there from the times of the early prophets" (Tosef. Neg. 6:2). When there was a funeral procession (Sem. 10), the remains of the deceased were not taken through the city (Tosef. Neg. loc. cit., and see S. Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim*, 3 (1939) 190). In particular, the prohibition against leaving a corpse in Jerusalem overnight was strictly enforced, except for the honor of the deceased (BK 82b; Sifra, Be-Ḥukkotai, 6:1).

During the pilgrim festivals the laws of impurity were relaxed in Jerusalem; food and drink of the *am ha-areẓ* were then considered ritually clean, and an *am ha-areẓ* was believed if he said that he had not touched an earthen vessel, for during the festivals everyone was considered a *ḥaver* (Ḥag. 26a; Yad, Metamei Mishkav u-Moshav 11:9). It seems, however, that at the end of the Second Temple period the opposition to excessive restrictions also increased: "On one occasion they found (human) bones in the wood chamber, and they desired to declare Jerusalem unclean. Whereupon R. Joshua rose to his feet and exclaimed: Is it not a shame and a disgrace that we declare the city of our fathers unclean!" (Zev. 113a; Tosef. Eduy. 3:3).

A regulation intended to enlarge the building area within Jerusalem can be seen in the *halakhah* which says of Jerusalem that "It may neither be planted nor sown nor plowed… and trees are not put in it, except for the rose garden which existed from the time of the early prophets" (Tosef. Neg. 6:2; BK 82b). The rose garden – like the graves of the House of David and Huldah the prophetess – is a remnant of a period when these *halakhot* were not in force. Possibly the same reason explains both, namely, the desire to prevent the reduction of available land for expanded housing facilities necessary to accommodate a growing population in the city and lodging places for pilgrims. According to the *halakhah* the area of the city itself may be enlarged only under special conditions: "Additions are not made to the city [of Jerusalem], or to the Temple compartments except by king, prophet, *Urim and Thummim [Oracle], a Sanhedrin of 71, two [loaves of] thanksgiving, and song; and the *bet din* walking in procession, the two loaves of thanksgiving [being borne], after them, and all Israel following behind them." (Shevu. 14a; and see Sanh. 1:5). During the Second Temple period there was no Urim and Thummim. Abba Saul relates that the area of Jerusalem was enlarged only twice

(Tosef. Sanh. 3:4; TJ, Sanh. 1:5, 19b, TB, Shevu. 16a). It is perhaps possible to explain the *halakhah* that a foreign resident is not allowed to live in Jerusalem in terms of demographic policy (Tosef. Neg., 6:2). Even if security is posited as the reason for this law, it is not, however, necessary to date it to the period of the war with Rome.

That Jerusalem, as a meeting place for pilgrims, was also a place of business, is likewise reflected in the *halakhah*. The rabbis decreed that in Jerusalem the hour must be recorded on legal documents insofar as many documents were written by one person on the same day for people who did not know each other. Thus it was important to know whose document was written first (Ket. 10:4). A location known as *"even hato'an"* ("depository stone," BM 28b; see Yad, Gezelah va-Avedah 13:1) was especially set aside in Jerusalem for announcing and claiming lost articles.

Jerusalem was also noted for its customs, some of which were related to its special nature as a city of pilgrims. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel said: "There was a great custom in Jerusalem: A cloth was spread over the doorway. As long as the cloth was spread the guests could enter; when the cloth was removed from the doorway the guests were not permitted to enter." According to R. Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam), this refers apparently to uninvited guests who happened to be in the city for the festival and "who knew that they could eat there and they would go there to eat" (BB 93b; see Tosef. Ber. 4:9; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Feshutah*, 1 (1955) 62f.). It is related of the dignitaries of Jerusalem themselves that "not one of them would go to a meal until he was invited, and not one of them goes to a meal until he knows who dines with him" (Lam. R. 4:4, Sanh. 23a). The different types of food were illustrated on the tablecloth "because of the fastidious people, so that none of them should eat something harmful" (Lam. R., loc. cit).

People of integrity in Jerusalem would not sign documents unless they knew who the joint signatories were. They did not sit in judgment unless they knew who sat with them (Sanh. 23a; see *ibid.*, 30a). When the Torah Scroll was removed from the ark or returned to it they would walk behind it in respect (Sof. 14:14). There was a custom in Jerusalem to educate the boys and girls to fast on fast days. When a boy was over 12 years old "they used to bring him before every priest and elder in order to bless him, to strengthen him, and to pray for him" (*ibid.*, 18:5).

R. Eleazar b. Zadok testified that in Jerusalem there were groups of people who volunteered to carry out specifically those commandments between man and his neighbor. Some attended engagement festivities, others marriage feasts, others festivities surrounding the birth of a child or circumcisions, while still others gathered bones (of the dead). "Some went to the house of celebration, others to the house of the mourner" (Tosef. Meg. 4:15). The laws concerning the festivals were prominently and elaborately observed in Jerusalem. Wherever they went on Sukkot, the people of Jerusalem did not leave their *lulavim* behind (Tosef. Suk. 2:10, Suk. 41b). They used to bind the *lulav* with chains of gold (Suk. 3:8). There was no courtyard in Jerusalem which was not lit up by the light of the water-drawing festival (*ibid.* 5:3).

Even after its destruction, Jerusalem retained its holiness, and special *halakhot* continued to be observed. The second tithe is not separated in Jerusalem since it is now forbidden to redeem it (Yad., Ma'aser Sheni 2: 1–4). When praying, one is obligated to face Jerusalem, and if he "stands in Jerusalem he should turn his heart toward the Temple" (Ber. 30a). Entrance to the Temple Mount itself is forbidden because of ritual impurity; one who comes to pray may approach only as far as the Temple Mount. The obligation of making pilgrimage to Jerusalem remained in force, but in addition one is obliged to mourn the destruction of the city. Besides the fasts and the established days of mourning, and especially the Ninth of Av, one is forbidden to eat meat or drink wine on any day in which he sees Jerusalem in its destruction (Tosef. Ned. 1:4). One who does see Jerusalem in its destruction says: "Zion has become a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation" (Isa. 64:9) and rends his garment. One who rends his garment for Jerusalem should not rend it further for the other cities of Judah (MK 26a). One should really mourn the destruction of Jerusalem every day and in every place; it is, however, impossible to mourn too much. "The sages have therefore ordained thus. A man may whitewash his house, but he should leave a small area unfinished in remembrance of Jerusalem. A man may prepare a full-course meal, but he should leave out an item of the menu in remembrance of Jerusalem. A woman may put on all her ornaments except one or two, in remembrance of Jerusalem" (Tosef. Sot. 15: 12–14; BB 60b).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the Aggadah

The many aggadic statements about Jerusalem may be divided into three classes: those dealing with the Jerusalem of historical reality from its capture by David until the destruction of the Second Temple, statements and homilies about the Jerusalem that preceded and followed this historical city, and those dealing with the "ideal" Jerusalem of the Messianic age.

THE HISTORIC CITY. Lavish are the praises of Jerusalem in the *aggadah*, which invest it with all desirable qualities and virtues. There is no beauty like that of Jerusalem (ARN[1] 28, 85). Of the ten measures of beauty that came down to the world, Jerusalem took nine (Kid. 49b). A man who has not seen Jerusalem in its splendor has never seen a beautiful city in his life (Suk. 51 b). Even Jerusalem's lack of delicious fruit and hot springs was turned into grounds for praise: "R. Isaac said: Why are there no fruits of Ginnosar in Jerusalem? So that the festival pilgrims should not say: 'Had we merely made the pilgrimage to eat the fruits of Ginnosar in Jerusalem, it would have sufficed for us,' with the result that the pilgrimage would not have been made for its own sake. Similarly R. Dostai b. Yannai said: Why are the hot springs of Tiberias not in Jerusalem? So that the festival pilgrims should not say: 'Had we merely made the pilgrimage to bathe in the hot springs of Tiberias, it would have sufficed for us,' with the result that the

pilgrimage would not have been made for its own sake" (Pes. 8b; and see Sif. Num. 89).

Extravagant accounts were given of the size of Jerusalem, and the numbers of its inhabitants were magnified in order to glorify it (Lam. R. 1: 1 no.2). According to R. Hoshaiah, there were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem, each including a school for the study of the Bible and another for the study of the Mishnah (TJ, Meg. 3: 1, 73d), and in addition there were 394 *battei din* (Ket. 105a). Jerusalem was known by 70 names, all expressions of affection and esteem (Ag. Song 1:1, line 125 ff.), as well as by the Name of the Holy One blessed be He (BB 75b). Among the ten miracles wrought in Jerusalem are: "No person was stricken in Jerusalem, no person ever stumbled in Jerusalem, no fire ever broke out in Jerusalem, no building ever collapsed in Jerusalem" (ARN[1] 35, 103).

The people of Jerusalem were renowned for their wisdom: "R. Yose said: Wherever a Jerusalemite went, they would spread out for him a soft seat and place him on it in order to hear his wisdom"; the Midrash tells a number of stories about Athenians who came to Jerusalem and were impressed by the wisdom of the people and about Jerusalemites who went to Athens and surprised its inhabitants by their wisdom (Lam. R. 1:1 nos. 4–14). The people of Jerusalem were of distinguished birth and those of other places sought to marry them. "A provincial who married a woman from Jerusalem gave her her weight in gold, and a Jerusalemite who married a woman from the province was given his weight in gold" (Lam. R. 1–2, no. 2). The Jerusalemites were distinguished for their beauty (BM 84a: "R. Johanan said, I am the only one remaining of Jerusalem's men of outstanding beauty"). There are many references to the pleasant customs of "the nobility of Jerusalem and of the gentle-minded in Jerusalem" (Lam. R., *loc. cit*). The inhabitants of Jerusalem were granted atonement for their sins daily (PdRK, ed. Buber, 55b).

These statements reflect the views of the sages about Jerusalem and its people during the period of the Second Temple, and in their light they considered the reason for its destruction. Some sages declared: "We find that the First Temple was destroyed because they were guilty of practicing idolatry and incest, and of shedding blood, which applied to the Second Temple too" – and this despite all the qualities for which the Jerusalemites were praised. On the other hand, Johanan b. Torta maintained "… but in the Second Temple period we know that they studied the Torah, were strictly observant of the *mitzvot* and of the tithes, and every kind of good manners was found among them, but they loved money and hated one another without cause" (TJ, Yoma 1:1, 38c; TB, Yoma 9b). As an illustration of causeless hatred there is the story of *Kamẓa and Bar Kamẓa given by R. Johanan as the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem (Git. 55b), which was also blamed explicitly on a deterioration in relations between men (BM 30b: "Jerusalem was only destroyed… because they based their judgments [strictly] on the letter of the law and did not go beyond its requirements."). This line was followed by other *amoraim* (Shab. 119b: "Jerusalem was destroyed only because the small and the great were made equal…, because they did not rebuke one another…, because scholars were despised in it…"), while others laid the blame at the door of man's transgressions toward God ("because the Sabbath was desecrated in it… because the reading of the *Shema* morning and evening was neglected"; *ibid.*). Although here proofs are deduced from biblical verses, the reference is to the destruction of Jerusalem in general and not specifically to that of the First Temple.

THE EXTRA-HISTORICAL CITY. The history of Jerusalem begins with an *aggadah* on the creation. "At the beginning of the creation of the world the Holy One blessed be He made as it were a tabernacle in Jerusalem in which He prayed: May My children do My will that I shall not destroy My house and My sanctuary" (Mid. Ps. to 76:3). Eliezer b. Jacob held that Adam offered a sacrifice "on the great altar in Jerusalem" (Gen. R. 34:9). According to one view Adam was created from a pure and holy place, the site of the Temple (PdRE 12; Gen. R. 14:8; TJ, Naz. 7:2, 56b: "he was created from the site of his atonement"), while another maintained that all the world was created from Zion (Yoma 54b).

In an extension of the vision of Isaiah (2:2) "that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills," Jerusalem is pictured by a Diaspora Jew of the second century B.C.E. as "situated in the center of the land of Judah on a high and exalted mountain" (*Letter of Aristeas*, 83). In a *baraita*, the view of the Temple as the highest place is connected with the verse (Deut. 17:8): "Then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose," which shows that the Temple is higher than the rest of Ereẓ Israel, and Ereẓ Israel than all other countries (Kid. 69a). Associated with this description of the Temple and Jerusalem is the idea that the place is also the center of the world and the *tabbur ha-areẓ* ("the navel of the earth"), a well-known Greek concept. Philo also described Jerusalem "as situated in the center of the world" (*Legatio ad Gaium*, 294), and Josephus states that Judea "stretches from the River Jordan to Jaffa. The city of Jerusalem lies at its very center, and for this reason it has sometimes, not inaptly, been called the 'navel' of the country" (Wars, 3:51–52). This idea is also found in the Midrash: "As the navel is set in the middle of a person, so is Ereẓ Israel the navel of the world, as it is said: 'That dwell in the navel of the earth' [Ezek. 38: 12]. Ereẓ Israel is located in the center of the world, Jerusalem in the center of Ereẓ Israel, the Temple in the center of Jerusalem, the *heikhal* in the center of the Temple, the ark in the center of the *heikhal*, and in front of the *heikhal* is the even *shetiyyah* ['foundation stone'] from which the world was started" (Tanḥ. B., Lev. 78; and see Sanh. 37a; Song R. 7:5 no. 3). The antiquity of this *aggadah* is attested by a parallel in the Second Book of Enoch (23:45; Cahana's edition) in which the metaphor "the navel of the earth" is connected with the site of Adam's creation ("And that Melchizedek will be priest and king in the place of Araunah saying, In the navel of the earth where Adam was created…"). These *aggadot* and oth-

ers like them make Jerusalem the place where the decisive events in man's history, as recounted in the book of Genesis, occurred (see Gen. R. 22:7; PdRE 23, 31). The identification of Mount *Moriah, on which Solomon built "the house of the Lord" (II Chron. 3:1), with "one of the mountains" in the land of Moriah, on which Abraham bound Isaac on the altar, predates the special holiness of Jerusalem and its choice as the site of the Temple to before David's capture of the city, and connects this with the promise given to the patriarch Abraham. To the name by which it is first mentioned, Salem ("peace" or "perfection," Gen. 14: 18) was added *yirah* ("reverence," in Gen. 22: 14) after the *Akedah*, both combining to form the name Jerusalem (Gen. R. 56:10).

