



The Israeli 'Place' in East Jerusalem

How Israeli architects
appropriated the Palestinian
aesthetic after the '67 War

Alona Nitzan-Shifan

Agyon House in Jerusalem, designed by Richard Kaufmann in the international style of the 1930s.
Source: To Live in Jerusalem, Photographer Alfred Bernheim

How does new territorial control become inexorable fact? ¹ How does such fact, based on confiscated land, turn into “a national home”? How does this ‘home’ embody the Israeli ‘place’ even as Palestinians contest possession of the genius loci? This essay examines the legitimizing professional discourse of Israeli settler society. Although it addresses problems in Israeli architectural practices in Jerusalem, many of the observations here apply to the Israeli built environment in general. It focuses on the architectural practices that empowered the first Israeli-born generation—the generation entrusted with Israelizing Jerusalem after the 1967 War. In its efforts to localize Israeli architecture, this generation faced a double-bind. On the one hand, it criticized the high, developmental modernism that had hitherto shaped the state; on the other, it sought a situated modern architecture inspired by the Palestinian vernacular (and thus belonging to the Arab ‘other’). This impasse provokes intriguing questions in postcolonial theory about how colonizers appropriate the culture of the colonized in order to define an authentic national culture of their own.



A courtyard designed by architect Salo Hershman in the Jerusalem settlement of Gilo that borrows from indigenous terracing. *Source: To Live in Jerusalem, Photographer Ran Erde*

The Search for Place

Architect Moshe Safdie expressed this predicament succinctly when describing the approach to Jerusalem (later, he would play an instrumental role in its Israelization).

[T]he road ascends to a crest overlooking the western hills of the city. Down the slopes, a deserted Arab village hugs the hill, small and larger cubes made of the stone of the mountain: domes, arches, vaults, the mosque's tower, shaded passages, all in harmony with the landscape and the sun.²

Safdie contrasted this idealized picture of a vacant Lifta with the achievements of Israel's Ministry of Housing. "At the summit of the hill," he pointed to David Anatol Brutzkus's housing in Upper Lifta (Romema), "is a series of long four-story apartment structures built in the late fifties. They do violence to the mountain. They are foreign, as if imported from some rainy, cool European suburb"³.

What Safdie articulated was a generational refusal to espouse the high modernism of Israel's nation-building years. Although already established by Israel's first architectural history text as a pervasive Israeli architectural tradition,⁴ it fell short of addressing the aspirations of a younger generation whose members sought a 'new' tradition authenticated by deeper roots. In order to conceive of an identifiable 'Israeli architecture', they turned instead to the tradition of the 'place' as found in villages like Lifta, and later in the townscape of the Old City.

Eventually, the search for the Israeli 'place' evolving from the late 1950s undergirded the conceptual framework most prevalent in post-1967 Jerusalem. Instead of uniform modernist housing blocks, architects experimented with building clusters, hierarchical circulation, and broken masses. The minister of housing explained the state's building methods in East Jerusalem, prescribing low-rise, stone-clad building. "Also incorporated," he added, "are elements of Oriental building such as arches, domes, etc." These "building types are especially adjusted to the topographic condition and the slopes of the sites."⁵ The clear reference to the hitherto rejected Palestinian built culture intrigues: how could such built tradition be accepted as a model for the post-1967 architecture of Israeli Jerusalem?

A Profession Seeking the Architecture of 'The Place'

In the late 1950s, the first Israeli-born generation of architects (the *sabra*) saw in the decade-old Israeli state a homeland fundamentally different from that envisioned by the founders of Labour Zionism. For the 20 years prior, Zionist architects in Mandate Palestine had embraced a modern architecture promising a new beginning—a departure from both bourgeois and 'Oriental' life, which they believed had contaminated Jewish life in the Diaspora. *Sabra* architects claimed that the resulting 'international architecture' left no room for 'culture', which is what makes human beings into a people and society.⁶ It may have created proper housing solutions, they posited, but disregarded the Zionist promise of a 'national home'.

