

PART ONE

Cityscape and History

PART 1 OF THIS STUDY EXAMINES the contribution of archaeology to the evolving understanding of Jerusalem's history and its tangible as well as intangible components. Parts 2 and 3, with their more recent and contemporary focus, will build on this foundation. Respecting the basic concerns of the discipline, especially its juxtaposition of soil, stone, and text, "Cityscape and History" also finds the roots of the stubborn entanglement of material reality, factual events, and storied heritage. It highlights the persistent interplay between archaeological practice and ideology, an increasingly powerful combination in the context of the discipline's evolving institutionalization.

Boundaries, Barriers, Walls

Jerusalem's unique landscape generates a vibrant interplay between natural and built features where continuity and segmentation align with the complexity and volubility that have characterized most of the city's history. The softness of its hilly contours and the harmony of the gentle colors stand in contrast with its boundaries, which serve to define, separate, and segregate buildings, quarters, people, and nations. The Ottoman city walls (see figure 2) separate the old from the new; the Barrier Wall (see figure 3), Israelis from Palestinians.¹ The former serves as a visual reminder of the past, the latter as a concrete expression of the current political conflict. This chapter seeks to examine and better understand the physical realities of the present: how they reflect the past, and how the ancient material remains stimulate memory, conscious knowledge, and unconscious perception. The history of Jerusalem, as it unfolds in its physical forms and multiple temporalities, brings to the surface periods of flourish and decline, of creation and destruction.

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

The topographical features of Jerusalem's Old City have remained relatively constant since antiquity (see figure 4). Other than the Central Valley (from the time of the first-century historian Josephus also known as the Tyropoeon Valley), which has been largely leveled and developed, most of the city's elevations, protrusions, and declivities have maintained their approximate proportions from the time the city was first settled. In contrast, the urban fabric and its boundaries have shifted constantly, adjusting to ever-changing demographic, socioeconomic, and political conditions.²



FIGURE 2. Section of Ottoman city wall, south of the Citadel. Photo by Katharina Galor.



FIGURE 3. The Barrier Wall separating two Jerusalem neighborhoods, French Hill (with mostly Jewish residents) from Issawiya (with exclusively Palestinian residents). Visible here beyond the wall are buildings in Issawiya. Photo by Katharina Galor.