The designation, "daughter of Zion," which is often used in the Bible to refer to the people of Israel, presumes the metaphor of Jerusalem as the mother, and this is also found in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature (IV Ezra 10:7; I Bar. 4:9; II Bar. 3:1), as well as in Midrashim (PR 26:131b; Yal. Mak. on Ps. 147:2, no. 4 in the name of the Tanh.). The term "mother" had a special significance for Hellenistic Jewry: in referring to Jerusalem as the "metropolis," they expressed the idea that the Diaspora communities were settlements founded on the initiative of the mother city, Jerusalem (Philo, *In Flaccum*, 45–46; *Legatio ad Gaium*, 281). But in the *aggadah* the term metropolis had a different connotation. Of Jerusalem, the "navel" of the earth and the light of the world (Gen. R. 59: 5), R. Johanan said that "it is destined to become the metropolis of all countries" (Ex. R. 23:10), and in the future all nations would be "daughters of Jerusalem" (Tanḥ. B. Deut. 4).

THE IDEAL JERUSALEM. The statements of the sages on the Jerusalem of the future are for the most part connected with and based on prophetic visions on this subject. Through close scrutiny of every detail of these visions and by accepting every metaphor and parable as factual, they wove fanciful and extravagant legends. Some, however, not content with inferences from biblical passages, added their own ideas. It is an aggadic tradition, said Samuel b. Nahmani, that "Jerusalem will not be rebuilt until the exiles are gathered in, and if anyone tells you that the exiles have gathered together but Jerusalem is not rebuilt, do not believe it" (Tanḥ. No'aḥ 11). In time to come God will rebuild Jerusalem and never destroy it (*ibid.*), and it will be rebuilt with fire (TJ, Ber. 4:3, 8a). In the future, said R. Johanan, the Holy One, blessed be He, will raise Jerusalem by three *parasangs* (BB 75b); "Jerusalem will be extended on all sides and the exiles will come and rest under it," and it will reach the gates of Damascus (Song R. 7:5 no. 3). Simeon b. Lakish said, "The Holy One, blessed be He, will in days to come add to Jerusalem more than a thousand gardens and a thousand towers" (BB 75b; Mid. Ps. to 48:13; and see Kohut, Arukh, 4 (1926), 24). In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring forth living waters from Jerusalem and with them heal everyone who is sick (Ex. R. 15:21). The borders of Jerusalem in time to come will be full of precious stones and pearls, and Israel will come and take their jewels from them (PdRK 137a). The Holy One, blessed be He, will build Jerusalem of sapphire stone "and these stones will shine like the sun, and the nations will come and look upon the glory of Israel" (Ex. R. 15:21). Simeon b. Gamaliel declared that "all nations and all kingdoms will in time to come gather together in the midst of Jerusalem" (ARN[1] 35, 106).

Jerusalem of the future is connected with the heavenly Jerusalem. The widespread concept of the heavenly Temple, which owes its origin to Isaiah's vision (Isa. 6), is the source of the aggadic idea of a heavenly Jerusalem (*Yerushalayim shel Ma'lah*). In an homiletical interpretation of the verse: "The Holy One is in the midst of thee, and I will not enter into the city" (Hos. 11:9), R. Johanan said, "The Holy One, blessed be He, declared, 'I shall not enter the heavenly Jerusalem until I can enter the earthly Jerusalem.' Is there, then, a heavenly Jerusalem? Yes, for it is written [Ps. 122:3]: 'Jerusalem, that art builded as a city that is compact together'" (Ta'an. 5a). Another homiletical interpretation stating that the heavenly Jerusalem is located directly opposite the earthly Jerusalem is derived from the verse (Isa. 49:16): "Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of My hands; thy walls are continually before Me" (Tanḥ., Pekudei, 1), and this Jerusalem is in the heaven known as *zevul* (Ḥag. 12b). While the heavenly Temple was fully prepared before the world was created (Tanḥ. B., Num. p. 34), the heavenly Jerusalem "was fashioned out of great love for the earthly Jerusalem" (Tanḥ., Pekudei, 1). This distinction is unknown in apocalyptic literature. In the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch (4:3) God says that the heavenly Jerusalem is "prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make paradise."

While apocalyptic literature (IV Ezra 10) and Paul (Gal. 4:26) stress the contrast between the heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem, the *aggadah* emphasizes their affinity. Thus, in time to come, it is stated in apocalyptic literature (I Enoch 90:28–29; IV Ezra 7:26, 10:54), the heavenly Temple and the heavenly Jerusalem will descend and be established in the place of the earthly Temple and earthly Jerusalem. "For in a place where the city of the Most High was about to be revealed no building work of man could endure." This view – adopted by the Christians, who repudiated the belief in a restoration of the earthly Jerusalem – was rejected by the *aggadah*, which states that the earthly Jerusalem will extend and rise upward until it reaches the throne of Divine Majesty (PdRK 143b; and see Tanh., Ẓav, 12; PR 41: 173a). It is only in later apocalyptic literature written in Muslim countries in the Geonic period that the idea reappears of the heavenly Jerusalem coming down to earth wholly built and entire (*Nistarot de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai* in *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3 (1938), 74f., 80; *Sefer Eliyahu, ibid.*, 67; see also Gen. Rabbati, ed. by Ḥ. Albeck, 131).

[*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*]

In the Liturgy

STATUTORY PRAYER. In the liturgy the Jew gave full expression to the vow taken "by the rivers of Babylon" – "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning" (Ps.

137: 5). The mention of Jerusalem was obligatory in all the statutory prayers, and it is largely used (together with Zion) as a synonym for Erez Israel as a whole (in point of fact, references to Erez Israel are rare). The most important of the many references is the 14th blessing of the daily **Amidah*, which is entirely devoted to Jerusalem. It begins, "And to Jerusalem thy city return in mercy… rebuild it soon in our days" and concludes, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem." On the Ninth of Av a moving prayer of comfort to "the mourners of Zion and the mourners of Jerusalem" and for the rebuilding of the city (called *Naḥem* after its opening word) is added to this blessing in the *Amidah* of *Minḥah*, and the concluding blessing is changed to "who comfortest Zion and rebuildest Jerusalem." The first of the last three blessings (common to all the *Amidot*), an invocation for the restoration of the sacrificial system, concludes with the words "and may our eyes behold thy return in mercy to Zion. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy Divine Presence unto Zion." The same combination of prayer for Jerusalem with the hope for the restoration of the Divine Service in the Temple is the theme of the fourth blessing of the *Musaf* on the New Moon and festivals (the Sabbath *Musaf* refers to the return to "our land"), while the **Ya'aleh ve-Yavo* prayer includes one for "the remembrance of Jerusalem thy holy city." The third benediction of the Grace after *Meals, largely devoted to Jerusalem, includes a prayer for Jerusalem, Zion, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, and the rebuilding of the Temple. It concludes with the same benediction as the 14th blessing of the *Amidah*, with, however, the addition of the word meaning "in thy mercy."

The *Lekhah Dodi* hymn is an impressive example of the longing for Jerusalem as it found its expression in the liturgy. Designed as a hymn of welcome to "Princess Sabbath," no less than 6 of its 9 stanzas are devoted, explicitly or implicitly, to the yearning for Jerusalem.

IN PIYYUT. The theme of Jerusalem figures prominently in **piyyut*, but its implications and frame of reference are greatly extended. Whereas in the statutory prayers the theme is confined to the actual Jerusalem, in the *piyyut* Jerusalem is also the embodiment of an idea: it is a symbol of Israel's glorious past and her hopes for the future, an image of the heavenly Jerusalem whose gates directly correspond to those of the temporal Jerusalem. The various biblical names for Jerusalem are found in the *piyyut*, as well as new names suggested by the context in which Jerusalem appears in the Bible. There are hundreds of relevant *piyyutim* and many were adopted in the *maḥzorim, kinot*, and *seliḥot* of the various rites. If Jerusalem was the "chiefest joy" of Israel when it dwelt in its own land, after the Exile, the deprivation from it became the "chiefest mourning." It is thus the theme of *piyyutim* on occasions of joy, such as weddings; of sadness, as in the *kinot* of the Ninth of Av; and of solemnity, such as the *seliḥot*. One of the earliest of such *piyyutim* for marriages is the *silluk* of Eleazar *Kallir, *Ahavat Ne'urim me-Olam* (M. Zulai, in: *Sinai*, 32 (1942/43), 52–54), which contains the following stanza:

שַׂמְּחוּ אֶת יְרוּשָׁלַם בְּשִׂמְחָה
וְגִילוּ בָהּ בְּהַצָּלָה וּרְוָחָה
כִּי לָעַד לֹא יַזְנִיחֶנָּה
וְלֹא לְעוֹלָם לָנֶצַח יַאֲנִיחֶנָּה

Gladden Jerusalem with gladness
And rejoice in her with deliverance and well-being,
For He shall not neglect her forever,
Nor shall He eternally abandon her to sighing.

The theme (of joy) is common to all such *piyyutim* in honor of the bridegroom. One of the best constructed *piyyutim* on Jerusalem is included in the *seliḥot* for the third day of the Ten Days of Penitence according to the Lithuanian custom. It is a 22-stanza abecedarius, beginning with the verse:

יְרוּשָׁלַיִם אֶת ה' הַלְלִי דָּגוּל מֵרְבָבוֹת

Jerusalem, praise the Lord, distinguished among myriads

Each strophe starts with the word Jerusalem, followed by the alphabetical acrostic word, and concludes with a biblical quotation in which the last word is Jerusalem. The *piyyutim* of **Ne'ilah* for the Day of Atonement include both the stanza from the *Avadnu me-Erez Ḥemdah* of R. *Gershom b. Judah of Mainz (Davidson, Oẓar, 1 (1924), no. 86):

הָעִיר הַקּוֹדֶשׁ וְהַמְּחוֹזוֹת
הָיוּ לְחֶרְפָּה וּלְבִיזוֹת
וְכָל מַחֲמַדֶּיהָ טְבוּעוֹת וּגְנוּזוֹת

The Holy City and its environs
Have been shamed and disgraced
And all her glories engulfed and plunged into oblivion.

and the acrostic poem of *Amittai b. Shephatiah of the tenth century in Italy (*ibid*, no. 2275) beginning:

אֶזְכְּרָה אֱלֹהִים וְאֶהֱמָיָה
בְּרָאוֹתִי כָּל עִיר עַל תִּלָּהּ בְּנוּיָה
וְעִיר הָאֱלֹהִים מוּשְׁפֶּלֶת עַד שְׁאוֹל תַּחְתִּיָּה

I remember, O God, and lament
When I see every city built on its foundation
And the City of God degraded to the nethermost pit.

Almost every *paytan*, whether of Erez Israel (e.g., Yannai, Kallir, *Yose b. Yose) or of the Diaspora (e.g., *Saadiah b. Joseph Gaon, Abraham *Ibn Ezra, Joseph b. Abraham *Gikatilla) composed a *piyyut* on this theme. Each expressed his praise and longing for Jerusalem. Kallir calls it "the city of strength"; Saadiah sees "the streets of the city full of rejoicing"; Ibn Ezra sings of the "beloved Zion"; a *paytan* called Isaac refers to it as "Jerusalem the Crown of Glory"; Abraham b. Menahem as "the joyous city"; while for Israel b. Moses *Najara, in his well-known Aramaic table hymn, *Yah Ribbon*, it is "the best of all cities."

In his love songs which express passionate yearning for Jerusalem, *Judah Halevi excels over all others and earned the title "the Singer of Zion." His famous *Ẓiyyon Ha-Lo Tishali*, included in the *kinot* for the Ninth of Av, gave the lead to the *kinot* which are called "Zionides" because they commence with the word Zion. In the Ashkenazi *kinot* alone there are seven such *piyyutim*, but Davidson lists some 60 (3 (1930),

nos. 277–322). Jerusalem to Judah Halevi is "beautiful of elevation, the joy of the world, the capital of the great king" (*ibid.*, 2 (1929), no. 3354; all references below are to Davidson). It is "the site of the throne of the Messiah" and "the footstool of God" (*ibid.*, no. 998); the "city of the universal God" (*ibid.*, no. 3860). Ezekiel's mention of the two sisters "Oholah the elder, and Oholibah her sister" – personifications of Samaria and Jerusalem (23:4) – became a fruitful theme for the *paytanim*, often in the form of a dialogue between them (cf. Kallir, *ibid.*, 1 (1924), no. 1721 and 2 (1929), no. 789). The *piyyut* on this theme by Solomon ibn *Gabirol, *Shomeron Kol Titten* (3 (1930), no. 686) is included in the *kinot* of the eve of the Ninth of Av in the Ashkenazi rite. Jerusalem and Samaria engage in a dialogue; the former maintains that the destruction of the Temple is the cruelest possible blow; Samaria retorts that at least the descendants of Judea still exist, while hers are lost. Oholibah answers that the repeated persecutions and exiles have been worse than death. The *piyyut* ends with the prayer, "Renew our days of old, as thou didst say, 'The Lord will rebuild Jerusalem.'"

Another recurring motif is the contrast between "my departure from Egypt" (from bondage to freedom) and "my departure from Jerusalem" (from freedom to bondage). There are *piyyutim* with this refrain by, among others, David b. Samuel ha-Levi (1 (1924), no. 5634), *Ephraim b. Jacob (*ibid.*, no. 2487), and David b. Aleksandri (*ibid.*, no. 2298), and an example can be seen in the *Esh Tukad be-Kirbi* included in the *kinot* of the Ninth of Av in the Ashkenazi rite.

The poems and *piyyutim* on Jerusalem, although individual compositions, express the longings and love of the whole Jewish people. Their inclusion in the various rites clearly testifies that throughout the ages Jerusalem continued to be at the very center of the Jews' emotions and cultural heritage.

After the establishment of the State of Israel, and especially after the 1967 Six-Day War, there was a growing feeling that the *piyyutim* on Jerusalem which emphasize its utter destruction and desolation should no longer be recited. Similarly a revised version of the *Naḥem* prayer, based on variants, particularly the Palestinian version which begins *Raḥem*, composed by E.E. Urbach, is recited in some synagogues.