By 1967, this generational group (particularly its leading professional circle)⁷ was



Photos of Moshe Safdie's Montreal Exhibit '67.
 Source: Safdie archives at McGill U.

gaining the professional power required to lead the building of the so-called 'united Jerusalem'. Their wish to create a sense of belonging between people, community, and place was inspired by similar efforts overseas. In order to find an unmediated form of "the spatial expression of human conduct" architects (such as members of the European Team 10) emphasized vernacular architecture where life, rather than creative professionals, dictated building forms.⁸ The result was a shift to Man, with structuralist anthropology providing the theoretical ground. Modern architecture, they argued, should cease searching for "what is different in our time" and seek instead "what is always essentially the same".⁹ The prototypical inhabitant of these environments was a generic Man, whose specific history, culture and politics were ignored in favour of universal truths concerning the instincts of human habitation.



Photos of Moshe Safdie's Montreal Exhibit '67.
 Source: Montreal website

In the US, architecture critics such as Bernard Rudofsky drew upon the Bible and Darwin—the mythological and scientific origins of Western culture—to divest the Modern Movement of its scientific command. Rudofsky's *Architecture Without Architects* emerged as a major sourcebook for architects worldwide. It held vernacular architecture as "nearly immutable, indeed, unimprovable, since it serves its purpose to perfection".¹⁰ Similarly enthusiastic were Heideggerian phenomenologists who found in vernacular architecture ontological definitions of 'place', of being 'at home' in the world. The group Atbat-Afrique in Morocco, whose work combined Arab vernacular with modern architecture, wrote in their statement of principle that "[i]t is impossible for each man to construct his house to himself. It is for the architect to make it possible for the man to make his house a home".¹¹

This was precisely the type of ‘social ethics’ that brought the architectural thinking of the European Team 10 and the concurrent trend of New Brutalism¹² to bear so effectively on the architectural discourse of *sabra* architects. New immigrants, the *sabra* generation posited, could not and should not comply with an imposed modernist immigrants’ idea—a utopia built of ordered white boxes. The *sabra* generation wanted instead to “transform the Diaspora Jew into a man growing out of the land”,¹³ a man whose identity develops as a result of his organic ties to territory rather than adherence to foreign ideas. Only architecture ‘of the place’ could identify Israelis with the territory to which they wanted to belong and possess.

Maqom (Hebrew for ‘place’) refers to the encounter between man and the place where he is.¹⁴ The notion of *maqom* is fundamental to *sabra* art and architectural discourse because, as Gurevitz and Aran have argued, Israeli Jews had not succeeded in resolving the ambiguities of their place: the tension between the text and the territory. The ‘Land of Israel’, according to this argument, has always been an abstract homeland, an idea, an aspiration the Zionist movement inherited from the Jewish religion. At the same time, it was an actual place, laden with history, authenticity, and sacredness. If the founding generation was devoted to ‘the idea’, the *sabra* generation embraced the territory itself. The schism between the two persistently disturbed the process of inhabiting the land. Because the idea, according to Gurevitz and Aran, preceded the place, these efforts were conscious, determined, and ideologically charged—fundamentally different from the effortless ‘nativeness’ gained by birthright and direct ancestry.¹⁵

This ‘nativeness’ was readily found for *sabra* architects among Palestinians, whose vernacular architecture, inseparable from the place in which it was created, evinced the rootedness they sought. When Yoram Segal published in the inaugural issue of the journal *Tvai* a cover story on “The Traditional House in the Arab Villages of the Galilee”,¹⁶ he emphasized this unmediated connectedness. The fellah’s (farmer or farm labourer’s) ties to his house, which was built and maintained with the fellah’s own hands, entailed “a relationship of belonging, of identification, and of strong emotional attachment”.¹⁷ It was precisely this sort of relationship that the *sabra* architects were seeking. In his recent book, Ram Karmi suggested that “emulating the local gave birth to an empathy toward the lifestyle of the Arabs and the Bedouins, and led to a renewed examination of different identity options”.¹⁸ Like Arabic words in Hebrew slang, Palestinian attire on Israeli youth, or Arabic cooking in Israeli cuisine, the evocation of ‘the Arab village’ in Israeli architectural culture was a protest through which *sabras* aimed to identify themselves as natives.