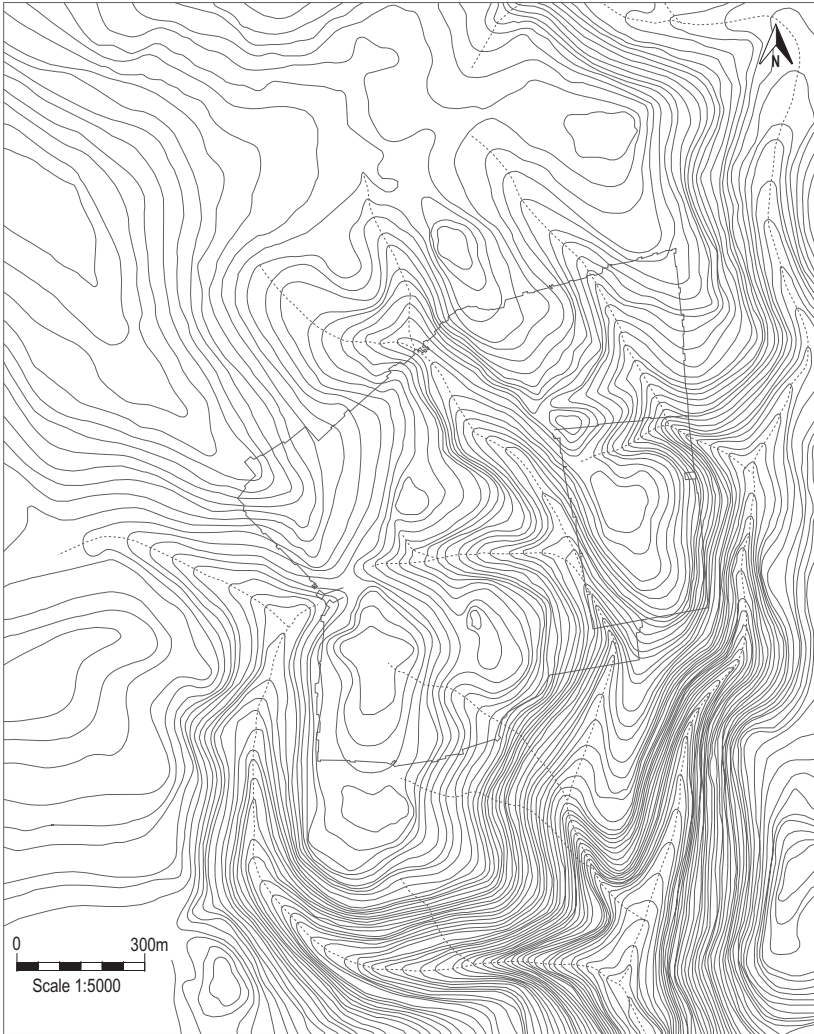


FIGURE 4. Topographical map of Jerusalem. Redrawn by Franziska Lehmann, after: Vincent and Steve, *Jérusalem*, I, plate 1.

Israel/Palestine lies on the narrow strip known as the Fertile Crescent, at the southern end of the Levantine coast. At its center, the Judean Hills mark the dividing line between the drainage basin of the Mediterranean Sea and that of the Jordan Valley.³ Within this context, Jerusalem stands on a promontory, enclosed on either side by valleys that converge near its southernmost protrusion and continue onward to the Dead Sea. In antiquity, the settlement often functioned as the

capital of the larger region.⁴ Geographically, this is somewhat surprising, as it was not easily accessible, and there were no simple lines of communication between the coastal region, the hill country, and the place that would ultimately give birth to the city.

Ancient Jerusalem spread over several hills or spurs (see figure 4), surrounded by slightly more elevated mountains. From north to south, the Old City is divided by the Central Valley, which separates the so-called Western Hill, or Upper City (765 meters)—now occupied by the Armenian and Jewish Quarters and Mount Zion further south (770 meters)—from the Eastern Hill, or Lower City. The latter encompasses the area of the Temple Mount, or the Haram al-Sharif (745 meters), and south of it (the Southeast Hill), the modern village of Silwan (660 meters), popularly referred to as the City of David.⁵ The shape of the Old City is determined on the east, south, and west by valleys and deep ravines. The eastern border is marked by the Kidron Valley, which separates it from the Mount of Olives ridge. Its western border is the Valley of Hinnom, which runs north to south, skirting Mount Zion, and then turns east along the southern border of the ancient city until its convergence with the Kidron Valley. Today, the city's northern border has no clear-cut topographical delineation. In the past, the only morphological feature that separated the city from the northern hills was the (now filled) Transversal Valley. From the late Hellenistic period onward, the city's boundaries spread beyond this natural feature.

During the early periods of the city's existence, the inhabitants relied exclusively on its only perennial spring, the Gihon, located on the lower eastern slopes of the Southeast Hill. It was only when greater efficiency was achieved in the utilization of rainwater and in the diversion of distant spring sources that Jerusalem was able to expand in other directions.

ANCIENT CITY LIMITS

The city's changing boundaries can be traced relatively accurately for most periods, as numerous sections of the ancient walls have been surveyed, excavated, and studied. Information on urban development and the city limits can also be determined by defining the location and extent of Jerusalem's necropoleis.⁶ The plans in figure 5 reflect the most commonly accepted opinions on the extent of the city during the different periods of its history. Population estimates, based both on historical and archaeological evidence, range from approximately eight hundred people during the Bronze Age (3300–1200 B.C.E.) to approximately eighty thousand in the late Hellenistic period (mid-first century C.E.).⁷

The earliest permanent settlements, from the Bronze Age through the beginning of the Iron Age (3300–ca. 960 B.C.E.), were located outside Jerusalem's Old City walls on the Southeast Hill, in the area of present-day Silwan. The city's