[Abraham Meir Habermann]

In Kabbalah

According to *Baḥya b. Asher, the dual ending of the Hebrew word for Jerusalem (*Yerushalayim*) indicates that there is a heavenly Jerusalem corresponding to the earthly Jerusalem (see Aggadah: above). It contains a "holy palace and the prince of the Presence is the high priest" (commentary on *Sefer ha-Komah*). Following the *aggadah*, the Holy Land is the center of the world and in its center is Jerusalem, whose focal point is the Holy of Holies. All the good in the world flows from heaven to Jerusalem, and all are nourished from there (Zohar, 2:157a; Joseph Gikatila, *Sha'arei Orah*, ch. 1; *Emunah u-Vittaḥon*; Naḥmanides, commentary on Gen. 14: 18, 28; 17, etc.). Jerusalem therefore symbolizes the lowest *Sefirah, Malkhut* ("kingdom"), which mainly rules over the world. The mystical drama behind the history of Jerusalem is expressed in various essays: Ḥayyim *Vital, for example, interpreted the war between Tyre and Jerusalem as a battle between impurity and holiness. Jerusalem is surrounded by mountains so that the forces of the *sitra aḥra* ("the left side," the demonic powers) cannot penetrate it (*Sefer ha-*Temunah*), and the angels of the *Shekhinah* are the guardians of the walls (Zohar, 2:89b, 240b). According to Naḥmanides and Baḥya, Jerusalem is therefore especially suitable for prophecy and its inhabitants have a "superior advantage," for "no curtain separates it [Jerusalem] from God" (*Reshit Ḥokhmah*) and He wishes to be worshiped there. The prayers of all Israel rise to heaven via Jerusalem, which is the gateway to the heavens (Isaiah *Horowitz, *Shenei Luḥot ha-Berit*). The walls of Jerusalem will eventually approach the Throne of Glory (Zohar, 3:56a) and then there will be complete harmony in the realm of the *Sefirot*.

As the messianic belief did not occupy a special position in Spanish Kabbalah, Jerusalem did not attain a particular status beyond the customary mystical-symbolic homiletic interpretations. After the expulsion from Spain (1492), there is evidence of a preference for Safed over Jerusalem (*Ḥesed le-Avraham* (Vilna, 1877), 25b). For a change in a later period see *Emek ha-Melekh* (Amsterdam, 1648, 116c). The Messiah will first reveal himself in Galilee and then will go up to Jerusalem. Jerusalem also appears in the following apocalyptic works: *Sefer Eliyahu, Pirkei Mashi'aḥ, Nistarot de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai* (Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 3), and *Ma'aseh Dani'el* (*ibid.*, 5).

Until the 16th century, only a few kabbalists lived in Jerusalem. They included *Jacob Nazir of Lunel, Naḥmanides, Judah *Albotini, *Abraham b. Eliezer ha-Levi, Joseph ibn Ṣayyaḥ, Ḥayyim Vital, and scholars who bore such pseudonyms as R. Nahorai, R. Ḥanuniah, Maẓli'aḥ b. Pelatiyah, and others. However, from the 17th century on, many kabbalists were attracted to Jerusalem, including entire groups, like those around Jacob *Ẓemaḥ, Meir *Poppers, and Gedaliah Ḥayon. Shabbateans especially, such as *Rovigo, *Judah he-Ḥasid, Ḥayyim *Malakh, and others tended to look toward Jerusalem. Even the author of **Ḥemdat Yamim* wrote as if he lived in Jerusalem. Of special note is the *bet midrash*, Bet El, founded by Shalom *Sharabi, which served as a center of Kabbalah in the East for 150 years. Its students excelled in asceticism and in prayer according to Lurianic meditations (*kavvanot*).

[Moshe Hallamish]

In Modern Hebrew Literature

HASKALAH. The historical perspective with which most of the *Haskalah literature invested Jerusalem gave the city a sense of reality if not immediacy. The *maskil*, though he wanted to assimilate into European culture, also tried to preserve his historical identity; he thus not only recalled his ancient past but vivified it. The yearning for the past glory of Israel was, however, a nostalgia for the almost irretrievable. Thus one of the major trends in the Haskalah, not unlike Euro-

pean literature in this respect, was a harking back to a "Golden Age." This, however, was not born out of a desire to return to the Land of Israel, which was only to grow strong much later in the wake of disappointment with the Enlightenment.

Haskalah literature not only celebrated the glory of ancient Jerusalem but also lamented the Jerusalem laid waste, the bondage, and the Exile. Two of the earliest Hebrew Haskalah writers, Ephraim and Isaac *Luzzatto, celebrated the glories of Israel's past; their panegyrics were interwoven with a strain of infinite longing to be echoed later by Micah Joseph *Lebensohn (Mikhal). Jerusalem also figured prominently in the rational allegorical strain in Haskalah writings, e.g., *Emet ve-Emunah* ("Truth and Faith"; in *Kol Kitvei Adam u-Mikhal*, 3 (1895)) by A.B. *Lebensohn, where the city is the seat of wisdom. Against the symbolic landscape of Jerusalem, Micah Joseph Lebensohn wrote a number of semi-epical poems: *Shelomo ve-Kohelet, Moshe al-Har Avarim*, and *Yehudah Halevi*. In *Moshe al-Har Avarim* Moses stands on Mount Avarim and "his eye is turned toward Jerusalem." Judah Halevi is depicted as journeying to the Land of Israel, where he meets with desolation and ruin. Standing before the gates of Jerusalem the medieval poet falls into a trance and sees the host of the dead of Zion pass before his eyes. The modern poet thereby gives a kaleidoscopic view of the woeful legions of the Jews who died for Jerusalem and Zion.

Ahavat Ẓiyyon ("Love of Zion," 1853) is a colorful pageant of the ancient past. Sensitively imitating the speech of biblical Hebrew, the author captured the rhythm of life of the ancient Hebrews. Divested of any mythical analogies, symbols, or nostalgia, his graphic rendering of life in Judah, where Jews were free in their own homeland, stirred the hearts of a ghetto generation. While Jerusalem in the novel is the backdrop of the action, it is also the symbol of the Haskalah, a harmonious reconciliation between beauty and morality. Mapu also mourned the ruin of Jerusalem, which is the leitmotif of *Ayit Ẓavu'a* ("The Painted Vulture," 1857), a savage attack on Jewish obscurantism, whose butt is Lithuanian Jewry. Jerusalem, seen through the eyes of one of the characters who sits on Mount Zion contemplating its desolation, is described with an immediacy seldom found among Haskalah writers.

Judah Leib *Gordon, a later Haskalah writer, expressed his love of Zion more directly than other maskilim and in this sense is as much a writer of the renascence period as of the Haskalah. Though he never joined Ḥibbat Zion and had misgivings about the return of the Jews to their ancient homeland, 20 years before the movement's inception Gordon wrote *Al Har Ẓiyyon she-Shamam* (1862; in *Kitvei Yehudah Leib Gordon* (1953)) urging the people to rebuild Zion. Among his poems on Jerusalem are *Ahavat David u-Mikhal* ("The Love of David and Michal") and *Bein Shinnei Arayot* ("Between the Teeth of the Lions"), an epic poem on the war between Judea and Rome. The theme of the latter, a people fighting for its liberty against overwhelming odds, is exemplified through the tragic story of a Jewish warrior who fought at the gates of Jerusalem, only to be taken captive to Rome and pitted against a lion in the arena. The poet's anguish over a nation whose ancient glory is no more suffuses the poem.

RENASCENCE PERIOD (1880–1947). In late Haskalah literature there is no clear distinction between belles lettres and writings of a social and publicistic nature. This division was effected in the renascence period when issues vital to the Jewish community were in literary writing either subsumed to the aesthetic element or were so well integrated that their militancy was muted. The great poets of the time, such as Ḥ.N. Bialik and S. Tchernichowsky, excluded the Zionist issue from most of their works. Thus the Zionist poets of the renascence movement are not the literary giants of modern Hebrew literature but minor bards such as M.M. *Dolitzki, who wrote reams of poetry on Jerusalem, most of which is sentimental and trite. A minor poet, N.H. *Imber, is remembered by virtue of his poem "**Ha-Tikvah*" (about 1876).

Jerusalem features prominently in the historical dramas of the period, some of which were a continuation of the allegorical-biblical literature of the Haskalah. In J.L. *Landau's *Aḥarit Yerushalayim* ("The Last Days of Jerusalem," 1886) the protagonists expound ideas about freedom and the glory of Israel.

Major writers of the later renascence period (1920–47) returned to the theme of Jerusalem. Although some used it merely as an image, symbol, or backdrop for the development of their plot, they invested the city with a flesh and blood reality. J.Ḥ. *Brenner wrote a number of works against the background of Jerusalem, such as *Shekhol ve-Khishalon* ("Bereavement and Failure," 1920), in which he decries the Jerusalem of the *kolel* and *ḥalukkah*, and *Mi-Kan u-mi-Kan* ("From Here and There," 1911). Some of Yaakov *Cahan's historical plays, *David Melekh Yisrael* (1921), the King Solomon trilogy, and others, are set in biblical Jerusalem. In *Aggadot Elohim* ("Legends of God," 1945), a saga of the Jewish people from the time of creation to the resurrection, Cahan strikingly describes the desolation of Jerusalem which at the same time he sees as a symbol of redemption. He also edited the anthology *Yerushalayim be-Shir ve-Ḥazon*.

Dramatists of the caliber of Mattityahu *Shoham also made Jerusalem the pervading motif of some of their works. The theme of *Ẓor vi-Yrushalayim* (1933) is a culture conflict expressed through the characters: Jezebel, Elijah, and Elisha. Jezebel is associated with Zor (Tyre), the center of Phoenician culture, the seat of idolatry identified with the flesh. Elisha, at first attracted to Jezebel, dissociates himself from her. Jerusalem symbolizes the ideal society, the rule of the spirit. Elisha's self-denial and resistance to the temptations of Jezebel is in contrast to an earlier tragic emphasis in Shoham where the Jewish protagonist is overpowered. While it is a play of high dramatic quality, it is not theatrical. The characters never become flesh and blood but remain symbolic or allegorical figures. *Ha-Ḥomah* ("The Wall," 1938), a drama by Aharon Ashman, is set in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jerusalem merely serves as a background for the dramatic action. Na-

than (Bistritski) *Agmon's *Be-Leil Zeh* (1934), renamed *Leil Yerushalayim* ("Jerusalem Night," 1953), an impressionistic play in which the dialogue is fragmentary and the characters symbolic, dramatizes the crisis in modern Jewish history as manifested in the conflict between the conservative Jew who acquiesces in exile and the demand for redemption. While Jerusalem is the physical setting in many of these works, the city also functions as a symbolic landscape which forms the warp and woof of the play.

During this period of national revival much drama, prose, and poetry was written in which the theme of the return to Zion did not focus on Jerusalem, but rather on pioneering and the pioneer. Although the naturalistic and realistic schools did not take up Jerusalem as a motif, there were exceptions, among them Yehoshua *Bar-Yosef's *Be-Simta'ot Yerushalayim* ("In Jerusalem Alleys," 1941), a dramatization of the tragic disintegration of a family. A conflict of generations and values, whose tragic "dissolution" is in madness, unfolds against the background of the timelessness of Jerusalem.

Yehuda *Karni in his Palestine period infused the individualistic motifs of his earlier poetry with a nationalistic theme in which Jerusalem is the eternal symbol of the Jewish people and the embodiment of its destiny. He thus deviated from the realistic trend prevalent in Palestine wherein Jerusalem was a backdrop to contemporary social problems. In his book of poems, *Shirei Yerushalayim* ("Songs of Jerusalem," 1944), the hopeless stagnation and decay of 20th-century Jerusalem against the canvas of its historical continuity is portrayed as ephemeral and transient.

A lyrical and personal note runs through Ya'akov *Fichmann's poems on Jerusalem, whose wistful mood expresses an undefined longing. The poet, like a prowler, stealthily surprises the city in its most intimate moments. Onto these he projects his own moods. In the sonnet "Jerusalem," Fichmann captures Jerusalem in a moment in which all of time is gathered and in which "Dead splendor rests on furrows of new life."

Jerusalem is central to a number of Shmuel Yosef *Agnon's works, especially to his major novels: *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun* (1940; *A Guest for the Night*, 1968), *Temol Shilshom* ("The Days Before," 1946), and *Shirah* (1971), each of which treats the Jerusalem motif differently. The action in *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun* is set in a small Galician town to which a traveler from Jerusalem, drawn by childhood nostalgia, has come to spend the night. The two main symbols in the work, the town's *bet ha-midrash* and Jerusalem, interact on a level beyond the immediate realistic scene. They are also interwoven into the surrealistic images, often producing a sense of eeriness and unreality. On every level of the story Jerusalem functions both as a real place in time and space and as a symbol. The surrealistic atmosphere of the town and the town itself have reality by virtue of the fact that Jerusalem in *Ore'aḥ Natah Lalun* has real existence. In *Temol Shilshom* Jerusalem also functions on several different levels; most of the action takes place in the city during the period of the Second *Aliyah. *Shirah* is set in the Jerusalem of the 1930s and describes, often satirically, the life of German-Jewish and other intellectuals at The Hebrew University. Other works of Agnon in which Jerusalem is either the setting or the theme or functions as a symbol are: "*Tehillah*," *Sefer ha-Ma'asim* ("The Book of Deeds"), "*Ha-Mikhtav*" ("The Letter"), "*Iddo ve-Inam*," "*Ad Olam*" ("Forevermore"), and *Sefer ha-Medinah* ("The Book of the State"). The particular Yemenite milieu of Jerusalem has been dealt with by Ḥ. *Hazaz.

ISRAEL PERIOD. Uri Zvi *Greenberg's Jerusalem poetry belongs as much to the Mandatory period as to the period of statehood. The prophetic thunder and woeful liturgical laments are a consistent theme in his poetry. The poet, however, not only exhorts – he also dreams; and in *Mi-Sifrei Tur Malka* ("From the Books of Tur Malka") he sees the *Shekhinah* which has returned to Jerusalem and the celestial Jerusalem which comes down to the earthly city. In *Kelev Bayit* ("House Dog," 1928) Greenberg sees at the gates of Jerusalem a "miraculous horse" waiting for its rider. "Jerusalem the Dismembered," a dirge from the greater work *Yerushalayim shel Mattah*, bemoans the shame and desecration of the holy city. Despite its despair and sense of infinite loss and infinite horror, his Holocaust poetry is characterized by a leap of faith rather than a loss of faith in God. Out of the ashes he sees salvation and imagines the host of the martyred dead gathered in Jerusalem.

The theme of Jerusalem recurs less frequently in the literature of the 1950s which is concerned with the more immediate problems of the decade. At most it is a realistic landscape. Amos Elon's *Yerushalayim Lo Nafelah* ("Jerusalem Did Not Fall," 1948) is about the siege of Jerusalem in 1948 written by an eyewitness. Yet in the late 1950s a change occurred and the canvas of the dramatist as well as of the poet and prose writer extended.