In 1965, for example, Ram Karmi explained in reference to his award-winning Brutalist megastructure in Beer Sheva that he intended to translate rather than mimic regional values and moulds. He claimed to have found in the Arab village typologies that accord with the desert—the cohesiveness of the built material; the shaded, airy bazaar; the dissolution of the traditional facade into a volumetric play in which the sun sculpts ever-changing shadows. But, Karmi emphasized, this typology was not yet part of the Israeli culture, which ‘we’ Israelis were so laboriously trying to define.

The Ambivalence of Colonial Cultural Production

Socialist Zionism had emerged in Europe, and its sweeping Judaization of Mandate Palestine intentionally ignored, even destroyed, indigenous architecture. Additionally, its modus operandi was top down, originating with the Zionist pioneers who saw themselves salvagers of a territorial *tabula rasa*.

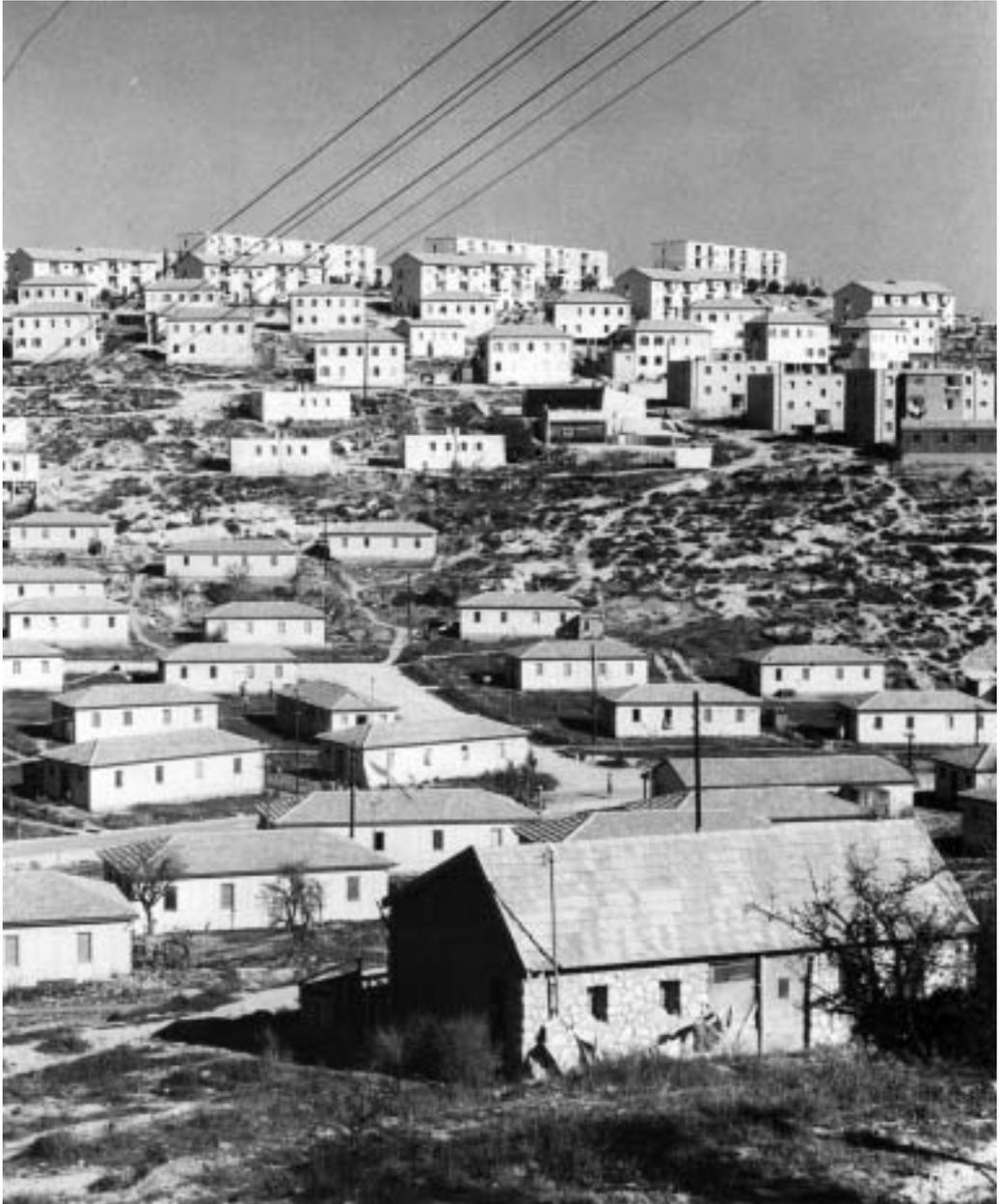
The *sabra* approach, on the other hand, turned to the local vernacular to build from the bottom up. But this approach was no less confusing. A genuine national architecture required an unmediated expression of place, but the search for authentic expression yielded perplexing results: native architecture was mostly Arab. The Israeli search within the local Palestinian vernacular for an alternative to Zionist modernism was contradictory; at exactly the time when Arab culture was most denigrated by the Israelis, its local connectedness was deeply admired. In the wake of this contradiction, notions of colonizer/colonized or Western/Oriental gave way to the ambivalence of colonial subjectivity.