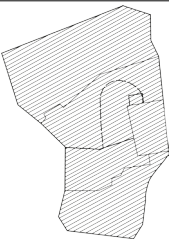



Bronze through Iron Age IIB (3300–725 BCE) and Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic periods (586–ca. 67 BCE)	Iron Age IIC (725–586 BCE)	Late Hellenistic or Hasmonean period with First Wall (ca. 67–ca. 44 BCE)
		
Late Hellenistic or Hasmonean period with Second Wall (ca. 44 BCE–ca. 44 CE)	Early Roman Third Wall corresponding to Ottoman wall—according to minimalist view (ca. 44–70 CE)	Early Roman Third Wall north of Ottoman wall—according to maximalist view (ca. 44–70 CE)
		
Roman period with no wall (135–300 CE)	Late Byzantine and early Islamic periods (450–ca. 980 CE)	Byzantine (300–450 CE) and Fatimid periods and later (since ca. 980 CE)
		

FIGURE 5. Maps indicating settled areas throughout the periods under discussion. Redrawn by Franziska Lehmann, after: Broshi, “The Expansion of Jerusalem,” 12–15.

earliest fortifications, however, were not erected until around 1850 B.C.E.⁸ It is commonly believed that only after the construction of King Solomon’s Temple in the tenth century B.C.E. did the city spread northward to enclose Mount Moriah (the traditional site of the sacrifice of Isaac, as mentioned in Genesis).⁹ Toward the end of the eighth century B.C.E., the settlement extended to the Western Hill, indicating a demographic shift, which is usually related to the destruction of numerous settlements in the Northern Kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians and the relocation of refugees in the Southern Kingdom of Judah, most of which

settled in Jerusalem.¹⁰ Throughout the Babylonian, Persian, and early Hellenistic periods the city remained relatively small, not extending beyond the eastern mountain ridge. Around the second century B.C.E., the settlement spread once again to the Western Hill, which thereafter remained continuously inhabited. The city experienced significant growth during the decades prior to the destruction of the Herodian Temple by the Romans in 70 C.E., though the extent of the expansion northward is debated. According to some, the line of the northern line of fortification was where the present Ottoman wall is located; according to others, it was located significantly further north.¹¹ From 70 C.E. onward, the area enclosed within the present-day Old City has constituted the heart of Jerusalem, with extensions toward the south (during the early Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods). Jerusalem's extent during the late Roman, Fatimid, Crusader, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods corresponded roughly to the present-day Old City walls built during Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century.

RECENT AND CURRENT BOUNDARIES

The ethno-religious partition of the Old City as originally featured on nineteenth-century maps is rooted in the Crusader period, when Jerusalem absorbed heterogeneous populations from different European and Oriental countries, who settled in clusters determined by linguistic, cultural, and religious affiliations.¹² From then on, the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholics lived in the area surrounding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the northwest, and the Armenian community, near the Cathedral of St. James in the southwest. Population shifts occurred after the Ayyubid conquest in 1187, when the city was repopulated by Muslims, and once again under Mamluk rule, with growing numbers of pilgrims coming from all parts of the Islamic world.¹³ Since the twelfth century, most Muslims aspired to settle in the areas abutting the northern and western walls of the Haram compound. Toward the mid-twelfth century, Jews had begun to settle in the southern section of the city, just to the west of a small area inhabited by a Muslim community of North-African origin.¹⁴

Only minor demographic changes occurred during the first centuries of Ottoman rule, which from the beginning established a new administrative system, the so-called *harat* (neighborhoods) network (see figure 6).¹⁵ A late nineteenth-century guidebook for Christian pilgrims written in Arabic features a map of the *harat* division into quarters and streets, a configuration that reflects the spatial organization of the city familiar to the locals at the time.¹⁶ The current division of the Old City into the four ethno-religious quarters is based on nineteenth-century survey maps of Jerusalem drawn by European travelers, army officers, and architects, and it is the version the majority of pilgrims and visitors have relied on since.¹⁷

