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Summary

It is generally recognised that the Old City of Jerusalem is first and foremost a religious centre of great importance in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Yet the exact nature of the impact of religion on the geography of the city is not so clearly known. The way in which religion through the pilgrim trade has over the centuries permeated into the general economy of the city would suggest that the influence of this factor is large. Yet on closer examination, it becomes apparent that it only has a dominating influence in the sphere of urban function. Other influences have acted upon the city also to determine its direction of growth and the details of its urban morphology. Thus physical controls have been important in influencing the city's growth to the north and west while commercial influences have aided this development. In addition, the location of the bazaars of the Old City can be shown to be the result of non-religious factors and give some evidence for the existence of an important local market.

Jerusalem has developed since the foundation of Aelia Capitolina in A.D. 132, as both a religious centre for Europe and the Middle East and also as a market town and minor administrative centre for the Hill Country. In many respects it has developed typical features of a Palestinian town - narrow streets, bazaars, ethnic quarters, etc. - and religious factors have played a part in the formation of these as they have in other places. Jerusalem's status as a religious centre can mainly be seen in its economic development and in its physical landscape, both of which have been very much moulded by the pilgrim trade.

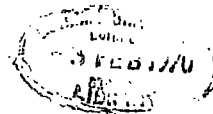
THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM :
ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RELIGIOUS CENTRE

A thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University
of Durham

December 1969

Ian W.J.Hopkins

Volume I



Preface

Thanks for help in this research are due to Professor Y. Karmon of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem who was generous with advice in the initial stages and with assistance and hospitality during work in the city in 1968. The resources of the Department of Geography in the Hebrew University were placed at the writer's disposal and this was much appreciated. Much assistance was given by the Ministry of Tourism, Israel, in connection with a survey of the tourist industry. Help in this connection was also given by many hospice and hotel and holy site keepers. Particular thanks are due to Mr. John Rose of St. George's Hostel and Mr. John Shahin of the Baptist Bookshop. In connection with the holy sites and the eastern Churches, much helpful information was given by Canon Edward Every of St. George's Cathedral.

Thanks are also due to Professors W.B. Fisher and J.I. Clarke of Durham University and also to many colleagues inside and outside the Durham Geography Department, who helped with ad hoc problems. Finally, particular acknowledgement should be made of assistance given by my wife in advising on statistical matter and for helping with the land use maps and correcting the typescript. In particular, of great value was her provision of bibliographical information through her current awareness service to the social science departments of the University.

Financial assistance was given in this project by the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies in the University of Durham.

General Introduction

Studies in urban geography are now commonplace and a traditional method of approach has been evolved studying in order the site and situation of the city, the functions, and the urban morphology. In the case of Jerusalem, however, the geographer is faced with a city which is very much an abnormal feature in that its main functional characteristic is its sanctity in the eyes of three of the world's largest religions and the consequent attraction of pilgrims and other features of a religious centre. In this thesis no attempt is made to produce a 'general' urban geography but the main aim has been to show the nature and influence of religion in the development of the Old City of Jerusalem. Hence, this thesis is more of a study in the geography of religion than a study in urban geography.

In attempting to examine the special characteristics which Jerusalem as a religious centre has developed, two questions have been posed to which answers have been sought:

1) What is the nature of the influence of religion on Jerusalem ?

2) What is the extent of this influence ?

In considering these questions, and especially the second one, commercial, political, and other factors have of course had to be considered. Hence, the general framework of the thesis has been in the traditional pattern of urban geography.

The text is set out in four sections plus an introductory and a concluding chapter. The historical introduction (Chapter 1) is intended simply to give a summary of the history of the city so that certain basic facts can be assumed in the main body of the thesis. Section A (Chapters 2 - 5) discusses the main influences which have operated on the development of Jerusalem and include the normal features involved in a discussion of urban site and situation and in addition the

religious factors which are peculiar to Jerusalem. The second section (Chapters 6 - 9) deals with the growth of the urban functions of Jerusalem, with particular reference to the pilgrim trade. Section C is a descriptive treatment of the land use of the Old City and in many respects is a commentary on the land use maps in Volume II. Section D (Chapters 12 - 15) discusses certain selected aspects of the urban morphology of Jerusalem.

While this thesis is a geographical study, nevertheless because of the nature of the subject matter it involved aspects of other disciplines and in particular theology and politics. Since the ~~writer~~ writer has only attained diploma level in theology and subsidiary level in politics a strictly neutral attitude is taken to controversies which have riveted world attention on Jerusalem.

The area of study has been limited in two ways:

- 1) The chronological period dealt with has been that which saw the formation and development of the Old City, i.e. from the foundation of Aelia Capitolina in A.D. 132 to the fall of the city to the British in 1917. The city of Biblical time and the city of the Mandate and post-Mandate periods are dealt with only incidentally and data used from them only to illustrate certain features which appear to have persisted over the centuries. The Biblical city left little impact on the new except for the Haram enclosure and the Citadel; and by 1917, the present Old City had been formed and has generally been preserved intact ever since.
- 2) This study has been confined to the Old City intra-muros and the immediate area outside (mainly Mount Sion, Gethsemane, Silwan). No attempt has been made to deal even in a superficial way with the new Jewish city to the west of the walls. At the most, the area of study has been confined to the zones of prohibited and restricted building of the McLean Plan.

Field work for this research was undertaken in Jerusalem in the Spring of 1968 using the facilities mainly of the Hebrew University and St. George's College. During this period, a survey of the pilgrim trade was undertaken and a report subsequently presented to the Ministry of Tourism, Israel (see 'The Times' Friday 19th. Sept. 1969). It was based on a series of questionnaires designed to assess the impact of tourism on the city's economy and to study the varied nature of the trade. Details and extracts from part of the report appear at the end of the text, in Appendix IV. Use was also made of field notes and material collected for a previous research project on the urban geography of Palestine during the classical period (London M.Sc.(Econ) 1965). In many respects the field work on which this present work is based has been insufficient. The political situation since 1967 made work inside the Old City very difficult and information was hard to obtain. In particular the abnormal economic situation which prevailed in 1968 involving the closure of many shops and the severe depression of the tourist trade in the Old City meant that meaningful research on the economic aspects of tourism was difficult. Also documents were not accessible, including Waqf and municipal material. Nevertheless some useful data was obtained on the tourist/pilgrim trade and has been incorporated in this thesis.

Some illustrative material has been collected in Volume II which has a separate introduction. In this volume, there are a number of quarto sketch maps and diagrams (Figs. 1-39) which supplement the larger maps and photographs in the second volume.

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A NOTE ON THE SCALES OF THE FIGURE MAPS

Volume I includes 39 outline diagrams and sketch maps illustrative of the text. For reasons of space, these do not contain any reference to scale (Fig. 31 is the exception) and so the scales are noted here. In case of difficulty a measure on any map of the Old City can be obtained by remembering that the eastern wall of the Haram and city (i.e. from the south-east corner of the city wall to its north-east corner) = c.800 metres

<u>FIG.</u>	<u>SCALE</u>	<u>FIG.</u>	<u>SCALE</u>
1	1:27,000	25	c.1:600
2	1:9,000 app.	26	c.1:1,200
3	1:10,000	27	c.1:1,600
7	1:10,000	28	c.1:7,000
9	1:10,000	29	c.1:7,000
10	1:10,000	30	c.1:7,000
11	1:10,000	31	scale given
12	1:10,000	32	1:10,000
13	1:10,000	33-39	scale not regular not drawn to scale
14	1:10,000		
15	1:10,000		
16	1:10,000		
17	1:7,800		
18	c.1:600		
19	c.1:2,500		
20	1:16,000		
21	1:10,000		
22	1:10,000		
23	1:2,250		
24	1:2,250		

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

A brief synopsis of the turbulent history of the city of Jerusalem will enable certain basic facts to be assumed in the main body of the thesis and will provide a useful background to what follows.

The earliest origins of Jerusalem are lost in the past but there is some indication that the city was a centre of no mean importance by the second millenium B.C. There is evidence from Egyptian sources of the existence of Jerusalem at the beginning of the second millenium and the Tell el-Amarna tablets include letters written by an early king of Jerusalem.¹ Reference in the Old Testament to a city of Salem (Gen. 14) with a priest called Melchizedek is generally taken to refer to Jerusalem and shows an early function as a religious centre long before the time of Solomon. It was certainly a thriving town before its capture by David and occupied a large part of the area of the south-eastern ridge called Ophel.² It was probably a market town and Amorite shrine but it seems to have been the military defences of the site which were considered important by the early inhabitants (see below Chapter 5). David's capture of the city to be his capital (c.1,000 B.C.) was the first of a number of crucial take-overs in the city's history and from then on it began

to be established as the central shrine of the Jewish people. The construction of the Temple to Jehovah by Solomon was a crucial piece of government planning, for not only did it provide the Hebrew people with a religious focus and therefore the king with a means of control over the nation, but it also acted as a starter to economic development by providing funds and employment. Under Solomon, Jerusalem began to grow into a national capital with the usual public buildings and administrative, commercial and religious functions.

It was this development under the Jewish kings which really provided the foundation stone for the growth of Jerusalem. Despite the small size of the city, which never extended beyond the Ophel ridge before the Christian era, it became an important focal centre for the Hebrew tribes and attained a mystical and religious significance quite apart from any administrative or commercial importance (see Chapter 4). The Temple proved to be the real place of importance and its situation to the north of the city itself, on the crest of Mount Moriah, helped to draw the residential growth of Jerusalem up the Tyropoeon valley and along the road to Joppa until by the time of Herod the Great, the city occupied almost the whole of the ridge between the Hinnom and the Kidron valleys.

The dramatic events of the conquest and exile of the Jewish nation served rather to unite the people and gave

Jerusalem a new significance for them. Under Nehemiah, whose account is the best topographical description of Jerusalem remaining from ancient times, the returned exiles settled down to rebuild and cleanse the city from foreign merchants and all other impedimenta to the revival of the religion of Jehovah. With an increasing number of Jews making their fortunes in territories overseas as well as at home, the city became a considerable centre of pilgrimages. After the upsets of the Hasmonaean revolt, the 'Pax Romana' brought considerable benefits to the city by facilitating pilgrimages and the Temple was able to support a vast range of industries.³ Thus were attracted to the city a large number of foreign visitors and many seem to have stayed and built up businesses and become part of the city's populace. The book of Acts records how " there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, from every nation under heaven "(Acts 2.5) * The growth of Jerusalem under the rule of the Herods and the procurators was considerable and under Herod Agrippa the city appears to have covered a larger area of land than ever before or after, until the beginning of the 20th. Century. It was established not only as a national capital for the Jews

* All Bible quotations in this thesis are from the English Revised Version unless otherwise stated.

of Palestine (who were in fact ruled mainly by several independent kings, tetrarchs, and Roman procurators) but it became an international centre for world Jewry.

The expansion and prosperity ended in A.D. 70 when the Roman armies moved in to crush a major revolt and took the city destroying much of it. Jewish hopes of a return to Jerusalem were further dashed after the Bar Kokhba rising in the 2nd. Century, when a Gentile colony and military base was built in the ruins, in A.D. 132, called Colonia Aelia Capitolina. Most of the visible remains of the Jewish city were destroyed except for some walling of the Temple (the Herodian masonry in the Haram esh-Sharif walls) and the citadel of Herod, now called 'David's Tower', which became the legionary base. The city lay dormant and sank to the status of a quiet Roman provincial town. This is the most problematical period of Jerusalem's history, for we know little about the city between the eye-witness reports of Josephus, the Jewish general (A.D. 70) until the 4th. Century pilgrim accounts and the Madaba Map. It was this new city of Aelia, however, which was to be the foundation for the evolution of the present Old City and thus the events of A.D. 70 -132 mark the most crucial period in the history of Jerusalem. On the rubble of the old Jewish capital was built the new Gentile town which was to become of great international importance in the Middle Ages and for the control of which many battles were fought.

Of the early days of Aelia we have little evidence until the 3rd. Century, when an unknown cartographer produced on a church floor at Madaba, in eastern Jordan, a map of Palestine which included an enlarged inset of the city of Jerusalem. From this we can verify in part at least many of the conclusions of archaeological and historical research which have pieced together the morphology of the early city. From the same era, which marked the beginning of the pilgrim boom, we have another work, the memoirs and description of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. So by the time of Constantine and his successors, there is some evidence gathering for a reconstruction of the geography of Jerusalem at that time.

The picture gained from these early writings is of a city rapidly expanding in the face of an increasing flood of pilgrimages. Holy sites and Churches sprang up in and around the city and by the time of the Arab conquest in the 7th. Century, it appears that the city had expanded a great distance from the original walls, on the north as far as the so-called Tombs of the Kings and to the south to cover mounts Sion and Ophel and on to the Mount of Olives. As the pilgrims came from all parts of the Christian world, the Byzantine city probably saw a greater profusion of nationalities and languages both among its inhabitants and visitors and it is likely that there was

a gradual beginning to the division into ethnic quarters within the city walls (see Chapter 13).

The security and wealth which Jerusalem enjoyed under the Byzantine emperors came to an end in the 7th. Century when the city was captured by the Persians (614) and many of the Churches sacked. The pilgrimages, probably already reduced with the economic decline of the empire, stopped altogether and despite the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the capture of the city by the Arabs under Omar in 637 rendered such acts of piety much more of a risk than in the preceding centuries. Nevertheless, Jerusalem was a holy city to the new faith of Islam and new pilgrims with their eyes on the Sakhra rock and the new dome built over it joined the Christians and Jews who gradually began to return. As a market centre and administrative centre, however, Jerusalem - although locally important - never grew to the heights of international fame which marked its religious life. The Moslem rulers declined to make the city a capital and Palestine was ruled from elsewhere. Damascus was the seat of government under the Omayyads and Baghdad under the Abbasids who succeeded them. Consequently, although Jerusalem gradually recovered its pilgrim interests, it never became an Arab capital nor was it a great market centre. The pilgrim trade was encouraged, however, by the increasing security and wealth of Europe and the patronage of the Emperor Charlemagne who in 800

founded a hospice (St. Mary Latine) in Jerusalem and so began the long lasting interest of rulers of Western Europe in the holy city. Destructions by the Seljuk Turks (1077) and by earthquakes as well as the accession of hostile Moslem caliphs (such as Hakem who destroyed the Holy Sepulchre in 1012) failed to prevent the tide of Christian pilgrimages from the west. However, the capture of the city by the Turks and the preaching of Peter the Hermit eventually aroused such interest in the Holy Land among the governments of European nations that plans for a Crusade were made and Jerusalem after much bloodshed passed from Moslem to Christian rule. The city was captured by the Crusaders in 1099 and lost to Saladin in 1187. During this time there was much building up of Christian edifices especially those under the control of the Latin Church, but the Moslem and Greek Orthodox subjects of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were very much suppressed. Consequently, although there was a large development of the pilgrim trade and wealth flowed into the city and although the city was capital of the Kingdom, development was not as rapid as might have been hoped for. The city was very much a 'Frank' colony and the Crusaders never seem to have pushed the built-up area back to its Byzantine limits but were largely confined to the city walls where there was greater security.

The recapture of Jerusalem by the armies of Saladin brought a further period of insecurity to the city and the flow of pilgrims from Europe began again to dry up. What is more, it also meant the eviction of the west European merchants who had come in the wake of the Crusader knights and in return for services rendered obtained property and trading advantages. Jerusalem had at one time been a stronghold of the merchants of Genoa.⁴ The continued Crusades which occupied the kings of Europe up to the 13th Century rendered travel in the Levant precarious and it was, ironically enough, not until the final expulsion of the Franks from the area in 1291 that pilgrims could travel safely to Jerusalem again. Despite a ban from the Pope who could see the profits being made by the Moslems from Christian pilgrims, there was a steady development in the pilgrim traffic in the 14th, 15th. and early 16th. centuries and the city benefitted accordingly. The quarters were formed, although not all in their present location, and holy places were built and ownership over them established by the various sects (and contested by others). Religion remained an extremely important factor in moulding the physical form and social and economic structure of Jerusalem. From the mediæval period there are a number of pilgrim accounts which are useful as sources for geographical study and they clearly show how even commerce and manufactures in the city were geared to

the pilgrim trade.

The dependance of Jerusalem on pilgrimages can be seen from the great decline in the city's wealth and size after the Ottoman conquest (1517) and in particular in the 17th. and 18th. Centuries. The boom in Roman Catholic pilgrimages, probably in response to the indulgence system, which culminated in the formation of the Franciscan community and the Latin Custodia Terra Sancta, fell with the breakdown of Turkish administration and the success of the Protestant movement in Europe. The decline in both pilgrimages and in the appearance and wealth of Jerusalem at this time has too frequently been laid solely at the door of the Ottoman rulers, whereas much of the blame lies elsewhere: in the decline of the Levantine trade through the new discoveries in the Western Hemisphere; the growth of Protestantism in the wealthier countries of Europe and the strong Roman Catholic reaction; and the increasing scepticism among the educated classes of Europe. This perhaps explains the sad condition of Jerusalem as witnessed by such travellers as Maundrell and Browne.

Jerusalem thus declined to its basic function - a small market town in the Hill Country with a small mixed population of peasants, merchants, tanners, small ~~man~~ manufacturers and a sprinkling of monks and clerics to remind the passer-by that this was the holy city.

The change which brought about the modern thriving city came in the 19th. Century. It was not so much because of any intrinsic change in the city itself, but yet again through external forces. The increasing wealth of Europe was enabling the growing middle classes to spend time and money on holidays and travel and the improvements in transport, especially with the advent of the steam engine, made quite long journeys feasible in comparative comfort and safety. Also the Protestant gentry and merchants of north-west Europe renewed an interest in the east and particularly in the lands of the Bible. The journey of Edward Robinson in particular (1838) following on the expedition of Napoleon to Egypt, embarked European scholars on a new era of scientific exploration. So a new type of pilgrim began to arrive at Jerusalem, anxious not for indulgences or penance but for knowledge of this land of the Book. The maps produced by the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Deutsche Palaestina Vereins and other bodies, made Jerusalem as well known to the literate classes of Europe as Paris or Rome. By the end of the 19th Century, pilgrims and tourists * were visiting Jerusalem in large numbers, far outnumbering the native Christian and Moslem visitors, and commerce and industry began to

* The terms 'pilgrim' and 'tourist' differentiate visitors with differing aims. Since most visitors to Jerusalem have some religious motive, the former term is normally used.

revive. Churches and schools were built in and around the Old City walls and hospices founded. Modern hotels made an appearance in the 19th. Century.

Another development took place, perhaps as far reaching in its consequences - the Zionist movement. The Jews of Europe were not unaffected by this revival of Christian interest in Palestine and they too began to remember their stakes in the land. Under the inspiration of Herzl and Weissmann a new type of Jew emerged from the ghettos to settle in the promised land and by 1900 there ~~is~~^{was} already a considerable amount of Jewish coloⁿization to the west of Jerusalem's city walls, contrasting strongly in appearance and cleanliness with the old Jewish Quarter within the walls. The rise of the new Jewish city alongside the old Arab one was to arouse much resentment among the Arab Moslem and Christian population and the consequent 'twin-town' development created problems of urban development in both physical and social terms.

The rapid growth of Jerusalem as a centre of pilgrimage and of Zionist settlement was thus already well developed by the time of the First World War which saw the final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The British troops who entered the city in 1917 inaugurated the period of the British Mandate government which saw an increasingly rapid growth of Jerusalem. A large building programme was begun, attracting large numbers of Arab labourers and causing

many planning headaches. The force of the building boom can be reckoned by the large number of town plans which were drawn up by the Mandate government ⁵ in an attempt to make sure that residential growth accorded with amenity needs and recreational and health needs of the city and its visitors (see Chapter 15).

The Old City remained to a large extent unchanged after 1917 and the main developments were elsewhere, especially over the western hills. Inside the walls, there was some cleaning up of waste areas such as the Muristan and the ethnic quarters became less rigid with the increasing security, but basically the Old City remained as it was. The Jewish immigrants settled largely to the west of the city and the Arab immigrants to the north and south. Hence the division of the city in 1948 was comparatively just in that it did roughly - very roughly - separate the Jewish from the Arab settlements. The post-1948 conditions with the armistice line, were very important in the evolution of the present city since both Jordanian and Israeli cities tended to develop their own commercial centres, political organisations, and to grow away from the armistice line which separated them. It is certainly apparent today, that the two parts of Jerusalem retain their separate characters and both Jews and Arabs admit that to go from one side of the city to the other is

like moving into a foreign country.⁶

The post-1948 developments have only emphasised the immense importance to Jerusalem of the tourist industry. There has been a vast expansion of hotels, shops, tourist agencies and other concerns and the slump in 1967-8 brought about by the hostilities caused much unemployment and poverty. Whatever other functions and characteristics Jerusalem may have had it can be seen that religion, largely through the pilgrim/tourist trade, exerts a crucial and most important influence on the geography of the Old City.

Bibliographical Note

The following are the most useful general works in English on Jerusalem with regard to its geography and history:-

- G.Williams - The Holy City 1843. (the first modern treatment of the city)
- G.A.Smith - Jerusalem (2 vols.) 1907 (mainly Biblical period, but Vol. 1 contains much useful general material)
- W.Besant & E.H.Palmer - Jerusalem: the City of Herod and Saladin. (History, mainly Crusader)
- C.M.Watson - The Story of Jerusalem. 1912 (good general history)
- C.F.Pfeiffer - Jerusalem through the Ages. 1967 (General introduction)

Another recent work is K.M.Kenyon - Jerusalem. 1968, but it is largely concerned with the recent excavations and the Biblical period.

Of material in foreign languages, the following are the most useful general works:

- H.Vincent & F.M.Abel - Jerusalem (4 vols) 1912. (French)

L.Fonck - Ierusalem: Topographie Urbis Sacrae. 1911 (Latin)

Z.Vilnay - Yerushalaim: Hair Haatiqah. 1962 (Hebrew)

E.Efrat - Yerushalaim veHaperutsdor. 1967 (Hebrew)

SECTION: A

CONTROLS AND INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF JERUSALEM

This section discusses the various factors which have influenced the functional and morphological development of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 2

PHYSICAL CONTROLS AND INFLUENCES

Jerusalem has been influenced strongly in its development by physical conditions which have imposed controls over growth and stimulated development in certain directions. Here a distinction must be made between the 'site' and the 'situation' of the city and most of this section will be concerned with the former. Of the 'situation' it is only necessary to mention briefly a few outstanding factors from the physical point of view, as it is also dealt with in Chapter 3. Jerusalem stands very close to the centre of Palestine within the heart of the Hill Country of Judea and Samaria. It is surrounded by hills which slope gently eastwards towards the Jordan and the Dead Sea, or westwards towards the Shephelah (foothills) and the Mediterranean coast. The site of the Old City lies just east of the main waterparting of the hills and almost directly opposite the crossing of the Jordan just north of the Dead Sea. It is thus in many respects an ideal cross-roads town. Yet its main function in ancient times certainly, seems to have been defensive rather than commercial. The main highway through the Fertile Crescent from the Nile to the Euphrates passes by to the west and leaves the city alone. This in itself helps to explain why the little kingdom of Judah was able to

stand out against the might of Assyria and Babylon after the surrounding nations had succumbed. ¹

Thus the very situation of the city helped to make it from the beginning an important defensive point but comparatively minor as a 'cross-roads' nodal point. The surrounding hills are largely barren and uninviting ² and the Crusaders in particular, coming from the greener pastures of Europe had great food supply difficulties. The wider physical environment of Jerusalem has little to commend it as a place for large scale developments and in the past the city has not flourished as an administrative or commercial centre. The Arab and Ottoman rulers located their capitals elsewhere (er-Ramleh and Lydda) and as capital of Israel, Jerusalem has been in many respects decidedly inconvenient. ³



Geological Controls and Influences

In examining the site of Jerusalem in more detail it is probably best to begin with the solid geology. This has greatly influenced surface conditions of soil and relief and hence urban growth generally as Avnimelech has pointed out so well. ⁴ The site of Jerusalem is underlain by three bands of young cretaceous limestones which form part of the Judean anticline which reaches its crest just west of the Old City. Thus the strata slopes down towards the east with the oldest rocks exposed to the west and the

FIG. 1



JERUSALEM : SOLID GEOLOGY (OUTLINED)

 CENOMANIAN
 TURONIAN

 SENONIAN

youngest to the east on the Mount of Olives. The three main rocks found in the area are:-

1) Cenomanian: the oldest and hardest, consisting of limestone and dolomite and exposed west of the Hinnom valley and in a small spur around the base of Mount Sion.

2) Turonian: this is hard but softer than the cenomanian and relatively easily worked for building stones or flints. It lies between the Hinnom and Kidron and underneath the present Old City.

3) Senonian: this is a chalk and very soft, forming the basic material of the Mount of Olives and Mount Scopus. The geological conditions underneath Jerusalem are shown in simplified form in fig. 1.

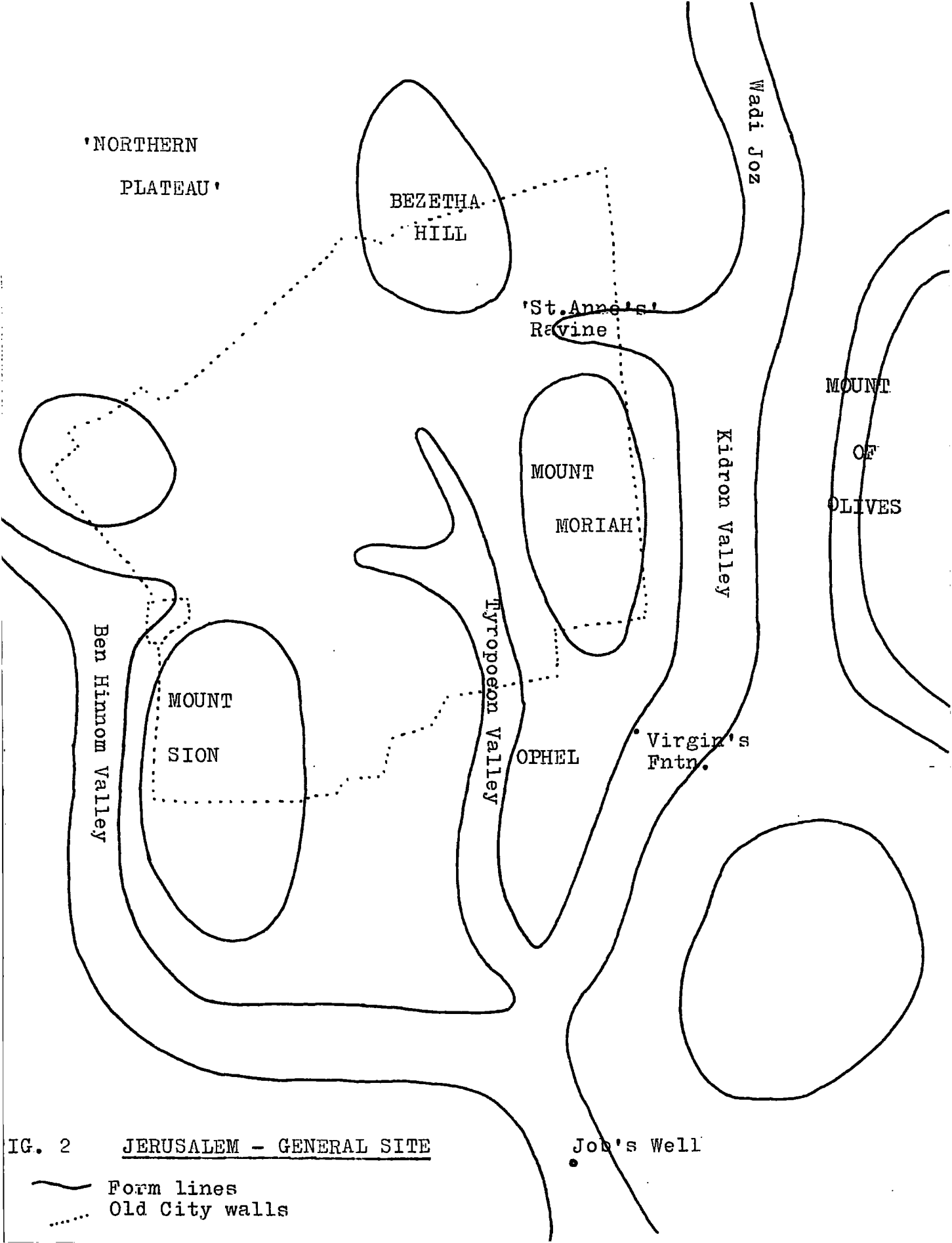
Now it is not without reason that Jerusalem has largely developed on the Turonian limestone rather than on the cenomanian or the senonian. The latter has generally been too soft for building purposes or even for agriculture, and graveyards even tend to disintegrate in it. The cenomanian has been too hard, for while it may form good foundations for the present blocks of flats in western Jerusalem, it was too hard for ancient and medieval technology to cope with easily and even cemeteries in it have been few. In contrast, the turonian material has many advantages. It is an easy rock to work and gives in fact a choice of two types of building stones: one is the 'mizzi helu' and the other the 'meleke', the latter is

used in many of the public buildings.⁵ N.Knight, in examining samples from 'Solomon's Quarries' came to the conclusion that it was a very pure limestone.⁶ In early times, its flints were used by man and in later times it enabled building stone to be transported cheaply from near the site. The Ophel ridge - much to the disgust of Biblical archaeologists - has been extensively quarried since its abandonment as an inhabited part of the city at the end of the first century A.D.

The differences between these three main types of rock in the area were ~~xx~~ apparent to the early inhabit ~~ants~~ - ants of Jerusalem but are now largely obscured by the vast amount of debris which has accumulated over the site on the turonian spur and of the quaternary deposits which have been formed over the western hills and the Mount of Olives.⁷ The bedrock which faced the Jebusites is thus now many feet underneath the surface and the early explorers of the city's remains had to burrow deep to find Biblical material.⁸ However, it is now clear that the original siting and subsequent development of the city while it may owe much to the relief and, as will be shown later, to human factors, has also a strong basis in the solid geology, for it has been the turonian spur on which Jerusalem has been built which has carried all the advantages and especially in the days before concrete and motor trucks.

Relief and Drainage

With these considerations of solid geology in mind, it is now necessary to examine the relief and drainage which ~~are~~^{are} so essential a part of the site of Jerusalem. The term 'drainage' is here used with reference to the dry or intermittent wadis for apart from times of flood or towards the end of winter the Hinnom carries little or no water. The Kidron, however, carries some water (with a high percentage of sewage) for nearly all the year. The site of Jerusalem consists of two wadis which separate the hills forming the crest of the Hill Country from the Mount of Olives and the Wilderness of Judea. Between the two wadis is a spur of ~~high~~ land built of the turonian limestone. Thus the wadis approximately run along the zones of weakness where the three layers of rock described above outcrop. The central spur is itself divided by a third valley which today is only visible in its lower reaches since the accumulation of debris over the years has filled it in beneath the present Old City. The valley separating the Mount of Olives from the turonian spur is the Kidron which in its upper reaches is known as the Wadi Joz.⁹ In addition, originally there were two further cross valleys which ran under the present Old City, one a tributary of the Kidron which drained an area of ground along the present Via Dolorosa (sometimes called the St. Anne's Ravine) and another ran into the Hinnom from about the area of the



'NORTHERN
PLATEAU'

BEZETHA
HILL

'St. Anne's'
Ravine

MOUNT
MORIAH

OPHEL

Virgin's
Fntn.

Job's Well

Ben Hinnom Valley

MOUNT
SION

Tyropoeon Valley

Kidron Valley

MOUNT
OF
OLIVES

IG. 2 JERUSALEM - GENERAL SITE

Form lines
Old City walls

Muristan. The original site can thus be reconstructed as in fig. 2. There are few faults in the area, and so the site of Jerusalem, while very significant, is comparatively simple.

Since the main centre of habitation has been on the turonian spur, this feature will be examined in a little more detail. The central valley (called the Tyropoeon, after Josephus), divided the spur into two ridges of unequal size. The easternmost ridge can be further sub-divided into three sections:-

1) Ophel. This is the term commonly used to describe the southernmost end of the eastern ridge and it is the site of the original Biblical city. The hill is small in size and rises to 700 metres just north of the Virgin's Fountain from 650 metres at its southern tip (called Pointe Sud by archaeologists). It is completely dwarfed by neighbouring hills, but thanks to the steepness of its slopes, especially on the Kidron side, it was an excellent defensive site in ancient times. The smallness of the summit area became crucial after the return from the Exile, but until then Ophel was an ideal site for an urban settlement, being ~~xxxxx~~ easily defended and with a good supply of water at hand.

2) Mount Moriah. This is the name commonly given to the hill on which the Dome of the Rock stands and it was here where the old Jewish temple also stood. It rises up from the Ophel ridge of which it is a continuation, but the hilly

nature of the terrain is disguised by the artificial flatness of the platform of the Haram esh-Sharif.

3) North of the St. Anne's Ravine, the relief becomes less rugged and because the Tyropoeon passes under the Damascus Gate, the eastern hill is much broader. There is a low broad hill under the 'Bezetha' quarter of the city which continues into the small knoll often called Gordon's Calvary, on which there is a Moslem cemetery. Around this hill and north of it, the terrain is flatter and smoother, forming a large plateau area and aided also by the presence of the turonian limestone, this area has seen rapid building developments in times of prosperity.

The western ridge of the turonian spur can be divided into two main sections:-

1) Mount Sion is the name commonly given to the south-western hill, opposite the Ophel spur. As a physical feature it included not only the Mount Sion extra muros, but also the Armenian Quarter inside the city walls. It rises to 780 ~~xxxx~~ metres in the latter area and is much larger than the Ophel-Moriah ridge in surface area. This led many early scholars to locate the Biblical Zion here, although some of the more astute such as George Adam Smith could see that this could not have been so.¹¹ It would have given a surface area for the ancient city out of all proportion to its size and importance. It is interesting that the south-western hill was late in being built on and the only time in which

this area was extensively settled was in the Byzantine era, apart from the suburban developments under the later Herods. Reasons for this will be discussed elsewhere (Ch. 10,11) for they are not physical. In terms of bedrock and relief, the Mount Sion hill makes ideal building area.

2) North of the south-west hill is a small east - west valley now scarcely traceable leading into the Hinnom under the Jaffa Gate and another small ravine leading into the Tyropoeon (see Fig.2); after this the land rises again to 790 metres outside the north-west corner of the Old City wall. The land rises gently towards the crest of the Hill Country and links up with the flatter plateau mentioned above.

In sum, then, Jerusalem has generally confined itself to the turonian spur between the Hinnom and Kidron valleys and has itself had to cope - especially in Biblical times - with the barrier of the Tyropoeon valley and the need to build on steep land. The steepness and smallness of Ophel was solved in part by the 'Millo' terraces but it was only with the foundation of Aelia on the flatter land to the north that the building of large edifices and spacious houses became possible. The valleys have been used for agricultural production and the hills beyond have been little settled until the present century. Many of the pilgrims have commented on the rough and mountainous terrain in which Jerusalem is situated and the steepness

of the valleys to the south, east and west. As Ritter observed, the only way for expansion from the old site was to the north.¹²

Climate

In the study of urban geography, climatic factors are usually given but scant mention because in morphological terms they can be regarded as constant. The weather regimes of most cities of the world vary little from one part of the urban area to another, although some minor considerations such as incidence of fog, breezes, frost, etc. may be important. In the case of Jerusalem, however, this is not so true, for the city stands at a point where climatic factors change very rapidly and weather conditions at the present Hebrew University for example, are significantly different from those at Bethany. Even if the area is narrowed to the immediate environs of the city, there are important weather differences. This is typical of areas on the edge of the arid zone where conditions can change rapidly over a short distance and can vary enormously from year to year.¹³ Thus the general weather conditions must be modified by two considerations: 1) that from year to year there may be great fluctuations, especially of rainfall. 2) that Jerusalem is just east of the crest of the Hill Country and rainfall decreases rapidly from the western to the eastern suburbs.

Temperatures in Jerusalem follow the normal seasonal pattern, being high during the summer months (July average = 23°C.) and mild during the winter months (January average = 9°C.). Snow can occur but is rare and frost is not very severe although some usually occurs. Consequently the temperatures are somewhat cooler than in the Jordan valley and the coastal areas.¹⁴ This has given the city - and to some extent neighbouring Ramallah - the function of summer holiday resprt for the cooler breezes and lower humidity are certainly a welcome change from conditions at Tel Aviv.

The most significant feature of the climate, however, is the rainfall. This is much more variable than the temperature both from year to year and also from area to area, as mentioned above. Most rain comes from depressions which move over the country from the Mediterranean during the winter months and there is some rainfall from summer storms. The annual total is usually from 20 - 25 inches in the Old City. Annual fluctuations are considerable, however, as the observations taken in the city since 1846 have shown¹⁵ and so the average is not very meaningful. A drought in early Spring, in particular can spell disaster for local farmers and seriously deplete the urban water supply. It is this uncertainty that has led the citizens from early times to look for a multiplicity of sources of water and while cisterns are common, the city has never liked to be entirely dependent on them.

As the weather comes in from the west, most rain falls on the western slopes of the Hill Country and thus by the time an air mass has reached the Old City just east of the crest it has already lost much of its moisture as it begins its downward journey to the Jordan. On many occasions, rain falls over western Jerusalem but not over the Mount of Olives and beyond Bethany so little rain falls that desert conditions quickly take over. Not until the mountains of Transjordan are reached does the air mass again become raised sufficiently for ample moisture to fall. Hence the Mount of Olives, already formed of dry soft chalk, is made even less inviting by the lack of rain which falls on its eastern flanks; and when rain does fall the surface of the hill becomes very slippery. This rainshadow effect is of great importance in that it has created yet another limit to the expansion of Jerusalem in an easterly direction but eased expansion to the west.

Water Supply

That Jerusalem has water supply problems has already been hinted at. It has been in fact, a prime concern of the city's inhabitants down the ages to secure adequate supplies of water. While a few writers have praised the water supply of the city, notably Mukaddasi the 10th. Century native of Jerusalem,¹⁶ most have remarked on its scarcity, such as Istakri who wrote: "In Bayt al-Maqdis, there is no running

water but unusable sources for the cultivable fields!"¹⁷

Basically, the precious liquid has come from three sources:-

1) Cisterns

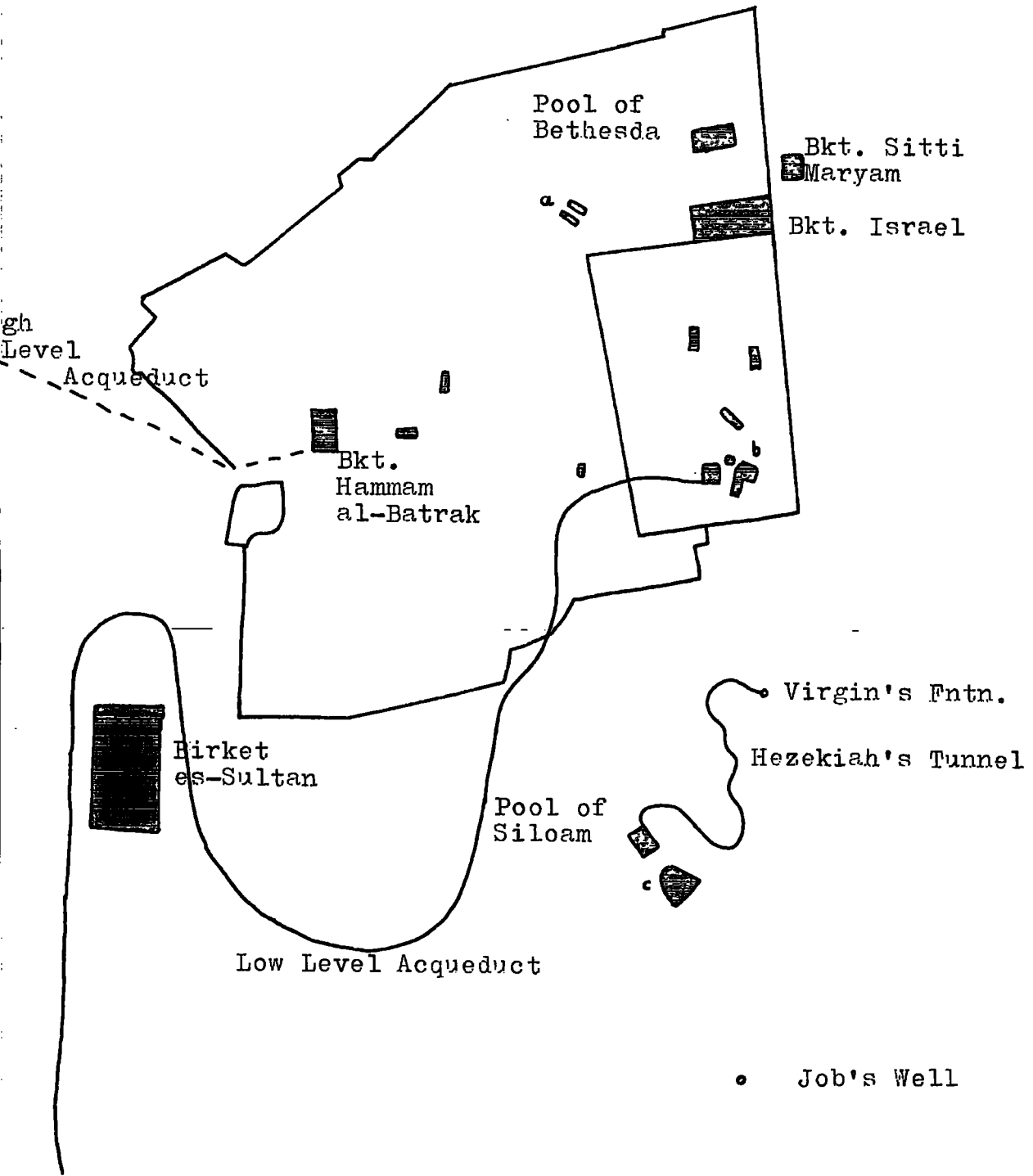
Cisterns have been used to store rainfall from early times and most houses today in the older areas have cisterns. It is a secure form of personal water in as far as it is not subject to interference from outside, but it is dependent on a good fall of rain and is liable to pollution.

2) Natural Sources

While cisterns are almost ubiquitous, natural sources of water in Jerusalem are limited to two: the Virgin's Fountain and Job's Well. The former - identified with the Biblical Gihon - was probably one of the chief deciding factors in the siting of the original Canaanite city. It is a natural spring, the ultimate source of which has yet to be found, and it has a curious irregular flow caused by a natural syphon in the cave from which it issues. It has been inconvenient in as far as it has been outside the city walls even in ancient times, and two attempts were made by early rulers to make it more accessible. One was the 'gutter' of the Jebusites which led down to the spring from the city above and the other was the tunnel through to the Pool of Siloam, built by Hezekiah. Another channel also attempted to take water to a more convenient point, but only Hezekiah's Tunnel was safe from enemy interference and it has persisted down the centuries. The main users of the Virgin's Fountain

FIG. 3 JERUSALEM: WATER SUPPLY

- a Twin pools under Sisters of Zion Convent
- b The 'Great Sea'
- c Birket el-Hamra (Old Pool of Siloam)



are the inhabitants of Silwan.

The other natural source of supply is the well a little distant from the junction of the Hinnom and Kidron, called Job's Well (Bir Eiyub). It is undefensible from the city and ~~is~~ very far away for common use. In early times it must have been used only in times of shortage (it never seems to run dry) but throughout medieval, Ottoman and modern times it has mainly supplied a small hamlet with irrigation water and its use as an urban supply has been limited.

The general lack of natural water supplied in Jerusalem was the cause of comment by not only European pilgrims but some Arab writers as well. Yaqubi thus wrote that " the inhabitants of the city obtain water from rain. There is no house without a cistern. But the water is bad...."¹⁸ Similarly, Nasir-i-Khusrau commented that "There is there no water other than rainwater!"¹⁹ It thus would seem that in the Middle Ages the inhabitants of the city did not frequent even the two extra-mural sources of natural supply but preferred their own cisterns.

3) Artificial Sources

The division between artificial and natural sources of water is a little arbitrary, but here will be discussed those sources which are brought in from outside and also the larger tanks and pools. The main artificial pools in the city are the following:-

1) Pool of Siloam, which is fed through Hezekiah's Tunnel from the Virgin's Fountain. In the Middle Ages it was largely a bathing pool and also used in conjunction with a tannery.

2) Birket es-Sultan, in the Hinnom valley is now dry but was built in the Middle Ages. It never seems to have been of any great importance and receives scant mention.

3) Mamillah Pool further up the Hinnom valley is also no longer in use and is of uncertain age.

4) Pool of Bethesda, located next to St. Anne's Church just inside St. Stephen's Gate consists of an ancient pair of pools with the ruins of old Churches over them. Whether it is genuinely the pool of that name mentioned in the Gospels is not relevant to our present purpose, although the evidence points in that direction. It is certainly one of the artificial sources of Biblical Jerusalem and was a strong point of interest with the medieval pilgrims. It is now not used for water supply.

5) Birket Israel is the large dry pool opposite the Pool of Bethesda and against the northern wall of the Haram enclosure. There has been some discussion as to whether this was the Bethesda of the medieval pilgrims.

6) Birket Hamman al-Batrak, is an old pool, lying just west of the Muristan. Traditionally ascribed to Hezekiah it is now thought to be the Amygdalon pool of Josephus and was probably built as part of Herod the Great's

aqueduct scheme. The source of water is now purely rain and it is little used on account of pollution.

7) There are in addition a number of smaller pools and tanks in the city. The Haram area has a large number of such sources because of the Islamic requirements of cleanliness in public worship and it includes one large system called 'The Great Sea'. They are all underground. There is also an old underground system underneath the Sisters of Zion Convent.

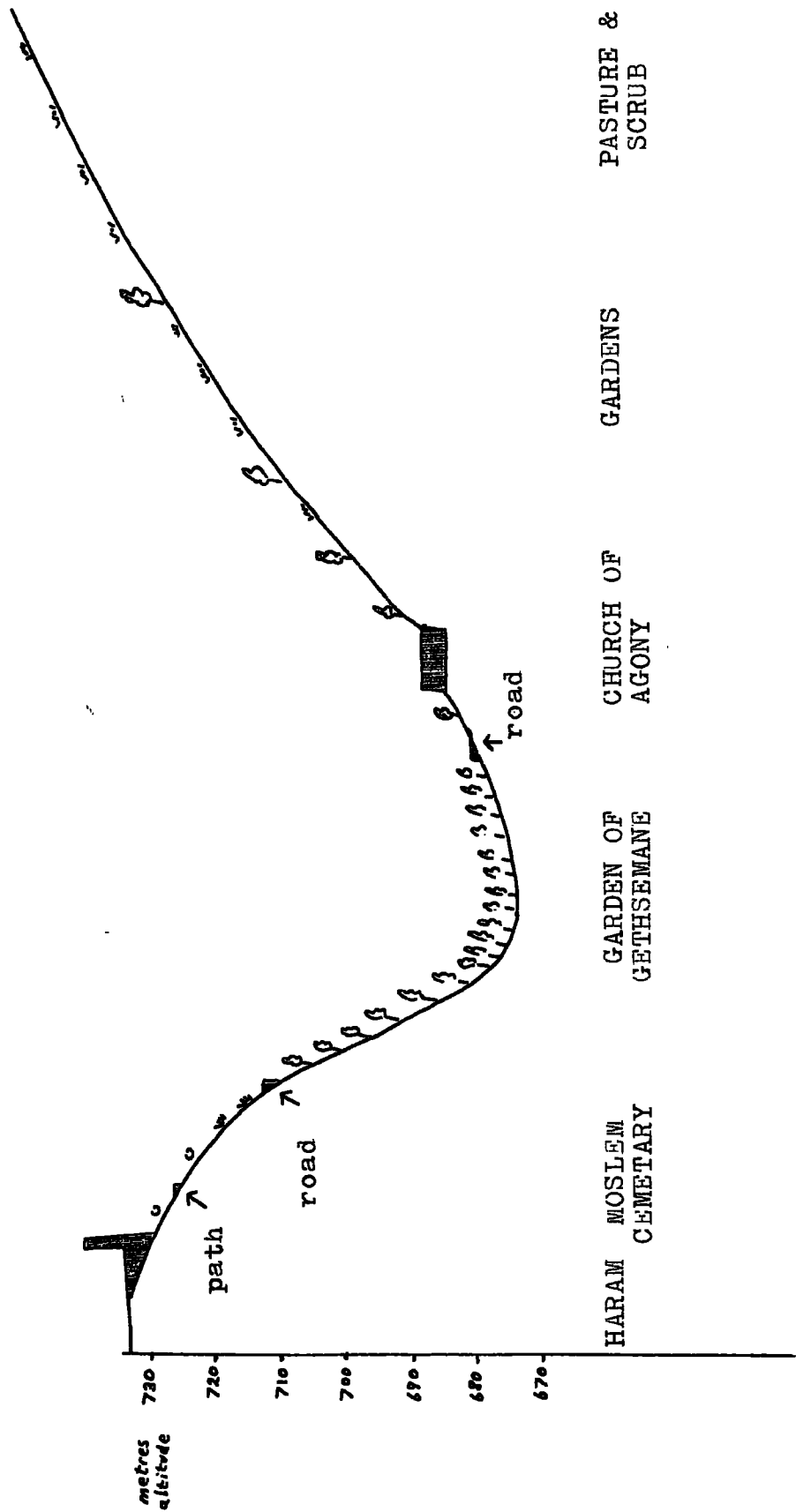
In addition to the artificial pools, there have been attempts since the 1st. Century B.C. to tap external supplies. The first of these was the High Level Aqueduct which was probably constructed by Herod the Great for it takes water from the wadi el Biar and empties it near the king's palace gardens. The aqueduct used gravity for the most part although there was an inverted syphon near Bethlehem. It is doubtful whether the general populace made much use of this supply. Similarly there was the Low Level Aqueduct, which supplied the Temple in the 1st. Century A.D. from the reservoir south of Bethlehem known as 'Solomon's Pools'. It is probably the one built by Pilate. This aqueduct stayed in use to some degree until the present century and in the First World War period carried 80,000 gallons of water daily, of which 40,000 arrived at Jerusalem but was of limited use.²⁰ Most of it was foul and disgorged at the Birket es-Sultan and in the Haram area.

The degree to which Jerusalem could cope with its water supply problem is remarkable and W.T. Massey estimated that the cisterns of the city could hold 360,000,000 gallons for a population (1918) of 50,000.²¹ However, the dangers of ^Lpollution were uppermost in the minds of the Mandate administration and after 1917 new piped supplies from sources outside the immediate urban area were constructed. The water supplies have had little influence on urban growth although the original site on Ophel was certainly influenced by the presence of the local spring. In general, however, tanks and cisterns have been built in response to the demand of urban growth and there is no evidence that they have spearheaded it or attracted residential development.

Soil, Climate and Agriculture

The resources of Jerusalem in agricultural terms will be dealt with in subsequent pages, and here just a few comments will be made. The uncomplimentary remarks of many visitors to Jerusalem concerning its soils and vegetation cover have often been quoted.²² With the general lack of soil as a result of steep slopes and porous rock, and the uncertainty of rainfall, the main agricultural activities of the area have been concerned with the cultivation of hardy tree crops such as the olive and the grazing of goats and sheep. The pattern of agriculture visible today on the hill slopes around the city has been unchanged for centuries²³ being the

FIG. 4



PROFILE ACROSS KIDRON VALLEY AT CHURCH OF AGONY (ALL NATIONS)

KEY

- ◡ Cemetery
- ⊕ Trees
- ~ Grass

fellah's response to the barrenness of his land. Only in the valleys has there been much cultivation and the lower Kidron in particular seems to have been most used for this purpose, there being many witnesses to the fertility of the ground watered by the Virgin's Fountain.²⁴ Gardens appear to have been a common feature of the surrounds of Jerusalem but only in the valleys has it been possible to grow much more than bushes and trees. The transept across the Kidron Valley in Fig. 4 illustrates this point: the Garden of Gethsemane is fairly heavily cultivated but on the hill slopes there are only trees, cemeteries and sheep. Again it is on the turonian spur that the best agricultural land is found outside the valleys, for here are pockets of clay and the rock bed holds the water better than does the Senonian chalk.²⁵ Consequently the city has often seen gardens within the walls or just outside. Much of the area of Mount Sion and the lower Tyropoeon have been used for cultivation and put under the plough while such areas as the Haram esh-Sharif and the gardens in the Armenian Quarter have given the city pleasant open spaces. Recently a dairy farm has been operating on the summit of the Mount of Olives, and this may improve the soil locally.

Physical Environment and Urban Growth

It can be readily appreciated that Jerusalem has a site and situation which is a far cry from the flat peneplain of

the models of the urban hierarchy theorists. The basic necessities of life such as water and defence and food supplies have dominated the growth of the city, particularly in locational terms, to a degree rarely found in European countries. The original settlement of the city and its subsequent growth have been at least to a large extent sensitive to these physical demands. Thus it can be seen that the Ophel ridge with its steep sides, small surface area and perennial spring at the foot, was an ideal site for the city of Biblical times. That the city should remain on the turonian spur and grow northwards along it can also be seen to be at least in part a response to physical controls. Hence the location of Aelia Capitolina where it is, for neither the Mount of Olives nor the hills west of the Hinnom were suitable for Hadrian's colony - it had to be on the turonian spur for practical purposes. The need for defence led in subsequent years to a reluctance to settle in the valleys and the city spread northwards, and later westwards; it never - even in the present century - found it practicable to grow onto the hills to the east. Only the 'wretched' village of Silwan developed east of the Kidron. The turonian limestone was the best for building purposes; it gave the best soils; flanked by steep valleys on all sides but the north, it was easily defended; while its rainfall supply was more certain than that of the villages around the Mount of Olives. The cenomanian hills to the west were too open to

be easily defended under the military conditions which prevailed before the present century and its rocks were more difficult to quarry; the senonian hills to the east were composed of material which was very poor for building poor for agriculture and again open to the enemy.

Consequently, the fact that Jerusalem is situated and has grown on the turonian spur is influenced to a large extent by physical controls. Even Hadrian could find no substitute and until the western suburbs began to grow under the economic and religious pressures of the late 19th. and 20th. Centuries, Jerusalem was confined almost entirely to the ridge between the Hinnom and the Kidron.

CHAPTER 3

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL INFLUENCES

There is a strong interconnection between the commercial functions of a city and other activities. Consequently it is not easy to judge the influence of economic factors on urban development since they are closely related to other things. For instance, much of the commerce and industry of Jerusalem is closely tied up with the pilgrim trade and even 'normal' marketing activities (food retailing for example) show marked fluctuations according to the prosperity of the pilgrim sector. However, as in the last chapter an attempt was made to isolate as far as possible purely physical forces influencing the city's functional and morphological development, so in this chapter an attempt will be made to isolate the commercial influences and assess something of their role in the development of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem as a Commercial Centre

At first sight, the general situation of Jerusalem might lead to the supposition that it has been ideally suited to function as a market centre and a commercial node. It is central to Palestine as a whole and stands at a crossroads point on the Hill Country where the route along the crest of the hills meets an east - west route from Transjordan which crosses the Jordan just north of the Dead Sea and makes for

the Mediterranean coast at Jaffa. Yet Jerusalem has not occupied a predominant commercial position in Palestine at all, for it is not a real centre of the most important routes nor has it large resources or a rich hinterland. The most important routeway passing through Palestine has generally been that which runs along the coast and the Shephelah from the Nile to Damascus. This is the main Fertile Crescent route and apart from small periods of history when political factors have intervened (as at present) it has carried most of the through traffic. Denis Baly calls it one of the "primary routes of the world"¹ and it has been the major link between Africa and Asia. Yet it has passed Jerusalem by, and the main commercial gains from this route have gone to such towns as Megiddo and Ascalon in ancient times or Lydda and Er-Ramleh in the Middle Ages. The only trade which Jerusalem has ever been in a position to profit from has been traffic from the eastern side of the Jordan to the seaport of Joppa/Jaffa, but the tribes of the east have never engaged in much trade in this direction and as George Adam Smith remarked, "Jerusalem was never such a market for the Bedouin as either Hebron or Gaza."² Baly considers this a very minor route and the Jordan with the Wilderness of Judea to the west of it have tended to act as a barrier to communication rather than an aid.³ All that can be said is that due to the fact that the northern end of the Dead Sea is almost precisely the

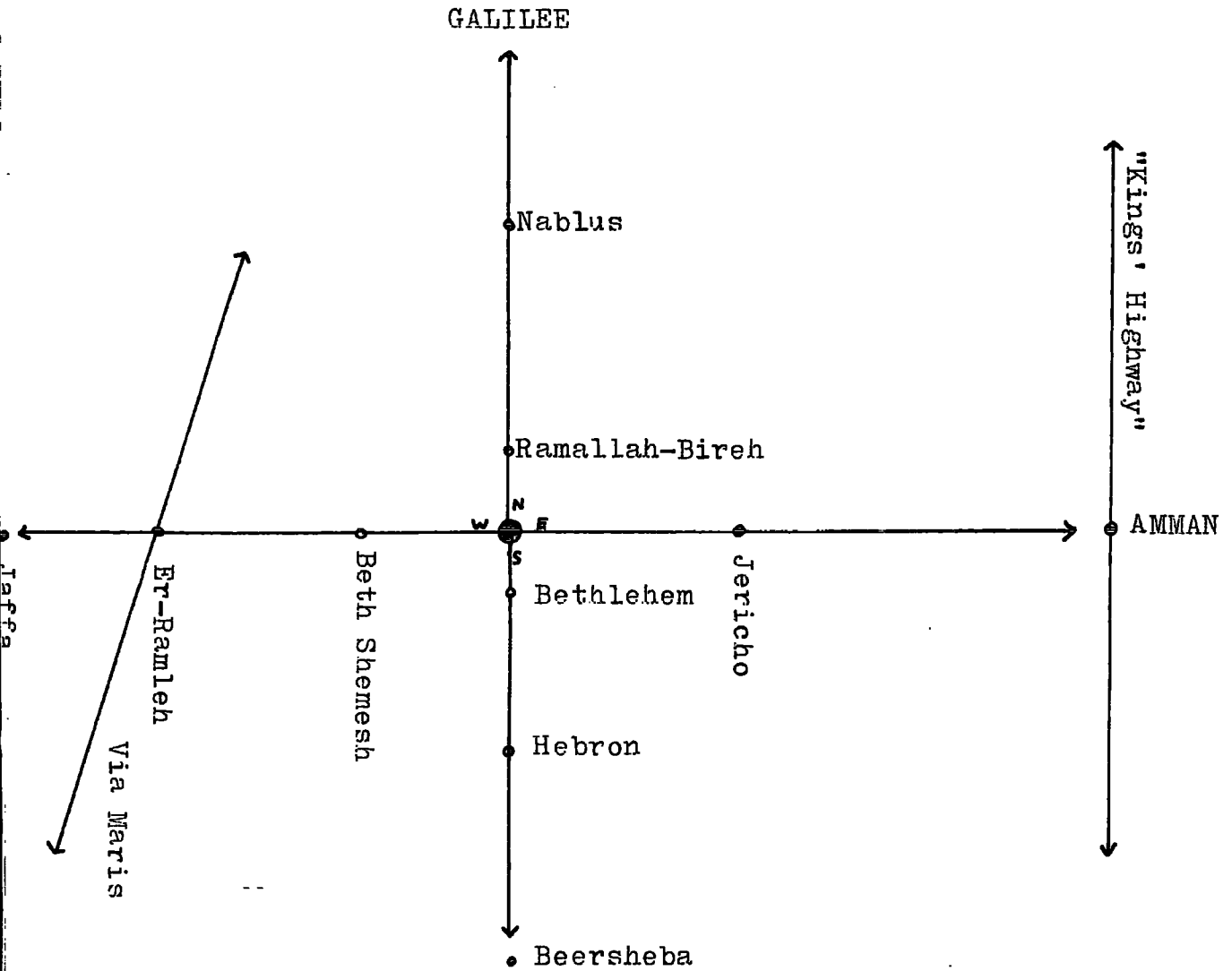
latitude of Jerusalem, it is fairly certain that for most of its history what traffic has travelled along this route has passed through or near the city.

It is with regard to the route along the crest of the Hill Country that Jerusalem has been at more of a commercial advantage. It has been a very convenient centre for the villages and tribes of the Hill Country of Judea and Samaria and the city seems to have had some function as a corn exchange in Biblical times⁴ and during the period under Jordanian rule between 1948 and 1967 the city exercised some functions as a market for the whole of the West Bank. It had, however, fierce competition from Nablus and in Ottoman times the comments of various travellers do not lead us to regard the city as of major importance as a centre of trade and commerce. There are certain advantages in its situation which encourage commercial activity⁵ but it is doubtful whether these extend beyond the confines of the central Hill Country. In fact it is doubtful whether - except when pilgrim prosperity or government action has influenced the situation - the commercial functions of Jerusalem ever extended further ~~south~~ north than the 'Valley of the Robbers' or further south than 'Solomon's Pools'. To the north Nablus has provided a market centre and to the south Hebron has fulfilled the same function for its local villages. In other words there is no evidence that

Jerusalem has by means of natural situation been any more than a provincial market centre in terms of function and certainly during the Middle Ages and the Ottoman period, when government functions were generally situated outside the city, it never gave evidence of being likely to act as a major entrepôt or trading centre for Palestine and no ruler since Herod Agrippa has shown any inclination to make it so. Only the other functions which the city has had have enabled it to grow in size and reputation beyond its rivals, ~~of~~ Nablus and Hebron.

The regional relationships of Jerusalem as a commercial centre cannot be fitted into a neat system of settlement hierarchy even if one were to regard it as a primate city, which it has not been since A.D.70. In hard commercial terms, it is not even primate city of Israel but subsidiary to Tel Aviv and the pattern of urban-rural relationships in the area in the Middle Ages did not follow the lines which Crystallér found in Germany.⁶ Indeed the Moslem empires had their major urban centres - Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus, Constantinople, etc., but beyond these the provinces were divided into a series of small independent city regions.

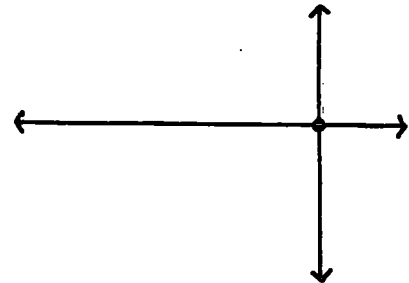
Jerusalem's basic regional relationships have been examined by E.Efrat and others in the Israel Physical Master Plan, by means of axes of communication.⁷ These illustrate how the city has been able to serve as a market centre and minor route centre for the central hill country, but not



5
 JERUSALEM: AXES OF COMMUNICATION

(schematic - not to scale)

Inset: Axes according to strength measured by size of built-up area. →



beyond. The major axes are shown in Fig. 5 and can be summed up as:-

1) To the north: Ramallah-Bireh; Nablus; and beyond to the Plain of Jezreel and Galilee. Ramallah, a small hill resort town of mainly Christian persuasion is decidedly within the immediate market area of Jerusalem; Nablus on the other hand is not and it has its own independent range of services for the villages of Samaria. North of the 'Valley of the Robbers' connections with Jerusalem have generally been limited to religious purposes or perhaps education.

2) To the south: Bethlehem; Hebron; Beersheba and the Negev. Bethlehem, a small Christian town, is very closely tied to Jerusalem through a common interest in the pilgrim trade and is very much part of the city's market region. Hebron was to some extent dependent on Jerusalem for certain services during the post-1948 Jordanian period, but within the historical period with which this thesis is primarily concerned it has been an independent town with its own market area.

3) To ~~xxx~~ the east: Jericho; Amman (& Salt). This axis links to the oasis of Jericho and beyond the Jordan to Amman, Salt, Madaba and the highway along the desert border. Jericho is the only place which has had any close commercial links with Jerusalem - it has supplied the city with food - but the axis further east has only acted as a means of transporting Moslem pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca, to

'do' Jerusalem en route.

4) To the west: Beth Shemesh; Ramleh (& Lydda); Jaffa (& Tel Aviv). To judge by the inset map in Fig. 5, this would seem to be the most important route. In terms of local market functions, however, it is doubtful if Jerusalem has ever had strong commercial relations with areas far west of Ein Karem, especially as during most of the Arab and Ottoman periods, Ramleh was capital of Filastin and would therefore attract a larger share of the local trade. This axis has been important in linking Jerusalem with the Via Maris and the coast at Jaffa and hence it has been the main route travelled by pilgrims and immigrants: hence its importance. *

Local Resources

Most writers have commented on the sparcity of natural resources of the country around Jerusalem. Thus Russell in 1830 describes the approach to Jerusalem from the west:

"The ground, which had hitherto exhibited some verdure becomes altogether bare; the sides of the mountains, expanding themselves, assume at once an appearance of greater grandeur and sterility. Presently all vegetation ceases; even the very mosses disappear...."⁸

However, as George Adam Smith observed, ones' opinion of the surroundings of Jerusalem very much depends upon whether one

* It should be remembered that an axis of communication represents a theoretical and abstracted link between places and not a routeway. Hence the actual routes may change in accordance with circumstances, but the axis may remain.

is accustomed to the green fields of Europe of the bare deserts of Arabia.⁹

There are two main uses for the natural resources of the Jerusalem region: a) Agriculture and b) Quarrying. There are no mineral deposits of value or other bases for secondary production in the area. The agricultural resources of Jerusalem are not large compared with those of the moister Galilee or the flatter Sharon plain. However, it must not be assumed that the city lies in the midst of a desert for there is some potential and there are many places where soil is plentiful and good crops can be obtained. Nevertheless it is apparent to the observer that the complimentary description of the promised land in Deuteronomy 8. 7-8 must be taken in the context of a group of tribes moving in from the desert. It is clear that in times of economic prosperity the city has appeared to be in the midst of plenty: Mukaddasi (a native of the city and therefore probably not unbiased) could see there "milk in plenty and honey and sugar in abundance" and commented on the productivity of the orange, banana, almond, date, nut and fig.¹⁰ Felix Fabri considered the city self-sufficient for "all the necessities of life grow there in abundance."¹¹ However, there are also on record many uncomplimentary remarks from less prosperous times, such as those of Warburton who found that "not a tree or green spot is visible!"¹²

What seems clear is that the surrounding hills and valleys had little to encourage the growth of corn on a large scale and few writers mention this crop (Theodorich being one of the few). The shallow soil, undulating relief and unreliable rainfall all mitigate against cereals. However, the area does seem to have been adaptable, as seen in the previous chapter, to the production of tree crops - especially the olive, fig and vine. Hence, most Englishmen with their visions of the hedgerows and fields of home, have not been complimentary about the city's agriculture; but visitors from Mediterranean lands or other Middle East countries have not been so taken aback. The olive, fig and vine are not attractive plants, dotting the bare soil where the sheep and goats wander in search of grass; but they do provide many of the "necessities of life". The situation has been perhaps best described by Niccolo of Poggibonsi who wrote;

"Its surroundings have neither forests nor wood; fruit trees and vineyards there are in plenty and its soil is very precious; and all is hills, mounts and valleys." 13

Consequently we can see that the area is not devoid in capacity for agriculture but its potential is limited. The Kidron valley has soil and water and the turonian spur as a whole has had gardens and been under the plough for most of recorded history. In the village lands to the north and west there is a long history of cultivation of cereals as well as tree crops and vegetables. There is thus some potential. It must be remembered, however, that Jerusalem is not the centre

of a prosperous agricultural country; production is ample but patchy. It can support peasant life; it cannot support a large urban community. East of the Mount of Olives the arid zone quickly sets in and nothing can be cultivated; even to the west, thin soil cover and hilly terrain has limited farming activity to a few selected spots. In fact the main rural activity in the area has always been animal grazing, mainly sheep and goats. These can be seen today even in the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ cemeteries around the city walls and lamb has been a favourite dish of both the ancient Jews and the Arabs. It can be seen then, that the agricultural resources of the Jerusalem area are mediocre: but the area is not a barren desert. Under the impetus of urban growth many crops have flourished; but the urban growth itself cannot be due to local agricultural resources. There have been times when Jerusalem and its region have had to import large amounts of food - especially in times when the pilgrim trade is flourishing - but apart from ~~olive~~ olive oil and olive wood objects, no agricultural commodity has been exported in any large amount from the region. What ~~inter~~ inter-regional trade in foodstuffs has been observed in Jerusalem's markets has largely been of the import variety to satisfy the demands of pilgrims, religious communities or occupying armies.

Final consideration in discussing local resources.

must go to the local mineral resources which consist of one major item - building stone. The turonian spur as noted in Chapter 2, contains some fine building stone. However, there is no evidence that it was ever prized outside the area and exported and the quarrying industry seems to have flourished purely to meet the needs of the city. This has meant fluctuations in its activities (see p.152) but the large number of Churches and other public buildings has generally made for a more flourishing quarrying industry than in most cities of comparable size. The size of some of the quarries, such as 'Solomon's Quarry', bears testimony to the large amount of material which has been extracted; but it seems to have been purely for local consumption.

Secondary Production

It seems, then, that Jerusalem has not the potential by means of either its geographical situation vis a vis other towns and routes, nor by means of its local economic resources, to develop into a large urban centre. It is useful, however, to see how these resources which the city does have, have been used for there are marketing and productive activities in the city and have been for as long as there are records, to indicate that care must be taken before crediting the pilgrim industry and other factors with the responsibility for city's development.

Most of the activities of an economic nature in the city are those which one would associate with a small market town anywhere in the world, i.e.:-

1) Industries dependent on agriculture.

These include food processing which has been important - baking, milling, the production of olive oil from olives, etc. The city has acted as a flour store and in the Middle Ages there was a large granary in the Tower of David, but it seems that some was imported into the region in times of high demand. The olive has been the city's main native resource which has been processed for export out of the region, mainly in the form of olive oil which was an important export (to Spain mainly) in the Middle Ages, since apart from its usefulness as a source of power under mediaeval technological conditions, it had religious value to western Christians. Soap has been another product derived from olive oil and although the main centre of soap production has been Nablus, Jerusalem has also shared in the activity. In fact apart from tourism, it has been the city's largest industry. Textiles have had a fluctuating career in Jerusalem. In the Middle Ages there were looms, probably - although not necessarily - using local wool and in the early years of the Mandate an attempt was made to revive this.

2) Industries connected with the pilgrim trade.

The pilgrim trade has influenced some of the industries above. For instance, the demand for foodstuffs from the

hospices and hotels has stimulated the processing industry, while the demand for olive oil has owed much to the religious buildings.¹⁴ For instance the Haram area has been reckoned to require 100 kists of oil a month.¹⁵ Industries having close connections with the tourist trade but using local materials include the olive wood crafts and the manufacture of pottery from local clay. Some trades have developed in response to the demands of the pilgrim trade but using resources from outside the area, for instance the mother-of-pearl industry (raw material from the Gulf of Aqaba) and the medieval goldsmiths.¹⁶ Perhaps the only industry in the city which can claim to have no connection with the pilgrim trade is leather tanning and even this has often been located, especially in the Ottoman period, near Churches to annoy the Christians.

3) Construction industries.

Construction industries have flourished at times of large building ~~products~~ ^{projects}. In Byzantine times with the large scale construction of Churches, the local building craftsmen must have been very busy and there has been plenty of employment in this sector in the present century. Tile making has been one significant part of this trade, having a close link with the religious building.¹⁷

Industries have thus never been a strong feature of Jerusalem and attempts to establish new trades not based on either local material or local demand have usually failed.

An example is the glass-blowing industry which the Pro-Jerusalem Council attempted to introduce at the beginning of the Mandate period. It had previously been strong in Hebron (and still is) and as fuel, materials, and skilled labour all had to be brought in from there, the scheme ran into great difficulties.¹⁸ In general, it might be concluded that while Jerusalem has had many small manufacturing and processing industries, none of them has had any great impact on the urban geography of the area.

Tertiary Industries

As a local market and centre, Jerusalem has had some tertiary trades such as retailing and finance which have been important features of the geography of the city; but again, the importance of the pilgrim comes through as providing much of the prosperity, rather than the 'natural' resources of the local villages.

There is a strong division in the retailing sector between those activities which serve the pilgrim and those which serve the populace. In the former category may be classed the souvenir sellers; in the latter, the sellers of the basic foodstuffs. However, there is considerable overlap, for many of the food sellers in the suq have stayed in business on account of custom from the hospices while some activities such as textile selling serve both the local villager and citizen and also the pilgrim. To the peasant,

the market is not only a place for commercial transactions but also a place of social intercourse ¹⁹ and a trip to market can be used to make a legal transaction, get a letter written, or visit an old friend. Hence when Jerusalem is said to be a market centre it means much more than just a place where foodstuffs and clothing are bought and sold.

Now retailing has been sufficiently important to have some considerable influence on urban development in the morphological sense. In Biblical times, the market of the city seems to have been fairly consistently to the north-west, even outside the walls. The Fish Gate of the time of Nehemiah, seems to have been in the north-west quarter of the city near the market and quarter of the foreign fish merchants. Since they came from the ports of north-west Palestine, they located on the route to their home, as for instance 'foreign' communities have done at Mecca. With the authorities exacting dues or making trading regulations there was always a tendency for an unofficial market to be set up outside the actual city walls. Thus Nehemiah complains that:

"There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, which brought in fish, and all manner of ware, and sold on the sabbath unto the children of ~~Israel~~ Judah, and in Jerusalem..... and some of my servants set I over the gates, that there should no burden be brought in on the sabbath day. So the merchants and sellers of all kinds of ware lodged without Jerusalem....." (Neh. 13.16-21)

While this work is mainly concerned with the post-Biblical city, this incident of Nehemiah's is worth noting for it

illustrates very clearly a process which encouraged the city to expand along the routes to the north and west, led by the retailers who were the city's link with the cities of the coast and the *via maris*. Thus in the Middle Ages, markets were around the Jaffa Gate and the Damascus Gate as well as in the central suqs and in the late 19th. Century, the market by the Jaffa Gate (inside and outside the walls) seems to have been the most flourishing. The early settlements outside the walls to the north and west thus had an immediate advantage - proximity to the markets. Another feature of the retailing trade which has probably influenced the urban morphology of Jerusalem has been the division of the trades by type and by ethnic character. The latter feature, observed during the times of the Latin Kingdom, undoubtedly went with a move towards the formation of ethnic quarters; while the former acted against this by emphasising economic as opposed to religious bonds. It is significant, that in Jerusalem, unlike many cities of the Middle East or medieval Europe, the quarters did not develop their own retailing nodes, but the markets remained open to all and relatively free from ethnic demarcation.

Finance has been in many respects an offshoot of the religious activity of Jerusalem, for most of the money lenders were concerned with the pilgrim trade. Nevertheless, the presence of large religious organisations has also helped to make the city a financial centre for its local region,

since in earlier days the religious personnel were almost the only ones who could read and write and the large religious buildings were used as strong points for the safe keeping of money. However, the financial activities of Jerusalem have not been the cause of any prosperity it has had but have rather followed the fluctuations of the pilgrim trade and while the location of money changers is an interesting example of tourist orientation, it has not in itself influenced the direction of urban growth.

In conclusion, the influence of commercial and industrial factors in the urban development of Jerusalem has been limited. The agricultural potential of the area has been adequate to allow growth within the limits of medieval requirements but the development after 1917 quickly showed ~~xx~~ that massive imports were required. There is no natural resource in Jerusalem or its surrounding hills to give it the capacity for industrial development with any comparative advantage over other cities. It has been self-sufficient over the centuries in many things; it has rarely had much of a surplus. Most of the commercial activities of the city can be seen to be either the usual ones associated with a small market town or have been attached to the pilgrim trade. As a market centre there is no doubt that Jerusalem has had potential and it seems to have been able to function as such even when the pilgrim trade has been at a low ebb.

Perhaps the founding of Aelia by Hadrian is an admission that a market centre was necessary in the vicinity. Yet it can be demonstrated that Jerusalem has never become a great 'cross-roads' town with large trading interests and while it may have had a basic function as a market centre, this would not have enabled it to rise any larger than Hebron had it not been for the rich profits from the pilgrim trade. Similarly, it can be appreciated that the direction in which Jerusalem has grown, i.e. to the north-west, has been spearheaded by retailing nodes and the readiness of the C.B.D. to move in that direction; yet the size of the development and its direction (to Jaffa not Nablus) would point to a considerable influence being felt from the streams of pilgrims and (by 1900) Zionist immigrants arriving from Jaffa. Subsequent chapters will further illustrate both the importance of commercial forces as providing a basic 'function' for Jerusalem and their inadequacy to explain the size of the city's development.

CHAPTER 4

THE INFLUENCES OF RELIGION

The controls and influences mentioned in the two preceding chapters are such as are commonly found in the study of urban development, but in the case of Jerusalem there is one other factor which is normally of little consequence in geographical studies, but which is here of paramount importance - religion. The relationships between geography and religion have not been very extensively explored to date and there has been little investigation by either geographers or theologians of the possible inter-relationships between the two disciplines. Hence it may be somewhat surprising to make a special study of the influences of religion on urban growth. Yet Jerusalem has so often been regarded as the religious centre par excellence whose very existence depends upon its function as a holy city¹ that in any geographical approach an attempt must be made to assess the degree of this influence and study the urban characteristics which it has produced. The next section will accordingly investigate the theological attitudes to Jerusalem and summarize the geographical features these have produced.

A twofold nature has been seen in the relationship between geography and religion, i.e. the influence of

environment on faith and the influence of religious faith on the adaptations to the environment.² Most textbooks on urban studies recognize the importance of religion in the moulding of the urban scene³ but there have been few detailed studies of this influence since only in rare instances is it important enough to demand such treatment. Many of the influences of religion are apparent, e.g. the large Church buildings which dot many British towns and provide the focal point of villages, but other influences are more obscure. In many primitive societies religious beliefs are allowed to influence agricultural practices⁴ and there are many examples from the 'civilized' world of religious ghettos in towns and social and ethnic divisions in which religion plays a large part. The connections between faith, and economic and social factors has been explored by many scholars such as Weber, Tawney and Sombart⁵ and is an acknowledged feature of urban society. The links between nationality and religion have in the past been extremely strong since in the Middle Ages the religion of a ruler was automatically the official religion of his subjects. In the Arab world it is normal to link religion with economic and social life since Islam regards religion and state as identical and hence the religious community is also a social entity.⁶ These links are clearly recognised and vital factors in the geography of Jerusalem.

In summary, the influence of religion on geographical

features can be roughly divided into two:-

1) Direct influences:

a) Positive - Churches, mosques, etc. Agricultural practices, cemeteries, reservation of sacred area or forbidden area, place-names.

b) Negative - taboos on food and work, etc.

2) Indirect influences: social, education, political. ⁷

In discussing Jerusalem, the main concern is with influences which are positive and direct, especially the concept of sacred area, although ~~indirect~~ influences are of some significance in a more ~~xxx~~ subtle way.