Among the younger poets Yehuda *Amichai is probably the most representative. He used the Jerusalem motif in different time settings, contexts, and even mythical landscapes. The city seems to have a strong hold on him, a hold which he wants to break but cannot. In "*Ha-Kerav ba-Givah*" ("Battle for the Hill") he says he is going to fight that battle and then "I shall never return to Jerusalem" – but he does in "Jerusalem 1967." The "sea" of Jerusalem, a symbol found already in very early Hebrew poetry, is a recurring image in "Battle for the Hill" – "the sea of Jerusalem is the most terrible sea of all." Amichai's tendency to fuse historical and mythical landscapes with the present can perhaps best be seen in "If I forget thee Jerusalem" where he uses ancient themes to create new myths. His novel *Lo mi-Kan ve-Lo me-Akhshav* ("Not of This Time, Not of This Place," 1963) contains vivid descriptions of Jerusalem.

A.B. Yehoshua's Jerusalem in "*Sheloshah Yamim ve-Yeled*" ("Three Days and a Child"; in *Tishah Sippurim*, 1970) is an impressionistic yet realistic portrait of the city marked by a note of hostility which endows it with a personality as well as a landscape. The play *Laylah be-Mai* ("A Night in May," 1969) dramatizes the effect of the tension of May 1967 on a Jeru-

salem family; Jerusalem, however, is only incidental to the play. Another writer who has made Jerusalem the setting of many of his works is David Shaḥar: *Moto shel ha-Elohim ha-Katan* ("Death of the Little God," 1970), *Al ha-Ḥalomot* ("On Dreams," 1955), *Heikhal ha-Kelim ha-Shevurim* (1962), and *Maggid ha-Atidot* ("Fortune-teller," 1966), each of the four collections of short stories. Several authors have written historical novels in which Jerusalem is a central feature, such as Moshe Shamir's *Melekh Basar va-Dam* (1954; *King of Flesh and Blood*, 1958) and Aaron A. Kabak's *Ba-Mishol ha-Ẓar* (1937; *The Narrow Path*, 1968).

Other authors who have written on Jerusalem or used it as a setting include: Dov Kimḥi, *Emesh* ("Last Night," 1927) and *Beit Ḥefeẓ* (1951), novels; *Ezra Ha-Menaḥem, bein ha-Ḥomot* ("Between the Walls," 1941); Y.D. Kamson, *Yerushalayim* (1950); Aaron Reuveni, *Ad Yerushalayim* (1954) and *Leylot Yerushalayim* (1957); Efraim and Menahem Talmi, *Sefer Yerushalayim* (1956), a miscellany; H. Brandwein, *Ba-Ḥaẓerot Yerushalayim* (1958); Pinḥas *Sadeh, *Ha-Ḥayyim ke-Mashal* (1968[2]; "Life as a Parable") and *Al Maẓẓavo shel ha-Adam* ("On the Condition of Man," 1967), novels. *Mikha'el Shelli* ("My Michael," 1968), a novel by Amos Oz, is set in the Jerusalem of the period following the establishment of the State of Israel. Yiẓḥak Navon's play *Bustan Sefaradi* (1970), a dramatization of the author's childhood reminiscences, vividly portrays the Sephardi community in Jerusalem 40 years earlier. Yoram *Kaniuk tells the story of an Israeli soldier who is severely wounded during the War of Independence in his novel *Ḥimmo Melekh Yerushalayim* (*Himmo King of Jerusalem*, 1965), setting it in an old monastery transformed temporarily into a hospital. For Shulamith *Hareven, in her much-acclaimed novel *Ir Yamim Rabim* (*City of Many Days*, 1972), pre-State Jerusalem is a poetic and conceptual space in which people with different religious and cultural convictions try to shape life together. In her novel *Korot Ḥava Gottlieb* ("The Adventures of Hava Gottlieb," 1968), Miriam Schwarz sheds light on the tempestuous fate of a young woman from the Orthodox neighborhood of Me'ah She'arim who hopes to escape the fetters of strict religious life. Haim *Be'er tells of a childhood among deeply religious Jerusalemites in his novels *Noẓẓot* (1979) and *Ḥavalim* (1998). Indeed, the dichotomy between a rigid religious life and the yearning for an emancipated, liberal way of living becomes an important theme in Hebrew novels written in the 1990s, many of which portray the hermetic world of religious people in Jerusalem (e.g., in novels by Yehudit Rotem, Mira Magen, Yisrael Segal).

Jerusalem is the setting of quite a number of contemporary novels, although Tel Aviv has become a popular backdrop for many novels (e.g., by Yaakov *Shabtai, Yoram Kaniuk, Etgar Keret), and Haifa has come to play an increasingly greater role in current Hebrew literature (e.g., in prose works by Abraham B. Yehoshua, Yehudit Katzir, Zeruya Lahav). Ariella Deem wrote *Yerushalayim mesaḥeket Maḥbo'im* (1977), Reuven Bar-Yosef *Ẓohorayim bi-Yerushalaim* ("Noon in Jerusalem," 1978), and Efrat Roman-Asher tells, in *Irushalem* (2003), the story of the first baby born in the city after the Six-Day War, combining autobiographical elements with mystical undertones. Daniel Dothan tells the story of artists and dreamers in Jerusalem during the first half of the 20th century: Based upon historical and literary documents, his novel *Al Meshulash Hafukh bein Kan la-Yare'aḥ* (1993) brings together the German-Jewish poetess Else Lasker-Schüler, the sculptor Avraham Melnikov, the Hebrew poet Uri Zvi Greenberg, and others. Jerusalem is the city in which the German immigrant Bernhart tries to reorganize his life after the death of his wife, Paula, in Yoel Hoffmann's *Bernhart* (1989). The fact that Descartes' book was lost when the couple moved from the German colony to Strauss Street is no mere accident: it suggests the loss of "European" logic in a place in which the newcomers feel disoriented and forlorn. For dramatist Yehoshua *Sobol, in his controversial play *Sindrom Yerushalayim* (*The Jerusalem Syndrome*, 1987), Jerusalem becomes the quintessence of erroneous political decisions, a paradigm of Zionist ideology gone astray. More recently, Jerusalem is the backdrop for Zeruya Shalev's international bestseller *Ḥayei Ahavah* (*Love Life*, 1997). Amos Oz tells of a childhood in Jerusalem, of intellectuals and artists such as Agnon, Joseph Klausner, and Zelda, in his autobiographical novel *Sippur'al Ahavah ve-Ḥoshekh* (2002). Jerusalem as the arena of brutal terror attacks and, at the same time, a place of reconciliation and redemption, not least so in the Christian sense, is the setting for Abraham B. Yehoshua's modern Passion, his recent novel *Sheliḥuto shel ha-Memuneh al Meshabei Enosh* ("The Mission of the Human Resource Man," 2004).

[Avie Goldberg / Anat Feinberg (2nd ed.)]

IN OTHER RELIGIONS

In Christianity

Christian concern with Jerusalem involves the ancient concept of the city as a shrine of preeminent holiness, marking the physical and spiritual center of the cosmos, the spot at which history began and at which it will reach its apocalyptic consummation. The idea of an *umbilicus mundi*, a scale model, as it were, of the universe itself, at which a nation or tribe would gather periodically to renew its corporate life by the observance of the now familiar year-rites, was known to many ancient peoples, and the nations converted to Christianity had no difficulty accepting the supreme eschatological significance of Jerusalem and its Temple. The city's unique status, however, raised certain questions that have never ceased to puzzle and divide Christian theologians, namely: Just how literally are Jerusalem's claims and promises to be taken? How can the prized continuity (back to Adam) of the city's long history be maintained if Christianity is a completely new, spiritualized, beginning? How can Jerusalem be the Holy City par excellence without also being the headquarters of the Church? How can the city's prestige be exploited in the interests of a particular church or nation? These issues have all come to the fore in each of the main periods of Christian preoccupation with Jerusalem, namely: the "Golden Age" of the second and third centuries, the Imperial age from Constantine to Justin-

ian, the Carolingian revival, the Crusades, the period of intrigues and grand designs, the time of patronage by the great powers, and the rise of Israel.

IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES. The question of literalism was paramount in the second and third centuries; the early Christians had been Jews of the apocalyptic-chiliastic persuasion with lively visions of a literal New Jerusalem, while an educated and growing minority (also among the Jews) favored a more spiritual interpretation of the biblical promises and accused the old-school Christians of superstition and "Judaizing." The banning of Jews from the city by Hadrian gave an advantage to the gentile party, and the "Doctors of the Church" made the Hellenized or "spiritualized" image of Jerusalem the official one (e.g., St. Jerome). Still, the millennialist teachings survived beneath the surface, occasionally bursting out in sectarian enthusiasm or becoming general in times of crisis, while the "Doctors" themselves repeatedly succumbed to the enticements of a real and earthly Holy City. Hence the ambiguities of literalism versus allegory might have been minimized, were it not that the continued presence and preachings of the Jews forced the Christians in self-defense to appeal to the doctrine of a purely spiritual Jerusalem.

From Origen's time, churchmen of all sects have been one in insisting that the New Jerusalem is for Christians only, since the Jewish city can never rise again. In the absence of scriptural support for this claim, various stock arguments are used, namely, Josephus' description of the destruction of 70 C.E. with its atmosphere of gloom and finality (BJ IV, V, 3), the argument of silence in that the New Testament says nothing about a restitution of the city after Vespasian, the ominously lengthening period of time since the expulsion of the Jews, various tortured allegorical and numerological demonstrations, and the appeal to history with the ringing rhetorical challenge: "Where is your city now…?"

A favorite argument (akin to a Jewish teaching about the Diaspora) was that Jerusalem had to be destroyed so that Jews and Christians alike might be scattered throughout the world as witnesses to the fulfillment of prophecy in the new religion. Against these were arguments that never ceased to annoy: Why did the city and Temple continue to flourish for 42 years after the final pronunciation of doom, and why during that time did the Christians show every mark of reverence and respect for both? Why did Jesus weep for the destruction if it was in every sense necessary and desirable? Why do the Doctors insist that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans was a great crime, and yet hail it as a blessed event, saluting its perpetrators as the builders of the New Jerusalem, even though they were the chief persecutors of the Christians? If expulsion from Jerusalem is proof of divine rejection of the Jews, does the principle not also hold good for their Christian successors? How can the antichrist sit in the Temple unless the city and Temple are built again by the Jews? The standard argument, that only a total and final dissolution would be fit punishment for the supreme crime of deicide, was frustrated by the time schedule, which suggested to many that the city was destroyed to avenge the death not of Jesus but of James the Just.

But if Jerusalem was to be permanently obliterated, the Christians could only inherit it in a spiritual sense. The Church was the New Jerusalem in which all prophecy was fulfilled, the Millennium attained, and all things became new. This raised a serious question of continuity, however: Has God chosen another people? Can one preserve the meaning of the eschatological drama while changing all the characters? Can a people (the Christians) be gathered that was never scattered? And what of the Heavenly Jerusalem? The approved school solution with its inevitable rhetorical antithesis was to depict the Heavenly and the Earthly Jerusalems as opposites in all things, the one spiritual, the other carnal. Yet none of the fathers is able to rid himself of "corporeal" complications in the picture, and the two Jerusalems remain hopelessly confused, for in the end the two are actually to meet and fuse into one. Palestine was the scene of busy theological controversy on these and related mysteries when the "Golden Age" of Christian Jerusalem came to an end with the persecutions of 250.

THE IMPERIAL AGE. After the storm had passed, Constantine the Great at Rome, Nicaea, Constantinople, and elsewhere celebrated his victories over the temporal and spiritual enemies of mankind with brilliant festivals and imposing monuments. But his greatest victory trophy was "the New Jerusalem," a sacral complex of buildings presenting the old hierocentric concepts in the Imperial pagan form, with the Holy Sepulcher as the center and chief shrine of the world. Jerusalem was treated as the legitimate spoils of Christian-Roman victory over the Jews, whose entire heritage – including the Temple – accordingly passed intact into the hands of the Christians. Henceforth, there remained no objections to giving Jerusalem its full measure of honor. Continuity back to Adam was established with suspicious ease by the rapid and miraculous discovery of every relic and artifact mentioned in the Bible, and a flood of pilgrims came to rehearse, Bible in hand (the earliest pilgrims, Silvia (383) and the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333), are markedly partial to Old Testament remains), the events of each holy place and undertake weary walks and vigils in a cult strangely preoccupied with caves and rites of the dead. The patriarch Macarius, who may have contrived the convenient discoveries of holy objects with an eye to restoring Jerusalem to its former preeminence, promoted a building boom that reached a peak of great activity in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Financed at first by Imperial bounty, the building program was later supported by wealthy individuals, and especially by a line of illustrious matrons whose concern for the holy city goes back to Queen *Helena of Adiabene and whose number includes *Helena, the mother of Constantine; his mother-in-law, Eutropia; Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II; Verina, the wife of Leo II; Sophia, the mother of St. Sabas; Paula; and Flavia, Domitilla, and Melania, rich Roman ladies

and friends of St. Jerome. By the end of the fourth century, Jerusalem had more than 300 religious foundations sustained by generous infusions of outside capital, until the economic decline of the fifth century forced the government to take the initiative, culminating in Justinian's ambitious but fruitless building program. The period was one of specious brilliance in which, as J. Hubert notes, everything had to be *splendens, rutilans, nitens, micans, radians, coruscans* – i.e., brilliantly surfaced, while the actual remains of the buildings show slipshod and superficial workmanship.

Spared the barbarian depredations suffered by most of the world in the fifth and sixth centuries, Jerusalem was an island of security and easy money, where the population of all ranks was free to indulge in those factional feuds that were the blight of the Late Empire. Points of doctrine furnished stimulation and pretext for violent contests involving ambitious churchmen and their congregations, hordes of desert monks, government and military officials and their forces local and national, the ever-meddling great ladies, members of the Imperial family and their followings, and the riotous and ubiquitous factions of the games in confused and shifting combinations. The Jews of Alexandria became associated with one of these factions, which in that notoriously fickle city found itself opposed to the faction of the Emperor Phocas, who ordered his general, Bonossus, to suppress the corresponding faction in Jerusalem by converting all Jews by force. While pitched battles raged in the streets, a Persian army appeared at the gates, sent by Chosroes, the pro-Christian monarch seeking vengeance on the treacherous Phocas for the murder of his friend Mauritius. The Jews regarded this as a timely deliverance by a nation that had succored them before and sided with the Persians – an act not of treachery (as Christian writers would have it) but of war, since Phocas had already called for their extermination as a people. The Christian world was stunned when Chosroes took the cross from Jerusalem in 614 and elated when the victorious Heraclius brought it back in 628. Under the vehement urging of the monk Modestus, whom he had made patriarch and who aspired to rebuild Jerusalem as a new Macarius, Heraclius, against his better judgment, took savage reprisals on the Jews. But within ten years the city fell to Omar, who allowed the pilgrimages to continue, while making Jerusalem a great Muslim shrine by the revival of the Temple complex, which the Christians, after long and studied neglect, also now claimed as their own.