Scholarly analysis of this condition has emerged in critical response to binary oppositions (see, for example, Edward Said's seminal *Orientalism*).¹⁹ It habitually focused on the inability of the colonized to retrieve an "authentic" identity free from colonial subjugation.²⁰ My interest here is a similar yet inverted ambivalence, studied by looking at the dominant professional discourse rather than at the "natives" as the object of ethnography. Accordingly, I focus on the colonizer's dependency on the identity of the colonized in its search to define an 'authentic' national identity with visceral ties to the place. The Israeli desire to achieve the Arab's nativeness—which was seen as the ultimate expression of locality—sheds new light on a subject seldom frequented by postcolonial scholarship.

The national and professional sentiments of the *sabra*, I argue, underlined the Israeli architectural praxis that shaped the urban landscape of post-1967 Israeli Jerusalem. These sentiments were developed as an internal Israeli debate between post-World War II architectural culture—its modernist crisis echoed in the *sabra* generational revolt against Zionist modernism—and a national identity built on a formative deficiency which provoked a desire for and fantasy about the Arab native's intimate relationship with the place, its landscape, stone and light. After the 1967 War, when the object of this fantasy, the Arab habitat, became tangible, this seemingly internal-professional debate was caught in the urgent unfolding politics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Seizing Locality in Jerusalem

Immediately after the 1967 War and Israel's resulting seizure of East Jerusalem from Jordan, Israeli planners were suddenly asked to transform the land by constructing 'facts on the ground' that fostered the perception of a city unified under Israeli control.



Israeli architecture of the '50s ought to fulfill the needs of the massive immigration influx. Here, functional structures in Ir Ganim (foreground) and Kiryat Hayovel. *Source: To Live in Jerusalem, Photographer P. Schlesinger*

But neither Israel's modernist planners nor the politicians who guided them knew how to express this powerful symbolism architecturally.²¹ The minister of housing simply advised his planners to give the unified city²² an 'oriental character'.²³ The prefabricated concrete arches soon to be superimposed on the completed plans for the first Israeli East Jerusalem neighbourhood illustrated the confusion.²⁴ This situation

changed dramatically, however, when the younger generation of architects entered the planning scene. During the 1970s, these architects crafted a coherent architectural vision echoing the readily-accessible Palestinian vernacular—a vision which bewildered Elinor Barzaki, former Jerusalem region head in the Ministry of Housing: “A culture looks for the symbols of its heroic periods and assimilates them in its local architecture, as Italy, for example, relates to the Roman Empire. In Jerusalem, however, the post 1967 architecture of power absorbed the symbols of the conquered rather than those of the conqueror”.²⁵

Barzaki’s was a forceful observation. Presumably, the symbols of the conqueror were the ordered cubical housing blocks of pre-1967 West Jerusalem and the modernist institutional buildings that crowned its government precinct. The symbols of the conquered, on the other hand, were found in the Oriental stone architecture of the Old City’s picturesque skyline and environment.