Concept of Holy City

The most obvious positive expression of religion in the case of Jerusalem is in the whole concept of sacredness of the city which lies at the heart of the most characteristic features of the city. The concept of sacredness of site is very old and strong both in primitive societies and in more advanced communities. The sacred grove or hill is common in nature religions⁸ but also found in other cultures.⁹ At the one end of the scale there is the Zionist concept of a sacred country, to some extent echoed in the Mormon attitude to the Utah valley¹⁰ while at the other end of the scale is the sacred wood or grove. In between can be placed the concept of a sacred city or a religious central place which is common among the more organized religious faiths. Sopher makes a distinction between a religious centre and a religious

capital¹¹ which must be kept in mind. The distinguishing features are that a religious centre is a centre of a religious organization which has inherent or acquired holiness to which people are drawn in acts of devotion and worship. It cannot be replaced. A religious capital is likewise a centre of a religious organization but one from which the faith is governed and administered, in the way that a political capital governs a particular area. Jerusalem has to some extent shared both these features even in the early days and Sopher is probably in error in writing that it was only a capital and not a centre in the first millenium B.C. The plaintive longing of Psalm 137 is indicative of a religious centre of strong emotive appeal:

" How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?
 If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
 Let my right hand forget her cunning.
 Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth
 If I remember thee not;
 If I prefer not Jerusalem
 Above my chief joy." (Ps. 137. 4-6)

This can be compared with the Mormon attitude to Salt Lake City, which was only the last of a number of centres which that Church had attempted to set up.

" Favoured as it was by its location within the Wasatch oasis, the basic factor that was making and would make Salt Lake City the regional center of all the neighbouring hinterland was its peculiar position as center of the Mormon church and headquarters for its planned development and settlement of the intermontane west." 12

Jerusalem has many times occupied the position of a religious capital but its primary function has been as a religious

centre and a holy site.

What lies behind the concept of 'holy city' ? It is a difficult question of theology as to whether any sacred ground can be regarded as intrinsically holy or whether the sacredness is acquired. Jewish tradition holds that the Temple Hill at Jerusalem was dedicated by Jehovah as a sacred site above all others and is thus divinely chosen. It seems that the setting aside of a sacred place is part of man's general desire to be near God and to have somewhere which will act as a place of contact. There is no doubt that through folk tradition some places gain a sacredness in local religion or custom, but there seem to be a few spots (especially in the Middle East) which have a particularly strong sacred connection and have been taken over by successive faiths. Thus Islam took the Ka'aba at Mecca, already a centre of pagan worship, and made it the focus of Moslem worship; similarly Jerusalem was taken by the Jews under David and Solomon and dedicated to Jehovah although it seems likely that it was a sacred spot already for it is commonly identified with the Salem of Melchisedek "priest of God Most High (El Elyon)" at the time of Abraham (Gen. 14.18). Neither is the problem of areal holiness limited to religious activities but tends to permeate society down the centuries. It has often been observed that the present Palestine problem is of a quasi-religious nature. So President Nasser writes:

"I became fully convinced that fighting in Palestine

was neither a war in an alien land nor a matter of sympathy. It was a sacred self-defence duty." 13

Whatever the origins of the concept, it is a very real one and in the case of Jerusalem and other major religious centres, the sacredness in which it is held has been probably the dominant factor in its growth. The holiness of Jerusalem in the eyes of Jews, Christians and Moslems does not need to be laboured for it is well known and the writings of many Christians of medieval and modern times abound with ascriptions of wonder and praise.¹⁴ To many it is regarded as a great privilege to have been able to tread its sacred soil despite the differences between the modern and the Biblical city and many a modern tourist has declared his visit to the holy city as the greatest thrill of his life.¹⁵

Jerusalem has exercised a hold over mens' minds for centuries and drawn them to it from all over the world so that other ~~xx~~ aspects of the city tend to get lost and overlooked in the mass of pilgrims and proliferation of holy sites. Over the years this idea of the city's sanctity has grown ever greater and its influence on the city's development ever more distinctive.

Varieties of Religious Belief and Activity.

Jerusalem is unique as a major religious centre in that it is sacred to three world faiths, although Palestine has smaller places - e.g. Hebron - which share this characteristic to some extent. So apart from variations in religious

activity according to function (i.e. pilgrims, scholars, administrators, etc.) there is to be expected a deep difference in the behaviour patterns of the various faiths. This to a large extent is a result of their different beliefs regarding the sacredness of Jerusalem and in turn it has produced distinctive geographical features.

The religions involved are three, but these are divided further into sects and denominations which between them also show great differences. The main divisions are:-

- 1) Judaism. The oldest, existing in the city from about 1,000 B.C. Main post-Biblical sects are:
 - a) Ashkenazim - Jews of eastern Europe
 - b) Sephardim - Jews of the Mediterranean lands and western Europe
 - c) Other miscellaneous groups - Karaites, Falashas, etc.
- 2) Christianity. In Jerusalem since the foundation of the Church after the resurrection, c. 30 A.D.
 - a) Eastern Churches: sub-divided into
 - i) Diophysite Churches - Greek Orthodox, Uniates.
 - ii) Monophysite Churches - Armenian, Coptic, Syrian.*

* The monophysite controversy is one which has fundamentally divided the eastern Church but produced some indefinite classification. Thus the Armenians and Maronites have been in both camps at some time or other and are 'marginal' to each group. Many Armenians deny being monophysite.

- b) Roman Catholic (excluding Uniates)
- c) Protestant: generally only large in numbers after 1850 but now probably the predominant group. The main Churches represented have been:
 - i) Anglican
 - ii) Lutheran
 - iii) Other groups - Baptist, Temple community, etc.
- 3) Islam. In Jerusalem since its capture in A.D. 638
 - a) Sunni - main group
 - b) Shi'a - small numbers in the city
 - c) Dervishes, Druzes, and other small groups. ¹⁶

To the above list might be added the modern tourist from the nations of western Europe of the Americas. He might at home be a convinced or a practical agnostic but the religious experience of Jerusalem is usually meaningful to him also. Even if he comes just to see the place and not to worship, the tourist is still an important factor; but since most tourists come from countries of predominantly Protestant character, their activity tends to be Protestant in type. ¹⁷

In fact between all the groups there are distinctive patterns of activity in Jerusalem - different holy sites are frequented, different hospices stayed in, different seasons important and different expenditure patterns (see Ch. 6)

1) JUDAISM

The Jewish faith will be dealt with first as it is the oldest and the other two in many respects have developed from it. To the Jew, Jerusalem is the supreme holy city and the place where Jehovah has chosen to dwell. Many of the psalms illustrate this feeling of the sanctity of the Temple area and the city which surrounds it.

There is a river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God,
The holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High.
God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved:
God shall help her, and that right early. (Ps. 46.4-5)

Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised,
In the city of our God, in his holy mountain.
Beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth,
Is mount Zion, on the sides of the north,
The city of the great king.
God has made himself known in her palaces for a refuge.
(Ps. 48. 1-3)

The building of the Temple by Solomon symbolised God's presence in Israel and provided a place of approach to God through the sacrificial worship of the ~~Mosaic~~ Mosaic code. Eventually the sanctity of the Temple spread to the whole city and it became God's own specially protected city to which the Jewish pilgrim wended his way:

I was glad when they said unto me,
Let us go unto the house of the Lord.
Our feet are standing
Within thy gates, O Jerusalem;
Jerusalem, that art builded
As a city that is compact together:
Whither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord,
For a testimony unto Israel,
To give thanks unto the name of the Lord.
For there are set thrones for judgement,

The thrones of the house of David.
 Pray for the peace of Jerusalem:
 They shall prosper that love thee.
 Peace be within thy walls,
 And prosperity within thy palaces.
 For my brethren and companions sakes,
 I will now say, Peace be within thee.
 For the sake of the house of the Lord our God
 I will seek thy good. (Ps.122)

In the eyes of the writer of the above psalm, the whole city had become an object of special blessing and the centre of national worship. It was a national shrine and cultic centre, blessed by the presence of the Temple. There is in a sense a progression of sanctity from the Temple as the most holy place, to Jerusalem around it, to the tribes which made up God's chosen people. Thus Isaiah says:

O Thou that telleth good tidings to Zion, get thee up into the high mountain; O thou that tellest good tidings to Jerusalem lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God. (Is. 40.9)

It has already been noted that even the exile in Mesopotamia could not dampen the Jewish feeling for the sanctity of Jerusalem and it is significant that the returning party under Nehemiah set as their first task the building of the Temple. Consequently, exile after the destructions of the Roman legions in A.D. 70 did not deter the Jew from retaining the concept of the holiness of Jerusalem. So we find the sages commenting:

Never was a man attacked (by demons) in Jerusalem; no man was ever harmed or met with an accident in the Temple. Whoever met with an accident outside of Jerusalem would be healed as soon as he looked at the walls of Jerusalem. 19

Consequently, the Jew of the post-Biblical period has held on to the same concept of Jerusalem's sanctity which his forefathers had and the words "next year in Jerusalem" have continued down the ages.

In geographical terms, this concept has ~~xxxxx~~ meant that the Jew regards the whole city area as holy and the key part of the sacred homeland, Eretz Israel.²⁰ The old Temple now destroyed has been replaced by the city as a whole as the focal point of Jewish worship and hope. Hence the returning Jews of this century have been quite happy to settle on the hills to the west of the Old City and no attempt has been made by Israel since 1967 to resume Temple worship. There is one small area of special holiness and that is an expanse of walling which contains the largest stretch of masonry remaining from Herod the Great's Temple, the wall known as the 'Wailing Wall'. This is of great importance to Judaism and the practice of 'wailing' appears to go back to at least Constantine's time if not before. There are a few old tombs of prophets and rabbis in the area which ~~are~~ are held sacred to some degree, notably David's Tomb and Rachel's Tomb, and these are shared with the other faiths. Yet none of these, even the Wailing Wall, has quite the intensity of feeling attached to it which Christians attach to the Holy Sepulchre or Moslems to the Dome of the Rock: they are only substitutes for the original sacred area, the Temple, now long disappeared. Hence Jewish worship

is centred largely around the Wailing Wall, and in the numerous synagogues. The ancient division of the Jewish faith into ethnic blocks has been largely cultural and linguistic rather than doctrinal and there is no clear distinction in pilgrim activity between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim, although they have had their own synagogues and independent sub-quarters. A more important distinction, especially in the modern period, has been between the Orthodox Jew and the modern liberal or reformed Jew. Some of the orthodox have regarded the privilege of regaining Jerusalem as belonging to the Messiah and in their own quarter of Mea Shearim they still lead a very separate existence. Most of the Jews in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City were of the orthodox groups and they were the ones who were most intense in their worship at the Wailing Wall. The Zionist Jew has tended to adopt more liberal, or even 'agnostic' ways and active religion in Israel is not as widespread as might be expected. Many modern Israelis are more interested in that quasi-religious shrine, the Shrine of the Book than in the old tombs and the Wall. Jewish pilgrim activity has always been the weakest of the faiths, however, since most of the Jews in the city have been poor and dependent on foreign aid, and it was not common for the western Jew of the Middle Ages to brave the dangers of a pilgrimage when their faith could offer no advantages other than a vague feeling of piety and the possibility of dying in the city. Other places grew up as centres of Jewish

culture - Tiberias and Safed particularly - and while Jerusalem retained its prime sanctity, it was not as strong a centre of Jewish activities as might have been expected.

2) CHRISTIANITY

Because of their large numbers, Christian pilgrims and residents have probably been the dominant group in Jerusalem since Byzantine times. At times, Christians have formed a majority of the population and as a result of better education and support from ~~many~~ outside nations they have tended to play a leading role in urban affairs. In addition a large part of the income and activity generated by the pilgrim trade has been from Christian sources.

Christian pilgrimages began - as far as can be discerned - in the 4th. Century with the building of holy sites by the royalty and nobility of Constantine's court. His mother Helena seems to have been the first patron of Church construction on holy sites and the miracles claimed seem to have fixed in traditional Christendom the desirability of the pilgrimage. The theological basis of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem is not very clear, however, as the concept was relatively late in early Church history and has no basis in the New Testament.*

* Some have considered Paul's journey to Jerusalem in Acts 21 as a prototype pilgrimage.

The main idea behind the Christian pilgrimages seems to be to visit the places mentioned in the Bible narratives, especially those relating to the life and passion of Jesus. Since Christianity is an historical religion based upon certain events which actually happened (as opposed to a dream or vision) and as the historicity of these events is crucial to the truth of the Faith, the pilgrims' prime desire has been to see the places where they took place as proof of their truth and 'visual-aids' to Bible study. The desire to construct edifices over the sacred sites soon disguised most of them, but brought much money into the country in the form of gifts and bequests.²¹ The precise attitude to the pilgrimage in Jerusalem has differed between the different denominations and these differences have made a distinctive impact on the geography of the city.

To the eastern Churches, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem is a much desired experience for which the pilgrim gains merit, forgiveness of sins and his prayers are especially answered. Much importance is attached to key sites, and especially the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary while in addition the various national Churches have each their own special shrine and Church for their own activities. To the eastern Churches, it is the old sites whose authenticity has been ~~well~~ long accepted which are of most importance and they have been reluctant to acquire new sites since the Crusades, in contrast to the Roman Church. Their main activity as a result is therefore in and around the

Holy Sepulchre and a few other convents and Churches. Two further points are worth noting about the eastern Churches. In the first place, the monophysite/diophysite controversy, while it has not appeared ~~prominent~~ to show in the pilgrim activity (both groups have similar habits), ~~it~~ has resulted in a deep dislike of each other by the separate groups which has aided the formation of the separate quarters, and the tendency of the monophysites to dwell together for protection (see Chapter 13). The Uniates (eastern Churches in communion with Rome) have added another division here, and since they are, by Jerusalem standards, a recent development, their holy sites and hospices are all new ^{acquisitions} ~~buildings~~. A second and final point is that as the eastern Churches are to a large extent 'native' to the Middle East (and the Greek Orthodox Church is the largest native Arab Church) Jerusalem has been used as a centre of ecclesiastical administration by them more than by the Latins, and there are a number of schools and seminaries in the city. There are also 'congregational' Churches for the local populace (see p.239).

To the Roman Catholic Church, authenticity is also very important, and most Roman Catholic archaeologists of recent decades have defended the traditional sites.²² There seems in fact to have been a desire in the Middle Ages to locate practically every incident in the life of Jesus and even parables were translated into actual

localities in the area, even if some twisting of the facts was necessary. It is doubtful whether some of the founders of some of these Churches actually believed them to be on authentic locations and the custodians of many of them today (e.g. Viri Galilaei and Dominus Flevit) would admit that they are only approximate positions. Indeed these Churches seem to stand in place of the original site rather than on it, and were probably originally 'visual-aids' only. The doctrinal background of the notable profusion of Roman Catholic sites lies in the indulgence system of the Middle Ages whereby plenary (complete) or partial forgiveness of sins was possible for ritual performances at holy sites. The sites where these were obtainable attracted many hundreds of men and women who had uneasy consciences and needed the forgiveness which psychology recognises as necessary for a peaceful mind.²³ The details of these are known and will be examined later (p. 126) in order to assess the relative importance of the holy sites. The indulgence system provided considerable impetus to pilgrimage in the Holy Land (and elsewhere) and contributed greatly to the spread of holy sites.

Protestant ideas on pilgrimage to Jerusalem are vague and difficult to assess. Soon after the Reformation, with the rejection of the indulgence system, the whole idea of pilgrimage was dispensed with and those few Protestants who visited the city in the 17th. and 18th. centuries did so

either on business or by way of exploration. The advent of the Protestant pilgrim only came in the second half of the 19th. Century with the increasing interest in the historical remains as a result of the work of Edward Robinson, Charles Wilson and the Palestine Exploration Fund. The basis of most Protestant feelings on visits to Jerusalem seems to be instruction and enlightenment. The strongest motive seems to be to gain illustration on Biblical matters, solve problems in the Bible, or help in Bible reading. Other motives include the desire to understand other denominations and religions and to gain a general 'spiritual uplift'. This latter emotional factor must not be ruled out and many quite strong conservative evangelicals have confessed to powerful feelings while in Jerusalem. A recent writer has put it thus:

Often had we read the words, 'Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem'. And now an experience which hitherto we had never in our wildest dreams supposed to be within the bounds of rational possibility had become ours. Looking on 'the mountain of God's holiness', we were on the threshold of 'the city of the great King', once 'the holy place of the tabernacle of the Most High'. High privilege indeed!

The sight will ever abide in the memory. In coming days I expect it to 'flash upon that inward eye which is the bliss of solitude' and when that happens the heart will thrill again with the pleasure of it. I almost felt, as we 'gazed and gazed' that we had acquired a new form of wealth. 24

This vein of writing has appeared in many travel accounts over the last hundred years, giving the impressions made by

the city on Protestant visitors. It seems that the majority of Protestants like to walk about the city or gaze at it from the Mount of Olives, to see the authentic archaeological remains and contemplate the Scriptures. Their activity is thus much wider than that of the Roman Catholic and less localized, but has also produced a new holy site - the Garden Tomb, as a competitor to the Holy Sepulchre.

Since the majority of modern tourists to Jerusalem (Jordanian figures) are from Protestant countries, the Protestant pattern of activity is becoming increasingly important. Whether they admit it or not, nearly all visitors to Jerusalem have some religious motive or at least are interested in the sites and the city because of its contribution to Christian civilization. Hence nearly all, especially in the period dealt with in this thesis, can be classed as pilgrims, and if their activities do not fit into the pattern of the traditional Churches, they usually can be classed as Protestant in activity if not in motive.

3) ISLAM

Sacredness of place is one of the basic tenets of Islam and as Dr. Tewfik Canaan pointed out some years ago, is a very common feature of the geography of Palestine.

"Sacred shrines are innumerable in Palestine. Nearly everywhere - in the villages, on the mountains, in valleys, in the fields - do we meet them. There is hardly a village, however small it may be, which does not honour at least one local saint." ²⁵ In many cases these sacred spots have a pre-Islamic origin and a large number gain a sanctity through time and peasant superstition. Hill-tops, trees, rocks, ruins even, can all become sacred by the process of time and acquire a shrine. Thus Canaan again:

Another fact not without interest is that a great number of sacred sites lie in or near a ruin..... Such a ruin in itself must have been a striking object to the simple mind of the Palestinian, and the ruin certainly existed long before the present shrine. A ruin, an artificial ~~XXXXX~~ cave, a solitary tree, or some old cisterns in a lonely deserted spot, would stimulate the imagination of the fellah. Some night vision, or the hallucination of seeing lights and hearing prayers or religious music, enforce the idea of the sacredness of the spot. 26

Apart from these local shrines which are numerous in the Jerusalem region (especially the Mount of Olives), orthodox Islam itself strongly holds to a concept of the sacredness of place and the concept of holy city in particular. The pilgrimage (hadj) is an integral part of Islam and one of the 'pillars' of the faith. However, it is to Mecca that

the Moslem looks ~~to~~ as his holy city and not to Jerusalem, so there is a marked contrast here between Islam and the other two faiths. Jerusalem (Arabic, El Quds esh-Sharif = the holy) is however important as the scene of Mohammed's night journey and ascent to Heaven and as the place where the last judgement will take place. This latter belief explains the large number of graves in the Kidron valley, as it is there - so traditional belief has it - that the happening will take place. This belief seems to have acted as an incentive also to Protestant pilgrimages since it is a belief shared to some extent by all three faiths.

To the Moslem, pilgrimage to ~~Mezza~~ Jerusalem is centred around the place where Mohammed's night journey took place, which is also the site of the old Jewish temple - the rock outcrop on Mount Moriah. Consequently, practically all Moslem activity is concentrated within the Haram enclosure at the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, Mohammed having no connections with other localities in the city, in contrast to Jesus. This makes for less congestion during Moslem festivals than is the case with Christian occasions, as all devotion is within the large Haram and there is no need for long processions between sacred stations. In fact Islam has never seen a profusion of holy sites in the city, despite its large number of holy cities throughout the Middle East and North Africa. Apart from the Haram, only David's Tomb is considered particularly holy although the Virgin's Tomb

and a few medieval mosques are held in some reverence. Mohammed declared that one prayer at the Dome of the Rock was worth 1,000 elsewhere²⁷ and so activity has been concentrated there and the Friday ('congregational') mosque, Al Aqsa. For a brief spell in the early Middle Ages, when disturbances made travel to Mecca difficult, Jerusalem officially supplanted it as the object of the hadj. The city has remained highly placed in Moslem favour in the Palestinian towns and villages even up to the present time.* However, Jerusalem has never been able to supplant Mecca as the main pilgrim centre and Moslems generally visit the city either en route to Mecca or because they cannot afford the long trip into the Hedjaz. In Mecca there is complete forgiveness of sin and great spiritual cleansing not to mention social prestige for the hajji on return home. Thus it is said that:

The pilgrim who avoids vice and wickedness, come out of his sins as on the day his mother bore him.

The greatest sinner is he who stands on 'Arafat and thinks that God has not forgiven him. 28

Thus Jerusalem cannot compete with Mecca as a centre of Moslem pilgrimages and it has never attracted the same

* An interesting illustration of this occurred recently when the writer led a research seminar at Durham University and an Arab student from Jordan maintained fervently that Jerusalem had a prior sanctity ~~over~~ Mecca, despite strong protests from other Moslem students.

crowds of the faithful. The city is, nevertheless, a common centre for the celebration of the end of Rámadan by Palestinian Moslems. In recent years, especially with the advent of the aeroplane, Mecca has been more accessible and so Jerusalem's substitutionary role has declined, and the recent occupation of the city by Israel has stopped Moslem pilgrimages from Arab countries.

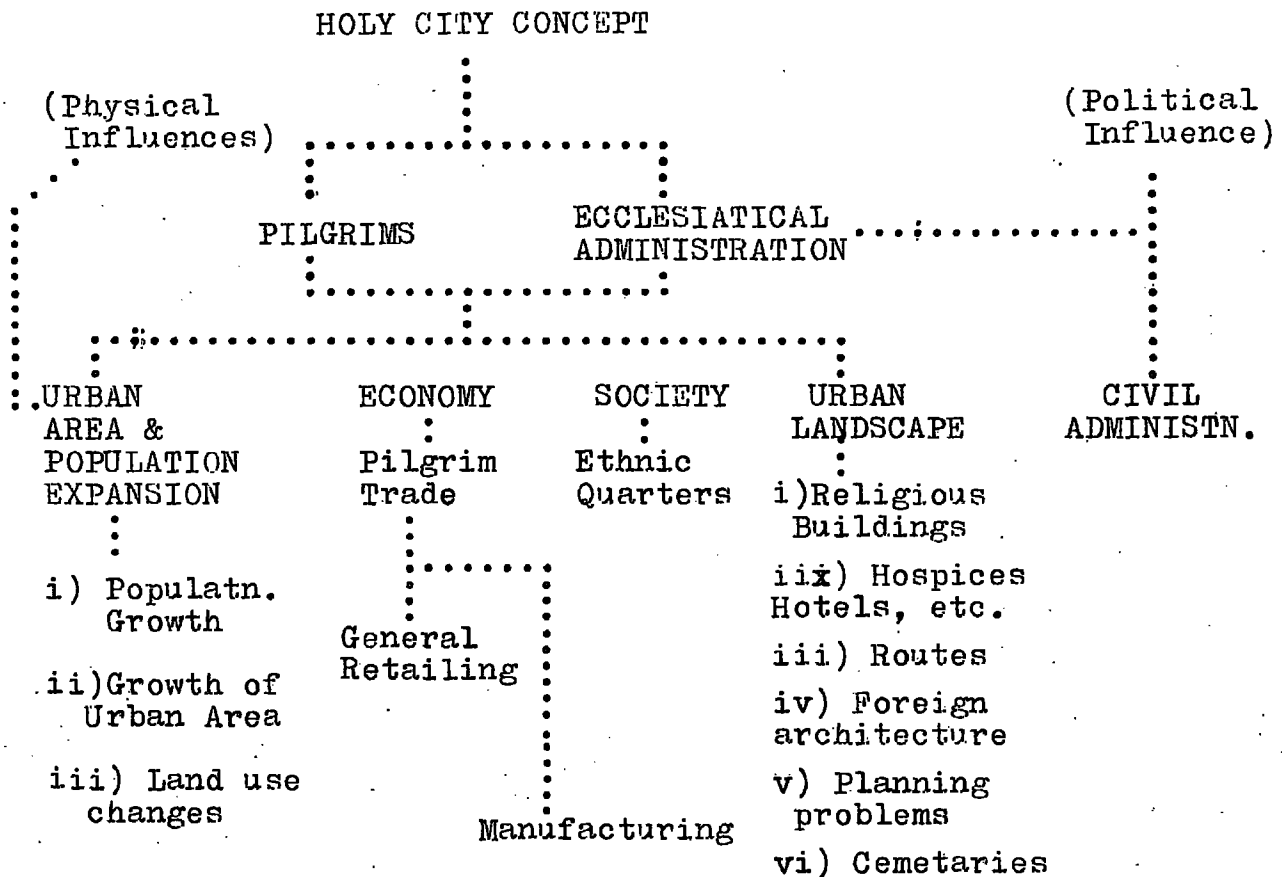
In conclusion one can see the strength of feeling for Jerusalem which is held by all three faiths and how the concept of 'holy city' works out in geographical terms as a spur to pilgrimage and a force behind commercial growth and building expansion.

Religious Belief and Urban Development

Having sketched briefly the main theological attitudes of the three faiths to Jerusalem and given some indication of their activities, it remains to outline the ways in which this concept of the sacredness of Jerusalem has worked itself out in geographical terms. This theme will be pursued in greater detail in subsequent chapters,=but for the moment an outline treatment will show how the varieties of religious belief and activity have produced the characteristic features of the geography of Jerusalem.

The concept of the sacredness of Jerusalem works into the geography of the city in the ways shown in the flow

diagram below:



The above diagram is of course very brief and omits for the sake of clarity a number of important items, but here general conditions are more important than detail which will follow later. It can be seen that here there are two main 'functions' which Jerusalem gains from being regarded as holy, i.e. the pilgrim activity and ecclesiastical administration. The latter is of only limited importance in the city and although the presence of high ranking ecclesiastics at certain times has no doubt aided the establishment of civil administration, with the period prior

to 1917 it has not been an important function. The presence of pilgrims has been of far greater importance, however. It can be seen from the diagram that they have influenced the geography of Jerusalem in four main ways:-

1) Urban Area and Population Growth

Of course, physical and commercial forces have also been at work here, but as will be shown in Chapters 10 and 11, the fluctuations in the urban area and in the city's population can be closely correlated with the fluctuations in the fortunes of the pilgrim activity. The main influences are in the growth of the city population, mainly by the acquisition of stranded pilgrims, and the attraction of religious communities and commercial interests serving the pilgrims; in the growth of the built-up area which of course has followed the growth in population, although much of the built-up area has always been covered by Churches, mosques and other public buildings; and finally in the detailed changes of land use, e.g. the conversion of arable land to monastic property or housing or, conversely, the reversion of built-up area to agricultural purposes. Christianity has been of greatest influence here because of the large building programmes of Byzantine, Crusader and late Ottoman periods and the large number of resident foreign communities. The Christian pilgrim activity has fluctuated widely over the centuries while Moslem and Jewish activity has been slower to change and more constant; hence the importance of Christian pilgrimages can be

seen by showing the relationship between the population and areal size of Jerusalem and the prosperity of the Christian pilgrim trade (see Chapters 6, 10 & 11).

2) Economic Development

Much of the economic development of Jerusalem is of course due to the commercial influences dealt with in the last chapter, but a high proportion of the economic prosperity of Jerusalem has its origin in the pilgrims. The pilgrim trade consists of holy sites, accommodation, the selling of souvenirs, guides, and many other activities (see Chapter 6) and these all have a feedback into the economy of the city. Thus the selling of souvenirs, after the 16th. Century, became a highly profitable activity and many families were employed in their manufacture. Similarly, the building trades have gained enormously from the construction of Churches, hospices and monasteries. There has also been a feeding of custom into the general market since the pilgrims and the resident communities of religious personnel - not to mention the guides, souvenir sellers, etc. - have to purchase food and clothing, and hence the function which Jerusalem has had of being a general market to surrounding villages has been augmented and the suq has developed distinctly larger than has that of, say, Hebron or Nablus, serving a similar rural area. Not only has the city thus gained functionally in this way, but in terms of land use also, for the suq has ~~extended~~ tended to migrate towards the Holy Sepulchre Church and the

pilgrim gates. Care must be taken, however, not to overlay the part of the pilgrims in the development of the economy.

3) Society

The urban society in Jerusalem is, of course, completely characterised by religious differences. Within the scope of geographical study, the main feature which has resulted from the presence of religion has been the quarter system. Not that this is unique to Jerusalem and it has in fact owed something to racial and linguistic differences as well as religion (see Chapter 13), but the different beliefs have had an effect. To take one example, the monophysite Christians have tended to band together under the protective arm of the large Armenian community, and solely on the basis of opposition to the Greek Orthodox and Latin Churches.

4) Urban Landscape

There are many features of the 'townscape' of Jerusalem which will be examined in the final section of this thesis, which owe much to the presence of the three religions. Most obvious, of course, is the presence of the large number of religious buildings. Here can be seen the impact of the presence of three faiths on the architectural appearance of the city. The large minarets and domes of Islam stand in marked ^acontrast to the low, humble (almost indistinguishable) architecture of the synagogues and the sloping roofs which the western Churches have introduced. The city has a far

larger ~~proportion~~ proportion of its area taken up with religious buildings than other towns in the area. Similarly, the hospices and khans show up in a larger than normal number and of varied architectural type. The khans and caravanserais of the Moslems and eastern Christians are distinct from the semi-monastic hospices (not to mention modern hotels) of the western Christians. The street pattern, has also showed some debt to religious processions. Although there has been little modification of the Roman pattern within the walls, the extra-mural tracks, especially those up the Mount of Olives, have been beaten down by centuries of use in Christian processions and the 'circle' of Jerusalem.

The presence of cemeteries is not a function solely of religious centres, but Jerusalem has a larger than normal share since members of all three faiths have desired to die in the city to be first to greet the returning God. Moslems in particular have favoured cemetery sites in the Kidron and so have the Jews. The Hinnom has had a bad reputation in the area (derived from Jewish repulsion at human sacrifices in it in Biblical times) and has thus not been so frequently used for burial.

The amazing architectural mosaic of the city (see p.236) can be classed as a product of the large number of different nations which have been interested in the city. Some of the buildings are very fine and in need of preservation, but this

can mitigate against public health and efficiency. Hence the great planning problem of Jerusalem - how to preserve its appearance for the pilgrims without allowing the city to ~~become~~ become a museum.²⁹ Building on the Mount of Olives tends to offend Christians and may spoil the attractiveness for Protestants; improvements in the Jewish Quarter offend the Jews; while great difficulty has been found over making improvements to Waqf property*.

This brief synopsis shows something of the variety of the influences which the sacredness of Jerusalem in men's minds has produced. The patterns vary between the faiths: Christians buy more souvenirs than Moslems and Jews and have more holy sites hence their influence is greater. On the other hand, the Moslems have the most prominent structure in the city, which dominates the whole landscape - the Dome of the Rock. The Jews, in need of security, have adopted in their traditional quarter only humble architectural forms and their religion does not allow either the multiplication of holy sites nor the collection of souvenirs. These features will be examined further in the next section, especially Chapter 6.

* Waqf is the term used to describe property under the ownership of the Moslems and designated to religious use. It is controlled by the Supreme Moslem Council which operates from an office near the Bab en Nazir at the northern end of the Haram enclosure.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL AND MILITARY INFLUENCES

The military influences and controls in urban development are generally glossed over or ignored in studies of present day cities, despite the fact that a large number of modern metropolises have grown from small forts or castles with defence as the major function. Security was very important in earlier times even for a city of primarily commercial function.¹ Administrative and political influences are more frequently dealt with.

The military influence on urban development in any city can vary in importance over time and show itself in many ways. Often a particular site will be easy to defend and so become a strong point, attracting settlers as well as soldiers and in this case the city rarely spread far from the safety of its hill-top, spur, or other defensive feature. Or the defensive function may be the result of proximity to a boundary which causes the government to build frontier fortresses around which towns may develop. This process can be seen in many places in Europe, especially in the Rhine valley. So site factors may provide a military function for a town and thus influence its growth in providing a small area of comparatively safe residence which was so important in times past when personal security

was small. This can also control the growth of the town, however, in that it tends to restrict building to an area within easy reach of the fortress of defensible hill top.

Political influences in urban development are generally recognised to be of more importance for the power and wealth of government is a tremendous stimulus to growth; the city where a king holds his court rarely failed to prosper. Even lesser administrative centres have benefitted from being the centre where taxes were collected, major markets held, and decisions made. In addition to specific influences, there have been of course, more general political controls which are unconnected with the city's site but rather with the fortunes of the area. Those countries which have frequently been racked by war or political change and uncertainty have rarely developed strong urban life for commerce is disrupted, villages destroyed and taxes are heavy. On the other hand an administrative town within a peaceful and strong empire can prosper considerably. So we see two types of political influence: the general stimulus (or otherwise) of the broader political conditions of the region; and the specific part which a city plays in regional administration.

Military Advantages of Jerusalem

There are three main aspects of the military advantages of Jerusalem:

a) In the first place there is the city's general position

in the centre of the Hill Country. Its centrality makes it important as a possible stronghold to police the hills and hence it has been used as a garrison by many of the rulers who have held it, particularly the Ottoman Turks. On the other hand it has held military advantages of a negative kind, i.e. as a point of defence in that its situation has removed it from the troubles which have afflicted towns along the Via Maris. Frequently, invading armies have either ignored the city or left its capture until the end of the campaign. The city has thus frequently been the last place in Palestine to succumb to an invading army. Both the Roman legions and the Crusader knights found the city hard to take. This general inaccessibility and the difficulties of reaching the city for a large army has been important for it has enabled the city to expand extra-murally when other towns in the area have not dared do so; on the other hand, even Jerusalem has for long periods been confined to behind its walls.

b) The other major advantage of Jerusalem has been in its site. It occupies one of the best defensive points in Palestine and in ancient times must have been almost impregnable. Some of its early inhabitants considered that the tribes of Israel stood no chance in capturing it:

And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame thou shalt not come in hither: thinking David cannot come in hither. (2 Sam. 6)

The original site of the city on the Ophel spur was indeed an excellent defensive point, especially once the difficulty of access to the spring at its foot was overcome. The original rock contours show that the steepness of the slope was such as in early times to make defence easy. Even to the north it appears that there was a shallow trench, and so with strong walls the spur could be defended, even against the might of the Assyrians.

As the city grew and eventually migrated further up the turonian spur, the Ophel settlement became more of a suburb and eventually after A.D. 70^{was} put to agricultural use. However, the steep valleys of the Kidron and Hinnom continued to give Jerusalem a good defensive position. Rarely has the city been successfully stormed. Omar took it because the inhabitants surrendered; similarly Saladin took it on surrender, while the inhabitants opened the gates for Allenby in 1917. This strong position has enabled the city to develop extra mural settlement especially to the south of the walls.

c) There is a third factor in considering defence. Jerusalem has been weak on the northern side and once the city had spread off Ophel, the need for strong northern walls became very apparent. There were three walls traceable in the 1st. Century A.D.³ about which there has been much controversy, but they show how essential it was that every suburban spread in this direction should be walled about as soon as possible. The walls to the north have suffered considerably

over the centuries and the present walls date largely from a major rebuilding programme under Soleiman the Magnificent in the 16th. Century.

Controls of the Military Advantage

The military considerations have exercised some control in the growth of the city. In Biblical times it clung with great tenacity to the Ophel ridge for even the city of Nehemiah was rebuilt there⁴ and only in the peaceful days of the early 1st. Century A.D. did the city spread out to any extent to the north and west. Defence was always difficult for the suburbs which grew west of the Temple enclosure and only other advantages ensured their continuance. The defensive advantages of Jerusalem have in many ways allowed it to grow in a freer atmosphere than with many of the cities of Palestine (e.g. Gaza) but have tended to confine it to the turonian spur. Only in times of prosperity and peace, such as the Byzantine era and the post-1917 period, has the city spread very far out of the walls, and this has been mainly to the north until the western suburbs were developed in the late 19th. Century. The Mount of Olives has always been hard to defend. Within the walls, insecurity of personal life and property had become such a problem by the early Middle Ages that the ethnic 'quarters' began to be formed. It is interesting that the area to the south of the walls has only recently been built on to any extent (apart from Byzantine times and the Latin settlement of Mt. Sion),

for it offers better protection than the north. However, commercial considerations and the presence of more suitable building land must have outweighed military considerations. Mount Sion was walled round for a time in the Middle Ages, though, the only post-Biblical walling not on the lines of the present walls.*

Political Considerations

Political influences of Jerusalem have been of two types. In the first place there have been the influences of external governments interested in the city for religious and/or prestige reasons and who have attempted to influence its affairs. Thus under Ottoman rule, as is well known, the degree of interference in the affairs of the city by Britain, France and Russia on behalf of their 'protected' communities became such as to render efficient government difficult. Similarly, the Crusades, are an example of external political influence which radically affected the geography and life of the city (see p. 198). Secondly, there have been the influences of internal state politics, i.e. the administrative functions of Jerusalem within the broader political unit of which it has formed a part. In this latter case, Jerusalem has not been to any great extent a political force nor has administrative function or political influence had any great effect upon the city's growth.

Of the external political influences, it must be

* There is some evidence for a shorter course of wall in the northeast angle in Crusader times.

remembered that these are themselves largely of a religious nature. Thus if Jerusalem had not been of such religious interest in Europe it is doubtful if the other motives attributed to the Crusaders would have induced them to venture so far from home. Similarly, the political pressure which the European powers exerted over the Ottoman Porte was to some extent religious in nature, although strong political motives were also present. These external political influences have been spasmodic, however, and have fluctuated according to the relative strengths of the ruling power in Palestine and the overseas governments concerned. Thus at times when Moslem power was weak, the Crusaders had success in invasion and later Britain, France and Russia were to hold sway over 'the sick man of Europe'; when European power has been strong, some measure of agreement between Moslems and Christians has been seen, as was the case in the time of Charlemagne. 5

The second part of the political life of Jerusalem has been its function as a minor administrative centre. As an administrative centre, however, Jerusalem has never been strong. It has certain advantages such as its centrality, the strong defensive position, etc., but it has also a number of disadvantages. Thus its difficulty of access is a disadvantage as the Israel government has found. Its mixture of creeds and races has meant that often 'native' groups have been in a minority in the city, and the internal

security has not always been good. The city is at a cross-roads, but not of important routes and its first period as a national capital, under David, was a result of its neutrality vis-a-vis the Israelite tribes.⁶ Eventually, religious associations made Jerusalem a 'natural' capital for the Jews but to the Romans it was always suspect and their capital was at Caesarea.⁷ After the founding of Aelia, the territory administered by Jerusalem shrank to a small section of the Hill Country from Anuatha Borcaeus to just north of Hebron.⁸ During Moslem times, the city never rose to prominence as an administrative centre being generally subject to Er-Ramleh or Lydda, which were far better situated on the Via Maris. In the 16th. Century, for instance, it was the centre of one of the four liwas into which Filastin was divided⁹. * Proximity to the bedouin and to Arabia proved severe handicaps to Jerusalem's aspirations to capital status.¹⁰ National capital status only came to Jerusalem twice in the post-Biblical era: in Crusader times and during the British Mandate period. The religious activities and the presence of religious leaders in the city has given it advantages, but in general the remoteness of the city and its susceptibility to tumult and disquiet discouraged rulers from placing it high as a political centre.

* A survey of the official correspondence between the Cadi of Jerusalem and the Sultan reveals the limitations in the range of action of the ruler of the city.

Influences of the Political Factors

Political factors have thus not been important in promoting urban growth to any extent. The external influences have helped to establish the foreign institutions but as an administrative centre the city has not been able to generate much employment or foster much development. It is in fact difficult to point to any period in its history prior to 1917 when administrative functions have promoted an extension of the urban area. Apart from the developments under Solomon and the Herods which were before the period concerned here, only the Crusader kingdom saw much in the nature of administrative functioning and it is somewhat doubtful whether the growth in that period can be attributed to royal administration and not to the pilgrims. Within the period which saw the formation of the present Old City, i.e. 132-1917, it can be said with some justification that Jerusalem never became a great administrative centre and the disadvantages of its position outweighed the centrality and other points in its favour. We must look for the growth of the city outside this particular field.

SECTION B

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE URBAN FUNCTIONS OF JERUSALEM

Following the above discussion of the forces involved in the development of Jerusalem, this section discusses the 'functions' of the city. The characteristics of the various functions are examined and a synopsis given of their growth up to the end of the Ottoman period.

CHAPTER 6

THE PILGRIM TRADE

Introduction

In examining the functional development of Jerusalem, the pilgrim/tourist trade must be dealt with first since it is the foundation stone, so to speak, of the whole economic structure of the Old City. The pilgrim activity permeates all other aspects of the economic and social life in the city. That this is such a vital trade can be shown most effectively by the poor state into which the city has sunk when pilgrims have been few, for example in the 18th. Century and early 19th. Century and also in 1968 with the uncertainties of the Middle East following the June 1967 War.¹ Ziadeh, in considering the city in Mamluk times (13th & 14th. centuries) writes:

Jerusalem had no other claim to existence during that period. No main-routes passed through it, no vital trades were practised in it. It had no water to satisfy the needs of its inhabitants. Jerusalem lived because it commanded reverence and because this brought to it resources that helped its people to live. 2

This was recognised even by governments hostile to the Christian and Jewish pilgrims, since the revenue which accrued to the city's inhabitants was considerable and a large proportion found its way into government hands via taxation.³ One Ottoman firman of 1584 bewailed that: "Monasteries and Churches are demolished and therefore pilgrims do not come any

more and the public revenue is losing money"⁴

Over the centuries, the number of pilgrims has varied greatly and this has been a major factor in making the trade and the prosperity of Jerusalem so uncertain. Although the precise number of pilgrims is of course unknown prior to the present century, from eye witness impressions and other evidence some idea of the relative numbers can be obtained. One method used here is that in Fig. 6, which shows plotted the number of pilgrim and travel accounts remaining from visitors to Jerusalem up to 1825. Of course, this method of estimating relative numbers has its defects. The fluctuation in number of accounts is governed not only by the number of travellers but also by the rate of survival of the works, the degree of literacy of the pilgrims and their readers, the progress in printing and publishing technology, etc. However, matched with other considerations and data from other sources, it does enable some approximation to be made to the fluctuations in pilgrim numbers. For instance the large increase at the time of the Crusades is distinctive and corroborated by contemporary accounts, although the Byzantine boom in the pilgrim trade does not really show up in Fig. 6 : we know of it from details in the accounts and from archaeological evidence, and contemporary histories. The decline immediately after the Crusades is borne out in Fig. 6 as is the increase in numbers from 1300 onwards,

Accounts

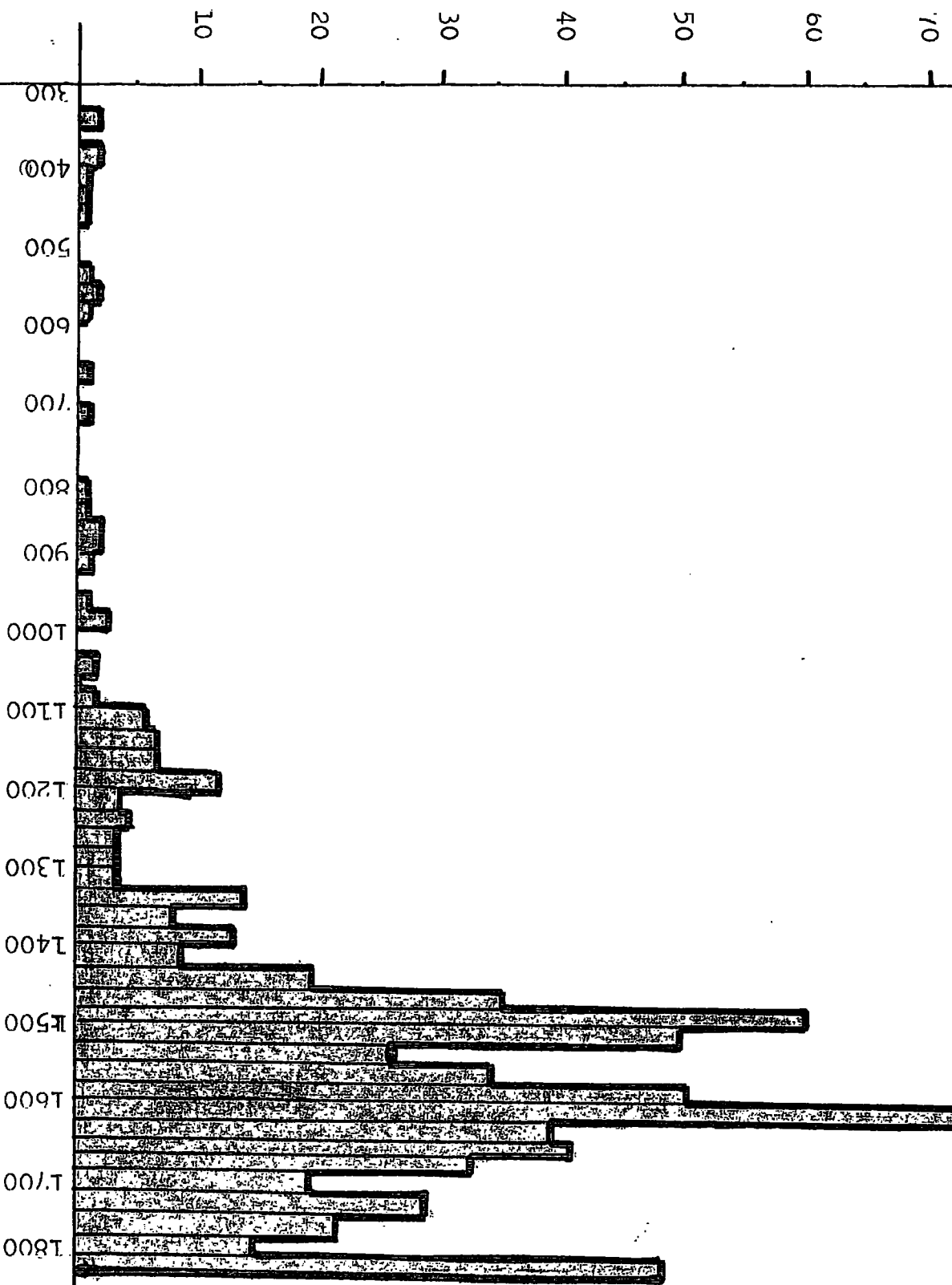


FIG. 6 NUMBER OF PILGRIM ACCOUNTS (After Bohemia)

although certainly the influence of the printing press and the better survival rate of late medieval literature can be seen operating here. Significant, however, are the drops in extant accounts for the 16th. Century, following the Ottoman conquest and the 18th. Century, so that from a peak of 77 accounts in the quarter-century 1600-25, there is a distinct fall to 15 accounts in the period 1775-1800. This markedly corroborates the accounts of Niebuhr, Maundrell and other writers of the mid-Ottoman period. More will be discussed of this matter when dealing with population growth in Section C (see pp. 217-18), but for the moment, it can be seen that there have been four main boom periods for the pilgrim trade in Jerusalem with slumps in between, the most notable being in the 18th. Century. The booms were:

1) Byzantine. Known from the descriptions of contemporaries and from archaeological evidence to the large numbers of Churches built.

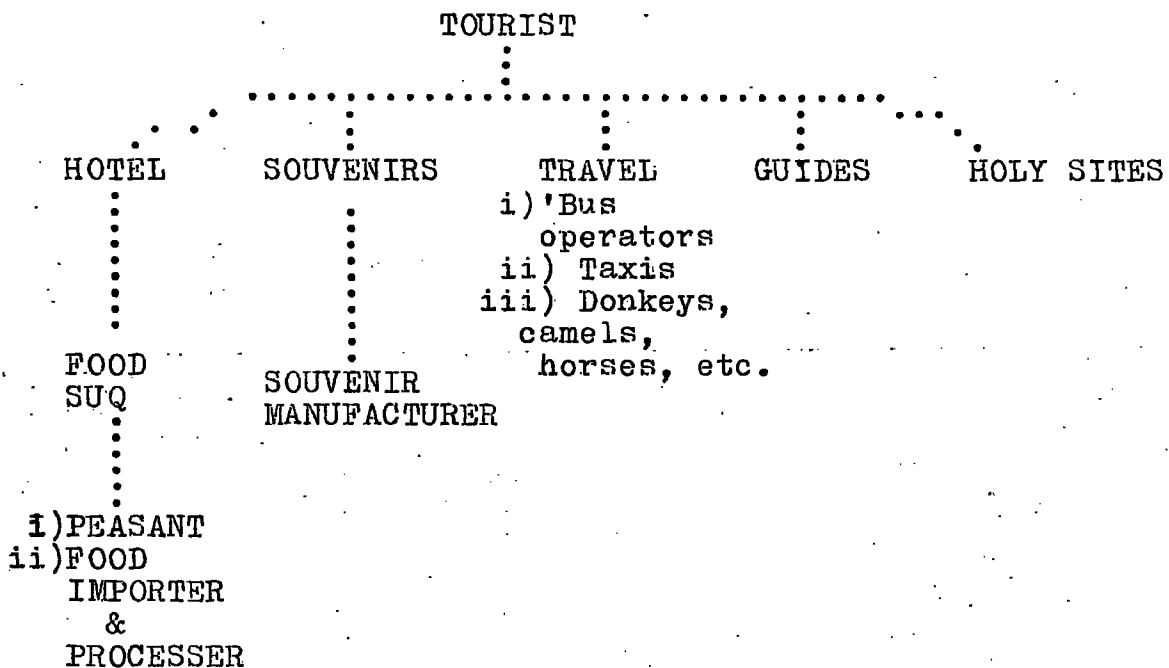
2) Crusader. Soon after the capture of Palestine by the Crusaders there was a short boom period documented at the time, but it soon declined as security decreased at the end of the 12th. Century.

3) Late medieval. The Mamluk period saw a revival in Christian pilgrimages as it became very popular for Latin Christians of the west, especially with the spur of indulgences, to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It ended with the 16th. Century.

4) There was a distinct increase in Protestant visitors to Palestine in the 17th. Century which accounts for the large number of travel accounts then, but the fourth real boom came after 1850 with the beginning of the present pilgrim trade. Numbers eventually grew to 250,000 per annum by the 1960s.

Economics of the Pilgrim Trade

In discussing the economic aspects of the pilgrim trade, the flow diagram below might be useful:



The flow diagram represents the flow of money into the economy of the city from the visiting pilgrim. Thus he pays for accommodation at hospice, khan or (now) hotel. Much of this

finds its way into the food market and via the retailer to the ~~peasant~~ peasant who produces the food or the wholesaler or processor (e.g. baker). Similar chains can be seen for souvenir selling and other activities. In addition, and not shown in the diagram money flows from nearly all sources into government finance departments and also into the building industry.

The proportions of money are not given in the diagram because they vary over time, and also between religious groups.

1) Over Time. In Byzantine and to some extent Crusader times, it seems that the major expenditure in the city was on hospice accommodation (travel to Jerusalem being excluded), with smaller spending on 'relics' and local travel. Under Moslem rule, hospice accommodation was generally cheap but for the Christian or Jewish pilgrim large expenses were incurred in taxation, visits to holy sites and the procurement of guides. For the 'modern' pilgrim, the holy sites have become largely free and the largest proportion of expenditure is in hospice/hotel bills followed closely by souvenirs (see ~~xxx~~ below p.133).

2) Between Religious Groups. As noted in Chapter 4, the attitude of the religious groups to Jerusalem differs and so therefore does the pattern of their pilgrim activity. The Moslem rarely had to pay the exorbitant taxes and tolls which the dhimmis had to meet, neither were his holy/sites

so numerous or expensive (in fact they were free). Consequently he spent much more proportionally on accommodation. The Jew also had fewer holy sites than the Christian but suffered tolls and indignities under both Moslem and Christian rule. Even the Christian denominations had different expenditures, the native Christians and visiting Greeks and Copts generally (although not always) faring better in regard to tolls than the hated Frank. They seem also to have spent less than western Christians on souvenirs, because in all probability Jerusalem was more familiar to them and more part of their world, therefore native olive wood objects or pieces of earth meant less to them; also they seem to have been generally poorer than the western Christians.

One fact remains clear, however, and that is that the greatest influence on the economy of the city was exercised by the 'Frank' or Latin pilgrims both in the Middle Ages and in the Ottoman period for since the time of Charlemagne they have been the greatest in numbers and above all they have brought most money. Certainly by the time we obtain accurate information on the pilgrim trade (from c.1500), the Franks are the dominant group.

The financial aspects of the pilgrimage to the Holy City must now be examined in more detail in order to see where the money has gone and so which sectors of the economy have benefitted most. The expenses of the Byzantine pilgrim are not known in detail but the ~~hospices~~ hospices such as that of

Justinian must have figured large in his accounts⁵ and there was at the time a considerable profit being made from the sale of 'relics' (see p.134)⁶. The 'fleecing' of pilgrims⁷ increased with the coming of Moslem rule and was a considerable source of revenue for the local inhabitants and also the government. All Christians, native and foreign, were taxed in the early 11th. Century and the pilgrims had to pay a piece of gold on entry into Jerusalem.⁸ During Crusader rule, of course, this taxation ceased, but there was still the expense of hospice accommodation, the purchase of 'relics' the expense of travel in the area and the great risk of loss of life at times from military skirmishes.

After the return of the Moslems to the city, the Christians had to pay for admission to holy sites, although any discouragement to them was probably offset in terms of the city's economy by the return of Moslem pilgrims. The Christian had to face many new financial problems in the early 13th. Century as the anonymous author of the 'Citez de Jherusalem' relates:

But understand well, that of the Christian pilgrims who wished to go to the Sepulchre and the other holy places, the Saracens exacted great bargains, gifts and services. The Saracens charged them each for 30 bezants. But they afterwards excommunicated all the Christians who gave hire money, service, bargains and ransoms in order to visit the sacred places; wherefore the Saracens did not receive as much as they were wont. 9

Of Arab writers, Ibn Batutah said that with reference to

the Holy Sepulchre, "on every pilgrim who makes his visitation to this church a certain tribute is levied for the benefit of the Muslims...."¹⁰

From Niccolo of Poggibonsi we learn more of the expenditures of the medieval pilgrims and it is nearly all in taxes, tribute or admission money. Thus 72 dirhams (4 florins)* had to be paid as a per capita tax to the Sultan.¹¹ At the Holy Sepulchre Church, payment was necessary and also at the Tomb of Mary of Egypt, where 12 denarii were paid. Incidentally, it also cost 4 florins in tolls to go to Damascus via Samaria, i.e. the equivalent of the tribute.¹² As in the case of the author of the 'Citez', Niccolo notes that the Pope became concerned about the amount of money which was being given to the Moslems as a result of the pilgrimages and tried to ban them without special licence.¹³ Other charges included 1 Venetian penny for admission to the Church on the site of Jerome's monastery,¹⁴ 6 ducats for first entry to the Holy Sepulchre, with 4 dirhams for each subsequent visit.¹⁵ The system here seems to have been efficient, for according to Gucci, pilgrims were registered according to their hair and other characteristics.¹⁶ Entry to Bethlehem cost as much as 24 ducats in the 15th. Century.¹⁷ Felix Fabri gives us some indication, however, that the

* For money and other measure equivalents see Appendix 3 at end of Volume I

Moslems learned to charge what the market would stand for the pilgrims were not prepared to pay more than a site was worth. He tells how in his day there was a legend that the keeper of the Virgin's Tomb had attempted to raise the price of admission to 3 ducats, but the pilgrims refused to pay and did not visit the place. The result was that it became unprofitable and by Fabri's time admission was free.¹⁸

In general, the expenses paid by Christian pilgrims to the Moslems were considerable in the Middle Ages and especially towards the end of the Arab period. Extortion was widespread as Suriano relates,¹⁹ and money often stolen as well as taken legally. The Jews also suffered from the taxation and extortion, but the Christians - especially the Latins - seem to have been special targets, having both wealth of numbers and wealth in hard cash. The expenses of pilgrims at the end of the 15th. Century are given by Suriano and although they include travelling expenses to Jerusalem are worth quoting in full.

Sultan's Tribute.....	7 ducats 17 grossi
Interpreter of Sultan.....	1 ducat
Keeper at door of Holy Sepulchre.....	23½ grossi
For mounts.....	3 ducats
For 6 places.....	1 grossi each
For guardians on the road.....	1 grossi each place
For house in Ramleh.....	4 grossi
For marine guards.....	1 grosso

For the lord of Ramleh.....3 grossi

For the lord of St. George's.....1 grosso

It is interesting that there had been some decline in the prices in terms of nominal currency since the century before. The largest expenses were in Sultan's tribute, including interpreter, followed by transport. Holy site costs were considerably less than these and no mention is made of accommodation costs in Jerusalem so Suriano must have considered these negligible (see further p.1284). In other words, within Jerusalem, the pilgrim expenses were nearly all paid into government hands or to the keepers of holy sites. Medieval Arab writers leave us very little data on their expenses so that one is forced to conclude that apart from accommodation their outgoings were small - there would probably be no tribute and no payment for entry to the Haram.

In the Ottoman period, the amount of money extracted from pilgrims fell in total with the decline in the numbers coming from western Europe (p.91 above; Section C below). The effects of the Reformation and the Renaissance together with the wars in Europe and the uncertainty of travel, not to mention the fearsome (and perhaps overexaggerated) image of the Turks, greatly curtailed pilgrim activity, although there were a number of explorers and traders writing accounts. Bernardino Amico at the end of the 16th. Century found that the local inhabitants of Jerusalem were in the

habit of inventing legends in order to procure money from pilgrims,²⁰ extortion was widespread²¹ and there were taxes and impositions on the friars who ~~had~~^{had} previously been treated rather leniently.²² By the early 19th. Century, even the monasteries were competing for the custom of the pilgrims²³ and Maundrell tells us of the road tolls to be paid to get to Jerusalem. It appears that the 'Franks' were treated worse than the Moslems and native Christians in this respect.²⁴ The price of entry to the Holy Sepulchre varied, according to Maundrell, depending on nationality and rank. It was usually \$ 14 per head for Franks (\$ 7 for clerics) and entitled the pilgrim to as many visits as he liked.²⁵ The Turks, however, were exacting large sums in rent and taxes from the resident communities and driving many out²⁶ and even the Armenians who were among the richest groups of the population, were in debt. Niebuhr the Danish traveller, regarded the local inhabitants in the same light as Maundrell, noting the tolls and exactions and commenting: ".....dass in Palastina jetz die allerschlechteste Menschen=Race wohne."²⁷ There were numerous tolls exacted by the Turks on dhimmis and pilgrims²⁸ to the extent that the Russian government stepped in to give state aid to its pilgrims²⁹. An accurate 19th. Century traveller, Bartlett, notes that the Sultan's representative camped outside the city at certain times to collect pilgrims dues.³⁰ Most of the money spent by the pilgrim in Moslem times thus went to the government, and to judge by Bartlett's

observation, a large part went direct to central government coffers rather than to the city administration. The Christian, Jewish and Moslem resident communities thus gained little of the total pilgrim wealth which flowed in from overseas, apart from the profits of the hospices and khans (which did not bring in a large ~~xxx~~ return) and the sale of souvenirs. The Latins did manage to gain some 'free' money by the 'sale' of the knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre available in the early 19th. Century at 100 sequins.³¹

In the present century, the expenditure pattern has changed, for during the closing years of the Ottoman rule and the Mandate period, nearly all charges for admission to holy sites were done away with as were most of the taxes and tolls. At present, only the Haram area (free to Moslems), the Church of St. Mary Magdalene and Lazarus's Tomb are charged entries although 'unofficial' fees are sometimes charged by local residents at the Virgin's Fountain and other public sites. The greatest expenditure now is on hotel bill and souvenirs, which include a large number of colour transparencies. Thus from investigations in 1968, it appears that the average western tourist spends in Israel (about $\frac{2}{3}$ of it is spent in Jerusalem), the following amounts:

Travel to Israel.....	£ 50
Hotels.....	£ 30
Souvenirs.....	£ 15
Internal Travel.....	£ 3
Guides.....	£ 2

Holy Sites.....negligible

TOTAL £ 100

(This is a rounded-up average for a package tour. For details of the survey see Appendix 2)

This offers an obvious contrast with the medieval pattern, when taxation and holy site admission were the prime items. Hence the difference in geographical impact. The compilation of accurate figures for earlier days is not easy, but Volney (1788) informs us that the total pilgrim expenditure in Jerusalem per annum was about £ 62,500 of which part was paid to merchants for 'necessaries', part to the governor and officials and part to convents. 32

This brief analysis of the financial aspects of the pilgrim trade brings out certain points of geographical significance:-

1) The input into the economy of Jerusalem via pilgrimages has generally been less than it might, because of the high level of direct taxation from central governments. Some of this toll money was spent on building or other government activities but most was sent to the central government less various percentages for collection, or directly into the local governor's pocket. In addition the local governor could obtain personal money by judging quarrels, payment for the privilege of holding processions, and the gains in the competition between the communities for rights at holy sites. 33

2) The holy sites have generally been the main beneficiaries of the pilgrim trade, looking back over 1700 years of activity. The gains to be made from the ownership of a holy site not only produced community quarrels but encouraged the proliferation of such sites. Thus in times of large pilgrim numbers, the number of holy sites has increased; but when pilgrims have been few and therefore the profits low, real estate investment has found other outlets.

3) The hospice/ hotel sector has only been financially important in recent decades; hence while pilgrim numbers now probably are no more than in Byzantine times or during the most active years of medieval pilgrimage, the number of accommodation houses is far greater, since under modern conditions this item takes a larger amount of money off the visitor than did the monastic hospices and Arab khans of the Middle Ages.

4) Souvenir selling and manufacture has grown steadily. Although, until recently, it has not received a large percentage of pilgrim expenditure, profits are high per item and capital expenses low (c.f. accommodation sector): hence many have been able to engage in this activity.

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Sectors of the Pilgrim Trade

The main sectors of the pilgrim trade will now be given more detailed treatment and the points mentioned above brought out.

1) Holy Sites

The most important architectural features of the Old City and its immediate surroundings have always been the holy sites, or to be more accurate, the edifices built over them. These sites have fluctuated in number and character over the centuries in response to changing demand, and the activities in and around them have changed according to the beliefs of the religious group owning them or the volume of the pilgrim trade. The holy sites and the buildings over them have been important as foci in the morphological development of the city (see Ch. 12 & 13), major contributors to the urban landscape, and also as economic factors. The constant need to repair these buildings because of earthquake damage, war, fire, etc., as well as the building booms which characterised the city in the 4th-6th., 12th., and 19th.-20th. centuries have absorbed much income and drawn into the city's economy finance from overseas as gifts, which has been used to purchase materials, employ labour, etc. If there is any doubt that this is not an important economic factor, it could be recalled that the governors of Mexico in the 16th. Century complained loudly about the diversion of native labour from the mundane 'productive' work to the building of a large number of Churches.³⁴ ~~Continued~~

The geographical importance of ~~the~~ pilgrim shrines and the circulation of the pilgrims between them has been shown by David Sopher in his work on pilgrim circulation among the Hindus of northern India.³⁵ On a smaller geographical scale, Jerusalem also shows a variety in importance of particular shrines and changes in their number over time. Some have always attracted large numbers of pilgrims perhaps from all three major faiths involved; others have had just a sporadic period of popularity to later sink into oblivion. The authenticity of the sites has little to do with this variation, but rather it is their theological significance in so far as they represent specific events or personages of importance. The table below shows the main holy sites in existence at ~~XXXX~~ present (nearly all were also in existence in 1917), and it can be seen that authenticity is not a prime consideration. The Holy Sepulchre/Calvary basilica is not of very high authenticity at all yet has persisted as the prime Christian shrine; the Tomb of the Virgin, perhaps the most continuous shrine in the city - certainly in architectural terms - is probably based only on pious legend.

Authenticity of Holy Sites

- A. HIGH PROBABILITY:
1. Haram area as site of Temple [®]
 2. Wailing Wall as part of Herod's Temple
 3. Gethsemane
 4. Pool of Siloam
 5. Virgin's Fount as Gihon

- B) PROBABLE
1. St. Peter in Gallicantu
 2. Sisters of Zion pavement
 3. St. Anne's pools as Bethesda
 4. N.W. corner of Haram as Antonia
- C. PROBABLE AREA
1. Ascension Place
 2. Dominus Flevit
 3. Grotto of Agony
 4. Upper Room (Dormition)
- D POSSIBLE
1. Calvary & Holy Sepulchre
 2. David's Tomb
 3. St. Mark's
 4. Viri Galilaei
- E DOUBTFUL
1. Garden Tomb
 2. Lazarus's Tomb
 3. St. Anne's as house of Anne
 4. St. Stephen's
- F APOCRYPHAL
1. Church of Invention of Cross
 2. Church of Holy Cross
 3. Footprint of Christ
 4. Virgin's Tomb *
 5. Jeremiah's Grotto

① The authenticity of the Dome of the Rock as the place of the Jewish high altar is accepted as practically certain by nearly all scholars. Similarly the stones in the Wailing Wall are almost certainly from Herod's Temple.

* On account of its ancient origin and long history, some might give the Virgin's Tomb a higher ranking than this.

i) Growth of Holy Sites

The growth of the holy sites has been sporadic and in fact there are now fewer than in the Middle Ages. Reference to the land use maps in Volume II will indicate this. In times of large numbers of pilgrims, there has been a tendency to produce holy sites of doubtful or even apocryphal authenticity or just to commemorate a Biblical event. This applies to both Christian and Jewish sites; Moslem sites ~~have~~ have in general grown more slowly and more evenly, commemorating holy men: a large number of them are of local importance only and do not enter into the itinerary of visiting Moslem pilgrims. In general it will be seen that the numbers of sites has reflected the numbers of pilgrims as indicated above (p.90ff).

The first rapid growth of holy sites which is recorded was in Byzantine times when the pagan temples to Jupiter and Venus were replaced by Christian shrines. The Bordeaux pilgrim lists the following nine holy sites:

1. Pool of Bethesda
2. Siloa Pool
3. House of Pontius Pilate
4. 'little Mount Golgotha'
5. Basilica on the Mount of Olives (Ascension?)
6. House of Hezekiah
7. Wailing Wall
8. Lazarus's Tomb
9. Mount Sion pointed out but apparently not then built-up.

To these Jerome adds the tombs of Helena and Rachel. Note that the Jews had a 'wailing place' for there had been some resettlement after A.D. 132 in the district and they were

allowed into the city officially in the 5th. Century.³⁶ Not long after the Bordeaux Pilgrim's visit in A.D. 333, the letter of Paula and Eustochium speaks of "so many places of prayer in the city itself that one day cannot suffice for visiting them all"³⁷ Eucherius in the 5th. Century mentions monks' cells on Mount Sion and as holy places the following:

1. Basilica or Martyrium (Holy Sepulchre)
2. Golgotha
3. Anastasis
4. Temple
5. Bethesda Pools
6. Siloa Pool
7. Two Churches on the Mount of Olives.

This is probably not a complete list but it seems that with the increases in numbers visiting the city, new places were being added to the 4th. Century lists. By the 6th. Century, this Byzantine wave seems to have reached its peak and Antoninus Martyr records a large number of holy sites, many of which were in all probability of doubtful authenticity. His list is:

1. Tomb of Lazarus
2. Cell of St. Pelagia
3. Tomb of James and Cleophas
4. Place of Betrayal
5. Basilica of Mary (Virgin's Tomb)
6. Olive tree where Judas hanged himself
- * 7. Holy Sepulchre
- * 8. Golgotha
9. Place of discovery of the Cross
10. Tower of David
11. Basilica of Holy Sion with pillar of scourging, etc.
12. Basilica of Blessed Mary (Justinian's Church on site of al-Aqsa mosque)
13. Praetorium
14. Basilica of St. Sophia
15. Seat of Pilate

16. Church at Siloam
17. Tomb of Stephen
18. Tomb of St. Isitius
19. Rachel's Tomb

(* The sites of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre were separate buildings until Crusader times)

So it can be seen that there was a great increase in the number of holy sites in the 6th. Century and most of them had an edifice over them thus making a considerable impact on the landscape as well as the life and economy of Jerusalem. The relatively secure conditions of the time allowed a growth of Church building even outside the city walls - which were extended - and the pilgrims were arriving in sufficient numbers to warrant these holy places. Royal and noble patronage enabled many of the basilicas to be built. Whether there is any locational principle^{le} behind the location of these Churches is doubtful (see Ch. 12) but they just seem to have arisen to enable pilgrims to see Bible places and receive spiritual benefit therefrom (see p. 64). Theodorus who was contemporary with Antoninus Martyr noted up to 24 Churches on the Mount of Olives alone³⁸ so the increase under the patronage of Justinian and other rulers was considerable and the city must have been almost dominated by Churches.³⁹

With the Moslem conquest in 670, the third faith was added to the two existing in Jerusalem. Immediately on entry, the Moslem commander, Omar, had a mosque built over the site of the old Temple, then a dung heap.⁴⁰ Abd al-Malik later had

the Dome of the Rock constructed and the Aqsa mosque was built on the remains of the Church of Justinian. As the Moslem faith became established in the area, so lesser shrines and mosques were constructed usually celebrating the tombs of well-known holy men (see p. 69) or even as Tewfik Canaan suggested, preserving the identity of ancient hill-top sites which had persisted since pre-Roman days.⁴¹

Although no longer in the secure position they formerly held, the Christian pilgrims continued to come to Jerusalem in large numbers⁴² for the tolerance of the Ommayads was well known. When the troubles with the Abbasid accession to power arrived, the pilgrims faced difficulties which were partly alleviated by the actions of Charlemagne. The Churches at this time were still numerous. The *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* listed the Churches and their incumbents for the benefit of Charlemagne and it is significant that although the number of Churches on the Mount of Olives, for example, was nowhere near the 24 of Theodorus, it was still large. The text reads:

In sancto monte Oliveti ecclesia 3; una Ascensio Domini inter presbyteros et clericos 3, alia, ubi docuit discipulos suos Christus, ubi sunt monachi 3, presbyter 1, tertia in honore sancte Marie, clericici 2, inclusi, qui sedent per cellulas eorum, qui Greca lingua psallent 11, Georgiani 4, Syriani 6, Armeni 2, Latini 5, qui Saracenicam lingua psallent, 1. Juxta illam scalam, quando subis in montem Sanctum, inclusi, 2; unus Grecus, alter Syrus; ad Summam scalam in Gethsemane inclusi 3, Greca et Syrus et Georgianus. 43

Not only were there still Churches but a variety of nations

using them. In fact earthquakes proved more of a danger to the Churches than the Moslems did at this time⁴⁴ and apart from the destructive zeal of Hakem, the authorities generally did ~~xxx~~ little to discourage the pilgrims from the west and although economic conditions in the Byzantine world did not prove now so favourable to pilgrimages, there were still a number of eastern communities in the city as the list shows.

However, Bernard the Wise (c. 867) found fewer Churches than in Byzantine times and dues were now being levied and passes needed.⁴⁵ Imprisonment awaited the pilgrim who could not pay the dues or committed irregularities, and hence the trade found little encouragement. Numbers of pilgrims seem definitely smaller now and so, according to Bernard was the number of Churches. He lists the following, showing a distinct decline from the time of Antoninus Martyr:-

1. Church in honour of Mary (Latine)
2. Calvary
3. Church to south of Calvary
4. Sepulchre
5. Church of St. Simeon (Mt. Sion)
6. St. Stephen's
7. St. Peter in Gallicantu
8. Church of St. Leon in Kidron valley
9. Lazarus's Church

The locational aspects of this decline are discussed in Chapter 12, but it is worth noting here the drastic cut in the number of operational holy sites.

In the late 10th. Century, Jerusalem's pilgrim trade received a boost from two quarters, Moslem and Christian.

For the Moslems, Jerusalem temporarily replaced Mecca as the centre of the Hadj, for the Qarmatian sect was making the journey to Mecca very dangerous.⁴⁶ This greatly increased the number of Moslem Arabs in the city's population and the authorities began ~~to~~ actively^{to} encourage Moslem pilgrimages to Jerusalem and take an interest in its holy places. Mūkaddasi⁴⁷ writes of the numerous holy places - presumably Moslem - in the city and above all of the great importance of the Aqsa mosque. Outside the Haram enclosure, however, the Moslem holy sites were mainly tombs and natural features rather than mosques or prayer places. Nasir-i-Khusrau reported that in some years there were 20,000 people present in the city on the first days of the hadj⁴⁸ and there was a general revived interest by Moslems in the city and its sites, mainly the Dome of the Rock, Al-Aqsa, and other sites within the Haram.

In addition there was a revival of Christian pilgrimages from western Europe probably as a result of the idea then current that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent⁴⁹ and many pilgrims were anxious to die in the city. This is important because it shows that the interest in Jerusalem and the revival of pilgrimages thereto, preceded the Crusades and was not a result of them; it was also due to movements in Christian theology, not the attitude of the Moslems necessarily. In many respects, however, the revived interest of both Christians and Moslems in the city and the general unrest in

the Middle East at that time⁵⁰ were largely contributory to bringing the Crusades about.

Under the Latin Kingdom, the number of Christian pilgrims and the number of holy sites both increased again. Thus Saewulf at the beginning of the period lists 11 holy places and mentions 'many chapels and holy places on Olivet' thus indicating a revival of edifices outside the city walls. The increase is further documented by the Abbot Daniel, who visited Jerusalem in 1106-7 and his *lita* shows just how rapidly the number of holy places increased after the Crusader capture of the city in 1099 and the arrival of the enthusiastic pilgrims and knights. He noted in all:

1. St. Stephen's
2. Gehenna
3. House of David
4. Church of Resurrection
5. Calvary, Compass (*), Abraham's Altar, etc.
6. House of Uriah
7. Place of Finding of Cross
8. Jeremiah's Pit
9. Enclosure of Judas and that of Apostle Paul
10. Sheep Pool
11. House of St. Joachim & Anna
12. Lazarus's Tomb
13. Solomon's House
14. Church in Bethany
15. Tower 'where Martha met Jesus and Jesus mounted ass'
16. Place of Betrayal
17. Tomb of Jehosaphat
18. Sepulchre of St. James
19. Pater Noster
20. Place of Ascension
21. Pool of Siloam
22. House of St. John the Evangelist (Upper Room)
23. Church of Sion
24. House of Caiaphas
25. St. Peter in Gallicantu
26. Potter's Field
27. Rachel's Tomb

* i.e. the Compass of the World (centre of earth) in Holy Sepulchre

It is interesting to note that as numbers increased, so did the number of obviously fictitious sites such as 'Uriah's House' and 'Jeremiah's Pit'. There seems to have been a desire to locate every spot mentioned in the Bible at all costs. Theodorich (1172) gives a similar list but adds 'Peter's Prison', a 'Judgement Hall on Mount Sion' and a 'Cistern where Joseph was thrown'. In other words there was a very rapid increase in the number of holy sites at the beginning of the Crusader period, taking advantage of the temporarily securer conditions, and influenced by the first wave of enthusiasm. Buildings and sites appeared outside the walls on a large scale. However, as the flow of pilgrims stabilised so did the number of holy sites and there was not a great rise in the 12th. Century. By the time the Moslems recaptured ^hthe city, in fact, it appears that some rationalisation had taken place and the numbers had ^{been} curtailed somewhat. Thus the 'Citez' lists only 21 holy places with several of the more fictitious ones excluded. The return of the Moslems saw the reconstruction of the Haram buildings and also some mosque building, for the Moslems, as in the case of Christians, could obtain merit in Heaven for construction of holy places. Thus Besant and Palmer wrote:

While all Muslims are enjoined to visit Mecca, they are recommended to go to Jerusalem. Plenary indulgence and future rewards are promised to those who visit the holy city, and the effect of all prayers, and the reward of all punishment of good or evil works are doubled therein. Such as are unable to accomplish the journey may send

oil to furnish a lamp, and as long as it burns the angels in the place will pray for the sender. As for those who build, repair, or endow any portion of the Mosque, they will enjoy prolonged life and increased wealth on earth, as well as a reward in heaven. The Roman Church is not singularly in its successful dealing with rich and moribund sinners. 51

Hence the motives were strong and the numbers of pilgrims and holy places of Moslem origin were increased. Similarly, the eastern Christians who ^{had} ~~had~~ not enjoyed much favour from the Franks, benefitted from the return. The Latins were the main losers, as might be expected, and the number of their holy places decreased often at the ~~expense~~ hands of possessive Moslems or Greeks. The Holy Sepulchre received some damage in the actual conquest and some Churches were taken over by the Moslems as mosques⁵² and the Latin patriarchal palace became a mosque in memory of Saladin (now Al Kanqeh). While pilgrims still came from the west, their numbers were less and their Churches declined in number: thus the Frank from now on had an ever lessening architectural impact on the city. Ludolph von Suchem in 1350 noted only the following places:

1. Holy Sepulchre (now included Calvary, etc.)
2. Mount Sion
3. Siloam
4. Three Churches at Bethany

The Haram area was closed to Christians and St. Anne's was now a mosque (again of Saladin's memory). Moslems also frequented the Virgin's Tomb and the Mosque of Omar opposite the Holy Sepulchre was built and noted by pilgrims.⁵³ The Christian

holy places, particularly the Latin ones, began to show a rationalisation and there was also a decline in the number of Churches above them. Many places now became open sites and there was particularly a retreat from the Mount of Olives in this respect; by the 14th. Century most Church buildings were within the safe confines of the city walls. These points are shown illustrated in the following list of sites mentioned by Frescobaldi (1384):-

1. Tomb of Rachel
2. Tower of Elias
3. Holy Sepulchre
4. Church of the Rich Man and Lazarus
5. House of Pilate (closed to Christians)
6. Temple (closed to Christians)
7. St. Anne's (birth place of virgin)
8. Stone of Stephen
9. Tomb of Virgin
10. Footprint of Christ
11. Pater Noster place
12. Cave of St. James
13. St. Mary of Egypt
14. Pool of Siloam
15. St. Peter in Gallicantu
16. David's Tomb
17. Tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon
18. House of Martha
19. Tomb of Lazarus - a mosque

It is worth emphasising that this tendency now set in for the number of Churches to decline even though there were still a large number of Christian holy 'places'. John Poloner (1421) notes few Churches but rather places and this became the pattern for the Christian sites. Felix Fabri shows a pronounced concentration of activity which was characteristic of this ~~xx~~ era, on the Holy Sepulchre chapels; this contrasts

Fig. 7

JERUSALEM : INDULGENCES OF 14th. CENTURY



markedly with the widespread activity of Byzantine and Crusader times when Jerusalem's pilgrims seemed to range freely all the way out to Bethany.⁵⁴ Suriano, at the end of the Arab period, notes for instance 21 places on the Mount of Olives but only two Churches (St. Pelagia and Church of the Creed). On Mount Sion there were also 21 places but only 4 Churches - one an oratory only - so while the pilgrims still came as shown in the accounts of d'Anglure and de Caumont⁵⁵ the Jerusalem that they saw was less influenced by western Christianity in its outward appearance than had been the case a few centuries earlier. The centres of Christian activity were the Holy Sepulchre and open caves, 'stones', 'places', 'fields', etc. Jerusalem was becoming a Moslem holy city having lost its Greek flavour in the 7th. Century and its Latin character in the 13th.