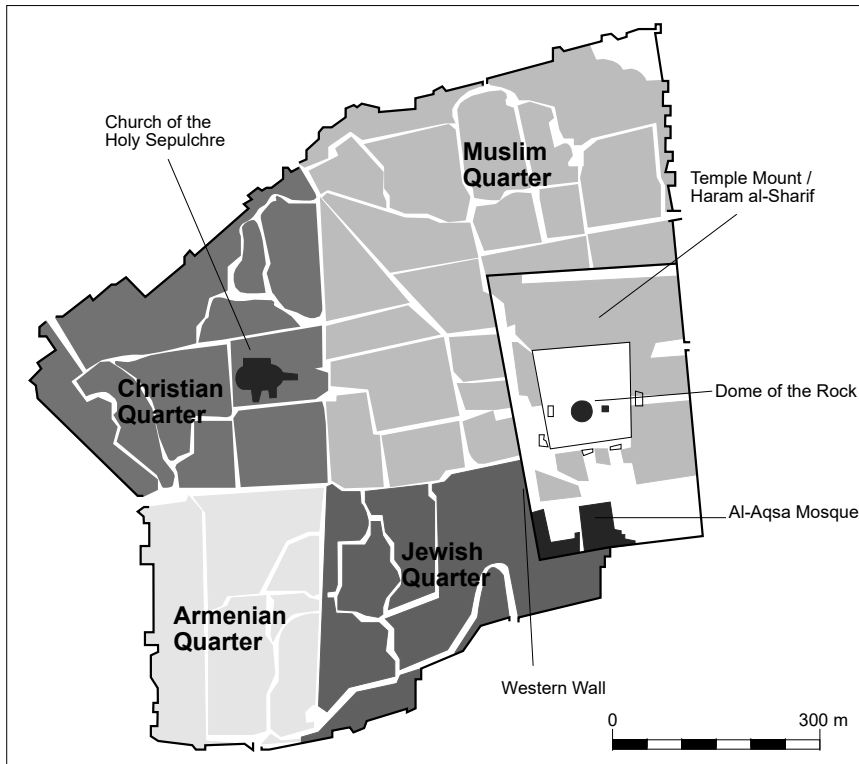


FIGURE 7. Plan of Old City featuring the four quarters. Drawn by Franziska Lehmann.

Population estimates for Jerusalem in the 1870s range between 14,000 and 22,000 people.²⁰ According to the Ottoman census of 1905, 32,400 Ottoman nationals lived in the city, including 13,400 Jews, 11,000 Muslims, and 8,000 Christians.²¹ These statistics, however, do not include the numbers of residents living outside the Old City boundaries, and they do not reflect individuals with foreign nationality living in Jerusalem at the time, which, according to most scholars, would increase the percentage of Jewish and Christian residents.²² Regardless of the exact numbers, it was clearly the heterogeneity of the population and the religious ethnic differences, along with the *millet* system (an Ottoman policy that granted autonomy to some of the non-Muslim communities), which resulted in the official creation of the city's religious and ethnic enclaves.²³ As such, the spatial organization of Jerusalem was not very different from that of many other cities in the Middle East, whose populations were most commonly defined by religion, culture, and society.²⁴

The physical boundaries of Jerusalem's neighborhoods derived mainly from the street network, public buildings, or small plazas. The choice of where to settle within the context of the city was mostly determined by the location of holy sites and places of worship, religious affinity, cultural inclinations, availability of land, and political considerations. Unlike in some Middle Eastern cities, in Ottoman Jerusalem, each quarter and enclave had a similar mix of residents from different social and economic groups.²⁵

The first suburbs of Jerusalem were established in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, when various religious and ethnic groups started to build institutes, estates, and private houses outside the Old City. Exact numbers are not available for this period, but it is known that by the beginning of the British Mandate, the populated area of the New City, as it came to be known, was four times greater than that of the Old City.²⁶ Among the first to settle beyond the walls were various Christian communities, which, mostly backed by European governments, competed in erecting large, impressive complexes, including monasteries, churches, hospitals, pilgrim hostels, and schools.²⁷

The harat system of the Ottoman period was abandoned under Mandate rule, though the division of the Old City into the four principal quarters was maintained. None of these, however, was inhabited exclusively and homogeneously by only one religious group, and for the most part, the boundaries were not clearly demarcated. In spite of the numerous historic landmarks and their significance to the different ethnic and religious communities, during the Mandate period, the Old City gradually emerged as little more than an impoverished older neighborhood.