But why would architects ‘Israelize’ a contested city using the architectural forms that were identified with another nation? Moreover, once the Palestinian vernacular was espoused, what mechanisms enabled Israelis to separate it from the culture that produced it, in order to reshape it into an Israeli architecture? Following, I study three strategies for Israelizing the Arab vernacular: to read it as biblical architecture, as an uncontaminated primitive origin of architecture, or simply as typically Mediterranean.

“Biblicizing” the Landscape

After the 1967 conquest of Jerusalem’s Old City, Israeli Jews rejoiced in a metaphorical return home, especially to the Western Wall and the Jewish Quarter as the symbolic centres of the Jewish nation. The consequent heightened focus on the Jewish Quarter’s vernacular architecture prompted a national strategy that weakened the authority of Arab architectural forms over Israeli architecture. When Segal wrote on the Arab village in the Galilee in 1966, or when *sabra* architects simultaneously launched a preservationist approach to the reconstruction of Old Jaffa, they expressed admiration for the human values and identity embeddedness of what they saw as generic examples of the region’s vernacular architecture. But when architects of this same generation began reconstructing the Jewish Quarter immediately after the 1967 War, this vernacular was no longer generic; it was seen by Israelis as an embodiment of Jewish history. The tangible presence of the Quarter and the Wall substantiated for Israelis their national confidence and anchored their claim over a disputed land. “The Wailing Wall,” said architect Karmi, “symbolizes the place in which I feel direct roots to King David. I can greet him shalom”.²⁶ Archaeological research authenticated this biblical connectedness. While architects were seeking locality on the ground, archaeologists sought Jewish history underneath its surface. The two were combined in the reconstructed Jewish Quarter, where archaeological finds were embedded, as Nadia Abu El-Haj (2001) recently demonstrated, in the physical fabric and spatial experience of the Quarter.

If the architecture of the Quarter testified to the continuity of Jewish habitation from biblical times, the new sense of locale could be applied to the surrounding Palestinian villages, whose architecture was perceived as biblical, and whose inhabitants served as custodians. The central feature of the national landscape scheme was a green belt around the Old City—previously a British colonial dream—which would visually arrest the Old City of Jerusalem. The Arab village of Silwan was included in this park because “its character gives us a good picture of how the landscapes and villages of Biblical times looked”.²⁷ Educational publications by the army²⁸ compared this village to the archeologically-informed open-air model of Herod’s Jerusalem.²⁹ A 1:50 scale monumental reconstruction of the so-called Second Temple Period—a major tourist attraction in and of itself—confirmed the sameness of Silwan and Herod’s Jerusalem, again emphasizing the continuity of ancient building traditions.³⁰

The Noble Savage and the Origins of Architecture

Safdie immigrated during his youth to Canada, where he became internationally known for his groundbreaking Montreal Habitat (Expo 1967). Endorsed by the Israeli administration upon his return home in December 1967, he designed the (unrealized) prefabricated Jerusalem Habitat. Safdie called the site of his project, next to the Arab village Malha, by its Hebrew/biblical name, Manchat. “Here,” he stated, “was the prototype, the ancient village, with which any modern development would have to co-exist”.³¹ Furthering an architecture derived from perceived primary instincts of habitation, Safdie advanced a Darwinian logic that directly evoked acquaintance Bernard Rudofsky’s seminal *Architecture Without Architects*.