The Jews also had little architectural impact upon this Jerusalem through holy places. Under the Crusaders there had been some resettlement in the city⁵⁶ and the community and numbers of pilgrims continued to grow slowly. Some synagogues were built such as the original Hurva synagogue. A Jewish account of the 13th. Century in fact, shows how little control there was then on the building of such edifices. Rabbi Moses Ben Nahum "found a ruined house with handsome marble pillars, which we converted into a synagogue for the city is at the disposal of anybody - no one in particular being able to lay claim to it"⁵⁷ This

state of freedom appears to have been a rare occurrence and only led to riot and disorder. In general throughout the later Arab period, Christian and Jewish holy sites were generally open rather than enclosed and were not widespread.

The Ottoman Turks did not improve the situation. Devastation was widespread and many Churches and convents were destroyed in the 16th, Century⁵⁸. A Russian merchant, Basil Posniakov noted that the Tomb of the Virgin and the Chapel of the Ascension were sealed by the Turks and the latter in a ruinous state⁵⁹ while Caiaphas's House was uninhabited at that time.⁶⁰ However, by 1600, access had been obtained to the Tomb of the Virgin.⁶¹ Bernardino Amico notes an interesting cause which contributed to the decline in the number of Christian edifices. Many pilgrims began to query the authenticity of some of the holy sites, especially the Holy Sepulchre⁶² and the Latins used a tomb on the Mount of Offence to show what the original tomb of Christ was like⁶³ a forerunner of the Garden Tomb. In ~~1552~~ 1552 the Latins were finally ejected from their holdings on Mount Sion (after being driven out twice earlier) and the Coenaculum area became a Moslem mosque, commemorative of the Tomb of David.⁶⁴ They acquired a new convent, but the holy site was lost. There was always a danger at this time of the Moslems gaining a holy site at the expense of Christians or Jews if they considered that it was holy to themselves.⁶⁵ In the 16th. and 17th. centuries this was a very real threat

to the foreign communities. The takeover of the Coenaculum may well have been influenced by its hill-top location, so favoured by the Moslems for their wells.⁶⁶ This confusion of holy sites between the faiths is rather reminiscent of the Hindu position in India as shown by Sopher in his recent study.⁶⁷

The number of Christian holy sites in the 17th. Century was quite large according to Maundrell, but few had Churches over them. His list is:

1. Holy Sepulchre
2. Jeremiah's Grotto
3. Sepulchres of the Kings
4. Jeremiah's Dungeon
5. 'old ruin called Lazarus's castle'
6. Lazarus's Tomb - a mosque
7. House of Simon
8. Turpentine tree of the Virgin
9. Convent of St. Elias
10. Rachel's Tomb
11. House of Zebedee
12. House of Mark
13. House of Annas (Armenian)
14. House of Caiaphas (Armenian)
15. Coenaculum - mosque
16. Grotto of St. Peter in Gallicantu
17. Potter's Field (Armenian)
18. Bathsheba's Pool
19. Pool of Siloam
20. Well of Nehemiah
21. Footsteps of Christ
22. Tomb of Virgin
23. Stone of Stephen
24. Place of Creed
25. Paternoster Place
26. Cave of St. Pelagia
27. Ascension Place - mosque
28. Grotto of Agony
29. Pool of Bethesda
30. St. Anne's - Moslem ownership

Certain interesting points emerge from this list:

- 1) Apart from Rachel's Tomb and Elias Tomb which were

some distance from the city, no Christian Church or building stood outside the city walls.

2) Of those inside, the Armenians held two. They have generally been the richest and most independent group in the city with a high survival capacity.

3) Moslems held the Coenaculum, Lazarus's Tomb, the Ascension Place, and St. Anne's as well as the Haram area and several mosques inside the city.

4) The Church of St. Pelagia was now a cave; the Church of St. Peter in Gallicantu was also a cave; there was much use of natural features but few buildings.

In other words, the decline in pilgrimages and the insecurity did not produce a decline so much in the number of places held sacred in the community memory but reduced greatly the number of Christian Churches. For Moslems there was a gradual gain of mosques, many take-overs of Christian shrines. There was also some Jewish building. The Hurva synagogue was reconstructed in 1701 by Rabby Judah the Hassid but soon fell into ruins again and was not rebuilt until the mid-19th. Century.⁶⁸ Other synagogues built or in existence at the time included that of the Karaites⁶⁹ but Madden described a Jewish synagogue as a 'miserable hovel',⁷⁰ so one cannot assume that the community was rich. In fact most travellers imply by their comments that the Jewish Quarter and its religious buildings were the poorest in the city. Most of the synagogues were however, of the 'congregational' type

(see p:241) and the Wailing Wall plus perhaps a few of the tombs in the Kidron valley were the only real Jewish holy sites.

The holy sites in existence by 1840 can be summarized as follows:

- Jewish:
1. Wailing Wall
 2. Hurva Synagogue
 3. Karaites and other smaller synagogues
 4. Absalom's Pillar and other monuments.
- Moslem:
1. Haram area - Dome of the Rock; Al-Aqsa Mosque; Dome of Chain; Solomon's Throne, etc.
 2. David's Tomb
 3. Omar's Mosque (Masjid Siddi Omar)
 4. Al Khangeh Mosque
 5. Bairon Sarwis
 6. Ascension Place mosque
 7. Sa'id u Sid, es-seh Djarrah, & es-seh Okaseh
 8. Lazarus's Tomb
 9. Other smaller mosques
- Christian:
1. Holy Sepulchre & vicinity
 2. St. James' (Armenian)
 3. St. Veronica (ruined)
 4. Virgin's Tomb
 5. Bethesda (ruined)
 6. Various open sites on Mount of Olives
 7. Dormition and open sites on Mount Sion
 8. Pool of Siloam and other open sites
 9. Various 'congregational' Churches and convents.

Interest was shared also in the Tombs of the Kings, Rachels' Tomb and also to some extent in David's Tomb.

This list represents a small number, especially of Churches, compared with the Middle Ages, but with the great increases in pilgrimages after 1800 and the increasing influence of the western powers in Turkish affairs, the number of Christian sites began to increase. It was, however, a rational increase, i.e. the more apocryphal sites which were so numerous in the

Middle Ages were no longer feasible to the educated Europe of the 19th. Century whether Catholic or Protestant. The eastern Churches still clung to their old sites, some of them based on weird traditions, but they did not appreciably increase their holdings. Only the western Christians and the Jews really shared in the expansion of holy sites in the last century - the native Moslems and Christians did not seem to require more sites than those they held.

By the time the 1860s are reached some more holy sites are thus coming into prominence. In Murray's Guide⁷¹ for instance, more synagogues are added to the Hurva and other older edifices and the Tomb of Zacharias becomes popular for Jewish devotions. The Tombs of the Kings appears to be held firmly by the Derwishes, although non-Moslem groups are allowed to visit them. Otherwise there are no more Moslem sites. The western Christians are by the 1860s beginning to acquire sites along the Via Dolorosa and they also acquired St. Anne's (given to the French in 1842) a building called 'Aceldama' access to the Ascension Place, and a number of small convents and 'congregational' Churches. Thus there is a greater increase in the western Christian sites than in any other, and only the Jews show any other increase in holdings or interest. The Baedeker Guides provide useful information on the growth in Churches and synagogues in the last century since they appeared at regular intervals. In 1912, according to

Baedecker, the Jews had as many as 100 houses of prayer in the city apart from the larger synagogues and to Murray's list of Churches must be added the Sisters of Zion, the Paternoster Church, St. Veronica's (restored) and St. Stephens, all to the Roman Catholic Church; St. Mary Magdalene to the Russian Orthodox Church; Christ Church and St. George's to the Church of England; and the Church of the Redeemer (Erlöserkirche) to the Lutherans. In the case of some of these latter sites, many of which were originally of only 'congregational' use, they have acquired a sanctity due to the passage of time and have a usage similar to holy sites.⁷²

In sum, then, it can be seen that the numbers of holy sites and in particular the number of edifices over them, has fluctuated considerably for each of the major religions, and especially for the western Christians. In general, the Moslems and to some extent the Jews, have acquired property gradually, slowly, but increasingly, since the Arab conquest until the Mandate period; the 'native' Christians have generally ~~held~~ gradually lost over the centuries many of the innumerable sites they held in the 7th. Century (the decline of the Georgians is the most notable example, see p.274); the Uniates on the other hand, acquired a number of sites in the last century under Roman Catholic auspices. The Latins have suffered from the long distance involved in a journey from western Europe to the Holy Land and from Ischisms within'

and the number of Churches in its care has fluctuated greatly. Hence while Jerusalem presents a very mixed architectural scene today, the bulk of the non-oriental architecture is recent or Crusader in date.

The fluctuations ~~have~~ have been influenced in the following ways:

NUMBERS OF PILGRIMS	:	
WEALTH OF PILGRIMS	:	
POLITICAL FACTORS	: NUMBER OF HOLY SITES
ECONOMIC FACTORS	:	

Numbers have influenced growth of building in that they have reflected general interest in the city in foreign areas. When Jerusalem was the substitute for Mecca, the numbers of Moslem pilgrims - and of Moslem holy sites - both increased. With the large numbers of Protestants visiting the city since 1800 there has been a large increase in Protestant sites, for indeed there were none in Robinson's day and now there are four Churches and the Garden Tomb. Wealth has also played a part for while the Greek Orthodox, Syrian and Coptic Churches have sent many pilgrims to Jerusalem over the years, they have never been wealthy enough to construct the fine edifices which the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches have done. Even the Armenians have struggled at times to hold on to their land.

Political ~~influences~~ influences have also played a large part too. Much of the maintenance of Latin sites after the Moslem invasion until the Crusader period was the work of Charlemagne; and the entrenchment of the Latins in the city in the Middle Ages the result of the gains during the 12th. Century; while much of their success in the 19th. Century was the result of agreements between the French government and the Porte, e.g. the acquisition of St. Anne's. It must not be forgotten that the Crimean War was - supposedly - fought over the rights in the holy places of Jerusalem. Theological factors have also played a strong background part, notably the influence of the Zionist movement on Jewish settlement in the city and the political security of the post-1917 period had greatly aided the expansion of sites outside the walls.

ii) Activities in Holy Sites.

With regard to the actual activities in the holy sites, it is not the geographer's task to be concerned with the liturgies but since activities determine importance, usage, congestion, etc. some items are worth noting. There are two types of activity: a) One-place devotion
b) Circuits, processions, etc.

a) One-place Devotion.

In this category can be placed the ordinary worship in one building or at one specific place. It can be personal, private devotion or 'congregational' worship at set days and hours. In this latter category are the regular round of prayers which go on in the traditional Christian Churches and which in the Roman Catholic Church takes the form of i) Mass ii) Mattins iii) Prime iv) Evensong v) Compline. Moslems are likewise obliged (although few now practice) to pray in the direction of Mecca, five times daily. Each faith has its holy day, which by chance happen to run together, i.e. Friday (Moslems), Saturday (Jews) and Sunday (Christians). This has advantages in that the markets are never completely closed, although Friday is a very quiet day for trading in the city. At the close of Ramadan, Moslems from all parts of Palestine congregate in the city for corporate and individual worship and festivities. The city can then be very crowded, especially if the end of Ramadan coincides with some Christian feast day. A ceremony worth mentioning is the Greek Holy Fire ceremony in the Holy Sepulchre at Easter.⁷³ One place devotion can often cause congestion by encouraging large crowds to gather at one place and the latter ceremony is a good example of where this has happened. Otherwise its geographical significance is not large.

b) Circuits and Processions.

The holding of processions in the city is of considerable importance since it demarcates certain routes as of prime religious significance and causes congestion and many planning problems. The idea of a special 'circuit' or way round the holy sites has been ~~found~~ found in India⁷⁴ and in Jerusalem was common in the Middle Ages as the 'circuit of Jerusalem', and practised by the Latins it provided a popular traditional way round the sites. It is mentioned by Gucci.⁷⁵ More details on these routes will be given in Chapter 12, since they have more morphological than functional significance, especially the Stations of the Cross. It is worth noting at this stage that only the Christians are involved in these processions and neither Jews nor Moslems seem to have them in Jerusalem. One feature of activity at the holy sites for Latin Christians is the granting of indulgences (see p. 66). The availability of indulgences gave the sites great importance for the western pilgrim and data we have on them has enabled the map in Fig. 7 to be drawn to show the relative importance of the holy sites in the 14th. Century based on the indulgences given. Thus the great importance of Mount Sion, even more important than the Holy Sepulchre, can be seen and the impact on the geography of Jerusalem of this must have been to concentrate much pilgrim activity on the Mount Sion area. This will be dealt with further in Chapter 12.

2) Accommodation

Having dealt at length with the holy site section of the pilgrim trade it is now necessary to discuss the other aspects. The accommodation sector stands out as of considerable geographical importance in view of the landscape impact of the numerable hospices, khans, and hotels, not to mention the attraction of retailing and the importance of the hospices in providing a large steady custom for the suq.

i) Growth

Apart from visiting the sites, the pilgrim's most vital need on arrival at the holy city has always been shelter and food. Jerusalem of the Biblical period must have had its lodging houses to accommodate the vast numbers which flocked to the city, and indeed the 'upper room' (Luke 22.11,12) may well have been one of these. With the return of the pilgrim trade in force in the Byzantine era, hospices were built for pilgrims and we know of one large one built by Justinian probably near the site of the present Al-Aqsa mosque, which held 3,000 beds⁷⁶ and took in pilgrims for accommodation and sick people for healing.⁷⁷ After the Moslem conquest with the greater variety and independence of the nations and Churches visiting Jerusalem there was a tendency for each community to build its own hospice. Thus Charlemagne founded his famous hospice for the Christians of the western Church. Bernard the Wise says that he stayed in "the hospice of the glorious Emperor Charles where are received all who speak the

Latin tongue".⁷⁸ There were apparently several of these hospices by the 10th. Century according to Mukaddasi, catering for the Latin pilgrims and there was a large Xenodochium⁸⁰ and a hospice near the Church of St. John the Baptist according to John of Wurtzburg.⁸¹ Benjamin of Tudela mentions two hospices in the 1160s⁸² and Theodorich also mentions two hospices in existence 10 years later⁸³. The author of the 'Citez' also mentions two hospices⁸⁴ although it is probable that these authors refer only to the Latin hospices and not the eastern ones. After the return of the Moslems there were still two large hospices for western pilgrims, one on Mount Sion and the other in the Muristan area⁸⁵ and also some Moslem hospices and khans such as the one on the site of the present Syrian Church and convent of St. Mark. From Arab sources we know of large caravanserais in the city, mainly used by traders and some large khans, including one famous one called al-Walaka. The hospice in the Muristan seems to be the one referred to by Frescobaldi in the 14th. Century⁸⁶ and in the late 15th. Century, Felix Fabri notes that it held 400 pilgrims mainly of the Greek Church. The Latins, particularly the clerics seem to have lodged on Mount Sion at a place called 'Millo'.⁸⁷ However, it appears from what Francesco Suriano says that there were considerable problems for the pilgrims at Easter when the hospices became full for they could not all accommodate the peak demand.⁸⁸ It is interesting that the number of hospices does not seem to have varied to the same

extent as the holy sites, perhaps largely because they were also convents or attached to administrative buildings, e.g. the patriarchates. Fluctuations in pilgrim numbers only affected the numbers accommodated not the number of hospices.

This situation seems to have remained in the Ottoman period, with each religious community having its own hospice, except for the Moslems who had several khans and Caravanserais but even these seem to have been divided between national groups, with for example, an Indian hospice, a Maghrebi hospice, etc. The most notable hospice in Jerusalem in the Ottoman period appears to have been the Latin one described by Warburton as "the wealthiest and most influential of all those situated in Palestine"⁸⁹ and it apparently had such a reputation that the Protestant George III of England donated £2,000 to it.⁹⁰ The other large hospice was that of the Armenians which in the 18th. Century held 1,000 pilgrims when at maximum capacity⁹¹ and there was also a very large Greek hospice, various smaller ones, and khans including the large al-Walaka.

The real increase in the accommodation sector of the pilgrim trade was in the 19th. Century when the first hotels were built in the city. By the time of Bartlett's second visit in 1854, there were two hotels in addition ~~to~~ ^{to} the old hospices.⁹² These took some of the trade from western Europe previously taken by the Latin convent which according to Bartlett had "until within a few years....(been)... the hotel of almost all

travellers coming to the Holy City".⁹³ By the end of the 19th. Century the city could boast in addition to the older traditional hospices, the newer Prussian Hospice, a German Catholic Hospice, the Austrian Hospice, the Victoria Augusta Hospice, the new coptic khan north of the Hammam al-Batrak pool.⁹⁴ the Russian Hospice and the Anglican Christ Church as well as six hotels.⁹⁵

The growth of accommodation buildings has thus been less erratic than that of holy sites and Churches but has also shown the marked increase which came in the 19th. Century with the modern revival of travellers' interest in the city. By the 19th. Century in fact, the city seemed full of khans, hospices, etc. as well as monastic communities many of which offered accommodation of a more sombre type. Thus Bartlett writes:

Were we to judge of the moral condition of Jerusalem from the number of its convents and hospitals, we might esteem it to be the most pious and charitable city in the world.....In looking at the map it is surprising how large a space is covered by these monastic buildings.⁹⁶

ii) Nature of Accommodation

The accommodation has generally been seen to be characterised until modern times by a division into ethnic/religious groups, and this even persists at the present time. Thus in the survey of 1968, the following returns from hospices were among those obtained:

HOSPICE

GUESTS

St. George's Hostel .

66% Commonwealth. Mainly Protestant although not overwhelmingly Anglican.

Casa Nova

Roman Catholic -- mainly European & Commonwealth

Armenian Catholic

Jews and Armenians mainly

Sisters of Zion

Mainly R.C. but also Israelis

Y.M.C.A.

80% Scandinavian

Intercontinental Hotel

Mainly American

American Colony

Mainly American.

This there is still a tendency for national/religious groups to have their special hospice and the hotels are nearly all predominantly American in their customers. In former times, there was also an alternative arrangement when the hospices were full, as related in Murray's Guide of 1868 :

It sometimes happens at Easter which is the Jerusalem season, that all these houses are full, or, at least, that the best apartments in them are occupied. Those who have tents and equipage need not consider this any great misfortune as they may encamp outside the walls, and perhaps enjoy as much comfort as in the crowded city. The side of the valley in front of the citadel is the usual camping ground. A change may be made for a day or two to the summit of Olivet..... 97

Apart from those preferring the open air as above, pilgrims have had the choice of three types of accommodation:-

i) Religious hospice, convent, or khan. These have been generally attached to a convent or Church and run by a religious group and grew out of the duty of the resident religious to cater for their compatriots who visited the

city. Both nationality and religion has entered into this and the divisions are not usually hard and fast: thus in Ottoman times up to about 1850, all Protestants lived in the Franciscan hospice and were registered - often under protest - as Latins.

ii) Secular ~~ikhans~~ khans and caravanserais. These are the traditional Arab forms of accommodation. The khan differs little from the hospice and there was also a tendency for some division of them on linguistic or ethnic lines. The caravanserais (there was an old one near the north-west corner of the Haram) were not only guest houses but also warehouses and tended to cater for the 'commercial traveller' and merchant.

iii) Hotels of modern type were introduced into the city in the middle of the last century. They tend to accommodate Protestants of European racial type and some Arabs: in practice most of their customers are American or Europeans on 'package' tours.

iii) Economics of Accommodation Sector.

In terms of money flow, the hospice/hotel/khan directed finance from the pilgrim largely into the suq, although it must be remembered that in the Middle Ages it was customary for the pilgrim to find his own food and hence the hospice only provided - and was paid for - ~~his~~ bed, security, and perhaps spiritual guidance. In later Ottoman times, the hospices and hotels began to cater for the pilgrim more and the visitor was fed, in return of course for higher charges.

3) Souvenirs

The third sector to be dealt with is the manufacture of souvenirs which dates back at least as far as Antonin^us Martyr. Even in an ordinary region with a strong tourist interest, the sale of local products is an important income earner. Naylor has thus pointed out in the case of Spain, the large amounts earned by the sale of leather goods to tourists.⁹⁸ In the Holy Land religious interest has added incentive to this sort of trade for local products gain a sanctity not accorded to those manufactured or bought elsewhere. One of the earliest forms of souvenir was the taking of pieces of local soil or extracting pieces of the Golden Gate.⁹⁹ The industry really, was very spasmodic, however, in the early days if we can judge by the accounts left by Antoninus Martyr¹⁰⁰ and Arculfus¹⁰¹ when it merely consisted in this 'lifting' of soil and ~~ax~~ stones. During the Middle Ages it developed mainly along the lines of chipping off pieces of stone or rock. For instance Frescobaldi reports that he purchased a fragment of the Golden Gate for 2 ducats ($\frac{1}{3}$ of the cost of entry to the Holy Sepulchre) and collected samples off the Stone of St. Stephen.¹⁰² Felix Fabri likewise found the Golden Gate a useful source of mementoes¹⁰³ and the cost to him was in gold coin.

The most important changes in the souvenir industry came in the 16th. Century with the plans of the local 'edifices' drawn up by Bernardino Amico. He used his plans to encourage the manufacture by local inhabitants (especially in Bethlehem)

of models, in mother-of-pearl, stone or wood, of Churches; and other objects were made in olive wood and mother-of-pearl. By 1596, the industry was flourishing despite comments by some customers of rough work.¹⁰⁴ Von Kootwyck commented that the "Christians of Bethlehem are of the Greek rite....they make crosses of olive wood and by means of this and their models of the Holy Sepulchre they buy their food, dividing among them the profits"¹⁰⁵ Much of this work was exported to Europe by the Franciscans as well as being purchased by the declining number of pilgrims.¹⁰⁶ Although Bethlehem was and still is, prominent in the manufacture of these articles, Jerusalem had its share in the industry and of course was responsible for most of the selling. Thus Browne in the late 18th. Century commented that "there is one manufacture that flourishes with the utmost vigour, namely that of reliques, crucifixes inlaid with mother-of-pearl, chaplets, and the like."¹⁰⁷ It is the western pilgrims, attracted not only by religious motives but by curiosity of the exotic, that seem to have bought most of these souvenirs, and there never seems to have been a large sale to Moslems or Jews. Even the Latin convent was reported by Lamartine to be selling crosses and other items in the early 19th. Century¹⁰⁸ an activity it still engages in. Bartlett noticed a market in front of the Holy Sepulchre which sold beads from Mecca and crosses of bitumen from the Dead Sea,¹⁰⁹ and he reports that the holy places and convents were principally maintained by the sale of such things,¹¹⁰ which is quite likely. Bartlett also remarked on

the large number of local inhabitants engaged in this trade.¹¹¹
 There also seems to have been some interregional trade in such things to judge from some remarks of Bartlett and the note by Robinson that an annual fair was held in the city at Easter. He also remarked that perfumed soap - another local product - was sold to pilgrims.¹¹²

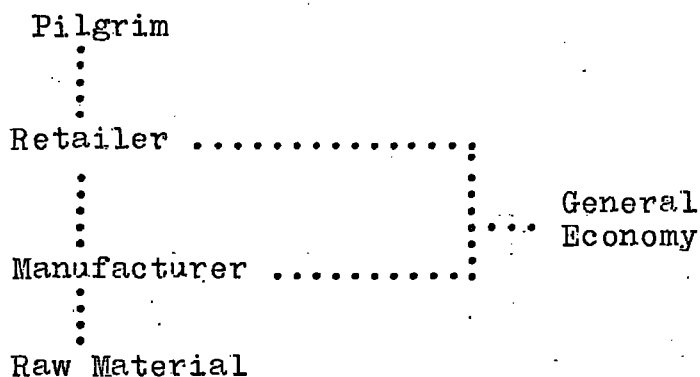
It can be readily appreciated that the souvenir trade has over the centuries brought out the most resourceful aspects of the character of the Jerusalemite, using his local resources to the full and if necessary supplementing them with raw materials from elsewhere. The credibility of the pilgrims has also played a large part in this. Thus the incomparable Besant and Palmer sum it up thus; with reference to the Byzantine era:-

....the country was a great storehouse of relics. To manufacture them, or rather to find them, was a labour of love and of profit for the people. It was not difficult, because bones of saints were known always to emit a sweet and spice-like odour. They were thus readily distinguishedNor was it always a matter to disturb the faith of the holder if another man possessed the same relic of the same saint. ~~Meantime~~ Meantime the wood of the Cross was discovered to have a marvellous property - it multiplied itself. If you cut a piece off to sell to a distinguished pilgrim, or to send to a powerful prince for a consideration, this invaluable relic, by a certain inherent vis viva repaired itself and became whole again..... 113

The great interest in relics in the 10th. and 11th. centuries of course encouraged this industry enormously.¹¹⁴ However, when the credulity of the earlier pilgrims gave way to the scepticism of the post-Renaissance pilgrims and even more when Protestants started coming in numbers, the souvenir

trade took on gradually its more modern form with the manufacture and sale of objects of commemorative nature in 'genuine' local material. Incidentally, since the end of the Mandate period the largest sales seem to have come from colour transparencies and film, emphasising the trend to items bringing back memories rather than objects of devotion.

The souvenir trade presents a much more direct money flow than the previous two sectors of pilgrim activity. It can be represented thus:



What the pilgrim has paid for his mother-of-pearl model goes into the retailer's pocket first; he in turn pays the manufacturer^{*}; and he pays for his own and family's labour and also the supplier of Aqaba mother-of-pearl. The importance of the souvenir trade can be seen by the large number of shops which deal in these commodities and by the large number of families, especially in Bethlehem which engage in manufacture.

It is worth repeating, finally, that the greatest number of customers and largest influence on this trade have

* No wholesaler is mentioned because investigations showed that since the industry is largely family based, transactions were undertaken direct via personal channels.

been in the Christians of western Europe, especially the ~~Western~~ Roman Catholics. Eastern Christians buy a few souvenirs but not many. Some mementoes are bought by Jews but there are not many shops catering specifically for them even in western Jerusalem, while there seem to be no souvenir shops geared to the Moslem pilgrim.

4) Guides

The final item in the trades especially connected with the pilgrim industry is the ancient craft of the guide. The Abbot Daniel in 1106-7 tells us that "it is impossible to visit and explore all the sacred places without a good guide and an interpreter"¹¹⁵ and it is certainly true that until the 19th. Century when excellent written guide books were published, the pilgrims were somewhat lost without a guide. In the post-Crusader era, the Jews often acted as guides for the Christian pilgrims and held a great influence over them until the arrival of the Franciscans, who undertook the care of the western pilgrims.¹¹⁶ Felix Fabri, however, advises the pilgrim to take a native guide for safety,¹¹⁷ although it seems that generally in the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods, the Franciscans were responsible for accompanying the pilgrim on his tour of the sites.¹¹⁸ They continued to perform this duty for Lamartine at the time of his visit,¹¹⁹ and - significantly - for no payment. In other words, for the western pilgrim, there was no financial input into this sector of the pilgrim industry. Nevertheless,

native guides abounded as they still do, for there were Greek, Coptic and Armenian pilgrims to cater for as well as Moslems (especially wealthy Turks) 'doing' the city en route for Mecca. Even today it can truly be said that the number of guides is immeasurable, for while both Jordan and Israel have had official guides, there have always been very many unofficial ones. Financially it has only taken a small part of the pilgrims' expenditure and while it has given employment to a few hundred, has not had the geographical impact of other sectors of the tourist/pilgrim trade.

Summary

This chapter has been lengthy because it is a complex and most important subject. The pilgrim industry is fundamental to the economy of Jerusalem and is its prime 'function', as will be further demonstrated in Chapter 16. The many sides of it have not all been dealt with here for it has had repercussions into other sections of the economy - catering, construction, general retailing, etc. as illustrated in the flow diagram on pages 73 & 92. These will be dealt with in the following chapters of this section. Other items not mentioned include of course the many charitable gifts to the communities as well as government support, which have enabled religious buildings to be constructed. Thus, for example, Philip of Burgundy gave 14,000 ducats to rebuild the Coenaculum - this task must have employed large numbers of

local men¹²⁰; the Jews in Jerusalem at the beginning of the last Century received \$ 4-5,000 (Spanish) each year from the Jews of Gibraltar.¹²¹

In sum, then it can be seen that the pilgrim trade has brought to Jerusalem vast sums of money and provided an impetus ~~to~~ to urban development which its other functions could never have done. Its influence has been, however, as has been seen, varied over the centuries, reaching peaks of activity (and the city peaks of prosperity) in some centuries, and slumping in others: this has been reflected in the large numbers of Churches, hospices, etc, in times of prosperity - and decline in religious buildings in times of slump. It is significant that at no period in Jerusalem's history has it been prosperous when the pilgrim trade has been depressed; and at no time has this trade been active and the city been in a slump. Finally, it has also been seen that the pattern of pilgrim activity has been different from one period of time to another and also between religious communities. The greatest economic impact throughout the centuries since at least the time of Charlemagne, can be seen to be the western pilgrim, whether Roman Catholic or - more latterly - Protestant. The numbers and wealth of these groups have fostered most of the holy sites and hotels and been the most important sources of income for the souvenir retailers and guides.

CHAPTER 7

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN JERUSALEM

In Chapter 3 were discussed some of the main factors which have helped or hindered economic development in the city of Jerusalem and in general it was seen that while certain features of the city's situation rendered it good as a location for a market, it was not in an ideal position either for large-scale trade or for industry. Indeed its general lack of resources has rendered the city singularly lacking in industries of any size except for those tied to the pilgrim trade. It must not be assumed, however, that Jerusalem has been entirely lacking in commerce for over the centuries its bazaars and shops have been active serving a local population. The table on the following page is useful here, for while it refers to the situation in 1961, it shows something of the variety of trades active in Jerusalem. For instance, there is a large professional and technical sector, almost as large as that of Amman, suggesting a strong function as a West Bank 'capital' after 1948; the large number of farmers in the district (21,000) is also significant and would suggest that Jerusalem had strong potential as a provincial market-town. The influence of the pilgrims can still be seen, however, in the large size of the 'craftsmen' sector (compare Nablus) and especially of the Jewellers: 60% out of Jordan's 759 were in the Jerusalem district. It is unfortunate that figures are

not available for the Jerusalem municipality nor for the period prior to 1917.

Cont. p. 143

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY DISTRICT

Source: Census of
Population, H.K.J.,
1961, Vol. II
Table 6.7

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Jerusalem</u>	<u>Nablus</u>	<u>Hebron</u>	<u>Amman</u>
Professional & Tech.	4 454	2 915	859	4 541
Architects,				
Engineers, etc.	106	31	2	238
Physical Scientists	9	6	2	36
Biological Scientists	4	13	3	29
Medical Pract.	148	54	13	161
Nurses, etc.	864	291	116	866
Other medics.	55	21	7	75
Teachers	2 574	2 230	631	2 200
Clergy	331	166	54	159
Jurists	74	43	8	117
Other professional	289	60	18	660
Admin. & Executive.	526	244	60	1 092
Managers & proprs.	492	213	51	951
Clerical	3 098	1 744	496	7 896
Sales workers	5 195	5 165	1 810	8 772
Insurance, etc.	37	37	7	60
Commercial Trav.	51	16	8	107
Shop Assistants	1 744	1 543	467	3 639
Farmers	20 924	30 583	13 392	15 184
Non-classified				
Workers	10 573	12 608	6 919	6 512
Miners, quarrymen	1 758	1 515	926	2 670
Transport & Commun.	4 126	2 263	659	10 631
Craftsmen &				
Production workers	28 303	15 208	6 205	43 369
of which:				
Jewellers	607	36	10	106
Millers, bakers,	1 049	1 025	305	1 732
Potters	186	146	73	383
Stone cutters &				
carvers	1 318	238	181	325
Misc. craftsmen	35	5	3	14

However, many were the cryptic comments passed about Jerusalem's commerce by travellers of the Ottoman period. Niebuhr considered trade and manufacture to be of no significance at all in the city.¹ Warburton was most uncomplimentary writing: "No river nor any stream flows by; no fertility surrounds it, no commerce is able to approach its walls, no thoroughfare of nations it finds in the way."² Bartlett also could find little inspiration in the suq: "Nothing can be more void of interest than her gloomy, half-ruinous streets and poverty^t stricken bazaars, which, except at the period of the pilgrimage at Eastern⁷ present no sign of life...."³ All this would support the view which predominates and which even Ziadeh as has been seen adheres to, that Jerusalem has been essentially dependent on the pilgrim trade for its life blood. Yet this view must not be allowed to cloud over the importance Jerusalem has had for the local peasant as a market and social centre. As G. Robinson Lees pointed out in 1907, the suq of El Quds is most important to the local peasant not only as a place for the purchase and exchange of goods but for conversation and social life as well.⁴ The ordinary local commercial and industrial functions of Jerusalem must not be overlooked: the very morphological character of the suqs, as will be seen in Chapter 14, point to strong commercial activity bearing little or no relation to the pilgrim trade.

Retailing

a) General Retailing.

The retailing sector of the Jerusalem economy is old and references to its markets go back to Mukaddasi and Nasir-i-Khusrau who both spoke highly of them.⁵ The latter mentions that there were many craftsmen in the city each having his own bazaar.⁶ Theodorich mentions markets including a street "full of goods for sale".⁷ The best early account of the commerce in Jerusalem is found in the 'Citez de Jherusalem' and this work will be used below. It shows many different types of shops to be found. Bartlett at a much later date was not highly impressed with the bazaars and comments: "though highly spoken of in former times, are very inferior to those of Constantinople or Cairo and present nothing of special interest"⁸ However, this seems typical of Bartlett! Burckhardt found a thriving trade in animals and foodstuffs based on caravan trade between Jerusalem and Kerak which seems to have acted as a desert port from which such items as rice, tobacco, coffee were imported into western Palestine.⁹ This shows the presence in Ottoman times of some trade along the east-west axis. The markets were not all clean and orderly by 1900 but they seemed nevertheless to flourish although there had been some reduction in area covered by retailing since medieval times.

Having asserted that the markets served the local

peasants in a normal way as well as the pilgrim, it must be also noticed that commerce and religion have rarely been divorced. In Sopher's studies in Gūjarat quoted already, for instance, (see p. 118) many Hindus were reported to combine commercial trips with visits to the sacred shrines and were not thought any the worse for it in religious terms.¹¹ It was not uncommon in the Middle Ages, for merchants to make the trip to Jerusalem from western Europe to trade and also to worship.¹² Goitein has pointed out that a similar activity is in evidence among the Moslems in the hadj to Mecca where business and pilgrimage are combined. The pilgrim is thus wished on his way with "May your hajj be accepted, your sin be forgiven and your merchandise not remain unsold."¹³ So many Christian and Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem have been engaged also in commerce and their expenditure has probably been higher than that of the average pilgrim and they have attracted fairs and markets.

b) Food and catering.

The foodstuffs sector of retailing has long been the most developed in Jerusalem and in it can be seen both the serving of the local population and also the meeting of the needs of the pilgrim either directly through direct catering or via the purchases of the hospices, khans and hotels. There are many references which show the importance of the food bazaars over the centuries. Both Mukaddasi and

the Abbot Daniel mention provisions being sold and the latter noticed corn stored in David's Tower; according to the 'Citez' there was a corn market near the tower. This no doubt served primarily the local bakeries and peasants rather than the pilgrims, but in Crusader times there was a street set aside for catering for pilgrims and was called - ironically- 'Malquisinat' or 'Bad Cooking'.¹⁴ Of the other suqs in Jerusalem mentioned by the author of the 'Citez' most of them dealt with products probably bought by both the peasants and the pilgrims - herbs, chickens, eggs, meat.¹⁵ The selling of 'victuals' is often mentioned by travellers and seems to have been found even inside the Holy Sepulchre Church at times in the Middle Ages.¹⁶ There were separate markets for both bread and meat according to Sigoli¹⁷ and the importance of the provisions retailing can be seen right through the Moslem period. Even in the 18th. and early 19th. centuries it seems to have flourished¹⁸ indicating that while pilgrims were few, yet the city was continuing to function as a local market. The Holy Sepulchre continued to double as a suq at high season according to Bartlett¹⁹ but while this was obviously geared to the pilgrim, there was also the giving of loaves to the poor of the district by the convents.²⁰ This charitable aspect of the food trade (if it can be called 'trade') has been important in Jerusalem throughout the medieval and Ottoman periods and has not been the prerogative of the Christian houses, for an Ottoman

document of 1552 tells us that the government set up a free kitchen (imaret) for the poor of the city and for students of the Moslem schools and colleges.²¹ Catering was always strong with the coffee houses which were fashionable in Europe in the 17th. and 18th. Centuries finding their way into the city to the dismay of the authorities.²² The local peasantry kept the city supplied with the agricultural products to ensure the continuance of this food market²³ and Jerusalem was indeed the main source of income for the surrounding villages. Late in the 19th. Century, Geiske witnessed many different types of food for sale from local grown or processed foods to those obviously imported. He saw such items as cauliflowers, lemons, onions, radishes, oranges, a breadseller with "some questionable brown scones on a board". It is plain that the cauliflowers were local produce for Geiske notes that they arrived fresh each morning.²⁴ Most of these food products would be part of the general commerce of the city as a local market centre, although the amount of foodstuffs purchased in the suq by the hospices would be considerable. Even today, most of the hospices and smaller hotels buy their supplies in the local suq which in turn is supplied largely by the local Hill Country villages and the Jericho oasis. In Mandate times, food retailing was, with the rest of the bazaars, "cleaned up"²⁵ and the trade grew rapidly.


c) Textiles, etc.

The foodstuffs sector of the retailing activity in Jerusalem has tended to overshadow other activities, but the city has also had a thriving cloth and clothing trade. Medieval references to local fullers and dyers²⁶ remind us that this industry was found in the city then and many travel accounts such as the 'Citez'^e mention the selling of "stuffs".²⁷ There was apparently a division between the Syrian and the Latin stuffs sellers perhaps the former dealing with the local market and the latter with the pilgrim and 'Frank' market. Niccolo of Poggibonsi found drapery sold²⁸ and the selling of textiles and cotton was strong in the 19th. Century.²⁹ In Mandate times it continued in its traditional site in the covered suq. It is likely that it had persisted in this spot over the centuries since the Crusading era, and a leather retailing trade had developed here also.³⁰ Local sheep and goats no doubt provided a basis for the textile industry as a whole (see below p. 165) and while much of the retailing was geared to the local, pilgrims have also purchased clothing either as souvenirs or to wear.

d) Other Retailing Activities

The retailing activities of Jerusalem have been varied and although little is known about them until the later Ottoman period it can be assumed that the general picture of a city "full of goods for sale" can be repeated with

variations over the centuries. Prosperity has varied, but the markets seem to have managed to continue and even to have shown morphological development (see Chapter 14) . Many other trades were practised in Jerusalem. The 'Citez' tells us of goldworkers - again divided between the Syrians and the Latins -³¹ and probably therefore catering again for native and pilgrim wants, although many gold trinkets may have been bought by pilgrims of the eastern Churches. Candles were sold in the Middle Ages for devotional purposes³² and the religious buildings also fostered a thriving trade in such items as iron, steel, copper, wood and marble, according to 16th. Century documents.³³ A similar conglomeration of goods was found by Geiske who lists: " a tempting display of wire, a wooden mouse-trap, a sheaf of ancient umbrellas in various stages of decay...."³⁴ Obviously this stall, situated near the Jaffa Gate, was catering for the local not the pilgrim. The city has thus served the local population for its miscellaneous wants as well as the pilgrim and the religious communities. Such pictures of the bazaars as are given by Geiske for the 19th. Century and Hanauer for the early Mandate period, show a mixture of the "goods of Constantinople, Damascus, Manchester and Aleppo"³⁵ for as complex a mixture of customers.



Banking and Finance

As a financial centre, Jerusalem has never of course threatened the reputations of Venice, Paris, London or Zurich. However, it seems that the admixture of pilgrims of various nationalities, many of them quite wealthy, together with the large amounts of money being put into religious and charitable buildings, would generate something of a money market. This has mainly taken the form of money changing and is early in appearance in the city. Thus the "Exchange" appears in Crusader times³⁶ as part of David Street where it still is, and Lees comments on the money changing trade of his day (1883) thus:

The money changers regulate the currency of the city, * which though based on a piastre, a coin now in disuse fluctuates like the shares on the London Exchange. They are the street bankers and sit behind tables covered with a wire net..... Travellers and pilgrims from all lands resort to modern Jerusalem whose destinies are shaped by the Ottoman ruler of the Turkish Empire. The coins of various countries must be exchanged for current Turkish money. The business of the Seraf (money-changer) is profitable."

37

It seems then that the basic pilgrim orientated activity of the money changer developed into a rudimentary banking service since the money-changer had the reserves of cash in hand. The money changers are generally small-scale in their operations even today, giving various rates of exchange, and can compete with the banks which have been well established in the city since the Mandate period.³⁸

* Still today the older Jerusalemites talk in terms of piastres

Industry

The industries of Jerusalem have not been numerous still less large scale. For the most part they have consisted of the processing of food or of basic agricultural products for use in the textile/leather trade or in soap manufacture. Thus there are references to milling, baking and similar activities in many works of medieval and Ottoman date³⁹ and of course the soap industry which flourished in the city in later centuries as well as at Nablus, being mentioned by Edward Robinson who found 9 establishments operating in the city in the soap trade.⁴⁰ While as we have seen, some of this was geared to the production of perfumed soap for pilgrims, most of the industry was of normal commercial importance (including export) and was a much needed stabilizer to the economy of the city. The textile and leather trade is a common one in Jerusalem's history. Dyeing as we have seen was also common in the Middle Ages and especially seems to have been the trade of the Jewish community,⁴¹ while weaving was also found for instance, by Maundrell in the 17th. Century.⁴² It fell out of use by the 19th. Century but an attempt was made to revive the 'Jerusalem Looms' by the Pro-Jerusalem Society after the taking of the city by the British.

Leather work has been an industry in Jerusalem for many centuries and many are the references - not usually

complimentary - to the tanning activities. Felix Fabri mentions tanning at the Pool of Siloam⁴³ as does Frescobaldi.⁴⁴ This location caused annoyance to Christian pilgrims but seems to have persisted there and in the 19th. Century there was a tannery also in the Muristan near the ruined site of St. John's Hospice in Dalmers Street.⁴⁶ This was probably the tannery noticed by Robinson also.⁴⁷ Tanning has thus been a common industry in the city, more so in former times than in the present Century when its obnoxious nature seems to have induced the authorities to remove it.

Other important industries in Jerusalem have included the construction trade which has flourished on the frequent building and rebuilding of religious buildings as well as public buildings and private houses. This industry is, of course, ubiquitous in that it is very market orientated and most cities can boast several construction firms. However, in the case of Jerusalem the constant building of Churches, mosques, etc. and their repair after devastation by fire, earthquake or war, has encouraged this activity rather more than in most cities. The vast building activities of the Byzantine era, financed by the royal family and nobility have been written of by Procopius and Eusebius and the large amount of quarrying activity evidenced at the time and by irritated Biblical archaeologists since. Procopius commented on the many blocks of stone "of enormous size" which were cut from the surrounding hills to build the Churches of

Justinian.⁴⁸ Gucci, some centuries later, found earth digging and furnaces in operation.⁴⁹ The Franciscans helped to repair the Dome of the Rock⁵⁰ and at one time had a great reputation for skilled building work; the large number of quarries of medieval date both north and south of the city walls testify to the large scale building activity.⁵¹ Other ancillary trades have at times also flourished, such as lead working or tile glazing: this latter activity was revived by the Pro-Jerusalem Society.⁵²

The importance of Churches and other religious buildings as economic factors has been pointed out above (p.92) in the flow diagram: money on holy site admission or donations to the communities tends to filter through into the construction trade while governments have helped Islamic buildings in this respect (see below p.173). The significance of this as an economic multiplier has recently been emphasised in a heated exchange of papers by H.T.Johnson and B.W.T.Alford and M.O.Smith. With respect to the cathedrals and large Church buildings of medieval England, Johnson attempted an evaluation of their economic importance by the use of wage rates. The lack of reliable data for the period even in England led to the criticisms of Alford and Smith and no better data is available for Palestine at that period. However, the general conclusion of Alford and Smith is that cathedral building was of considerable significance in the medieval economy of England; and since there were far more religious buildings in medieval

Jerusalem per head of population than medieval England, their conclusions are reinforced for our area. Hence the economic influence of the construction industry with reference to religious buildings, in quarrying, other trades, and even local transport was important. This conclusion of Alford and Smith might equally well apply to Jerusalem:

As to the multiplier effect, it is only possible to make pure guesses. Evidence of the impact of building on quarrying, timberworking, 'tourism', ancillary and cognate crafts, is only very slowly accumulating. One fruitful area of research in this respect is probably in the field of transport. In a number of instances large quantities of building materials were carried over uncommonly large distances and the consequent effects of ~~xxx~~ this on internal trade are interesting to speculate upon. 53

Miscellaneous Trades

Many are the trades which have been carried on in Jerusalem from the pilgrim-orientated tatting noted by Maundrell⁵⁴ to the water carrying which can only be a purely domestic activity. The water carriers and porters formed the lowest strata of society and as Lees observed were frequently outcasts from local villages.⁵⁵ This is part of the city's life but a part the pilgrim prefers to pass over with his romantic notions, but even today with most of the city closed to motor traffic the porter is indispensable.

On a higher class ~~xxx~~ level, a common feature of previous centuries has been the scribe or professional letter writer used by the lower classes and the peasantry for the writing of letters and petitions.⁵⁶ His presence in the

city has been graphically described by Geioke and he has been part of the city's service activity to the local area. Other small trades in Jerusalem have included pipe-stem borers, tailors, shoemakers, and other trades.⁵⁷

Transport has been an important activity, consisting in earlier times of the provision of camels and horses for traders and pilgrims while today it consists largely of taxis, 'buses, etc. serving both the local community and also the pilgrim.

If any conclusions can be drawn about the commercial life of Jerusalem the most important thing is to note its variety and to point out that it has ~~xx~~ served two markets: that of the local inhabitant and that of the pilgrim. The distinction is not always clear, since the food market for instance is very much dependant on the demand of the hospices and hotels and the transport sector - as witnessed by the unemployed taxis in 1968 - is extremely dependant for most of its trade on the visitor from overseas. Nevertheless, the economy is mixed and many of the local villages use the city as a market for buying and selling in the same way as the villages of Samaria have used Nablus. In medieval times, the economic structure of Jerusalem plainly served these 'two masters'. The souvenir trade, the palmers, the goldworkers mingled with the tailors, the bread sellers, the tanners and the builders. It is clear that the influence of the pilgrim

has been profound, for in times when pilgrims have been few, as in the 18th. Century, the reports of the economic life of the city have been grim. Nevertheless Jerusalem, while it cannot be said to have 'flourished', did survive as a local market and was busy even ~~outside~~ outside the Easter 'season'. Its function as a local market must not be overlooked, even if it is necessary to stress the impact of the pilgrim trade and the influence of religion. Many of the trades in the table on page 142 are those normally to be expected in a small market town and in the past the presence of scribes, sellers of hardware, textiles, and food have testified to this. The city has always seen a large daily influx of villagers into its suqs and as both an economic and a social centre for the central Hill Country it has been of importance. The fact that this function ^{alone} would have kept Jerusalem as insignificant as Salt, Hebron or ~~Jerusalem~~ Nablus should not blind us to an acknowledgment of its existence. Neither should the importance of the soap and olive oil trades be overlooked as stabilizing influences in the city's economy. That the city has usually seen many pilgrims must not hide the fact that it has also seen merchants and their native customers engaged in the normal dealings of an Arab agricultural society.

CHAPTER 8

THE FUNCTION OF AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is rarely given any attention in works on urban geography except those of a specifically historical nature. Indeed, for the modern city, the amount of land under agricultural usage within the urban boundary is usually small; yet it can be of great importance and the influence of the city on surrounding farm land has been shown. In the past particularly, the citizen and the farmer were not so far apart physically speaking as they are now and many medieval towns had their fields and commons for grazing. For instance, the freemen of Durham have grazing rights on city lands which they still hold to be important although the right is not exercised. Von Thünen pointed out in 1826 the great importance of the proximity of the city to the agricultural pursuits of the surrounding countryside.¹ The vital nature of transport costs have been isolated by rural economists to show how heavy, bulky or perishable crops tend to be located nearer their market than cereals or animal grazing, and even within the city walls or boundary there can be a considerable amount of land laid down to vegetables or intensive dairying.² In the case of Jerusalem also, the city lands played an important part in the geography of the medieval and Ottoman city and as will be seen in Section C, much of the urban land use was - especially in times of economic depression - under the plough or the hoof.

It is not therefore out of place to devote a short chapter to the agricultural sector of Jerusalem's economy. Here we see the interplay of the economic pull of the pilgrim trade and other 'assets' of the city with the agricultural capacity of the land as outlined briefly in Chapters 2 and 3. The influence of the pull of the city market can be seen in the large number of references to crop production - including vegetables and tree crops - in travellers' accounts of the city. Specific influences of the market can also be seen, for instance the demand for wine from the Christian and Jewish communities (Moslems do not drink alcohol) has influenced the amount of land given over to the cultivation of the vine. The fertility of the surrounding hills and valleys is as we have seen, the subject of some debate since many writers such as Mukaddasi describe it as productive³ and others such as the Abbot Daniel say that it is barren and arid.⁴ Nevertheless the city is not unproductive. In the Hinnom, Kidron and lower Tyropoeon valleys there has been soil and water sufficient to support the type of intensive agriculture expected just outside a city; the hills, on the other hand, except for favoured places on the ~~Tur~~uronian ridge, have not supported farming prosperity. The Mount of Olives, for instance, appears at times to have been covered with trees and at others to have been barren, according to contemporary accounts and prints, for instance comparing the print of W.R. Wilson (1824) with that of the Armenian Convent Librarian (1839)*

* Poetic license probably explains many discrepancies (see Ch. 10)

Tree Crops

The Hill Country is naturally very suited for the growth of tree crops of the Mediterranean region, especially the olive, fig and vine.⁵ The olive provides power in the form of its oil, which at times has been in great demand from the religious communities, the Haram area and the Waqf in particular. It is also useful as a food crop and as the primary raw material in soap production; in fact the olive has been described as the mainstay of the central Hill Country's economy.⁶ The extent of its cultivation, which will be discussed in chronological terms in Section C, has varied with the strength of the rest of the city's economy - in other words it has largely been subservient to the rest of the economy and not a contributory factor in its own right, except as the raw material for soap production.

The frequent mention of the crop in the Bible and indeed the very name 'Mount of Olives' shows its early importance and extensive use in the Jerusalem area (Luke 19.29). Mention is made of the crop in Byzantine literature suggestive of an extensive cover. For instance, Arculfus noticed a large coverage of olives over the ground to the east of the city and a wood of olives at Bethany.⁸ Bede from some source (or it may be an error) reports olives to the west of the city also.⁹ Throughout the Middle Ages, although references are fewer, the tree was cultivated. Nasir-i-Khusrau mentions that a large harvest of 16,800 ~~mk~~ galls. of olive oil was obtained

in the 11th. Century and exported and so does the Abbot Daniel.¹⁰ Felix Fabri found some very large olive trees on the Mount of Olives¹¹ and so did Suriano.¹² In the earlier Ottoman period, there seems to have been some decline in production probably linked with the general decline in the city economy. While Maundrell mentions that there was some export of olive oil to Spain from the Gethsemane gardens, other writers found less activity. Thus Niebuhr records that while there were olive trees in the neighbourhood they were less flourishing than formerly.¹³ Ottoman taxes on tree crops may have had something to do with this.¹⁴ Browne reports that in the rural districts neighbours were in the habit of sawing down each others olive trees¹⁵ which would not encourage expansion. Lamartine could only see some old olive trees on the Mount of Olives¹⁶ which would imply that there had been little in the way of fresh plantings but in the 19th. Century both Warburton¹⁷ and also Bartlett¹⁸ testify to the presence of the olive. It seems in general to have persisted in the valleys, but its cultivation on the hills over the centuries has fluctuated. Like all tree crops, the olive takes some time to establish and destruction can mean a setback for many years. The olive has been important in the economy of Jerusalem as the raw material for the soap industry and a source of a small export trade in oil. It has also provided power, light and heat for the city and food also. As a

source of employment, its importance may not have been inconsiderable for it is a crop which requires many hands at picking time, although it largely takes care of itself during the rest of the year.¹⁹ It has thus been a source of labour for the city's underemployed and unemployed, and in particular women and children have gained employment in this way.²⁰ The taxation of the tree by the Turks was a recognition of its importance²¹ but did little to foster the industry. Thus Geiske writes:

It is a striking illustration of the smallness of the population in Palestine that thousands of olive trees are left uncared for, to be swallowed up in by an undergrowth of thorn and weeds. The tax on each tree is, no doubt, in part the cause of this state of things. Fear of its being increased paralyses industry. 22

The vine is also an ancient crop in the Jerusalem area although it has not had the economic importance of the olive. It was popular in Biblical times but has suffered from the opposition of the Moslem authorities and hence has only been grown by or for Christians and Jews. On occasions, such as under the 'mad' ruler Hakem, the vine has been destroyed, but the strong attraction of the ethnic market has been sufficient to maintain its cultivation, and its existence can thus be put down as a positive religious influence on the landscape. Vineyards have been mentioned in the city and vicinity by many writers such as the Bordeaux Pilgrim who saw them in the Kidron valley²³ and Antoninus Martyr who saw them among tombs in the Haceldama area.²⁴ Bede noticed that

the Mount of Olives was destitute apart from vines, for the crop can exist in fairly arid conditions.²⁵ Mukaddasi talks of enormous grapes and quinces in the Jerusalem area²⁶ and of vineyards in the Kidron.²⁷ Other visitors also mention them including Joannes Phocas who found a hill by the Tower of David covered with the crop.²⁸ It is often stated that the vine practically disappeared from Palestine during the Moslem ~~xxxx~~ era²⁹ but in the Jerusalem area at any rate the high demand from Christians and Jews appears to have ensured continuous cultivation. Thus Niccolo of Poggibonsi found "fruit trees and vineyards there are in plenty"³⁰ and Suriano talks of vineyards for 6 miles around Jerusalem, showing the exceptional pull of the demand from the city's convents and hospices.³¹ Fabri and later Browne both mention the vine.³² Hence while a decline is evident compared with Biblical times, the vine continued to exist as evidence of the economic importance on the surrounding villages and city land of the presence of the non-Moslem communities and pilgrims.

The fig, the third member of the Biblical trio, is mentioned less in the post-Biblical period. In the first century of the Christian era it appears to have been quite common (Luke 21.29) but despite its importance as a food crop it has received scant mention since. Antoninus Martyr, Nasir, and the Abbot Daniel all found fig trees³³ and both Felix Fabri and Suriano found them in the area.^{34,35} Browne saw

them and Bartlett found gardens of figs on the Mount of Olives.³⁷

Other crops of the tree variety found in the Jerusalem area show how widespread this form of ~~agriculture~~ agriculture was. They include palms in the Kidron valley from the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim³⁸ until the present day, oranges³⁹ bananas⁴⁰ nut trees⁴¹ and pomegranites which apart from mention in the Bible (Cant. 4.13) were seen by Fabri⁴² Lamartine⁴³ and Bartlett.⁴⁴ Other travellers give more general descriptions of gardens of fruit⁴⁵ and in Byzantine times fruit trees seem to have abounded. Thus Antoninus Martyr found fruit trees among the tombs⁴⁶ and Theodorich in the early Moslem period described the Mount of Olives as abounding "with fruit of all kinds".⁴⁷ Sycamore and scarob receive mention from the Abbot Daniel⁴⁸ and apricots by Suriano.⁴⁹

The popularity of the tree crop in the Jerusalem area and its widespread nature are largely the result of the favourable physical conditions of the area for trees as opposed to cereals and other crops. In the valleys they grow well in the richer soil and water but they are hardy enough to strike root on even the Mount of Olives. Being hardy - especially the olive - they have a tendency to persist through wars and political upheavels although once destroyed take time to become commercially profitable again. The vine produced drink for the Christians and

Jews, the olive power and fuel as well as food and the raw material for soap manufacture, the fig ~~for~~ food. In all, with ^{needs} little effort, a considerable part of the city's population [^] could be met by these tree crops and the olive even proved a source of export.

Other Crops

Cereals have been cultivated in the Jerusalem area since Biblical times but usually the city was an importer (Ezekiel 27.17). Wheat and barley both flourished on the Mount of Olives in the early Middle Ages,⁵⁰ and Mukaddasi records cultivated fields in the Kidron valley.⁵¹ Nasir-i-Khusrau and the Abbot Daniel both refer to cereal cultivation in the area, the latter reporting a 90-100 fold harvest of wheat and barley.⁵² The difficulties of slope and the problem of drought (see p.24) have not encouraged cereal production, however, despite the large demand in the city. ~~Bart~~ Bartlett reports corn as cultivated on Mount Sion, in the Hinnom valley and on the eastern slopes of the Mount of Olives as well as north of the city.⁵³ However, at the end of the Ottoman period the city was - as was probably usual - importing most of its supplies. George Adam Smith writes:

Although the territory of Jerusalem may have grown and the land of Judah did grow, some wheat, the soil....
...was not so favourable to cereals as was that of neighbouring states, and throughout its history the City must have imported wheat from abroad, as it does at the present day. 54

In fact at times according to evidence produced by Smith, the city appears to have been a wheat entr^epot, but it is certain that the local production did not even supply local needs.

As might be expected in accordance with land use theory, vegetable production in the gardens in and around the city has been important, supplying much of the city's markets. Gardens are frequently mentioned by writers⁵⁶ particularly concentrated in the Silwan area and the Kidron valley. Beans were grown at Bethlehem⁵⁷ in the Middle Ages and honey produced according to Mukaddasi.⁵⁸

Pastoral Economy

The breeding of animals, mainly sheep, goats and cattle in the Jerusalem area is attested to in the Bible and by some authors of medieval and Ottoman date. However, references are fewer than those to crops since grazing has been carried on further from the city and in any case has not such an immediate landscape impact. In general it is the poorer land which has been given over to grazing, including the cemeteries. Mukaddasi said that the city had "milk in plenty" but generally it is not the dairy cow which has been dominant around the city. Sheep have been of much greater importance and at one time were even grazed in the Garden of Gethsemane.⁵⁹ Goats are mentioned by Burckhardt⁶⁰ and Petellus mentions pisciculture carried on in a pool south of the Pool of Siloam⁶¹ no doubt to supply the demand from the Latin community.

The Rural Economy of Jerusalem

The agricultural economy of the city of Jerusalem is thus very much based on the cultivation of tree crops and the grazing of sheep and goats. This is in many respects the typical scene of the Judean hills⁶² but in the case of Jerusalem certain factors emerge which show the influence of the urban environment. In the first place there was an intense cultivation in the Kidron, Hinnom and lower Tyropoeon valleys, where soil, water and manure from the city were available. Here vegetables were grown and also the tree crops cultivated more intensively than on the hills. Grazing and arboriculture, as has been seen, was even carried on in the cemeteries and still is. Secondly, the agricultural practices were geared to the demands of the city. Thus the Jerusalem area was the one part of Palestine which persisted in the cultivation of the vine throughout the Middle Ages and engaged in that very European activity - pisciculture, for the convents. Olives ~~were~~ were popular not just because they grew well and supplied a wide range of wants, but the use of the crop kept the many convents and churches and mosques warm and lit and the export of oil to Spain reflects religious value placed on olive oil - it was and is used in a number of religious ceremonies.

Much of the agricultural activity is such as would be normally expected in and around a Hill Country town, but the impact of the religious interests makes itself felt. Not

only is this found in respect of individual products, but in the general level of cultivation which reflects the general state of the city's economy. Thus the fluctuations in the level of cultivation of the Mount of Olives and Mount Sion as revealed in old maps and prints shows generally less vegetation cover in times of economic depression such as the 18th. and early 19th. centuries. Attempts were frequently made to grow wheat near the city probably in order to secure supplies. According to Thomson, Sion and Ophel were "a common wheat field" in the 19th. Century ⁶³ and the Muristan ~~was~~ was under the plough at the same time. Further afield, however, cultivation seems to have given way to grazing. Cultivation within the walls was common (see Chapter 11) but there is no ~~any~~ evidence that the city was ever regarded as a great centre of agriculture. It acted as something of a market for village crops; it exported some olive oil; but from the evidence available it appears that Jerusalem's agriculture arose to meet the urban demand: it was never the basis for the city's economy.

CHAPTER 9

ADMINISTRATIVE, MILITARY AND CULTURAL FUNCTIONS

Introduction

As outlined in Chapter 5, Jerusalem has had a varied history as a centre of political and military administration. There have been times when it has been the capital of a wide area embracing the whole of Palestine and beyond; and others when it has been but the administrative centre of a small section of the Hill Country. In military terms, the site of the city has made its defensive position strong, but it does not command a wide area or major strategic route as did Megiddo in ancient times. It has only spasmodically held importance as a seat of government or military activity, except for the Biblical period and the modern period. Between 132 and 1917 it was only administrative capital of Palestine once - during the Crusades, and the central government of the Latin Kingdom was known for its feudal weakness. However, governments have taken an interest in the city because of its religious connections and official patronage has worked to the benefit of Jerusalem in Byzantine, Moslem and Crusader times.

Administration

Roman and Byzantine Jerusalem was a city which in terms of political administration was deliberately, as an official act, excluded from development. The favourite

seat of government for the Romans both before and after the Jewish rebellion was Caesarea on the coast and this town remained throughout the period as the archiepiscopal seat of the Church as well as the centre of civil administration.¹ Jerusalem was the headquarters of the short-lived Bar-Kokhba revolt of A.D. 132-5 and apparently if Professor Avi-Yonah is correct, the centre of a well-ordered administration.² Following the establishment of Aelia Capitolina, the territory allotted to the new colony to administer was small and consisted of an area of the Hill Country only about 15 miles radius from the city. It covered the toparchies of Orine, Gophna, Herodium and Bethlethepha.³ From the evidence of the Onomasticon of Eusebius as well as the milestones in the area, - as pointed out by Alt in 1929, it would seem that when Septimius Severus founded the city of Eleutheropolis in A.D. 200, he transferred to it the area of Bethlethepha from Aelia.⁴

The suspicion with which Palestine was viewed by the Romans is emphasised by the division of the province, one of the smallest in the empire, into even smaller divisions: Palestina Prima; Palestina Secunda and Palestina Tertia.⁵ Jerusalem was the capital of none of these divisions. Thus even the Byzantine emperors did not raise Jerusalem to the status of provincial capital but it remained subject to Caesarea in civil and ecclesiastical administration, only becoming superior in the latter in 451.⁶ Aelia was only

the administrative centre -even in the 5th. Century - for a small area stretching from Hebron in the south (but in fact excluding the city of Hebron) to Anbathu Borcaeus in the north and reaching the Dead Sea in the east, but excluding the territory of Jericho; to the west its border was at Bethoron and Chasalon. The quieter city of Caes^area was always preferred by the Byzantine rulers to the holy city and probably for good reasons.

Throughout the Moslem period, Jerusalem was again never raised to the status of capital of the whole of Filastin - indeed, this land was, as was later said of Germany and Italy, more of a geographical expression than a nation. Er-Ramleh was the main centre of administration⁷ for most of the period. Mukaddasi commenting on the size of Jerusalem seems a little surprised that it was so unimportant: "Among provincial towns none is larger than Jerusalem and many capitals are in fact smaller."⁸ From the lowly status of a mere liwa capital and provincial town, Jerusalem was temporarily lifted during the Latin Kingdom. It became the royal seat and from the city Godfrey de Bouillon organised the new state and conducted foreign affairs.⁹ However, the Christian kingdom as has been seen, was far from being a centralised state and the various noble families who were rewarded with grants of land ruled them generally at will. The Christian kingdom was in fact in administrative terms a copy of the feudal system of Europe carried to the disintegrating

limits which were to make Germany such an area of contention and disunity. So Jerusalem, even under the Christian kings, while having the status, lacked the power; it was the royal seat but never the scene of detailed national administration. The presence of the palace and the court did, however, have some functional influences in generating wealth and encouraging economic and cultural development.

One period which will be dealt with in a little more detail is typical of the Moslem situation. Under the Mamluks, the city had been just a part of the ~~mamlaka~~ of Dimashq (Damascus) and even inferior to Gaza with which it was attached.¹⁰ With the Ottoman conquest the city did not rise to any greater status. In the 16th. Century, it was however, separated from Gaza and made capital of one of the four liwas into which Filastin was divided, i.e. Safed, Nablus, Jerusalem and Gaza.¹¹ It thus controlled the Hill Country south of the upper Yarkon, but this was the second smallest of the provinces and not likely to make the city rich. The figures given by Lewis indicate the relative sizes:¹²

<u>Liwa</u>	<u>Tax Paying Households</u>	<u>Tax Paying Bachelors</u>	<u>Exempted Households</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Jerusalem	7 365	516	1 254	9 135
Safed	14 884	1 921	307	17 112
Nablus	7 599	933	438	8 970
Gaza	12 251	538	1 175	13 964
Total:	42 099	3 908	3 174	49 181

The above indicates that Jerusalem was the second smallest tax collecting liwa in Palestine (and not much larger than the smallest) and had a large number of families exempt.¹³ Hence in terms of personnel employed in tax collection, which seems to have been the main form of administrative activity in that period, Jerusalem needed only half the staff of Safed. There was, however, an additional tax on dhimmis of 1 gold piece which probably meant extra work for the governor of Jerusalem who would have a large number of dhimmis in his area. It is interesting that at this time, Ramleh ceased to hold a predominant position in Palestine and according to a letter from the Porte to the Cadi of Jerusalem, that area was in fact under the liwa of Jerusalem.¹⁴ However, the Moslem period did not see the city really develop any strong administrative functions but again it was confined to tax collecting and the administration of justice for just a small area of the Hill Country. From time to time, because of the sanctity of the city, its ruler might receive an enhanced status, but it generally achieved no strong administrative responsibilities. Thus Volney writes in 1788: "Jerusalem has from time to time had governors of its own, with the title of Pachas; but it is in general, as at this day, a dependency of Damascus, from which it receives a Motsallam, or deputy Governor."¹⁵

A point worth mentioning here is the strong links which

have existed between the Moslem administration (especially when this has been at Damascus) and the sacredness of the city of Jerusalem. A.L.Tibawi, in a recent monograph, has pointed out the many instances of patronage of Jerusalem by the central government and the interest which many Caliphs have had in the city. For instance Omar was proclaimed Caliph in Jerusalem rather than in Damascus; and the impact of Abd al-Malik in building structures in the city and encouraging pilgrimages thereto has already been mentioned (p.71); while the pilgrimages of many caliphs and the desire of even those who ruled from Cairo to be buried in Jerusalem, promoted much of the Moslem pilgrim trade in the city.¹⁷

Before completing this section on administration, it is worth noting the importance of ecclesiastical administration. Although Jerusalem has never been a religious capital since A.D. 70 and has generally not held the seat of a primate of any of the faiths, nevertheless there has been some religious administration from the city. Thus the Moslem waqf for Filastin has been administered from the office adjacent to the Haram while many of the Christian sects have had bishops and patriarchs resident in the city. Thus the Latin Custodia Terra Sancta and the Latin Patriarch reside in the Latin quarter of Jerusalem and have jurisdiction over the whole of Palestine. An example of this was in the 1948-67 period when the Latin patriarch and also the Anglican Archbishop had jurisdiction in both Jordan and Israel and so special diplomatic arrangements

were made for them. Often there have been absentee bishops living in Jerusalem. For instance, Burckhardt cites the example of the bishop of Kerak who lived in Jerusalem and only visited his diocese every 5 or 6 years. His income was £ 600 per annum so it is doubtful whether his presence made a great impact of the Jerusalem economy. Several of the Christian ecclesiastical administrators have had fine palaces built. Thus the residence of the Latin Patriarch during the Crusader period was so fine that Saladin took it over as his residence and it later became the ~~Kankeh~~ Kanqeh mosque. Both the Latin and Greek patriarchs have sizable residences. However, it is doubtful whether the amount of ecclesiastical administration which has emanated from Jerusalem has added very substantially to the city's economic development.

Military Functions

The military functions of Jerusalem in the post-Biblical period can be passed over very briefly. They extended generally only to policing action such as the escorting of pilgrims to the Jordan as witnessed by Maundrell¹⁹ or the quelling of riots within the liwa. Only at times - and perhaps notably during the 12th. Century - could Jerusalem be said to have a fortress function in any meaningful sense for only then was the city the centre for the conduct of a large scale war. The presence in the city during the Latin Kingdom of the knights must have given it a very military flavour, and

reminiscent of the early days of Aelia Capitolina. The walls have thus not always been kept in good repair and when the Turks entered the city they were in a bad state. A few years after, Suleiman the Magnificent commissioned their repair and the present walls were built.

Cultural Functions

Jerusalem's cultural functions have been tied up with its functions as a religious centre and a small government capital. The latter is important, for in the orient there has not been until recent decades the numbers of public places of entertainment such as the theatres of Europe, and the suq and other public spaces in the city had a social importance.

Lees writes thus:

...the suk possesses a feature equal in importance to the interchange of money and goods; it is the favourite place for conversation and gossip as there are no newspapers that chronicle the events of the day and the affairs of the province. The seclusion of the hareem, and the entire absence of that public social life so noticeable in an English city, tend to make the Suk a meeting-place of all people for all purposes except strife and disorder. 20

Apart from this social function of the city and its suqs, there have been a number of cultural buildings serving the city and the villages of the area. Thus public baths have been common features especially in the Moslem Quarter with the strong emphasis Islam has placed on cleanliness, while the Pool of Siloam was at one time a swimming pool. These baths were the

common meeting places of the city apart from the suqs. Within the field of education and general culture, Jerusalem has had some activity, especially for Moslems. In this respect the patronage of the caliphs was important: in the late 15th. Century, the Sultan Qaitbai established the ~~school~~ a school called al-Madrassah al-Ashrafiyyah, inside the Haram. Generally known as "a third jewel" in the Haram, it attained considerable importance.²¹ The Christians and Jews never established educational institutions of such international renown as the Moslems, although in recent decades the Hebrew University and the Dominican Ecole Biblique have gained world-wide reputations. Thus the city was at times holding a considerable population of scholars, especially in the later Middle Ages.

The administration of justice was part of Jerusalem's function as a liwa capital and the courts (Moslem) were situated at the end of the Street of the Chain, next to the Haram. However, in general terms it can be seen that the functions of administration and the functions as military and cultural centre have not been strong enough in Jerusalem to contribute measurably to the city's development. Even the palaces and colleges have had no apparent influence on the growth of the Central Business District. In other words, these functions have added to the commercial activity in making the city a small regional service centre for the central Hill Country; they are far inferior though, to both commerce and the pilgrim trade in the city's economic growth.

SECTION C

THE GROWTH AND URBAN LAND USE OF JERUSALEM

In this section, the areal growth (and therefore also population) of Jerusalem is discussed and also the internal changes in land use. The land use maps in Volume II should be used throughout this section, which generally comments on the most significant trends and points out the main problems and difficulties.

Note on Sources in Section C

In the next two chapters there is a strong linkage with the land use maps in Volume II and the sources quoted here are generally those used in the compilation of those maps. These sources have been used in the order of priority:

- 1) Maps 2) Verbal descriptions 3) Prints

Maps are not generally available until the 12th. Century with the exception of the Madaba Mosaic Map and a few others, and the accuracy of many of the medieval maps is in doubt. However, verbal accounts can be used as supporting evidence and for the Ottoman period prints can also be used. However, from about the time of Breitenbach (1483) the maps become more detailed and reliable and for the 19th. Century there are so many maps of good quality that cartographic evidence is used almost entirely for this century.*

Where references are not given to source material of maps and prints, they can be found in reproduced form in Zev Vilnay's work on the maps and prints of Palestine.® Other sources are generally reprints in periodicals or original works. For further details see introduction to the land use maps.

* See present writer's paper "Nineteenth Century Maps of Palestine: dual-purpose historical evidence" in Imago Mundi Vol. XXII 1968

® Z. Vilnay - The Holy Land in Old Prints and Maps. Jerusalem 1965 (2nd. Edition).

CHAPTER 10

BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM

1) BYZANTINE PERIOD

Extent of Urban Area

The extent of the urban area of the Roman and Byzantine city seems to show a marked change in the fourth Century. Prior to the conversion of Constantine, the city was largely a Roman colony only and whether it was ever a place of Christian pilgrimage is in doubt; anyway the area covered was small. The colony was walled about with walls which seemed to follow the lines of the present ones, although they certainly differed in detail and may have been shorter in the north-east. This would place a maximum limit on the size of the city of Aelia Capitolina in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries. As a Roman colony it would need to be walled and it seems now certain that the walls were if anything shorter in circuit than the present ones.¹ That the early city was confined to this area has been shown by the recent excavations under Dr. Kenyon to be certain.² There was no building to the south of the walls over the older city area on Ophel and Sion and no evidence has been found for early erections to the north. The city seems to have been in origin only a military colony, housing the 10th. Legion and probably little else.³ Hence it

is by no means certain that the whole area intra muros was continuously built-up.⁴ Certainly by the time the area taken up by the military camp and other 'public' buildings has been accounted for, there would not be much room for residential development. The population would thus be unlikely to be more than a few thousands. Unfortunately, since the area is now underneath the present Old City, little evidence has been collected to support any of the theories about Aelia in its pre-Constantine state.

However, while data on early Aelia is sadly lacking, by the 4th. Century more material becomes available. It seems clear that the conversion of Constantine and the interest stimulated by his mother Helena in the city, proved a tremendous force in expanding the urban area.⁵ It is only now that records become available, but the influx of monks, pilgrims, and also Jews into the city and its surroundings becomes very apparent and comparatively well documented.⁶ Until this time, it seems that there was little pressure on land, for the old Temple area was waste according to the Bordeaux Pilgrim;⁷ now there was expansion outside the walls. On the Madaba Map, there is some evidence for this development if Avi-Yonah's interpretation is correct⁶ for he identifies the walls shown on the map as later ones which included a circuit to the south to enclose the southern part of Mount Sion, and the lower Tyropoeon. This seems, according to Dr. Kenyon, to have followed approximately the line of

the walls of Herod Agrippa. Avi-Yonah's contention is that the large building shown on the map to the south of the (now) Jaffa Gate is the Mount Sion complex of Caiaphas's House⁹ and this lies south of the southern wall of Aelia. On the other hand Dr. Kenyon's excavations would seem to show that on a site to the south-west of the present Armenian Quarter there was a building which could well have been the monastery of Lady Bassa and this could be the large building on the Madaba Map.¹⁰ However, it is certain that at some time the city did expand southwards for many of the early pilgrims mention structures to the south of the city walls¹⁴ while the British School of Archaeology excavations reveal that there was also a large number of humbler private dwellings to the south which are not mentioned in the records. Streets have been traced in this area¹² and there was a general expansion of the built-up area southwards.

Apart from the expansion to the south, there was building in progress elsewhere. The Mount of Olives saw the construction of many Churches and also many hermits chose to live in caves and cells on its slopes. There was also an expansion to the north spearheaded by the construction of the Church of St. Stephen, but it seems ~~that~~ from the remains apparent now, that most of the expansion northwards was of tombs rather than housing. It is probable that the attraction of such items as the Pool of Siloam, Caiaphas's House and the Church of St. Peter in Gallicantu prompted development more in this direction than towards the north where there were few Biblical

sites. There was thus little expansion to the west and north (in contrast to later times) but rather to the south and east, following the Christian holy sites.

Thus the built-up area of Jerusalem more than doubled within the 4th. and 5th. centuries. What was the population of this city? Of the Byzantine Jerusalem we have little in the way of contemporary estimates. The estimates for the city of Herod might be of use: Heichelheim gives 100,000 as his figure¹³ and Rops a similar estimate.¹⁴ By the 5th. Century it seems that Jerusalem had covered about the same area of ground as the city of Herod Agrippa. However, whether the area of land devoted to public buildings was identical between the two cities is uncertain: in fact it is quite likely that the Byzantine city had more land under such buildings than the earlier one. On the other hand, the number of hermits and others who dwelt outside the walls in the 5th. and 6th. centuries seems to have been considerable. An estimate of 60,000 or so as the city population has been assumed from an Arab document which enumerates the dead and captured at the time of the Persian invasion. Clermont Ganneau has, however, considered this figure a little high and produced other estimates of the time for 17,000 and 35,000 people killed at that time.¹⁸ Within the 70 acres of the Old City, probably no more than 18,000 persons could have been housed (at least 10 acres were open space - see Map 4) and subsequent expansion after the conversion of Constantine might have brought the

POPULATION

60,000

50,000

40,000

30,000

20,000

10,000

GRAPH OF POPULATION ESTIMATES OF JERUSALEM

FIG. 8

Byzantine

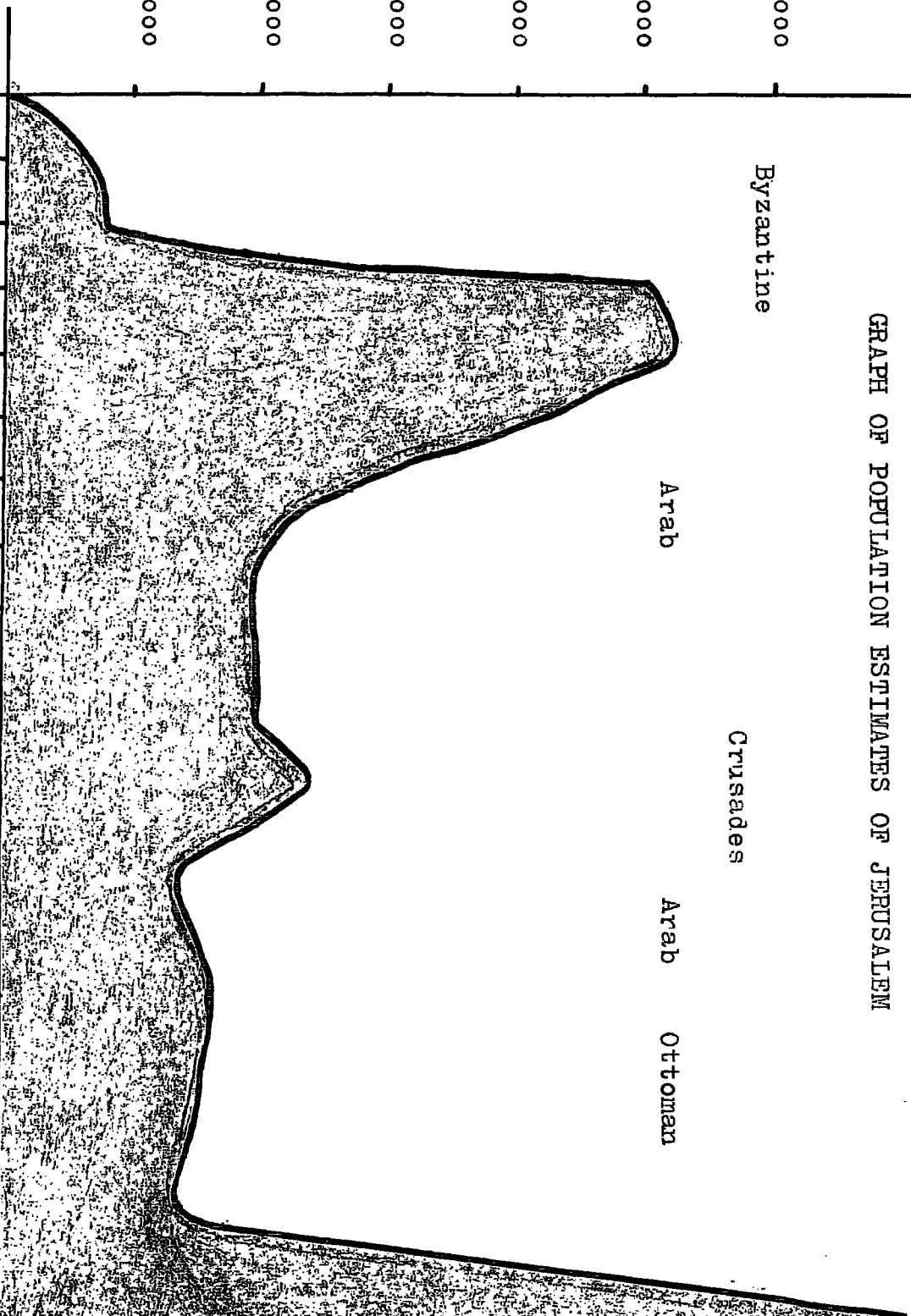
Arab

Crusades

Arab

Ottoman

A.D.
300
400
500
600
700
800
900
1000
1100
1200
1300
1400
1500
1600
1700
1800
1900



total population up to 50,000. It is dangerous to link area of urban building with total population too closely, since the density of settlement in cities can vary enormously and the conditions of the Byzantine era with comparative security rendering the walls less important seems to have led to a large growth of housing and cave dwellings outside the walls, especially to the south and east. Public buildings and spaces could also represent as much as 25% of the area intra-muros.