On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly approved a plan that partitioned the British Mandate of Palestine into two entities: a Jewish state and an Arab state.²⁸ According to this plan, Jerusalem was to fall under international control. With the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, and following the conclusion of the Battle for Jerusalem (December 1947 to July 18, 1948), however, the UN proposal for Jerusalem was never instituted.

The 1949 Armistice Agreements left the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan (which soon after became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan) in control of East Jerusalem, including the Old City, and West Jerusalem was held by Israel and declared the capital of the state (see figure 8).²⁹ By the end of the year, all of West Jerusalem's Arab residents, who before 1948 numbered about twenty-eight thousand, were fully evacuated; most of their houses were settled by Israelis.³⁰ Some two thousand Jewish residents were expelled from the Old City and were no longer entitled to visit their holy sites, many of which were desecrated.³¹ Access to Christian holy places, in contrast, remained unrestricted.³² The Western Wall, where Muhammad is said to have tied his winged steed, al-Buraq, before ascending to heaven, was transformed into an exclusively Muslim site.³³

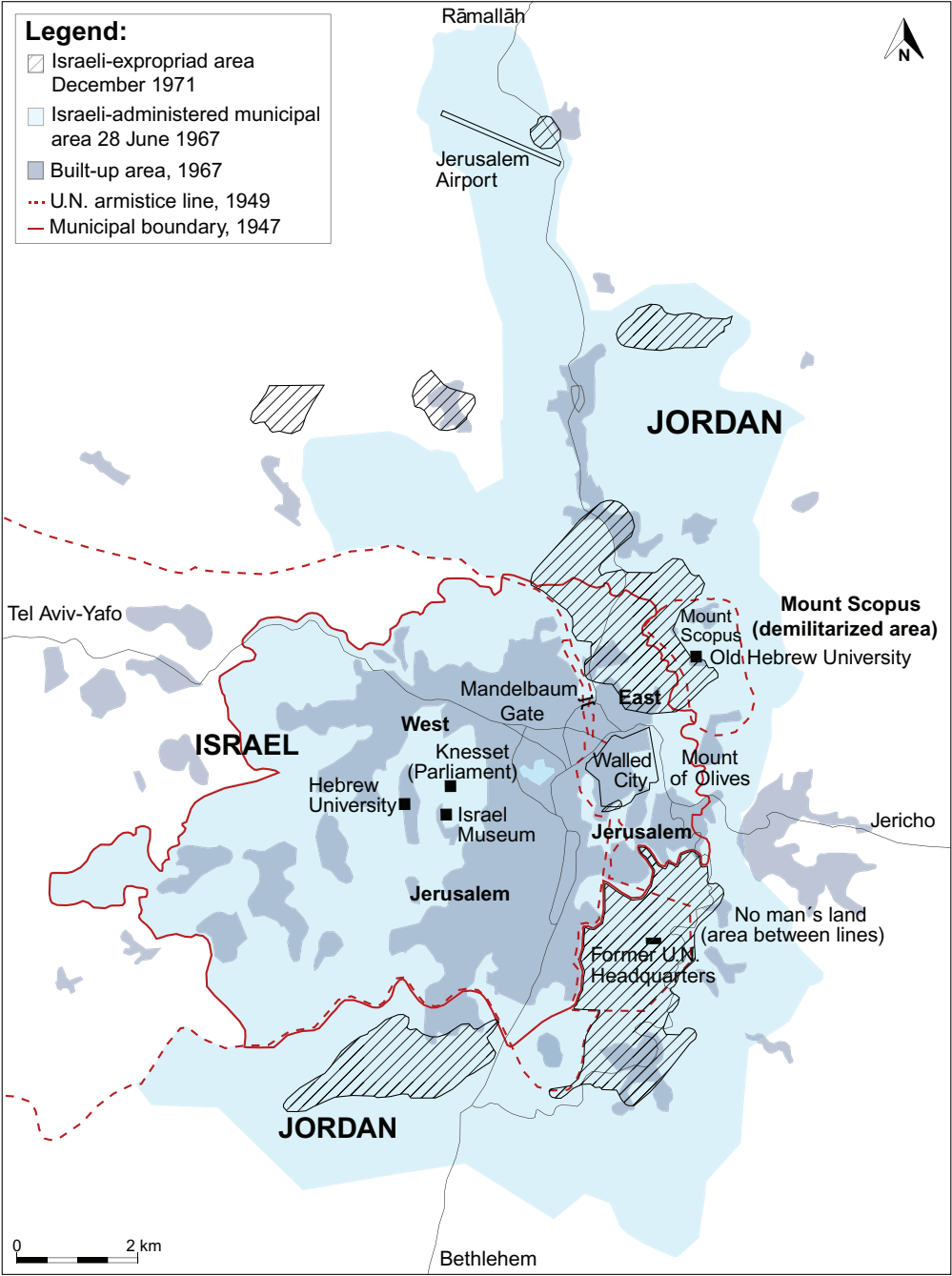


FIGURE 8. Divided Jerusalem, 1949–67. Drawn by Franziska Lehmann.

In June of 1967, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) captured the Old City and extended its law and jurisdiction to East Jerusalem and the surrounding area, incorporating it into the Jerusalem Municipality.³⁴ Access to the Jewish and Christian holy sites within the Old City was restored, and though the Islamic Waqf retained its administrative authority over the Haram al-Sharif platform, most of its properties within the Old City and beyond were expropriated.³⁵ The Mughrabi Quarter (Harat al-Magharib), located near the Western Wall, was demolished to create an open plaza facing the wall, and Arab residents of both the Mughrabi and the Jewish Quarters were evicted.³⁶ Other major urban transformations and restoration initiatives were carried out in the Jewish Quarter, which completely transformed its religious, socioeconomic, and architectural makeup and turned it into an area apart from the rest of the Old City.³⁷ The less densely built territory stretching between the Old City and the eastern municipal boundary was turned into national parks.³⁸