Though Christians, originally as Jews and later on church business, had always made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the great surge of popular interest beginning in the fourth century alarmed some churchmen, who denounced the pilgrimage as wasteful of time and means, dangerous to life and morals, and a disruptive influence in the Church. Along with monasticism, with which it was closely associated, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an attempt to get back to the first order of the Church and retrieve the lost world of visions, martyrs, prophets, and miracles, and this implied dissatisfaction with the present order. The writings of the Church Fathers furnish abundant evidence for the basic motivation of the pilgrims, which was the desire to reassure oneself of the truth of Christianity by seeing and touching the very things the Bible told of, and experiencing contact with the other world by some overt demonstration of supernatural power (healing was the most popular). Only at Jerusalem could one receive this historical and miraculous reassurance in its fullness; only there did one have a right to expect a miracle.

The earliest holy place visited was not, as might have been supposed, the Holy Sepulcher, but the footprint of Jesus on the Mount of Olives, the spot where he was last seen by men as he passed to heaven and would first be seen on his return (Cabrol and Leclercq, Dic. 7, 231). Contact was the basic idea – contact with the biblical past and with heaven itself, of which Jerusalem was believed to be a physical fragment. Tangible pieces of the Holy City, carried to distant parts of the world, gave rise to other holy centers, which in turn sent out their tangible relics like sparks from a central fire. The Christian world was soon covered by a net of holy shrines, built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher or the Temple and often designated by the names of Jerusalem, the Temple or the Sepulcher. Each became a pilgrimage center in its own right, and there was a graded system of holiness measured on a scale of distance in time from Jesus and in space from Jerusalem, which remained "as far above all the other cities in the world in renown and holiness as the sun is above the stars."

THE CAROLINGIAN REVIVAL. In 800, after being fought over for two centuries by Muslim dynasties, Jerusalem was placed under the protection of Charlemagne, who was doing Hārūn al-Rashīd the service of annoying his Umayyad enemies in Spain. Although Rome had come under his protection five years earlier in the same way – by the presentation of holy keys and a banner from the bishop – it was the prestige of ruling Jerusalem that warranted the change in Charlemagne's title from king to emperor. Like Constantine, Charlemagne stimulated a revival of large-scale pilgrimage to Jerusalem and a tradition of royal generosity, endowing a church, school, monastery, and library. The Jerusalem hospitals for pilgrims were a tradition going back to pre-Christian times. From Darius to Augustus and the Emperors of the West, great rulers had courted the favor of heaven by pious donations to the holy city, and this tradition of royal bounty was continued through the Middle Ages, when kings imposed Jerusalem-taxes on their subjects and monks from Jerusalem made regular fund-raising trips to Europe.

During the years of the "quasi-protectorate of the Western Emperors" over Jerusalem and the revived Byzantine control (made possible by Muslim disunity), a steadily mounting stream of pilgrims even from the remotest regions of northwestern and Slavic Europe came to bathe in the Jordan, pray at the Holy Sepulcher, and endow pious foundations. Stimulated by the end-of-the-world excitement of the year 1000, this stream "multiplied tenfold" in the 11th century, culminating in great mass pilgrimages of thousands led by eminent

lords and churchmen. When the Seljuks, having defeated the Byzantine army in 1071 and occupied Jerusalem in 1075, became oppressive in their fees and controls of the holy places, Christian leadership felt obliged to "take up again the part of Charlemagne," and the armed pilgrimage led by Robert le Frison (1085–90) was hailed enthusiastically throughout Europe and viewed by pope and Byzantine emperor alike as advance reconnaissance for a crusade.

THE CRUSADES. The Crusades were the expression of a popular religious revival in which Jerusalem, restored to its full apocalyptic status (the Crusading literature has a strongly Old Testament flavor), offered a welcome door of escape to all classes from economic and social conditions that had become intolerable in Europe. The Crusades have also been described as the complete feudalization of Christianity by an ancient chivalric tradition, with Jesus as a liege lord whose injuries must be avenged and whose stronghold must be liberated. The language of the Crusading literature bears this out, as does its conscious affinity with older epic literature (reflected later in Tasso), the significant exchange of embassies, and the close resemblance of Asiatic to European arms and accoutrements, suggesting an older common "Epic Milieu" and the nature of the Crusades as a *Voelkerwanderung*.

From the fourth century the Western Church had accepted, with the Roman victory cult, the concept of world polarity, dividing the human race into the blessed (Jerusalem, Church, *ager pacatus*) and the damned (Babylon, unbelievers, *ager hosticus*), reflected in the **jihad* concept of the Muslim countercrusade. Such a concept assumed papal leadership of all crusades, giving rise to baffling questions of imperial, papal, and royal prerogative. These came to a head in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, whose assizes, though the most perfect expression of a model feudal society, remained but an ideal, "a lawyers' paradise," where royalty, exploiting the city's propinquity to heaven, dramatized its own claims to divine authority with pageantry of unsurpassed splendor. This motif was developed by the military religious orders of the Hospitalers (founded by the Amalfi merchants in 1048 and open only to the nobility) and the Templars, each claiming a monopoly of the unique traditional power and glory of Jerusalem and the Temple and, hence, displaying an independence of action that in the end was its undoing.

INTRIGUES AND GRAND DESIGNS. The Crusades challenged the infidel to a formal trial-of-arms at Jerusalem to prove which side was chosen of God. The great scandal of the Crusades is accordingly not the cynical self-interest, betrayal, and compromise with the enemy that blights them from the beginning, but simply their clear-cut and humiliating failure, which dealt a mortal blow to medieval ideas of feudal and ecclesiastical dominion. With the loss of all the East, "Operation Jerusalem" adopted a new strategy of indirection, approaching its goal variously and deviously by wars against European heretics, preaching missions (through which the Franciscans held a permanent Roman bridgehead in Jerusalem), and local crusades against Jews and Muslims as steps in grand designs of global strategy. The grandiose plans of Charles VIII, Alfonso of Castile, João II, Albuquerque, and Don Sebastian all had as their ultimate objective the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher, as indeed did all of Columbus' projects (S. Madariaga, *Christopher Columbus*). A marked kabbalistic influence has been detected in these plans, and indeed the ever-living hopes of the Jews, fired by new prophecies and new messiahs, were not without effect in Catholic and Protestant circles, as appears in the career of the humanist Guillaume *Postel, who, acclaimed at the court of France for his philological researches in Jerusalem, urged the transfer of the papacy to that city and finally declared himself to be the *Shekhinah*.

Christians in the post-Crusader period continued their dream of Jerusalem, but those who did manage to obtain a foothold there were largely engaged in unseemly squabbles over minute rights in the Holy Places. The great reformers, while mildly condemning pilgrimages, placed strong emphasis on the purely spiritual nature of the New Jerusalem and the utter impossibility of the Jews ever returning to build an earthly city. This was necessary to counteract the tendency to apocalyptic excitement and renewed deference to the Jews attendant upon the Reformation's intensive preoccupation with the Bible, as various groups of enthusiasts took to building their own local New Jerusalems or preparing to migrate to Palestine for the task. Such groups flourished down through the 19th century. Protestant pilgrims to Jerusalem from the 16th to the 20th centuries have consistently condemned the "mummery" of the older pilgrimages, while indulging in their own brand of ecstatic dramatizations. Whereas the Catholic practice has been to identify archaeological remains as the very objects mentioned in the Bible, the Protestants have been no less zealous in detecting proof for the Scriptures in every type of object observed in the Holy Land. Chateaubriand's much publicized visit to Jerusalem in 1806 combined religious, literary, and intellectual interest and established a romantic appeal of the Holy Land that lasted through the century.

When Jerusalem was thrown open to the West in the 1830s by Muhammad Ali, European and American missionaries hastened to the spot with ambitious projects of converting the Jews, with an eye to the fulfillment of prophecy in the ultimate restoration of the Holy City. Even the ill-starred Anglo-Lutheran bishopric of 1841 had that in view, and Newman's denunciation of the plan as a base concession to the Jews and Protestants indicated the stand of the Roman Catholic Church, which in 1847 appointed a resident patriarch for Jerusalem. In the mounting rivalry of missions and foundations that followed, France used her offices as protector of Roman Catholics and holy places in the East (under Capitulations of Francis I, 1535, renewed in 1740) to advance her interests in the Orient, e.g., in the Damascus blood libel of 1840. When Louis Napoleon was obliged by his Catholic constituents to reactivate French claims to holy places that France had long neglected and the Russians long cherished, "the foolish affair of the Holy

Places" (as he called it) led to the Crimean War and its portentous chain of consequences.

PATRONAGE BY THE POWERS. In the second half of the 19th century, the major powers and churches were stimulated by mutual rivalry to seek commanding positions in Jerusalem through the founding of eleemosynary institutions over which they retained control. Beyond the hard facts of geography and economics, the religious significance of the city continued to exert steady pressure on the policies of all Great Powers, as when the German kaiser gratified his Catholic subjects with the gift of the "Dormition," proclaimed Protestant unity by the dedication of the great Jerusalem Church, and sought personal fulfillment in a state pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the patronage of Zionism (thwarted by his advisers). The taking of Jerusalem by Allenby in 1917 was hailed through the Christian world as the fulfillment of prophecy and deplored by the Muslims as a typical Crusade against their holy city. World War II was followed by increasing interest in Jerusalem as a center of ecumenical Christianity, though old religious and national rivalries of long standing and great variety continued to flourish. The 20th-century pilgrimages acquired a touristic air in keeping with the times, interest in Jerusalem having a more sophisticated and intellectual tone. Even the old and vexing problem of the priority of Jerusalem, "mother of Churches," over other Christian bishoprics has been approached in a spirit of mutual concession and with respect for the autonomy of the various bishoprics of Jerusalem. This liberalized attitude may be a response to what is regarded in some Christian circles as the Jewish challenge to the basic Christian thesis that only Christians can possess a New Jerusalem. While the Great Powers for over a century cautiously sought to exploit the energies of Zionism and its sympathizers, it has been openly conceded that the Jews might indeed rebuild their city – though only as potential Christians. Though some Christians are even willing to waive that proviso, the fundamental thesis is so firmly rooted that the progress of Israel is commonly viewed not as a refutation of it but as a baffling and disturbing paradox.

A NEW IMAGE OF ISRAEL. With the Israel military victories of 1948, 1956, and 1967, the Christian world was confronted by a new image of a heroic Israel. The picture was agreeable or disturbing to Christians depending on which of two main positions one chose to take, and the years of tension following the Six-Day War of June 1967 were marked by an increasing tendency among Christians everywhere to choose sides. On the one hand, the tradition of the Church Fathers and Reformers, emphasized anew by Arnold Toynbee, looked upon a Jewish Jerusalem as a hopeless anachronism and deplored any inclination to identify ancient with modern Israel. This attitude rested on the theory, developed by generations of theologians, that only Christians could be rightful heirs to the true Covenant and the Holy City. Roman Catholics continued to hold the position, propounded by Pope Pius X to Herzl in 1904, that the return of the Jews to Jerusalem was a demonstration of messianic expectations which that church considered discredited and outmoded. Those suspicious of the progress of Israel naturally chose to minimize the moral and world-historical significance of Jerusalem and to treat the problems of modern Israel as purely political. On the other hand were Bible-oriented Christians of all denominations in whom the successes of the Israelis inspired to a greater or lesser extent renewed hope and interest in the literal fulfillment of biblical prophecy. To such persons, in varying degrees, the Jewish military achievements appeared as steps toward the fulfillment of the eschatological promise to Abraham (Gen. 15:18). As interest in Jerusalem shifted from the antiquarian appeal of the 1950s to heightened eschatological allure, something of the old Christian vision of Jerusalem seemed to stir the Christian conscience.

[Hugh Nibley]

In Muslim Thought

According to orthodox Islam there are three temples in the world to which special holiness is attached: the Kaʿba in Mecca, the Mosque of Muhammad in Medina, and the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, in order of their holiness to Muslims. While researchers of past generations viewed the traditions favoring Jerusalem as originating in the period of the Umayyad caliphs who lived in Syria and had to fight against the rebels who ruled Mecca and Medina, modern researchers deny this and maintain that the adoration of Jerusalem is found in early Islam. According to Ezekiel 5:5 and 38:12, the Temple Mount and especially the **even shetiyyah* – the rock on which the Ark stood – is the hub of the universe. Muslim scientists even found corroboration for this view in their calculations that the Temple Mount is located in the center of the fourth climatic zone, the central region north of the Equator in which man can develop civilized life.

The adoration of Jerusalem in Islam, however, is primarily based on the first verse of *Sura* 17 of the Koran, which describes Muhammad's Night Journey (*isrāʾ*). Tradition states that when the "Servant" (Muhammad) was sleeping near the Kaʿba, the angel Gabriel brought him to a winged creature (*Burāq*) and they went out to the "Outer Mosque" (al-Masjid al-Aqṣā). From there they rose to heaven (*miʿrāj*). On their way through the heavens they met good and evil powers; on reaching their destination they saw Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. The "Servant" prayed among the prophets as a leader, i.e., he was recognized as the foremost among them. There are differences of opinion regarding the nature of the journey and its purpose. Some view it as a description of a dream, but the official opinion of Muslim theologians is that Muhammad made this journey while awake and actually traversed the ground. Some hold that the "furthest Mosque" is in the seventh heaven, paralleling the Kaʿba (like *Yerushalayim shel maʿlah* = Celestial Jerusalem), but the accepted opinion, at least from the second century of the *hijra*, is that this is the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (not the mosque which was built later and called *al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*). This story was probably told to Muhammad by Jews, since he was familiar with the midrashic works popular in his time, e.g., *The Book of Jubi-*

lees, The Book of Enoch, and *Toledot Moshe* (extant in an Arabic version), which describe Moses' journey to heaven and his visits to paradise and hell. This story and its usual interpretation greatly elevated the holiness of Jerusalem in Islam. In addition to the Temple Mount, other places in Jerusalem were also regarded as holy, e.g., the tomb of Mary where the first Umayyad caliph Muʿawiya is known to have prayed at the time of his coronation in 661.