Public Buildings

It is probably best to deal in detail with the location of public buildings prior to considering other forms of land use since these are the items most frequently mentioned by the pilgrim sources and so can be located and delineated more accurately than other forms of usage. Under this category are included religious buildings, administrative and cultural buildings, hospices, and fortifications.

Religious buildings did not occupy a large acreage of the original colony of Aelia and in fact there were only two buildings under such use, one a temple to Venus on the site of the present Holy Sepulchre, north of the Forum; and the other on the site of the old Jewish Temple.¹⁹ There may have been other smaller temples for other gods than the normal Roman ones were worshipped in the city in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries.¹⁷ However, since as we have seen, much of the old Temple area was waste in the 4th. Century,

religion cannot have attained a high interest for the inhabitants of Aelia.

The contrast with the Byzantine period is thus again considerable, for after the visits of Helena and the other noble patrons, the number of religious buildings which were constructed became very large indeed. Of prime importance was the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and the Calvary chapel which were erected (as separate buildings) on the site of the former temple to Venus. From henceforth the Holy Sepulchre Church was the focus of Christianity and the real urban 'core' of Jerusalem. The old Temple area remained as it had been found by the Christians - waste: but other places of worship and devotion were erected over places of Biblical interest. Elinor Moore's treatment of the origin of many of these buildings provides us with some idea of the intensity of religious fervour which led to this widespread form of land use.¹⁸ Thus the Pool of Siloam and the Pool of Bethesda were both 'discovered' and had churches built over them.¹⁹ The Bordeaux Pilgrim, who arrived just as this building 'boom' was getting under way saw not only Bethesda and Siloam but also Caiaphas's House on Mount Sion, the House of Pilate (in the old barracks area) as well as the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre being built. It appears also that Bethany was being visited by pilgrims from Jerusalem, to see the tomb of Lazarus.²⁰ Other visitors of the 4th. Century saw other churches. Jerome mentioned the Tomb of Helena of Adiabene as

a place of note and a place visited as the Upper Room. By 386, pilgrims could write: "there are so many places of prayer in the city that one day cannot suffice for visiting them all." ²⁴ Churches grew apace on the Mount of Olives including the Church of the Ascension ²² and later 24 Churches in all by the middle of the 6th. Century. ²³ St. Stephen's Church was built to the north of the city walls and in addition there was a Church built very early on over the supposed tomb of the Virgin.

Without going into further details (see Chapter 12) it can be seen that large areas of Jerusalem became occupied by ecclesiastical ~~buildings~~ buildings by the 6th. Century. The sites of Biblical events attracted the Christians (see p.64) and formed foci for not only pilgrim activity but also for residential growth and the development of the ethnic quarters (see Chapter 13). The widespread occupation of land by buildings of religious use is surely the most significant feature of land use in Byzantine Jerusalem as depicted on Map 4.

A Administrative and cultural buildings, were less prominent in Byzantine Jerusalem than the religious ones and seem to have been less important than they were in the original colony of Aelia. Certain areas and buildings were given over to mundane functions, however. There was a central forum which appears on the Madaba Mosaic Map and it now appears that the remains in the Russian Excavations are of that forum. ²⁴ The

proximity of this forum to the temple of Venus, later the Holy Sepulchre Church, helped considerably to make the area to the north-west of the central cross-roads, the real urban 'core' of Jerusalem. Other buildings included a theatre which has been generally located south-east of the forum, just north of the present Street of the Chain.²⁵ There is also some evidence of baths in and around the city as located on Map 4. A further feature has been a conjectured amphitheatre to the south of the city. Vincent and Abel placed this just south of the Haram enclosure, but recent excavations have failed to reveal anything. In general with regard to the internal buildings of Aelia, Dr. Kenyon has summed up the sparsity of our knowledge:

"There is not much likelihood of finding out a great deal about the interior of Aelia Capitolina." 26

Government quarters were probably in the Citadel which stood at the western gate of the city (David's Tower). Other than this we have little exact information, although the Madaba Map seems to show a civic building at the southern end of the Tariq Bab an-Nabi Daud. One feature worth noting - ~~since~~ since it persists - is that apart from the Citadel, most public buildings of a secular nature, especially baths and entertainments, have been sited in the Tyropoeon valley area in what is now the main part of the Moslem Quarter, thus separating the holy sites of the Christian Quarter and Mount Sion from those to the east.

Hospices were important features of land use. With these we might include the monasteries and hospitals, for they tended to perform accommodation functions for pilgrims by a process of development. The Bordeaux Pilgrim gives no mention of a hospice but since great numbers of pilgrims flocked to the city in the 4th. Century²⁷ we can assume that very soon such buildings must have been erected. By the 5th. Century more information is available. Eucherius noticed monks' cells on Mount Sion²⁸ although as yet there does not appear to have been a hospice there. We know that the Empress Eudoxia had many hospices and churches built in the first half of the 5th. Century for one early writer said of her:

"she adorned the Churches with costly gifts..... the blessed Eudoxia built for Christ a great number of Churches and monasteries and hospices for the poor and aged that I cannot mention them all." 29

From Antoninus Martyr we get a better picture of where these hospices were. There was accommodation for monks in the "Tower of David" and a hospice with 3,000 beds near the basilica of the Blessed Mary (the present Aqsa Mosque is the favourite location).³⁰ Theodorus mentions a nunnery near the Temple area³¹ and Procopius mentions that Justinian had three monasteries built although the location of them is uncertain.* There were convents on the Mount of Olives in the 5th. Century.³² In the early days of Byzantine rule, the laxity

*Probably the one mentioned by Antoninus Martyr is one of these.

of building restrictions permitted a large growth in the number of monasteries and hospices.³³ Peter the Iberian built a monastery near the Citadel and in 438 a hospice was built by Eudoxia near the eastern gate of the city (see Map 4). An old peoples' home was built near the Citadel.³⁴ The diffusion of hospices and monasteries was notable but what began to worry the authorities was the spread of individualist hermits living in caves and cells in the Hinnom and Kidron valleys and on the Mount of Olives. Elias, the first Arab patriarch ~~organised~~ organised these hermits into monasteries and in particular gathered them into a place near the Holy Sepulchre which later was known as the "Spoudaioi". The hospices on Map 4 are those the location of which is generally agreed upon but there were probably several others about which we know little.

Fortifications took up little land in Byzantine Aelia, but the pagan city had up to a third of the area - according to Vincent and Abel - occupied by the legionary camp. In general the Citadel or 'David's Tower' as the pilgrims called it, was the main strong point of the city with the military camp just to the south. The original walls which are shown on Map 3 were extended after the 4th. Century as mentioned above (p.179) but the Citadel remained the major point of military usage and even this appears to have been taken over by monks later on : the Byzantine rulers do not seem to have been very concerned about the defence of

Jerusalem believing like the Jews before them that somehow the sacredness of this city would protect it from all enemies. The Persian invasion came as a rude shock.

Zones of Movement.

The most striking feature of the land use in Aelia and Byzantine Jerusalem is the street pattern, forming the skeleton around which the city hangs. Now it can be readily seen from a modern map or aerial photograph³⁵ that the streets of the city are abnormally straight, compared with other cities in the area (e.g. Acre, Amman). The correspondence between the present skeleton of the city and the known planning of Roman towns³⁶ would suggest that in the modern streets we can trace generally the lines laid down by Hadrian's planners in A.D. 132. The map in this thesis of Aelia assumes a general correspondence, with deviations, plotted from a modern aerial photograph. However, as has been observed in connection with other cities, it is not advisable to assume complete correspondence. The streets may remain relatively straight, but their course shifts gradually in course of time so that the original line of movement may be not just below the present street but also parallel to it and a little further away. A classic illustration of this is in the Via Dolorosa, which has plainly moved southwards as shown in excavations under the Sisters of Zion and by the Ecce Homo Arch.^{37, 38} However, there is a useful corroboration that the general lines have remained the

same in the Madaba Map which clearly shows the two north - south streets very strong and hints at others. It seems clear that the city had a cardo and decumanus laid down from the beginning; the main doubts remain with regard to the details, especially the very straight streets in the north-eastern part of the city. This area has been considered by many to have been excluded from the original Aelia and the area may have been first settled during Byzantine times. The nature of the Madaba Map does not allow us more detail, but the main features are still clear. The main north-south street was a street of columns from the northern gate (Damascus Gate) to a gate in the southern wall located by Vincent as just east of Zion Gate (Map 4). This street had an open space just inside the northern gate with an isolated column and possibly according ~~to~~ to Germer Durand, a forum near the southern gate. This street, from its prominence on the Madaba Map and its persistence throughout Jerusalem's history must have been the main thoroughfare as it is today. The street running from the northern open space down the upper Tyropoeon (Tariq el Wad) was probably designed to follow this natural feature bypassing the crowded central area and served the baths and theatres. It probably had an exit near the present Dung Gate. From this road the mosaic clearly shows ~~XXXXXXXX~~ a west-east street leaving the city via a gate corresponding to the present St. Stephen's Gate. Another east - west street has been

assumed along St. Francis Street. Another street definitely shown on the Madaba Map is the present one running from the Jaffa Gate to the Zion Gate via the present Armenian Quarter.

Thus the streets of Roman and Byzantine Jerusalem followed generally the pattern of a Roman colonial town such as was found at Gerasa, Caesarea and other settlements in Classical Palestine. There was a central open space - the forum in the area of the present Muristan and another just inside the northern gate, an example of the tendency to have such places to the north and west of the city (see above pp.47-8). Thus in considering the land use development of the Old City it is apparent that the present street pattern and general lay-out is ancient and can be traced right back to the origins of the city, even that compromise to relief, the Tariq el-Wad. If the Roman planners contributed nothing else they thus contributed two essential features to the structure of Jerusalem: i) the general layout of the walls; ii) the pattern of streets and open spaces. This was the skeletal framework on which the subsequent development of Jerusalem was to build.

Economic Activity

The amount of land taken up with economic activity in various forms is less well known than the location of the streets and the churches. Some evidence is available, but it is probably true to say that we know more about the economic

land use of Biblical Jerusalem than of the Roman and Byzantine city. From the plan of the city as we know it to have been, it seems likely that there was retailing activity in the central forum and in the open space just inside the northern gate. The latter might have been linked to the forum by shops along the colonnaded street (i.e. the present Suq Khan es-Zeit) although whether the colonnades were in fact used for this purposes is only conjectural. It is also likely that there was some retailing at the main cross-roads if the pattern followed that of other Graeco-Roman cities, such as Gerasa, east of the Jordan.³⁹ From the pilgrims we get little information at all on the retailing situation in the early centuries of this era. Of manufacturing activity we have little or no information prior to the Arab conquest.

For agricultural land use, the picture is similarly sketchy. Some comments on the local terrain suggest that it was not very productive.⁴⁰ Josephus *did* not consider the city's lands to be very cultivable.⁴¹ However, we know that in Biblical times the Kidron valley had gardens (Jer. 34.4; John ~~34~~ 18.1) and the availability of soil and water there must have rendered it the obvious place for local cultivation since the city needed some local supplies. In fact the Bordeaux Pilgrim found vineyards and palm trees in the Kidron valley while further down in the Haceldama area there were vines and fruit trees according to Antoninus Martyr.⁴² Figs were also grown in the area and olives.⁴³ The great increase

in pilgrim activity brought about an extension of the cultivated area but much food had to be brought in from the Jordan valley.⁴⁴ If garden cultivation was plentiful in the 1st. Century A.D. around the city⁴⁵ then it can be probably safely assumed that the valleys and hillsides were used to the full during the years of Byzantine prosperity. The rural land use picture is, however, very sketchy indeed and it is not until later centuries that the contemporary visitors give sufficient data to enable us to form an accurate picture. So far, no archaeological soil testing or pollen analysis seems to have been attempted in the area.

Residential Areas

Finally in this brief survey of the land use of early Jerusalem, the areas of residential housing ~~must~~ must be considered. To some extent the location of the areas of housing might be deduced by simply assigning such use to all the area within the walled city which has not been covered by buildings of other ~~types~~ types. However, such a procedure has its pitfalls since frequently areas within the walls were left empty and waste and we cannot be confident that our knowledge of the extent and location of Churches, hospices, etc. is complete since it is based on so few records. The map found at Madaba seems to show housing between the two main north - south streets yet it is not

certain whether it is residential housing or a presentation of public buildings; if the former it is probably accurate since the map shows a high accuracy standard.⁴⁶ However, neither maps nor excavations have revealed much of private buildings. Excavations south of the present city wall have nevertheless shown that this area was extensively covered by private housing and caves ~~were~~ were also used for lower-class dwellings.⁴⁷ Indeed, at one time it seems as if a large part of the suburban housing of Jerusalem was in the form of caves with hermits in residence. Such cells were noted on Mount Sion⁴⁸ and also in large numbers on the Mount of Olives.⁴⁹ There seems to have been some suburban housing north of the walled city, but as noted above (p.180) this area was mainly a necropolis and the development was largely of higher class villas.

In conclusion it must be admitted that we have a rather patchy map of land use for the city from A.D. 132 up to the Arab conquest. The location of churches and main streets is fairly well known, but for agricultural, commercial and residential land use much depends on guesswork and casual references of sometimes doubtful accuracy. The influence of religious factors on the growth of urban area and the detailed land use within it can be seen: a large number of religious buildings and hospices and rapid development paralleling the growth of the pilgrim trade. The pattern of a division between the religious activity concentrated to the west of

the colonnaded street and secular activity to the east emerged, with retailing between the two. In general the contribution of this period to the land use and morphological development of the Old City can be summed up as:

1) The general shell of the city walls established.

2) The street pattern established and with it the existence of an important central cross-roads and public open space (forum/Muristan) nearby. The existence of this as the urban 'core' area was guaranteed after the building of the Holy Sepulchre nearby.

3) The major Churches were built and the sites 'hallowed'. There is also evidence that the Wailing Wall came into use at this time also.

2) MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Extent of Urban Area

The area covered by the city declined considerably after the Arab conquest and fluctuated persistently especially during the troubled 12th. and 13th. centuries. There is certainly little evidence from archaeological work that the city continued to occupy the lands to the north and south of the walls in any density.⁵⁰ It appears that there was a retreat from extra-mural locations especially for residential building and a decline in the population, though Nasir-i-Khusrau considered Jerusalem "a very great city" with a population of 20,000 men.⁵¹ He also noted that it was enclosed by strong walls which would imply that the urban area was confined to within the walled city. The troubles caused by Hakem (c.1,000) did not encourage settlement in the city by Christians and Jews and much property was destroyed,⁵² ~~so that a retreat from the~~ Byzantine area was finally completed.⁵³ During the Crusader period the population fluctuated according to the state of the war but the city seems during that time to have been largely confined to the walled city apart from Churches and some well documented 'village' development to the south and east. Some suburban dwellings - mainly hermits - ~~was~~ ^{were} in evidence on Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives, but the density of residential building never attained the Byzantine level outside the walls.

From 12th. Century plans of the city⁵⁴ the impression is certainly given that the city was largely confined to its walls. Benjamin of Tudela, a 12th. Century Jewish traveller, considered Jerusalem "a small city" but with a "numerous population"⁵⁵ which implies that the area was small but the population within the area - and hence the density of building - was considerable. Some numerical data may here be obtained from the figures given by Beha-ed-Din of the numbers ransomed after the capture of the city by Saladin. He says that of the Christians ransomed, 10 Tyrian dinars were paid per head for men; 5 for women; and 1 for children. The total ransom money collected was 220,000 dinars. In addition there were 3,000 Moslem citizens held prisoner by the Christians.⁵⁶ Assuming the present day ratios of men:women:children this would give a population at the end of the Crusader period of about 26,000 adults.* Considering the present population of the walled city, this would be about the right figure. However, Beha-ed-Din states that within the city there were 60,000 fighting men apart from the citizens: if they were also ransomed, this would alter the figures. In any case the figure of 60,000 would represent the strength of the army defending, not the urban population. Jews are not mentioned, but we know that they returned to the city in the 12th. Century and swelled the population.⁵⁷ Later, however, the city is

* The ratio used here presumes that the family unit used was European, not the Arab extended family. This presumption was made after consultation with Mr. J.M.Hilal, Fellow in the Sociology of the Middle East, Durham University.

described as having few inhabitants for the area⁵⁸ so the Moslem reconquest must have brought a decline in population. Gucci described the city as full of people⁵⁹ but this may include pilgrims as well as residents. In the post-Crusader medieval period the city's population seems to have varied between 10,000 and 20,000⁶⁰ and as a result the built-up area must have been largely confined to the walls and even within the walls there may well have been open spaces. Of extra-mural suburbs such as found at Damascus⁶¹ Jerusalem seems to have had few apart from some churches and convents, the villages of Bethany and Gethsemane (see p. 312), and perhaps some rural settlement in the Silwan area. The decline in pilgrim numbers as a result of Papal bans, troubles in Europe, and various discouragements certainly affected the size of Bethlehem for in the 14th. Century that place declined and probably also did Jerusalem. Ziadeh certainly, among modern scholars, is critical of any high estimate of the city's population. For the 14th. and 15th. centuries - when pilgrims were beginning to return - he says that the city had "undergone too many vicissitudes to harbour 20,000".⁶⁰ The total area under buildings must have been not only confined to the walls but well within them.

Churches and other Public Buildings

The area of land use under the category of 'public buildings' did not overall decrease with the Moslem conquest, although there was destruction or abandonment of many of the edifices outside the city walls. This was more than compensated for by the construction of the Dome of the Rock, Al Aqsa Mosque and other Moslem buildings. With the area governed by a foreign and often hostile power, the Christian communities had to build more hospices for the accommodation and protection of pilgrims. Hence while some of the churches of Byzantine Jerusalem disappeared, the area under religious land use remained high.

The account of Arculfus gives no indication of any widespread abandonment of the more important churches in the 7th. Century.⁶³ There were still churches on the Mount of Olives and on Mount Sion which was still described by Willibald as being in the middle of the city⁶⁴ during his visit in 722. There does, however, seem to have been some 'rationalisation' and religious activity was becoming concentrated on fewer buildings. Bernard the Wise mentions four major churches in the middle of the 9th. Century⁶⁵ three of which were in the Holy Sepulchre complex. The decline in the number of holy sites at this time has already been discussed (above p.110). In locational terms, the decline was greatest outside the walls, especially on the Mount of Olives, although there was still a church and a mosque at the ascension

place according to Mukaddassi⁶⁶. The Mount Sion complex and places at Bethany still functioned.

Hospices begin to appear more frequently in the chronicles of the pilgrims and the most important one appears to have been that of Charlemagne on Mount Sion for Latin pilgrims.⁶⁷ Since according to Nasir-i-Khusrau 20,000 Moslems⁶⁸ visited the city each year at the beginning of the hadj, there must have been a number of khans to accommodate them, but the location of all but al-Walaka is uncertain. For the Crusader period the amount of data available increases and it appears that the area under churches and hospices became much larger. The map No. 5 shows the profusion of churches with a strong concentration around the Holy Sepulchre which had to the south not only St. John's hospice but also the Churches of St. Mary Latine Major and Minor. This area was the centre of the religious activity which was such an important part of the city's life. Mount Sion was important - indeed on one 12th. Century map the size of its symbol quite dwarfs that of the Holy Sepulchre, for it held the Dormition, the Coenaculum, and other places of importance. There was a strong growth of churches along the Via Dolorosa including a Church of St. Mary Magdalene which according to a map of 1150 was near the site of the present Austrian Hospice. Churches increased in the Kidron and on the Mount of Olives and there was a new Church of St. Stephen to the north.⁶⁹ Many places ~~were~~ were of

fictitious or at best dubious authenticity, ~~as~~ e.g. a House of Uriah near the Tower of David⁷⁰, the 'compass' or middle of the world⁷¹ and the Church of the Holy Cross to the west of the city (Byzantine origin)⁷². The Church of St. Anne was important⁷³ and its 'Sheep Pool' a favourite with pilgrims. The location of some of these churches is in doubt, but the contemporary maps and accounts give us sufficient data to plot the main edifices on Map 5. The Xenodochium (hospital and hospice) near the Holy Sepulchre was important and covered a large area⁷⁴ and there was another one of uncertain location near the northern gate.⁷⁵ The hospice/hospital of St. Mary of the Germans was also large and prominent, in the present Jewish Quarter. The acquisition of lands and wealth by the convents and hospices brought about some corruption and moral degradation which ultimately brought the collapse of the regime⁷⁶ but meanwhile in the Crusader period, it can be seen that there was a great increase in religious buildings.⁷⁷

Following the conquest of the city by Saladin there was a slow but certain decline in the area given over to religious buildings and many of the smaller convents and churches were put to secular use.⁷⁸ For the 13th. Century, two excellent accounts by Ernoul and an anonymous author (the 'Citez de Jherusalem') provide much information. As was the case after the first Moslem conquest, we see a gradual rationalisation process with less authentic and appealing sites becoming disused.

The 'Citez' was written about 1220, i.e. not long after the city returned to Moslem hands and it thus gives an amazingly detailed picture of the city at a crucial time. There still seems to have been a large number of churches and convents in existence especially on Mount Sion⁷⁹ which was to become increasingly the headquarters of the Latin community. The hospice of St. John was still flourishing⁸⁰ and the two monastic churches of St. Mary in the central area were in existence still.⁸¹ The German hospital still stood as did that for lepers.⁸² There was little sign of a decrease in churches and religious buildings either within or without the walls. However, soon there is a decrease. The whole city^{lives} during the Latin Kingdom held 24 major Churches⁸⁴ but Frescobaldi in the late 14th. Century could only number 12.⁸⁵ The hospice of St. John still appears to have been functioning⁸⁶ and it is noted also by Felix Fabri who mentions several hospices in the city including one at "Millo" at the foot of Mount Sion(Latin) and a Greek hospice west of the Holy Sepulchre. By the end of the 15th. Century, however, it appears that the number of hospices was getting smaller and incapable of accommodating all the pilgrims at peak periods, according to Francesco Suriano, custodian of the Latin community.⁸⁸ The number of churches and convents also declined and many holy sites lost the edifice over them and reverted - nominally - from religious land use to agricultural usage or waste.⁸⁹

The end result was a very small amount of land outside the walled area devoted to religious land use in physical terms (i.e. with a structure thereon). Apart from Moslem mosques, religious activity outside the walls was concentrated on the Latin buildings on Mount Sion; inside there was concentration on the Holy Sepulchre area (Greek Christians) and the Haram esh-Sharif (Moslems). Otherwise, the holy sites remained just open sites and the obvious influence of religion on the urban landscape was far less than in the Crusader period.

Non-religious public areas are less known of since the pilgrims cared less for them. Mukaddasi tells us that the city had three large water pools which were presumably for public use: the Birket Bani Israel; the Birket Sulaiman; and the Birket 'Iyad⁹⁰ and he also remarks that most quarters of the city have smaller public tanks.⁹¹ There were cisterns in the Haram area and the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools was also functioning.⁹² According to Fetellus and other pilgrims the Pool of Siloam was a swimming pool.⁹³ In the 13th. Century there were four pools according to Burchard of Mount Sion: the Sheep Pool (Bethesda or possibly Bkt. Israel); the 'Inner Pool'; Siloam; and the 'Upper Pool'. In addition there were many bathing pools. The public bath (Hamman) was an important feature of the Arab city and has remained so, since Islam prescribes cleanliness as part of the faith.⁹⁴ Jerusalem has these baths in the central Tyropoeon as noted for Byzantine times, although precise locations at specific times are uncertain. The

spring of the Virgin's Fountain was also operating as a water source,⁹⁵ throughout the medieval period. In fact the insecurity of water supplies seems to have prompted the growth and maintenance of a number of tanks and water sources.

With regard to military and administrative areas of land use there is little information for the Middle Ages. The Citadel operated as the main strong point throughout the period⁹⁶ guarding the approach from the north-west. A large number of Arab cities in fact were dominated by their citadels and the Friday mosque⁹⁷ and although Al Aqsa never dominated Jerusalem the citadel was a marked feature of the townscape and appears strongly on most contemporary maps. The walls were built and rebuilt from time to time, but seem to have been in a state of decay at the time of the Ottoman conquest in the 16th. Century. The main seat of administration seems to have been concentrated in or near the Citadel. For instance the Cambrai manuscript map of 1150 shows the 'curia regis' as part of the Citadel complex and although there is some evidence that at one time the palace of the Crusader kings was inside the northern (Damascus) gate⁹⁸ the Citadel site seems to have generally persisted. Other points of political/military land use in Crusader times were the headquarters of the Knights Templar (Al Aqsa Mosque) and the Knights of St. John (near the Holy Sepulchre). The Aqsa mosque was also used by Godfrey de

Bouillon after his initial capture of Jerusalem until he moved into the Citadel.⁹⁹ For a time Saladin ruled from the site of the present Al Kandeḥ mosque which had been the palace of the Latin patriarch. The old Antonia fortress area was also used for governmental and military purposes from time to time in the Middle Ages.

Streets

Modification in the street pattern does not appear to have been great in the Middle Ages. Within the area of the present walls there was probably some minor modification in the grid-iron over the centuries - in the present Jewish Quarter for instance which exhibits less regularity in street pattern and suffered a number of vicissitudes after passing out of the hands of the German Crusaders. The main framework of the zones of movement remained as before and the minor changes were not documented probably because they generally only effected the residential quarters away from the main streets. There was a causeway from Wilson's Arch in the 13th Century¹⁰⁰ and a bridge was built over the Kidron.¹⁰¹ The area outside the walls developed some paths mainly between holy sites. Thus the author of the 'Citez' noted that three paths led away from Sion Gate to the south (the same number as today)¹⁰² but otherwise we know little of the extra-mural routes. With the persistence of the holy sites and the gates, however, and the known tendency for routes to persist over the centuries, a useful estimate can be made (Map 6).

Economic Land Use

Since the pilgrims of the Middle Ages like those before and since have been mainly interested in the holy sites there is little detailed description of the economic life of Jerusalem and the following is thus very sketchy.

Retailing is an activity which takes up very little space on the ground but is of vital importance in the study of urban geography because of its sensitivity to economic pressures. From the maps we gain only a little information on retailing mainly knowledge of the presence of the 'forum rerum venantium' and the 'cambium monate' which lay adjacent to the central cross-roads of the city. One of the earliest mentions of retailing in the verbal accounts is by Bernard the Wise who found a market in front of the hospice of Charlemagne, i.e. in the area of the present Muristan. The presence of the hospice with its large number of pilgrims and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre nearby no doubt made it well worth while for the retailers to pay the 2 aweir annually for the privilege of dealing there.¹⁰⁵ Mukaddasi mentions the existence of markets but does not say where they were located unfortunately.¹⁰⁶ Theodorich gives us evidence that the market of Bernard the Wise was still in existence in the 12th. Century under the Crusaders.¹⁰⁷ From the 'Citez' we gain more information. Corn, which was kept in the Tower of David¹⁰⁸ was sold in a large place 'on the left hand' of that tower.¹⁰⁹ The Jaffa Gate was at this time (12th- 13th. centuries) the

main point of entry for the city since the Latin pilgrims arrived here from Jaffa: so a market by this gate is logical. It is interesting though that it was a foodstuffs market and therefore orientated to the local customer and not primarily a pilgrim orientated market. The evolution of a local market here is noted below (p. 321) and it is interesting that it has early origins. The 'Citez' gives the location of the 'Exchange' at the south-east corner of the Muristan, a location also persisting into the last century.¹¹⁰ In the Suq el-Lehem was the Street of Herbs¹¹¹ so herbs, spices and bread (Arabic=Lehem) were sold here. Also nearby east of the Muristan were sellers of fish, cheese, chickens, eggs and birds, separating the Syrian goldworkers to the east from the Latin goldworkers to the west. The presence in the area of palm sellers emphasises that pilgrim and local market activities were grouped very much together (see Chapter 14). Incidentally, according to our anonymous pilgrim, there were a number of convents mingled among the shops.¹¹² Catering activity was carried on in Malquisinat street and stuffs were sold - as today - in the Covered Suq. Butchery was found in the Street of the Temple¹¹³ and in the Street of the Exchange (David Street) were stuffs sellers and candlemakers.¹¹⁴

A reconstruction of the Central Business District of medieval Jerusalem is given in Chapter 14. From Ludolph von Suchem we learn that by the 14th. Century the Holy

Sepulchre itself was used as a market for the sale of victuals at Easter.¹¹⁵ The segregation of retailing on occupational and ethnic grounds, not apparent in the land use maps, is found in many writers including Sigoli.¹¹⁶

The most significant aspects of the location of retailing seem to be that it has been fairly constant in one area - that of the Muristan/Suq al-Attarin/David Street. The centrality of this area together with the fact that it occurred at the cross-roads of the two main streets has undoubtedly influenced this location and in fact has produced a C.B.D. which is a little more meaningful than the fragmented shopping areas of many other medieval oriental cities (see Chapter 14 p. 317). A study of the accounts and the land use maps shows also that this ~~central~~ centrality was surrendered in part by a gradual movement towards the Damascus Gate in the north and the Jaffa Gate to the west - indicating the strong influence of the local market preferring a peripheral location to the north or west of the city. There was also some pull by the Holy Sepulchre Church (see Fig. 33).

Industry does not show itself strongly on the map of Jerusalem since until the 19th. Century there is little data on this activity. Dying^e seems to have been important in the 11th.-12th. centuries and since it was undertaken by the Jews who lived near the Tower of David according to Benjamin of Tudela,¹¹⁷ it can probably be assumed that this industry was also located there. Gold working and retailing has already

been mentioned as located in the C.B.D. ¹¹⁸ but one local industry which does receive some mention in the pilgrim accounts is leather tanning. It persisted at the Pool of Siloam ¹¹⁹ where there was ample water and the obnoxious effects of this industry gave it a mention in many descriptions. ¹²⁰

Agriculture was concentrated again in the Kidron and Hinnom valleys and on the Turonian spur ¹²¹ in the Middle Ages. There is quite a body of evidence to show that the Kidron valley and also the lower (southern) end of the turonian spur were the main areas of agricultural activity.

Arculfus gives us a useful little account of the local agriculture in the early Arab period. The land immediately to the north of Jerusalem it appears was too rough and stoney for farming and was covered in thorns, but to the east the land was covered with olive yards. There were also some vines and olives on the Mount of Olives but in the general opinion of Arculfus there were few trees on that hill and the land was given over to wheat and barley. ¹²² Bernard the Wise mentions fields, vineyards and a garden in the Kidron valley and Mukaddasi emphasises this fertility of the Kidron. ¹²³ He tells us of gardens and vineyards there with cultivated fields and says that there were large gardens below 'Ain Silwan irrigated by the overflow of that pool and owned by the Waqf (i.e. Moslem council). ¹²³ Another form of land use south of the Pool of Siloam was pisciculture attested by Fetellus in the 12th. Century.

That century brought certain difficulties, however. With the Crusader capture of Jerusalem, the local Moslem villages refused to produce food for the city¹²⁵ but later the valleys were put down to agricultural use under the ownership of the religious orders. To the European settlers the land was rocky and unpromising, but as Theodorich mentions, where there was some soil, there was production.¹²⁶ Not only was the Kidron cultivated even to some way below the Pool of Siloam,¹²⁷ but the Haram area, now under the control of the Templars, was planted with gardens, for it received a supply of water from tanks and the High Level Aqueduct.¹²⁸ Vine production flourished on the Hinnom slopes by the Citadel according to Joannes Phocas¹²⁸ and ~~the~~ the cultivation in the Hinnom, in the Haram¹²⁹ and in the Kidron were often mentioned by pilgrims. In fact the whole of the valley surrounds of the city seems to have been cultivated (mainly with tree crops) and garden land use extended to below Job's Well.¹³⁰

Following the Moslem recapture of the city there seems to have been a de-intensification of farming economy in the valleys for Ludolph von Suchem noticed not cultivation but flocks grazing, in the Garden of Gethsemane¹³¹ although the general fertility of the area is well attested by many visitors. Tree crops seem to have dominated the Mount of Olives in the 14th. Century and there is evidence for a grazing economy intermingled with this. In fact there appears

to have been a mixed farming system operating in the 15th. Century in the Kidron valley: John Poloner says that flowers were cultivated in the Place of Agony and by the Golden Gate (an old cemetery) and there were fields lower down the valley. but husbandmen and shepherds lived(side by side?) at the foot of the Mount of Olives, probably in the village of Gethsemane often referred to in the Middle Ages.¹³²

For the later part of the medieval period there is more evidence for agricultural practices above the valleys. A very important document is the map of Bernhard von Breitenbach (1483) which shows Jerusalem in picture form (and wrongly orientated!) and is most useful in this context. The Haram area appears to have held a number of trees and empty spaces are visible within the city walls, although there is no visible sign that they were cultivated. The area around Siloam appears particularly fertile on the map, however. This map is not easy to interpret¹³³ but evidence to support cultivation within the city and to the south of the walls comes from Felix Fabri who mentions a garden to the west of the Holy Sepulchre owned by the Greeks which produced oranges and pomegranates.¹³⁴ Another garden noticed by Fabri was on "Mount Gihon" which he calls the gardens of Jerusalem.¹³⁶ He found trees by the Pool of Siloam¹³⁵ and gardens on Mount Sion attached to the Latin monastery.¹³⁷ However, this monastery still had to obtain supplies from gardens in the Kidron valley in Suriano's time.¹³⁸

In conclusion it can be seen that the location of agricultural land use in and around Jerusalem was very much conditioned by the relief and geology and particularly by the availability of water. It was the Kidron and Hinnom valleys which were the gardens of the city generally. The Mount of Olives and other hills supported tree crops and a grazing economy and in the early Arab period cereals were cultivated on the summit; but its openness to attack and the poor nature of the soil mitigated against intensive use. Other influences can be seen, especially the influence of the Christian convents. For instance the production of fish in ponds was almost certainly to serve the Latin community and the presence of gardens on Mount Sion and in the Greek convent testifies to an attempt by the Christian communities to make themselves as far as possible self-sufficient in food.

Residential Land Use

The major land use within the city walls of any town is, of course, that of residential housing. The early maps - and also most of the pilgrims - were not very interested in the ordinary houses and concentrated on the major religious and secular buildings. Consequently we gain little assistance from the Cambrai Map or any of the 12th. Century maps we possess for only Church and fortress are shown. It is unreliable to assume that all the space unoccupied by such

buildings was given over to residential use for as has been seen there were open spaces between the walls which were either waste or cultivated. Some data is available for extra-mural suburbs but even this is limited. Thus in the 11th. and 12th. centuries there appears to have been a sizable settlement at Gethsemane for apart from the reference given above (p.209) an anonymous 11th. Century pilgrim calls Gethsemane a "village". So does the Abbot Daniel¹³⁹ who refers to Bethany as "a little country town" which had a gate and several edifices.¹³⁹ Here there seems to have been a considerable suburb built around the associations with Lazarus, Martha and Mary. From John of Wurtzburg we learn¹⁴⁰ that Bethany was a "town" and Bethphage once a "village of priests".¹⁴¹ However much suburban growth there was to the east of Jerusalem in Crusader times, there appears to have been little to the south for the land was largely ~~deserted~~ empty of housing.¹⁴² There appears to have been some extra-mural settlement by monks and recluses in the Silvan area, especially near Absalom's Pillar.^{143,144} Even after the reconquest of Saladin there appears to have still been hermit suburbs in the lower Kidron.¹⁴⁵ However, before long these extra-mural habitations dwindled. Bethany becomes a "village"¹⁴⁶ and in the early 15th. Century a "castle",¹⁴⁷ although the anonymous 'Guide Book' calls it a "town" in the 14th. Century. Pilgrim terminology is not

as exact as that of the geographer, but it can be seen that this far eastern suburb fluctuated considerably in size and status. Settlement persisted on top of the Mount of Olives, for von Suchem records the presence of a village called Galilee there. In the 15th. Century there were settlements at the foot of the Mount of Olives¹⁴⁹ and in the same period, Felix Fabri noted the Galilee settlement.¹⁵⁰ However, from Suriano's account which comes at the time when the Arab government fell to the Turks, we learn of ruined houses in the area south of the city with great insecurity of person and property.¹⁵¹ A decline in the residential land use area outside the walls is plainly pictured in this and other late accounts and persisted into the Ottoman period.

So far the discussion of the residential area has been largely confined to extra-mural suburbs using mainly the evidence of pilgrims. However, finally, there must be some treatment of the area within the walls and here some maps are useful. The map of Breitenbach is again crucial for while it does not offer the detail - let alone the accuracy - of the Civitates Orbis Terrarum map of 1588 (see below p. 216) its pictorial image of the city is invaluable. It would appear that by the 15th, Century when this map was produced, the city, which in the previous century was described as full of houses by one visitor¹⁵² had begun to show some gaps. Jerusalem was certainly not continuously built up.

It seems that there was a large area of open space within the present Jewish Quarter and the Armenian Quarter including one in front of the Citadel or David's Tower and another west of the 'House of Anne'. The Haram area was, of course, largely open space and the most densely settled area of the city appears to have been that north of the Haram. Two or three large patches of housing appear south of the David Street - Street of the Chain line. There is the distinct impression that the city was not full. There may of course be some misinterpretation here, since the gaps could be in the map for visual effect and the Nuremburg map of H. Schedel (1492) gives a different picture. However, Breitenbach is given added cartographic support from another Schedel map and the Sebastian Munster map of 1544. For cartographic accuracy the maps of Munster and Breitenbach appear better than either of the Schedel maps, which are more decorative.

In conclusion then, it can be seen that certain aspects of the land use of medieval Jerusalem are constant and others are fluctuating. The constants include:-

1) A persistent C.B.D. in the area of the Muristan and the central cross-roads. In other words it had a distinct central location but with some evidence of movement of its 'tentacles' towards the two main gates and the main holy places, especially the Holy Sepulchre.

2) A persistent concentration of agriculture in the

Kidron and lower Hinnom valleys and to a lesser extent on the Mount of Olives. There was fluctuation of the margin of cultivation, however, especially related to the level of security and prosperity.

3) A persistence of certain areas of religious land use: the Haram area, the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Sion, the Place of Ascension (Moslem) and Lazarus's Tomb at Bethany.

Fluctuating features include:-

1) The area under residence which depended upon the total level of population which in turn seems to have fluctuated with the prosperity of the pilgrim trade (see p. 140). Fig. 8 is given here to show the growth of the population of Jerusalem based on best contemporary estimates: it shows a distinct relation to the fluctuations in pilgrim accounts (Fig. 6) and other indications of the prosperity of the pilgrim trade. At times the city within the walls has been full of citizens and hence full of houses, with suburban growth to the south and east; at times of depression gaps have appeared in the land use map even in the walled city. It is interesting that suburban growth when it occurred was to the east and south, i.e. the reverse of that later in the last century and the reverse of that of Biblical Jerusalem. The economic forces seem to have been overcome by the attraction of the holy sites on Sion, the

Kidron and the Mount of Olives.

2) The area under minor religious buildings has also fluctuated. It reached its widest extent in the medieval period during the Crusader era when Christian shrines, hospices, convents, etc, abounded and were spread in some density from the Convent of the Holy Cross in the west to Bethany in the east. Afterwards, although the pilgrims continued to come, insecurity, scepticism, and lack of pilgrim enthusiasm contributed to a decline, a rationalisation and a disappearance of the more speculative and mythical places. However, at the same time, the Moslems increased their holy places with mosques, wells, and the Jews built some synagogues.

CHAPTER 11

OTTOMAN JERUSALEM : 1517 - 1917

Extent of the Urban Area

In the Ottoman period there is increasing abundance of maps which enable a more accurate land use plot to be drawn. The two best early maps date from the 16th. Century. One is in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Braun and Hogenberg (Cologne)¹ and the other is the Genoa Map of 1588.² The former is almost a view rather than a map but gives valuable information on the state of the city. It appears that Jerusalem did not have very much in the way of suburban development such as was noticed for the Byzantine and Crusader periods (pp. 179, 211) and apart from the monastic buildings on Mount Sion and a few other buildings of a religious nature to the south of the walls the city had little in the way of extra-mural growth. There is a large open space between the Holy Sepulchre Church and the Haram which may in fact represent the Muristan (the Holy Sepulchre is given as facing south-east) and the built-up area extends as far as the walls only in the northern sector. The whole of the walls westwards of Herod's Gate to the Citadel and thence round to the Haram (Al Aqsa) is separated from housing by open space. Of course, as mentioned in the last chapter, this may be just a cartographical device to show the walls more clearly: and other maps of the period are not very

helpful in verifying this. The plan of Adrichom³ seems intent on showing the Biblical city and is thus unreliable; the maps of Genoa and Sandys show few buildings and are of little use in assessing the built-up area. However, Amico's plan 'The True and Real City of Jerusalem as Found Today' seems generally to verify that of Braun. There is little settlement outside the walls and large empty spaces inside. In particular, the area within the western wall is again shown as open space and so is the area just inside the Dung Gate. Apart from a few religious buildings, the only extra-mural settlement is that on Mount Sion and even this seems to be walled around. Final evidence for the lack of any large urban area is provided by a map of 1738 by Korte, which shows many empty spaces within the walls and little settlement outside.⁴ A print of Mount Olivet in 1586⁵ verifies further that there was little urban spread to the east in the early Ottoman period.

Both Maundrell and Niebuhr found much waste within the city⁶. The latter's map shows little inside the city being only a bare outline.⁷ Population estimates would lead us to suppose that the city was not large. One reliable source gives us a population of 11,000 for 1800. Later evidence for the size of Jerusalem is similar and neither Browne nor Conder could reckon the city's population at more than 20,000, while Robinson collected data from various sources which gave estimates from 10,000 to 17,000.⁹ This compares ill with Damascus's 175,000 and Beirut's 70,000 which are Conder's

~~f: 2~~

figures.¹⁰ Cartographic evidence shows further that until the last decades of the 19th. Century, Jerusalem did not cover an area even commensurate with its walls. Catherwood's map of 1835 is invaluable here and shows "gardens of olive, fig and prickly pear" covering most of the north-eastern quarter of the city. The map of Aldrich and Symons which is only a few years later than Catherwood's does, however, show a much larger built-up area and Catherwood's map may be unreliable. However, it is not inconceivable that the buildings would be recent growth in the 1830s for Robinson describes this area in the north-east as under fields, gardens, and olive trees and says: "the whole having more the aspect of a village in the country than of a quarter in the city"¹¹

The large open space inside the Dung Gate is still in evidence on Catherwood's map and Pierotti's plan of 1864 also shows these features including a large garden within the north-western part of the walled city and the empty nature of the Muristan. Wilson's Ordnance Survey - the best map of the city before Mandate times - shows the emptiness of Jerusalem especially inside the northern wall and between the Dung Gate and Zion Gate. The maps of Pierotti and Wilson are useful for comparison with those of Catherwood and Aldrich and Symons. They show that there was the beginning of a spread of settlement outside the walls to the north-west, spearheaded by the Russian compound, while there were still vacant plots inside the walls. Silwan appears to have been established

again: indeed, with the inaccuracy of earlier maps, it may never have disappeared. There appears, however, to be no movement of urban area onto the Mount of Olives and instead new growth is concentrated to the north-west and outside the Jaffa Gate - this movement is seen strongly on later maps such as the 1882 map of Kiepert.¹² By the end of the Ottoman period, maps are showing that there is as much urban area outside the walls to the north-west as there is intra-muros.

Area under Public Buildings

Religious buildings continued to be an important item of land use, but Jerusalem in the Ottoman period did not possess the wealth of religious shrines which pertained to the Middle Ages - at least not until the beginning of the present century. The early maps and prints, of say the 16th., 17th., and 18th. centuries show very few sites outside the city walls and only major edifices seem to have been noticed inside.

The Genoa map is very useful here because of its clarity since it shows little else but the religious buildings. Very prominent are the Dome of the Rock - although Al Aqsa seems to have been ignored - the Holy Sepulchre (shown by the symbol of a hill), the Mount Sion buildings, the churches of St. James, St. Anne (Moslem) and the House of Herod. This map can be verified from the 1610 map of Sandys which also shows in addition the Aqsa mosque and from the Civitates Orbis Terrarum map of Braun. The latter also shows a large walled compound south of the Haram walls and which would appear to be to the

south-east of the Dung Gate; but its inscription as 'Locus in quo Petrus amare flevit' shows it to be St. Peter in gallicantu misplaced. Another useful map is one of 1500 called 'Jerusalem As It is Now' and shows 24 buildings as well as the Haram and the main streets. All maps show a conspicuous lack of buildings in the Gethsemane - Mount of Olives area although the Virgin's Tomb must have been there since it is of Crusader architecture¹³ and in any case is shown on the 1738 map of Korte. The 'True and Real City of Jerusalem' shows this tomb as well as the tombs in the middle Kidron - Tomb of Absalom, etc. and a group of buildings called "Gethsemane". There is no indication as to whether this is a convent, church, or the old medieval hamlet.

The situation declined rather than improved as the years went by for Catherwood's map shows even more clearly and reliably the location of religious buildings and some no longer exist. The palace of Herod has become fields; the Church "in quo Petrus amare flevit" has disappeared or at least been reduced to a cave; and the House of Anne in the present Jewish Quarter has disappeared. Gethsemane has only the Virgin's Tomb and the Mount of Olives only St. Pelagia's and the Ascension place mosque. David's Tomb on Mount Sion became a mosque in the 16th. Century. One type of building does seem to be on the increase in the mid-Ottoman period, and that is the synagogue. The maps of Pierotti and Wilson show a number of these. Certainly by the middle of the 19th.

Century there is an increasing area found under religious land use. Previously much had been in ruins or converted to other use. Maundrell had noted that taxation had forced several communities even from the Holy Sepulchre and in his day (1697) only the Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Copts were left. The Armenians were in debt and the Copts numbered 1 only.¹⁴ Browne considered the Holy Sepulchre to be in ruins¹⁵ and Madden described one synagogue as a "miserable hovel".¹⁶ Outside the walls, desolation and expropriation seem to have generally taken over. The Turks had acquired not only the Ascension place but also Lazarus's Tomb¹⁷ which is still in Moslem hands. Bethany could boast an "old ruin" called Lazarus's Castle.¹⁸ In Maundrell's time, St. Pelagia's was a cave and it seems generally that while the memory of the sanctity of many spots remained, churches above them had disappeared by 1700 and the places either left waste or - if venerated by the Moslems - taken over as mosques or wells.

Only in the last few decades of the 19th. Century does a great change become apparent. Both Wilson and Pierotti show a garden and construction over the Grotto of the Agony and a building in the Grotto of Jeremiah. However, the greatest expansion of religious land use came after 1865. Kiepert's maps show a great increase in the number of religious buildings and so does Thomson's sketch map of 1880.²⁰ As these maps were especially drawn as guides for

pilgrims, they are particularly valuable as evidence for this type of land use. The increased interest in the Holy Land by European Christians and Jews can be seen reflected in the increasing number of churches, convents, synagogues, etc. The Jewish and Christian quarters in particular show a strong increase in religious land use between 1864-5 (Pierotti and Wilson) and 1912 (Kiepert). Outside the walls also, buildings were being constructed. The Paternoster place became used again and in 1888 that striking feature of the western slopes of the Mount of Olives, the St. Mary Magdalene Church was built by the Russian Czar Alexander III.²¹ To the north, St. Stephen's Church was built in 1882 by the Dominican Fathers on the site of the Byzantine Church of that name and St. George's 'Cathedral' was built nearby as the main British Church in the city. Protestants were also at work in erecting new structures inside the Old City, e.g. the Anglican Christ Church and another important new landscape feature the Lutheran Elöserkirche (Church of the Redeemer). Thus by the time the city fell to the British in 1917, the amount of land in Jerusalem under religious usage was considerable and a large part of the architecture of the city was 'foreign' and the interesting mosaic of styles, now considered an important feature of the city, had been produced.

Administrative and cultural buildings occupied only a small area of land under Ottoman rule as in the Middle Ages. The main stronghold and seat of administration for the city

and liwa appears to have remained in the Citadel which is called the 'City Castle' on Catherwood's map. Somewhere between this and the Holy Sepulchre was a prison shown on the map in Amico's account.²² In the last century, not only was the Citadel a strongpoint²³ but there was a barracks to the north of the Haram on the site of the old Antonia fortress of Herod (Wilson's map) and the house of the governor was in this area.

Of other public buildings there is little evidence on the earliest maps or prints and the accounts do not dwell on them. There appears to have been little in the nature of theatres or other entertainments such as graced Aelia. Catherwood's map shows a number of baths, one off the Street of the Chain being the most central. As noted for earlier periods, the baths seem to have been mainly in the upper Tyropoeon probably for a combination of religious reasons (proximity to the Haram) and for hydrological reasons.

Hospices, khans, and later hotels have as already seen occupied much space within the city at different times. There is a marked distinction again between the Ottoman period prior to 1860 and that after. In the earlier centuries of Turkish rule the hospices seem to have been small in number compared with the Middle Ages. A hospital is marked in the Muristan area in Amico's map and the Latin community, expelled from Mount Sion finally towards the end of the 16th. Century, re-founded itself in~~the~~ the north-western corner of the

city where it gathered around it the buildings forming the present Latin Quarter (see Chapter 13) with the hospice of Casa Nova at the heart. The Latin convent/hospice receives frequent mention in travel accounts for it appears to have been the one in which most Europeans stayed.²⁴ Bartlett comments that "the Latin convent had been until within a few years.....the hotel of almost all travellers coming to the Holy City."²⁵ Also in existence were the Armenian Convent²⁶ and other smaller hospices are known about, catering for the various religious and ethnic groups. There were a number of khans of the traditional Middle East type catering for the native and oriental visitor. These included Christian ones such as the Coptic Khan and also Moslem ones such as the Khan es-Zeit just off the suq of that name. There were carvanserais serving commercial personnel as well as general travellers and Moslem pilgrims. There was one near the north-west corner of the Haram and the street leading to it was named Daraj as-Sarai; another was found in the heart of the Moslem Quarter about half way between the Suq Khan es-Zeit and the Tariq el-Wad. It is shown by both Wilson and Kiepert as flourishing in the 19th. Century and today is the Moslem Orphanage Industrial School.

The development at the end of the last century took the form of an expansion of hospice and khan land use with the addition of a new form of accommodation - the hotel; this eventually replaced most of the khans for oriental visitors,

but has not replaced the hospices. Catherwood's map shows the Latin, Greek and Armenian hospices and also a "House for Jewish pilgrims" at the southern end of the Jewish Quarter, but by the time of Kiepert's 1912 map there are not only more hospices but also hotels. A notable item of land use in this category was the Russian Compound which was mainly made up of hospice accommodation and spearheaded the move to the north-west with the large French hospice, the Notre Dame de France. The Austrian Hospice took up the empty waste near the junction of the Taria Bab 'Amud and the Via Dolorosa; Christ Church was established as an Anglican hospice near the Citadel and the Casa Nova expanded. Moslem khans were built to the north of the city as well as within it. In the Baedeker of 1882 four hotels are listed and the number rapidly increased.²⁸

As a result, not only was the area of the city being expanded largely by hospice/hotel construction, but large parts of the Old City were being converted to this type of land use. Hospitals also increased in ~~xxxxxx~~ number - there was one for Jews west of the Hinnom valley and a leper hospital on the Gaza Road. All this emphasised the new direction of Jerusalem's growth.

Streets

Evidence for the changes in the zones of movement in the city must come mainly from the maps; but the early ones are unreliable. The Genoa map of 1588 shows streets very clearly -

it is really the first street map of the city - but the grid shown must be interpreted in the light of other evidence. The street from the Jaffa Gate around the Armenian Quarter, for example, is shown as curved, but there is no evidence that it ever took a course other than the present one. That David Street would be on an alignment with the Citadel and some distance south of the Jaffa Gate does not tie in with our knowledge of the architectural history of the northern part of the Armenian Quarter.²⁹ The Genoa map does emphasise that to the European visitor Jerusalem has^s the distinct impression of straight streets on a grid-iron pattern; so does Sandys map but this also gives some distortions which were probably due to the direction of pilgrim routes rather than street alignment. For instance he gives a diagonal street running from the Damascus Gate to St. James's convent. This can hardly have existed, even allowing for a 'short-cut' across the empty Muristan, but it may represent a routeway taken by the pilgrims to avoid either the crowded suqs or the Moslem Quarter. Braun's map seems to show all streets converging on a central open space in the Muristan area, but this must be taken as an unreliable piece of compilation from various and dubious sources.³⁰ The most accurate street plan of this early period is the map/view of Jerusalem by Francesco Quaresmus (1639). It shows a street pattern very similar to the present except that the streets in the Jewish Quarter seem straighter than at present (see Ch. 13 p. 302).

The maps of Catherwood, Aldrich and Symons, Pierotti and Wilson agree on the main lines of the streets, but show some variations which may be genuine changes in this time of flux. The north-east corner of the city on Catherwood's map is largely open field but on Wilson's and Pierotti's has streets with a similar appearance to the present. The fact that the map of Quaresmus also shows these streets might be taken to imply that Catherwood is wrong and they continued through the period. Precise verification of many of the points raised on the early maps must await the completion of the architectural survey of the Old City being carried out by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. However, it would seem that there was little profound modification during the Ottoman period and the main lines of the streets remained.

Economic Activity

Economic land use during the Ottoman period can be located with increasing accuracy and a fairly correct picture built up. As the maps in Volume II show, there were vital changes over the years.

Retailing activities in Jerusalem continued to be mainly centralised around the Suq al-Attarin/Muristan area but with some changes: mainly a diversification of the bazaars as the period progressed and the decline of the Muristan itself to waste and agricultural usage. This diversification can already be seen on the Genoa map where two places are indicated as

"Bazzari ouero mercati di Gerusalemme" (just inside Herod's Gate) and the other on the Street of the Chain in the corner made with its meeting with the southern branch of the street called the Suq el Khawajat. This latter site is central, but markedly further east than the heart of the medieval C.B.D. which was in the Suq el-Attarin and David Street. On the Amico map, the central cross-roads is shown as a bazaar but it does not seem to have been confined there although Warburton, two centuries later, found the bazaars concentrated in one quarter.³¹ Pierotti's map gives a large bazaar in the Suq el Qattanin and this seems to have been the case when Catherwood mapped Jerusalem for a similar symbol is given there in his work. The principal bazaar according to Catherwood, however, lay in the Suq al-Attarin still. Bartlett, also in Jerusalem in the first half of the last century, found many small shops in David Street and a corn market in the area³² obviously persisting from the Middle Ages. Conder saw fruit stalls in David Street and also a cotton bazaar near the Haram - probably the Suq el Qattanin.³³ By the 1880s, there seems to have been a greater spread of the bazaars, possibly in response to the increasing pilgrim/tourist activity and general population growth. On Kiepert's map, if the term 'souk' can be taken as indicative of a street devoted to retailing, then suqs occupied all of David Street, the whole of the Suq el-Lehem/al-Attarin area, the Suq al Qattanin, the Sukket Deir el-Adas (see Chapter 14) and this

probably does not exhaust the number of retailing centres. Maundrell tells us of tattooing in the Holy Sepulchre³⁴ and there was also a move towards the periphery. It has already been noted that a small market was set up just inside Herod's Gate (where one still exists); there was also an important one around the Jaffa Gate both inside and outside.³⁵ This market was remarked on by Geiske who, nevertheless, regarded the el-Attarin area as the main bazaar. His actual description is worth quoting:

The bazaars of the city.....stretch along the east side of the Muristan, southwards, to David Street. They consist of three arched lanes, lighted only by holes in the roof, and hence very dark even at noon. The western one is the flesh market, but displays only parts of sheep and goats, for very few oxen or calves are used for food. In the other lanes, tradesmen of different kinds - fruittiars, oil, grain, and leather sellers - sit, cross-legged, in dark holes in the arched sides, or in front of these, waiting for business. Here you see a row of shoemakers, yonder a range of pipe-stem borers.³⁶

Further details of the wares and trades will be given later in Chapter 14 but the specializations are worth noting. There was obviously some retailing land use differentiation on grounds of quality. Geiske further writes:

David Street with its dreadful causeway, can boast of the goods of Constantinople, Damascus, Manchester, and Aleppo, but only in small quantities and at fabulous prices. Towards the Jewish Quarter most of the tradesmen are shoemakers, tinsmiths, and tailors, all of them working in dark arches or cupboards, very strange to see. Only in Christian Street and towards the top of David Street can some watery reflections of western ideas be seen. 37

So the pattern by the end of the last century was of a central market spreading out in all directions but especially

along the Jaffa Road (extra mural market) and along David Street. There was also some move north along the Suq Khan es-Zeit and along Christian Street. The latter reflected the influence of the Holy Sepulchre and the Latin Quarter - hence it was the main area for European type shops and goods. The Suq el-Qattanin was also probably a feature influenced by the presence of the Haram but it never seems to have flourished even as a Moslem market. The other movements were all influenced by obvious commercial considerations and there seems to have been no permanent ethnic markets at all in the city.

Industry has appeared only rarely in travel accounts or even official documents and it is only towards the end of the Ottoman period that much detail is available. Tanning, as we have seen, has been a persistent feature of the Pool of Siloan and Moundrell noticed this activity at the end of the 17th. Century.³⁸ He also noticed in the Flagellation place a weaver's shop: this industry was later to be revived under the auspices of the Jerusalem Council.³⁹ On the map of Catherwood, soap-boilers' houses are marked along the upper part of the Suq Khan es-Zeit. This street was obviously more industrial in usage than retailing as it is now. Pulling is shown ~~on Catherwood's map~~ ^{by some writers} as an activity south of the Triple Gate of the Haram enclosure.⁴⁰ Bartlett found printing presses in operation in both the Latin and the Greek Convents.⁴¹ Much of the industry of Jerusalem, however, was in the suqs as part of producer/retailer family businesses.

Agriculture as a land use feature in Jerusalem seems to have consisted of a long period of encroachment into the area within the walls, followed by its retreat as the city later expanded. Again, much data is obtained from the maps and prints and indeed for most of the 16th. and 17th. centuries there is little other evidence available. We have already seen above (p.217) that the built-up area rapidly retreated after the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem and left many empty spaces within the city. These were generally taken up for agricultural purposes, if not cultivated, then at least grazed. Braun's map is valuable in depicting agricultural land use if due poetic license is allowed for the luscious green palm trees! He shows much open space within the city, especially around the perimeter but it appears to be fairly barren and waste apart from some symbols which obviously indicate gardens. Outside, there is ~~a~~ tree~~s~~ cultivation in the lower Kidron and Hinnom and to the north-west of the city on 'Mount Gihon'. Korte's map of 1738 shows tree cultivation on the Mount of Olives and Mount Sion but the open spaces within the walls have a hump symbol apparently indicating waste. This may have been used for grazing. An earlier map of 1578 shows again, many trees outside the walls and trees in the Haram enclosure, but little other information. The 'Nova Urbs Ierusalem' map of Harant shows clearly tree growth outside the walls on Mount Sion and Oshel and in the

Kidron. This is verified by Quaresmus. From his map, there appears to be terrace cultivation of trees on Sion and olives and other trees in the Kidron. The Armenian convent gardens on this map are also well planted with trees. That there were generally gardens within the city walls we learn from Maundrell who noticed one inside Sion Gate⁴². He seemed impressed with the garden at Gethsemane which he describes as an even plot of land, 50 yards square with olive trees: there was an export to Spain.⁴³ Niebuhr was not so impressed with the agriculture of Jerusalem and so gives little detail. At the beginning of the last century, olives ~~were~~ were in abundance on the Mount of Olives and there was a garden around the Pool of Siloam.⁴⁴ Warburton, although seeing Gethsemane as only "a small grove"⁴⁵ ~~and~~ and waste spaces within the city, did notice olive trees and gardens to the west of the Hinnom.⁴⁶ In the 19th. Century, the maps are invaluable for data of agricultural land use. Catherwood's map is almost a land use map in this respect! On his map the open spaces within the Dung Gate and Herod's Gate are clearly shown as are the open Armenian Gardens and the Muristan. The latter, we learn from Warren and Conder, was still a ploughed field in 1884.⁴⁷ The area in the north-east was under gardens according to Catherwood, mainly of olives, figs and the prickly pear - the latter indicative of non-intensive use. There is also an area north of the Jaffa Gate called 'Bethsheba's Garden' although

from the amount of built-up area it cannot have been a large plot. The area within the Dung Gate appears to have been waste at that time. Outside the city walls, Catherwood gives further information. The Kidron valley contained olives throughout most of its length with vineyards also in the upper part. Fields seem to be indicated in the Hinnom valley below the Sultan's Pool but there is no indication of the crops. On Mount Sion there were olive and fig trees and also olive plantations outside the Damascus Gate. Prints by Arundale (1833) also show olives and other trees around Jerusalem but that very attractive view of the city by the librarian of the Armenian convent shows the environs of the city as largely barren. The turonian plateau north of the walled city had little on it at that time apart from the olive trees but Warren and Conder later noted that the area was under corn as well as olives: in Catherwood's time it appears that its main use was for cemeteries. Necropolitan land use was also found - as today - outside the eastern wall of the city and on the slopes of the Mount of Olives, where the deceased could await the return of Jesus/Mohammed/ the Messiah. If modern agricultural uses can be a guide, these cemeteries would also have provided much of the city grazing lands. Of the Haram area, Catherwood tells us nothing but an engraving in Thomson's 'Palestine' ⁴⁹ shows many trees in the enclosure. Thirty years after Catherwood, Pierotti shows also many trees in the Haram but the practical disappearance of the gardens

in the north-eastern corner of the city. Large enclosures are shown in the upper Kidron and below the Pool of Siloam, showing the intensification of agriculture under the pressure of the growing population. Wilson's Ordnance Survey shows great detail within the walls and provides almost a complete land use plot of the city in 1865. According to this man, the only agriculture left within the city walls is some tree cultivation in the north-east angle; a garden inside the Dung Gate and due south of Al Aqsa; the Haram; and the Armenian gardens. Waste occurs just inside the Dung Gate and at the southern end of Harat el-Yahud. According to Aldrich and Symons, much of the southern waste areas had been under prickly pear. Tree cultivation appears to abound outside the walls on Wilson's map and particularly around the Birket es-Sultan. Also the area outside the north-western wall of the city looks quite well wooded with plantations just outside the Damascus Gate. Kiepert's maps show healthy gardens both within and without the walls including one within the north-west angle of the city near the present New Gate. Prints can verify the maps here. Geike's mammoth work of 1891 has many prints which show the extensive gardens at the junction of the Hinnon and Kidron⁵⁰ and the general fertility of the valleys.⁵¹ His engraving of the Garden of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives shows extensive tree cultivation.

From the evidence available with regard to the location

of agricultural land use, it can be seen that the pattern of concentration in the Kidron and Hinnom - noted when dealing with medieval Jerusalem - continued but in addition there was much more agricultural activity within the walls, perhaps partly on account of the insecurity frequently noted by travellers.⁵² Warburton goes so far as to call the city "the collection of villages that is called the city" such was the amount of open space. The later growth of the city under the impetus of the pilgrim trade, while it took much agricultural land for building, intensified the use of what was left.

Residential Land Use

As may be assumed from the foregoing section, the amount of land given over to residential housing declined during the Ottoman period until about 1860 when it began to increase rapidly. No indication is given on the Genoa map or that of Sandys of residential land use: however, others are more helpful. Korte's map shows the city nicely divided into an area of ~~some~~ ^{very} neat looking buildings just west of the Haram area, another block in the north-east, and the rest fairly scattered with much open space. Braun's map also shows a densely settled north-eastern part of the city with close housing and the area of the present Jewish Quarter seems - apart from the persistent open space inside the Dung Gate - to be largely residential. Amico's map shows dense settlement

around the Holy Sepulchre and also in the north-eastern quarter. Maundrell seemed to observe that the Holy Sepulchre had some attractive force for settlement in the city, which may be so.⁵³ However, neither the map of Korte nor that of Braun would indicate that this Church was that important. There has generally been little residential housing in this important central ~~mint~~ area. The map of Quarésmus and the account of Maundrell join in giving the impression of much empty space within the city and a lack of density of settlement, as does Warburton quoted above. Houses according to Maundrell were in a state of neglect⁵⁴ while of extra-mural settlements only Bethany⁵⁵ and Silwan⁵⁶ gain persistent reference in the accounts.

On Catherwood's map which seems to mark the lowest point of the city's size and area the north-east residential area depicted so strongly on earlier maps has given way to gardens apart from a tongue of built-up area in the Shaiq Muhammad Darwish quarter. Much of the Christian and Armenian Quarters seem given over to public buildings ~~and~~ and in fact the main residential areas appear to be the central part of the Moslem Quarter and the Jewish Quarter. Silwan village straggles along the Kidron valley near the Virgin's Fountain and there is a small settlement around Job's Well. There seems to have been no other residential suburb around the city, although Madden noted in 1829 that the Tombs of the Kings were inhabited.⁵⁷

The contrast between Catherwood's map and those of Wilson and Pierotti shows clearly the move towards a greater extent of land under residential housing inside and outside the walls. There was now a village on the summit of the Mount of Olives⁵⁸ and a few buildings to the north and west of the city. The expansion of residential area is shown on the maps of Kiepert as continuing with Jewish settlements such as that of Montefiore west of the Hinnom and a general increase in the numbers of buildings within and outside the city walls.

In fact by the time the British took control of the city's affairs, the residential spread to the north and west had gone so far that the Old City was rapidly becoming a religious suburb of a new larger urban entity. There was a considerable lay-out of streets and suburbs as far out as the Syrian Orphanage with well planned Jewish suburbs covering the hill slopes on either side of the road to Jaffa, and the Temple colony spearheading a similar move to the southwest around the railway station. Kafr et-Tur on the Mount of Olives began to grow and houses had by 1917 appeared in fair density to the north as far as Sheik Jarrah.

With the general outlines of the progress of land use in the city, specific aspects of the urban morphology of Jerusalem can now be studied in more detail, in the next and final section.

SECTION D

ASPECTS OF URBAN MORPHOLOGY

Using the survey of land use development as a base, this section will study in more detail certain specific aspects of the urban morphology of Jerusalem. These aspects are selected as those best suited to enable an assessment to be made of the impact of religion on the morphological growth of the city.

CHAPTER 12

THE LOCATION OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

Introduction

It is clear from what has been said so far that of all the buildings in the 'townscape' of Jerusalem since at least the time of Constantine, those under religious ownership and use have dominated the rest. It is therefore necessary to deal with them first of all as prime items in the urban morphology of Jerusalem for they provide not only the most impressive buildings but also the foci of religious, social, commercial, and even - especially under the millet system - administrative activity. Their location and relative importance is thus of great significance to the geographer more so than in most other cities. In Chapter 6, the importance of holy sites as sectors of the pilgrim trade was dealt with and some comments made on the fluctuations in the number of sites down the ages and their relative importance. Here attention will be paid to their location and significance in the total morphology of Jerusalem.

Apart from obvious distinctions between the different religious groups, there are differences in religious land use which are shared by all faiths. While often one usage will merge into another (e.g. a Church may be attached to a convent) the differences are still important and effect relative impact.

The main types of religious building are:

- 1) Congregational worship building - church, mosque or synagogue.
- 2) Commemorative building - the above and also tombs, wells, caves, and sacred spots.
- 3) Monasteries and convents - mainly confined to the Christian community, apart from the Derwishes.
- 4) Schools and colleges
- 5) Hospices and hospitals.

It is important to distinguish the holy site proper from functional structures. Thus Elinor Moore reminds us that there are congregational churches which cater for the worship of the populace and commemorative churches which are memorials to a person or event.¹ Thus for the Armenians, their possessions in the Holy Sepulchre are commemorative; their cathedral of St. James is primarily congregational. The former is the main pilgrim centre; the latter the focus for the resident community. There was also in Byzantine and medieval times a third type of building, the 'metochia', i.e., a building which was the Jerusalem representative of a large church or monastery some distance from the city. Very frequently a commemorative church would become also a congregational one if it belonged to a small community (e.g. the Coptic holdings in the Holy Sepulchre) but among the communities with a large native following - especially

the Greek Orthodox - the distinction is clear. Hence many of the congregational churches of the eastern rites, although ancient and in their way attractive, are often tucked away unknown and unsung in back alleys, attended by the local inhabitants but rarely visited by pilgrims. Their influence on the 'townscape' is small since they are hardly distinguishable from the houses and their influence on morphological development is small also, since they follow the location of the residential areas and do not create them. There is in general here something of a distinction between Christianity, and Islam and Judaism, in contribution to the landscape, as pointed out by Sopher.² Christians have tended to build a special church building for each settlement community, whereas Islam and Judaism place more importance on the presence of a quorum of members and their religious buildings are less impressive and less significant in terms of the physical landscape (Haram area excepted!). The explanation of this lies largely in the importance of weekly or even daily congregational worship and fellowship in Christianity and the participation of all - men and women - together in acts of worship. This requires extra space. Islam and Judaism do not allow women the same participation and in the case of the latter, public worship is confined largely to the sabbath; and in Islam to Fridays, the daily prayers being largely personal affairs. Many mosques and synagogues, consequently, are no more than rooms in houses or niches in bazaars.³

The Moslem and Jewish communities also strongly emphasise the distinction between congregational and commemorative buildings: however attractive many of the smaller mosques and synagogues may be they have not the significance of the holy sites. Thus the Hurva Synagogue does not compete with the Wailing Wall or David's Tomb - it has no inherent sanctity and has been destroyed and neglected without serious loss. Similarly, even old mosques such as El Kanqeh, are of local importance only - they do not compete with the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa, the latter being the main congregational 'Friday' mosque of Jerusalem as well as a holy site.

It is worth further noting that from a holy site or a congregational church, a fully-fledged 'compound' can emerge as further buildings or functions are added (see below p. 301). These can prove great attractions to commercial activity as well as centres of worship or community life.

With these points in mind, the areas of religious activity will now be discussed. The map Fig. 16 shows the percentage of land throughout the city in religious hands and it can be clearly seen that far from religious activity being evenly spread, it is distinctly concentrated. There are some parts of the city which positively bristle with churches, convents, mosques and hospices; others are largely occupied by residential houses or public buildings of a secular nature. In particular, there is a divide down the centre of the Old City formed of ~~xxxx~~ residential and secular

usage separating two areas of pronounced religious activity. This divide extends from the Damascus Gate and through the Moslem Quarter to terminate at the Street of the Chain, where the Jewish Quarter with its many synagogues and the Mugharibey Quarter intervene and link the Mount Sion/Armenian Quarter area of religious activity with the Haram enclosure. There is a further wedge of religious activity along the Via Dolorosa which links the Christian Quarter with Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives to the east. Thus Jerusalem has certain 'religious quarters' in contrast to secular 'quarters' which add to the ~~xxx~~ mosaic of architecture and activity in the city. This is not unique since many old cities have their Harams, or cathedral closes with religious buildings of all types clustered round (e.g. Wells, York, Durham). The distinctive features of Jerusalem are the multiplicity of such areas and their differences on the basis of deep cleavages between the three faiths involved.