Over the course of the next decade, Palestinians from the West Bank began moving to Jerusalem, increasing the Arab population by more than 100 percent. As a countermeasure, seven Jewish districts, commonly referred to as the Ring Neighborhoods, were established around the city's eastern edges to prevent East Jerusalem from becoming part of an urban Palestinian bloc stretching from Bethlehem to Ramallah. Since then, the Israeli government has allocated additional areas within East Jerusalem for the construction of Jewish housing zones, and some Israeli Jews settled within Arab neighborhoods.³⁹

Since 1967, when Israel captured East Jerusalem—along with the West Bank, the Sinai, and the Golan Heights—it has considered the entire city as the capital of the Jewish state. Only on July 30, 1980, however, did the Knesset (the unicameral parliament of Israel) pass an official bill formalizing the annexation of Arab East Jerusalem. This so-called Jerusalem Law, as an addition to its Basic Laws, declared Jerusalem the “complete and united” capital of Israel.⁴⁰ In response, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 478, stating that “enactment of the ‘basic law’ by Israel constitutes a violation of international law,” and affirming that “all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which have altered or purport to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and in particular the recent ‘basic law’ on Jerusalem, are null and void and must be rescinded forthwith.” The resolution furthermore asserted, “this action constitutes a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East.”⁴¹ In other words, according to international law, the occupation of East Jerusalem by Israel is illegal.⁴²

Though officially unrelated to the political divide, the Old City of Jerusalem and its walls were inscribed on the World Heritage List (WHL) in 1981. In 1982, the Kingdom of Jordan requested that it be added to the List of World Heritage in Danger (LWHD).⁴³ In 2000, Israel proposed that the area recognized by UNESCO