In Safdie’s eyes, villages of 1948 Palestinian refugees, built with “fairly limited resources” and devoid of historical depth, were “awesome environments”.³² They proved for him that habitation was a product of “the compassionate search for the way people live their private and public life”.³³ Safdie explained his incorporation of advanced methods of construction into this ‘original’ vernacular model of habitation as “an expression of life today, but that would be as if it had always been there”.³⁴ By creating a “fugue with two instruments,” one vernacular and one technological, Safdie’s Jerusalem Habitat could fulfill the Zionist dream of fusing the ancient with the modern.³⁵ In Jerusalem the “origin” was biblical, the modern progressive, and the combination of both serving to validate a people’s national life from a remote past to an unforeseen future.

Mediterraneanism

Inspiration from indigenous architecture similarly provided rationale for the ordinary housing which defined Jerusalem’s post-1967 vernacular. In 1977, Ram Karmi published the essay, “Human Values in Urban Architecture.” Essentially a manifesto, the essay prescribed a list of Mediterranean architectural forms as guidelines for



The Yitzhak Rabin Center, designed by Moshe Safdie, and completed in 2005.

future planning. They were intended to help architects to resolve the most pressing question: that of belonging. How could architects establish an architectural language that encouraged personal expression but also defined a vernacular for the national community? Karmi's reference for such active rerooting was the revival of the ancient Hebrew language, which addressed biblical origin, kinship, and blood. Israeli architecture, Karmi contended, should connect those attributes to the land.

In other contexts, scholars have termed the strategy Karmi chose for this task "Mediterraneanism."³⁶ He invoked the timeless patterns of Mediterranean architecture as guidelines for a hierarchical ordering of the built environment, from the house to the cluster, quarter, square, street, bazaar, and, finally, to the entire system. Then he compiled a manual of Mediterranean "structural elements" comprised of the alphabet of the Hebrew built landscape: the wall, the gate, the balcony and porch, the stairs and threshold, the street and alleyway.

Karmi's shift in focus from the Arab village to Mediterranean architectural precedent was engrained in a larger architectural culture.³⁷ Politically, the idea of Israeli participation in a larger Mediterranean culture divested Palestinian architecture of its authority over the *genius loci*, because it was subsumed into a larger geocultural realm.³⁸ This relocation relieved the Israeli architect of the disturbing conflict between admiration of native architecture and disregard for the larger Palestinian culture that produced it. The association with Europe's cradle of civilization was pacifying and flexible, and could accommodate Israel's early modernism.

The Ethics of Israeli Place-Making

When Karmi moved from the private sector to the heart of bureaucracy, he made an ideological claim on behalf of the architectural profession for the right to shape the physical image of the state. He demanded a complete overhaul of national decision-making. Only then, he argued, "...the creation of a 'National Home' and of 'place' will achieve its legitimacy as an element that represents and reflects, in physical terms, the cultural aspirations of the community and builds the community in its own land, and expresses its physical and spiritual right to, and ownership over, that land".³⁹ This was a momentous statement. Karmi identified the *maqom* sought by his *sabra* generation with the national home Zionism promised. *Maqom*, Karmi argued, was a prerequisite for the national home because only an identifiable Israeli place would provide the moral foundation for ownership over the land. Seeking "the physical and spiritual right to...that land" was, for Karmi, at the very heart of Israeli place-making.

"Creating a 'place,'" he reminded us, "is a qualitative, symbolic and emotional process," a task that architects—rather than planners or bureaucrats—should undertake. Architecture, as distinguished from 'building,' "can reflect and represent the cultural aspiration of a community"—that is, it can create a symbolic place, not only a conglomeration of dwelling units. Making the built landscape into a *maqom* was a way to nationalize the territory—a way to Israelize Jerusalem.

Postscript

The cachet gained by 'architecture of the place' established members of the *sabra* generational group as Israel's architectural elite, a prominence, which remains to this day. In Jerusalem, however, their architectural program met its colonial counterpart. Their effort to crack the Palestinian code for local habitation on unequal political ground diverted the focus of post-World War II architectural culture away from its humanistic path: it deprived other people of the symbolic ownership of their built heritage.