The following are the main areas of intense religious activity which will be examined:

- 1) Christian Quarter
- 2) Haram esh-Sharif and Jewish Quarter
- 3) Mount Sion/Armenian Quarter
- 4) The Via Dolorosa Link
- 5) Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives
- 6) Other areas and foci

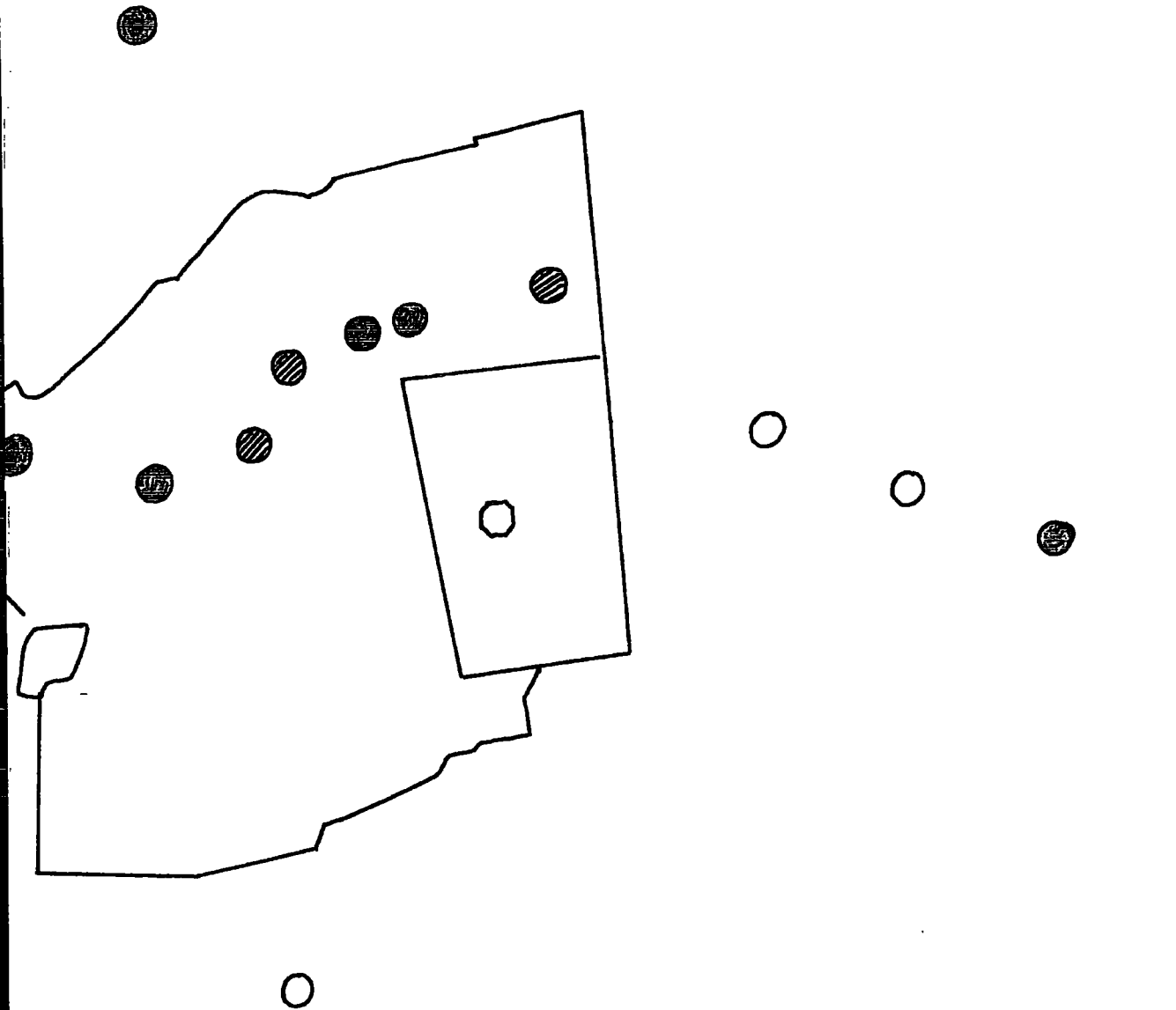
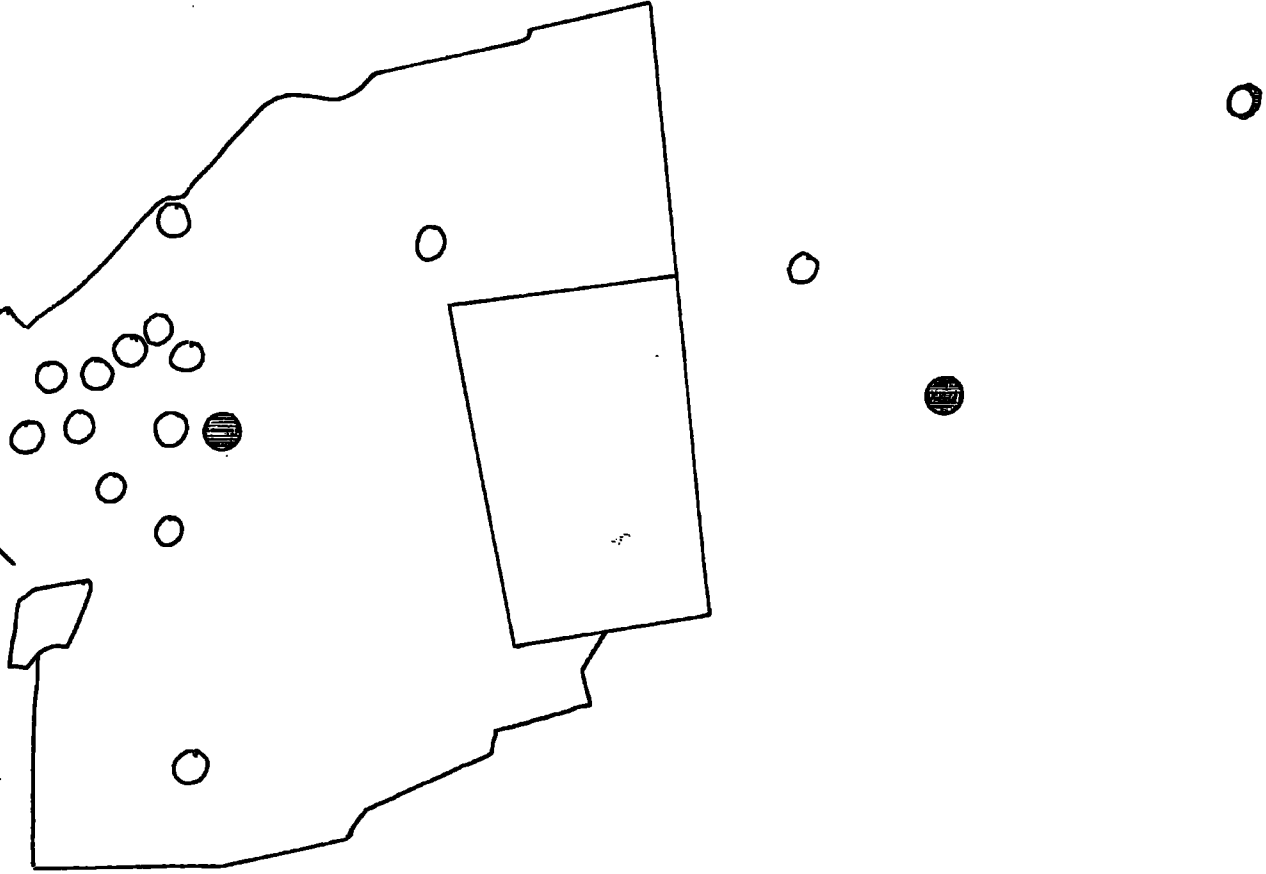


FIG. 9 MAIN ROMAN CATHOLIC SITES

1968

- Latin
- ▨ Uniate
- Built since 1917

FIG. 10



10 MAIN GREEK ORTHODOX SITES

1968

- Greek Orthodox
- Russian Orthodox

FIG. 11

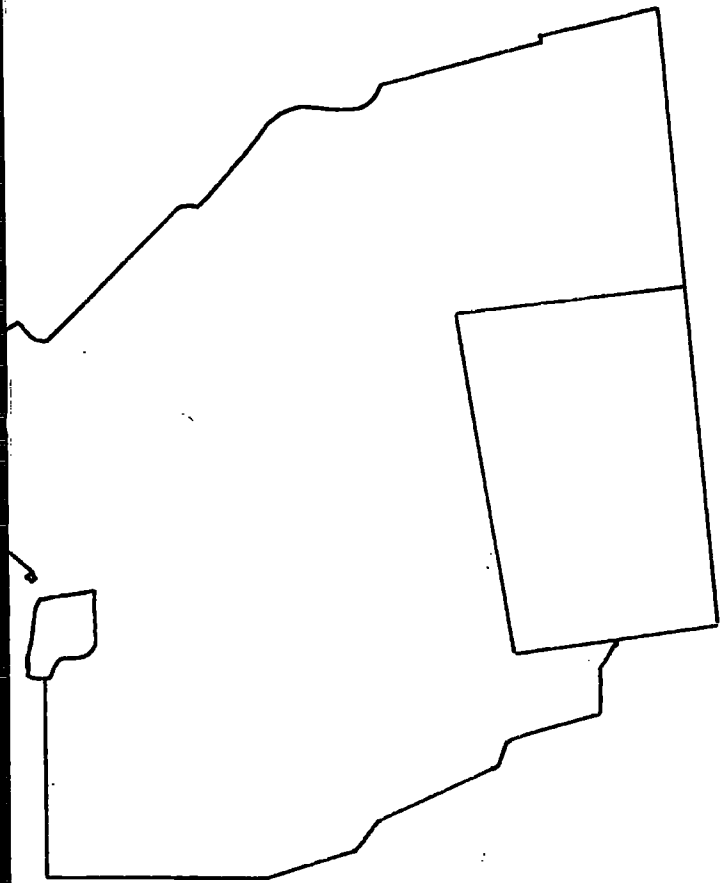


FIG. 11 MAIN ARMENIAN SITES

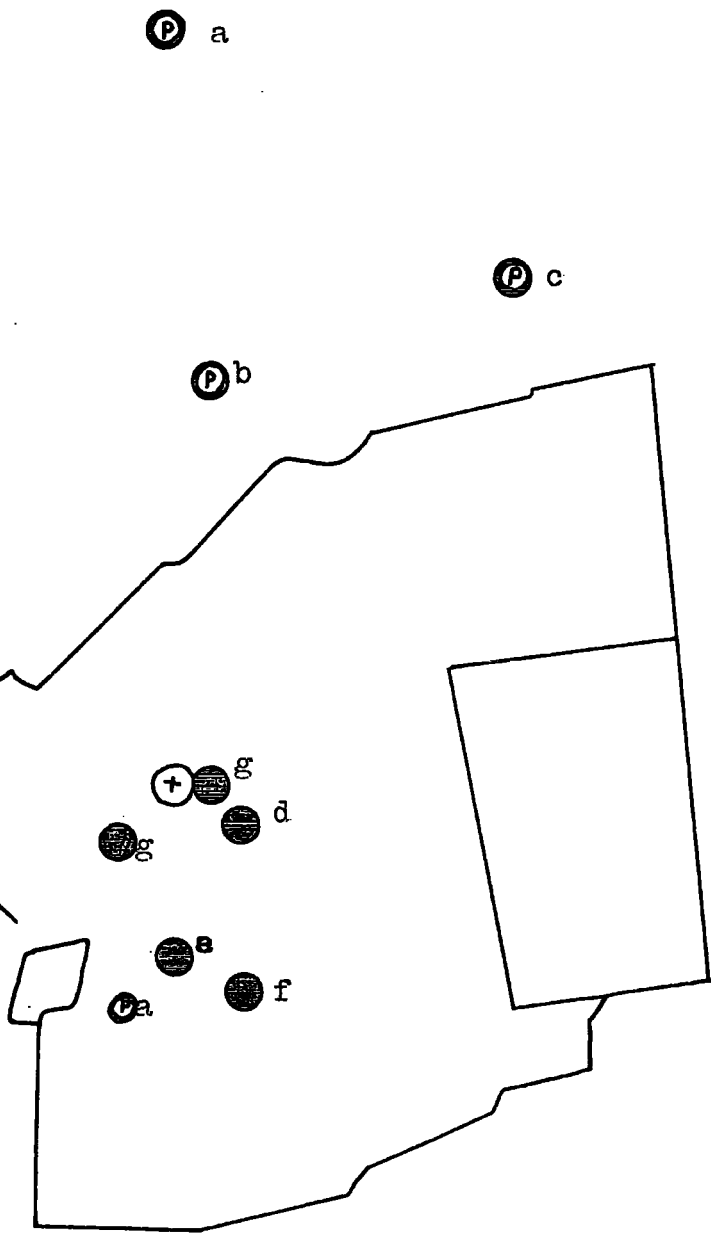


FIG. 12 MAIN SITES : MINOR CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| + | Holy Sepulchre | d | Lutheran |
| a | Anglican | e | Maronite |
| b | Non-denominational | f | Syrian Orthodox |
| c | Baptist | g | Coptic (inc. Ethiopian) |

FIG. 13

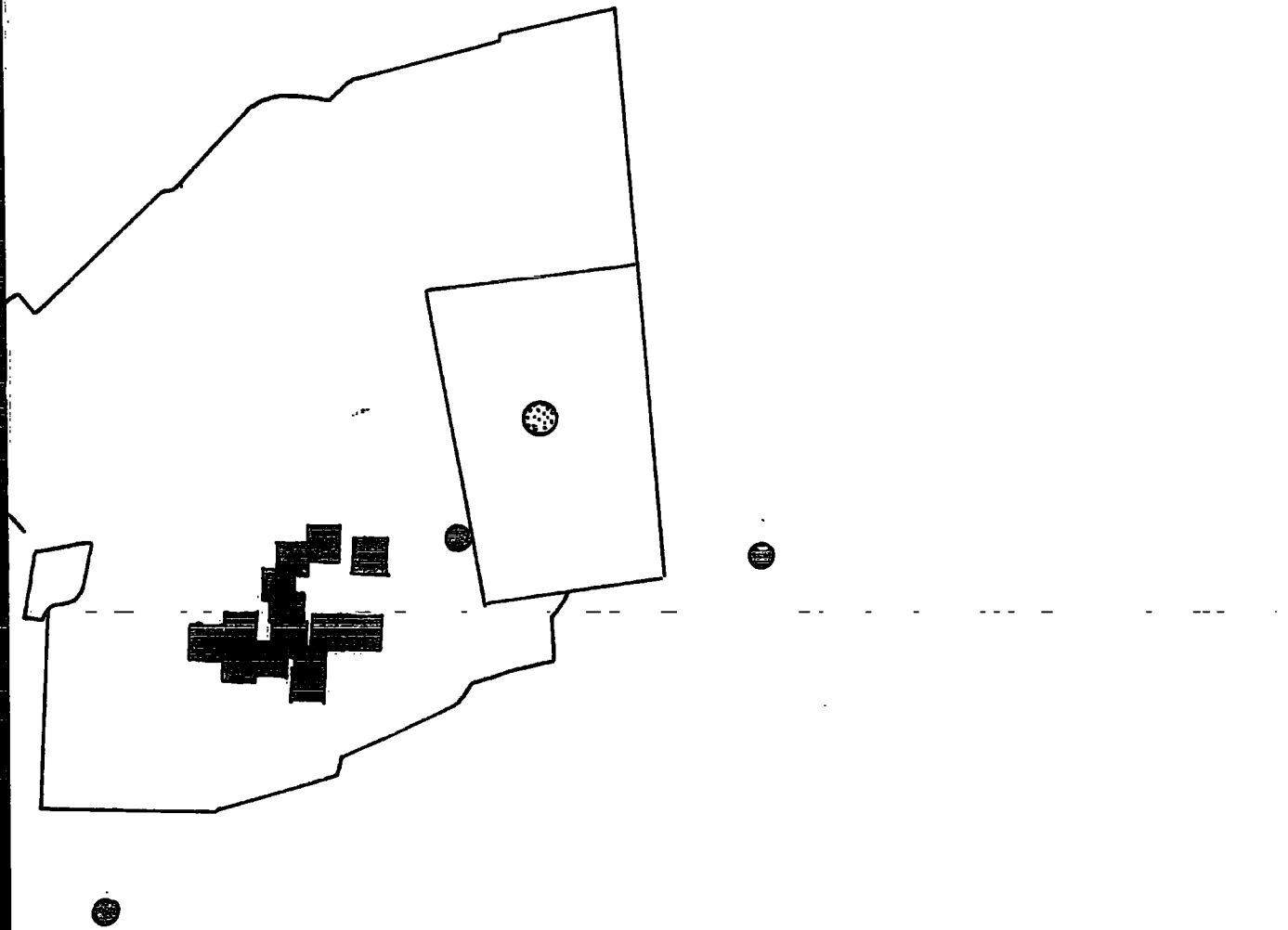
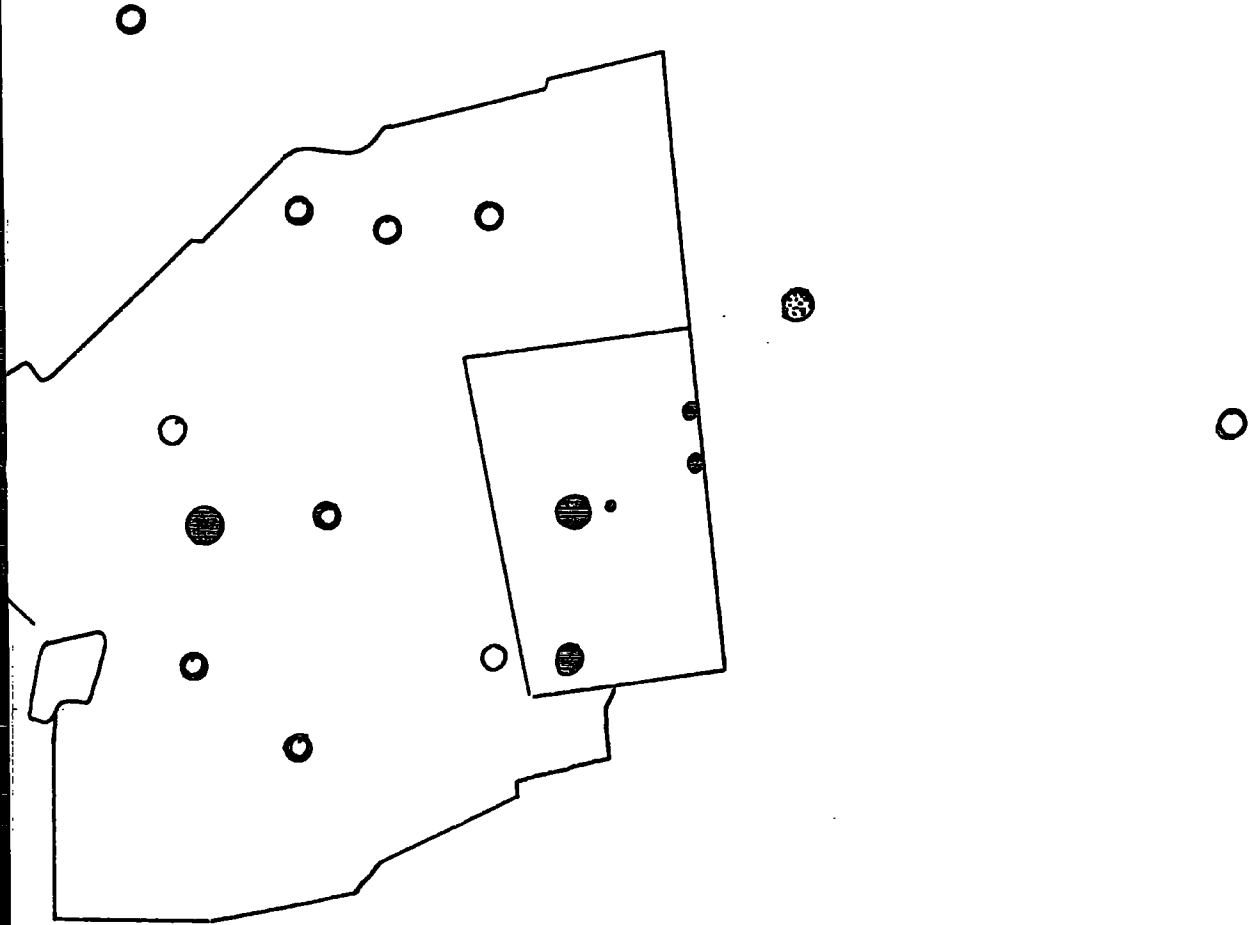


FIG. 13 MAIN JEWISH SITES

● Holy site

Synagogue

FIG. 14



G. 14 MAIN MOSLEM SITES

- Holy sites
- Mosques of congregational use

1) The Christian Quarter

This area is probably the most crowded quarter of Jerusalem in terms of religious buildings and activity. Apart from the Holy Sepulchre complex and perhaps the Siddi Omar Mosque, all the buildings are either intended for congregational worship or are hospices, convents or places of ecclesiastical administration. Although the communities have frequently changed property over the centuries (for financial or other reasons) the whole quarter has maintained from Byzantine times a townscape dominated by buildings under religious usage in a variety of architectural styles. The percentage of land under religious use here is higher than any comparable area in the city (except the Haram enclosure) and has been accompanied by souvenir shops in many places (see Fig. 16 and below p. 329).

The Holy Sepulchre Church is the main site in the area and the principal holy site of Christendom. Hence the attraction of this quarter for Christians. Originally a pagan sanctuary of Aelia, just north of the city's forum, it rose to fame in the Byzantine era with its discovery and three main edifices were constructed there: i) a rotunda shaped church - the Anastasis over the tomb ii) a courtyard around the rock of Calvary iii) a basilica known as the Martyrion (witness) where the 'true cross' was found. ⁴ There was also an atrium (entrance chamber) linking the triple structure to the main north-south cardo of the city.

Over the centuries, the Church (or to be more correct, amalgam of churches) has been altered, partly to accommodate more pilgrims and partly in reply to destruction by fire, earthquake, foreign invaders (such as the Persians in 614) or the Moslems (as under Hakem). The Crusaders vastly improved the building, shortening its length and the present structure is basically that constructed then, although most of it had to be rebuilt in the early 19th. Century due to destruction by fire in 1808. The present buildings including chapels and courtyards is about 100 x 50 metres square with an equivalent area of adjacent church buildings adding to the total complex.⁵ The Holy Sepulchre and Calvary are of great interest to all the non-Protestant communities and the major groups have holdings inside the building as shown in Fig. 18 . The Greek Orthodox Church is probably the dominant group and was certainly so for most of the Byzantine, medieval and Ottoman periods, except for the period of the Latin Kingdom. The ceremonies of the Greek rite, such as the Holy Fire ~~ceremony~~ ceremony, attracted multitudes of native Christians in the Middle Ages; there are now fewer pilgrims of the Greek rite, however. The Latins compete with the Greeks for supremacy in the Holy Sepulchre but have generally had to take second place. In recent years, however, the wealth of the Latin nations and the influence of the Pope as well as the large number and wealth of Roman Catholic pilgrims have contributed to making the Sepulchre and Calvary very much more Latin rather than

Greek shrines. The Armenians have also important rites in the building and possess a large chapel. The Copts also have rites and small holdings as do the Syrian Orthodox. In the Byzantine era, following the activities of Peter the Iberian, and in the early medieval period, the Georgians from southern Russia were important having large holdings inside and outside the Holy Sepulchre buildings; however, they are now practically non-existent in the city. The Anglicans have, incidentally, some rights of worship here in Greek property.⁶

Apart from its size and architecture which have been important contributions to the urban landscape of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre has been a focus of Christian activity since its first construction and a centre of the Christian pilgrim trade. Its authenticity has been accepted by all the churches except the Protestants and quarrels - even physical fisticuffs and riots - have followed any changes in the status quo of ownership and rights. The final stations of the Via Dolorosa (Way of the Cross) are inside it (p. 126) and the bazaars have noticeably - especially the souvenir sellers - migrated towards it. Its central position has been a great asset, compared for instance with the Haram esh-Sharif, and some have conjectured that Constantine was not unmindful of the presence of the forum when he had the first buildings constructed here.⁷ It is interesting, however, that despite these advantages the presence of the Holy Sepulchre did not prevent the Muristan reverting to a

ploughed field in the 19th. Century or even decisively move the commercial 'core' area from its cross-roads location (see below Chapter 14 p. 325). The real importance of the Holy Sepulchre is as the religious and social heart of the Christian Quarter: the building all groups wish to be close to and over which they are prepared to fight. Hence it has attracted buildings around it as Maundrell observed (see p. 236), especially those of the Greek, Coptic and Latin Churches. It has also attracted Christian inhabitants into the area (see Ch. 13) and been a point of contact (and dissension) between the various Christian communities.

Apart from the Holy Sepulchre, other foci of religious activity must be noted in this part of the city. Since the Holy Sepulchre is the only Christian holy site as such in the north-east of the walled city, the rest of the Christian edifices are either congregational churches or else buildings having administrative or hospice functions or else convents. The exceptions are in fact two mosques, often overlooked, which stand on spots important to Moslems as emblems of their history. Opposite the Holy Sepulchre is the Mosque of Omar* (Al Omariyeh) which commemorates the place where the Caliph Omar prayed on entry into the city : his desire was to avoid praying in the Sepulchre for fear that Moslems should make that Christian shrine holy to themselves.⁸ The present structure is of 13th. Century origin with a 15th. Century minaret.⁹ The other mosque is Al Kanqeh at the northern end (*The Dome of the Rock is sometimes called the Mosque of Omar)

of Christian Street. It is also of 13th. Century date and marks the site of ~~Saladin's~~ Saladin's palace in the city which was in turn on the site of the Crusader Latin patriarch's residence.¹⁰ Both mosques, although commemorative, have not much accredited sanctity and are largely congregational mosques for the devotions of the Moslem population of this part of the city. Their geographical impact has been small, although Al Omariyeh has some architectural significance. Of the other Christian buildings, many huddle around the Holy Sepulchre. There is Abraham's monastery (Greek) to the south of the parvis and a Coptic monastery together with other Coptic and Ethiopian holdings to the east of the Sepulchre. There are also the 'Russian Excavations', not a Church but a community and of some tourist interest. However, none of these structures are of great importance geographically but are rather parasites to the Holy Sepulchre.

More important are the Greek and Latin compounds. The Greek Orthodox Church has acquired over the centuries a large expanse of buildings west of Christian Street and accessible via the Tariq Deir er-Room (Rūm) is the Arabic term for Greek) which divides the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate from the Greek Library, monastery and hospice. It is significant that the Greeks are both central in the Christian Quarter and also close to the Holy Sepulchre. To begin with the Greek rite was the accepted official Byzantine Church and hence the Greek Orthodox were the main established Christian community in

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the city at the time of the Arab conquest. They thus have been able to obtain the best locations. In addition over the centuries they have generally had such a large number of adherents in the local population (urban and rural) that they have been able to maintain most of their holdings and even increase them at the expense of the less fortunate groups. The whole Christian Quarter - buildings, inhabitants and shops - has in fact a distinctly Greek/Arab atmosphere and thus it is fitting that the Greek administrative and spiritual headquarters should be central to the quarter and very close to their cathedral and chief shrine - the Holy Sepulchre.

The Latins also have holdings further north just inside the New Gate (Bab el Jadid). Here they established themselves after ejection from the medieval holdings on Mount Sion, in the 16th. Century. The compound includes a church, the pilgrim registry and holy site offices (the Custodia Terra Sancta) as well as the famous College des Freres. Further south between the College and the Jaffa Gate is the Latin Patriarchate and further east the Casa Nova pilgrim hospice (see Map 11). Thus because of late arrival and fluctuating fortunes prior to the last century, the Latins have been pushed further away from the Holy Sepulchre and indeed have to traverse Greek 'territory' in order to get there. Their holdings are also a little more scattered but there has been a conscious attempt to group them together for protection (see Ch. 13)

It is clear that the Greek and Latin 'compounds' have had a great influence on the geography of this part of the Old City if only in terms of the area of ground they cover - something like 25% of the total land area in the Christian Quarter. They have thus had an important impact on the physical appearance of this quarter and added to the impression that it is largely composed of religious buildings and not houses. They have not influenced the location of retailing or industry except in the case of souvenir selling which has developed in and near the Latin property and some industrial enterprise by the communities themselves, e.g. the Franciscan printing works. They are highly important and significant foci within the quarter acting as centres for the two largest communities operating therein.

There are other buildings of similar use in the quarter belonging to the smaller communities but they are of less significance than the two larger ones. Thus there are two Coptic convent/hospices, the Abyssinian monastery near the eastern end of St. Francis Street and the well-known Coptic Khan which takes up a largish area north and west of the Birket Hammam al-Batrak. There is also the patriarchate of the Greek Catholics just south^{of} (and adjoining) the Greek Orthodox St. Dimitri School and there are three other Latin buildings - the Franciscan Orphan Girls School in St. Francis Street; the Dom Polski Hospice west of the Suq Khan es-Zeit; and the Spanish Sisters of Calvary School west of Dom Pólski.

These places are not of great importance in the geography of the quarter in themselves but together they add to the already large amount of religious activity going on.

Finally in the quarter, there are a number of churches of the Greek Orthodox rite which are congregational in nature and serve the local residents. As the residential part of the Christian Quarter is in the north (see Chapter 13) most of these churches are there.¹¹ They include some very old buildings which are often indistinguishable from the houses around them and hence make little physical impact on the landscape of the city. St. Spiridinos which is the furthest north and just east of the Damascus Gate has been located by some on the Madaba Map¹² and St. Catherine's is at least 12th. Century in origin.¹³ Most of the others are also very old - St. Sydnaya, St. Ephtimios, St. George, St. Michael, St. Vasilios (underneath the Latin St. Saviour Church which was Georgian in the Middle Ages), St. Theodosich and St. Nicholas. In the Middle Ages there were many others of which we have record such as the enigmatic St. Chariton¹⁴ and in the Byzantine era the area was no doubt well bedecked with these small local Church buildings. Indeed in medieval times the Muristan was a large hospice run by the Order of St. John and the only remains is now the Greek Church of St. John Prodromos. In the 19th. Century the Protestants appeared in the quarter in the form of the Lutheran Elöserkirche. The latter is impressive, but in general none of the smaller churches have made much physical impact.

2) The Haram-esh-Sharif and Jewish Quarter

The second major area of religious activity is centred around the Haram esh-Sharif and involves largely the religions of ~~it~~ Islam and ~~Jewish~~ Judaism. Whereas in most Islamic cities the mosques and other waqf buildings are scattered with a concentration perhaps only around the central bazaar,¹⁵ in Jerusalem most Islamic religious activity revolves around the one rather 'Off-centre' Haram enclosure. The architecture of the Dome of the Rock and the other buildings within the Haram shows clearly the physical impact of Islam on the urban scene as pointed out by Sopher.¹⁶ In contrast, however, the lesser mosques and places of prayer are probably less obvious to the observer than some of the lesser Christian edifices. Study of an aerial photograph of Jerusalem brings out this contrast clearly, which is also seen in Mecca, Damascus and Kairouan, that while Islam often produces a dominating enclosure of outstanding architecture which focuses the eye immediately; yet the lesser religious buildings are frequently hardly distinguishable from ordinary houses (see p. 239).

The Haram esh-Sharif is the largest area in Jerusalem devoted exclusively to religious activity. It really consists of several independent buildings set in a large open space and surrounded by a thick walling. The main feature of the enclosure is the Dome of the Rock set slightly west of centre on a low platform. It is not a mosque but a place of private prayer built over the site of the altar of sacrifice of the

Jews(see p. 70-71). Although a pagan temple was erected here in the 2nd. century A.D. it was waste by the time of the Arab conquest. Abdul Malek built the first structure over it in 691 but it has been frequently repaired since. Professor Hayter Lewis remarked that "there is no doubt that the Mosque is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world"¹⁷ It has at times been a substitute ~~of~~ for the Ka'aba at Mecca (see p. 71) and originally worshippers would walk around the rock as is the custom at Mecca, although the habit has long since died away.¹⁸ It appears that the design of the Dome of the Rock was based on that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre according to the views of Cresswell¹⁹ but it has developed in a style of its own from the original Byzantine concept. Aref el Aref has written "Byzantine, Persian and Arab design and architecture are blended in it to create a magnificent whole."²⁰ In the Middle Ages, the Dome was the centre of Moslem worship in the city for:

On prayer days, ten servants stood at the doors and summoned the people to prayer, calling, 'The Dome of the Rock is now open to the public. All who wish to ~~enter~~ pray may come.' And the people come in great numbers through the beautiful doors.....the dream of the Ruler must have been realized in them - 'a building they could be proud of' - one worthy of the third faith.

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Apart from the Crusader period when the Dome became the Templum Domini with an altar, it has remained in Moslem hands and for predominantly Moslem usage. Physically it dominates the city and its function as an ethnic symbol to the Moslem

community in Jerusalem is considerable.

The other major building in the Haram enclosure is the Aqsa Mosque which is the congregational or 'Friday' mosque of Jerusalem and holds 5,000 worshippers.²² It is generally considered (though with a number of dissenting scholars) that on or near this site stood the Church and hospice of St. Mary built by Justinian.²³ This view has recently been strongly contested by Aref who considers that church to have been on Mount Zion.²⁴ However the Haram area as a whole was not one of great activity in the Byzantine era since it had been condemned to perpetual waste by Jesus (Mark 13). The Aqsa mosque was first constructed by Abd al Malik in 690 using the remains of Justinian's church but its early history is not as well chronicled as in the case of the Dome and there is some disagreement among Moslem scholars as to its precise origins;²⁵ Byzantine influence is very apparent in its architecture. Destruction by earthquakes has taken its toll over the centuries causing much rebuilding. Thus in the Muthir we read:

In the reign of the Khalif Al Mansur both the eastern and the western portions of the mosque had fallen down. Then it was reported to the Khalif.....And the Khalif replied that as there were no moneys in his treasury they should strip off the plates of gold and of silver that overlaid the gates.....The occurred a second earthquake and the building that Al Mansur had commanded to be built fell to the ground..... 26

The Crusaders gave Al Aqsa over to the knights Templar and it was used for accommodation rather than worship but Saladin

restored it. As the Friday Mosque, Al Aqsa has been the main centre for Moslem group worship over the years and perhaps corresponds to the cathedral in Christian circles, the Dome being more the chief shrine. Hence while its architectural impact on the urban landscape is less than the Dome, in many respects it is more important as a focus of Moslem group activity.

Other edifices in the Haram area are important as lesser places of devotion or interest and include a number of smaller domes such as the Dome of the Chain, thought to have been used as a model for the construction of the Dome of the Rock. Many of the old minarets and gates are visited by pilgrims (Christian as well as Moslem now). Perhaps the Golden Gate is the most famous and in Crusader times it was opened twice a year (it has always been bricked up) for processions. It has been held by Christians that this was the gate through which Jesus entered the Temple. It is now permanently closed. East of the Aqsa Mosque is a trap-door which leads down to 'Solomon's Stables', an area of underground rooms visited by the more intrepid pilgrims and tourists. There are four minarets in the Haram walls, built in the 13th, and 14th. centuries.

The Haram area is the dominant centre of Moslem religious activity and not surprisingly the Moslem Quarter has developed around it. Apart from landscape impact through its vivid architecture (the European vision of 'Jerusalem the Golden' is

surely largely due to the visual impact of the Dome) the enclosure has had other influences on the urban geography of Jerusalem. For instance it has had some attraction for the suqs for there has been a noticeable migration of shops along the Street of the Chain since the early Middle Ages and there was in Ottoman times a market (still in casual existence) in the Suq el-Qattanin which leads up to the Bab el-Qattanin. As in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, however, there has also been a tendency for lesser religious buildings to grow around the enclosure. A few small mosques, notably the Magharibey Mosque which was an ethnic centre for the quarter of the North-west Africans and the Mesjid el-Kurami. Khans have also been sited in the central part of the Moslem Quarter with the Moslem visitor in mind and there have been a number of baths influenced not only by hydrological considerations but by the cleanliness imposed by the faith of Islam.²⁷ Many schools and colleges (Madrassah) have been built by wealthy Moslems in the area between the Street of the Chain and the Tariq Bab en-Nazir. This includes the large Moslem Orphanage which was a Carvanserai in the last century. There has been a distinct concentration of these religious and charitable buildings on the approaches to the Haram gates and there has ~~in particular~~ also been a tendency (Islam being the official religion) for secular buildings such as the jail and law courts to be in this area. However, it should be noted finally, that the Moslem Quarter as a whole is less dominated by such

buildings ~~less~~ than in the case of the Christian Quarter and is not dominated by religious structures but rather has the general appearance of a central area residential / workshop district.

The Jewish Quarter has been linked with the Haram area because it is tied up closely in religious activity with the Haram through the Wailing Wall(p.61). Controversy over the origins and history of the Wall and the 'wailing' has not been calmed by recent military and political events and the arguments to show that the use of the wall is a rather recent Jewish innovation have been put forward by Tibawi.²⁸ The argument carries some weight but as the practice was regarded as ancient in the early 19th. Century²⁹ and appears to be mentioned if obliquely by both the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Benjamin of Tudela, it seems quite probable if not completely certain that the Jews had a strong religious interest and devotion at or near this stretch of masonry in the Byzantine and Medieval periods also. In any case it has developed as a custom that the Jews can perform certain ceremonies of bemoaning the loss of their Temple at this wall with its remains of the structure of Herod the Great.

Geographically speaking, however, Jewish religious activity has not been a strong influence in the Old City for the Wall carries no buildings and the synagogues have never aspired to the architectural heights of the Moslem and Christian buildings. Indeed, until the 18th. Century most Jewish worship

has been in cellars and other underground halls or in buildings of no particular merit. The proximity of the Jews to the Haram and their interest in the few remains of the Temple were largely the cause of this for the Moslems restricted their worship and religious buildings.³⁰

3) Mount Sion/Armenian Quarter

Both in terms of quantity of land use and architectural impact and also in terms of level of activity, the Haram area and the Christian Quarter are far more important than all the other areas of religious activity in the geography of Jerusalem. Hence the following sections will be comparatively brief.

David Street and the Citadel represents a strip of largely non-religious activity (although as an access route it is very important) which separates the Christian Quarter from the Armenian Quarter. Now as seen above on p. 21, the Armenian Quarter is physically part of Mount Sion although the latter term is often confined to the area just south of Sion Gate (Bab en-Nabi Daud) and since the wall between the two has from time to time in the past been physically replaced by one enclosing the whole hill it will be largely ignored in what follows. The only time that the access to extra-mural Mount Sion has been impaired has been from 1948-67 which is not within the period primarily dealt with here.

The Mount Sion area of religious activity is dominated

by two main structures: the Armenian Convent/Compound of St. James; and the Coenaculum or David's Tomb. St. James's is an old commemorative site in memory of the beheading of St. James³¹ and there were structures here in the 5th. Century with a chapel of St. Menas built by the Lady Bassa.³² It was owned by the Geoggians but acquired in the 12th. Century by the Armenians who built their large church and have held the property ever since. The area is a typical 'compound' (see below p. 300) with besides the cathedral a large library and monastery, a school, a hospice which was reputed in earlier centuries to hold 1,000 pilgrims (see p. 130) and the famous Armenian Convent Gardens between the Tariq Harat el-Arman and the western wall of the city. There has also been a patriarchate here overlooking the gardens. Hence the whole area south of the old police barracks within the walled city is strongly dominated by Armenian buildings and Armenian activities. However, as pointed out above (p. 244) the Armenians look to the Holy Sepulchre as chief shrine as do the other traditional Christian communities and while the commemorative nature of St. James's remains the cathedral and compound are congregational in character serving both the resident Armenians in Jerusalem and the pilgrims.

The second major structure in this area is the building known as the Coenaculum or David's Tomb. It is a complicated set of adjoining buildings which during most of the later Middle Ages (since 1333) belonged to the Franciscans. It was

the centre of Latin activity in Jerusalem with a hospice, convent and other buildings until the Latins were ejected in the 16th. Century and the place became a Moslem shrine. The reverence of the Moslems for the tomb of David was later emulated by the Jews for after 1948 the place came under Jewish control. It is quite an impressive building and has tended to gather houses and religious structures around it to form by the 19th. Century a considerable Moslem village in the area. The main Christian interest in the Coenaculum, incidentally is not because it is (or is not) David's last resting place but because it also marks in Christian tradition the site of the 'upper room' of the Last Supper. At the beginning of the present century the Dormition Abbey building was constructed for German Roman Catholics and nearby is an ^{Armenian} ~~Greek~~ Orthodox church and community on an old site of Caiaphas's House. Just below the summit of the hill and to the east is the modern St. Peter in Gallicantu Church another claimant for Caiaphas's House (Latin) and the probable medieval site of this place. Inside the city on Mount Sion are other small buildings of religious activity. East of St. James's is a Greek Orthodox Church of St. George and north of this is an old building dedicated to St. Mark and in part commemorative but largely now used as the spiritual centre of the Syrian Orthodox Church who own the place. West of this is the Maronite Convent and the 19th. Century Anglican 'compound' of Christ Church - a church and hospice. There is

also a mosque next to Christ Church which serves the large Moslem population in this area. It was once a church, however, dedicated to St. James Intercisus.³³ The mosque has no commemorative purpose and is known as Al-Yacoubieh after its predecessor.

Thus the Mount Sion/Armenian Quarter area is important for religious buildings and religious activity but is not so devoted to this function as the Christian Quarter and the churches tend to be of sectional or ethnic significance only. After the expulsion of the Franciscans in the 16th. Century, it became very much dominated by the eastern rites and with a strong Moslem interest also.

4) The Via Dolorosa Link

The northern part of the Moslem Quarter is largely residential in character and until the last century was very much Moslem in religious activity. There are three mosques serving the local population plus Moslem schools and the Indian Hospice which is Moslem. There are also two gates into the Haram which open from this area. However, since the Byzantine period there has been strong Christian interest in the road which runs from the eastern gate (St. Stephen's) to the Tariq el-Wad, i.e. the street now known as the Via Dolorosa. During the Middle Ages it became popular as the routeway of the Stations of the Cross procession (see below) and in the last century the Latin Church which practised

the 'stations' built a number of edifices along the route until it has become a thin ~~ixk~~ link between the mass of Christian activity in the Holy Sepulchre area and the large number of shrines in the Gethsemane and Mount of Olives areas. Three of these shrines were built (or rebuilt) by Uniate communities: the Church of St. Anne over the Pool of Bethesda area (Greek Catholic White Fathers) which until the last century was a Moslem college but became ruined under Ottoman rule; the Church of Our Lady of the Spasm (Armenian Catholic); and the Church of St. Veronica (Greek Catholic). Other stations are marked in private houses and the procession stops at these points; the Moslem school in Er Rawdah is used as the 1st. Station. Two convents were built by the Latin Church: one is the Sisters of Zion Convent where there is part of the Roman paving pointed out as probably the Gabbatha of the Gospels. The place has great tourist popularity. There is also the Franciscan Biblical Institute and Library. Finally there is a Greek Orthodox convent. So the Via Dolorosa Link provides a linkage of religious activity with a corresponding following of souvenir shops from the Holy Sepulchre area to Gethsemane. However, ~~xxxx~~ most of the churches and convents are not of striking architecture and while the religious activity keeps the Via Dolorosa lively, it has made little physical impact on the urban landscape.

5) Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives

Extra-mural religious activity is fairly widespread and although individual buildings may be striking it has not been as geographically significant as the activity within the walls. The main area of such activity outside the Old City is in the Gethsemane part of the Kidron valley and on the Mount of Olives. Here in Byzantine times and in the Middle Ages there were churches and caves inhabited by hermits (Chapter 10) and although in the later Middle Ages and Ottoman period the area became almost devoid of Christian buildings, there was still much activity (p.116).

The main buildings are the Virgin's Tomb, the Church of All Nations, Church of St. Mary Magdalene, the Dominus Flevit Church, the Pater Noster Church, the Place of the Ascension, and the Viri Galilaei. Of these only the Virgin's Tomb has seen a continuous existence since early times and the present building is largely Crusader in date. It has been held in respect by Moslems which perhaps accounts for its preservation. It is not a striking building but has been the focus of much worship. The Church of All Nations is a 20th. Century building belonging to the Latins over the site of the Grotto of the Agony which was open in the late Middle Ages and Ottoman period. The other Churches are also relatively new - the 19th. Century Russian Church of St. Mary Magdalene has become a familiar feature of Jerusalem's topography because of its striking Russian style (compare the Gothic of the Anglican

St. George's) ; Dominus Flevit (Latin) with its magnificent view of the Old City; and the Pater Noster Church (Latin) near the Byzantine Church of Eleona. The Ascension Place was located in the time of Constantine and Christian edifices built but in the later Middle Ages (the precise date is unknown) it became a mosque³⁴ although Christians have been admitted from time to time.

In the Kidron valley below Gethsemane there are a number of ancient tombs which have been objects of veneration for all three faiths, and particularly the Jews.³⁵

6) Other Places of Religious Activity

In the general area of Jerusalem there have been many places of interest to the three religions. Thus there are a large number of small Moslem shrines on hill-tops and in the villages.³⁶ Christians have had many churches and convents from St. Saba's and Lazarus's Tomb in the east (the latter has been in Moslem hands for the last few centuries) to the Greek convent of the Holy Cross in the west. Mention should be made of the St. George's compound a late 19th. Century Anglican group of buildings to the north of the Old City and St. Stephen's (Latin) on the site of a Byzantine Church which was probably dedicated to that martyr. There is also the famous Garden Tomb. Although no structure has appeared over this tomb, it is significant as a focus of Protestant activity and has also attracted itinerant souvenir sellers!

Processional Activity

Although productive of no actual buildings, processional activity has already been mentioned (p. 126) as being ^{an} important feature of religion in Jerusalem. As a result, certain routes have become well marked as religious routes and the congestion which can result as a procession meets an important cross-roads is an important factor in the 'traffic flow' inside the Old City. In the Middle Ages the Christians had the 'circle' of Jerusalem which was the main route around the city and its environs and well beaten tracks were worn along it.³⁷ Moslems have had also a traditional circuit around the Haram. However, the most important and best known cross-city procession is the Stations of the Cross already mentioned in this chapter as having been responsible for the creation of the Via Dolorosa Link of Christian buildings.

The Via Dolorosa, now practised each Friday by the Latins, has its origin in the Holy Week processions of the Byzantine and Crusader pilgrims.³⁸ In the later Middle Ages it was introduced into Jerusalem as the Way of the Cross after liturgical developments in Europe³⁹ and by the 15th. Century it was established along the present route, following the course (as was supposed) of Christ from the judgment gall to Calvary. In these early days it only had five stations including the beginning and end⁴⁰ but now has grown to fourteen. Its importance is not only in inspiring the wedge of Christian convents and churches across the centre of the Moslem Quarter,

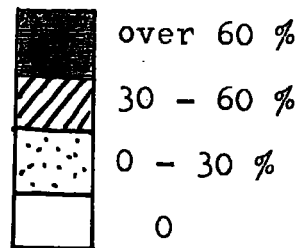
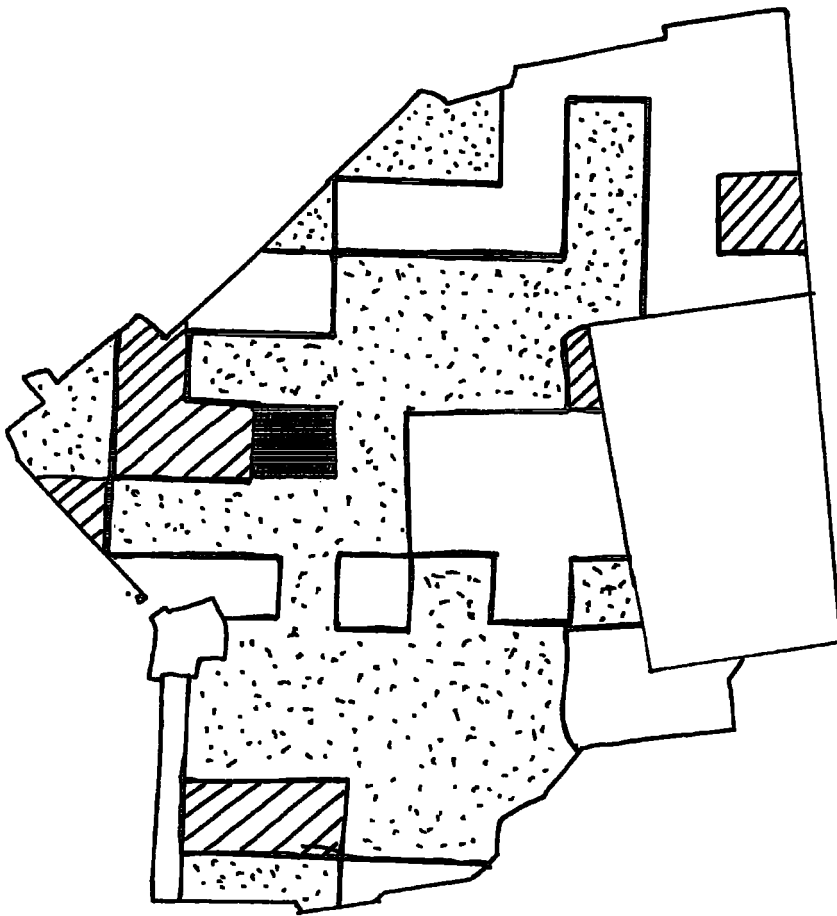
but also in the creation of a zone of movement of a religious nature which crosses the main north-south commercial streets. It has also been followed by a string of souvenir shops not to mention itinerant sellers(see Fig. 30). Its terminus is in the Holy Sepulchre and by the time it arrives it can - at peak pilgrim seasons - cause considerable congestion both inside and outside the Church.

Influences on Location

It is not easy to determine what factors have influenced the location of these religious buildings and processions. Undoubtedly authenticity has played a large part although many if not most of the places are of probably low authenticity. However, since Christianity is a religion based upon a set of historical facts* (see p.64) there has been a conscious attempt by the traditional churches at least to locate their shrines as authentically as possible. With the establishment of most of the holy sites by the end of the Byzantine period, it has been natural for the different communities to attempt to hold on to or acquire sites and build their convents or hospices near them (e.g. the Armenians). Security has also been a factor in forcing groups such as the Latins to take more peripheral locations in return for the greater security while the presence of good views(e.g. Mount of Olives) or of archaeological remains has in the last hundred years or so been a very important consideration.

*The practically unanimous opinion of all scholars

JERUSALEM OLD CITY - % OF LAND IN RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS



Religious Activity and Urban Geography

The next task is really to attempt an assessment of the influence of the location of religious buildings and religious activity in the geography of Jerusalem. The main influences can be seen to be:

1) Physical impact through architecture. The larger and more impressive structures in particular stand out and dominate the area around them and in the case of the Dome of the Rock, even the whole city. The area of the city occupied by land under religious usage is -including the Haram - about half of the total within the walls. What is more the size and architecture of many of the buildings (especially the main holy sites as opposed to congregational buildings) give them a dominant position in the urban landscape. That they are largely concentrated in certain areas, viz. the Christian Quarter and the Haram especially, is all the more striking.

2) Influence on residential building can also be seen. In the next chapter the nature of the residential areas will be examined more closely, but it can be seen already that the main sites tend to attract residence. Thus the Coenaculum has attracted a small residential village on Mount Sion and the holy sites on the Mount of Olives ^{have} ~~been~~ almost certainly influenced the growth of Et-Tow village. Inside the walls, the Greek Orthodox and other native Christians have tended to settle on the western side and the Moslems around the Haram. Besides, the absence of large religious buildings in

the intra-mural Tyropoeon and the northern 'Bezetha' area has meant that these districts have tended to become the main residential areas simply because there is not there the pressure on land (and the high prices) as a result of the interest of the main religious communities. As will be seen in the next chapter, however, the influence of religion in this category of land use is not as great as some have thought.

3) Commercial location has also been influenced to some extent by the location of religious activity although again care must be taken to stress other factors (see p. 319). In particular the souvenir and photographic dealers follow in distribution (see Fig. 30) very closely the main holy sites, hospices, and routes. The string of souvenir shops along the Via Dolorosa and near the Casa Nova hospice are very significant. Recently new stalls have sprung up on the routes to the Wailing Wall. The influence of the main shrines on the spacial development of the general bazaars is also discussed later (p. 329) but whatever the volume of influence it is certainly there. For instance the tendency for the bazaars to remain in the centre and to the north and west of the cross-roads may well point to ~~influence~~ influence from the Holy Sepulchre while development down the Street of the Chain and in the Suq el-Qattanin are plainly developments influenced by the volume of devotional 'traffic' going to and from the Haram and the schools, offices, etc. around it.

The influence of religious activity on quarter formation

will be dealt with in the next chapter but it is worth just emphasising here the differences in the location of the activities and buildings of the religious groups. This is most fortunate in avoiding clashes of interest and it has helped to ease segregation. Thus it can be generally said that Christians have not much interest in the Haram (not for worship anyway) and Moslems have little interest in the Holy Sepulchre. The traditional Christian groups have often fought over rights in the latter building but by 1900 had settled to differing distribution patterns of activity. The Greeks and other eastern communities are centred around the western part of the city and the Greeks particularly with their large resident population in the Christian Quarter; the Latins have spread out from their main compounds in the north-west angle of the city along the Via Dolorosa and into Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives. The Jews have a strong interest in the Wailing Wall which has caused conflict with the Moslems, but generally have, like the Protestants, not concentrated to the same extent on particular sites (see p. 61). The differences in religious outlook can thus be seen to have influenced the actual location of the religious buildings and the morphology of religious activity.

CHAPTER 13

THE ETHNIC QUARTERS

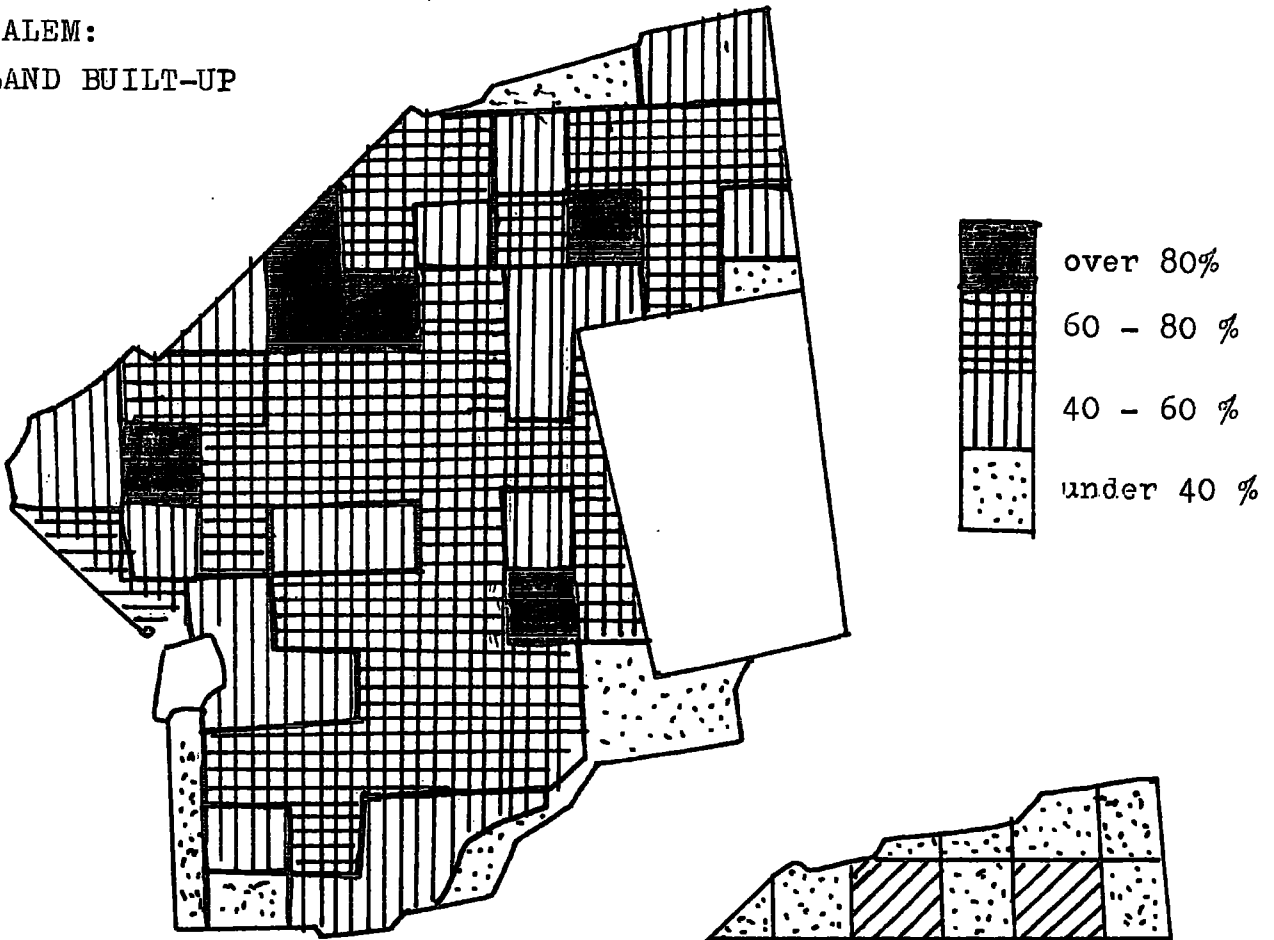
One of the best known features of the geography of the Old City of Jerusalem is the division into four 'quarters'.¹ It is of course not a unique feature to Jerusalem but is common in most cities of the Middle East and was a normal feature of urban life in Europe in the Middle Ages.² Urban segregation is in fact a widespread phenomenon which can be as rigid as the Jewish ghetto in Europe before the last war or as loose as the class districts of an English town. There is in fact a clear distinction to be kept in mind, ~~xx~~ as a number of writers on Jewish history have pointed out, between the voluntary ~~ghatter~~ and the compulsory 'ghetto' and the latter were largely confined to Italy and Poland between 1500 and 1800.³ Voluntary separation of some sort appears to be really a norm of human nature in an urban environment as C.A. Doxiadis has recently pointed out.⁴ In the Arab world the ghetto as such has been generally unknown but great significance is attached to the quarter (Arabic = *Ḥarat*) and whether the division has been strong or loose, it has been and still is of considerable social significance. Here, the city of the Arab world contrasts strongly with the village, for as Baer has pointed out, there is no such division within rural settlements.⁵ Jerusalem has shared this 'quarter' feature.

A. HISTORY OF THE QUARTERS

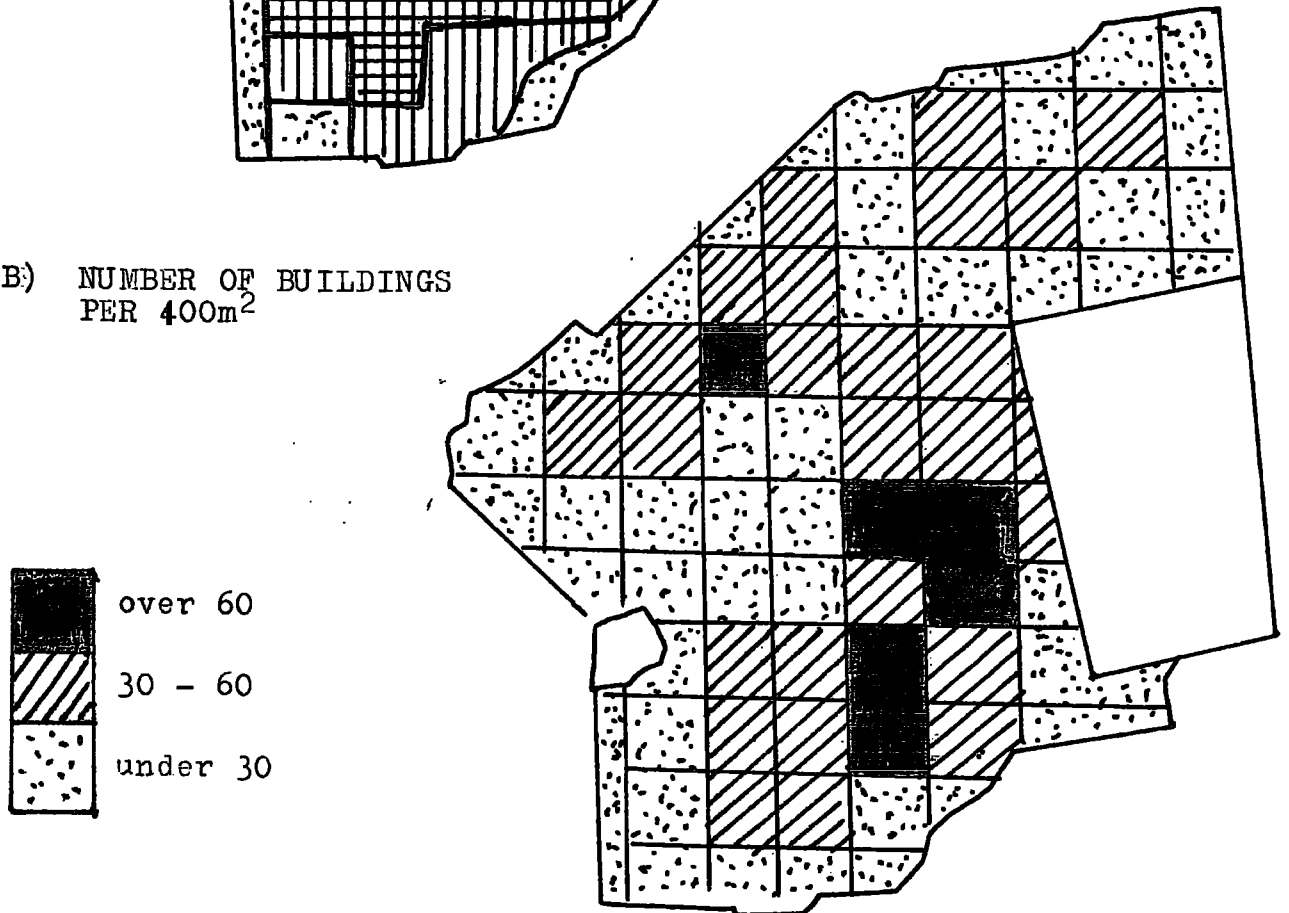
Of the origin of the quarter system in Jerusalem we in fact know very little. Some evidence is available that there were quarters in Biblical times but it seems that these were occupational/class divisions rather than ethnic ones (Zeph. 1.10-11). Prior to the Moslem conquest there is no evidence of the presence of quarters in the city, although the mixture of language and race at that time would make such divisions likely: but if so they were probably very loose. After the Moslem conquest, however, despite the tolerance of the new rulers⁶ relations between the different communities became strained. The special status of the dhimmis or protected persons enabled them to survive at least but the Moslem law forbidding conversions to non-Moslem faiths meant that inevitably, as R.B. Betts has pointed out,⁷ the Moslem community increased while the Christians declined. Meanwhile the Christians themselves were deeply divided over theological issues producing the multiplicity of minority groups in the Middle East which is so characteristic of it.⁸

The geographical expression of this ethnic mosaic was the harat or quarter. In Jerusalem, as the major religious centre of Greater Syria, we would expect that the numerous ethnic groups and religious sects would early on have formed quarters for mutual protection and by the natural process of preferring neighbours who are friendly to those who are not.

ERUSALEM:
OF LAND BUILT-UP



B) NUMBER OF BUILDINGS
PER 400m²



However, we do not get much concrete evidence until the 10th. and 11th. centuries. Mukaddasi then mentions the existence of quarters in the city ⁹ and in the 11th. Century the Moslem rulers compelled the Christians to move from their existing homes and to separate themselves from the Moslems.¹⁰ The result was that the Christians settled around the Holy Sepulchre Church and the Moslems occupied the area north and west of the Haram esh-Sharif.¹¹

During the Latin Kingdom, minority groups had quarters, apparently. Benjamin of Tudela, for instance, found a small community of Jews living under the Tower of David¹² i.e. in the north-western corner of the present Armenian Quarter, and he also mentions the existence of communities of Jacobites, Armenians, Greeks, Georgians and, of course, Franks as the western Europeans became known ~~as~~. From the 'Citez de J^herusalem' of the 13th. Century we get a more detailed picture of the quarter situation. There is some national division in the suq, for there were separate bazaars for Syrian (Arab) and Latin merchants.¹³ Three residential quarters existed at that time¹⁴ and there may have been more. There was the Quarter of the Patriarch occupying the present Christian Quarter and occupied by Latins and Greeks. As today, however, it does seem to have been largely occupied by religious buildings¹⁵ and Abel comments that "ce quartier était donc en grande partie ecclesiastique."¹⁶ The second quarter was the Syrian Quarter or area of the Arabic speaking population. This was in

the area between the northern wall of the Haram and Herod's Gate and was called the 'Juiverie' which has been taken to imply that it had previously been the Jewish Quarter.¹⁷ Another clearly defined quarter was that of the 'Hermins' or Armenians which appears to have been in its present location.¹⁸ It appears that most of the Latins (i.e. civilians as opposed to clerics) lived in the area of the present Jewish Quarter and were sub-divided by nationality into Germans, Franks, Lombards, Spaniards, etc.¹⁹ These nations seem often to have had their own streets and sub-quarters. Thus there was an area known for many centuries after as 'Germany' and a Street of the Spaniards.²⁰

In the Mamluk period, while many cities in Palestine and Syria developed extra-mural suburbs²¹ Jerusalem with its walls in need of repair nevertheless was confined within them for pilgrims were fewer than formerly²² and the population probably thin. Some communities disappeared about this time or declined to very small numbers. Thus the Georgians fell heavily in debt and were forced to sell their considerable possessions.²³ One important development in the 14th. Century was the establishment of a Latin Quarter on Mount Sion under Franciscan organization (see p. 256). The Jews appear to have continued to live near the Tower of David until the later Middle Ages when they moved to their present area.²⁴

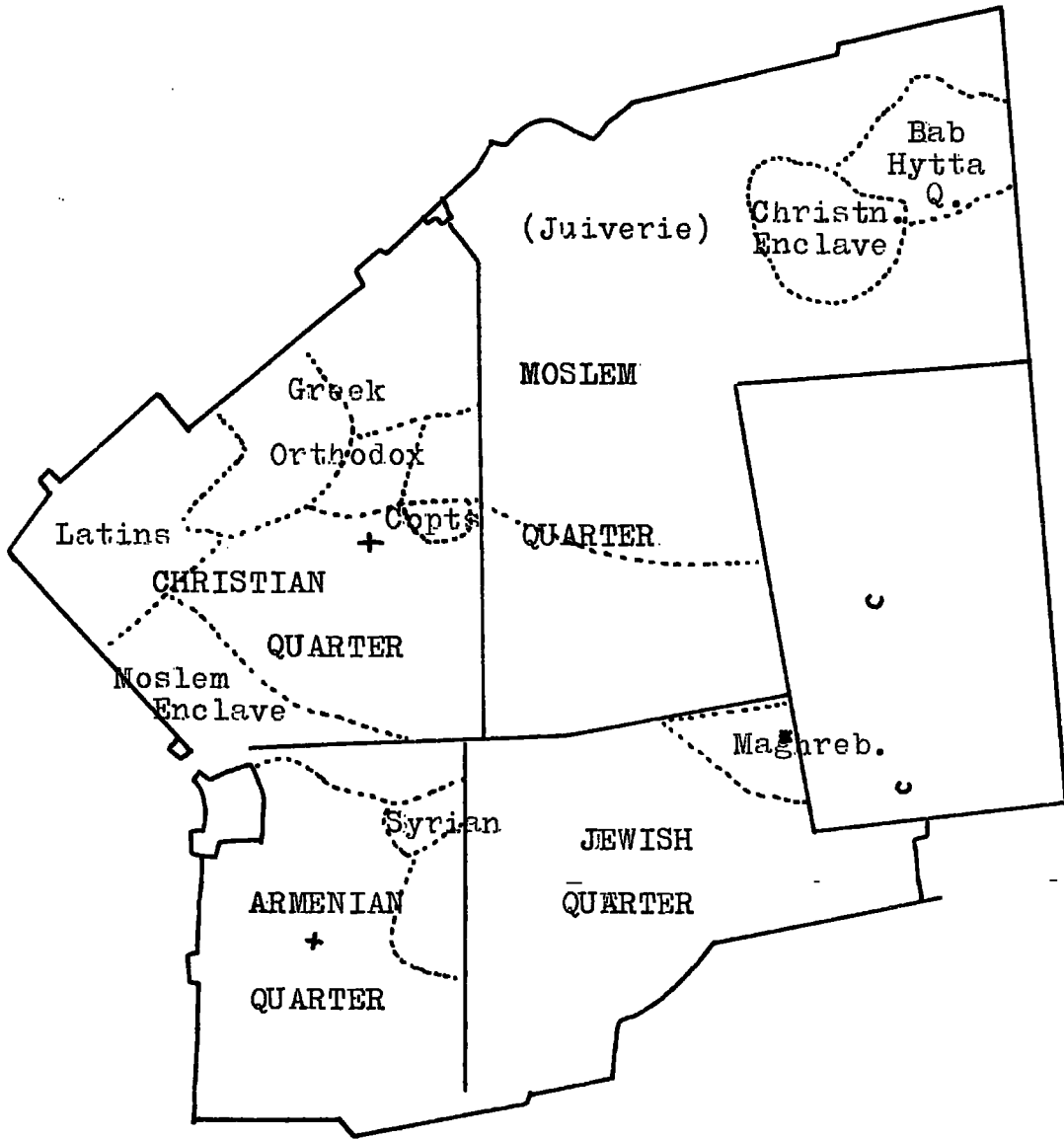
By the end of the Middle Ages, the quarter system appears t

to have been clearly defined on an ethico-religious basis. The multitude of sects and nations and tribes with an interest in the city helped to give it a complexity and a mosaic of quarters out of all proportion to the city's size.²⁵ An important statement is given by the Arab traveller Mejr-ed-Din which gives us some idea of the quarters of Jerusalem at the end of the 15th. Century. It appears ~~ix~~ that the Jews had settled into their present quarters with their neighbours the Maghrebiyeh next to them. The small Kurdish community had disappeared and the Georgians depleted while there was an extra-mural quarter outside the Jaffa Gate (i.e. some migration to the west!) and tribal sub-quarters in the larger Moslem Quarter. The text is:

~~ix~~ The quarter of the Moghrebins, near the walls of the Mesjid, on the west, where the Moghrebins (Western Africans) sojourn, from whom it is named. The Quarter of Sheraf in its neighbourhood, also on the west, and its name is derived from a man who was of the nobles of the city, called Sheraf; and he has descendants known by the name of Beni Sheraf. ~~It~~ It was formerly called the Kurds' Quarter. The Quarter of Alem, named after Alem-ed-Din Suliman, son of Mohezeb, deceased in 770 (A.H.), whose son Omar was inspector of Mecca and Medina, and whose brother Sheraf-ed-Din is buried in this quarter. It is close to the preceding on the north, and adjoins the Quarter of Hayadore. The Quarter Saltein adjoins that of Sheraf on the south-west; Harat-er-Risha, and the Jews Quarter on the east. The Quarter of Sion is west of the Jews. The Quarter Dhawi, north of that of Sion and the Quarter of the Beni Hareth, without the city near the fortress. 26

Mejr-ed-Din does not appear to mention the Christian quarters, but evidence from Fra Francesco Suriano suggests that there were 10 Christian communities having rights in the Holy

FIG. 17



Medieval
Latin
Quarter

FIG. 17

THE QUARTERS OF JERUSALEM

Sepulchre and presumably also their own quarters, even if they only consisted of a convent and a church. They are listed as follows: 1) Franks 2) Maronites 3) Greeks 4) Georgians 5) Abyssinians 6) Copts 7) Jacobites 8) Syrians 9) Armenians 10) Nestorians. ²⁷ The Nestorians it appears were not strong and held no property in the city. ²⁸ The relationships between these Christian communities were not cordial and help to explain why even among the Christians separate quarters developed. Suriano speaks of the Greeks as "the principal enemies of the Roman Catholic Church. Because of their arrogance they are a nuisance to God and Holy Church"; of the Georgians as "the worst heretics, like to the Greeks, and equal in malice"; of the Armenians as "our principal enemies" and as being "deadly enemies of the Greeks and ~~Georgians~~ Georgians." ²⁹

With the Ottoman conquest in 1517, the millet system was introduced, spreading gradually from one millet for all Christians to as many as 14 separate ones. ³⁰ This system gave the dhimmis some self-government but made the quarter system of residence tighter and less flexible. The rationalisation of the Ottoman period produced a decline in the number of communities in Jerusalem and many minority groups were forced to leave on account of taxation or debt and even tribal divisions fell away. ³¹ The Georgians completely disappeared

AND TH

and the Franciscans were forced out of their holdings on Mount Sion and had to begin again in the north-western corner of the Old City, having purchased the Church of St. Salvator off the Georgians.³² When Maundrell visited the city at the end of the 17th. Century he found only Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Copts left with holdings inside the Holy Sepulchre itself.³³ An anonymous letter of 1819 lists only Jews, Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts and Moslems in the city.³⁴ Many of the smaller nations began to seek protection from larger communities and because of the inflexibility of the millet system new arrivals and weaker groups were forcibly cohabited with larger ones. Thus the Armenians 'protected' the Syrians and all Europeans - to the disgust of many English Protestants - were classed as Franks and forced to stay with the Franciscans.³⁵

Edward Robinson made useful enquiries about the quarters as they were about 1840 and it appears that the 'traditional' four quarters had become established and divided fairly rigidly on religious lines.³⁶ The Jews (about 3,000 in all) occupied the "north-eastern part of Zion and.....upwards so as to include the greater part of the hill lying within the walls."³⁷ The Christians numbered 3,500 and lived largely in the Christian Quarter except for the Armenians and Syrians. The Jacobites, Nestorians and Maronites were also still present in small numbers at this time.³⁸ The Moslems numbered about 4,500 and lived in the central and southern

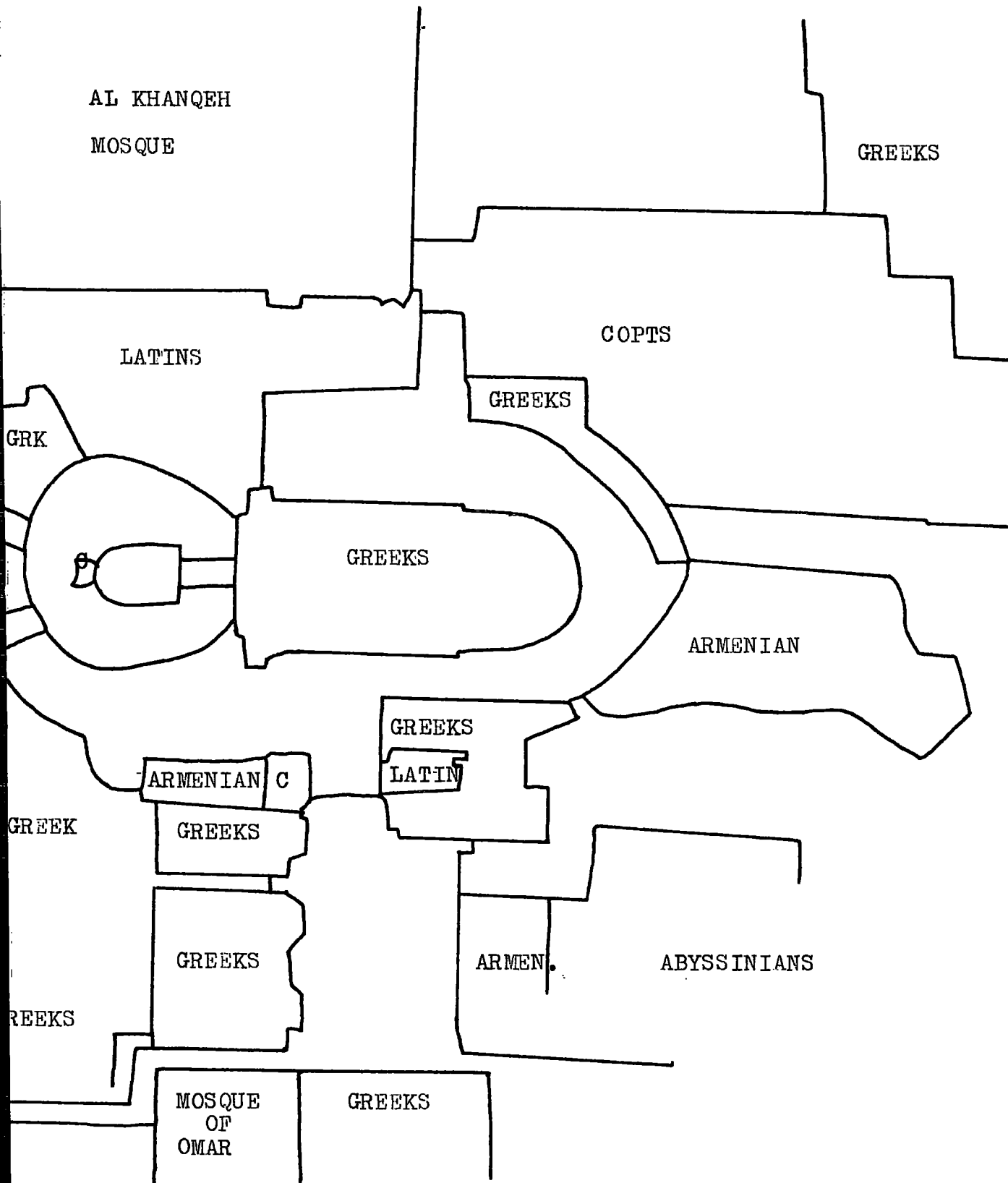


FIG. 18 THE HOLY SEPULCHRE : HOLDINGS (After Schick & Mommert)



THE HARAM ESH-SHARIF IN JERUSALEM (From an air photograph supplied by Survey of Israel)

part of the Moslem Quarter.³⁹ The present pattern of quarter location (see Fig. 17) thus emerged by the last century and nominally has seen little change since, but there has been a strong process of disintegration and the ethnic divisions are no longer very accurate⁴⁰ as can be seen from Fig. 20.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE QUARTERS

Having briefly outlined the development of the quarter system in Jerusalem the characteristics of the quarters can be examined in more detail.

1. Quarter Location.

It is not easy to distinguish universal locating principles behind the siting of the quarters and it is doubtful if any one force can really be isolated as a prime locating factor. Yet some clear motives can be discerned both in Jerusalem and in other Middle East cities. Security has been one prime factor as might be deduced from the feelings of Suriano quoted above. It has frequently been demonstrated that lack of security was one of the prime reasons for quarter formation.⁴¹ This has helped to mark out the walled city in the Middle East as the nucleus of any urban development for walls provide extra safety.⁴² Hence in Tehran, for example, land values were much higher within the walls than outside them, as Judith Brown has shown.⁴³ In Jerusalem, the city has seen evidence of this in the siting of the later Latin Quarter in the north-western

angle of the Old City which because it was protected from the Moslems by the walls and the barrier of the Greek sub-quarter, offered considerable security. Similarly the formation of the 'compound' is a reaction of smaller groups to the problem of insecurity (see below p. 300). Other motives are also apparent, however, for instance the desire to locate near the holy sites. Thus the Greeks and Moslems, being native and therefore not so troubled by the security problem, have found locations near their main holy sites. The clearing out of Christians from the Moslem Quarter in the 11th. Century was undoubtedly due to a desire to secure for Moslems access to the Haram. This factor must not be overplayed, however, for while the churches and mosques and convents have played a large part in quarter formation, they have not always attracted dense settlement (see below p. 282). Thus the Jews have moved from a postulated quarter in the north-east of the Old City to one near David's Tower⁴⁴ and finally to one in the present area. Even this last quarter is not as clearly tied to the Wailing Wall as might be supposed, however, for it is separated from that holy site by Al Harat Al Maghribey and their own ethnic mosque. Another important locating factor is proximity ~~■~~ to the central bazaars. This has particularly been important in Jerusalem since the quarters in the city have not developed their own retailing structure as has happened in many Middle East cities.⁴⁶ It is interesting that all four major nominal quarters adjoin at the central bazaar

and that the growth of the suqs has tended to be distinctly in the direction of the Christian and Armenian quarters - where most of the commercial element has lived. Other reasons can explain this growth (see next chapter) but access to the central bazaars has been important.