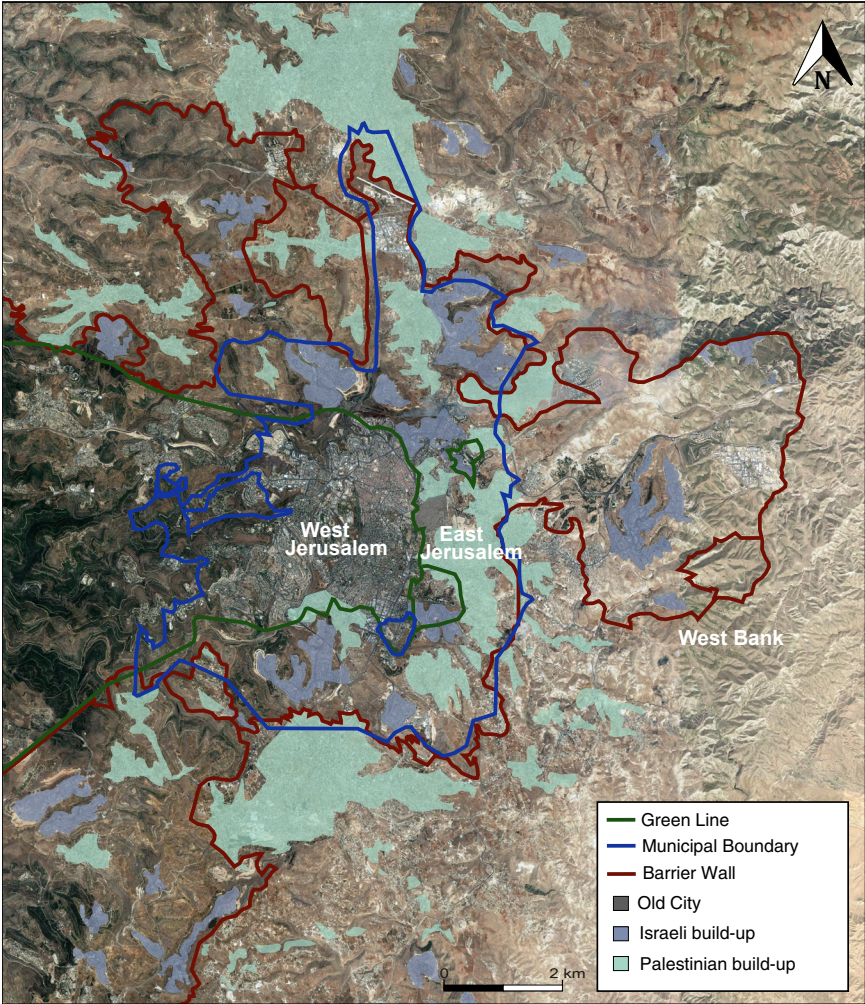


FIGURE 9. Map of Jerusalem with municipal boundaries, Green Line, Jewish and Palestinian build-ups, and Barrier Wall. Redrawn by Franziska Lehmann, after: *Ir Amim: Greater Jerusalem* 2013.

as protected heritage be expanded to include Mount Zion as well as those places and monuments that bear a unique testimony to the cultural traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, the area sometimes referred to as the Historic Basin.

The most recent initiative to segregate Jerusalem residents is the Barrier Wall (see figure 9), built in and around East Jerusalem. The Jerusalem section (202 kilometers long), is part of a much longer wall (upon completion, roughly

708 kilometers long) running through the West Bank. It is built alternately as a concrete wall and a chain-link fence, and its course is determined in relation to the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem as well as in relation to the settlements that surround the city.⁴⁴ Separating areas that are densely populated with exclusively Palestinian residents (housing some seventy thousand individuals) from predominantly Jewish neighborhoods, it reflects Israel's aspirations to both enlarge the territory of the Jerusalem Municipality but at the same time maintain a Jewish majority in the city. Beyond the frequently discussed psychological, socio-economic, and political implications for the local populations, the construction of this wall restricts the access of Palestinians, both Christian and Muslim, to cultural heritage and holy sites.

Jerusalem's barriers and walls, its natural as well as its built features, have thus defined its spaces, buildings, and people, both physically and symbolically. On the positive side, they have contributed to enclose, unite, and protect; on the negative, they have fostered isolation, segregation, and confrontation. To the explorer, these boundaries serve as important markers of time and space, at once concrete and scientifically established, yet flexible and elusive, as they take on different roles in the many narratives that link the past to the present. In this study, they will assist in framing Jerusalem's history of archaeological investigation, as well as the city's populated, settled, claimed, and contested lands.