Recently, architectural critics have begun enumerating the political pitfalls of this localist architectural tradition, in an effort to divest it of its leading role in Israeli architectural practice. According to this view "concern with localness after 1967 reflects the release of dark tendencies that are fundamentalist in essence"⁴⁰ This criticism separates between the social role of this architecture and its aesthetics, and is a strategic move characterizing the production of criticism during the politically charged Palestinian Intifadas. But does this criticism mark the end of 'the tradition of the place', of the search for locality? Not necessarily. The 'true' locality is now being attributed to Israel's modernism—the "Bauhaus Style" of the 1930s and 1940s, as well as the state's "gray" modernism of the 1950s. Recent exhibitions and monographs clearly indicate that the tradition of the modern, uncontaminated by the regional conflict or the Orient, is taking command. This recovery has a global appeal.

One proponent of “gray modernism” explains that, for a younger generation who “knows that the 1950s are now in style” and whose “memory works in megabytes,” this tradition offers escape: “plain and simple—they are sick of fabricating ‘local’ architecture and getting bogged in the provincial swamp.”⁴¹ The global element in this happy reversal prompts the local to redefine a modernist tradition for an Israeliness in crisis.

Alona Nitzan-Shifan is a senior lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, where she heads the history and theory studies program. She holds a Ph.D. and an S.M.Arch.S. from MIT, a B.Arch. from the Technion, and was recently the Mary Davis and the Kress Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA) at the National Gallery in Washington.

Endnotes

- ¹ This essay is reprinted here from *Cities of Collision INFO*. It is part of a manuscript in progress tentatively titled: *Designing Politics: Architecture and the Making of ‘United Jerusalem,’* which is based on my doctoral dissertation at MIT. I would like to thank Mark Jarzombek, Stanford Anderson, Sibel Bozdogan, Uri Ram, Nasser Rabbat, Caroline Elam, and Kevin Chua for their helpful comments and insights. Special thanks go to the architects who guided me through the culture of their generation, particularly to Dan Etan, Ram Karmi, Avraham Vachman, and Yaakov Yaar.
- ² Moshe Safdie, *Beyond Habitat* (Montreal: Tundra Books, Collins Publishers, 1973) 216.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Aviah Hashimshoni, “Architecture,” in *Art of Israel*, ed. Benjamin Tamuz, (Massada: Israel, 1963). (The English version is “Architecture,” in *Art of Israel*, eds. Benjamin Tamuz, Max Wykes-Joyce and Yona Fischer (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1967) 199-229.
- ⁵ *Haaretz*, 2 February, 1968.
- ⁶ Ram Karmi, interview with the author, Tel Aviv (July 7, 1998).
- ⁷ The core of a professional architectural circle that was active during the 1960s consisted of Dan Etan, Yizhak Yashar, Ram Karmi, Ora and Ya’akov Ya’ar, Avraham Yaski, and Amnon Alexandroni. Moshe Zarhi and Yaakov Rechter and invited guests frequently participated.
- ⁸ Jacob Bakema, in Alison Margaret Smithson and

Team 10, *Team 10 Primer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968) 24.

⁹ Aldo van Eyck quoted in Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) 276.

¹⁰ Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects: An Introduction to Nonpedigreed Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964) caption for illustration 1.

¹¹ Abbat Afrique, “Statement of Principle,” in Alison Margaret Smithson and Team 10, 74.

¹² Early New Brutalism stressed reverence to materials, affinity between building and man, and inspiration from peasant architecture (particularly from the Mediterranean vernacular). Aesthetically, the trend is known for its brute materials, especially its characteristic exposed concrete. The first history of this trend was compiled by contemporary critic Reyner Banham (1966).

¹³ Karmi.

¹⁴ This definition has appeared particularly in connection to Dani Karavan’s work.

¹⁵ Gideon Aran and Zali Gurevitz, “Al HaMaqom (Israeli Anthropology),” *Alpayi* 4 (1991).

¹⁶ Yoram Segal, “The Traditional House in the Arab Villages in the Galilee,” *Tvai* 1 (1966), 19-22.

¹⁷ Segal, 20.

¹⁸ Ram Karmi, *Lyric Architecture* (Israel: Ministry of Defense, 2001) 12.