By the end of the last century, Jerusalem had the following major quarters and sub-quarters (shiyakat) :-

1. Christian Quarter:

- a. Harat al Istambuliye (Greek)
- b. Harat al Haddadin (Greek)
- c. Harat an Nasana (Greek)
- d. 'Akabat a Dalish (Greek-Moslem)
- e. Harat Bab al 'Amud (Greek)
- f. Harat Deir al Efranj (Latins)
- g. Harat a-Maurazine (Mixed)
- h. Coptic sub-quarter

2. Armenian Quarter:

- a. Harat al-Armin
- b. Syrian Quarter
- c. Harat al-Bashyty
- d. Harat al-Yehud (Jewish)

3. Moslem Quarter

- a. Harat Bab Hytta (Arab) (some Christians)
- b. Harat as-Sa'adiye (Arab)
- c. Harat Bab as-Silsile (Arab)
- d. Al Maghrebiye (N.W. Africans)

4. Jewish Quarter:

- a. Harat al Yehud
- b. Harat al Maidan

The division above is not complete since there are a number of very small quarters consisting only of one small street and often no longer very significant. The quarter system is thus not as solidly divisible into four as some have thought.⁴⁷

The Christian and Armenian Quarters form a block on the

western ridge of the city and thus ^{are} somewhat higher in elevation than the Jewish and Moslem quarters. Since the Christians have frequently been the best educated and most successful (commercially) of the inhabitants of Jerusalem⁴⁸ and hence wealthy they have preferred and were able to purchase the more desirable areas. It should not therefore be thought that the presence of the Greeks, Latins and Armenians in their particular quarters is purely a matter of Moslem intolerance and the attraction of the Holy Sepulchre, although these are important factors. Betts has in fact written of Palestine as a whole:

In the three major cities, Christian residential concentration in an area, with the exception of the ancient Christian Quarter about the Holy Sepulchre in old Jerusalem, was more the result of their higher economic status than it was the product of the fear that drove Christians in Aleppo and Damascus to congregate together in tightly-built, fortress-like cities-within-a-city. 49

There is no logical reason why Betts should exempt the Christian Quarter of Jerusalem in this for while access to the Holy Sepulchre has been important there has also been a considerable attraction of the western side of the city, above the smells of El-Wad and it clearly follows a pattern of social segregation observed in the city of the Herods.⁵⁰ Indeed, a moment's consideration will show that ~~far~~ apart from the Holy Sepulchre and possibly St. James (not of major theological significance) there are no holy sites of a commemorative nature in the Christian and Armenian Quarters

FIG. 20

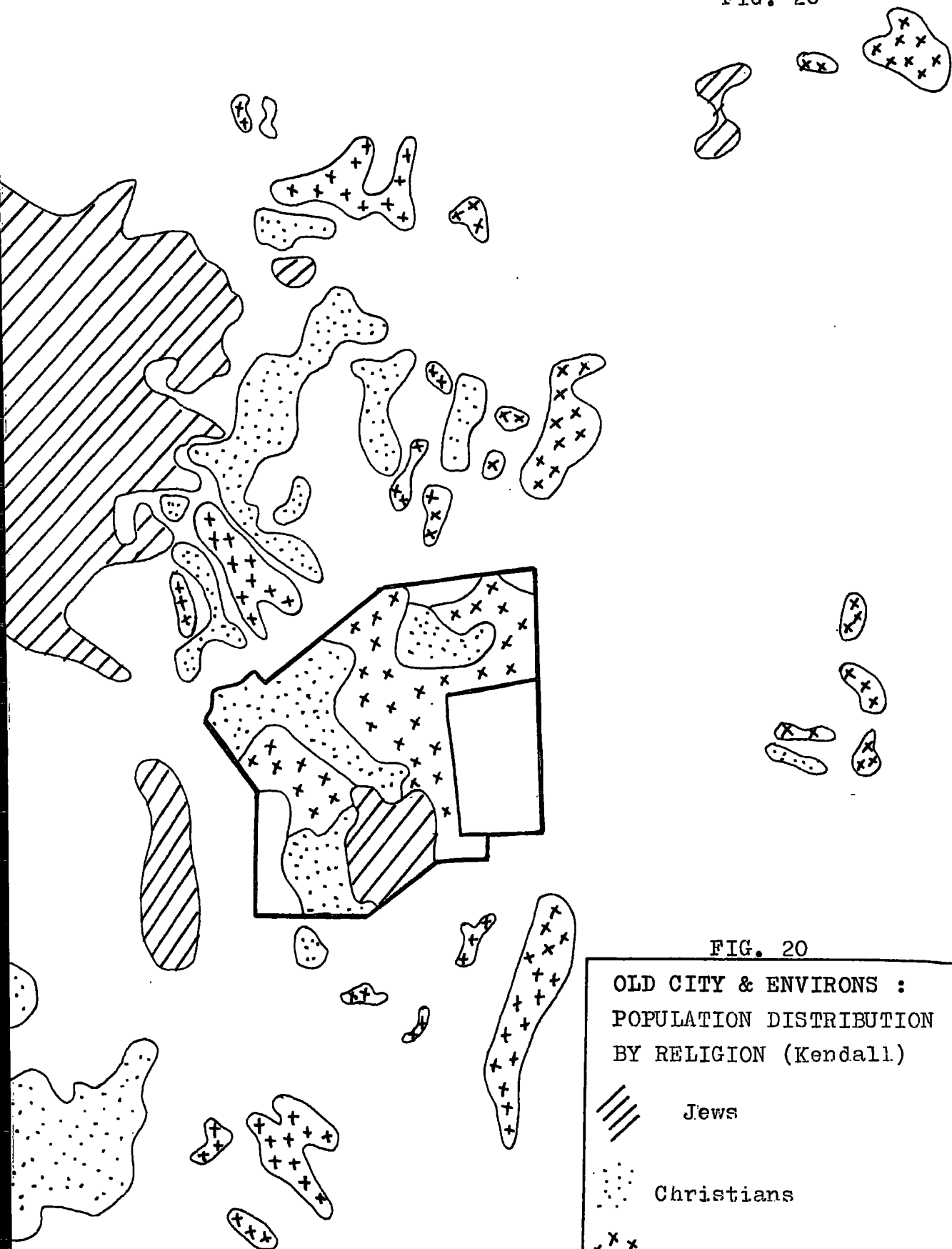


FIG. 20

OLD CITY & ENVIRONS :
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
BY RELIGION (Kendall)



Jews



Christians



Moslems

and indeed the medieval Latins were happy breathing the cleaner air of Mount Sion. However, both religious sites and security factors have played a part in the location of sub-quarters. The quiet 'backwater' atmosphere of the Armenian Quarter ⁵¹ has attracted the smaller Syrian and Maronite communities who have sheltered under the 'umbrella' of the stronger Armenian community. The Syrians for example, although originally probably sited in the north-eastern part of the Old City ⁵² at some point in the Middle Ages obtained St. Mark's convent and church and moved there. The church acted as an ethnic focus and the Armenians as protectors while they were quite near the suqa - the Syrian Orthodox 'natives' have always been strong in commerce. Through losses to Islam and financial troubles they declined in numbers in the city to 15 in the early 19th. Century ⁵³ and by 1857 consisted of three laymen plus a priest and a deacon, all from one village near Homs. ⁵⁴ Hence their seeking of protection from the Armenians. It is interesting that the Syrians should have located there for like the Jacobites and the Copts, they share with the Armenians a strong tendency towards monophysite beliefs. ⁵⁵ While the Copts, situated east of the Holy Sepulchre were near enough to the Moslems (who often favoured them) to escape the wrath of the Greeks, the Syrians found protection and sympathy in company with the Armenians. Thus Williams wrote of this feature: "the Syrians and Copts are connected with the

Armenians by terms of intercommunion owing to their general agreement in the monophysite heresy." ⁵⁶ Hence theological factors have influenced quarter location.

The Moslem Quarter is located to the north~~and~~ west of the Haram esh-Sharif in the upper Tyropoeon valley (El Wad) and on the Bezetha Hill. To a large extent this has been no doubt influenced by access to the Haram. Indeed the lower part of the Moslem Quarter is ideally situated, being wedged between the Haram and the bazaars and possess^{ing} most of the public buildings: however most of the population of the quarter has preferred to live further north. The valley is not as pleasant to live in. The number of mosques in the northern part of the Moslem Quarter (paralleling the congregational Greek churches in the northern part of the Christian Quarter) indicates a tendency for residents to settle there. This will be examined again later, for there is the economic attraction of the Damascus Gate to consider. Many of the houses to the north-east of the quarter (in the Bab Hytta area) are poor, however.⁵⁷ One final feature of the Moslem Quarter has been the tendency for national groups to form sub-quarters. For instance the north-west Africans or Maghrebiiyeh have formed their own sub-quarter around their own mosque next to the Waiiding Wall and there are some negro families in the area north of the Haram. Many of these are descendants of Haram servants or pilgrims who have settled.

The ~~Jewish~~ Jewish Quarter was probably located in its

present area for two main reasons:

1) It was near, although not adjacent to, the Wailing Wall, and access to tombs in the Kidron was easy.

2) There was less competition for this part of the city for being low, it received much of the drainage and effluent from above and the area inside the Dung Gate has been waste for centuries.

The second reason will explain why many of the better class Jews have preferred dwelling on the slopes of Mount Sion rather than on the valley floor, even though the latter is nearer the Wall. In fact there is a street inside the nominal Armenian Quarter called 'Harat al-Yehud'. Some 16th. Century Ottoman documents record the residence of Jews in the southern part of Jerusalem at that time. One firman of 1589 reports that the Jews had appropriated the Wailing Wall⁵⁸ and other documents record a Jewish population of 224 households and 19 bachelors in 1533-9 divided between the quarters of Sharaf, Mashlakh, and Risha.⁵⁹ This verifies the quarter division of Mejr ed-Din above (p. 273). By 1554 the total figures according to contemporary documents were: ⁶⁰

Sharaf Quarter....	107 households + 3 bachelors
Mashlakh Mashlakh Quarter..	79 Households + 3 bachelors
Risha Quarter.....	138 households + 7 bachelors + 1 madman

It would appear from the above and from Mejr-ed-Din's statement,⁶¹ that by the 16th. Century the Jews were finding the advantages of the slopes of Mount Sion and settling

on the area around the Hurva Synagogue. Hence in the location of the Jewish Quarter there is the influence of the holy sites; the influence of desirability for the Jews; and of non-desirability for the stronger ethnic groups in the population.

2. Quarter Differentiation

It has commonly been assumed that Jerusalem has four quarters based on religion alone. Thus Charles Wilson in the middle of the last century wrote:

The city is divided into quarters, which are occupied by the different religious sects. The boundaries of these quarters are defined by the intersection of the principal street and that which ~~xxx~~ crosses it at right angles from the Jaffa gate to the gate of the Haram, called the Bab as-Silsile, or gate of the Chain.

The Christians occupy the western half of the city, the northern portion of which is called the Christian Quarter and contains the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the southern portion is the Armenian Quarter, having the Citadel at its north-west angle.

The Mahometan Quarter occupies the north-east portion of the city, and includes the Haram esh-Sharif. The Jewish Quarter is on the south, between the Armenian Quarter and the Haram. 62

Now it has already been shown that in fact there are more than just four quarters and a glance at Fig. 17 will show clearly that they are not to be bounded necessarily by the main city thoroughfares. Similarly, Wilson's assumption that the quarters are divided on religious grounds is true - perhaps more so than in most Middle East cities - but is still superficial. Religious faith and geographical factors such as race and language are very much intermingled

in the Middle East as has been shown by W.B.Fisher among geographers⁶³ and A.S.Atiyeh among Church historians.⁶⁴ Hence the quarters in Middle East cities are usually - as here - referred to as 'ethnic quarters' and not 'religious'. Now compared with many cities of the region, Jerusalem's quarters are simple and uncomplicated and based largely on religion; in some cities, the differentiating factors are more complex than here with economic, social, linguistic and religious factors all combined, as Birot and Dresch have clearly pointed out.⁶⁵ Aleppo is a good example to compare with Jerusalem in this respect⁶⁶ for around its citadel is a very complicated quarter system with tribal and village factors common.

However, even in Jerusalem, the non-religious factors must be emphasised to balance the picture. Two types of non-religious quarter division occur-

- 1) The ethⁿico-religious denominations
- 2) Tribal, racial and village sub-quarters.

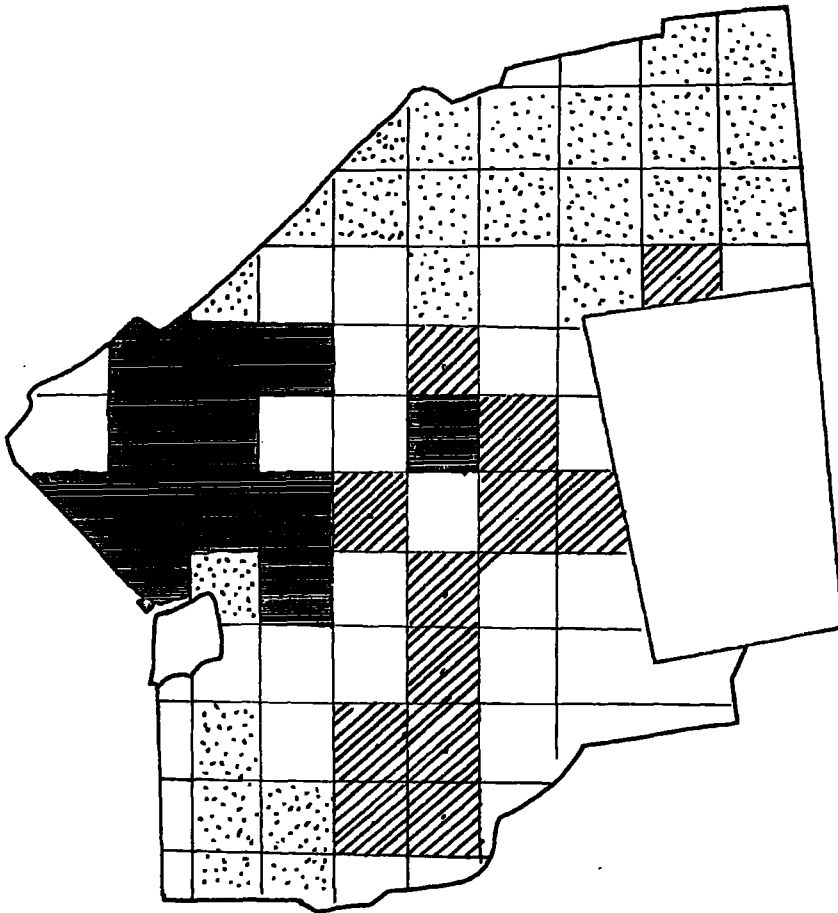
1) Ethⁿico-religious divisions:

These are divisions which are normally classed as religious but have a basis in non-religious factors. The outstanding example here is the Armenian Quarter. Apart from its monophysite views there is no reason why the Armenian community should not live happily in the Christian Quarter. Yet David Street is a dividing line of more than theological significance for the Armenians have a different

language and culture from the Arabs and have an almost exclusively commercial economic life. Because of their wide geographical spread and lack of any political home they have often been compared with the Jews. Religious considerations have prevailed sufficiently to enable the Arabic-speaking Syrian Church to ally itself with the Armenians as discussed above; but there has been this strong cleavage between the Arab and the non-Arab, the Greeks, Syrians and Copts all being Arabic-speaking. It is interesting that that other large non-Arab community the Latins, settled in the Middle Ages on Mount Sion - also an expression of desire to be away from the Arab areas.⁶⁷ The classification of all Europeans as Franks and the division of the Jews between Sephardim and Ashkenazim are both other instances of this cultural as opposed to theological influence. There is no evidence, however, of the Jewish groups forming strictly separate sub-quarters for their differences have been mainly in language and culture⁶⁸ and in any case, the Sephardim were almost the only type of Jew in Jerusalem prior to the last century. Some divisive elements inside the Greek Orthodox Church have been observed between the Arab laity and lower clergy and the higher clergy who are largely Greek. It is interesting that the lay citizens have not built their habitations around the Greek monastic and patriarchal buildings, but this is probably for economic reasons (see below p. 290).

FIG. 21

JERUSALEM OLD CITY - ROOF TYPES



Predominant roof types

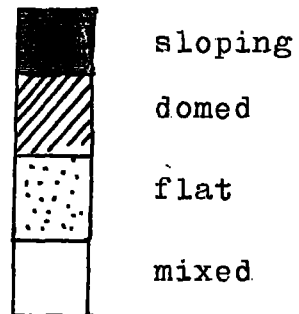
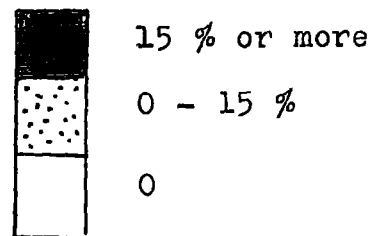
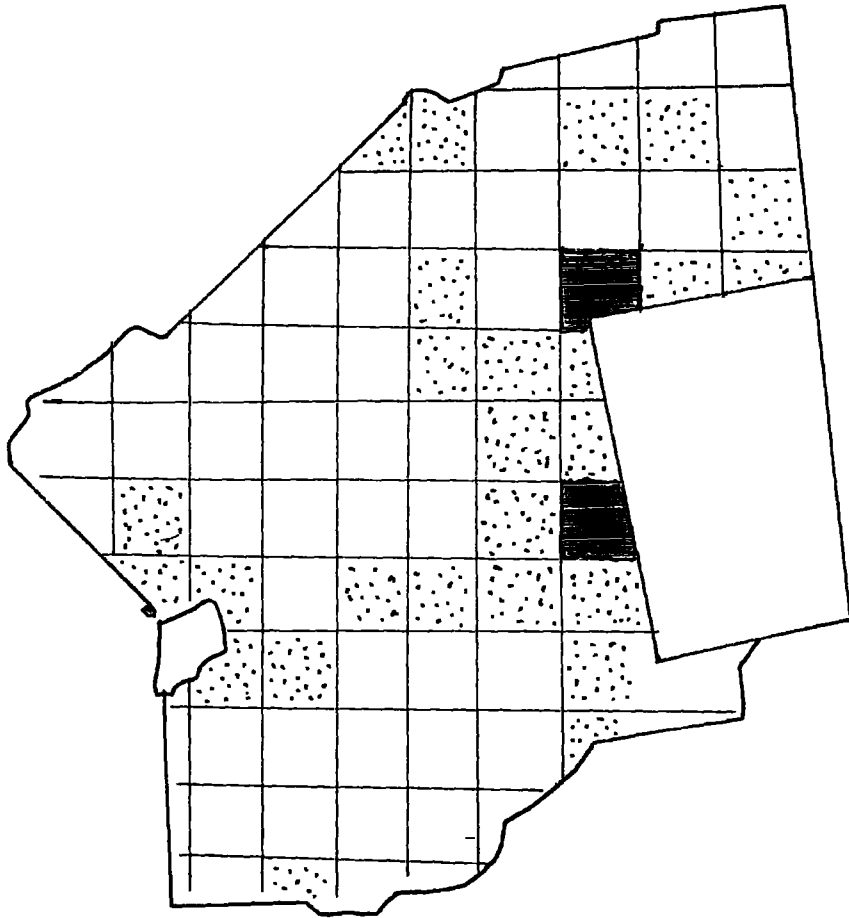


FIG. 22

JERUSALEM OLD CITY - % OF LAND IN PUBLIC BUILDINGS
(Inc. schools)



2) Non-religious sub-quarters:

Many of the smaller quarters in Jerusalem, especially in the Moslem Quarter are of a non-religious character. This was first brought to general notice in the middle of the last century with the orthographic mapping of Sandreczki.⁶⁹ Thus there are a number of sub-quarters which are named after the gates and form distinct communities but not of a strong ethical nature - more a matter of class or family linkage or of origin. These include the Harat Bab Hytta in the north-east of the Old City; the Harat Bab es-Silsile in the southern part of the Moslem Quarter; and the Harat Bab el 'Amud in the far north of the Christian Quarter. Other quarters are named after areas of the city, some long since disappeared, e.g. the Harat al Maidan in the Jewish Quarter. Some sub-quarters have been named after famous local men. It will be recalled that in Mejir-ed-Din's list there were instances of this (p. 273). Today there is a small quarter named after a local sheikh in the north-west of the Moslem Quarter. It is often common to find that a family will gradually obtain control over the property in a whole street and the street will thus become a familial sub-quarter.⁷⁰ Other quarters have been named after the districts or villages from which the original (not necessarily the present) residents came, e.g. Al Maghrebiye Harat al Hayadare, Harat al Istambuliye, etc. Thus it is a known factor that, as pointed out recently by J. Boskin, despite the advantages of urban life, immigrants from the

country maintain a nostalgic recollection of their previous homes⁷¹ and this helps quarter formation on origin lines. It has even been seen in many places, for instance in Mecca among the Jeddans, that immigrants will settle in that part of the city which is nearest home: but the phenomenon has not been definitely observed and checked in Jerusalem.

There is some evidence for social distinctions in the quarters of Jerusalem such as has been observed in the cases used in social area analysis research in recent years in Britain and the U.S.A.⁷² Thus in late Ottoman Jerusalem there grew the distinct tendency for the better class and wealthy Arabs to settle in the extra-mural suburbs. In some cities there has been observed some class distinction within quarters⁷³ but this is not obvious in Jerusalem.

Finally, religious distinctions must not be ruled out completely. The major divides after all have been between Moslem, Christian and Jew although there is also a strongly observed Arab/non-Arab division as has been seen. The Christian Quarter is strongly sub-divided on religious lines with theological feeling strong between Uniate and Orthodox; Monophysite and Diophysite; Traditional and Protestant. Thus the arrival of the Zionist Jews at the end of the last century began a strong division between the liberal and reformed Jews on the one hand and the Orthodox on the other. Even outside the Old City, the Orthodox have kept as far as possible in their own suburbs such as Yemin Moshe.

On the other hand it must be clearly noticed that the Moslem and Jewish quarters within the Old City have tended strongly to divide on non-religious grounds, with the exception of small communities such as the Dervishes, the Shi'as (never many), and the Karaites. It is very noticeable that in the Moslem Quarter, citizens and pilgrims from non-Arab races have tended to have their own quarters and own khans: the Maghrebiyeh Quarter and the Indian Hospice for instance.

3. Quarter Anatomy

Many have been the general descriptions of the average urban quarter in the Middle Eastern city but there have been few detailed examinations of quarter anatomy and morphology. Thus Betts, using quotations from Rondot and Le Roy writes as follows:

In the cities of Aleppo, Damascus and Ladhikiyya, the compact walled Christian Quarters - more often than not named after those massive gates which even in recent memory were regularly closed at night 'pour se mettre a l'abri du coup de main de quelque fanatique' - bespoke the rigid isolated existence that had governed the lives of Syrian Christians for centuries. Behind these ancient gates.....lay a labyrinth of tiny alleys and covered streets 'where only the initiated would dare to venture' lined with fortress-like houses whose 'securely padlocked iron doors.....zigzag entrances....and barred windows' witnessed to 'an age-old fear of neighbours whose misdeeds and sudden outbursts of rage are not forgotten and still, even today, possible'. 74

Similar poetic sentiments have been expressed over Jerusalem's quarters but there are more precise descriptions. For instance Zev Vilnay writes:"the suburban quarters were small and poor

and typified by narrowness...."⁷⁵ Many earlier writers compared the different quarters for appearance but without details. One writer of the last century described the Armenian Quarter as "the neatest and most agreeable quarter in the city" but refers to the Jewish Quarter as "rather of an opposite character to the last mentioned."⁷⁶ The 19th. Century geographer Ritter described the Jewish Quarter as "full of dirt and filth"⁷⁷ and these derogatory descriptions of the Jewish Quarter have recently been echoed by the Israeli geographer Vilnay: "for centuries the entire Jewish community of Jerusalem huddled within a warren of dilapidated hovels crowding the eastern slope of a hill facing Mount Moriah..."⁷⁸ Similar descriptions of the poor state of the Maghreb and Dervish communities can be found but the Armenian Quarter is persistently praised. One writer described it as "the finest section of the city.....in the other quarters the streets are much narrower."⁷⁹

These quotations are not precise enough to base any urban morphology on, but they do give a warning against attempting to apply 'universal' principles of quarter structure for there was much variety even within the one city of Jerusalem. In fact Jerusalem is probably not typical of Middle East cities for the variations in quarter architecture and anatomy contrast with for instance Aleppo and Cairo, which appear much more uniform. Jerusalem presents a mixture of rectangles and irregularity; church and hovel; dome and flat roof.

FIG. 23

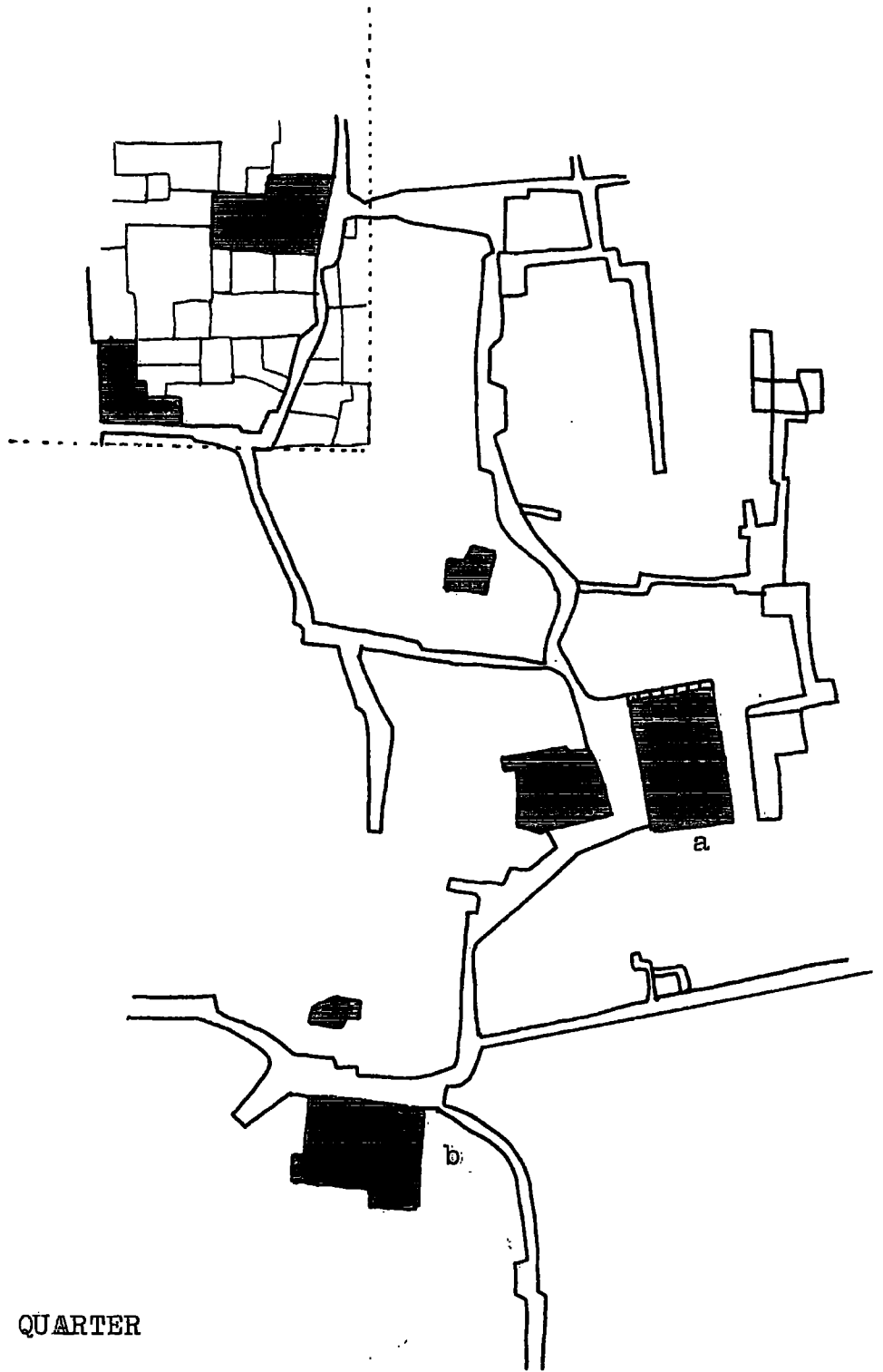


FIG. 23

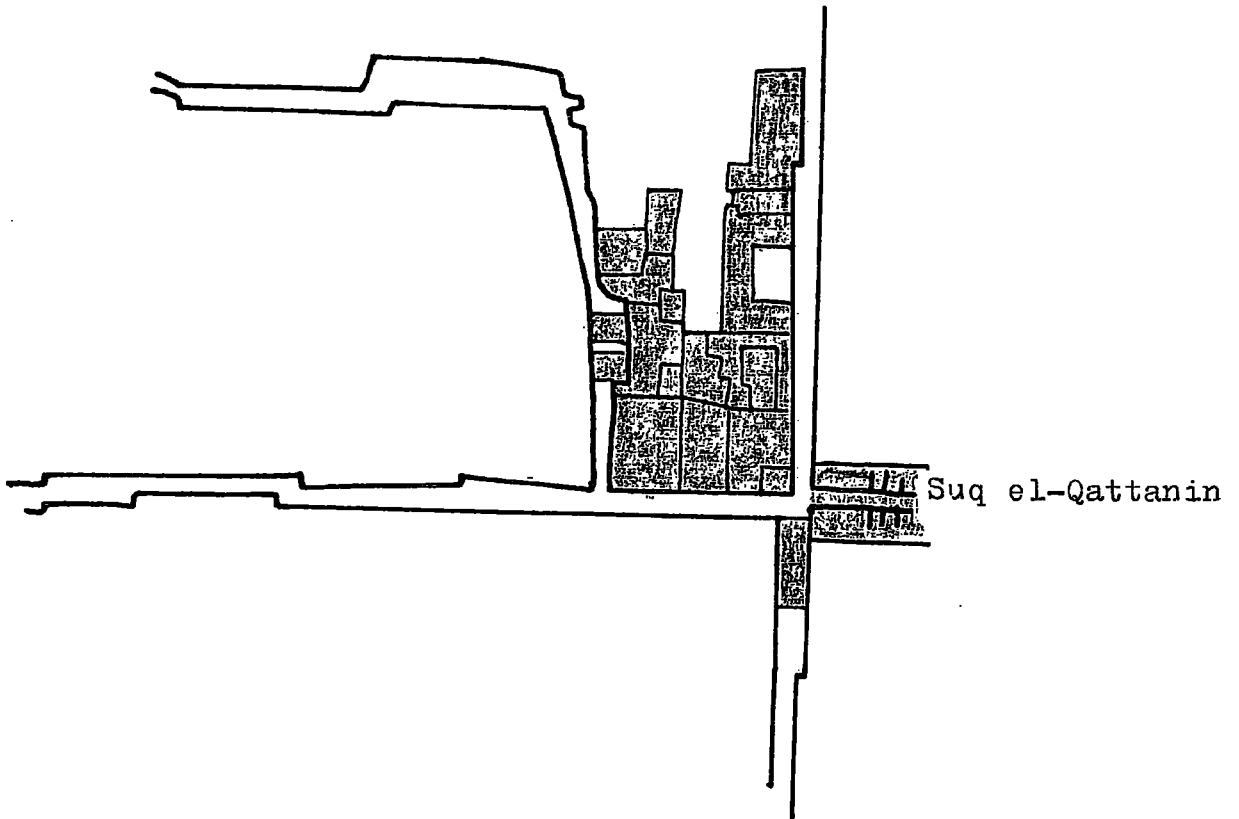
HEART OF JEWISH QUARTER

- a Tipheret Israel Synagogue
- b Istambuliy Synagogue



FIG. 25

PART OF MOSLEM QUARTER (From O.S. of Sir C. Wilson)



200 feet

The quarters of Jerusalem are less rigidly divided into settlement cells⁸⁰ compared with other cities in the Middle East and the seclusion often noted by scholars in other places⁸¹ is not always found neither. None of the quarters has ever been walled (except for the Jewish Quarter for a brief period⁸²) and none has developed its own retailing system of policing policy. The 'natural' development has been checked - as at Damascus - by the other conveniences of the Roman street grid; and access to the pilgrims has been vital to all communities.

a) General Land Use. The maps Fig. 16 and 17 combined with the land use maps in Volume II of this thesis indicate clearly that the quarters of Jerusalem make very ~~xxxxx~~ different and individualistic contributions to the urban landscape. Fig. 16 shows clearly the variations in the density of the built-up area with a large concentration of buildings of a residential nature in the northern part of the Christian Quarter and in two other areas both in the Moslem Quarter. The influence of the Damascus Gate is probably a very strong factor in this for it is noticeable that both the Greek Orthodox and Moslem population have packed the area just inside this gate very tightly. There are no holy sites in this area and security is not particularly enhanced so commercial considerations must have been prevalent. Correlations between land use factors will be examined ~~x~~ below and these points emphasised again. As Fig. 16 shows, the far northern

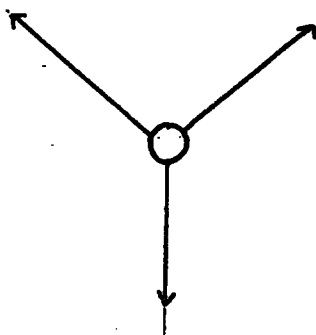
quarters of the city are predominantly residential and contrast to the Latin and 'Istambuliye' quarters which have a very high percentage of religious buildings and probably few residents.⁸³ In Edward Robinson's day, the Latin community numbered about 1,100 ~~many~~ and lived in the area of the convent " on which they are wholly dependent." ⁸⁴ Hence it was not a large community and is even now not large in native adherents, since even by 1931 the whole of Jerusalem only had 6,000 Latins and many of these were clerics or in establishments outside the Old City.⁸⁵

Hence it can be seen that some quarters are almost entirely residential (e.g. the Moslem Quarter, the Jewish Quarter, Bab el 'Amud Quarter, Bab Hytta Quarter); others are composed mainly of public buildings such as churches (e.g. the Christian Quarter). A comparison of Plates 9, 10 and 11 in Volume II will show this clearly for there are clear differences in land use patterns between the quarters and in architecture, according to the level of religious intensity and the nature of the faiths. This architectural factor cannot be examined in detail here although it has great importance in terms of urban landscape. One factor however, has been examined in more detail by way of illustration. Fig. 21 shows the distribution of roof types for the walled city, plotted from a recent aerial photograph.⁸⁶ The significance of this is that the domed roofs represent the older 'native' buildings; the practice of doming residential structures

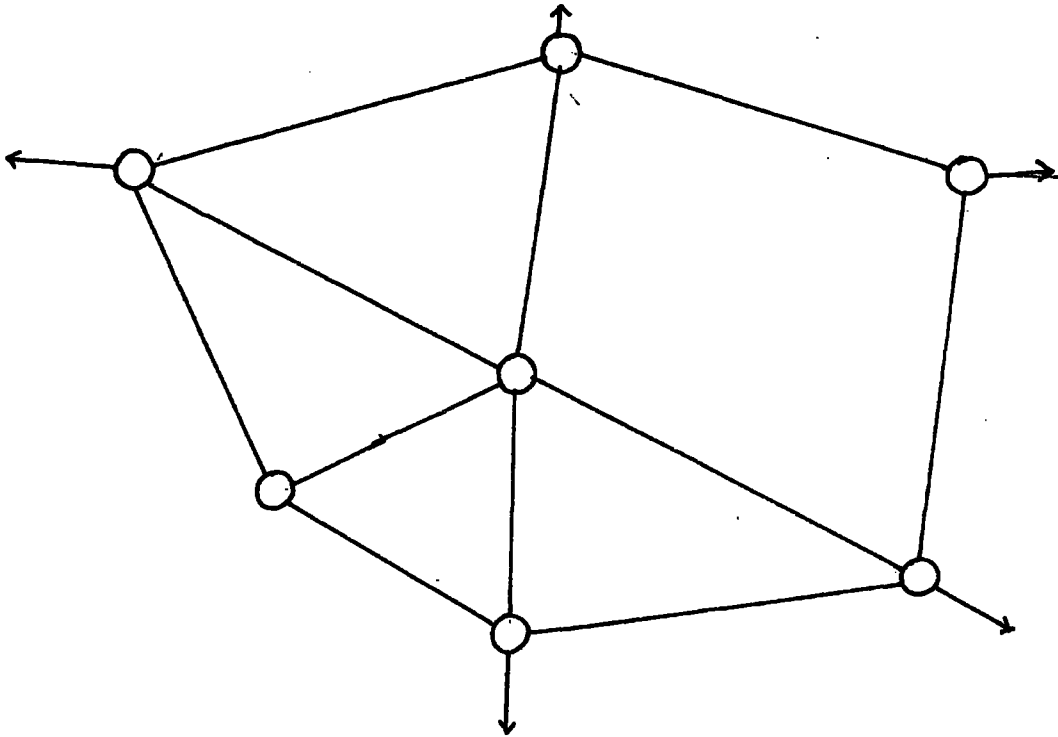
had almost petered out by the end of the Ottoman period and this was lamented by many experts.⁸⁷ The angled roofs represent foreign influence in the city from western Europe and the flatter roofs the more common form of ~~flat~~ roofing for poorer houses. Hence the Christian and Armenian quarters have a high concentration of European type roofs; the flatter roofs represent poorer housing and growth of a later date; and the domes older structures. For instance the large number of domes in the Jewish Quarter represents not just the preference of the Jews for traditional forms but also the Moslem ~~xxxxx~~ restrictions on Jewish building - they generally used older property.

b) The Quarter: Nodes and Structure. The large percentage of religious buildings in Jerusalem and the legacy of the Roman 'grid-iron' street pattern renders generalisations on quarter morphology difficult. There are really different types of structure, based upon 'natural' growth, fixed points such as holy sites, or fixed lines of communication, i.e. the streets. Much of what follows has been developed from a study of the Jewish Quarter since this is the largest area in the city which shows comparative freedom of development (i.e. from fixed points and lines: there were many legal restrictions) and as pointed out above the Jews have tended to keep ~~to~~ traditional architectural forms. 88

The maze of streets and houses in this quarter is often confusing ⁸⁹ at first sight but nevertheless certain features can be distinguished. Particularly important here is the nodal space of 'square', the importance of which in urban morphology has recently been emphasized by Amos Rapoport in a discussion on urban relationships.⁹⁰ The streets are hinged around open spaces which may contain a religious building or some other public structure or a bazaar. In Italian cities this feature has been observed and noted by E.N.Bacon.⁹¹ The main open spaces or 'squares' form nodes which serve surrounding houses - as many as 50 or 60 in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem - forming a basic settlement cell. These nodes are linked together by means of streets into a larger quarter often with a main street as the artery as in some quarters in Damascus.⁹² This can be represented diagrammatically as below, with the node and surrounding buildings forming a settlement shell (to use Doxiadis's term) which is a small sub-quarter and linked to its neighbours by communicative links, the strength of which depend on the cordiality (or otherwise) of the relationships between them.



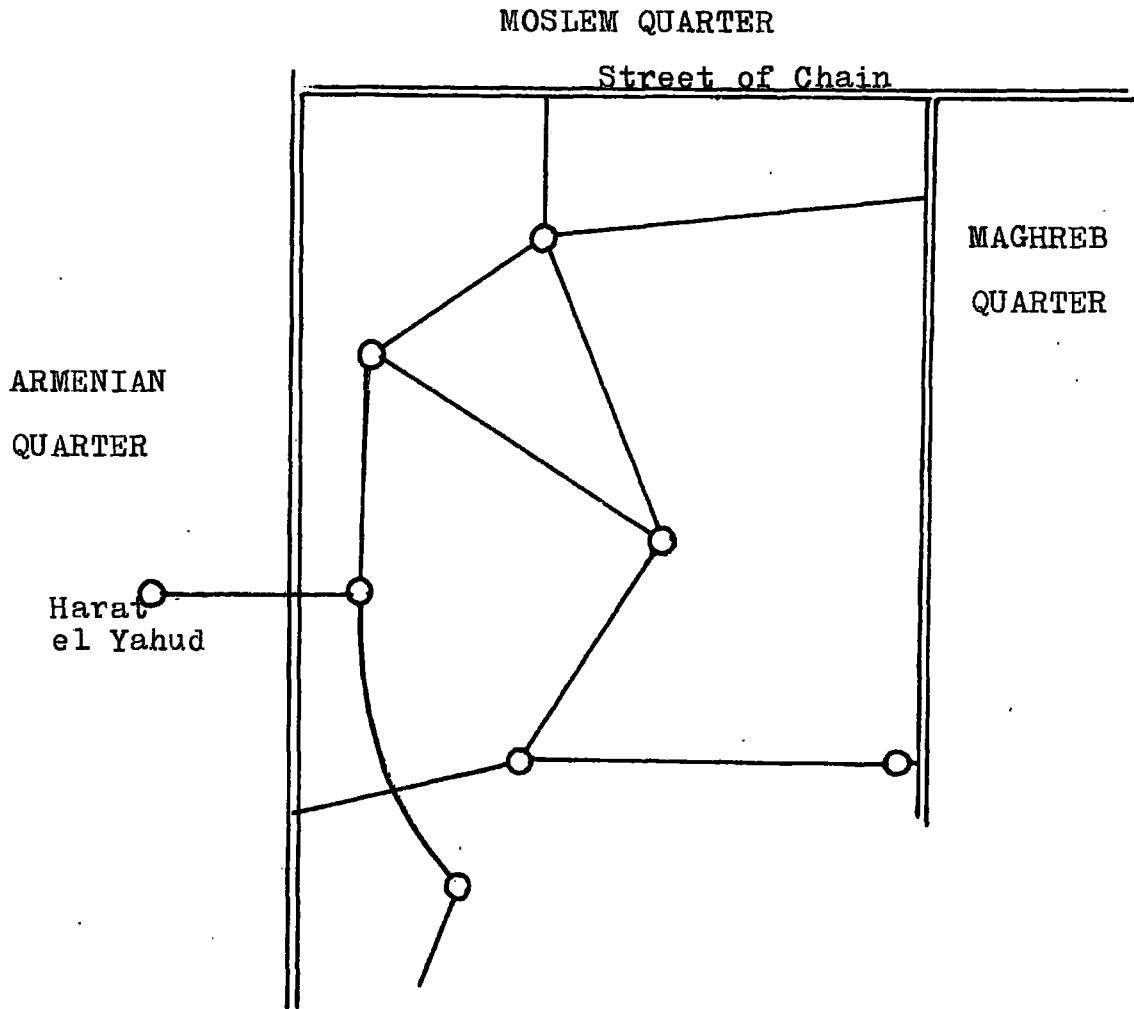
The streets spread out (not of course straight as in the diagram!) and link with neighbouring nodes where there is some degree of relationship to form a lattice pattern thus:



Together they might form a larger quarter as the links are established. Thus in the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem streets and houses have been taken over gradually and where the quorum (10 males) is found a synagogue for the particular linguistic or theological group is built or a cellar (for security) is designated for that purpose. The (by Jerusalem standards) friendly Jewish groups established links with each other: and indeed it is not very certain that there was not a large degree of residential mixing. Had Moslem communities returned to the

area after the Jews had begun to settle there then over time streets might have been diverted or blocked and communication inhibited.⁹³ If the lattice is able to grow of course, the larger quarters tend to link up and form an irregular (there is no need for excercises in geometry) web of nodes and linkages as relationships of social or commercial nature are established. This can be seen in many Middle East cities such as Jaffa and Cairo.⁹⁴ Usually, however, the system finds a natural or man-made boundary which represents a distinct morphological break - and as often as not this boundary is one of the major axes of the city. It has already been asserted in the case of the city of Jerusalem that the four main streets do not represent hard and fast divisions between the quarters. Yet they have proved important barriers, especially as they contain the main bazaars. On the other hand a quarter can expand across them if need be and a relationship in social or cultural terms bridging the main street can find expression in street alignment and traffic flow. An example of this can again be found in the case of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, showing how linkages have spread across the Tariq Bab en-Nabi Daud into the smaller Harat al-Yehud in the Armenian Quarter. On the other hand, the smaller Harat al-Meidan in its eastern branch seems to have acted as the eastern border of the Jewish Quarter separating it from the Maghrebeyeh while the Street of the Chain has acted as a border to the north. Thus the organic structure of the Jewish

Quarter might be represented like this:



A similar instance is the way the Latin Quarter has in the last hundred years 'spilled over' the walls via the New Gate with many buildings just outside that gate. It should be kept in mind that in Jerusalem and other cities also -while theoretical planned growth was unknown - yet the quarters have often grown as a deliberate policy by the successive purchase of property

and the establishment of links between property and nodes. This is how the Jewish Quarter has evolved over the last few hundred years. Thus to an already existing Sephardim Quarter, the Ashkenazim came in the last century and constructed the old Hurva Synagogue and the Tiferet Israel Synagogue and the latter with its large 'square' became almost the central node of the whole Quarter.⁹⁵ It is shown in Fig. 23. The more 'organized' communities grew in like manner. Thus Arab records have produced evidence of the sale of land on Mount Sion in 1513, whereby Suriano, the superior of the Franciscans, purchased land for 24 zecchari from a certain Mohammed Rejeb; presumably a Moslem.⁹⁶ After their eviction from Mount Sion, the Franciscans pursued a similar policy from their new centre of St. Salvator and bought land in the north-western corner of the city. The Latins developed a quarter based on a major node in front of St. Salvator, but it seems from evidence of the pattern of life in that quarter that the buildings are the social foci rather than the open spaces. Other variations from the pattern seen in the Jewish Quarter can be found in those parts of the city where the 'grid-iron' still prevails, such as in the southern and central parts of the Moslem Quarter. Here a more open pattern is the norm with nodes at cross-roads or in major buildings such as mosques or the bazaars. In fact in the Moslem and Christian quarters, nodes are not very obvious - perhaps an indication that quarter segregation was often weak and the central bazaars and gates

with their markets proved the main social and commercial foci. One final area worth a brief note is the small Bab Hytta Quarter in the far north-east of the Moslem Quarter. It appears to have developed a different pattern from its neighbours (perhaps because it was a later development) and a 'dendritic' lattice has emerged focused on one main node for the quarter near its entrance.

It might be finally pointed out that in none of the quarters whatever the type of structure found, has a bazaar of an ethnic character emerged. Even the Suq el Qattanin, an obvious exception perhaps, never flourished despite its apparent advantages, and was derelict and disused at the end of the Ottoman period.

c) The Nodal Square

The first individual item in the quarter morphology is the square which as has been seen, lies at the heart of the lattice which forms the framework for the majority of the quarters in Jerusalem. All three figures, 23, 24 and 25, show this feature clearly. In Fig. 23, the large square in front of the Tiferet Israel Synagogue can be seen at the heart of the quarter as an obvious node of activity, with streets linking it to neighbouring 'squares'.⁹⁸ The streets themselves form a pattern of spaces linked together as in Rapoport's 'Vernacular Design'.⁹⁹ The feature is common and important as often the connecting streets are narrow or formed by means of steps and paths over roofs.¹⁰⁰ Security and land shortage has helped to

keep the nodes in many quarters secluded and access to parts of the Jewish Quarter in recent years has been particularly difficult. Blind alleys (see especially Fig. 2³) are ^{an} other conspicuous feature of this pattern, often forming their own familial communities with minor nodes and ~~the~~ social patterns. To the nodal space the inhabitants come to worship or perhaps to purchase goods from a stallholder or workshop (trade is not completely absent) or merely for that typical Middle East activity - gossip~~ing~~ over coffee and a pipe.

d) Religious Buildings.

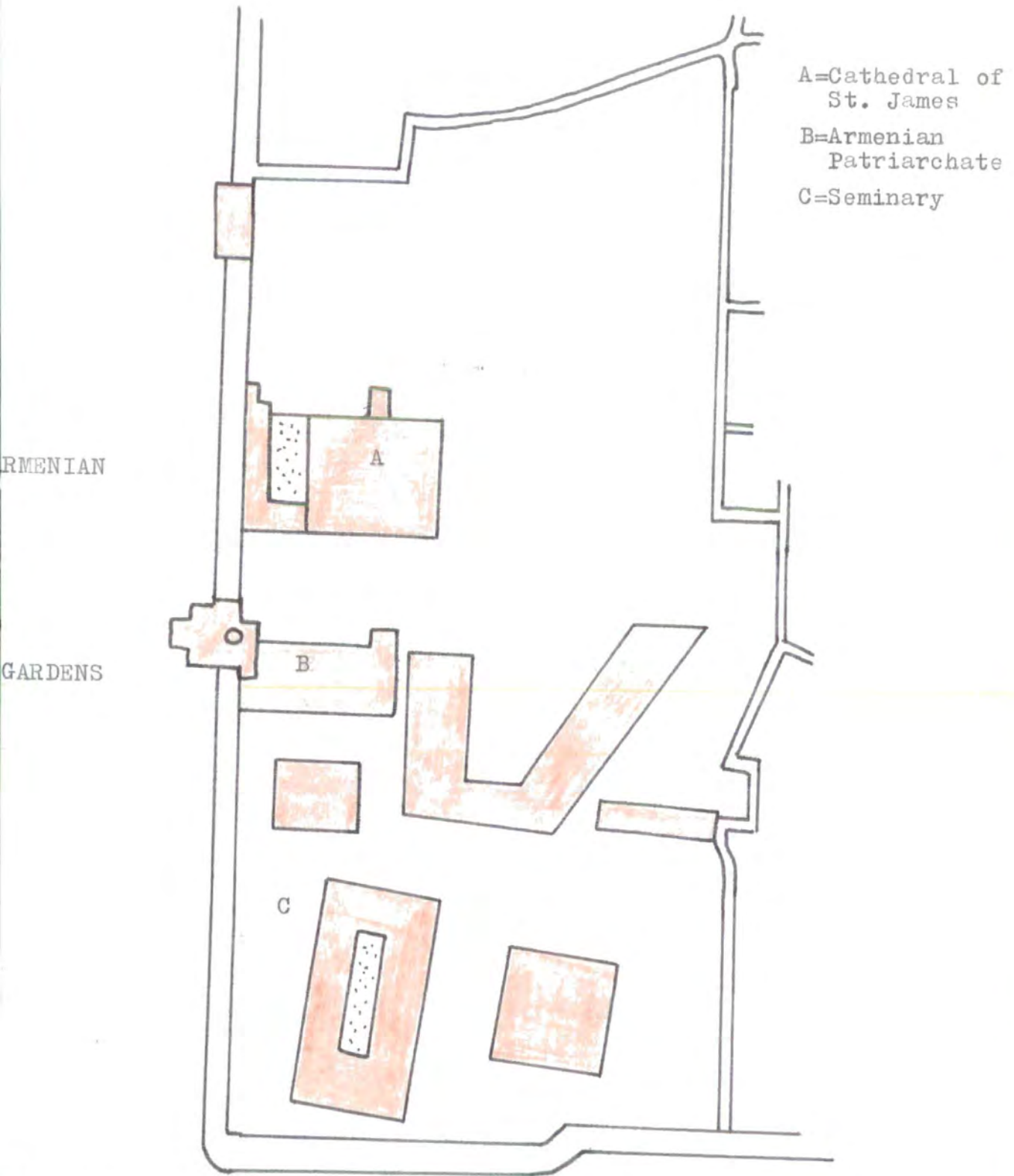
It can be seen from a study of the large-scale plans of Jerusalem that the main feature which determines whether a space shall be a nodal space or merely an opening for light in the street, is the presence of a religious building, i.e. a church, synagogue or mosque. Thus in all the major squares in Fig. 25 there is at least one synagogue. Fig. ^{p.302} ~~25~~, however, is an exception to this rule for the Bab Hytta Quarter appears probably on account of its late development, to have no mosque. However, mosque location in spaces is found in some locations such as behind the Austrian Hospice. It does seem, however~~n~~ that whereas synagogues and churches tend to be built adjacent to spaces and squares, mosques are more frequent~~ly~~ away from these features. This is perhaps a result of the overriding importance of Al Aqsa Mosque as a centre of the Jerusalemite's worship.¹⁰¹ Many Moslems worship at Al Aqsa

rather than at the smaller mosques which in any case have not quite the same significance socially as the English parish church.¹⁰² The community churches and the synagogues are much more social foci, however, since the communities of the non-Moslems are in a minority and feel closer knit to their common ethnic features of which their sectarian traditions are the visible symbol.

e) The Compound. One important feature of quarter morphology in Jerusalem is the religious 'compound'. This is usually a feature of a community which has little 'native' backing and therefore needs to be bound closely together in the strange environment. It has thus been largely a Christian feature and the Jews have not developed it at all.

The compound develops in the following way. A church is built for a community and eventually a convent attaches itself to the church. If pilgrims come, then a hospice might be built (e.g. Casa Nova) followed by accommodation for the leading dignitary (e.g. Patriarch) and his staff. The patriarchate can be an important administrative building under the millet system.¹⁰⁴ Schools for the 'native' adherents or Moslems and colleges for clergy follow. All these buildings might be linked together and enclosed by a strong wall to form almost an urban village. The two best examples of this process are the Anglican St. George's compound to the north of the city and the Armenian St. James's compound within the city. St. George's, although a recent

ARMENIAN (St. JAMES'S) COMPOUND



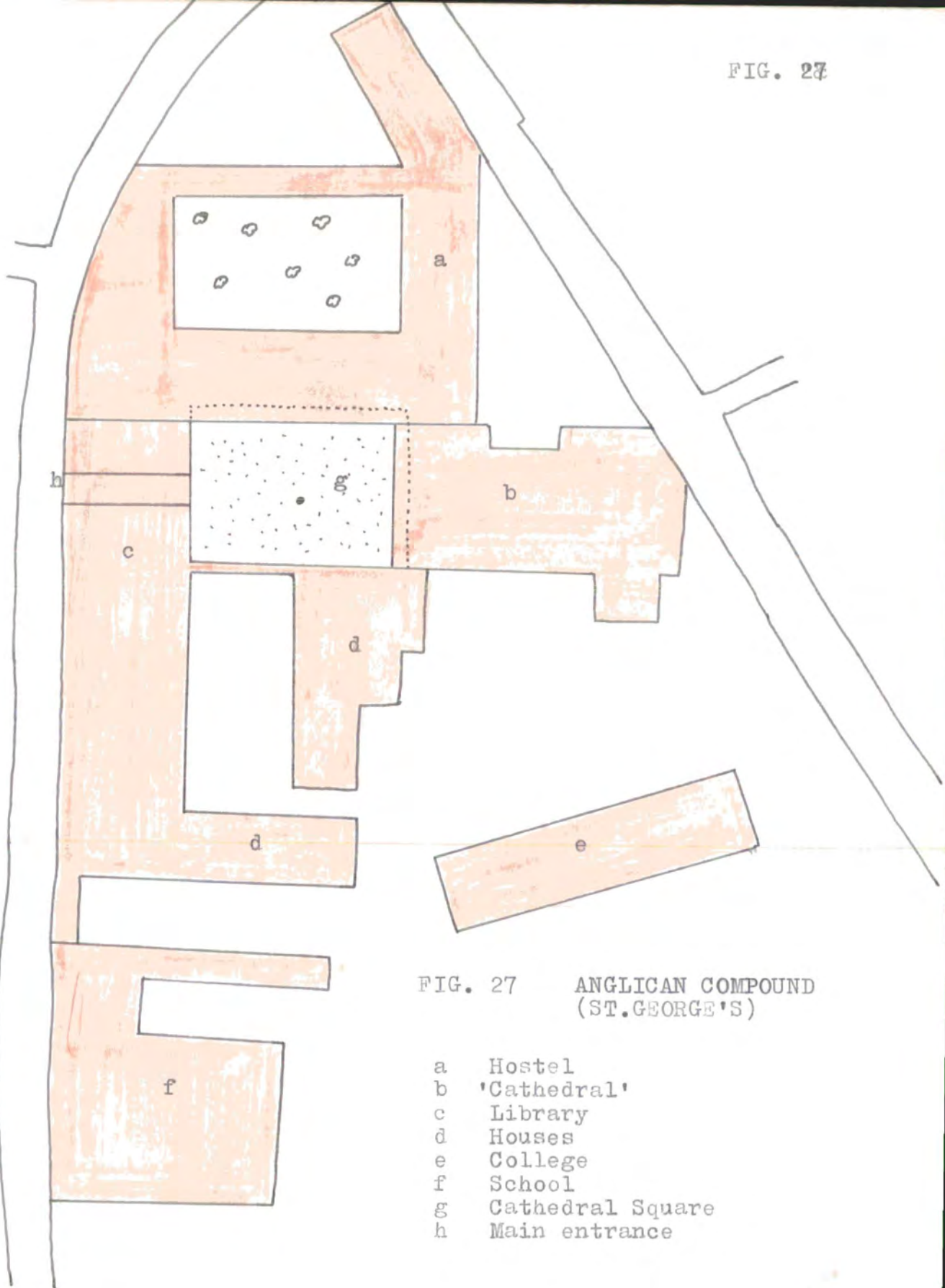


FIG. 27 ANGLICAN COMPOUND
(ST. GEORGE'S)

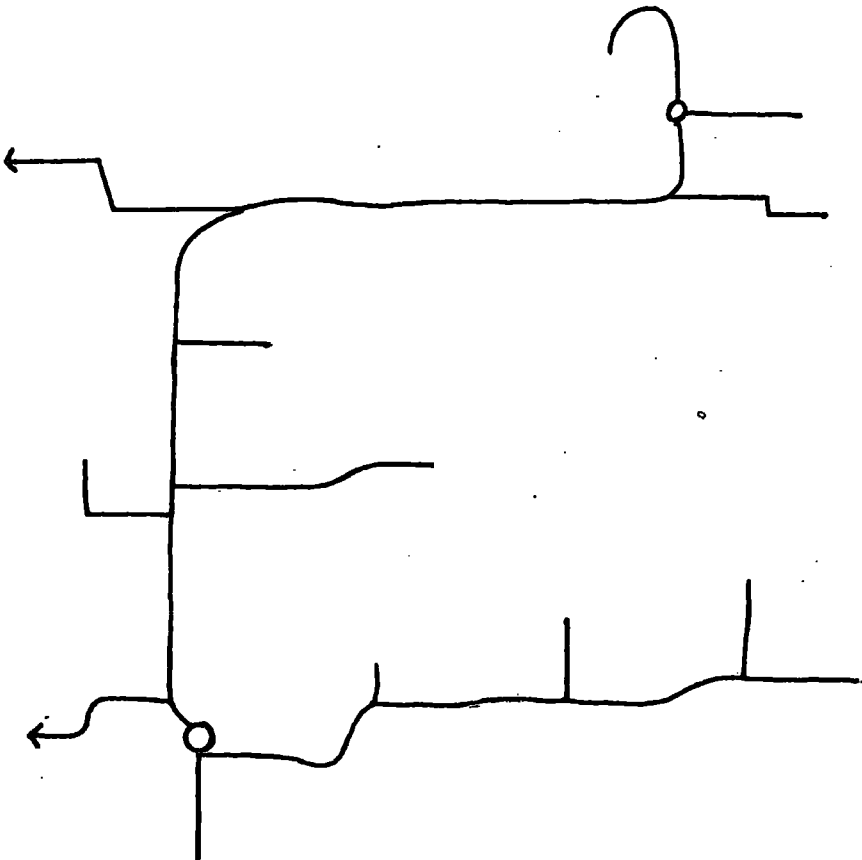
- a Hostel
- b 'Cathedral'
- c Library
- d Houses
- e College
- f School
- g Cathedral Square
- h Main entrance

innovation by Jerusalem standards and outside the walls, shows the full range of activities all surrounded by a wall and close together. Beginning with a church and bishop's residence it developed a hostel, a school (for Arabs) and most recently a college for clergy and research workers. It has houses for its staff and offices for the Archbishop, Bishop and also a library. All are typically British in architecture and flavour, as most of the Latin structures are French! St. James's compound has a similar range - cathedral church, convent, hospice, library, school, seminary, etc. Now some compounds such as St. George's and the Coptic Khan are largely self-supporting and isolated entities surrounded by other ethnic types; others such as the Armenian compound, the Latin St. Salvator compound form the focal points of small quarters for adherents have gathered under the shelter of the compound walls and the community acquired local property. Thus the compound can be an 'eccentric' or it can be a nodal point; a minor quarter or the focus of a larger one.

f) The Streets. One of the most characteristic features of the urban quarter in the Middle East is the street. Streets radiate out from the nodes or run off the main thoroughfares in an ~~xxx~~ erratic course which may lead to a dead end or may link up with others to form a complex maze. The very narrowness and irregularity have had important defensive purposes

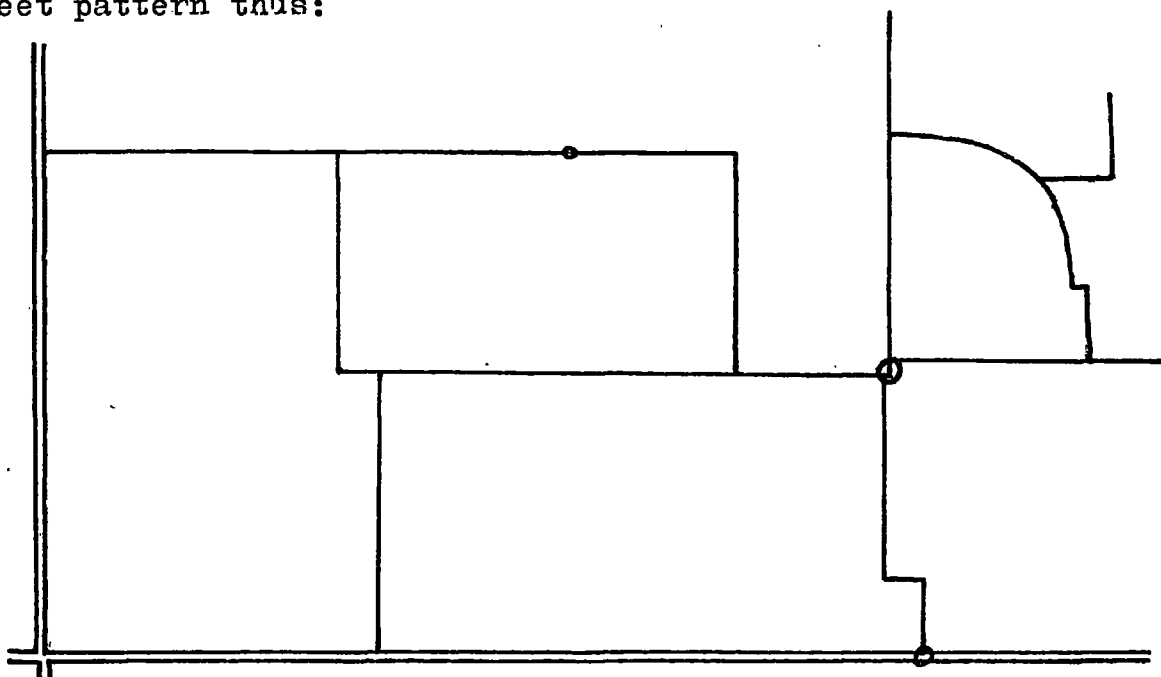
as Baer has observed.¹⁰⁵ While arches, casements and even whole houses have at times been built over these streets they have served the purpose of providing access to the houses but such as to discourage the stranger from entry.

In Jerusalem the street pattern is of two types. The first type is the 'natural' quarter street- with no particular direction or course, simply linking adjoining nodes. It can be seen in the Jewish and Bab Hytta quarters. The streets follow no regular pattern and alternate between narrow defiles and wider spaces which add much of the charm to these areas.¹⁰⁶ Off the main link street there might be smaller streets, perhaps blind alleys. Thus in the Bab Hytta Quarter, the following street pattern has emerged:



The nodal squares are connected by a major axis which has a basic rectangular course but off it run minor streets, many ending in an enclosed courtyard or at the blank wall of a house. The pattern is irregular and access difficult for the stranger.

A second pattern can be seen in Jerusalem as a result of the Roman street network, i.e. a rectilinear network of distinct regularity. So the Bab es-Silsāleh Quarter has a street pattern thus:



The streets are generally at right angles to each other and minor divergencies due to houses being built across the street do not alter the general pattern and it has survived through all the vicissitudes of the Middle Ages. Nodes, incidentally, tend in this system to be at cross-roads or where some institution or function makes a node along a street.¹⁰⁷

Thus as far as street patterns are concerned, the main morphological forces which appear to have been at work were: a) the Roman grid plan

b) defensive needs and 'natural' growth.

The basic plan was taken initially and used by the Byzantine and Arab settlers but over time and especially in the residential suburbs the rectilinear pattern has been modified as houses have encroached on the ~~xxxx~~ streets and an irregular pattern of narrowing and broadening ~~xxxxxx~~ street width brought into being. However, much of the Old City has maintained a surprising degree of regularity in the street grid (as in Damascus) with fairly even street widths - especially in the suqs and main arteries. In those areas of relatively recent development (such as the Bab Hytta Quarter may be) or which have seen frequent change of residents (as the Jewish Quarter), the rectilinear pattern only exists in bare outline.

g) The Residential Houses. Adjoining the streets are the houses of the ordinary residents. The architectural form of the Arab house with its central courtyard and solid stone wall exterior (see plate 14) has been discussed and illustrated sufficiently by scholars to need no labouring here.¹⁰⁸ Jerusalem houses show the normal variations on this courtyard pattern but many houses have no courtyard at all. In the Jewish Quarter particularly, houses seem to abut each other with few breaks. This compares for instance

with Shiraz in Iran where nearly every house is rectilinear in form around a courtyard¹⁰⁹ and such was normal in Arab lands too. It is interesting that not only do architectural features such as roofing vary but also the size of houses. As Fig. 16(b) indicates, the houses of the Jewish Quarter are smaller and more numerous than those in the Bab el 'Amud and Moslem quarters. Some quarters have a higher percentage of courtyards than others, e.g. the Bab Hytta and Bab es-Silsileh: this may be that it is Moslems who prefer the secluded courtyard life. In fact for Jerusalem in general the Moslem areas have most of the courtyarded dwellings. Whether this is in fact because of the institution of the hareem, or not, is difficult to say; one reason may be simply that the minority ethnic groups were more restricted for building space and simply could not afford the more spacious dwellings. There was also security in numbers and a high density of building. Since class distinctions have been until recently uncommon in the city it is a frequent occurrence that larger courtyarded houses can be found adjacent to smaller and poorer ones.

4. Quarter Economy

Inside the quarters there has been some independent economic life, although it would seem generally that Jerusalem presented a much more integrated appearance than was normal for Middle East cities. The quarters had few ethnic suqs although as has been seen there were divisions inside the main

bazaars. There have been some souvenir shops in the Latin Quarter and inside Herod's Gate a 'temporary' market has been in operation for a number of decades, but apart from the Suq el Qattanin, no sizable bazaar has emerged in the city outside the central suqs and their extensions in the direction of the gates. Hence the strength of commercial advantages has overcome any religious segregation. This compares for instance with Shiraz where a Jewish Quarter developed its own shops, etc.¹¹¹ and with Damascus in the post-Ummayyad period which Selim Abdul-Hak has described as; "a collection of quarters which replaced the ancient blocks; each of these quarters lived like a village with its commercial centre and its main buildings such as the baths and the mosques." ¹¹²

There have been a number of small enterprises within the quarters, however, usually geared to religious purposes. Thus the Latin Quarter has sponsored its own printing press and incidentally attracted private printing firms to that area. The Armenian convent has supplied - in the last century anyway - medical services to the quarter¹¹³ and the Jewish Quarter developed its own printing shops.¹¹⁴ Souvenir manufacture has been a source of employment for Arab Catholics in the Latin Quarter since the beginning of the Ottoman period¹¹⁵ and most of the quarters have developed small stalls and workshops of a 'general grocery' or religious (candle~~s~~ etc.) kind. ¹¹⁶ However, the Jewish (and to some extent Christian) Quarter within the Old City was very dependent in the Ottoman

period on donations from overseas and its economic life appears to have been very low. Thus Hasselquist comments:

"...the greatest part of the Jews here are poor, as they have no opportunity of trafficking; for without it they cannot thrive in any part of the world. They have no other income here than what they can get from the pilgrims of their nation. 117

So generally commercial land use was not significant inside the residential quarters and while ecclesiastical administration may have brought some life to them - the Latin Patriarch had a large staff¹¹⁸ - the laity had only a few workshops. The main bazars of course spread into the quarters - up Christian Street and along the Street of the Chain (see next chapter): and the Ottoman period saw the Suq el Qattanin ~~■~~. However, these remained (even the Suq el Qattanin) non-ethnic in character and there have been Moslems owning shops in Christian Street and Christians with stalls and shop premises in the suqs bordering the Moslem and Jewish quarters. This is thus another example of the lack of rigid divisions between the quarters which is characteristic of many of the cities of Palestine and certainly¹so of Jerusalem.

3) RELIGION AND THE GROWTH OF THE QUARTERS

In conclusion, the question must be asked, 'What influences has religion had on the quarter system of Jerusalem?' and in particular 'What effect on the quarters has the function of religious centre produced?' On the surface, it might be answered that religion has had a considerable effect in providing the main dividing characteristics. Despite the non-religious features in quarter differentiation, it is clear that in contrast to Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut and most other cities of the Middle East, the quarters of Jerusalem are mainly divided by religion. ~~Even~~ Even Mecca has quarters based largely on origin. Yet many of the dividing and differentiating points are non-religious. It is significant that the two large non-Arabic speaking communities - the Armenian and the Latin - are tucked away in extremities of the walled city; and that the Arabic speaking citizens form a block of quarters adjacent to each other. Similarly, origin has played a large part especially in the Moslem Quarter. In fact the quarters of Jerusalem, despite the intensity of religious feeling in this holy city, are much less rigid than those in most other parts of the Middle East.¹¹⁹ Thus the description by Sjoberg of the normal ethnic quarters seems never to have been really true of Jerusalem: "Ethnic quarters tend to be self-sufficient entities to the extent that urban living allows, physically and socially separate from the rest of the community."¹²⁰

The quarters of Jerusalem were never walled for any length of time; they did not generally develop their own separate economic systems but used the central bazaars; and in times of crisis they seem to have pulled together. Thus religion has not had such a destructive influence on urban society in Jerusalem as might be imagined: as an ethnic factor it has divided the citizens but bloodshed seems to have been confined to the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre at Easter.

The influence of the city as a religious centre seems to have worked in the same direction. A common interest in the pilgrim trade - even the Moslem rulers were interested in the welfare of Christian pilgrims - and benefits which accrued to all communities from it, helped to give the city a common aim and keep both the central bazaars from disintegrating and the quarters from too much introspection.

It has often been suggested that the holy sites have had an attracting influence on residential development and citizens have tended to cluster around them.¹²¹ Yet the evidence does not show this at all. The Holy Sepulchre has not attracted dense settlement and neither has the Haram: and the Jews seem to have been quite content to stay their distance from the Wailing Wall. This view has been tested statistically by plotting urban land use percentages and calculating the correlation between the separate factors. The 100 metre grid of the Survey of Palestine 1:2,500 map was used for the purpose and data collected only for the Old City itself.

The factors used have been: 1) Percentage of area in 100 m.² built-up. 2) Percentage of area built-up by religious structures 3) Percentage of area built-up by public and cultural structures 4) Number of souvenir shops.

The last item will be dealt with in the next chapter. The correlations were calculated with the formula:¹²²

$$r = \frac{N \sum XY - (\sum X)(\sum Y)}{\sqrt{(N \sum X^2 - (\sum X)^2) (N \sum Y^2 - (\sum Y)^2)}}$$

Between factor 1) and 2) i.e. the relationship between the built-up area and the area under religious buildings the result was a correlation coefficient of $r = 0.14$. This would suggest that there is no strong pull of the religious buildings for residential quarters and confirms cartographic evidence which points to the Damascus Gate as the outstanding attraction for settlement.

Neither was there any distinctive correlation (none was expected) between 1) and 3) i.e. the public buildings and residential density, for here $r = 0.059$. This too confirms cartographic evidence - nearly all public buildings are in the lightly populated southern Moslem Quarter. Hence the density of quarter settlement in the Bab el 'Amud Quarter and the northern part of the Moslem Quarter must be due to the attraction in commercial terms of the Damascus Gate.

Incidentally the correlation between 2) and 3) was negative, $r = -0.112$, implying ~~that~~ ~~that~~ that religious and public buildings have been separate. This confirms that the southern Moslem Quarter has been the main area for public buildings - it is central and after all the majority of the population has been Moslem. The main exception has been the Citadel which is more peripheral than in most Middle East cities. The southern Moslem Quarter with its baths, law-courts, etc. has been described by Vilnay and others as the cultural centre of Jerusalem ¹²³

Thus religious factors have not been overriding ones in quarter formation. It is likely that the balance between the religious communities has helped -as in many other Palestinian towns - to foster good relations. The worst 'ghettoes' and closed quarters usually occur in cities where the quarter inhabitants are a small minority - or a feared minority - in an otherwise ethnically homogeneous population. The balance of faiths in Jerusalem has kept this feature out of the city and the presence of the pilgrim trade has helped to make commercial factors as important as religious differences. The main importance of religion has been in providing the multiplicity of communities and the basic divisions: and in providing the congregational buildings which have helped to create the nodes around which the quarters in the city have largely been built. Roman planning and commercial incentives as well as tribal affinities have also been vital factors, and in recent decades helped to break the quarters down. ¹²⁴

A Note on the Extra-mural Suburbs

The quarter system as normally understood exists only within the walled city so extra-mural suburbs have been ignored. It is worth noting however that they have existed and Silwan particularly has acted as a 'poor quarter' for the city, housing many of the lowest class of society and acting as a bridge between rural and urban life. Bethany has thrived largely on pilgrim trade as has et@Tur on the Mount of Olives.

The Jewish suburbs which developed west of the Old City in the last century are interesting in that not only were old ethnic divisions perpetuated as Jewish suburbs enclosed old Christian and Moslem villages but the Jews themselves were divided between the orthodox in their new suburbs west of the Hinnom (many preferred to stay in the Old City of course) and the 'modern' Jews who built newer European type suburbs on the hills and again often in communities. The Zionist immigrants rarely chose to live in the old Jewish Quarter in the Old City which some regarded with as much scorn as the Christian pilgrims did.¹²⁵ The orthodox who moved outside the city formed a walled quarter in Yemin Moshe (named after Sir Moses Montefiore) and another rigidly orthodox quarter in Mea She'arim.¹²⁶ In the rest of the extra-mural city, Arab or Jewish, class distinctions have replaced the ethnic divisions.

CHAPTER 14

THE LOCATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The importance of economic activity in the study of urban morphology has been stressed by many geographers¹ and a large quantity of research has been undertaken studying the locational principles and characteristics of the central business district (C.B.D.) and industrial areas of the modern European and American city. The importance of centrality and accessibility in the location of the C.B.D. has been brought out as a result² and in the case of industry the location of raw materials, markets and labour and also of power have been shown to be vital.³

In the average Middle East city, the retailing and financial activities of the C.B.D. are not isolated from industrial activities for the latter tend to be carried on in workshops in and among the shops, frequently with vertical integration in family concerns. Location wise, the 'suq' or bazaar of Middle East cities tends to be inside the walled area and also close to the citadel which is a prominent feature of most towns in the area.⁴ There is also a tendency for shopping and business areas to grow in the area of the main gates. Other common features include the tendency for specialisation within the bazaar: this has been a common feature in Middle East cities for centuries and was observed for instance by Niccolo of Poggibonsi in Damascus.⁵

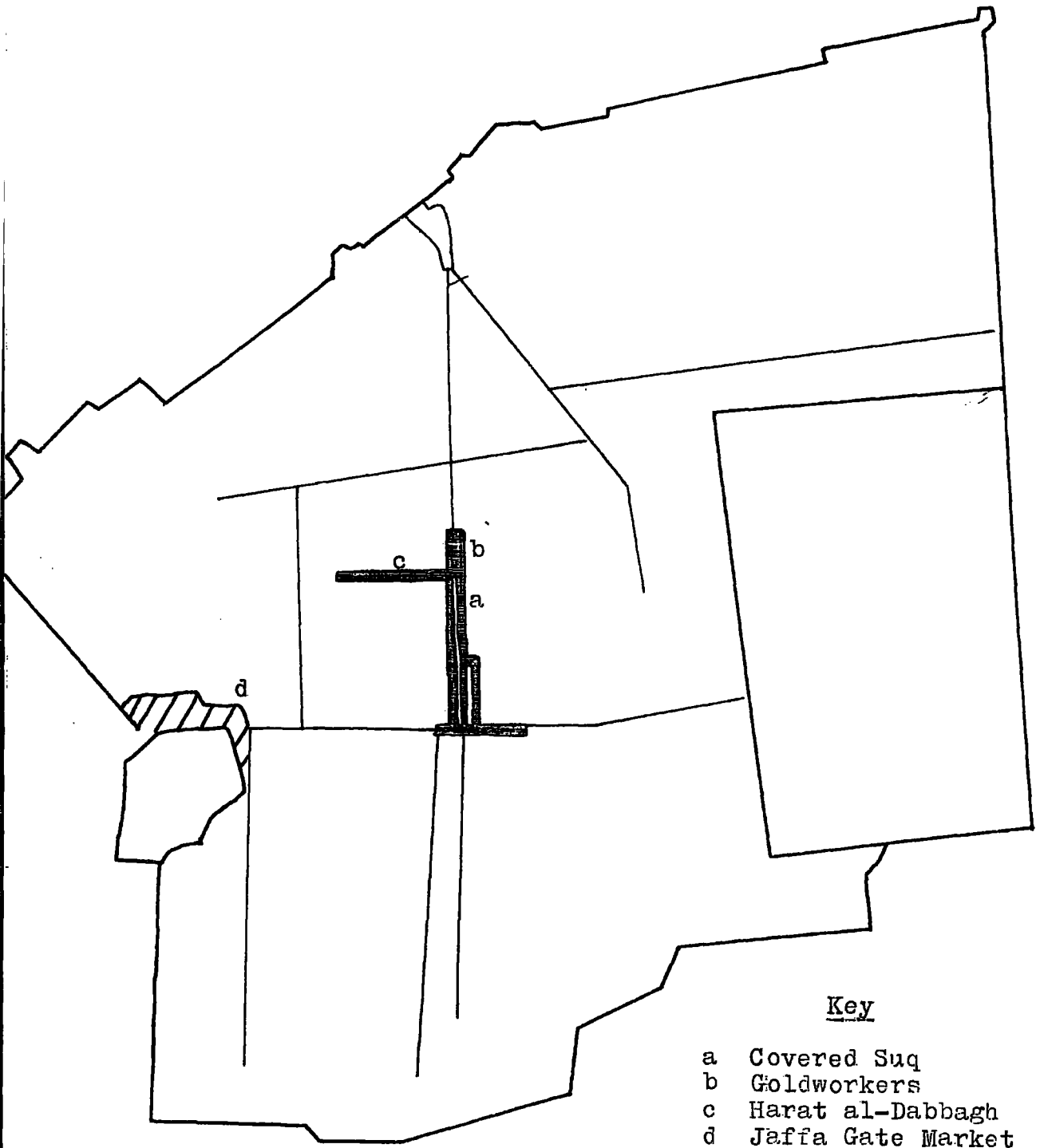
However, in most cities this division was not strict.⁶ Other features common include the small nature of most of the shops and workshops - often mere cubicles - which allowed a large number of establishments to find room for themselves in a small area. Finally, there were the caravanserais and khans which were important foci of economic life as the centres of the wholesale sector of trade. In all these features we shall see that there is nothing in Jerusalem which is particularly unusual: indeed in many respects it is very typical (apart from being generally cleaner than most oriental cities) and apart from the influence on the number and type of shops, religion and the pilgrim trade have not caused much variation between the bazaars of the city and those of neighbouring cities.

The general history of economic land use in Jerusalem has been already sketched in the chapters on land use in Section C (see especially pp. 189-191; 204-210; 227-235) and will not be repeated here, neither will agriculture be dealt with except incidentally. This chapter will be mainly concerned to give some indication of the locational characteristics and the morphological features of the bazaars or suqs.

1. General Development.

It will be recalled from the previous discussion (p.189+) that of the main business areas of Aelia we know little except that most scholars are agreed that the forum was

FIG. 28



Key

- a Covered Suq
- b Goldworkers
- c Harat al-Dabbagh
- d Jaffa Gate Market

FIG. 28

JERUSALEM : BAZAARS OF 13th. CENTURY

centrally located in the area of the present Muristan and that most economic activity was carried on there.⁷ The forum of Aelia was in fact remarkably central compared with some Roman colonial cities in the area such as Damascus⁸ and Gerasa.⁹ The construction of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre would have ensured the continuance of this central market. There seems to have been already one urban node which was located peripherally according to the Madaba Map and this may (it is only an assumption) have been also a commercial focus. This was the small space with a monument just inside the Damascus Gate. The markets continued to be centrally placed in the Middle Ages despite the fact that Jerusalem had no central citadel. In fact the peripheral location of Jerusalem's citadel (compare Aleppo) does not seem to have influenced the bazaars much at all except for the fact that a corn market developed here, just inside the Jaffa Gate. Thus although Bernard the Wise mentions the market as being in the Muristan before the Crusades (p.204) the period of the Latin kingdom gives evidence that there was a movement of the bazaars to the gates. The Muristan had become the Hospital of the Knights of St. John¹⁰ and the area near the citadel had become a corn market.¹¹ The location of the latter was in part a result of the storage of corn in the citadel(p.204) and also according to Abel, the influence of the proximity of the khan of the local 'Chambre de commerce', on the site of the present ~~Qxxxx~~ Coptic Khan.¹²

Repetition of the details given above (p.204ff) is not necessary but the general picture of the bazaars of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages is given in two similar accounts by pilgrims of the 13th. Century. The first, Ernoul wrote:

On the left hand of the Tower of David, in a square, there corn is sold.....Then the Exchange is reached where is found a street called the Street of Mount Sion, for this street goes straight to Mount Sion.

And to the left of the Exchange, there is a street completely covered called the Street of Herbs. There all the fruit of the city is sold and herbs and spices. At the end of this street is a place where fish is sold; and behind the market of the fishmerchants there is a large place where birds and cheese and fowl and donkeys are sold.