Upon his arrival to Medina in 622, Muhammad recited the prayers facing towards Jerusalem, in order to convince the Jews of that city to adopt the new religion. He continued with this *qibla* (direction of prayer) for 16 or 18 months (Rajab or Shaʿbān of 2 A.H., i.e., January or February 624). However, failing in his attempts to attract the Jews, he changed the direction to Mecca (see Sura 2:136 ff.; Tabari, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, III, 138 sūra 3:142).

It is noteworthy that in the Koran there is no explicit mention of Jerusalem, not by any of the names by which it was known before Islam or immediately after the appearance of the new religion. Exegesis of the Koran, which was just beginning towards the end of the first century of the *hijra*, began to ascribe to Jerusalem names and bynames which appear in the Koran. Among the rest, they mentioned *al-Masjid al-Aqsa,* the furthest mosque or the extreme one. It appears that Muhammad's Nocturnal Journey, which became one of the most important elements determining the holiness of Jerusalem for Muslims, took shape and was linked to Jerusalem no earlier than when construction began on the al-Aqṣā Mosque near the Dome of the Rock. When caliph ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome, the identification of Jerusalem or the Temple Mount with the site of the Nocturnal Journey was neither known nor accepted, for if this were not so, the caliph would undoubtedly have utilized it to add to the holiness of the magnificent structure and the area around it. This should have found expression in the many inscriptions carved on the walls of the building. The single reference to the verse of the Nocturnal Journey is found in later additions dating from the Ottoman period.

For most Muslims the status of Jerusalem was fixed for generations: Its mosque is the third most important in Islam. However, it is not a holy site in the Muslim sense of holiness (*ḥurma*) but rather in the general sense (*qudusiyya*), for every mosque is considered a holy place. In later days, the difference between these two concepts became clouded as Muslims used the more specific (*ḥurma-ḥaram*) for Jerusalem, even though this contrasts with Islamic law, which gives the title *ḥaram* only to Mecca and Medina (I. Hasson, in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), *The History of Jerusalem, the early Muslim period* (1996), 349–85; Ibn Taymiyya, *Qāʿida fi ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis,* in his *al-Rasā'il al-kubra*).

Despite this change, Jerusalem retained its special holiness among the Muslims, and Muslim tradition added numerous layers to it. There are also *hadiths* (sayings attributed to Muhammad which are the basic oral law of Islam) regarding the great value of prayer said in Jerusalem. Muslim tradition relates, among other things, that the Holy Rock (*al-ṣakhra*, i.e., *even ha-shetiyyah*) is located exactly beneath Allah's throne and above a cave which is the "well of spirits," where all the souls of the dead congregate twice weekly. Due to the rock's holiness, the angels visited it 2,000 times before the creation of the first man and Noah's ark came to rest on it. It is part of paradise and all the sweet waters on earth emanate from it. These stories, mostly taken from rabbinic *aggadah*, reached the Muslims mainly from Jews converted to Islam, as indicated by the names of the narrators recorded in the tradition itself.

Muslim legend closely connects Jerusalem with the day of judgment. According to the Muslim faith, at the end of days (see *Eschatology), the angel of death, Isrāfīl, will blow the ram's horn three times while standing on the rock, which will be done after the Kaʿba comes to visit the Temple Mount. Arabic works such as *Kitāb Aḥwāl al-Qiyāma* ("Book of the Phases of Resurrection") contain detailed descriptions of the day of judgment which will then commence. All the dead will congregate on the Mount of Olives, and the angel Gabriel will move paradise to the right of Allah's Throne and hell to its left. All mankind will cross a long bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be narrower than a hair, sharper than a sword, and darker than night. Along the bridge there will be seven arches and at each arch man will be asked to account for his actions. The faithful who are found innocent will receive from Āsiya, Pharaoh's wife, and Miriam, the sister of Moses, sweet water from the rivers of paradise in the shade of a palm tree which will also be beneath the rock. Most of these stories came from midrashic literature, such as *Pirkei Moshe*, and some of them from Christian works (see "Last Judgment," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*; O. Liven-Kafri, in *Cathedra* 86 (1998), 23–56).

In the third *hijri* century/ninth C.E., there appeared collections of Traditions called *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* (the Praises of Jerusalem). The most important are *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas* of al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-l-Khalil wa- Faḍā'il al-Sham* of Abū al-Maʿālī al-Musharraf ibn al-Murajjā, and *Itḥāf al-akhiṣṣā bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā* of Muḥammad ibn Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī al-Minhājī.

Jerusalem also has a special place in Muslim mysticism. There is a Muslim tradition that Jerusalem is the pit of the ascetics and servants of God and that 40 righteous men live in it, thanks to whose virtues the rains fall, plagues are averted, and the world in general exists. These righteous men are called *abdāl* ("those who are replaced"), because when one dies another replaces him. Actually this tradition is apparently not an early one but reflects the importance attributed to Jerusalem by the mystics from the beginnings of the mystical trend in Islam and the growing emphasis on its sanctity from generation to generation. Even the first Muslim mystics held that living in Jerusalem or elsewhere in Ereẓ Israel purifies the soul and that eating its fruits is permitted and legal (*ḥalāl*). For this reason many of them came to Jerusalem to be close to its holiness. Apparently the adoration of Jerusalem on the part of the Muslim mystics was mainly influenced by the example of Christian asceticism, which flourished in Ereẓ Israel, and

especially in the vicinity of Jerusalem, during the centuries preceding its conquest by the Muslims.

Affection for Jerusalem and its sanctuaries grew as a result of its temporary loss during the Crusades. Indeed, the reaction to the wars with the Crusaders in the 12th and 13th centuries was an important factor in the development of Arabic literature and travelogues (see *Travelers, Christian and Muslim) on Jerusalem, Hebron (al-Khalīl), and Palestine as a whole and their importance for Islam. Descriptions of the Muslim holy *places have been preserved from that time on. Some are of great historical importance, being the principal stimulus for Muslim pilgrimages to the holy places in Jerusalem.

[Eliyahu Ashtor / Isaac Hasson (2nd ed.)]

IN THE ARTS

In Literature

An immensely rich and varied treasury of literature, art, and music has been devoted to Jerusalem by both Jews and non-Jews from early medieval times onward. Many of these treatments deal with specific events, such as the return from the Babylonian captivity and the Roman siege and destruction of Jerusalem (see *Titus in the Arts). During the Middle Ages, Jewish *paytanim* composed hundreds of poems on the subject (see above; Liturgy) and parallel Christian devotional works include "Jerusalem the Golden" (from *De contemptu mundi*) by Bernard of Cluny and several other hymns of the same title. Pre-fabricated stage settings of medieval English mystery and miracle plays often represented the Holy City, and innumerable "descriptions" were written by Crusader chroniclers, Arab historians, and travelers of various periods (see *Itineraries of Ereẓ Israel; *Pilgrimages, Christian and Muslim). The major Renaissance treatment of the subject was the Italian poet Torquato Tasso's epic *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581; translated 1594 and again by Edward Fairfax as *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, 1600), an account of the Crusaders' siege and capture of Jerusalem combining the traditions of classical and medieval romance writing. Following the Reformation, many Protestant writers evoked the image of the Holy City in verse and prose, but few works were specifically devoted to the theme.

Probably as a result of the social, political, and religious ferment of the 19th century, particularly in Britain, the "New Jerusalem" became the symbol of man's yearning for a better life and a nobler form of society. This tendency had a remarkable development in the works of the English poet William *Blake (e.g., in *Jerusalem, The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, 1804), whose "Jerusalem," a poem prefacing *Milton* (1804) which was later to become a British Labour Party anthem, ends:

> I will not cease from mental fight,
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
> Till we have built Jerusalem,
> In England's green and pleasant land.

This type of idealization also characterizes John Mason Neale's "Jerusalem the Golden," one of the best-known hymns of the Victorian era. In 19th-century works ranging in tone from pious devotion to cynicism and humor, the modern city of Jerusalem was described by writers such as the Catholic Chateaubriand and the Protestant Pierre Loti in France, the Austrian Ludwig August *Frankl, and the U.S. authors Mark Twain and Herman Melville.

From the beginning of the 20th century, there was an even more pronounced literary interest in Jerusalem's present and future, especially as a result of Zionist settlement and the development of the city's new Jewish section. An outstanding Scandinavian work on the theme was Selma Lagerlöf's two-volume *Jerusalem* (1901–02; Eng. 1915), a novel about Swedish settlers in Palestine. Her fellow-countryman, Sven Anders Hedin (who was of partly Jewish descent), described his tour of the Holy Land from Damascus to Sinai in *Jerusalem* (c. 1916; *To Jerusalem*, 1917), a travel book markedly pro-German and anti-British in tone. Hedin, who was later sympathetic to the Nazis, here made many references to Jewish biblical and later history, treating Zionism in an objective manner and illustrating his text with many of his own sketches of Jewish types. A similar approach was adopted by the English Catholic G.K. Chesterton (*The New Jerusalem*, 1920) and by the French writers Jean and Jérôme Tharaud (*L'an prochain à Jérusalem!*, 1924). In most travel literature dealing with Ereẓ Israel the main stress has been on Jerusalem.

Much popular English and U.S. fiction dealt with the city and its daily life and development during the period of the British Mandate and, later, during Jerusalem's political division between Israel and Jordan (1948–67). Two books of this kind were John Brophy's novel *Julian's Way* (1949) and Muriel Spark's *The Mandelbaum Gate* (1966). However, most of the important 20th-century treatments have been the work of Jewish authors. Mainly poems, novels, and short stories, these range from evocations of bygone days in the Old City to the reunification of Jerusalem after the Six-Day War. A rare Slavonic handling of the subject was *Pesni za Erusalim* ("Songs for Jerusalem," 1924) by the Bulgarian Jewish poet Oram ben Ner (Saul Mezan, 1893–1944). Personal reflections are contained in *Das Hebraeerland* (1937), a prose work by the German poet and refugee Else *Lasker-Schueler. The Jewish people's historic return to the Western Wall forms the climax of Elie *Wiesel's novel, *Le mendiant de Jérusalem* (1968; *A Beggar in Jerusalem*, 1970). A modern collection of literature about the city is Dennis Silk's *Retrievements: A Jerusalem Anthology* (1968), and Philip Roth places the protagonist of *Operation Shylock* (1993) in Jerusalem.

In Art

Representations of Jerusalem in plastic arts combine features of the real city and signs of its symbolic meanings in the main monotheistic religions, or are purely imaginary and symbolic.

Depictions of the *Temple's implements are the earliest surviving images relating to Jerusalem. The seven-branched *menorah* was engraved on stone in the tomb of Jason (second

century B.C.E.). The *menorah*, together with the showbread table, was minted on a coin of Mattathias Antigonus (ruled 40–37 B.C.E.). The Temple's menorah, table, and an altar were scratched on the plaster of a dwelling house from the Herodian period (37–4 B.C.E.). These pictures conveyed the Jewish attitude to Jerusalem as the terrestrial abode of God's Sanctuary and the foremost place of divine worship. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., the Temple's façade and implements of the worship and rituals became symbols of the messianic reestablishment of the Temple that would be followed by restoration of the Jewish political sovereignty in Jerusalem and Israel. An early example of this is the façade of the Temple, rendered as a classical tetrastyle, a schematic drawing of the *Ark of the Covenant in the midst of it, the *lulav* and *etrog*, and inscription "Jerusalem" on *Bar Kokhba's silver tetradrachm (133 C.E.). The *lulav* and *etrog* near the inscription "second year for freedom of Israel" on the reverse of this coin reinforce the liturgical and messianic allusions of the Temple's image: these species are used on Sukkot – the feast that marked the consecration of Solomon's Temple (I Kings 8), was celebrated by pilgrimage to the Temple (Deut. 16:16), and is the time when, at the end of days, all the peoples will assembly in Jerusalem (Zech. 14:16 ff.). Creators of ancient and early medieval Jewish paintings, mosaics, and reliefs conventionally featured the Temple as a columned façade, portal, or aedicula (see *Temple: in Art), whereas the cityscape of Jerusalem did not occupy their mind.

A symbol of the whole city of Jerusalem was found in ancient Jewish jewelry: after the "war of Quietus" (early second century) some rabbis forbade brides to wear the crowns called "Jerusalem of gold" or "a city of gold," for it was a "Greek," i.e., enemy, custom (Sot. 49a–b; TJ Sot. 9:24, 3; Shab. 59a; cf. Ned. 50a). These descriptions are reminiscent of "mural crowns" designed like the walls and towers of a city and sometimes made of gold. Such a mural crown was an attribute of the goddess Tyche, whose images were widespread in the Hellenized Middle East. Purportedly, it was an act of remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem by "putting it *al rosh simḥati*" literally "on the head of joy" (Ps. 137:6) that inspired the association of a golden mural crown on the head of a Jewish bride with an eschatological "Jerusalem of gold."

Similar symbolic modes were implemented in early images of Jerusalem in Early Christian art. An ordinary, generalized architectural setting, comprising roofed colonnades or a row of arched and crenellated city-gates behind the figures of Christ and his disciples in fourth-century Roman sarcophagi, stood for eternal, heavenly Jerusalem (e.g., sarcophagus from 380–390 in S. Ambrogio, Milan). An aedicula appeared as a *pars-pro-toto* representation of the Temple in Jerusalem in the floor mosaics from the fifth or the sixth century in Byzantine churches on Mount Nebo in Jordan and in the Latin Ashburnham Pentateuch (seventh century, Paris, BN, Lat. nouv. acq. 2334, fol. 2).

The establishment of the Sepulchrum Domini church ("Holy Sepulcher," 326–327) by Constantine the Great, along with the proliferation of churches up to the mid-sixth century, created a new Christian topography of Jerusalem. The rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher was often depicted on pilgrim's *ampullae* (vessels for consecrated liquid) that reached Christian communities in the West and East, and its round plan served as a model for many Italian churches of the second half of the fourth century. In the background of the mosaic of the Church of St. Pudenziana in Rome (384–389, 401–417), a picture of the real Constantinian complex of the Holy Sepulcher appears above the wall with 12 gates of celestial Jerusalem (two of them were later erased). This number reinforces the relation of the picture to the eschatological Jerusalem described in Revelation 21:12.

Christian religious and ideological concepts of Jerusalem were imposed on the real topography of the city. The pictorial map of Jerusalem (560–565) on the floor mosaic in the Church in Madaba (Jordan) depicts the Holy Sepulcher in the midst of the *cardo maximus* in the very center of the city, though the real church is found northwest of that point. The dominating position of the Holy Sepulcher represents the vision of mundane Jerusalem as the place of Christ's resurrection and a preview of the ideal, heavenly Jerusalem.