¹⁹ In the wake of Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), many studies have demonstrated the Western/Oriental

dichotomy in different contexts and locales. For the Israeli context, see Ella Shohat (1989), Gil Eyal (1993), and Yigal Zalmona and Tamar Manor-Fridman (1998). Particularly important in this context is Dan Rabinowitz (1998).

²⁰ Ferguson (1990), Bhabha (1994), Clifford Marcus (1986), Stocking (1983).

²¹ For the architectural debates underlying the Israelization of Jerusalem see Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, "Capital City or Spiritual Center? The Politics of Architecture in Post-'67 Jerusalem," *Cities* 22 (3) (2005)..

²² Israel unilaterally 'united' the city by expanding its municipal boundaries and changing Israeli municipal law in order to apply Israeli jurisdiction to the newly-defined Israeli capital.

²³ *Haaretz*, February 2, 1968.

²⁴ The Ministry of Housing was eager to build quickly on land confiscated immediately after the war in order to create a continuous built-up area between north Jerusalem and Mount Scopus. It therefore recruited completed housing plans that Itzhak Perlstein had designed for another site and added to them prefabricated arches in order to provide Eshkol Heights with the appropriate Oriental look.

²⁵ Barzaki, 1998. Barzaki studied in Europe during the 1968 events and was recruited by Ram Karmi upon her return to join his team at the Ministry of Housing. Later she became the city engineer of Jerusalem and (at the time of this interview) headed the architectural school at Tel Aviv University.

²⁶ David Cassuto, *The Western Wall: A Collection of Essays Concerning the Design of the Western Wall Plaza and Its Surrounding* (Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Post Press, 1975) 95.

²⁷ Arieh Dvir, "Overall Plan for the Jerusalem National Park," in *Proceedings of the First Meeting*, June 30 - July 4, 1969 (Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Committee, 1969) 24.

²⁸ The publication of the Israel Defence Force, Bamahane, preached love of the country. It published stories and detachable photographic centrepieces from "the Land of Israel." These posters became major visual stimuli in the military physical environment; in Israel military service is obligatory for most.

²⁹ Irit Zaharoni, *Israel, Roots & Routes: A Nation Living in Its Landscape* (Tel Aviv: MOD Publishing House, 1990) (This edition is based on the Hebrew book: *Derech Eretz: nofe artzenu*.)

³⁰ The open air model was reconstructed and largely imagined in the absence of accurate archeo-logical data by the archaeologist Professor Avi Yona. A recent appraisal in a publication dedicated to "knowing the country" is that by Gavriel Barkai and Eli Shiler (2001).

³¹ Moshe Safdie, *Jerusalem: The Future of the Past* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989) 27.

³² Moshe Safdie, "Safdie in Jerusalem," *Slidcas* 3 (London: Pidgeon Audio Visual, 1979) (extracted from a talk given to the Royal Institute of Architects).

³³ Safdie, 1989:29.

³⁴ Safdie, 1989: 216. For Safdie's design for the Western Wall Plaza, see Nitzan-Shiftan, (2002), p. 216.

³⁵ Safdie, 1979:216.

³⁶ This concept was particularly important in the context of Italian colonialism in North Africa, where architects integrated European and North African built traditions under the banner of the Mediterranean tradition in which Romans had rights of authenticity. See Fuller (2007) and McLaren (2001).

³⁷ Karmi's search for homeness in Mediterranean architecture had roots in his education at the Architectural Association in London during the early 1950s.

³⁸ Yaakov Shavit, "The Mediterranean World and 'Mediterraneanism': The Origins, Meaning, and Application of a Geo-Cultural Notion in Israel," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (2) (1998).

³⁹ Ram Karmi, "Human Values in Urban Architecture," in *Israel Builds 1977*, eds. Amiram Harlap and Hari Frank (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Housing, 1977) 44.

⁴⁰ Esther Zandberg, "The Lost Dignity of the Shutters," *Ha'aretz* Weekend Supplement (October 27, 2000) 42.

⁴¹ Zandberg, 43.