To the right hand of this market are the workshops of the Syrian goldsmiths. And there palms are sold which the pilgrims take overseas. To the right of this market are the workshops of the Latin goldsmiths. 13

A little further on:

In front of the Exchange, on the way to the Street of Herbs is a street called 'Malquisinat'. In this street meat is cooked to sell to pilgrims..... Next to this street Malquisinat, is a street called the Covered Street, where drapery is sold. 14

Although similar in wording to the above (and to the anonymous 'Citez') a description is also given by William of Tyre:

On the left hand of the Tower of David, there is a large square where corn is sold..... At the entry to the Exchange, is found a street covered over, which is called the Street of Herbs. In that place is sold all the herbs and all the fruit of the city and all the spices. At the top of this street is a place where fish is sold. And behind the fish market is a large place where cheese is sold and fowls and donkeys. To the right hand of this market lies a place of the Syrian goldworkers. And here palms are sold which the palmer takes overseas. To the left of this market are the workshops of the Latin goldworkers. 15

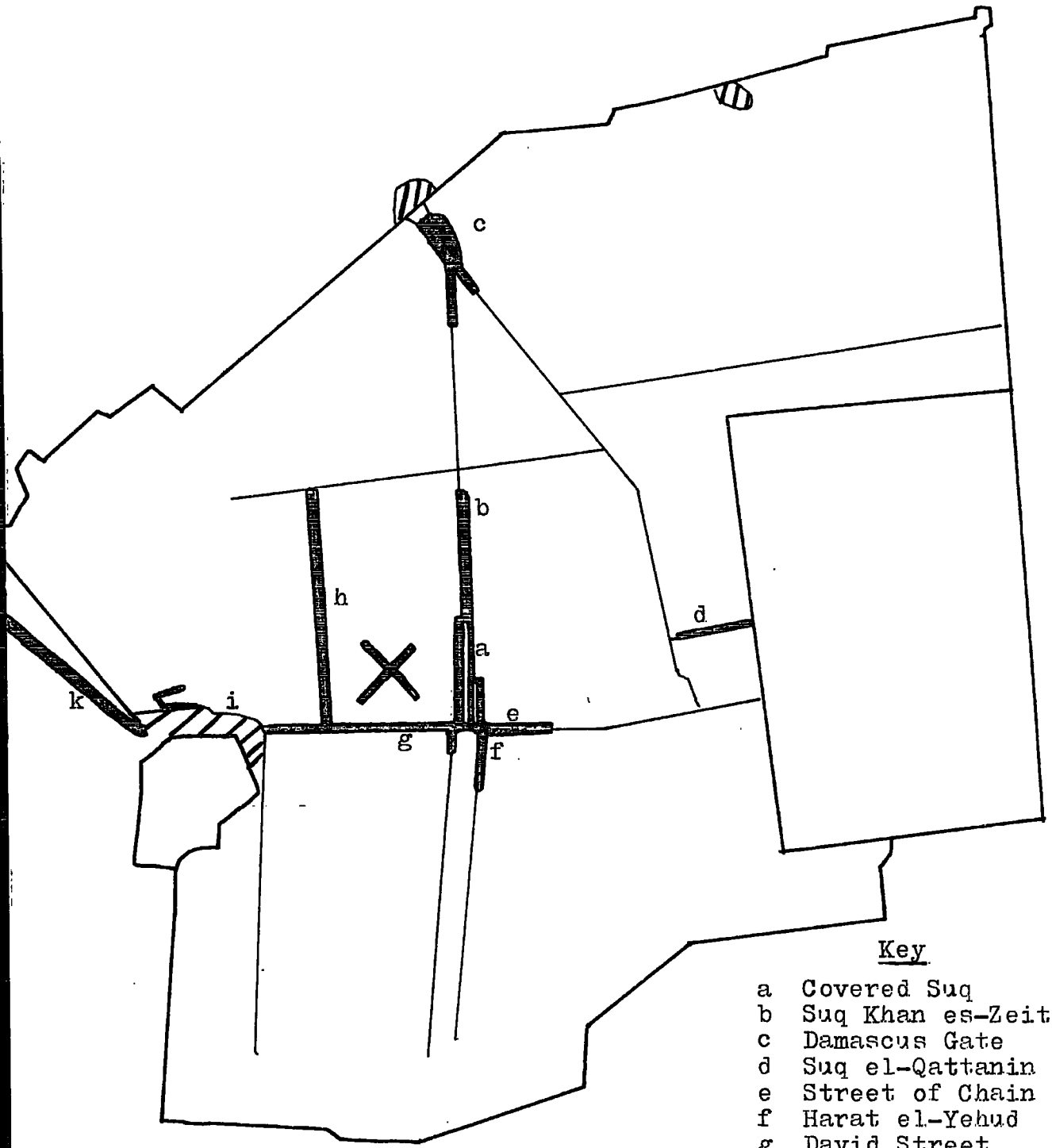
Thus documentary evidence and also some cartographic evidence (see p. 204) enables us to reconstruct the main features of

the bazaars of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages as in Fig. 28. It is worth noting that while the central area is still the main market, since the Muristan became occupied by the Hospital of St. John at the beginning of the Latin Kingdom, the retailers have been pushed into the streets and the three-pronged covered suqs emerge east of the Muristan area. It is also interesting to note the differentiation of suqs by product (and some ethnic division) and also the tendency for pilgrim orientated trades (e.g. the palmsellers) to be in closer proximity to the Holy Sepulchre than foodstuffs.

There were little changes in the later Middle Ages in the location of the bazaars although there were no doubt some changes in detail. For instance, Malquisinat disappears; but the exchange persisted up to the beginning of the present century and the palmsellers persisted long enough to give their street its existing name - Harat ad-Dabbagh. One development of some importance was the building (or perhaps rebuilding) of the Suq el-Qattanin in one of the approaches to the Haram esh-Sharif, the fact being recorded by Arab writers as happening in the 14th. Century.¹⁶

In general since the end of the Middle Ages there has been a general development of the bazaars towards the Damascus Gate as observed by Edward Robinson¹⁷ and later along David Street as well described by Geiske.¹⁸ Robinson found the main suqs of the city as still being largely in the three-pronged area east of the Muristan (then a field) and describes

FIG. 29



Key

- a Covered Suq
- b Suq Khan es-Zeit
- c Damascus Gate
- d Suq el-Qattanin
- e Street of Chain
- f Harat el-Yehud
- g David Street
- h Christian Street
- i Jaffa Gate Bazaar
- k Jaffa Road

FIG. 29 JERUSALEM : BAZAARS IN 1917

it as: "two or three narrow lanes roofed over, with open shops on each side, occupied by merchants and sedentary ~~xxxxxxx~~ artisans. They appear not to be well furnished, even for an oriental city." ¹⁹ It would appear that in the early 19th. Century the bazaars did not extend further north than the Khan es-Zeit although there was probably (as later in the century) some commercial activity just in and around the Damascus Gate. Conder tells us of fruit stalls in David Street ²⁰ but otherwise there is little early mention of retailing in either David Street or Christian Street. It seems likely that the old space near David's Tower was not a permanent market in the early part of the century and the Muristan was not used again until near the end of Ottoman rule. Hence Russel writing in 1832 says: "There is not observed at Jerusalem any space properly so called; the shops and markets are universally opened in the public streets." ²¹

One of the best descriptions of the commercial life of Jerusalem is given by Dr. Cunningham Geiske at the end of the 19th. Century and he has already been quoted above (p.229). According to Geiske and other writers of that period, the bazaars were now along the whole length of David Street from a small 'country' market with mixed merchandise to the 'Covered Suq' with increasing specialisation the further into the city one travelled. Christian Street also had shops of a higher class and there was an extension of the retailing activity up the street to the Damascus Gate and also inside that gate.

There was in addition small extensions to the east and south of the central cross-roads in the direction of the Sion Gate (along Harat el-Yahud) and the Street of the Chain. There was also overspill outside the walls along the E Jaffa Road and outside the Damascus Gate. There was also a small market inside Herod's Gate. The strong tendency for the commerce of the city to migrate north and west continued throughout the Mandate period as modern Central Business Districts developed along the Jaffa Road and (since 1948) along E Saladin Street.

2) Characteristics of Bazaars

From the above synopsis and details already given in Section C certain characteristics stand out as prominent in the bazaars of Jerusalem:

i) Locational Characteristics.

With regard to the location of the bazaars certain factors stand out as important: a) their general centrality throughout most of the medieval and Ottoman periods.

b) An (apparently contradictory) movement towards the urban periphery, especially towards the end of the last century.

c) The lack of ethnic bazaars d) the strong influence of the gates as opposed to the holy sites.

a) General Centrality. Throughout most of the historical period dealt with here, the main bazaars have been relatively central either in the Muristan area or in and around the

central cross-roads. This is of course a logical position considering the general plan of the city. The main streets give access easily to the Damascus Gate and the Jaffa Gate, the two main points of entry into the city; the Street of the Chain gives access to the Haram enclosure, while the Harat el Yahud runs down to the area of intense religious activity on Mount Sion. The centrality of the Roman forum was in keeping with normal practice, although exceptions did occur especially in the east.²² The establishment of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre next to the forum and the other religious buildings in the area no doubt confirmed it as the nodal point of city life. Hence the markets remained here. That they in fact moved into the three-pronged suqs and the cross-roads area rather than towards the Holy Sepulchre might be in part the result of Moslem influence or the weakness of the locational pull of the holy sites on ordinary retailing. Fig. 28 shows the position of the medieval suqs and it can be seen that they are centrally located and isolated, i.e. there is no feature such as a citadel or large church or mosque to act as a strong locating factor although the presence of the medieval khan, Al Walaka just to the east was no doubt an important factor in maintaining the bazaars in that location. The persistence of the bazaars in this area is noticeable and typical of the Middle East city where the suqs represent a way of life and a social focus as well as a commercial node.²³

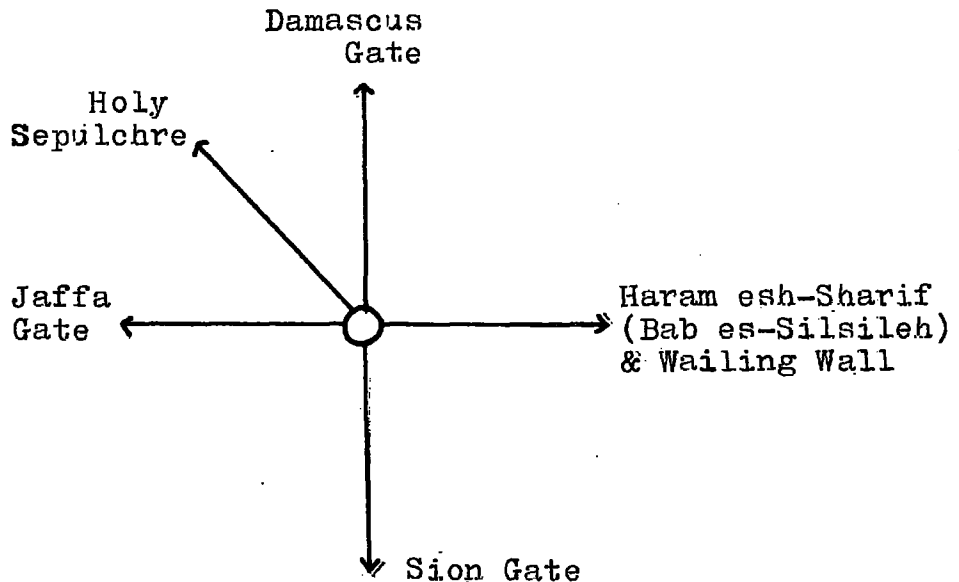
b) Movement to the periphery. This movement can be perceived even in Byzantine times with the small 'square' just inside the Damascus Gate. It was not a strong movement however, and from medieval documents we can be fairly certain that the main bazaars remained central. There is however, a possible suggestion of some spread either towards the gates or in the quarters. A hint of markets other than those in the central suq is given by the Arab writer Sahin ad-Dahiri who writes: "In Jerusalem there are many bazaars. Among them, three parallel suqs. It is said that they have no equal throughout the greater part of the country." ²⁴ However, it is clear that the central bazaars are the most distinguished and of the location of others, other than the Suq al-Qattanin (which is not a move to the periphery) we have no indication.

The move really began in earnest in the last century until the picture given in Fig. 29 was reached towards the end of the century. Here there was a move towards the main gates of the city while the central bazaars seemed from all accounts to decline and the Suq al-Qattanin became almost completely deserted. A small business area grew up at the Damascus Gate and the suqs began to 'migrate' up the street leading to it; more important the Jaffa Gate and the road beyond drew retaining westwards along David Street and by the end of the last century, the open spaces around the Jaffa Gate and the Citadel were almost the main bazaar of the city (see below p. 325). There were also moves south

along the Harat el-Yehud and east along the Street of the Chain where in the Middle Ages the butchers had located themselves.

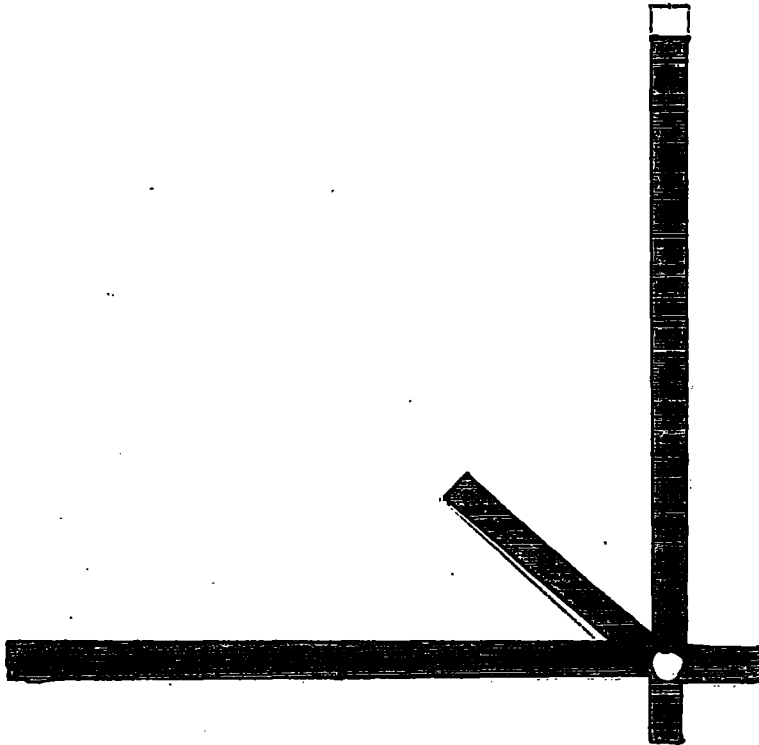
c) There was no ethnic market development. This compares with many other Middle East cities where bazaars developed within the quarters to serve the ethnic groups.²⁵ Even certain tendencies in Jerusalem which might be thought to be ethnic bazaars at closer examination do not prove exceptions to this statement. Thus the Suq el-Qattanin has not been a Moslem quarter market with a general range of goods, but an urban specialist suq - the 'Cotton Bazaar' for the whole town.²⁶ Also the medieval distinction between the Syrian and the Latin goldworkers is not an example of ethnic bazaars. They were both situated within the central bazaar for the Syrian (Arab) population lived north of the Haram enclosure. Thus while these separate distinctions meant that there was some ethnic arrangement in the suqs - probably for linguistic reasons - it did not effect the morphology of Jerusalem's retailing. Indeed it may simply have been that the Latin and Arab pilgrims and other customers had different tastes in gold work and were hence catered for by their own dealers. Finally there was a suq development down the Harat el-Yehud street south of the central cross-roads but it was an extension of the main bazaars and although ^{it} contained a high percentage of Jewish traders (and customers) it was not an ethnic suq.

d) The significant feature of the 19th. Century development of the bazaars was the movement towards the gates and also a move towards the two main holy sites the Holy Sepulchre and the Haram esh-Sharif. Thus we are presented with the problem of assessing the relative strength of these two factors as influences in bazaar locational development. The movement of the bazaars can be represented diagrammatically as below:



This shows the main directions of 'migration' and the 'goals' towards which the migration has proceeded. In order ~~to~~ to attempt to measure the amount of influence each 'goal' has had, the shop frontage in each direction has been measured (as it was about 1900) and thus the diagram can be corrected to show the relative strengths of the different

influences on this migratory tendency?²⁷



The diagram thus shows the amount of peripheral movement along each axis of movement and thus the relative effective strengths of the various morphological influences. It can be clearly seen that the northern and western gates have had a considerably larger impact ~~of~~ on bazaar development than either of the two major holy sites (the Suq el-Qattanin is

FIG. 30

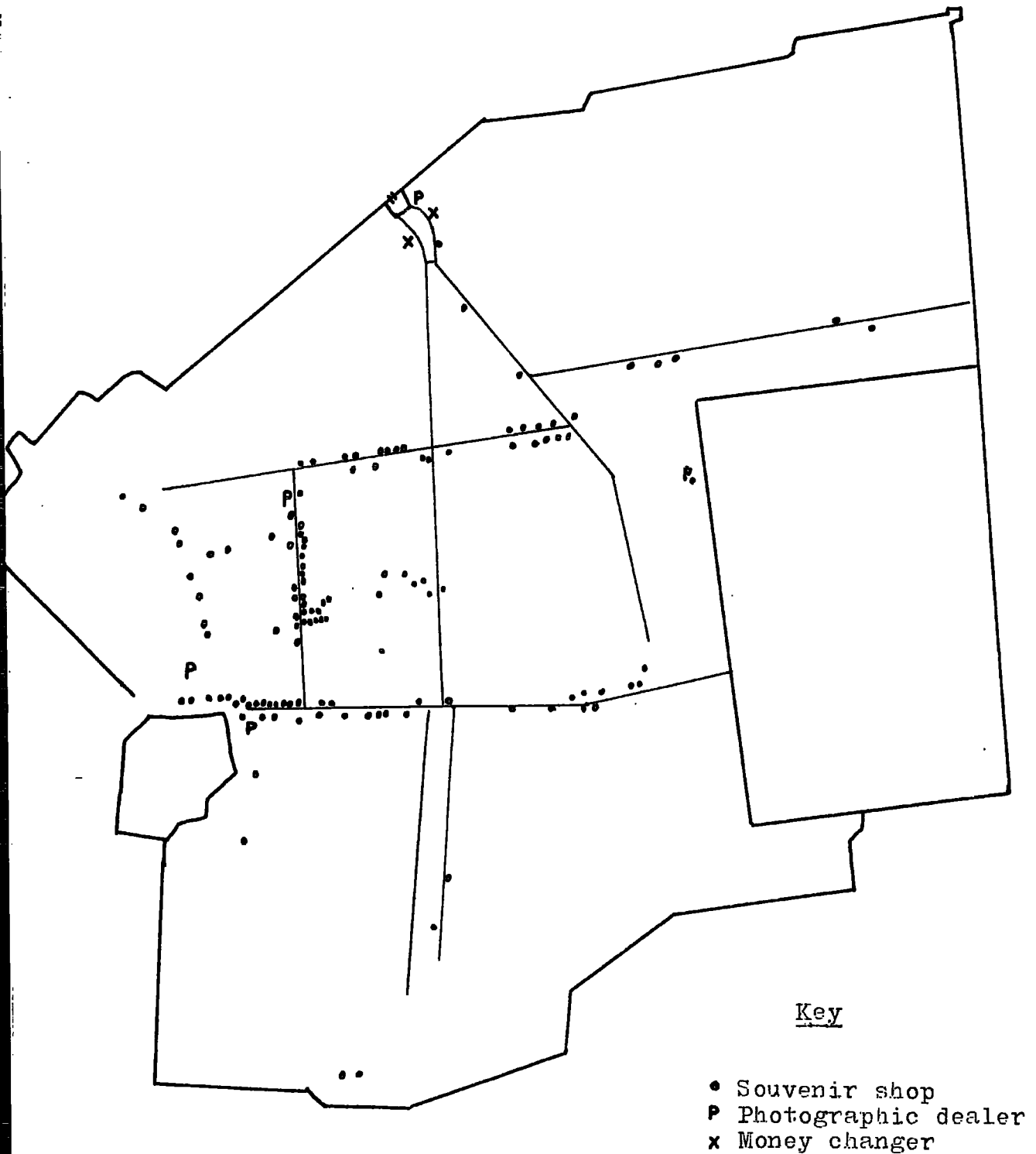
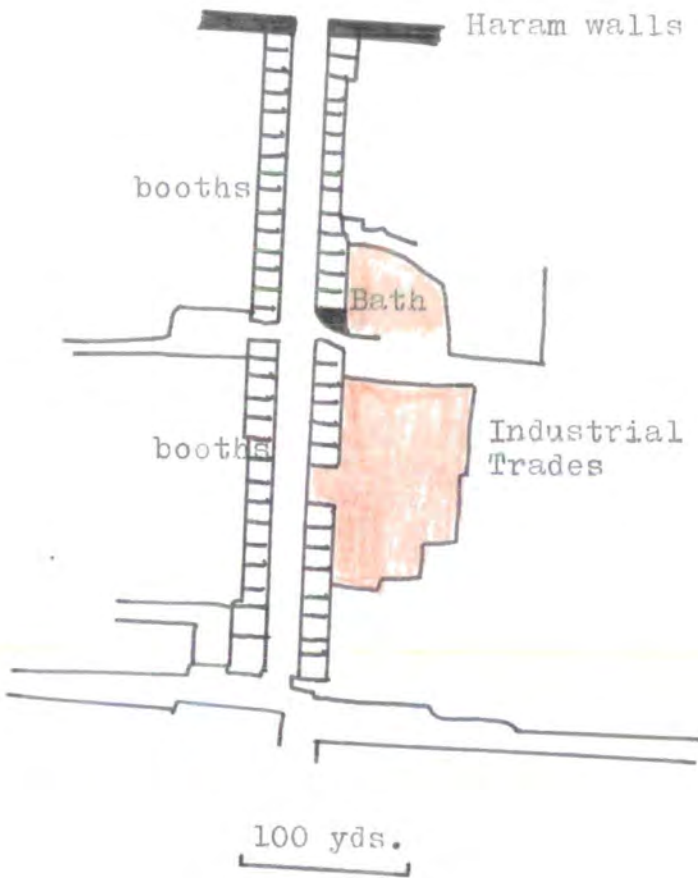


FIG. 30 JERUSALEM OLD CITY : SOUVENIR SHOPS 1968

omitted however). It should perhaps be not overlooked that the Holy Sepulchre has over the years probably had a restraining influence on the bazaars in that it has prevented this observable peripheral movement from getting out of hand. The armistice situation after 1948 incidentally provided a boost to the ^aDamascus Gate and the Suq Khan es-Zeit leading to it for this became the main gate of entry to the city (supplanting the Jaffa Gate) although it was a pedestrian way. The gates through which motor traffic has been allowed (St. Stephens as far as the ~~Australian~~ Hospice; Dung Gate to Jaffa Gate via Armenian Quarter) have not attracted commerce, but the central suqs and the Suq Khan es-Zeit have continued ^{to be} serviced by barrow boys.

Particularly significant in the late Ottoman period was the movement towards the Jaffa Gate and even beyond for the growth of settlement west of the Old City soon made the Jaffa Gate far from peripheral to the larger Jerusalem. Thus Geiske observed on the Jaffa Road shops and houses and "the booths of small dealers, donkeys waiting for hire, and a native cafe of wood, before which numbers of labourers and workmen sit on low stools, smoking water-pipes, at all hours." ²⁸ Apart from the influence of the new residential development which naturally drew the commercial centre of Jerusalem westwards, the Jaffa Gate had advantages through being the main gate by which native villagers from the western and southern hills (the old road to Bethlehem led out this way) entered the

SUQ EL QATTANIN (1917)



(After Ashbee 1921)

city. Hence a market for country folk developed here.

ii) Occupational and ethnic divisions in Bazaars.

Apart from the general location of the bazaars, there is the important feature to consider of the specialisation and divisions within them.²⁹ Ethnic divisions have already been mentioned and need not be laboured. The separation of Syrian and Latin goldworkers has been seen already but it should be noted that both groups were in the same area within easy access of the Holy Sepulchre which no doubt was the main source of income. There has been a tendency for Jewish merchants to operate in the Harat al-Yehud and Christian shopkeepers in Christian Street (Greek Orthodox Arabs in particular) but the division is by no means strict. Thus many of the shops in Christian Street are owned by Moslems and many in Harat el-Yehud are also Moslem owned. Yet at one time many writers assumed a strict division by ethnic characteristics.

There have however been other divisions. Division by product and trade is common in cities of the Middle East³⁰ and in Jerusalem there are some early testimonies to it such as the quotations from Christian records above. Nasir - i - Khusrau also mentions this division in a more general way. He commented: " In the city there are many artisans; for each group of them there is a special bazaar."³¹ Niccolo of Poggibonsi also mentions a division between the 'victuals' and the 'stuffs' markets so it would seem that the

usual commercial divisions were active in the Middle Ages. For the whole Moslem period of rule, the bazaars seem to have been divided as follows:-

PLACE	ITEMS SOLD	(Key to sources at end)
Jaffa Gate and Citadel	Corn * Fruit, vegetables, bread, Dyeing (Benj. of Tud.)	General goods + Fruit & Veg. ^a general goods. [@]
David Street	Fruit + Exchange [@] Shoemakers [@]	*Vegetables ^a eastern end only - eastern end only
Covered Suq General	Sheep and goats, [@] shoemakers [@]	fruit, oil, grain, leather. [@] silver stuffed objects (Sahin)
Covered Suq (E) (S. el Khawajat)	Leatherwork Stuffs (*)	
Covered Suq (Cen.) (S. el-Attarin)	Cooking (Malquisinat) * Apothecaries and professional [@]	
Covered Suq (W) (S. el-Lehhem)	Bread Herbs, fruit, spices *	
Christian Street	Leatherwork [@] Souvenirs	Tailors & Shoemakers [@]
Suq Khan es-Zeit	<u>lower part</u> : <u>middle</u> : <u>upper</u> :	goldworkers * fish * soap ^r tanning *
Damascus Gate	General Commerce [@]	Finance. Cafes
Street of Chain	Butchers * Souvenirs	General goods
Harat el-Yehud	Shoemakers, tinsmiths, tailors. [@]	
Harat al-Dabbagh	Palms * Souvenirs	
Holy Sepulchre & Parvis	Souvenirs. [@]	Foodstuffs ^m
Suq el-Qattanin	Cotton + In general disuse by	Weaving ^a metalware end of 19th. C. ^a

Y

PLACE	ITEMS SOLD
Muristan	General in early Middle Ages Souvenirs. [@] Leatherwork & basketwork
Market es-Sultan	Cattle market. ^a
Via Dolorosa	Weaving ^m Pottery (Wilson)
Herod's Gate	Foodstuffs

KEY:

*	'Citez de Jherusalem'
@	Geiske
+	Conder
m	Maundrell
a	Ashbee
h	Hanauer
r	Robinson

The table indicates not only a large degree of specialisation in many suqs but also a large spread of general retailing. Nearly all the gateway bazaars were 'general' in character and foodstuffs widespread. Today the Suq Khan es-Zeit is probably the main food bazaar in the Old City. Souvenir retailing is a specialist ~~xxxxx~~ activity which is spread not in the main bazaars but generally on routes. In particular, Fig. 30 shows clearly how souvenir retailing follows closely the activities of the western Christian pilgrim, especially in the Via Dolorosa and also follows closely the route from

the Jaffa Gate to the Holy Sepulchre. But Moslem and Jewish pilgrims do not seem to have attracted the spread of souvenir shops. The influence of the Holy Sepulchre is apparent, however, and the influence of certain hospices can be seen (N.B. the row of souvenir shops in the street where the Casa Nova Hospice is situated). An interesting illustration of the sensitivity of souvenir shops to opportunity came in 1967 when the Wailing Wall was opened up and reused by Jews. A number of Arab shopkeepers in the Harat el-Yehud and Street of the Chain areas gave up less lucrative pursuits to turn to souvenirs. Generally however, Moslem and Jewish holy Sites have less impact on souvenir shop location than the major Christian sites. This is brought out by the correlation between holy site location and souvenir shop location. Using the formula given on p. 310 above, a correlation coefficient of $r = 0.111$ was calculated between religious land use and souvenir shops. This indicates that the souvenir shops are very selective in what holy sites are important and also illustrates that the shops are located on the routes and not necessarily adjacent to the sites.

Finally in this section on divisions within the bazaars, mention might be made of some division on the grounds of quality of goods which crept into the system in the 19th. Century. Some streets began to specialise more in European type goods, contrasting with the traditional ways. Thus Geiske wrote:

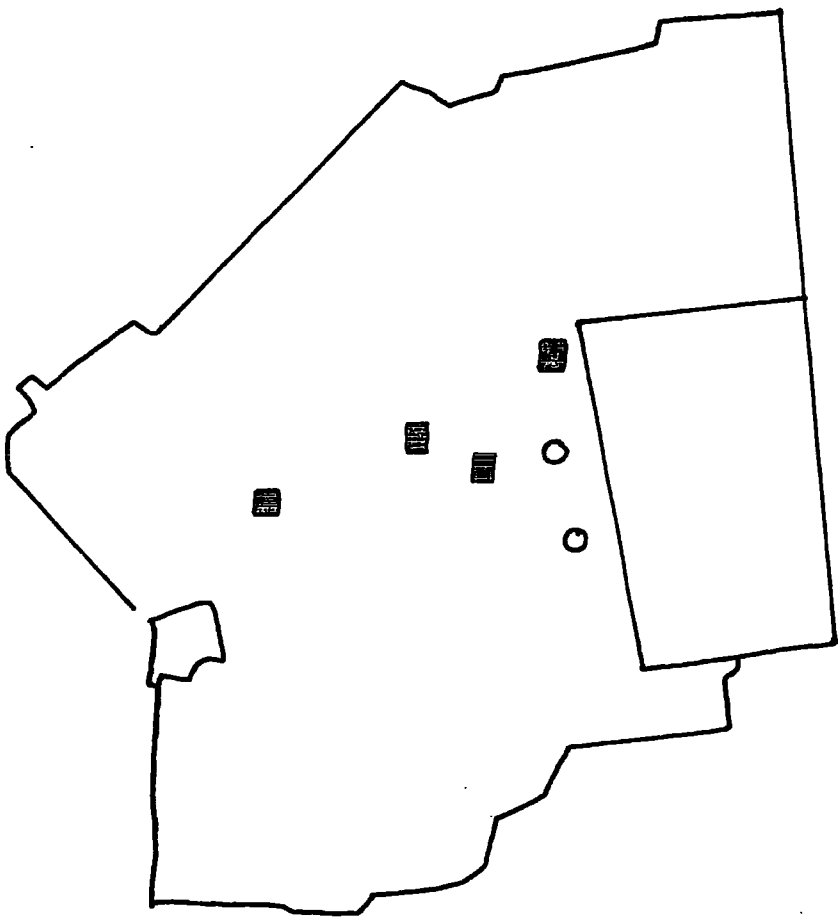
David Street, with its dreadful causeway, can boast of the goods of Constantinople, Damascus, Manchester, and Aleppo, but only in small quantities and at fabulous prices. Towards the Jewish quarter most of the tradesmen are shoemakers,

tinsmiths; and tailors, all of them working in dark arches or cupboards, very strange to see. Only in Christian Street and towards the top of David Street, can some watery reflections of European ideas as to shopkeeping be seen. 32

iii) Physical Structure and Appearance

The bazaars of the Middle East city bears, as the above quotation indicates, little resemblance to the C.B.D. of the American or European city. Smallness in size is the rule. In general the suqs consist of narrow lanes with the shops on either side mere cubicles or one-room affairs, often only just large enough to allow the shopkeeper to operate. The narrowness and darkness (most of the bazaars are covered) add a protective quality ³³ which can be seen to be necessary in this part of the world. The smallness of the shops and the narrowness of the suqs enable a large number of enterprises to be crowded into a small space thus facilitating defence and also adding convenience for the customer. Fig. 31 shows two examples of the Jerusalem bazaar structure. The Suq el-Qattānīn, dark and forboding is a good example of the 'planned' suq laid out as a market from the start. The central 'Covered Suq' of the city illustrates the ability of this structure to crowd a large number of shops into a small space. These older suqs contrast with the open Muristan (a late Ottoman venture in its present form) and the more open Suq Khan es-Zeit another later development, where an ordinary thoroughfare has been taken over by commercial enterprises. David Street and Christian

BATHS AND KHANS OF JERUSALEM : MID-10TH. CENTURY



■ Bath Khans

○ Baths

Street are more open although, as Geiöke implies, not really 'western' in appearance. An illustration of the lighter and more open suqs is given in Plate 12: the older darker suqs are more difficult to photograph.

The importance of the three parallel lanes in the Covered Suq can be seen now. It enables a large number of small shops to be crowded near the central cross-roads and the whole range of goods needed by the customer can be obtained without venturing outside the lanes. Of course, since the end of the Ottoman period, not only has the shopping system within the Old City been improved and developed but a large number of modern shops opened to the north of Herod's Gate (along Saladin Street) and along the Jaffa Road in the Jewish city.

A final type of retailer might be mentioned - the itinerant. A number of souvenirs are sold by itinerant traders and in the past water carriers and other itinerants have been important. Some temporary markets arose towards the end of the Ottoman period in response to an increasing population: one inside the Herod's Gate has lasted on a stall basis ever since. Much of the Jaffa Gate market was of this type³⁴ but it has since been cleared and improved.

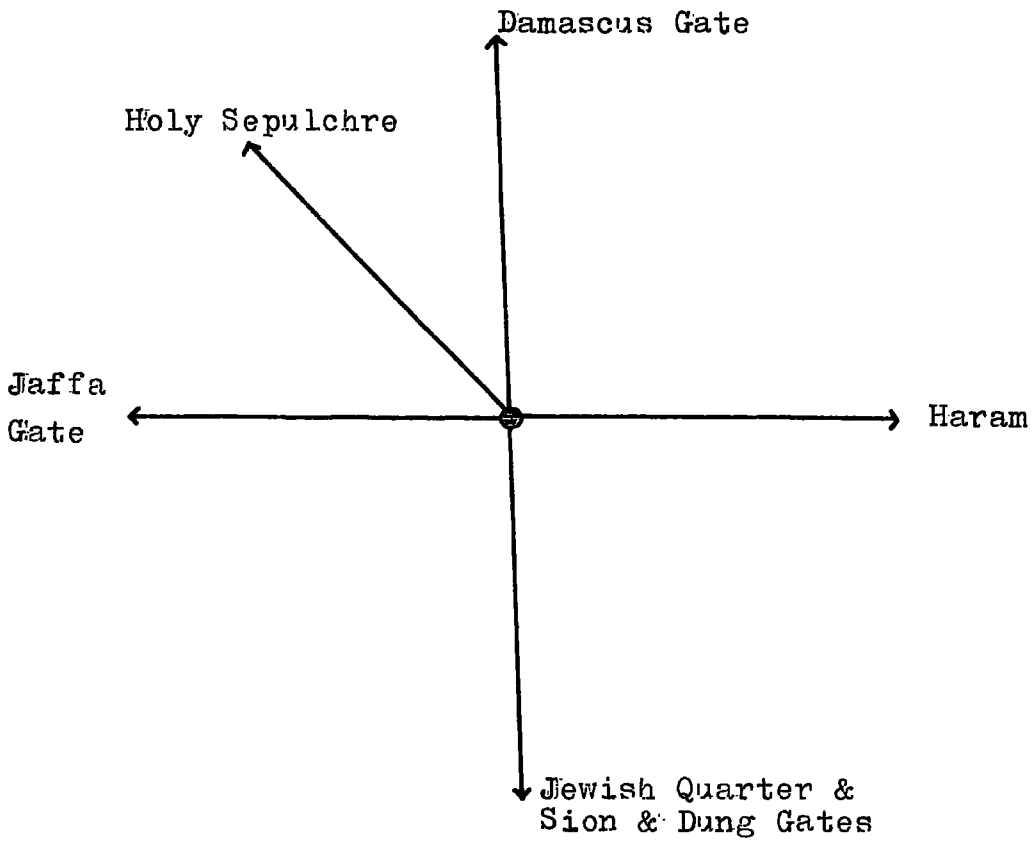
iv) Khans and Caravanserais.

Finally mention might be made of the khans and serais of the city. Many minor ones have come into being and disappeared without being mentioned but certain important

ones deserve mention. The khan is the Arab version of the hospice and there have been both religious khans such as the Coptic Khan devoted mainly to pilgrims, and also secular khans used by commercial personnel and visitors. The Khan es-Zeit, after which the suq is named, is a good example of this latter type. It offered accommodation for men and beasts and storage.³⁵ The caravanserais like many of the khans was a secular institution for the trader. It acted as both a hostel and also as a warehouse for the storage of goods. Hence many of the serais were large. The best known in Jerusalem in the Middle Ages appears to have been Al-Walaka which was situated just east of the main cross-roads - an ideal

³⁶ location. Both this serais and the Khan es-Zeit show the close links between these institutions and the bazaars. In fact they are better dealt with alongside the bazaars than with the religious hospices. Another large serais was in the central part of the Moslem Quarter and the building now known as the Moslem Industrial Orphanage, a function it took in this century.³⁷ There was also a large serais to the north-west of the Haram esh-Sharif which became a prison. It was often frequented by Europeans in the days before the British entry into the city as it gave good views of the Haram, then closed to Christians.³⁸ The Khan es-Sultan, again just east of the central cross-roads along the ~~Sxxxx~~ Street of the Chain is another illustration of the tendency to locate khans and serais near the bazaars. It is interesting that nearly all

FORCES WORKING ON MOVEMENT OF CENTRAL BAZAARS



the khans and serais in Jerusalem have been sited in the Moslem Quarter. The main reason for this is probably that they have been generally used by Moslems, Christians and Jews generally preferring - often being compelled ~~to~~ - to use their own hospices. Thus European traders have not used the serais but the Latin Hospice. The native Moslems however, have been almost the only customers of the secular khans and serais and since their interests have been in either the bazaars (if traders) or the Haram (if pilgrims) the location of these structures in the central and southern parts of the Moslem Quarter is not surprising. The location of most of the baths in this same area is almost certainly the result of Moslem laws on cleanliness.³⁹

Industry and Finance.

Since most of the industrial activity of Jerusalem has been located in the bazaar as a result of the vertical integration prevalent in this part of the world,⁴⁰ little need be said here about industry. Outside the bazaars there have only been the tanners at Siloam and by the Holy Sepulchre and fullers to the south of the walls. Soap manufacture was a feature of the Suq Khan es-Zeit and the Tariq Bab el-'Amud even before these streets became commercial.⁴¹ Pottery was carried on near the Pool of Bethesda in Ottoman times⁴² and weaving in the Place of Scourging.⁴³ However, apart from the fullers', dyers and tanners' needs for water, few

locational principles can be seen here.

Financial concerns have been in Jerusalem and in Biblical times were concentrated on the Temple precincts (Matt. 21.12). Money changers had a special area in the Middle Ages at the eastern end of David Street - a very central location and were divided ethnically between Syrian and Latin changer. This was probably because they dealt in different denominations of money rather than a strict ethnic separation.⁴⁴ This location continued into the last century⁴⁵ but now most money changers as well as banks are outside the walls to the north and west and the only noticeable concentration of money-changing is inside the Damascus Gate.

Conclusions

The main conclusion to be drawn from this is that with regard to the location and form of its economic activity, Jerusalem shows no abnormalities and is in many respects very typical of the Middle East. The physical structure of the old bazaars is typical and their development is typical. The division between old suqs within a walled old city and new modern developments outside can be seen today all over the Middle East (Damascus is a very good example) : in this, Jerusalem is again typical. The influence of the gates on bazaar growth - a perfectly normal commercial development - indicates the limitation on the impact of religious factors in the commercial sphere. Admittedly, Jerusalem's large

number of souvenir shops are located very obviously in a pattern which follows that of the main Christian holy sites and hospices; and the presence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre must have helped to keep the main bazaars central. Yet the weakness of that church as a locating factor for the general bazaars can be seen clearly in the fact that the Muristan lay an open field for so long with no commercial life at all until the present Muristan was built - and this market has not been an overwhelming success.

So apart from the souvenir shops and the lack of ethnic bazaars, Jerusalem has not developed any strong peculiarities in the morphological features of its commerce; and the influence of religion can be seen here to be far smaller than in most other aspects of the city's geography.

CHAPTER 15

PLANNING A RELIGIOUS CENTRE

The planning problems of any resort, recreational or cultural centre are much more acute than in the case of other types of city and hence it is to be expected that much of the character of Jerusalem is revealed in its planning history. This chapter will examine the 'problem' of the Old City in the planning of Jerusalem and trace how the post-1917 administration tackled the physical development of the Turkish holy city which it inherited.

Jerusalem has shared most of the problems of other religious and recreational centres: problems such as the fluctuating population between 'the season' and the off-season period; the need for the preservation of certain natural and architectural features; transportation problems with a high concentration of interest at certain points.¹ The intense religious interest in the Old City of Jerusalem and its environs, attracting thousands of pilgrims and tourists each year, causes intense problems since the visitors require hotels, transport, food, etc. which have to be provided and in turn create a demand for housing and other facilities from those providing these services. Yet the supplying of all these needs can conflict with the desire to preserve those things which attract the visitor - the sites, the views, and

the medieval atmosphere of the Old City. Like York and Durham, Damascus and Shiraz, Jerusalem has had to preserve its past heritage while at the same time providing the comforts which even the most enthusiastic pilgrim requires. In addition, the instability of the economy of a recreational and religious centre is a considerable problem (see p. 89). In other words, the planner has to attempt to diversify the economy and bring in other industries and trades but they can also conflict with the need to preserve that which attracts the visitor. In the case of Jerusalem, there has been since the end of the last century another problem - the need to absorb the large numbers of Zionist immigrants who have needed accommodation, workplaces and cultural facilities. The need to preserve the Old City in the face of these demands for physical development has ~~dominated~~ dominated all town plans of the present century, and not only ~~have~~ have the actual architectural masterpieces had to be preserved but also the whole atmosphere of the city within the walls. The importance of this need has been emphasised by Sir Patrick Abercrombie, in writing:

Jerusalem is one of those inextricable palimpsests of planning: what exists today (apart from David's City and the temple topography) is probably Roman in origin; but a fusion of Roman, Crusader Gothic and Islamic design has produced one of the finest cumulative civic effects in the world; the narrow vaulted approach, shot with beams of light, through continuous suks (or bazaars), the sudden vast open, golden-hued sunlit esplanade, the central Dome of the Rock (one of the finest domes in the world) and the grey Mount of Olives as background - beyond this human significance using a background of austere nature can no further go.

The problem in a nutshell has been how to preserve this heritage while catering for the pilgrims who visit it and in recent decades the Zionist (and Arab) immigrants who need employment and other facilities. Thus religious and cultural considerations have dominated the planning of Jerusalem.

Historical Synopsis of Planning in Jerusalem

1. Pre- 1917

Government intervention in the morphological development of Jerusalem can be traced back to Biblical times. The building programme of Solomon for instance drastically ~~has~~ changed the landscape of the city. However, it was principally concerned with the construction of the Temple and other religious and royal buildings and there is no evidence for an overall physical plan. It is possible that in the reconstruction under Nehemiah there is more detailed planning with particular family or trade groups occupying certain areas (see Chapter 13) (Neh. 3) but this is only surmise and even the construction works of Herod the Great do not appear to have extended to humbler dwellings or streets,

The first overall physical plan was that laid down by the Romans for the colony of Aelia Capitolina in A.D. 132 and most authorities recognise that this plan has persisted in general terms until the present day ³ (see p. 188). It attempted to deal with the religious problem by reconstructing a new shrine on the old Temple site and another near the central forum. The old Jewish city was completely destroyed

apart from the citadel and some old walling and a new start made. In other words, religious and cultural considerations were largely ignored as a new city arose from the ruins of the old. Since then, the 'Jerusalem Nouvelle' of the Roman planners gained the sanctity of time as well as the encrustations of Christian and Moslem shrines and houses until the "architectural palimpsest" of Abercrombie emerged. Of course, various repairs, restorations and reconstructions were carried out from time to time. In particular, the Crusader period gave Jerusalem much of its finer architecture both in the Christian edifices and in the Moslem restorations. Suleiman the Magnificent in the 16th. Century, rebuilt the walls and made other repairs, while over the years the street alignment shifted gradually from the rectangular form which it had in the 2nd. Century. However, while the Latin kings and several of the Moslem rulers made a considerable impact on the city none of them substantially changed the general lay-out or devised a plan as complete and over-all as the creation of the Roman planners.

2. 1917 -1969

In the 19th. Century there had been various proposals for planning of some description in Jerusalem, which was languishing under the 'laissez faire' conditions of the Ottoman Porte; in fact Wilson's Ordnance Survey plan was intended primarily as a basis for water-supply schemes. Little, however, was accomplished. A radical change came in

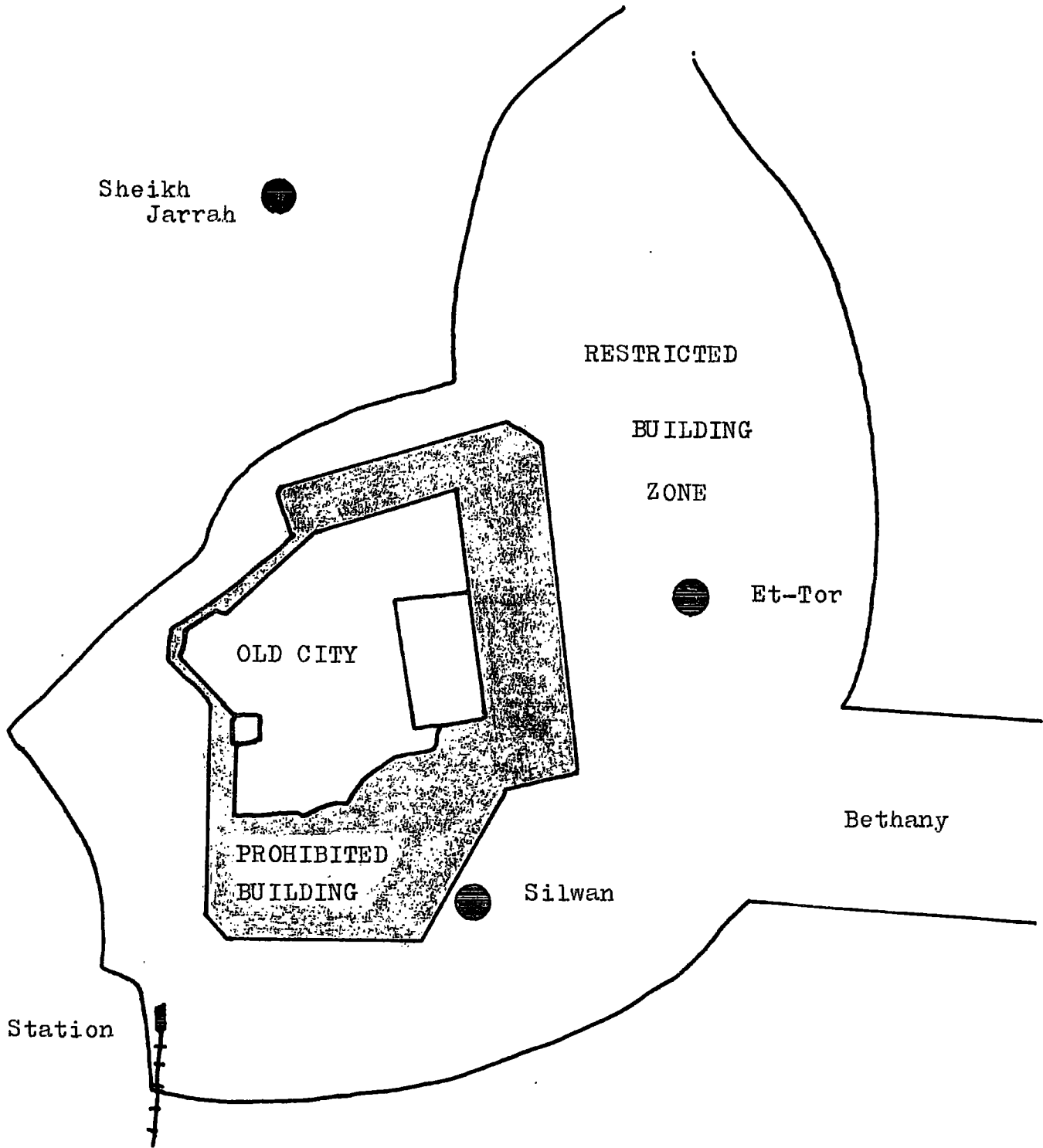


FIG. 34

JERUSALEM - THE McLEAN PLAN (1918): ZONES

1918 with the formation of the Pro-Jerusalem Society to oversee the affairs of the city until a Mandate administration could be formed to do the work. It followed the famous proclamation of Allenby which was read from the steps of the citadel after the entry of the British troops, i.e.:

.....since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind, and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrimages of multitudes of devout people of these three religions for many centuries, therefore do I make known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer, of whatever form of the three religions, will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred. 4

This declaration has been the key to the preservationist policy since and has not been broken except by the Jordanian government in respect of the Wailing Wall and the Israeli government in respect of the Mugharibiyeh Mosque. It was taken up by the British military administration, Ronald Storrs the Governor declaring:

No person shall demolish, erect, alter, or repair the structure of any building in the city or its environs within a radius of 2,500 metres of the Damascus Gate (Bab al Amud) until he has obtained a written permit from the Military Governor. 5

These severe restrictions indicate strongly the intent to preserve at all costs and it is interesting that Storrs regarded the central point of his area of preservation as being the Damascus Gate, and therefore including much of the land to the north. The Pro-Jerusalem Society, regarded the Old City as a unit within its walls and was interested only

in the preservation of Jerusalem intra-muros, generally speaking. Its objects were as follows:

1) The protection of and addition to the amenities of Jerusalem and environs.

2) To provide and maintain parks, gardens, and open spaces in and around Jerusalem

3) To build museums, art galleries, libraries, etc.

4) To protect and preserve antiquities.

5) To encourage arts, handicrafts and industries. ⁶

The importance of the Society is that the first three plans produced for Jerusalem were largely the result of its efforts. All placed preservation and amenities for pilgrims and tourists high.

The first plan produced under British administration was the 1918 plan of Sir W.H. McLean.⁷ The broader aspects of the scheme are shown in Fig. 34. It implemented much of the original aims of the Pro-Jerusalem Society and of Storrs, and provided an important initial step, i.e. the need to preserve the Old City and its surrounding areas and to concentrate development elsewhere. Thus Ashbee writes:

The distinctive quality of the McLean Plan..... is that it isolates the Holy City; sets it, so to speak, in the centre of a park, thus recognising the appeal it makes to the world - the city of an idea - that needs to be protected. ⁸

The McLean Plan envisaged four zones based on the degree of preservation (Fig. 34). This policy was to be continued in practically all subsequent plans although the boundaries of the zones were modified. It recognised the importance of the

religious nature of the Old City and the fact that the 'new city' of Aelia had now become the 'Old City' of the 20th. Century. The need to preserve and to plan development in keeping with the preserved area appear strongly on the plan and in the zoning. The actual zones were:

1) Old City: preservation of medieval appearance the aim. New building only allowed under special conditions.

2) Inner Zone: No new building - area to become a green belt around the Old City.

3) Third Zone: Buildings to be erected only with special permission and under stringent conditions to ensure their keeping with the character of the area.

4) Fourth Zone: The future development area.

In many respects the McLean plan has proved the basis of planning since and the general suggestions carried out, in particular the preservation of the Old City as a special 'fossil' area and the creation of a 'Green Belt'. However, the details of his plan proved unworkable. The street network was far too rigid and idealistic. It ignored relief and concentrated only on providing a clear and majestic approach to the Old City from the west and north. The area marked for development on the McLean Plan, has, however, largely been developed, although not according to the 1918 pattern.

Following McLean, Sir Patrick Geddes was asked by the Pro-Jerusalem Society to advise on future developments and produced the 1919 Geddes Plan.⁹ The street plan of this

Sheikh Jarrah

DEVELOPMENT
ZONE

RESTRICTED
BUILDING
ZONE

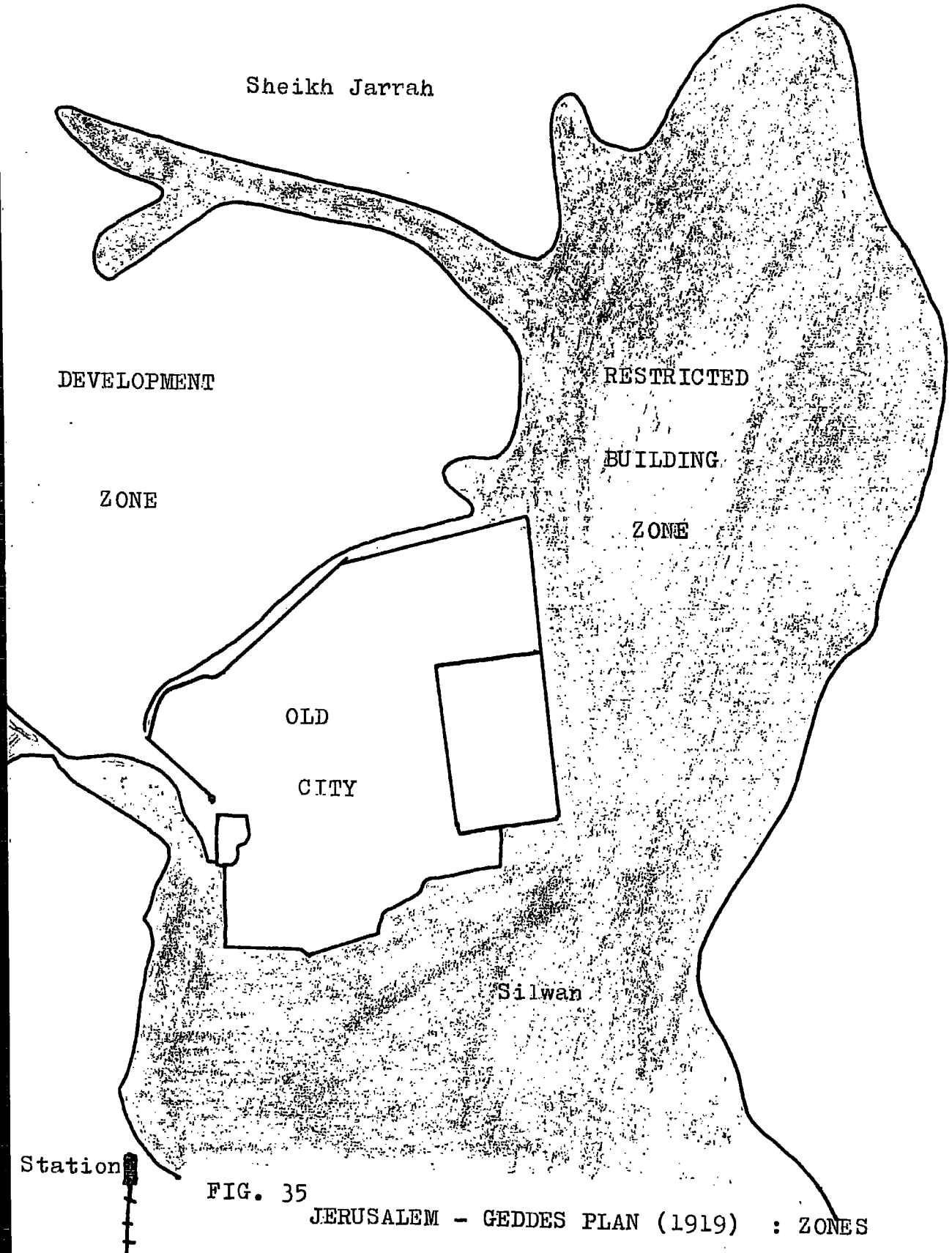
OLD
CITY

Silwan

Station 

FIG. 35

JERUSALEM - GEDDES PLAN (1919) : ZONES



scheme was more realistic than that of its predecessor¹⁰ and reduced the zoning to three only:

- 1) Old City.
- 2) Area of Restricted Building
- 3) Development Area.

The area included in Zone 2 was similar to the McLean Plan but excludes Bethany and Et Tor and includes a large area south of Silwan. It envisaged some development towards the north-east in the direction of the Hebrew University.¹¹ The area of reserved building and restricted development has proved to be a little more realistic on the Geddes Plan than on the 1918 plan and has generally persisted along the lines indicated by Geddes. Similarly, although not followed in detail, Geddes' concept of a series of ring roads for the western and northern suburbs has generally been put into effect by subsequent schemes. It is interesting that the Old City still remains in 1919 in isolation from the rest of the city and is given treatment as a special unit.

Ashbee has criticised both the McLean Plan and the Geddes Plan for not giving a detailed zoning scheme by morphological function, i.e. areas of occupation, residence, amenities, etc. Both plans were too much concerned with the degree of permissiveness to be allowed and the preservation of the ancient sites and open views: the result was some haphazard development in the permitted areas.

Within the context of the special preserved areas on the

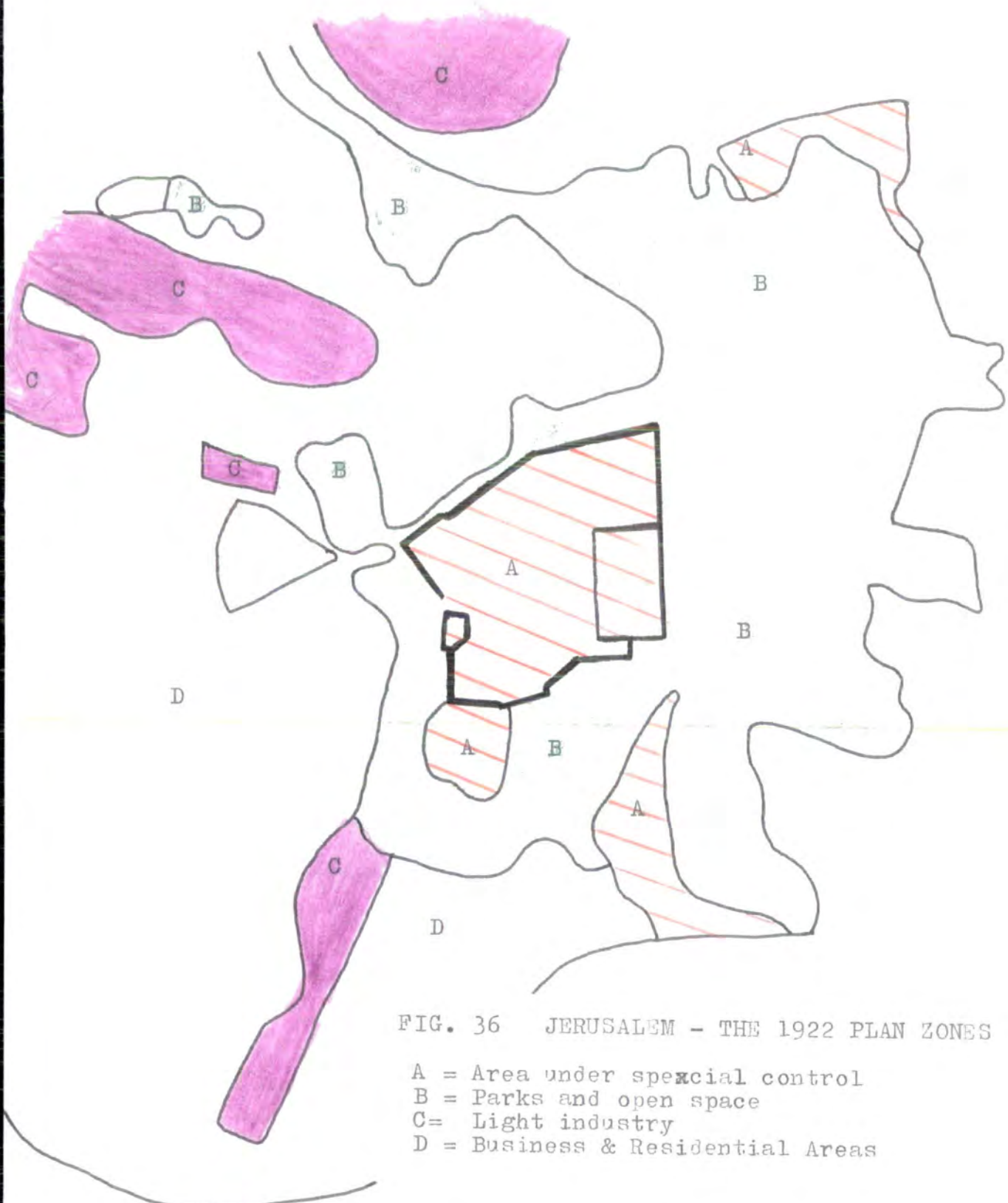


FIG. 36 JERUSALEM - THE 1922 PLAN ZONES

- A = Area under special control
- B = Parks and open space
- C = Light industry
- D = Business & Residential Areas

two early plans, the Pro-Jerusalem Society planned some ad hoc work of preservation and improvement. For instance, cleaning-up operations were undertaken on the Birket Hammam al-Batrak and the Suq al-Qattanin, and repairs undertaken to the Dome of the Rock.¹² An interesting development was the Park System drawn up by Ashbee which followed approximately the lines of Geddes' 'restricted area' apart from Silwan. The park area was intended as more than a restrictive green belt but was to be planted with trees and developed as a public amenity. Thus Ashbee writes: "Perhaps the greatest need

of Jerusalem, after the preservation of its history and the cleaning of its streets, is gardens, shade and afforestation".¹³ This inaugurated a tree-planting programme around the

Old City. In addition the walls were cleared of debris and obstructions to create the 'Rampart Walk' which was to become the "spinal cord of the Jerusalem Park System."¹⁴ An

attempt to lay out a playground on Mount Sion failed as a result of the theft of young trees by local inhabitants.¹⁵

However, the Society did much useful preservation work and sensible development in the Old City area and cleaned up the Jaffa Gate and many other areas to make them more acceptable to both pilgrim and resident.

The 'New Town Plan' of 1922 was based on a new topographical survey by Guini which was more accurate than those of Wilson and others on which the previous plans had been based. The new plan was claimed by Ashbee as the child of the Pro-Jerusalem Society and this has been acknowledged

by Kendall.¹⁶ Its main feature was zoning by function and in fact few details for street or building development were laid out in the plan. The zones were:

1) Old City: "reserved for special treatment". Also Mount Sion and Silwan.

2) Park System (see above). Private open spaces taken into account here.

3) Industry, workshops, factories - around the railway station (following McLean) and the Mahanah Tehudah and Guilah areas. This was a new emphasis.

4) Business and residential area.

This new functional approach to the zoning was an improvement on the purely negative and restrictive approach of the previous schemes, and it has generally been followed although not in detail. The new emphasis on industry was welcome and shows that the comment of Orni and Efrat that the Mandate administration did not encourage this sort of growth, is not fully justified.¹⁷ In general, the plan of 1922 left the Old City with the addition of Mount Sion and (rather strangely) Silwan, as reserved area. The green belt and area of restricted development which McLean and Geddes had suggested were amalgamated into the Pro-Jerusalem's Park System; while economic and residential ~~development~~ development were planned to be as far from the Old City as possible but in the desirable locations near the railway station and along the Jaffa Road. Hence the continued development of the newer

FIG. 37



FIG. 37

JERUSALEM - THE GREEN BELT OF THE 1929 SCHEME

city to the west was actively encouraged by this 1922 Plan.

The 1922 Plan had a moderate success since it laid down good general guidelines which preserved the old but allowed breathing space for the new: hence it lasted 8 years. However, its lack of detail made further plans necessary and the most important of these was the 1929 Plan for the Old City. This plan is an illustration of the attempt to plan in detail within the general framework of the 1922 scheme. It was in particular concentrated on the walls and gates of the Old City which had received some treatment from the Pro-Jerusalem ~~Society~~ Society some years before. Some gates were renovated and some redesigned. The Damascus Gate was, for instance, given a new design which however, was not carried out exactly as originally intended. Many good minor schemes had to be thus drastically or moderately amended before being put into effect. An important feature of the 1929 scheme is the new green belt (see Fig. 37). The old Park System of the Pro-Jerusalem Society and the 1922 Plan (Fig. 36) was abandoned as unworkable - newly-planted trees were destroyed or stolen and the area was too large to plan properly in a restrictive manner without a large expense. Hence the Park System had by 1929 been really admitted to be a failure and the new scheme returned to the green belt suggested by McLean in 1918. It was a belt of varied width and in fact the area of no building and no encumbrances was only a few yards outside the walls - yet it improved the approach to the Old City¹⁹ and recognised the

vital importance of the pilgrim trade. The 1929 Plan in fact was almost entirely concerned with the preservation and improvem^{ent} of the perimeter of the Old City for pilgrim benefit.

As a result of the work of the Central Town Planning Commission in the 1920s the ad hoc detailed schemes which had been necessary as a result of the skeletal nature of the 1922 Plan, were put together into a single unified overall plan for Jerusalem which came into force in 1930. The 1930 Outline Scheme was in fact the most detailed plan to be made for Jerusalem in the Mandate period and it proved not only the most effective but certainly the longest lasting of the schemes produced for the city during the period of British administration. Again it begins by placing special emphasis on preserving the Old City in all its ancient character.²¹ It made stringent regulations with regard to the area within the city walls restricting the height of buildings throughout the city and requiring all repairs and new structures to be in stone. There was a strict prohibition on the use of corrugated iron and new building within the walls was prohibited without special license on existing open space even if in private hands. Many of the details of McLean's plan were reflected in the regulations of the 1930 Plan. The only industries allowed within the Old City were the existing handicrafts such as weaving, tile-making and pottery. Thus the Old City was to be preserved as a living museum of medieval and Ottoman life and its activities confined largely to the exercise of religion and the various facets of the pilgrim trade.

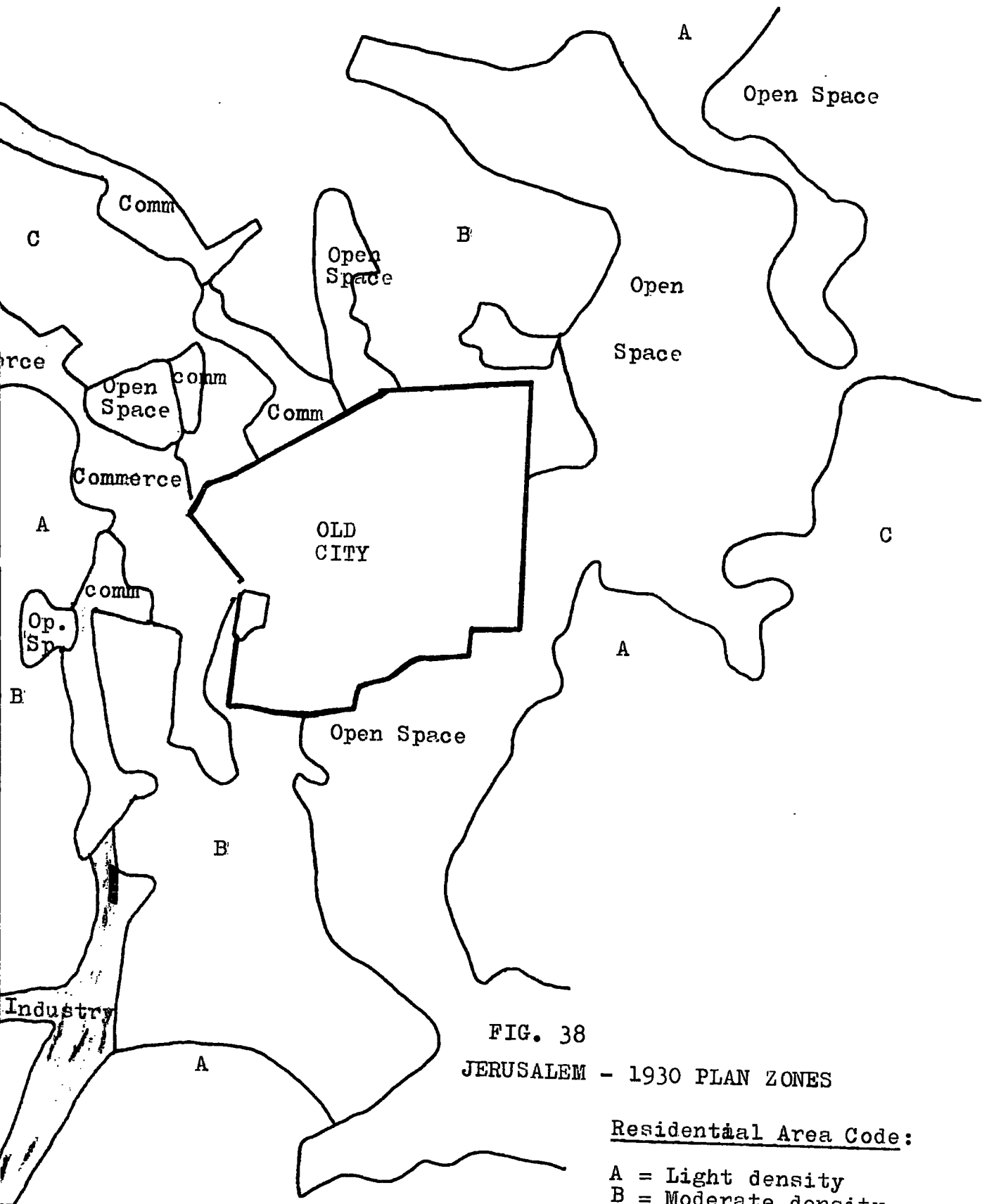


FIG. 38
 JERUSALEM - 1930 PLAN ZONES

Residential Area Code:

- A = Light density
- B = Moderate density
- C = Neavy density

Apart from the Old City, the following zones were laid out in the 1930 scheme: (see Fig. 38)

1) Open Spaces and Nature Reserves: Even private open spaces here came under the eye of the planner. There was some pruning of the old restricted building zone of the 1922 Plan notably in the area of the Schneller Orphanage and to the north of the Old City. Even on the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Offence there was some permitted building of quite a dense character.

2) Residential Areas. These were extended, especially to the north and south of the Old City and divided into three categories:

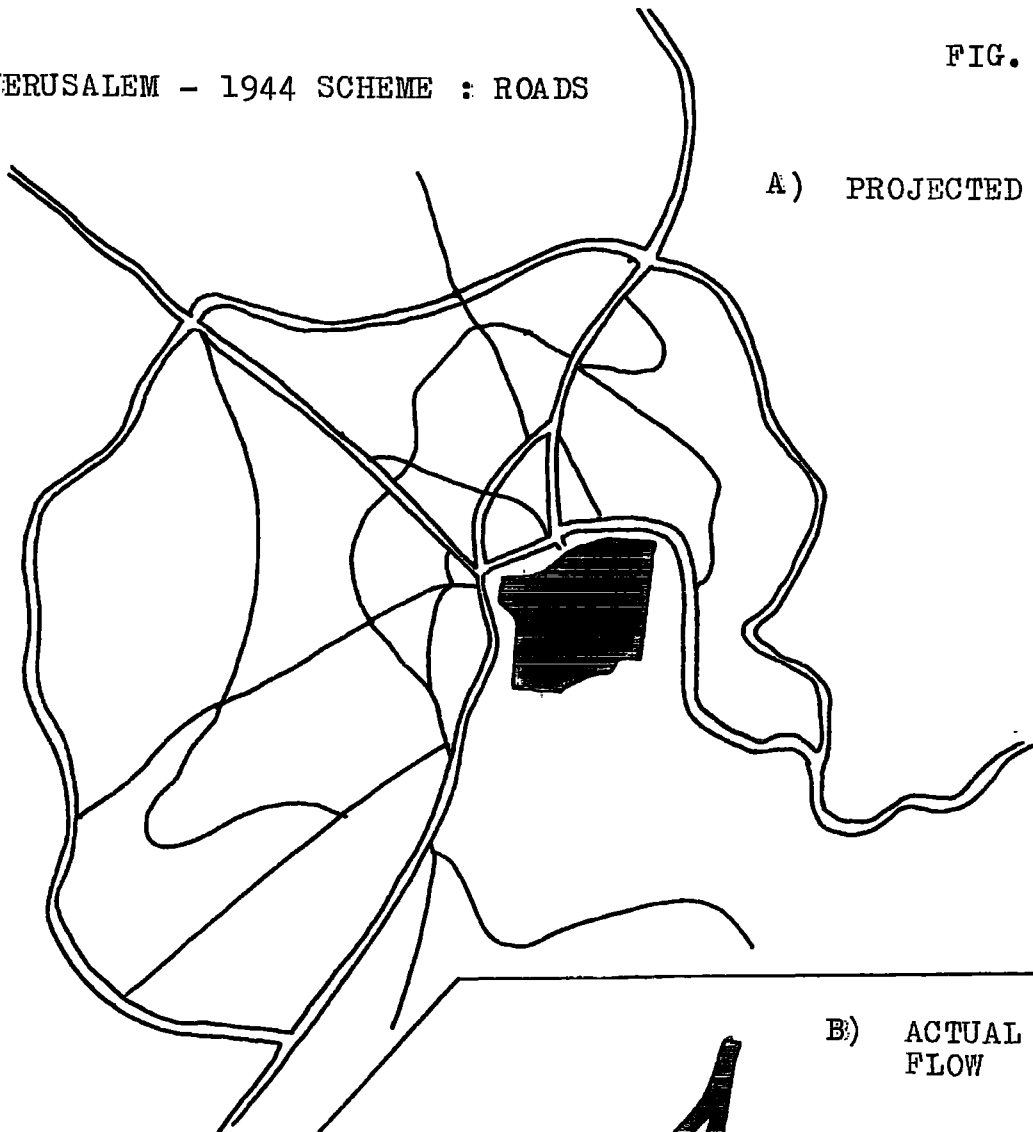
- i) Zone 'A' - minimum parcelage of 1,000 sq. metres. This covered the far western suburbs of the city and the periphery of the built-up area.
- ii) Zone 'B' - minimum parcelage of 600 sq. metres. This was for an area to the south-west of the Old City and to the north of the walls and north of the Schneller Orphanage.
- iii) Zone 'C' - minimum parcellage of 500 sq. metres. This zone covered an area to the north-west of the Old City, Et-Tor, and the Mount of Offence area.

3) Commercial Zone - along Jaffa Road and St. Paul's Road and west of the Jaffa Gate.

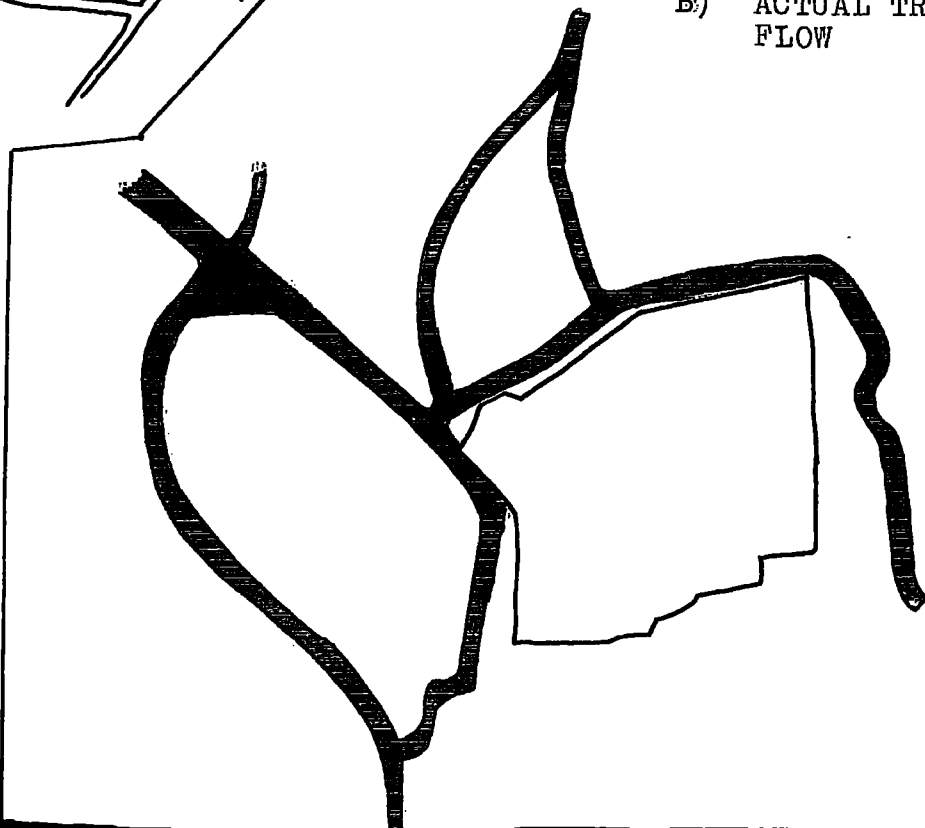
4) Industrial Zone - south-west of the railway station.

5) An 'Archaeological Zone' with ~~xxxxx~~ special restrictions on building. This overlapped with the above zones.

A) PROJECTED ROADS



B) ACTUAL TRAFFIC FLOW



The 1930 Plan thus incorporated both restrictions to safeguard the Old City and other areas of religious or historical interest, and also provided guidelines in some detail for development outside the Old City. Perhaps its most distinctive contribution, apart from tightening up on the building regulations for the Old City, was in the detailed planning of residential areas by density of building. Despite this, however, the calculations proved optimistic and there was by 1940 considerable overcrowding in the 'Residential B' Zone.

Finally, there was the 1944 Scheme. The most distinctive contribution of this scheme was in the planning of the roads (see Fig. 39). Here a pronounced ring road system was envisaged including a road to take traffic (probably mainly tourist) onto Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives. Many of these proposals were not in operation by the end of the Mandate in 1948, but it is interesting that yet again, the Old City was left out of the scheme to be preserved intact. In addition to the road proposals the 1944 Scheme also made some amendments to the 1930 Scheme, mainly in the adjustment of zone boundaries and housing densities. Apart from the continued Archaeological Zone and other minor areas, the main zoning was:

- 1) Nature Reserve and Old City.
- 2) Residential Area - 6 zones.
- 3) Industrial Area.
- 4) Commercial Area.

There was considerable concern by 1940 about the overcrowding in some zones of the 1930 Scheme - but only in the areas outside the Old City. Within the walls the continued aim was preservation of the existing buildings except for necessary repairs and renovations. In general there were closer controls over development in the 'new' city²² however as well as in the Old as the rapidly increasing population threatened to overwhelm all plans. There ~~were~~^{were} in particular much tighter restrictions on the heights of buildings, especially where good scenic views were obtainable.²³ There was a further cut in the 'green belt' area especially on Mount Sion and areas to the south of the Old City which were derestricted and much more emphasis was placed upon the Mount of Olives as a large accessible open space.

Post-Mandate Planning has generally continued along the lines of the British plans although in general both Israel and Jordan were less restrictive. For the Jordanian city there was no overall master plan and in general the Mandate policy was continued with amendments as a result of the military situation and the presence of refugees. Within the Old City, the old Jewish Qjarter remained partly in ruins although some houses were occupied by Arab families. The ruined areas were generally left as in 1948 and never cleared or renovated ~~which~~ which made the area generally objectionable to tourists. Outside the Old City residential housing was allowed to the south on Ophel and Mount Sion (as in 1944 Plan) and some fine houses were built to the north and in the Sheikh Jarrah area. Some odd

planning decisions were made such as the failure to do anything creative with the Jewish Quarter and the permitting of the building of the Intercontinental Hotel on the summit of the Mount of Olives. Generally, however, Jordan continued the policy of preserving the old and directing the new; most of the new houses were in local stone and attractive while the old city was kept clean and attractive.