Since at least the ninth century, the apocalyptic vision of heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation 21:10–22:5 related patristic exegesis, and the teaching on the *Civitate Dei* by *Augustine of Hippo (354–430) inspired conventional depictions of Jerusalem in ecclesiastic art and manuscripts. The Apocalypse of Trier (North France, first quarter of the ninth century; Trier, Stadtsbibliothek, cod. 31, fols. 69–71), the earliest-known illuminated manuscript of the Book of Revelation, gives a combination of a frontal view of the fortified city wall from outside and a bird's-eye view of objects inside, with the inner side of the wall behind them. The painting creates an image of a stronghold with 12 towers (Rev. 21:12–13) enclosing in its midst churches or a lamb, a symbol of Christ, who substitutes for the Temple in the apocalyptic Jerusalem (Rev. 21:22), and the Tree of Life. Many medieval manuscripts of the Apocalypse and the commentary on it by Beatus of Liébana (d. 798) represent a geometrical scheme of heavenly Jerusalem consisting of a section of the city wall with three gates on each side of a square containing Christ and/or the lamb as an illustration of the city with the gates for the 12 *tribes of Israel (Rev. 21:12). Jerusalem in the middle of nations with its gates facing the four winds, a counterpart of the Temple in Ezekiel's vision (40:1–43:12), marks the center of the world and the prevalence of Christ's power in the cosmos. The Apocalypse of Valenciennes (Liège (?), first quarter of the ninth century; Valenciennes, Bibl. Municipale, ms. 99 fol. 38) exemplifies the circular images of heavenly Jerusalem with triple gates on the four cardinal points of the perimeter. In Romanesque cathedrals (e.g., in Aachen and Hildesheim), the monumental lamps made as a gilt hoop looking like a city wall with 12 or 24 towered gates represented heavenly Jerusalem as a luminous circular city hovering above the worshippers.

Although deviating from the definition of Jerusalem as "*civitas in quadro posita*" in Revelation 21:16, these images em-

phasize the idea of the city as the *umbilicus mundi* ("the navel of the world"), the concept adopted from classical thought (Philo, *Legation ad Gaium*, 294). Like the round Holy Sepulcher, a circular Jerusalem symbolized Christ's resurrection and the new life of the world. Crusader pictorial maps (e.g., Brussels, Bibl. Royale, ms. 9823–9824, fol. 157) involve frontal depictions of Christian landmarks of the mundane Jerusalem into the abstract circular scheme and stress the cruciform of the *cardo* and *decumanus* in order to give the real topography a christologic meaning. A medallion enclosing a picture of Jerusalem is the center of the map of the world, shaped as a trefoil, a symbol of the Trinity, in Heinrich Buenting's *Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae* (Wittenberg 1587).

The symbolic approach to real Jerusalem had an effect on the Christian comprehension of the Muslim *Qubbat as-Sakhrah* (Dome of the Rock) built on the spot of the Temple in Jerusalem in 691–692. The Crusaders, who in 1141 dedicated this octagonal domed structure as the *Templum Domini* (God's Temple) church, imparted it with associations with the Temple. The *Templum Domini* and the *Sepulchrum Domini*, similarly rendered as domed towers rising behind a fortified city gate, stand for Jerusalem in the lead seal of John of Brienne, a ruler of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (1210–1225). The juxtaposition of the two edifices restates the idea that Christianity stems from both the Old and New Testaments. Ecclesiastic vessels, mainly monstrances and chalice-like ciboria containing the sacrament; reliquaries; and censers, designed as a round or equilateral domed structure, usually symbolized the *Templum Domini*, Solomon's Temple, and Jerusalem. The Dome of the Rock dominates in landscapes of biblical and real Jerusalem in European art. Erhard Reeuwich's illustration to Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrination in terram sanctam* (Mainz, 1486) transforms the pilgrims' impressions of Jerusalem into a bird's-eye view of buildings around the disproportionately great Dome of the Rock. In a view of the biblical Jerusalem in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1494), three rings of city walls enclose a great structure resembling the Dome that is explicitly labeled as the *Templum Salomonis*. Italian Renaissance painters and architects accepted the octagonal Dome in the center of Jerusalem, in the light of Vitruvius's theory locating the ideal centrally planned temple in the midst of an ideal centrally planned city. Idealized Renaissance copies of the Dome of the Rock appear in church architecture (Donato Bramante, the *Tempietto* at San Pietro in Montorio, 1502–1511, Rome) and represent the Temple in Jerusalem in paintings by Pietro Perugino (1450–1523), Raphael (1483–1520), and Vittore Carpaccio (1472–1526).

European scenery in Christian pictures of Jerusalem also stems from the Christian perception of the sacred history as ever contemporary. In Jean Fouquet's illustrations to *Jewish Antiquities* by *Josephus Flavius (1470–1475; Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. Fr. 247), the Temple in Jerusalem looks like a Gothic cathedral in a French city. Following the same achronical concept, the Jerusalem cityscape is painted as typically Italian in Duccio's *Entry into Jerusalem* (Maestà, verso, 1308–1311; Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo), Netherlandish in Hieronymus Bosch's *"Ecce Homo"* (ca. 1485; Frankfurt am Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut), and German in the *Stories of the Passion* by an anonymous painter from Westfalen (ca. 1480; Torun, St. Jacob Church).

The view of celestial Jerusalem as the model for the proper arrangement of Christian sacral and secular life was reflected in architecture. In religious building complexes of the Catholic West, cloisters (enclosed courtyards for religious retirement) composed of a rectangular, often square-shaped garth and surrounding arcaded passages, were paralleled to the apocalyptical square Jerusalem. In a medieval city, the same symbolism was given to the city square enclosed by arcades (e.g., the central place in Monpazier, South France, founded in 1284). Cities built on a concentric plan were related to Jerusalem as well: the verse from Isa. 51:9 inscribed above the map of concentrically planned Moscow on the title page of the printed Russian Bible from 1663 represents that city as a revived Jerusalem.

Christian architects transposed the real Jerusalem by creating local counterparts for the Golgotha, Way of the Cross ("*via Dolorosa*"), Temple Mount, Mount of Olives, Mount Zion, Jerusalem churches, etc. Within the church, cloister, or nearby, a series of sculptures, pictures, or mere inscriptions marked the "stations" of Christ on the "*via Dolorosa*" in Jerusalem. A group of connected chapels, dated to the fifth century, in the Bolognese monastery of San Stefano, also known as "*Hierusalem*," represented important Christian sanctuaries of Jerusalem. The urban or landscape copies, commonly called New Jerusalem, Calvary, or a *sacro monte*, were intended to be faithful replicas of the holy places. In practice, some of them, e.g., Kalwaria Zebzydowska (1602) in Poland, retained the mutual location and distances between original monuments in the Holy Land. The other, for instance, the *Scala Coeli* convent (ca. 1405) in Cordoba, the *sacri monti* in Varallo Sesia (1486), San Vivaldo (1499) in Italy, and the whole old city of Suzdal in Russia, established a more schematic and partial resemblance to pilgrim's topography of Jerusalem.

Paintings in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts and early printed books focus on the future Jerusalem. The *Mount of Olives, depicted as an olive tree on a hill, is the only landmark of Jerusalem beyond the Temple Mount that appears among the Temple's implements in paintings from Hebrew Bibles of the 13th to 15th centuries. The citation from Zechariah 14:4 framing the full-page painting of the Mount of Olives in the 14th-century Hebrew Bible from Saragossa (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Ms. Hebr. 31, fol. 4v) determines the symbolism of this place as the stage of God's advent in the messianic future. The vision of the city of Jerusalem is a subject of illuminated manuscripts and books of the Passover *Haggadah*. The picture of Jews lifting their hands in adoration to the Messiah waiting at the gate of heavenly Jerusalem illustrates the culminating passage: "Next year in Jerusalem" in the Birds' Head *Haggadah* of ca. 1300 from Southern Germany (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/57, fol. 47r). The hovering Jerusalem is drawn as a Gothic

city-gate with a section of an arcaded wall. The Messiah who rides on a donkey, preceded by Elijah the prophet, towards Jerusalem relates to the verse "Pour out Thy wrath upon the heathen." In these pictures Jerusalem looks like a fortified city with a tall tower (the Hamburg Miscellany, ca. 1427–1428, Germany; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 37, fol. 35v), a fortified wall with an open gate (Haggadah, 1470–1480, Italy; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Cod. Hebr. 200, fol. 24v), or a domed tower in the printed Mantua *Haggadah* (1560). A hand holding a sword above a city that is tightly embraced by a fortified wall, illustrating I Chronicles 21:16, shows divine protection over Jerusalem in the Cretan Haggadah Candia, 1583 (Paris. Bibl. Nat., 1388, fol. 11r).

Notwithstanding the fact that a polygonal domed building is at odds with the biblical and rabbinical accounts of the Temple, Jews adopted the Dome of the Rock as an image of the sanctuary in Jerusalem (Frankfurt *Mishneh Torah*, 15th century, North Italy; New York, private coll., fol. 1r). Since the mid-16th century, printers of Hebrew books in Venice and Prague used the Dome evidently labeled *Bet ha-Mikdash* ("the Temple") as their sign, and a century later, the brothers Ashkenazi used a naïve version of this building in the midst of three city walls in their books printed in Constantinople. The inscription: "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former …" (Hag. 2:9) accompanying the Dome in the "printers' marks" asserts that this is a vision of the messianic Temple in the future Jerusalem, and not a picture of the historic past. In a similar way, the messianic Jerusalem has taken the Renaissance form of an octalateral city centering on the octagonal domed Temple in the Venice *Haggadah* of 1609. An image of a domed structure near lesser buildings, sometimes within a polygonal city wall, was used as a sign for remembrance of Jerusalem on 17th-century Italian Torah Ark curtains and as an eschatological symbol and a sign for the "chief joy" for Jerusalem (Ps. 137:6) at the top of the *ketubbot,* whose design followed the complex decorative program that was developed in Venice in the 1660s.

Matthaeus Merian the Elder's engraving of the biblical Jerusalem in the *Icones Biblicae* (Amsterdam, 1659) exemplifies a direct influence of Christian art on Jewish images of Jerusalem. In the 1695 Venice *Haggadah* and its numerous manuscript and printed remakes, Merian's splendid Temple of Solomon in the midst of cloister-like walled courtyards, surrounded by the city buildings and lighted up by the shining sun, was reworked for a vision of the messianic Jerusalem. Jewish artisan Eliezer Sussmann, of Brody in the Ukraine, copied later folk replicas of this picture from *Haggadot* and Grace After Meals manuscripts (also containing the plea for rebuilding of Jerusalem) into his rich wall paintings in South German synagogues in 1732–42. In these and other synagogue murals produced by East European Jewish painters of the 18th and 19th centuries, Jerusalem is represented as a conglomeration of domed and roofed buildings of different lengths, gradually increasing towards the highest domed tower or roofed palace, all rendered in the local architectural styles. In some synagogues Jerusalem as a symbol of the redemption is juxtaposed against a view of a city symbolizing the Exile: Worms in the ceiling painting (1740) by Ḥayyim ben Isaac Segal in the synagogue in Mogilev in Belorus, or Babylon in the picture of the "Rivers of Babylon" (Ps. 137) in synagogues of Predbórz (mid-18th century) and Grojec (first half of the 19th century) in Poland. In the synagogue in Kamenka-Bugskaya in the Ukraine, the picture of a burning city with wild beasts approaching its walls remind the worshippers of the fall of Jerusalem. The sorrow and remembrance for Jerusalem were expressed in a more abstract way in a Hebrew acronym **שעל זל:** (**שחור על לבן זכר לחרבן**), "black on white, a remembrance of the Destruction [of Jerusalem]") that was painted in black paint on a white background, and in some cases located beneath a picture of Jerusalem.

Jewish pilgrims' topography of Jerusalem was cast into a pictorial form in the mid-16th century, following the spread of illustrated Hebrew descriptions of the holy places and the graves of the righteous itineraries of the Holy Land such as the *Yiḥus ha-Avot* ("Genealogy of the Patriarchs"). The local scribes traditionally alternated textual descriptions with schematic drawings of landmarks of Jerusalem but gave no general view or plan of the city. The development of this imagery in the Land of Israel led to the 18th- and 19th-century schematic "maps" depicting the holy places as almost decorative rows of flattened geometric, ornamental, or simplified architectural images, whereas the Italian and German copies of the *Yiḥus ha-Avot* rendered these patterns as classical buildings. Jewish scribes in 18th-century Italy amalgamated the landmarks from the pictorial itineraries, a cityscape of houses and towers, and a geometric plan of the ideal city into the view of the holy places in Jerusalem. Thus in the view of Jerusalem that occupies most of his scheme of holy places in the Land of Israel (first half of the 18th century; Cambridge University Library), Samuel ben Yishai of Senigallia marked the different Jewish communities in the Jewish Old City, the Tower of David within the city walls, and the so-called Tombs of Absalom and Zechariah in the Valley of Kidron. The Hebrew inscriptions identify the Dome of the Rock and the *al-Aqsa* Mosque depicted on the opposite sides of the Temple Mount as the Temple and Solomon's *bet midrash* ("house of study"), respectively. Between them, a group of cypresses rises above the western section of the wall supporting the Temple Mount. The Wailing (Western) Wall was thought to coincide with the place which, according to midrashic sources (Ex. R. 2:2; Num. R. 11:2, etc.), the Divine Presence never left, and which was the closest spot to the Holy of Holies accessible to the Jews where they mourned the destruction of the Temple. The cypresses which are seen from afar on the Temple Mount were supposedly identified with the cedars "planted in the house of the Lord" (Ps. 92:131; cf. I Kings 50:20 ff.) evoking the messianic restoration of the Temple. This new composition became the most frequent pictorial sign of Jerusalem on a vast range of Jewish ritual and household objects that were sent from the Land of Israel to Jews elsewhere and on the copies of

these objects made in the Diaspora. In contrast to the undying messianic hope in Jewish folk art, professional European artists of Jewish origin who converted to Christianity (e.g., Eduard Bendemann in his *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem*, ca. 1834–1835) expressed in images of Jerusalem their despair and lack of belief in the redemption of the Jews.

In Muslim art, Jerusalem is generally symbolized by the *Qubbat as-Sakhrah* or the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf* (the Temple Mount). Admittedly, some scholars hypothetically interpret the polygonal walled city which is presented on a tray to Muhammad in a painting from a *Mi'rāj Nāmeh* manuscript (Tarbiz, ca. 1360–1370; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, H. 2154, fol. 107r) as the city of Jerusalem, discerning the Dome of the Rock and *al-Aqsa* mosque among its buildings. Concurrently with the early illustrated Jewish itineraries of the Holy Land, schematic maps of the Temple Mount, like maps of Mecca and Medina, appeared in manuscript scroll guides for Muslim pilgrims (e.g., the guide from 1544–1545; Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi, H. 1812). The site is commonly depicted as a rectangle containing the *Qubbat as-Sakhrah*, in some pictures with the rock shown inside, in the lower center; the *al-Aqsa* above; minarets; other Muslim sacred places; and also cypresses, palm trees, and mountains – all seen in profile or from above. Such maps were also depicted on the *gibla* wall in Ottoman mosques (e.g., the painting from ca. 1660–63 in the Haznedar Mosque at Sivrihisar near Ankara).

Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (1798–99) and increasing political interests of France, England, and Germany in the Holy Land prompted modern European painters to discover the real Jerusalem. With the benefit of realistic drawings from nature, Luigi Mayer (1755–1803), Henry Warren (1794–1879), David Roberts (1796–1864), and William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854) looked at Jerusalem through the traditional concept of the sacred city, giving in their pictures a distant view of the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount under the high sky. In due course, many artists became attracted by a closer illusionistic view of the holy places, ancient monuments, and archaeological sites as if conveying a look of an eyewitness (cf. works by Carl Friedrich Werner, 1808–1894; William Simpson, 1823–1899; Vasily Vereshchagin, 1842–1904; John Fulleylove, 1845–1908; Gustav Bauernfeind, 1848–1904; Stanley Inchbold, 1856–1921). One such subject relating to the Jewish aspect of Jerusalem was the Jews praying at the Western Wall shown at a sharp angle from the narrow court near it.

Similarly, presentations of the prayer at the Western Wall and a visionary city became subjects of pictures of Jerusalem by modern Jewish artists. Inspired by the Zionist ideas, Ephraim *Lilien in Berlin depicted Jerusalem as a promised city seen from afar, against the shining sun that stretches its rays towards a Jew suffering in the Exile (an illustration to Morris Rosenfeld's "*Der Juedische Mai*," *Lieder des Ghetto*, 1902). But even when the Israeli artists Reuven *Rubin (1893–1974) and Nahum *Gutman (1898–1980) observed the actual cityscape, they postulated a distance from the Temple Mount. From the 1920s, artists focused their attention on the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem, often showing them looking like a downtrodden provincial *shtetl* (e.g., Jacob *Steinhardt, 1887–1968, and Hayim Gliksberg, 1904–1970) or alleys of a European city (e.g., Ludwig *Blum, 1891–1974). The authentic sense of crude hills, poor vegetation, and rocky houses of Jerusalem feature works by Anna *Ticho (1894–1980) and Leopold *Krakauer (1890–1954). Contemporary Israeli artists take the imagery of Jerusalem in the direction of political and ideological controversies. As examples, restating the idea of the Jewish national home, Jan Rauchwerger (1942–) paints the Israeli flag streaming in fresh air over landscapes of the Judean hills near Jerusalem; David Reeb's (1952–) views of the holy places in Jerusalem supplied with a barcode evoke irony or protest against commercialism of faith and ideals; and Menashe Kadishman's (1932–) paintings of the Wailing Wall, whose stones are touched by multicolored patches of paint, question the very respect for national values.

Since 1967, the political and ideological competition over Jerusalem provoked the revival of the image of *Qubbat as-Sakhrah* in the art and visual propaganda of artists of Arab origin as a symbol of the claim for the whole of Jerusalem and Palestine. Nabil Anani (1943–), Sliman Mansour (1947–), Taleb Dweik (1952–), and others adopted the images of the ideal circular city and ethereal Jerusalem centering on the Dome of the Rock in the context of longing and struggle for the lost land. The real Jerusalem is referred to symbolically and conceptually as a place of humiliation: for instance, Kna'an Ahmed's sculpture *New Walls of Jerusalem* (ca. 2004) alludes to administrative barriers between the Eastern and Western parts of the city.

[Ilia Rodov (2nd ed.)]

In Music

In music, as in literature, there is a vast and varied body of material inspired by the theme of Jerusalem. Theoretically, the "songs of Jerusalem" include the innumerable settings of the countless biblical verses, prayers, hymns, and poems in which Jerusalem or Zion are mentioned – in art and folk music and in Jewish and Christian culture. Such a list would also have to include the Passion compositions (since their scene is Jerusalem) and works about the Crusades (including the many compositions based on Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*). Until the end of the 19th century, many oratorios, operas, choral works, art songs, and symphonic works dealt with the two destructions of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus (the correlation with historical events is difficult to establish in most cases). However, several English and U.S. composers have turned to the "Heavenly City" subject, stimulated by the enormous success of Ewing's hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden" (see below), and also perhaps by the medieval revival. Among notable works are Ralph Vaughan Williams' oratorio, *Sancta Civitas* (1892), based on the Apocalypse, and Horatio W. Parker's *Hora novissima* (1892), based on the Latin prototype of the hymn. Works by modern Jewish composers include Lazare *Saminsky's *City of Solomon and Christ* (1932), for mixed chorus and orchestra, and Darius *Milhaud's *Les*

deux Cités (1937), a cantata for augmented children's chorus with text by Paul Claudel (comprising "Babylone," "Élégie," and "Jérusalem").

Israel works written before 1967 dealt with certain aspects of Jerusalem, but after the Six-Day War, there was an intense preoccupation with the subject, both spontaneously and by commission. Recha *Freier organized the *Testimonium Jerusalem*, which commissioned composers in Israel and overseas to write works on the history of Jerusalem, which were played at special performances in Jerusalem. Other works composed between 1967 and 1970 include *Jerusalem Eternal*, a cantata by Haim *Alexander; *Tyre and Jerusalem*, a ballet (based on the play by Mattityahu *Shoham) by Ben-Zion *Orgad; and *Jerusalem*, a symphony for mixed chorus, brass, and strings by Mordechai *Seter.

Among the few Protestant chorales which apostrophize Jerusalem directly, the most famous is Melchior Franck's *Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt* (first published 1663), of which there have been many English translations (e.g., *Jerusalem, thou city built on high*). The vision of the Apocalypse appears in a number of Latin hymns paraphrased again and again in the 19th century (J. Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (1892), S.V. *Coelestis O Jerusalem, Coelestis urbs Jerusalem, Urbs beata Jerusalem*). Outstanding among these is Alexander Ewing's music to John Mason Neale's text, "Jerusalem the Golden," which "conquered the world" after its publication in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861). It draws from the section of Bernard of Cluny's *De contemptu mundi (Hora novissima)* beginning *Urbs Sion aurea/patria lactea/cive decora* (see Julian, op. cit., s.v. Neale) and the melody is in typical 19th-century hymn style; but the beautiful opening phrase C/DCFE/D-C goes back to the German Protestant chorale setting of *Nun ruhen alle Waelder.*

IN JEWISH FOLK SONG TRADITION. The following are some of the best-known Jewish folk songs on Jerusalem:

(a) Sephardi: "*De frutas sabrosas*" (M. Athias, *Romancero Sephardi* (1961[2]), nos. 132, 133); "*Ir me quiero, madre, a Jerusalem*" (*ibid.*, no. 131), the latter often sung by families when saying farewell to a relative bound on a journey to the Holy Land.

(b) Kurdistan Jews: "*Ha-Shem vi-Yrushalayim*," for Shabbat *Naḥamu*; Aramaic, in the form of a dialogue between God and Jerusalem (Y.Y. Rivlin, *Shirat Yehudei ha-Targum*, 1959).

(c) Eastern Ashkenazi: "*In der Shtot Yerusholayim*" and *Zingt-zhe alle Yidelach* (Idelsohn, Melodien, 9 (1932), nos. 219, 225); "*Yerusholayim slavny gorod,*" with Russian words (*ibid.*, no. 438; the prototype for the later Hebrew "*Yerushalayim Ir ha-Kodesh,*" see below).

(d) Yemenite: "*Kiryah Yefehfiyyah,*" poem by Shalom *Shabbazi. The melody, already notated by A.Z. Idelsohn in his *Sefer ha-Shirim* (1911), became a Hebrew folk song and was made famous in the interpretation of Berachah *Ẓefirah.

Most of the Jerusalem songs in the Diaspora are lyrical and yearning in their texts and melodies, though some of the Eastern Ashkenazi tunes are more vigorous. Not all the Hebrew songs which mention Jerusalem are "Jerusalem songs." Even in "*Ha-Tikvah,*" the city symbolizes the whole of Ereẓ Israel – the refrain ends, in the old version: *lashuv le-ereẓ avoteinu/Ir bah David ḥanah* ("to return to the land of our fathers/ the city where David abode") and in the new version: *lihyot am ḥofshi be-arẓenu/ereẓ Ẓiyyon vi-Yrushalayim* ("to be a free people in our land/the land of Zion and Jerusalem").

Of the songs directly connected with the city, the following are the most important:

(1) J. *Engel and A. *Hameiri, *Hoi, hoi, hoi, Na'alayim*, the climax of which is: *Ḥalutz, beneh, beneh Yerushalayim* ("O pioneer, build Jerusalem!"); poem written by Hameiri in 1922 when the *Gedud ha-Avodah was working on the road to Jerusalem; setting by Engel for the *Ohel choir (1926).

(2) Adapted tune of *Yerushalayim slavny gorod* (see above); Emanuel ha-Russi *Yerushalayim Ir ha-Kodesh* (1925).

(3) M. Rapoport and A. Hameiri, "*Me-al pisgat Har ha-Ẓofim*" ("From the Summit of Mount Scopus," 1930), melody based on an Eastern Ashkenazi prototype. Rapoport later wrote another setting, but this not as popular as the first.

(4) S. Ferszko and *Ḥ. Gouri, "*Bab-el-Wad*" (1949), mourning the Jewish fighters who died during Israel's War of Independence at the "Gate of the Valley" (*Sha'ar ha-Gai*, Arabic Bab el-Wad; where the road to Jerusalem enters the mountains).

(5) E. *Amiran and R. Saporta, "*Mi va-rekhev, mi va-regel*" ("Some come by car and on foot")… *Na'aleh-na li-Yrushalayim* (1950); children's song for Independence Day, which was still in popular use for the Three-Day March to Jerusalem.

(6) Y. Ne'eman's setting of Judah Halevi, "*Yefeh Nof Mesos Tevel*" an Orientalizing melody, written for the Israel Song Festival.

(7) N. *Shemer (words and music), "*Yerushalayim shel Zahav*," written for the 1967 Israel Song Festival, which achieved wide popularity partly because it appeared on the eve of the Six-Day War. Other Jerusalem songs written during and after the Six-Day War did not achieve the same impact.

Some Israel "Bible-verse" songs may also be considered "Jerusalem songs," e.g., *Amiran's "*Al Ḥomotayikh Yerushalayim*" (Isa. 62:6), written during the 1948 siege, "*Ki mi-Ẓiyyon Teẓe Torah*" (Isa. 2:3; c. 1942), and "*Halleluyah Kumu ve-Na'aleh Ẓiyyon*" and "*Uru Aḥim ve-Na'aleh Har Ẓiyyon*" based on Psalms (1933–36; for the Offering of the First Fruits); Y. Zarai's "*Va-Yiven Uzziyyahu*" (II Chron. 26:9; c. 1956); N.C. Melamed's "*Ve-Teḥezenah Einenu*" (c. 1950); M. *Ze'ira's "*Ashrei ha-Ish Yissa et Alumav/ Be-Ma'aleh Harei Ẓiyyon*" (c. 1942) and "*Lekhu ve-Nivneh et Ḥomot Yerushalayim*" (Neh. 2:17/ 4:15); and M. *Wilensky's "*Uri Ẓiyyon, hoi Uri, Livshi Uzzekh*" (Isa. 52:1–2).

See also *Josephus in the Arts; *Lamentations in the Arts; *Temple in the Arts; *Titus in the Arts; *Zerubabel in the Arts.

[Bathja Bayer]

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JERUSALEM, KARL WILHELM (1747–1772), German philosopher. Jerusalem was the son of a well-known court preacher in Brunswick, Germany, who was probably of Dutch Jewish origin. Jerusalem studied law at Leipzig and Goettingen, and became a functionary of the legation at Wetzlar. He knew *Goethe and was a friend of G.E. *Lessing. Unhappy about his life and about a love affair, Jerusalem shot himself. Goethe was shocked by Jerusalem's suicide and immortalized him in *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774) and for a while Jerusalem's grave became a place of pilgrimage. Lessing, concerned about Goethe's picture of Jerusalem, published Jerusalem's writings under the title *Philosophische Aufsaetze* (1776; ed. by P. Beer, 1900) to show Jerusalem's intellectual side. Jerusalem was a minor Enlightenment thinker. His brief writings deal with the origins of language, the nature and origin of general and abstract concepts, freedom, Mendelssohn's views, and the nature of experience. Jerusalem was a determinist, and Lessing's preface to the *Aufsaetze* is one of the important statements of his own determinism. Jerusalem's *Aufsaetze und Briefe* were published in 1925 by H. Schneider.

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[Richard H. Popkin]

JERUSALEM, LEGAL ASPECTS.

Introduction

At least in three respects Jerusalem differs from most other places: the city is holy to adherents of three religions, it is the subject of conflicting national claims by two peoples, and its population is heterogeneous to a considerable degree. These characteristics require some elaboration.

In the city one finds Holy Places of Christianity, since according to Christian tradition Jesus lived and was active in various locations in Jerusalem. Under the Islamic tradition, the al-Aksa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock as well as the Temple Mount on which they are situated are Holy Places, due to Muhammad's nocturnal visit, and for the Jewish people the whole city is holy, in particular the Temple Mount, because of the divine presence (the *Shekhinah*).

It has been argued that some of the events which are associated by the various religions with Jerusalem could not, from a historical point of view, have actually occurred. However, religious faith deserves respect and historical accuracy is not relevant. Religious belief in the sanctity of certain sites in Jerusalem has been exploited by various individuals, states, and institutions in order to achieve political goals.

As for the national aspect, according to Israeli law united Jerusalem is the capital of the State of Israel, but the Palestinians also have claims on the city, at least on the eastern part thereof, and seek to make it their capital.

Turning to the heterogeneous nature of the population, it is sufficient to stroll through the streets of the city to realize that it indeed consists of a mosaic of many and various communities. Thus, for example, adherents of some 40 different religions or ethnic communities live in Jerusalem.