Israel controlled little of the area with which this thesis has been largely concerned except for Mount Sion, until 1967. The Israel Physical Master Plan was imaginative²⁴ and concentrated on directing growth westwards along the corridor to avoid the armistice line and 'fill-in' that narrow link with the coast.²⁵ Light industry was encouraged and there was a use of neighbourhood units for residential areas, which had been proposed in 1944.²⁶ Some fine structures such as the new Hebrew University, the Knesset building and the Shrine of the Book, graced the western suburbs. However, with great population pressure, many buildings were constructed in concrete, in contrast to the Mandate regulations which generally permitted development only in local stone. Less desirable, even than this, has been the policy of the Israel government in the Old City since 1967. While agreeing to the general plan of preservation, some old Turkish houses have been destroyed for allegedly security reasons and an old mosque also demolished. This is the only occasion this century when a religious building has been destroyed by government action in the city.

Planning the Holy City

The influence of religion on the development of the city of Jerusalem can be seen clearly in this brief history of modern planning. On the one hand there is the desire to preserve the religious sites and indeed everything which is old and to maintain as open land the areas with strong religious connections and good views. Pulling against this, religion has generated in this century an ever increasing pilgrim trade which has led to rapid development of hotels and other manifestations of tourism; and in addition there has been the influence of Zionism and the results of Jewish immigrations into the area and the state of war between the State of Israel and Jordan. The growth of the pilgrim trade into a booming modern tourist industry has created demand for building land while the obvious need to counteract this for economic reasons with light industry and commerce has also led to high land demands. These factors have conflicted with the preservationist policy, especially in the areas immediately around the Old City.

There has been the great difficulty of preserving the Old City and environs without spoiling it²⁷ for bare preservation can lead to lack of incentive and abandonment by occupiers. There has been present also the great difficulty of actually defining the area to be preserved. Thus the wide areas of preservation suggested by McLean, Geddes and the 1922 Plan were whittled down subsequently to a narrow green belt in 1929

and a small restricted area in 1930 and 1944. Under the pressure of the armistice ~~xxxx~~ line, Jordan found this hard to maintain and the hotel building on Olivet was the result of commercial pressures outbidding amenity needs in restricted conditions. The importance of the Haram area and other private open spaces has been emphasised by Kendall²⁸ and contributed to making the Old City itself more ~~pleasant~~ pleasant for there has always been the problem of 'lungs' for the residents. Around the Old City cemeteries have provided valuable open spaces - a not uncommon phenomenon in religious centres.²⁹ The western suburbs have obtained space by building largely on the hills and leaving the valleys empty.

In summary, it can be seen that the successive plans for Jerusalem this century tackled the problem of preservation versus development in a generally very similar way, led by the original 1918 plan of McLean. Whether in outline or in detail, restrictive or functional, they all tended to zone the city into two blocks: 1) An area of general preservation - the Old City, the Mount of Olives, Mount Sion, Silwan, Hinnom and Kidron valleys. 2) An area of development - the plateau land north of the Old City, the Hill Country crests west of the H. Hinnom. The ~~xxxx~~ preserved area has fluctuated in size from plan to plan but has generally included those features named. Residential growth has been sometimes permitted, but under restrictions. The choice of this area is of course, obvious - the Old City has been preserved as far as possible as

it was found in 1917, and kept as a living museum (this phrase is not used ironically) for visitors, and residents of a religious inclination. The Mount of Olives has been preserved generally, because of its holiness to Christians and the fine views of the Old City it provides, and also - as Abercrombie pointed out in the quotation cited above - it provides an excellent backcloth to the city itself.

The choice of the north and west for development has been influenced not just by the attempt to keep growth away from the Old City but by more practical considerations. The flatter ground to the north of the Old City on the turonian plateau is excellent for building on and there was already a number of religious and residential structures there in 1917. To the west there is open land with few religious monuments and of course this area has the commercial prongs - the road to Jaffa-Tel-Aviv and the railway station. Hence the industrial areas on the 1922 Plan were near the railway station and along the Jaffa Road. Later plans kept the railway station location but made the Jaffa Road commercial rather than industrial in nature. The open hills with broad surfaces and valleys between were well capable of being developed as community units with spaces between and there was freedom to plan roads and ~~xxxxxx~~.estates.

Thus religious considerations have been aided by hard commercial and practical ones. The Old City has now become a peripheral suburb of the greater Jerusalem but it is not

just the result of rigorous preservationist policies. Indeed the movement to the north-west as has been shown was already apparent some time before the end of Turkish rule and the planners have aided a natural development rather than created a twin-town situation deliberately. A useful comparison here might be made with the British city of Durham where an old religious orientated peninsular city has been left peripheral to newer suburbs growing in the direction of Sunderland and the A 1. Even Mecca shows a pronounced tendency to grow in the direction of the coast.

It is true that the planners have been mesmerized by the need to preserve but even so they have only pressurised in the same direction as commercial forces. Thus even under Jordanian administration, the commercial heart of Arab Jerusalem was the Saladin Street area and the old suqs were losing ground except for food and, of course souvenirs. It is true that the Old City has become almost a tourist museum. The C.B.D. of Jerusalem (whether Arab or united) is no longer within the walls and the economy of the Old City is strongly tourist orientated whereas the city outside has more diversity. The frequency of the plans for the city since 1917 does not therefore give ~~any~~ evidence of constant change in response to relentless pressure for change. Nearly all the plans are identical in general policy; the differences are in detail and emphasis. The preservation of the old in the east and the encouragement of the new in the west has been the outstanding feature of the city's planning policy.

CHAPTER 16

RELIGION AND THE GROWTH OF JERUSALEM

The aim of this thesis has been to study the Old City of Jerusalem as an example (perhaps the supreme example) of a religious centre in an attempt to find out what distinctive geographical features religion can produce. In this final chapter an attempt will be made to bring together some answers to the questions posed in the Introduction, i.e.

1) What is the nature of the influence of religion on the development of Jerusalem ?

2) What is the extent of this influence in the geography of the city ?

Of course the two questions are very closely related and the answer to 1) is very much the basis of the answer to 2). However, in this concluding chapter they will be taken in order and some attempt made to give clear answers.

The Nature of the Influence

It is clear that religion has influenced to some degree practically every aspect of the geography and life of the Old City although the extent of this influence has varied between sectors and ~~times~~ over time. It is also clear that the three main faiths and their subsidiary sects have had differing impacts on the geography of the city and their theological and ethnic natures have been important factors in producing

the geographical mosaic of architectural forms, quarters, and economic and social activities.

The impact of religion on the development of the Old City has appeared in five main ways:

- i) Influence on functional development
- ii) Influence on landscape development
- iii) Influence on urban morphology
- iv) Influence on social geography
- v) Influence on planning policy.

The last feature mainly concerns the period after 1917 and so will be dealt with only briefly as illustrating certain points.

1) Functional Development.

It is clear from most of Section B that religion, mainly through the pilgrim trade, has drastically influenced the urban functions of Jerusalem. That this has not been to the extent often thought will be brought out below, but for the moment it is important to recognise that there has been a considerable impact on the economy of the city as a result of religion. Professor Avi-Yonah recognises this as a clear factor in both the city of the Herods and the city of the Byzantine period.¹ In the former period, the wealth which accrued to the Temple from the diaspora helped support a large number of industries and in the Byzantine era he found evidence for considerable economic development as a result of the pilgrim trade. The influence of the hospices,

and khans in the development of general commerce has been pointed out above (p. 155). Jerusalem's ability to function as a country market town must be emphasised as it is often overlooked, but at the same time it must be acknowledged that religion, largely ~~through~~ through the pilgrim trade has had a considerable influence on the functional growth of the city. The flow diagram on p. 73 (see also p. 92) indicates how the money brought into the city by the pilgrims has gone into the economy generating flourishing foodstuffs, construction and clothing and souvenir trades. Admittedly, many of the small industries of the city such as soap production has had little connection with pilgrims while in the Middle Ages and the Ottoman period large amount of the pilgrims money, as seen above (p. 100), went direct to the government (local or national) in the form of taxation. However, that which remained was sufficient to generate a considerable amount of employment, Souvenir manufacture and retailing for instance has flourished from early times (p. 75) and as has been seen has been the means of keeping many a convent solvent (p. 135). The construction trades have been seen to be important not only in Jerusalem but other religious centres too (p. 153-4) and the minor industries of soap manufacture, pottery, glassware, etc. have found a market (if only a minor one) in the pilgrims.

It has proved difficult to measure the impact of religion in the functional development of Jerusalem since figures of

employment or income for the Old City area are not easy to come by. To take figures for the whole of the modern municipality would be misleading while figures for the municipality of Ottoman times (or even the Jordanian city) are not available. Some measure can perhaps be attained by the growth of the city in areal terms (see below). It is clear that in times of pilgrim trade prosperity the city's area expands and particularly has done so since the middle of the last century (p. 218-9). We know that the retailing and industrial aspects of the economy did not expand of their own accord and the only factor which can account for this phenomenal increase of built-up area is the religious factor and particularly the pilgrim trade. That much of the newer city lands before 1917 had been taken up with hospices and schools, plus the newer Jewish suburbs of Orthodox character, points clearly that religion is the functional factor responsible here. It would certainly imply that religion plays a dominant (~~although not dominating~~) role in the economy of the Old City.²

2) Influence on Landscape

Jerusalem is not the only city where the landscape is dominated by religious buildings. Cairo, Istanbul, and other very secular cities have dominating mosques while cities with some religious function - Shiraz, Kairouan, Rome, etc. show this even more clearly. The plates 9-11 in Volume II indicate clearly that the 'townscape' of Jerusalem is very

much a religious one. The construction of buildings over holy sites has at times, e.g. particularly in the Byzantine and Crusader periods, had a considerable impact on the city's landscape (see p. 108). It has also been seen (p. 116) that there has been a considerable variety in this physical impact because of the different religious and ethnic groups involved. The Christians because of their desire to locate and venerate the place where Jesus walked and especially the ~~w~~ events of the Passion, have spread far and wide over the city and dominated the Mount of Olives. The Moslems on the other hand have confined themselves to the Haram-esh-Sharif area in the main apart from certain hill-top sites such as the Coenaculum and Ascension Place, both obtained from the Christians by force. Yet the Dome of the Rock is surely the most impressive and dominating physical feature in the whole city.³ The Jews, on the other hand, have had far less of a landscape impact. Although some of the 19th. Century synagogues were quite impressive - for instance the Hurva Synagogue - no structure was built near the Wailing Wall, the tombs in the Kidron are not impressive and until the last century the Jewish community had only humble and often subterranean meeting places.⁴ Of the 'congregational' buildings, as has been seen, (p. 266) only a few have been impressive and these have generally been Christian. Of the mosques few stand out on the skyline, and one of the most interesting landscape-wise is the small one near the American

Consulate to the north of the Old City⁵ In terms of physical appearance though, the Old City is surely most under the influence of religion and the Dome of the Rock, the Holy Sepulchre and the later Eloserkirche and Latin Convent Church dominate the skyline while to the east the Russian St. Mary Magdalene and the newer Latin Church of All Nations stand out prominently yet in keeping. The foreign architecture of many of these buildings, French, Russian, English and Arab all intermingled, is a direct and positive result of the religious interest in Jerusalem: a clear and distinctive impact on the landscape.

Finally, apart from architectural features, some impact has been made on other landscape features. Agriculture has been effected by religious matters. Thus the Garden of Gethsemane has flourished in part because of its Christian associations and the vine has in the past flourished in the area because of the impact of the demand from the Christian hospices (see p. 161).

3) Influence on Morphological Development

The large percentage of land in the Old City taken up by religious buildings (p.131) helps the more impressive structures in producing this landscape impact. It has also been important in morphological terms. The large amount of land in the Christian Quarter which was given over to religious land use by the 19th. Century (see Maps 9 and 10) made this

area of the city almost a suburb of convents rather than an inhabited quarter⁶ and has given it a distinct atmosphere and function within the city. That the pilgrim trade has played a large part in this can be seen by the large fluctuations in the number of religious buildings between times when the pilgrim trade has been flourishing and times when it has been ~~xxx~~ slack (see p. 140) as shown on the land use maps in Volume II. Other important morphological influences have been the degree to which the religious buildings have attracted residential and commercial land use. As shown above (p. 266; 267) this feature can be overplayed. Religious buildings have not attracted general retailing but only souvenir retailing. Also it should be noted that while the Mount of Olives and Mount Sion shrines attracted some residential development in Byzantine and Crusader times (p. 194-5) inside the walls the main religious buildings have not attracted residential growth as shown on Page 310. Indeed it would appear that the gates have acted as stronger attractions to both commerce and general residence and the 19th. Century expansion outside the walls took place along the Jaffa Road and by the railway station - not in the direction of the holy sites to the east and south. Hence this influence should be not overemphasised.

4) Influence on Social Geography

The social geography of Jerusalem is of course very much influenced by religion since the main ethnic divisions

and as seen in Chapter 13 the Church/Synagogue/Mosque of an ethnic group is an important nodal point. The main quarter division has grown up on religious lines. On the other hand, of course, class divisions have been important especially in more recent decades⁷ and national or linguistic barriers have been important in separating groups of the population. However, the strictures of such groups as the Armenians and Islam against those who leave the faith and the often special racial or national nature of some of the religious sects, has tended to make organised religion the main social structure of the city. This however is surely a very common feature in the Middle East as Boulos,⁸ Fisher⁹ and others have pointed out and that religion is a social factor in Jerusalem does not entitle us to claim that it is so because the city is a religious centre.

5) Influence on Planning Policy

Chapter 15 took a look from outside the main chronological period of this thesis at the problems of physical planning for Jerusalem. It is worth noting that religious and cultural factors played a large part in all planning decisions. The early plans of McLean and Geddes and also the plans of the 1920s, were so concerned with the problem of preserving the old that they failed to plan adequately for the new (p. 354). Admittedly, the city had already by 1917 shown that the future development was to be well to the west of the walled city,

leaving the latter as an outlier east of the new centre. While the censures of some Israeli planners are somewhat unjust¹⁰ it must be admitted that the Mandate plans were so devoted to helping the pilgrim trade and preserving the Old City that the development of the new suffered in lack of detailed planning: perhaps a negative religious influence! Many of the European Christians who provided not only the bulk of the pilgrims but also the ~~government~~ personnel in the Mandate government, regarded their charge as a sacred trust and preserved medieval Jerusalem with a religious fervour.¹¹ Hence the preservation of the present Old City as a clean old Arab city, almost a museum of Middle East life, society and religion, can be largely put down to the impact of religion.

The Extent of the Influence

It is comparatively easy to note the ways in which religion has influenced the geography of Jerusalem; it is more difficult to attempt an assessment of the extent of that influence. Many in the past have spoken of the city as if its very existence was due to religion and it was maintained on faith. No less an authority than Ziadeh has been quoted (p. 89) to this effect. Speaking of the Mamluk period he claims that apart from religion Jerusalem "had no other claim to existence" and the city "lived because it commanded reverence and because this brought to it resources that helped its people to live."¹² Earlier writers have also expressed this feeling and the views of Warburton and Bartlett have been quoted to this effect (p. 143). In fact many visitors of the last few centuries passed comments on the city which implied that it owed its very existence to its position as a religious centre.¹³

Modern geographers, while recognising the original defensive function of the city, have also generally emphasised that religion has been its support and have strongly noted its deficiencies of resources for other functions. Orni and Efrat have written in this vein¹⁴ and so have British scholars.¹⁵ Only Cressy seems to have given any real weight to the minor trade routes which cross in the city.¹⁶ Otherwise most scholars maintain the aridity of the area and the city's dependence on religion.

However, while the impact of religion upon the geographical development of Jerusalem has been clearly shown it is also equally clear that it is untrue to ascribe to religion the function of being the sole raison d'etre of the city. Here it is necessary to take issue even with George Adam Smith whose sound judgement on many controversial issues has been a landmark in his writings. Yet he says of Jerusalem:

Her builder was not nature nor the wisdom of men, but on that secluded and barren site, the Word of God, by her prophets, laid her eternal foundations in righteousness, and reared her walls in her people's faith in God. 177

It must be asserted clearly that Jerusalem is not absolutely dependent on religion for her origin and existence. In the first place, it can be shown that the city has some potential as a market centre and the surrounding area - perhaps arid by western standards - is not barren. Earlier (p. 49) the limitations of the area for agriculture were recognised; but at the same time it was pointed out that while Jerusalem would never have grown to world fame on its natural resources, yet there is some potential for a limited growth and the city has often been self-sufficient in most of the basic foodstuffs and "necessaries" of life. Indeed it has been also noted above (p. 50; p. 156) that the foundation of Aelia Capitolina was a recognition of the necessity for a small market town in this area; while the survival of the city in the early Ottoman period when pilgrims were few was indicative of some other function than that of a religious

centre. There seems to have been a local market for the villages in the city and many trades with no visible connection with the pilgrim industry (p. 141; 156). The soap industry for instance (see p. 151) developed using the local resource of olive oil - and it cannot be denied that olive cultivation is an activity for which these hills of Judea and Samaria are ideally suited.¹⁸ Also the social importance of the suq to local villages has been indicated (p. 143). Now it must not be argued that Jerusalem would ever have flourished as an agricultural centre for it is doubtful if it ever has. In comparison with the oasis of Damascus or even the moister hills around Nablus, Jerusalem is not potentially a large market. Yet the existence of the city at a minor cross-roads on the Hill Country¹⁹ and the abundant tree crops of the area have provided it with a basic function: to the extent that when Helena arrived in the city at the beginning of the 4th. Century to find the tomb of Christ she found a city which was managing to survive at least even if its population may only have been a few thousand. Final support for the existence of some non-religious activity and potential comes from Mukaddasi. Maybe his evidence is prejudiced but even taking pride for his own city into account, the opinion of this Arab writer is still useful evidence. Of the city, he says:

Provisions are most excellent here; the markets are clean, the Mosque is of the largest, and nowhere are Holy Places more numerous. The grapes are enormous, and there are no quinces to equal those of the Holy City.

In Jerusalem are all manner of learned men and doctors and for this reason the heart of every man of intelligence yearns towards her.....
 And as for the Holy City being the most productive of all places in good things, why, Allah - may He be exalted - has gathered together here all the fruits of the lowlands and of the plains and of the hill country, even all those of the most opposite kinds: such as the orange and the almond, the date and the nut, the fig and the banana, besides milk in plenty and honey and sugar. 20

Some of these items may well have been imported in normal times rather than grown locally but obviously Mukkaddasi, who had after all travelled around quite extensively, considered the area productive. At the same time the city's area of administration and service, its territory, extended for a 40 mile radius ²¹ which might explain the bananas and sugar in the above list. Obviously religion was an important factor but not the only one.

Secondly, the physical factors - other than fertility - played an important part in both the functional and the morphological growth of the city. In Chapter 2 it was seen clearly that the situation of Jerusalem on the turonian spur between the Kidron and Hinnom valleys, and its growth north and west along this spur is an important ^hphysical influence. The Gihon spring and the easily defensive Ophel ridge is generally recognised by scholars as a prime factor in the original founding of the city ²² and the Romans also saw that the valleys on either side presented a useful natural defence for they extended the city walls of Aelia right up to the valley sides. Defence was thus an early ~~defensive~~ function of

the city - probably its earliest²³ - although declining in importance over the centuries. The influence of the turonian limestone on the direction of urban growth is now well known following the studies of Avnimelech (see p. 18). Similarly, the importance of relief must not be overlooked - the location of local agriculture has been very much influenced by this factor as the land use maps show clearly; while the importance of El Wad (the upper Myropoeon) as a city drain is also considerable. So Jerusalem has been moulded by its physical site as much as any other city.

Administrative functions have also been shown to be present in the city (p. 86) although except for certain periods of history (Latin Kingdom, Mandate period, and possibly one short period in the 14th. Century) it has not been an important regional capital except for its own city territory which has rarely covered more than the central Hill Country. Hence urban development cannot be attributed to this function, although it has at times been important.

It remains to attempt to give an assessment of the actual extent of religious influence on the growth of the Old City of Jerusalem, since it is clear that however important religion is it does not provide the whole answer. The influence can best be treated under three heads: 1) Influence on Urban Function 2) Influence on the Physical Nature of the City 3) Influence on the Social Geography of the city.

1) Influence on Urban Function

Despite the assertions above of the importance of the marketing and defensive functions, Jerusalem has clearly been very much dependant on its function of a religious centre, if not for its existence then at least for its fame and relative prosperity. The flow diagram on p. 92 illustrates how this religious function through the pilgrim trade which is its main manifestation, influences nearly all aspects of the city's economic life. Unfortunately, city income figures are not available for the Old City and neither are detailed studies of pilgrim expenditure, although in Appendix IV some estimates based on interviews are made. While we cannot measure the actual amount of income which has in the past been generated by pilgrims in the city, it ~~xxxx~~ can still be asserted that financially pilgrims have provided most of the city's wealth. Thus from Voiney's figures, De Haas has calculated that the tax collected in 1789 from 12,000 pilgrims to visit the Jordan was three times the amount of tax paid by the sizable city of Gaza.²⁴ Expenditure of hospices and later hotels by the pilgrims found its way into the general economy via the suq (p. 46) and expenditures in this sector have been high enough to give Jerusalem far more hotels than any other Jordanian city (see Appendix IV). In earlier centuries, the expenditure on holy sites was large and again the very number of them (especially Christian shrines owned by Moslems) is an

indication that they were valuable real estate. Also the demand for oil from the Haram ²⁵ and for building materials from all religious edifices for construction and repair, was large in the medieval period ²⁶ and not inconsiderable after the revival of interest in the city in the middle of the last century. The significance of the demand from the holy sites and the impact of pilgrims on house prices has been pointed out by Avi-Yonah as important for the Byzantine city.²⁷

Finally, while no satisfactory quantitative measurement can be made of the influence of religion on functional growth, some general indication can be gauged from the city's physical growth (see below). It is very significant that in times when we know that pilgrims have been few, the city has declined in size; when pilgrims have been many, the city has expanded. Thus from 1865 to 1912, the city grew to double its size by area built-up. In 1865, the only buildings of any note outside the city walls (except for Silwan) were the Russian buildings. By the end of the Ottoman period, the area north and west of the Old City was covered ⁱⁿ buildings, a large number of them being religious structures, especially hospices. In this period we know of only two reasons for this growth: 1) an increase in Christian pilgrims 2) the beginning of Jewish settlement of Zionist as opposed to traditional type, and the movement of many orthodox Jews outside the Old City to new quarters. Of course the increasing prosperity of the country generally under the impetus of railways, better roads, and other western

innovations accounted for part of this but both Zionism and also increasing Christian pilgrim numbers were clearly both the main cause and also can clearly be labelled religious factors. It might be useful here to compare Jerusalem with Gaza. The latter town had a population of about 15,000 in the 1860s (Jerusalem had an estimated 16,000)²⁸; by the end of the period of Ottoman rule, Jerusalem had a population of 70,000 and Gaza 40,000. Thus increasing market trade enabled Gaza to more than double its population but Jerusalem's population grew about fivefold. The net difference, perhaps, can be attributed to religion. Including the Old City also it can be seen that at least half of the area of Jerusalem by the beginning of the present century was occupied by religious buildings or by buildings housing those engaged in the pilgrim trade or ancillary trades. Other functions were important and must not be forgotten (see p. 49) but their impact was still limited, even the soap and olive oil industry. Religion would appear to be the major functional influence in the growth of Jerusalem

2) Influence on Physical Growth

The influence of the pilgrim trade on the growth of the urban area of Jerusalem has already been mentioned in this chapter and was dealt with above on p. 74ff. The function of religious centre can thus be seen to have been a major contributing factor in general development and the only influence which has made Jerusalem more than a small market town. Other factors

have exerted minor influences on the direction of growth. Thus in Byzantine times and also in Crusader and later Ottoman times (see p. 184) the holy sites which abound to the east and south of the city attracted residential growth as well as religious buildings. Thus in the Middle Ages there were flourishing little communities on Mount Sion and in Gethsemane. However while religion has been important here the direction of the city's growth can generally be put down to other factors. Silwan for instance is almost certainly sited with the spring of the Virgin's Fountain in mind and is purely agricultural in nature, although in later years it has provided most of the lower paid workers of the city. The growth to the north and west has been shown to be clearly the result of physical factors of geological nature and commercial factors - the attraction of the Nablus and Jaffa roads. Hence in deciding where to build, the Jerusalemite has generally been influenced by commercial factors and not by religious ones.

In terms of landscape, the city has been much influenced by religion - the Dome of the Rock of course reminds all of this - and the large amount of land under religious usage and ownership is significant. It is far greater than Aleppo for example and even greater than Damascus. In most Middle East cities there is one large central 'Friday' mosque ²⁹ but other religious buildings are much smaller and less significant in landscape terms. In Jerusalem, while the Dome of the Rock rivets the eye, Al Aqsa, the Holy Sepulchre Church, and other

religious buildings stand out above the rooftops to compete as some of the plates in Volume 11 illustrate. The total area under hospices, schools, khans, etc. as well as churches is in excess of most Middle East cities. It is important here of course that Jerusalem has been the object of three faiths. Hence there have been competing interests and many communities demanding land and a buildings in contrast to Mecca or other purely Moslem centres.

However, while the skyline is dominated by the domes, towers and minarets of the faiths and the nations, in terms of detailed morphology, religion has had far less of an impact. It has been clearly seen (see Chapter 14) that the growth of the suqs, souvenirs excepted, has generally followed the commercial influences and converged on the gates, especially the Jaffa Gate and the Damascus Gate. It can also be seen that the physical structure of the city has really not been dominated by religion any more than in other cities of the Middle East. The skeletal framework of streets laid down by the Romans has remained with a few modifications and neither the Haram nor the Holy Sepulchre have been made urban centres with streets converging on them. Even the Citadel has remained off-centre. Similarly within the quarters the importance of church, mosque or synagogue as nodal influences can be repeated in other cities, for instance old Beirut³⁰, and is not a product of the function of religious centre. Of course the very multitude of sects and communities forming quarters is an

expression of that function.

3) Influence on Social Geography

The variety of ethnic communities in Jerusalem is of course an important influence of the function of religious centre. In particular, the attraction of the western Christians and the Jews and also the Copts from the Nile valley and Ethiopia is specifically due to the sanctity of Jerusalem in the eyes of these communities. Of course the Moslems and the eastern Christians (especially the Greeks) are 'native' and their presence in the city would be expected anyway. Nearly all Middle East cities except the 'forbidden' ones - Mecca for instance - exhibit a mosaic of nationality and religion.³¹ In Jerusalem, the presence of such large and powerful groups as the Latins as well as smaller ones such as the Copts, is attributable to the city's function as a religious centre. The social divisions of Jerusalem are thus in part a result of this function and almost in whole the result of religion, although as shown in Chapter 13, nationality is also important. In recent decades class divisions and class residential areas have increasingly gained dominance and the older divisions become less important.

Conclusion

In making final conclusions with regard to the influences on the growth of Jerusalem since A.D. 132, it is clear that while the importance of religion needs to be stressed, other factors must not be overlooked. As a religious centre, Jerusalem has of necessity been very much influenced in its geography by religion; yet there is much revealed by a close analysis of the city which is common to all cities of the Middle East and the Arab world. Even religious factors may only be those common in the Levant where the religious mosaic is strong, rather than those associated with the pilgrim trade.

In brief, religious factors have been strongest in the area of urban function. As pointed out frequently (see p.89) the pilgrim trade has been the foundation stone of the city's economy and although Jerusalem can and has survived without it, yet without the pilgrims and the buildings erected by and for them, Jerusalem would be a very different city from that we see today. The impetus provided by the pilgrim has extended to nearly all branches of the economy and has not only created its own trades such as the souvenir industry but has provided additional impetus and incentive to such 'natural' local activities such as oil production and soap manufacture and even extended into the foodstuffs bazaars.

However, in terms of physical and social factors, the influence of religion is less clear. Admittedly, in both

general growth of urban area and in the urban landscape, the influence of the pilgrim and the religious community can be seen. Yet the direction in which Jerusalem has grown - even the movement of the suqs inside the Old City - indicates that other factors have been very important in the city's life. In the structure of its quarters and the framework of its zones of movement the Old City can give evidence of non-religious factors at work and many of the religious factors are such as are by no means unique to Jerusalem.

However, while a balanced view forces one to see the importance of commercial, physical, military and other factors, yet any view of the growth of Jerusalem will indicate that in this city religion plays a dominant role. To the geographer the theological concept of the sacredness of the Old City and its environs can be seen to have made a considerable and a varied impact on the city's development. Both spiritual and commercial motives have helped to shape the Old City and her suburbs and rulers have seen the city as a useful centre of government and defence. Even if the spiritual factors have not always been visible in every corner of the city, yet it is religion which has made the city what it is and - apart from some physical and morphological items - moulded it into the form it possessed when the Turks left it. Worship and commerce are here inseparable.

Thus it might be appropriate to echo the words of the

psalmist who saw that peace and prosperity should be the city's
portion:

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem:
They shall prosper that love thee.
Peace be within thy walls,
And prosperity within thy palaces.
For my brethren and companions sakes,
I will now say, Peace be within thee.
For the sake of the house of the Lord our God
I will seek thy good. (Psalm 122.6-9)

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- 24 C.Geike - The Holy Land and the Bible. London 1893
p.423-4
- 25 Ashbee op.cit.
- 26 Benjamin of Tudela op.cit. p. 83
- 27 Citez op.cit. p.11,18
- 28 Poggibonsi op.cit. p. 9
- 29 Conder op.cit. p.317
- 30 Hanauer op.cit. p. 122ff
- 31 Citez op.cit. p.7
- 32 Ibid. p.18
- 33 Heyd op.cit. p.156
- 34 Geike op.cit. p.424
- 35 Ibid. p.454
- 36 Citez op.cit. p. 6
- 37 Lees op.cit. p.196

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- 39 See e.g. Citez and in Heyd op.cit.
- 40 Robinson op.cit. p.428
- 41 Benjamin of Tudela op.cit. p. 83
- 42 Maundrell op cit. p.144
- 43 Fabri op.cit. p.527
- 44 Frescobaldi op.cit. p. 73
- 45 Bartlett - Jerusalem Revisited op.cit. p. 102
- 46 Hanauer op.cit. p.112
- 47 Robinson op.cit. p.428
- 48 Procopius op.cit. p. 141
- 49 Gucci op.cit. p. 128
- 50 Suriano op.cit.
- 51 K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.53
- 52 Ashbee op.cit. ; Hanauer op.cit. p.277
- 53 Maundrell op,cit, p. 100
- 54 Lees op.cit. p. 184-5
- 55 Ibid. p.184
- 56 Ibid. p.192
- 57 Geike op.cit. p.450ff

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- 2 See also M.D.I.Chisholm - Rural Settlement and Land Use. London 1962
- 3 Mukaddasi op.cit. p. 36
- 4 Abbot Daniel op.cit. p.
- 5 Orni & Efrat op,cit. p.52
- 6 Ibid. p. 304
- 7 Luke 19.29
- 8 Arculfus op.cit. p
- 9 Bede - Concerning the Holy Places PPT 1888 p.73
- 10 Nasir op.cit. p.23; Abbot Daniel op.cit. p.26
- 11 Fabri op.cit. p.498
- 12 Suriano op.cit. p.117
- 13 Niebuhr op.cit. p. 47
- 14 See evaluation ~~in~~ bt present writer in Cartographic Jnl. 1967
- 15 Browne op.cit. p. 363
- 16 Lamartine op.cit. p.80
- 17 Warburton op.cit. p.233
- 18 W.G.Bartlett - Walks op.cit. p. 57
19. E.Orni & E.Efrat op.cit. p.304
- 20 Geike op.cit. p. 125
- 21 Ibid. p.126
- 22 Ibid. p. 127
- 23 Bordeaux Pilgrim in Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem p.14
- 24 Antoninus Martyr op.cit. p. 22
- 25 E.Orni & E.Efrat op.cit. p.303
- 26 Mukaddasi op.cit. p.35
- 27 Ibid. p. 49
- 28 Ibid. p.30

- 29 E.Orni & E.Efrat op.cit. p. 303
 30 Poggibonsi op.cit. p.10
 31 Suriano op.cit.p. 40
 32 Fabri op.cit. p. 541; Browne op.cit. p. 363
 33 Antoninus Martyr op.cit. p. 14; Nasir op.cit. p.23,53
 Daniel op.cit. p. 26
 34 Fabri op.cit. p. 541
 35 Suriano op.cit. p. 35
 36 Browne op.cit. p.363
 37 Bartlett - Walks op.cit. p. 96-7
 38 Bordeaux pilgrim op.cit. p.16
 39 Mukaddasi op.cit. p. 36; Fabri op.cit. p. 394
 40 Mukaddasi op.cit. p. 36
 41 Ibid. p.36
 42 Fabri op.cit. p. 394
 43 Lamartine op.cit. p. 87
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 45 Suriano op.cit. p. 113
 46 Anton. Martyr op.cit. p.22
 47 Theodorich op.cit. p.44
~~Daniel~~
 48 Daniel op.cit. p.26
 49 Suriano op.cit. p.40
 50 Arculfus op.cit. p. 28
 51 Mukaddasi op.cit. p. 49
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 53 Bartlett - Walks op.cit. p. 33;57;106;117
 54 G.A.Smith op.cit. p.314
 55 Heyd op.cit. p.
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 57 Suriano op.cit. p.221
 58 Mukaddasi op.cit.
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 60 L.Burckhardt op.cit. p.
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 62 G.A.Smith op.cit.p.9-10; See also G.A.Smith - Historical
 Geography of the Holy Land. London 1896 (4th. ed.) Ch.XV
 63 W.M.Thomson - The Land and the Book. London 1885 p.630

Chapter 9

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 city and Jerusalem see writer's M.Sc(Econ) dissertation
 op.cit. p. 86
 2 M.Avi-Yonah op.cit. p.113
 3 Ibid. p. 114
 4 Ibid. p.159
 5 G.Le Strange op.cit. p.26
 6 M.Avi-Yonah op.cit. p.122
 7 Mukaddasi op.cit. p.11; Nasir op.cit. p. 21

- 8 Mukaddasi op.cit. p.34
- 9 C.M.Watson op.cit. p.179
- 10 N.Ziadeh op.cit. p.13
- 11 E.Lewis op.cit. p.5
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 U.Heyd op.cit. p.117
- 14 Ibid p.55
- 15 Volney op.cit. p.304
- 16 A.L.Tibawi - Jerusalem: its place in Arab History and Islam. Beirut 1969
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 See Burckhardt op.cit. p.387
- 19 Maundrell op.cit. p.105
- 20 Lees op.cit. p.180
- 21 A.L.Tibawi op.cit. p.22

Chapter 10

- 1 See H.Vincent & F.M.Abel - Jerusalem Nouvelle p.3-3 and Planche 1
- 2 K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.188-9
- 3 SEE Germer Durand in R.B. Vol. I 1892
- 4 Archaeological work under the present Old City is of course spasmodic and restricted.
- 5 K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.191
- 6 M.Avi-Yonah op.cit. p.218
- 7 Bordeaux Pilgrim op.cit. (PPT) See also Hamilton PEQ 1952 p.85
- 8 K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.192
- 9 Pointed out by the Bordeaux Pilgrim
- 10 K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.192. This site is now incorporated in the Armenian compound buildings.
- 11 See Hamilton op.cit. who identifies many of the Bordeaux Pilgrims places
- 12 H.Vincent & F.M.Abel op.cit. Pl.1
- 13 Heichelheim gives his estimate in his work An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV p.159
- 14 D.Rops - Daily Life in Palestine p.89
- 15 C.Clermont-Ganneau in PEQ 1898
- 16 C.Germer-Durand R.B. Vol.I 1892 p.373
- 17 C.F.Pfeiffer - Jerusalem through the Ages. Grand Rapids 1967 p.52
- 18 E.Moore op.cit. p.
- 19 M.Avi-Yonah in Eretz Israel Vol. 2 p.146
- 20 Bordeaux Pilgrim in PPT op.cit.
- 21 Paula & Eustochium in PPT 1889
- 22 Eusebius notes this
- 23 Theodorus op.cit. p.21
- 24 B.P. Mansourov & V.N.Khitrovo - The Threshold of the Judgement Gate on the place of the Russian Excavations. Jerusalem 1964.

- 25 H.Vincent & F.M.Abel op.cit. Pl.1
- 26 K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.190
- 27 ST.Sylvia of Aquitania PPP 15-19 p. 76
- 28 Eucherius op.cit. p.17
- 29 Cyril Scythopolis quoted in E.Moore op.cit. p.6
- 30 Antoninus Martyr op.cit.
- 31 Theodorus op.cit. p.21
- 32 E.Moore op.cit. p.7
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid. p.9
- 35 e.g.Survey of Palestine 1:2,500 1936 Jerusalem: the Old City.
- 36 L.Mumford - The City in History London 1961 p.240-241
- 37 The date of the arch has not been finally proved but it is certainly pre-Arab.
- 38 H.Vincent & F.M.Abel op.cit. Pl.1
- 39 IN Gerasa the old booths are still visible.
- 40 Eucherius op.cit. p.10
- 41 Josephus - Wars 3.3
- 42 Bordeaux Pilgrim p.16; Antoninus Martyr op.cit. p.22
- 43 Anton. Martyr op.cit. p.14
- 44 M.Avi-Yonah - The Holy Land op.cit. p.195
- 45 Ibid p.192
- 46 M.Avi-Yonah - Eretz Israel Vol. 2 op.cit.
- 47 K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.192
- 48 Eucherius op.cit. p.17
- 49 Antoninus Martyr op.cit. p.14
- 50 H.Vincent & F.M.Abel op.cit.; K.M.Kenyon op.cit. p.194
- 51 G.Le Strange op.cit. p.88
- 52 Besant & Palmer op.cit. p.140
- 53 Benjamin of Tudela op.cit. p. 83 Watson op.cit. p.143
- 54 These were highly stylised in form.
- 55 Benjamin of Tudela op.cit.
- 56 Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan - Census of Population & Housing 1961
- 57 J.Prawer in Ariel 19 1967
- 58 Burchard op.cit. p.66
- 59 Frescobaldi op.cit. p.127
- 60 N.Ziadeh op.cit. p.96-7
- 61 Lapidus op.cit. p.79
- 62 ~~62~~ Sigoli op.cit. p.179
- 63 Arculfus in Survey of Western Palestine op.cit. p.23
- 64 Willibald in Survey of Western Palestine:Jerusalem op.cit. p. 30
- 65 Bernard the Wise op.cit. p.32
- 66 Mukaddasi op.cit. p.50
- 67 Bernard op.cit. p.31
- 68 Nasir op.cit. 7 in Marmardji op.cit. p.29
- 69 Daniel op.cit. p.10
- 70 Ibid. p.18
- 71 Saewulf op.cit. p.35
- 72 Ibid. p.38; Theodorich op.cit. p.16

- 73 Theodorich p.42
74. Ibid p.22
- 75 Ibid. p.43
- 76 Besant & Palmer op.cit. p.274
- 77 Saewulf op.cit. p.37
- 78 E.Moore op.cit. p.50
- 79 Citez op.cit. p.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 See map of 1187 and Survey of Western Palestine p.383
- 85 Frescobaldi op.cit. p.14
- 86 Ibid p.71
- 87 Fabri op.cit. p.286,394
- 88 Suriano op.cit. p.9
- 89 Ibid. p.118
- 90 Mukaddasi op.cit. p.39
- 91 Ibid. p.40
- 92 Ibid. p.40,41
- 93 Fetellus op.cit. p.5
- 94 Burchard op.cit. p.73,4
- 95 See e.g. Poggibonsi p.29
- 96 F.M.Abel in C.R.Ashbee op.cit. 1920-22 p.33
- 97 C.F.Pfeiffer op.cit. p.70
- 98 Citez op.cit. p.17
- 99 Fabri op.cit. p.463
- 100 Citez op.cit. p.19
- 101 At about the place of the present one.
- 102 Citez op.cit.
- 103 This applies in the long run to Middle East cities as well as American and European ones.
- 104 Bernard op.cit.
- 105 Bernard op.cit. p,31
- 106 op.cit. p.35
- 107 op. cit. p.22
- 108 Citez op.cit. p.6
- 109 Daniel op.cit. p. 17
- 110 Citez op.cit.
- 111 Ibid and Conder's footnote(p.6)
- 112 Ibid
- 113 Ibid
- 114 Ibid
- 115 op.cit. p.106
- 116 op.cit. p.180
- 117 Benjamin of Tudela p. 83
- 118 Citez op.cit.
- 119 Frescobaldi op.cit. p.128
- 120 Suriano op.cit. p.110
- 121 M.Avnimelech op.cit.
- 122 Arculfus op.cit. p.28
- 123 Bede op.cit. p.73,4

- 124 Mukaddasi op.cit. p.49
 125 Beaant & Palmer op.cit. p.222
 126 Theodorich op.cit. p. 3
 127 Joannes Phocas op.cit. p.23
 128 Ibid
 129 Theodorich op.cit. p.24
 130 Joannes Phocas op.cit. p. 30
 131 Ludolph von Suchem op.cit. Anonymous Pilgrim IV PPT;
 Burchard op.cit.
 132 op.cit. p.8,11,12
 133 See R.Rohricht in ZDPV 1901
 134 op.cit. p. 394
 135 Ibid. p.526
 136 Ibid. p.24
 137 Suriano p. 113
 138 Ibid.
 139 op.cit. p.22
 140 John of Wurtzburg op.cit. p.22
 141 Ibid. p.24
 142 Benjamin of Tudela op.cit. p. 84
 143 Joannes Phocas op.cit. p.22
 144 Anon Pilgrim I PPT p.10
 145 Citez op.cit. p.27
 146 Burchard op.cit. p.64
 147 Joannes Phocas p.16
 148 Anonymous Guide Book PPT p.28
 149 Joannes Phocas op.cit. p.11
 150 Fabrū op.cit. p.482
 151 Suriano op.cit. p.120
 152 Frecobaldi op.cit. p.127

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- 1 H.M.Z.Meyer - Ancient Maps of the Holy Land. Jerusalem
 1965. p.12
 2 Amico op.cit. p.7 (opposite)
 3 For many of these maps see Z.Vilnay - The Holy Land in
 Old Prints and Maps. Jerusalem 1965 (English edition)
 44 Ibid. ~~xxxix~~ Also Z.Vilnay - Ha'ir Ha'ataikah op.cit. p.210
 5 Vilnay op.cit. p.209
 6 Maundrell op.cit. p.135
 7 See writer's paper in Cartographic Jnl. op.cit.
 8 There is much conflict over the actual figures since all
 estimates are estimates only, but 10-15,000 seems to be
 the general consensus for about 1800.
 9 Browne op.cit. p.364 ; Conder op.cit. p.211. See also
~~ix~~ E.Robinson op.cit.
 10 C.R.Conder op.cit. p. 324
 11 Robinson op.cit. p.266
 12 Baedeker op.cit. 1882

- 13 Its low elevation with respect to the road may have caused many to overlook it.
- 14 Maundrell op.cit. p.94
- 15 Browne op.cit. p.361
- 16 Madden op.cit. p.338
- 17 Lamartine op.cit. p.80
- 18 Maundrell op.cit. p.105
- 19 Maundrell p. 140
- 20 W.M.Thomson - The Land and the Book. London 1885 opp. p.630
- 21 J.Jahshan - The West Bank of Jordan. Jerusalem 1964 p.45
- 22 Amico op.cit. p.
- 23 Murray's Handbook op.cit. p. 98
- 24 see e.g. Madden op.cit. p.328
- 25 ~~Browne op.cit. p.361~~ W.Bartlett - Jerusalem Revisited
- 26 op.cit. p.85
- 26 Browne op.cit. p.361
- 27 Many of the khans were of secular use.
- 28 Baedeker 1882 c.f. Baedeker 1912
- 29 See explorations in Survey of Western Palestine:Jerusalem op.cit. Also Hanauer op.cit.
- 30 R.A.Skelton - Decorative Printed Maps. London 1952 p.1
- 31 Warburton op.cit. p. 239
- 32 Bartlett op.cit. p Jerusalem Revisited
- 33 Conder op.cit. p. 314,317
- 34 Maundrell op cit. p. 100
- 35 C.R.Ashbee op.cit. p.26
- 36 Geike op.cit. p.450
- 37 Ibid. p.254-5
- 38 Maundrell op.cit. p.137
- 39 Maundrell op.cit. p.144
- 40 Warren & Conder - Survey of Western Palestine op.cit. p. 232; Wilson & Warren op.cit. p. 306
- 41 Bartlett op.cit. Jerusalem Revisited p. 92
- 42 Maundrell op.cit. p.135
- 43 Maundrell op.cit. p.142
- 44 Lamartine op cit. p. 80,87
- 45 Warburton op.cit. p.235
- 46 Warburton op.cit. p.233
- 47 Warren & Conder op.cit. p. 254
- 48 Viñay op.cit. The Holy Land in Prints & Maps.
- 49 Thomson op.cit. p. 169
- 50 Geike op.cit. p. 492
- 51 Ibid. p. 497
- 52 See also the maps e.g.that of Pierotti
- 53 Maundrell op.cit. p.92
- 54 Ibid. p.145
- 55 Ibid. p.105
- 56 Lamartine op.cit. p.87
- 57 Madden op.cit. p.344

58 Pierotti's map of Jerusalem shows this.

Chapter 12

1. E?Moore op.cit.
- 2 D.Sopher op.cit. p.27-8
- 3 Ibid. p. 28
- 4 Hoade op.cit. p. 30-32
- 5 See Baedeker op.cit. 1912 p.39ff
- 6 Only used sparingly
- 7 See Besant & Palmer p.63ff for basi data on the building of the original basilica
- 8 G.Le Strange op.cit. p.202ff
- 9 Jahshan op.cit. p.33
- 10 Besant & Palmer op.cit. p. 434ff
- 11 For details see E.Moore op.cit.
- 12 E?Moore op.cit. p. 113
- 13 Ibid. p. 114
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 J.Brown PH.D. Durham 1965 p.246
- 16 D.Sopher op.cit. p. 27-8
- 17 H.Lewis - The Holy Places of Jerusalem.
- 18 A.Aref in Aræel 23 1969 p.34
- 19 ~~xxxx~~A.Aref - The Dome of the Rock op.cit. p.14
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid. p.17
- 22 Ibid p.46
- 23 G.Le Strange op.cit. p.90
- 24 Ariel 23 1969 p.37
- 25 Le Strange op.cit. p.91; Aref op.cit. p.55
- 26 Le Strange op.cit. p. 92-3
- 27 A.Tritton op.cit.
- 28 A.L.Tibawi op.cit. p.16ff
- 29 E.Robinson op.cit. p.237
- 30 A.L.Tibawi op.cit.
- 31 E.Hoade op.cit. p.76
- 32 E.Moore op.cit. p.115
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Baedeker op.cit. 1912 p.78
- 35 Z.Vilnay HaIr HaAtaikah op.cit.
- 36 T.Canaan op.cit.
- 37 No doubt the origin of many of the existing ones.
- 38 See J.Wilkinson - The Stations pf the Cross in Jerusalem. Jerusalem 1963 p.20-26
- 39 Ibid. p.29
- 40 Ibid. p.28

Chapter 13

- 1 See Z.Vilnay - Yerushalaim HaIr HaAtikah, Ch.1 for a good brief description in Hebrew of the quarters.
- 2 Especially in the Middle Ages in Europe.
- 3 M.I.Dimony - Jews, God and History. New York 1962 p.247
- 4 Ekistics Oct. 1969
- 5 G.Baer op.cit. p.189
- 6 A.L.Tibawi op.cit.
- 7 R.B.Betts Ph.D. American Univ. 1968 p.7
- 8 A.H.Hourani - Minorities in the Arab World. 1952
- 9 Mukaddasi op.cit. in Marmardjā p. 28
- 10 Colbi op.cit. p.20
- 11 Other motives (see below) may have also contributed to this location.
- 12 See Benjamin of Tudela op.cit. p.83
- 13 Citez op.cit. p.7,18
- 14 F.M.Abel op.cit.
- 15 Frequently commented on
- 16 F.M.Abel op.cit. p.36
- 17 Citex op.cit. p.25
- 18 F.M.Abel op.cit. p.36
- 19 No doubt not a strict division.
- 20 F.M.Abel op.cit.
- 21 N.Ziadeh op.cit. p.82
- 22 Colbi op.cit. p.33
- 23 Ibid. p.34
- 24 Z.Vilnay -Jerushalaim HaIr HaAtikah op.cit. p.44
- 25 Compare Aleppo or Damascus
- 26 G.Williams - The Holy City. London 1845 Vol.I p. 157
- 27 Suriano op cit. p.84-88
- 28 Ibid. p.91
- 30 R.B.Betts op.cit. p.13-15
- 31 Declining numbers of course helped this
- 32 See Suriano op.cit. introductory notes
- 33 Maundrell op. cit.
- 34 Anonymous Letters from Jerusalem. 1819 p.101
- 35 Maundrell op.cit. p.90
- 36 Robinson op.cit.
- 37 Ibid. p.421
- 38 Ibid. p.425
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 S.Perowne - Jerusalem & Bethlehem London 1965 p.43
- 41 R.B.Betts op.cit. p.104
- 42 G.Baer op.cit. p.190-1
- 43 ~~Ex~~ J.Brown op.cit.
- 44 See J.Parkes op.cit.
- 45 Benjamin of Tudela op.cit.
- 46 See for instance Isfahan, Mecca and the Jewish ghettos of eastern Europe.
- 47 C.Wilson - The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem London 1865
- 48

- 48 With for instance a high proportion of shops. Mukaddasi recognised this.
- 49 R.B.Betts op.cit. p.122
- 50 See K.M.Kenyon op.cit. and Rops op.cit.
- 51 Z.Vilnay op.cit. p.42-3
- 52 Citez op.cit. p.25
- 53 Jowett op.cit. p.432
- 54 Murray's Handbook op.cit. p.173
- 55 See Chapter 4
- 56 G.Williams op.cit. VolIII p.560
- 57 External appearances can be deceptive in the east, though
- 58 U.Heyd op.cit. p.170
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 B.Lewis op.cit. p.7-9
- 61 G.Williams op.cit. Vol.I p. 157
- 62 C.Wilson op.cit. p.9
- 63 W.B.Fisher - The Middle East. London 1963 (5th.ed.) p.111-2
- 64 A.S.Atiyeh op.cit. p.392-3
- 65 La Mediterranee et le Moyen Orient II p.330 Paris 1956
- 66 ~~See~~ Many examples can be given. See particularly the fine study by J.Weulersse - Le Pays des Alouites. ~~Paris~~ Tours 1940
- 67 See above Chapter 4
- 68 See Dimont op.cit.
- 69 Included in C.Wilson op.cit.
- 70 A natural process perhaps, see e.g. the 'Harlem' and 'Spanish town' districts of New York and other immigrant cities.
- 71 J.Boskin - Ekistics Sept. 1969
- 72 D.T.Herbert in U.S. Feb. 1967
- 73 See for instance Damascus and Mecca
- 74 R.B.Betts op.cit. p.104
- 75 Z.Vilnay op.cit. p.44 (my own translation)
- 76 ANON Letters op.cit. p.104,144-5
- 77 C.Ritter op.cit. p.58
- 78 Ariel 19 p.53
- 79 ANON Letters op.cit. p.101
- 80 Doxiadis op.cit. and Ekistics. London 1968
- 81 G.Baer op.cit. p.191
- 82 J.Burckhardt op.cit. p.324
- 83 Many live inside the convent compounds as 'servants' and other workers.
- 84 Robinson op.cit. p.423
- 85 R.B.Betts op.cit. p.112
- 86 Supplied by the Survey of Israel.
- 87 C.R.Ashbee op.cit.
- 88 G.Baer op.cit. p.189
- 89 Ibid. p.191
- 90 A.Rappoport in Area 1969/3
- 91 E.N.Bacon - Design of Cities p.84
- 92 G.Baer op.cit. p.193
- 93 G.Baer op.cit. p.191

- 94 Mainly noticable in the larger cities. See also J.Brown op.cit. and J.Weulersse op.cit.
- 95 Z.Vilnay in Ariel 23 1969 p.53
- 96 Suriano op.cit. p.1097
- 97 Many of Jerusalem's streets are called 'Harat'
- 98 See air photograph or Survey of Palestine 1:2,500 map. Also ~~Израиль~~ I.A.Abbady in Ariel 23 1969
- 99 ~~Area of the city~~ Area op.cit.
- 100 This another typical feature of Middle East older cities.
- 101 See Aref op.cit. and Le Strange op.cit. p.89ff
- 102 There is no strict parochial division in Islamic organisation in Jerusalem.
- 103 See Abbady op.cit.
- 104 The communities obtained millet status gradually with the Greeks first and the others acquiring it over a period of time as a result of bargaining.
- 105 G.Baer op.cit. p.190
- 106 A?Rapoport op.cit.
- 107 For instance the old Serai now industrial school.
- 108 W.B.Fisher op.cit. p. 132
- 109 J.I.Clarke - The Iranian City of Shiraz. Durham p. 17,22
- 110 W.B.Fisher op.cit. p.132
- 111 J.I.Clarke op.cit. p.50
- 112 S.Abdul-Hak - Aspects de l'Ancienne Damas. Damascus n.d. p. 34
- 113 And other services such as education
- 114 Abbady in Ariel op,cit.
- 115 C.F.Volney op.cit. p.306-7
- 116 Abbady op.cit.
- 117 Hasselquist op.cit. p.124 .
- 118 V.Cuinet - Syria, Liban et Palestine: Geographie Administrative. Paris 1896 p.516 See also by comparison A.R.Hamide - La Ville d'Alep. Etude de Geographie Urbaine. Paris 1961
- 119 But shared by other Palestinian cities
- 120 G.Sjoberg - The Preindustrial City: Past and Present. Illinois 1960 p.100
- 121 Observed by some medieval visitors.
- 122 M.R.Spiegel - Theory and Problems of Statistics. p.245
- 123 Z.Vilnay - Yerushalaim HaIr HaAtikah op cit. p.38
- 124 See S.Perowne op.cit.

Chapter 14

- 1 See e.g. D.Thorpe - The Geographer and Urban Studies, Durham. 1966 p.13
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 See R.Estall & R.O.Buchanan - Industrial Activity and Economic Geography. London 1961
- 4 G.Baer op.cit.

- 5 Poggibonsi op.cit. p.77
- 6 J.Goitein op.cit. p.84
- 7 H.Vincent & F.M.Abel op.cit.
- 8 S.Abdul-Hak op.cit. p.11
- 9 Where is was at the southern end.
- 10 With adjacent church buildings
- 11 Citez op.cit.
- 12 See Abel in C.R.Ashbee op.cit.
- 13 Ernoul ~~ix~~ (own translation)
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 William of Tyre (own translation)
- 16 Hanauer op.cit. p.243
- 17 Robinson op.cit. p. 427
- 18 Geike op.cit. p.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 C.R.COnder - Tent Work in Palestine op.cit. p.314
- 21 Russell op.cit. p.264
- 22 N.B. Gerasa
- 23 See Lées op.cit.
- 24 Marmardji op.cit. p.35 (own translation)
- 25 See above
- 26 C.R.COnder op.cit. p.317
- 27 Of course the total possible length of development can make this method unreliable
- 28 Geike p. 419
- 29 W.B.Fisher op.cit. p.132
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Marmardji op.cit. p. 29 (pwn translation)
- 32 Geike op.cit. p.454-5
- 33 See plates in Vol. II
- 34 Geike op.cit.
- 35 C.Schick PEQ 1889
- 36 i.e. as a commercial khan
- 37 It was probably too large to be economical
- 38 See Russell op.cit.
- 39 See Le Strange op. cit. & W.B.Fisher op.cit. p.126
- 40 i.e. retailer is normally also either maunfacturer or at least wholesaler and deals direct, often via family channels.
- 41 See Wilson's O.S. map
- 42 Ibid. and text
- 43 Maundrell op.cit. p.144
- 44 Citez op.cit.
- 45 COnder op.cit.

Chapter 15

- 1 Especially the Damascus and Jaffagates and the main holy sites.
- 2 P.Abercrombie - Town and Country Planning. London 1933 p.38

- 3 See Vincent & Abel op.cit.
 - 4 H.Kendall - Jerusalem City Plan. London 1948
 - 5 Ibid. and C.R.Ashbee op.cit. 1918-20 p.v
 - 6 Ibid. p.vff
 - 7 See Kendall op.cit. & Ashbee op.cit.
 - 8 C.R.Ashbee op.cit. p.12
 - 9 Kendall op.cit. & Ashbee op.cit.
 - 10 It acknowledged the importance of relief.
 - 11 See Kendall op.cit.
 - 12 C.R.Ashbee op.cit. p.26ff
 - 13 Ibid. p.19
 - 14 Ibid.
 - 15 Ibid.
 - 16 op.cit.
 - 17 E.Orni & E.Efrat op.cit. p.250
 - 18 H.Kendall op.cit.
 - 19 See photographic plates in C.R.Ashbee op.cit. 1918-20 and 1020-22
 - 20 Ibid
 - 21 H.Kendall op.cit.
 - 22 Ibid.
 - 23 Ibid.
 - 24 E.Efrat - Israel Physical Master Plan op.cit.
 - 25 See ~~E~~Efrat- Yerishalaim ve HaPerutzdor Jerusalem 1967
 - 26 Ibid.
 - 27 Not a problem unique to Jerusalem by any means
 - 28 op.cit.
 - 29 Very valuable land use and perhaps not mentioned enough in this thesis.
- 30

Chapter 16

- 1 M.Avi-Yonah op.cit. p.194-5
- 2 For instance the large amount of land which was taken up by the Russian Compound
- 3 See Hayter Lewis op.cit. and S.M.Houghton op.cit,
- 4 Z.Vilnay op.cit. ~~Chixxandixkixxix~~ Ariel 23.
- 5 Z.Vilnay - Yerushalaim HaIr ~~Maixixkixxixixixix~~ HaHadashah Jerusalem 1960 p.121
- 6 See above
- 7 See S.Perowne op.cit.
- 8 Les Peuples et les Civilisations du Proche Orient Paris
- 9 W.B.F.sher op.cit. p.114-5
- 10 See Orni & Efrat op.cit.
- 11 As indicated in the last chapter
- 12 N.Ziadeh op.cit. p.69
- 13 Poetic phrases must be taken in context
- 14 op.cit. p.247

- 15 W.B.Fisher op.cit. p.443
- 16 G.B.Cressey - Crossroads: Land and Life in Southwest Asia. New York 1060 p.246
- 17 G.A.Smith - Historical Geography of th Holy p.320
- 18 E.Orni & E.Efrat op.cit.
- 19 See Cressey above
- 20 Mukaddasi op.cit. (Le Strange's translation)
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Water supply was always vital in the Hill Country
- 23 So G.A.Smith
- 24 G.E.Kirk op.cit. p.59
- 25 G.Le Strange op.cit. p.101
- 26 Ibid. p.161-3
- 27 M.Avi-Yonah op.cit. p. 195
- 28 See Murray's Guide op.cit. & Baedeker 1912 op. cit.
- 29 Usually the largest building or perhaps sharing this honour with the citadel
- 30 See above
- 31 Boulos op.cit.

Abbreviations used in Footnotes

G.J.	Geographical Journal
E.G.	Economic Geography
Geogy	Geography
P.E.Q.	Palestine Exploration Quartery (formerly the Qtly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund)
J.P.O.S.	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
I.E.S.	Israel Exploration Society Jnl.
J.D.A.P.	Journal of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
Z.D.P.V.	Zeitschrift des Deutsche Palestina-Vereins.
PPT	Palestine Pilgrim Texts (Issued as a periodical in the last century)
R.B.	Review Biblique
B.A.S.O.R.	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research

Most pilgrim and travel texts are taken from the PPT series or (if stated) from Marmardji - Textes Geographiques Arabes or the Jerusalem Volume of the Survey of Western Palestine or Wright's Early Travels.

APPENDIX I : SOURCES

The following are the travellers, pilgrims, etc. and anonymous documents, which have been used as literary sources in this thesis.

A.D.	c.70	Flavius Josephus
	c.333	Bordeaux Pilgrim
	333-90	Eusibius
	386	Paula & Eustochium
	390 390	St. Silvia of Aquitania
	440	Eucherius
	530	Theodosius
	560	Procopius
	570	Antoninus Martyr
	670	Arculfus
	720	Bede
	725	St. Willibald
	808	Commematorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis
	9th. C.	Ibn Khurdadbih
	840	Epiphanius
	865	Bernardus Monarchus
	c.880	Kudamah
	891	Al Yakubi
	c.943	Mas'udi
	951	Al-Istakhri
	977	Ibn Haukal
	985	Al-Mukaddasi
	1047	Nasir-i-Khusrau
	1102	Saewulf
	1106	Abbot Daniel
	1140	William of Malmesbury
	1150	De Situ Urbis Jerusalem
	1153	Al-Idrisi
	1165	John of Wurtzburg
	c.1170	Benjamin of Tudela
	1172	Theodoricus
	1178	Abbess Euphrosyne
	c.1173	Ali of Herat
	1177	Joannes Phocas
	1180	Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides)
	1184	William of Tyre
	c.1187	L'Estat de la Citezde Jherusalem (& reprints)
	1199	Michael the Syrian
	1225	Yakut
	1231	Ernoul
	1240	Jacques de Vitry
	1250	Matthew Paris
	1265	Les chemins et les pelerinages de la Terre Sainte
	1283	Burchard of Mount Sion
	1310	Marino Sanuto
	1320	Abu al-Bida

1326	Ibn Batutah
1327	Al-Dimaski
1335	Jacob of Verona
1336	Ludolph von Suchem
1336	John Maundeville
1346	Niccolo of Poggibonsi
1351	Jamal ad-Din Ahmad (Muthir al-Ghiram)
1384	Leonardo Frescobaldi
1384	Giorgio Gucci
1384	Simone Sigoli
1389	Ignatius of Smolensk
1392	Thomas Brygg (Thomas)
1395	D'Anglure
1400	Grethenias
1415	Epiphanius
1418	Nampar de Caumont
1419	Zosime
1422	John Poloner
1427	Khalil el-Dhakhari
1435	Ibn Zahiri
1458	William Wey
1465	Basil the Merchant
1480	Felix Fabri
1483	Bernard von Breitenbach
1485-1524	Francesco Suriano
1494	Mejir ed-Din
1515	Informatym for pylgrymes unto the Holy Lande
1525	Jan Goverts
1533	Graffin Affagart
1536	Charles Philippe
1549	Antoine Regnault
1553	John Lock
1555	Boniface of Ragusa
1556	Hans von Ehrenberg
1558	Basil Posniakov
1561	David von Furtenbach
1565	Petrus Villinger
1579	Carlier de Pinon
1584	Christian von Adrichom
1586	Johann Zuallart
1590	Edward Webbe
1596	Bernardino Amico
1596	Johann von Kootwyck
1598	Christopher Harant
1602	John Sanderson
1601	Henry Timberlake
1608	Johannes Wild
1610	George Sandys
1619	Joanne Cotovico
1632	Eugene Roget
1638	Archange de Clairmont
1650	Thomas Fuller
1652	Jean Doubdan

1658	Thevenot
1674	R.P.Nau
1675	Cornelius Le Bruyn
1697	Henry Henry Maundrell
1699	Felix Beaugrand
1699	Louis Chevalier
1722	Thomas Shaw
1731	Ladocie
1731	Tollot
1738	John Korte
1738	Richard Pococke
1750	Frederic Hasselquist
1750	J.B.Laiblich
1766	Carsten Niebuhr
1792	W.G.Browne
1801	E.D.Clarke
1803	Ali Bey al-Abassi
1806	F.A. de Chateaubriand
1806	U.J.Seetzen
1810	J.L.Burckhardt
1814	Henry Light
1815	William Jowett
1816	J.S.Buckingham
1817	T.R.Jolaffe
1817	C.L.Irby & J.Mangles
1819	W.R.Wilson
1824	R.R.Madden
1827	Sir Moses Montefiore
1828	Comte Leon de Laborde
1828	A.Petrow
1830	M.Russell
1830	J.F.Michaud
1832	C.Callier
1832	A.de Lamartine
1832	Rabbi Joseph Schwarz
1834	W.M.Thomson
1835	A.W.Kinglake
1835	+ Titus Tobler
1838	+ Edward Robinson
1840	Lady Francis Egerton
1841	John Kitto
1841	S.Munk
1842	+ W.H.Bartlett
1843	B.G.Warburton
1843	J.Wilson
1843	G.Williams
1843	E.G.Schultz
1847	J.Fergusson
1848	W.F.Lynch
1848	C.Ritter
1850	A.Salzman
1850	+ F.de Saulcy
1851	C.W.M. Van de Velde

1853	A.P.Staulcy
1853	M.de Vogue
1854	Victor Guerin
1854, 1864-8	E.Pierotti
1854 +	J.L.Porter
1855	S.Braun
1855	J.T.Barclay
1857 +	E.G.Key
1858 +	C.Sandreczki
1862	T.Lewin
1862	A.L.Mansell
1863	H.B.Tristram
1865+	C.Schick
1865 +	C.W.Wilson
1866 +	Mrs. E. Finn
1867 +	C.Clermont-Ganneau
1867 +	C.Warren
1868	Anon - Murray's Handbook (Syria & Palestine)
1870	J.Glaisher
1870 +	H.Kiepert
1870	E.H.Palmer
1871	W.Besant
1871	T.Chaplin
1871	C.F.Tyrwhitt Drake
1872	R.F.Burton
1872 +	C.R.Conder
1872	F.Adler
1873	A Socin
1874	S.Merrill
1875	I.Burton
1875	H.H.Kitchener
1875	E.M. de Vogue
1877 +	W.F.Birch
1885	W.M.Thomson
1891	C.Geike

For the later years many sources were used which are well known including guidebooks such as Baedeker and the Handbook of Euke and Keith-Roach. See also bibliography preceding footnotes.

APPENDIX II : MAIN HOLY SITES

<u>Place</u>	<u>Sect (last)</u>
ABSALOM'S PILLAR	Jews
ACELDAMA	Christians
St.AGNES (Now Mosque Mawaliyeh)	Moslem/Christian
AGONY, Place of	Latin
AL AQSA MOSQUE	Moslem
AL-KANQEH MOSQUE	Moslem
ALL NATIONS CHURCH (See Agony)	
St.ANNE'S CHURCH (Bethesda)	Grk. Cath.
ANTONIA TOWER	Moslem/Christian
ASCENSION PLACE (Now mosque)	Moslem/Christian
St.BASIL CHURCH	Christian
BETHESDA POOL (See St.Anne's)	
CALAPHAS'S HOUSE	Armenian
CALVARY CHAPEL (Inside Holy Sep.)	Christian
St.CATHERINE'S CHURCH	Christian
St. CHARITON	Christian
CHRIST CHURCH	Anglican
CITADEL (Tower of David)	⚡
COENACULUM	Jewish/Moslem/Latin
COMPASS The (Inside Ch. of Holy Sep.)	Christian
DAVID'S TOMB (See Coenaculum)	
St. DIMITRI	Greek Orth.
DOM POLSKI	Latin
DOME OF CHAIN	Moslem
DOME OF ROCK	Moslem
DOMINUS FLEVIT	Latin
DORMITION	Latin
ECCE HOMO CONVENT	Latin
EL-BURAQ (See Wailing Wall)	
St. EUTHYMIUS	Greek Orth.
FLAGELLATION CONVENT	Latin
GARDEN TOMB	Protestant
GETHSEMANE, Garden of	Christian
St.GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL	Anglican
St.GEORGE & St.MICHAEL	Greek
St. GEORGE'S CHURCH	Greek
St.GEORGE in NIKEPHORIA (El Khadr)	Greek
HARAM ESH*SHARIF	Moslem
HOLY SEPULCHRE CHURCH	Christian
HURVA SYNAGOGUE	Jewish (Ashkenazim)

INVENTION OF CROSS CHAPEL	Latin
ISTAMBULIYE SYNAGOGUE	Sephardim
St. JAMES CHURCH (CATHEDRAL)	Armenian
St. JAMES CHURCH	Maronite
St. JAMES CHURCH (Christian St.)	Greek
St. JAMES INTERCISUS	Greek
JOB'S WELL	Christian
St. JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH	Greek
St. JOHN THE EVANGELIST CHURCH	Greek
St. JOHN PRODROMOS (See St. John Baptist)	

KARAITES

KARAITES SYNAGOGUE	Kar.
LAZARUS'S TOMB	Moslem/Christian
St. LAZARUS'S CHURCH	Latin
St. LOUIS HOSPICE	Latin
St. MARK'S CONVENT & CHURCH	Syrian
St. MARTIN'S CHURCH	Greek
St. MARY MAGDALENE CHURCH (Holy Sep.)	Latin
St. MARY MAGDALENE CHURCH (Olivet)	Russian
St. MARY MAGDALENE CHURCH (Now School)	Moslem/Christian
St. MARY THE EGYPTIAN	Christian
St. MARY THE VIRGIN	Christian
St. MARY of the GERMANS	Latin
St. MARY QARA	Christian
St. MENA'S CHURCH (Ch. of Lady Bassa)	Armenian
St. MICHAEL	Greek
St. NIGGOLA	Christian
NOTRE DAME DE FRANCE	Latin
OMAR; Mosque of	Moslem
St. PETER IN GALLICANTU	Latin
PATERNOSTER CHURCH	Latin
St. POLYEUCHT	Greek
PRISON of CHRIST (In Holy Sep.)	Greek
PRISON OF CHRIST (Via Dolorosa)	Moslem
REDEEMER; Church of (Erloserkirche)	Lutheran
RUSSIAN EXCAVATIONS	Russian
St. SABA	Greek
St. SALVATOR	Latin
St. Sca...	

St.SERAPEON	Greek
SEYDNAYA St.ANNE	Greek
SILOAM POOL	Christian
SISTERS OF SION (See Ecce Homo)	
St.STEPHEN'S CHURCH	Latin
St. THEODORE	Greek
St. THOMAS	Christian
TIFERET ISRAEL SYNAGOGUE	Sephardim
TOMBS OF KINGS	Moslem/Christian/Jewish
TOMB OF ZACHARIAS	Jewish
TOMB OF VIRGIN	Greek & Armenian
TOWER OF DAVID (See Citadel)	
St.VERONICA'S CHURCH	Latin (Grk Cath.)
VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN	Christian
VIRI GALILAEI	Latin
WAILING WALL (EL-Buraq; Western Wall)	Jewish & Moslem
WESTERN WALL (See above)	

The above are the main sites although some smaller buildings of congregational interest only have been omitted. Under ownership and use, the first name is that of present custodians. If other groups have had an interest in the past they follow after a stroke thus: / . If ownership is shared then the word 'and' is used. Open places such as the Virgin's Fountain are named after the prime users. If a building or site is used generally by a group or its sectarian ownership is unknown in the case of a buildings no longer found, then the name of the main religion is used. So 'Christian' is used for the Holy Sepulchre but Latin, Greek, etc. for their specific shrines. For further details see Hayter Lewis of Kopp or the current Baedecker.

APPENDIX III : WEIGHTS & MEASURES

Bezant: 4.48 gms of fine gold
Dinar: 4.25 " " " "
Dirham: 2.81 gms of silver (8th. Century)
3.11-3.13 gms (10th-11th. Centuries)
(10d. Sterling in 19th. Century)

Venetian Penny: equivalent of denarii = dinar
Venetian grosso: 2.18 gms. of silver
Florin (Florence): 3.536 gms. of gold
Ducat (Venice): 3.559 gms of gold
Sequin: equivalent of Ducat

Ratl (Syrian): 6lbs weight

Kist: $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints

Dhira = Ell = 18 inches (Royal Ell) or 27 inches (Workmans' Ell)

Sources: M.M.Poston, E.E.Rich & E.Miller - Cambridge Economic
History of Europe. Cambridge, 1963 p.597ff.

G.Le Strange - Palestine under the Moslems. Beirut
1965 (Reprint) especially pp.50-51

APPENDIX IV : NOTE ON REPORT ON TOURISM IN JERUSALEM

During the Easter period of 1968, the writer undertook field research on the tourist/pilgrim trade of Jerusalem in which the Ministry of Tourism, Israel were interested. A report was prepared early in 1969 (Reported in 'The Times' Sept. 19th. 1969). Since many Arab personnel interested in tourism were reluctant to give information, the report is not very complete; however some useful data, particularly on expenditure and activities, was obtained as a result of questionnaires to ~~xxx~~ tourists and holy site keepers. The hospices and hotels were also issued with questionnaires but results were mixed and little was obtained from shopkeepers except for the kind assistance of Mr. John Shahin of the Baptist Book Shop.

Much of the important data obtained and included in the report has been used in the main body of the thesis, but it might be useful to include here some statistical data. This is of the modern city and therefore ~~strictly~~ strictly speaking outside the range of the thesis but it has been referred to since data is so lacking for earlier periods.

Tourist Expenditure in Israel (p.5 of report)

Total Expenses	£100
Travel to Israel	£50
Expenditure of hotels in Israel	£30
Expend. on souvenirs in Israel	£15
Expend. of internal travel	£3
Expend. on guides	£2
Expend. on admission to holy sites	negligible

N.B. These are typical figures for a package tour from U.K. and are rounded off. They are given in £ Sterling. Although the figures refer to the whole of Israel, the average length of stay in Jerusalem is about half of the time, since many other places (such as Hebron) are visited from a hotel base in Jerusalem. Nearly all tourists questioned bought most of their souvenirs in Jerusalem.

TABLE 1

JORDAN - TOURIST BASED INDUSTRIES

<u>Town</u>	<u>Hotels</u>	<u>Money Changers</u>	<u>Guides</u>	<u>Tourist Agencies</u>
Jerusalem	33	20 *	150	33
Amman	5	17 *	0	8
Ramallah	5	3	0	4
Bethlehem	2	2	18	1
Beit Jala	2	0	0	2
Beit Sahur	1	0	0	3
Jericho	2	0	0	0
Nablus	1	2	0	1
Petra	1	0	2	0
Aqaba	3	1	0	0
Qubeibeh	1	0	0	0
Others	0	9	0	0

* = includes airport

Source: Statistical Guide to Jordan 1964

TABLE 2

JORDAN - MAJOR INDUSTRIAL FIRMS

<u>Town</u>	<u>Agriculture Based</u>	<u>Tourist Based</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Amman	22	2	323	367
Jerusalem	3	2	6	11
Nablus	22	0	4	26
Bethlehem	2	6	10	18
Hebron	1	0	7	8
Zerqa	1	0	1	0
Ramallah	2	0	2	4
Beit Sahur	0	7	0	7
Qalandia	0	0	1	1
Irbid	0	0	1	1
Total:	<u>53</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>355</u>	<u>443</u>

N.B.: Jerusalem possesses an overwhelming number of guides and money changers and hotels compared with other towns, but it is interesting that it has fewer tourist based industries (e.g. souvenir manufacture) than Bethlehem and Beit Sahur.

Source: A.T.Dajani - The Industry of Jordan

TABLE 3

GENERAL ACTIVITY OF TOURISTS

Tourist	Length of stay (days)	Payments at Holy Sites £	Expenditure on Souvenirs £	Number in party	Nationality	Religion	If in transit	Motive for visit	No. of HOLY sites visited	Age
1.	14	0	neg £1	1	USA	Pr	yes	R	19	40
2.	8	0	9	2	UK	Co	yes	F	20	25
3.	11	0	145	1	USA	Pb	yes	R/E	31	50
4.	42	0	56	1	NZ	CE	yes	E	28	45
5.	7	0	23	27	UK	Pb	no	R	22	55
6.	7	0	20	27	UK	CE	no	R/E	14	77
7.	7	0	5	27	UK	CE	no	R	32	55
8.	7	0	3	22	UK	CE	no	R	24	55
9.	7	0	0	26	UK	CE	no	R	21*	55
10. x	7	0	-	26	UK	CE	no	R	29	60+
11.	7	0	-	30	UK	Co	no	R	22	-
12.	7	2/6	5	38	UK	CE	no	R	18	60+
13.	7	-	neg	26	UK	CE	no	R	9	45
14.	7	-	15	34	UK	RC	no	T	32	-
15.	7	-	10	32	UK	CE	no	E	32	35
16.	8	0	5	21	UK	CE	no	R/E	23	55
17.	8	0	5	21	UK	CE	no	R/E	23	55
18.	0	0	-	-	UK	CE	yes	R	9	60+
19. #	8	0	10	32	UK	CE	no	R/E	22	35
20.	8	0	40	23	UK	CE	no	R/E	25	60+2
21.	6	0	30	64	UK	CE	no	R	23	55
22.	8	15/-	5	25	UK	CE	no	R/E	18	un-20
23.	3½	8/-	2½	1	AUS	CE	yes	E	13	30
24.	7	0	20	26	UK	CE	no	E	24	60+

* This tourist also attempted to visit 4 other sites but found them closed.

Abbreviations: R = Religious E = Educational
 Co = Congregationalist Pb = Presbyterian
 CE = Church of England RC = Roman Catholic
 Pr = Protestant

TABLE 4 (Extract only) HOTELS & HOSPICES

<u>Hotel/Hospice</u>	<u>Weekly Charge (IL)</u>	<u>Nationality of Guests</u>
St. Georges	FB 18	37 % UK & Eire; 11 % U.S.A. Rest other Commonwealth countries
Christ Church	BB 10 FB 16	95 % UK & USA
Casa Nova	FB 15	mainly European & Commonwealth R.C.
Armenian Cath.	£ 1 per day	50 % Israeli
Lutheran Hos.	BB 10 FB 17	55 % USA.
Sisters of Zion	FB 15	many Israelis. Otherwise mixed
Intercontinental	BB 22	75 % USA
Ritz	BB 20 FB 34	70 % USA
YMCA (Nablus Rd)	BB 24 FB 36	80 % Scandinavian
American Colony	BB 16.5 FB 30	45 % USA; 45 % UK & Eire

The above is an extract only to illustrate the large degree of national & religious concentration in certain hospices and hotels.

TABLE 5 (Extract only) HOTEL & HOSPICE ESTABLISHMENT

<u>Hotel/Hospice</u>	<u>Total Accommodation</u>	<u>Where food Bought</u>	<u>Number of Staff</u>
St. George's	*	Suq	*
Christ Church	47	Suq/Wholesale	9
Casa Nova	200	"	
Lutheran Hos.	26	Suq	7
Sisters of Zion	120	Suq	5
Intercontinental	400	Wholesale	190
Ritz	380	Suq	50
YMCA	105	Suq	50
American Colony	106	'Everywhere'	44

