

Archives and Potentiality in Jordanian Jerusalem (1948–67)

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Abstract

The history of Jerusalem through the Jordanian period is still largely unexplored by historiography. Generally overlooked and presented as an “immobile” or “declining” age, a mere transition between the Mandate rule and the Israeli occupation, Lemire and Rioli point out that instead it constitutes a dynamic phase of profound transformations and projects attempted by the public and private institutions in the city in the tragic aftermath of the war for Palestine. New studies have recently enlightened the life of the Jerusalem municipality during this period. This paper aims at focusing on three main aspects: first, can historians narrate a “potential history” of the Jordanian period? How would this “potential history” differ from that retraced during the late Ottoman and Mandate periods? Are Jerusalem’s archives a “space of possibility”? Second, which expectations and projects, conflicts, and desires emerge from the city inhabitants, refugees, and institutions? Third, focusing on a specific neighborhood, al-Maghariba quarter, is this phase simply a period of “pre-destruction,” to be analyzed under the somber light of the 1967 events, or rather a time of restoration and re-foundation, of tensions and impulses? Through these questions, the authors intend to propose some strands for social histories of the 1947–67 period, opening new itineraries to review a crucial phase of Jerusalem history.

Keywords

Jerusalem; Palestine; Israel; Jordan; archives; potential history; municipality; Harat al-Maghariba; UNRWA; Palestinian refugees.

The history of Jerusalem during the Jordanian period (1948–67) is still largely unexplored in the historiography of Palestine. This phase has been generally overlooked and presented as an “immobile” or “declining” age, a mere transition between Mandate rule and the Israeli occupation of the Old City and East Jerusalem. Far from these reductionist and essentialist depictions, instead it constitutes a dynamic phase of profound transformations and projects undertaken by public and private institutions in the city in the tragic aftermath of the 1948 Palestine war. New studies have cast light on the life of the Jerusalem Municipality during this period. In parallel, the discovery or opening of unpublished or overlooked archives and records is contributing to the re-evaluation of the period.

Our paper focuses on three main questions. First, can historians narrate a “potential history” of the Jordanian period? How does this “potential history” differ from that traced for the late Ottoman and Mandate periods? Are Jerusalem’s archives a “space of possibility”?¹ Second, what expectations and projects, conflicts and desires did the city’s inhabitants, refugees, and institutions have in these two decades? And third – focusing on a specific space within the city, al-Maghariba quarter, razed on the night of 10–11 June 1967 – is this phase only a period of “pre-destruction,” to be analyzed under the somber light of the 1967 war and its aftermath?² Or, without denying or reducing the 1967 watershed, can the Jordanian period, seen from al-Maghariba quarter, be unpacked also as a time of restoration and re-foundation, of conflicts and impulses? Through these questions, we intend to propose some research strands for social histories of the 1947–67 period, thus opening new itineraries to review and reveal a crucial phase of Jerusalem’s history – two decades of potentialities dismantled and erased as the ruins of the war.

Resisting the Temptation of “New Beginnings”: On 1948 and Archiving

The word “archives” contains in itself a fundamental duality and therefore ambiguity: it defines both objects – a record, or a series of records, that constitute a source of information, of permanent value – and also a place of custody, a repository, a place of safekeeping, an institution with an access regime.

The practices, norms, and reflections around archiving have been at the center of numerous and fundamental studies. Two recent and seminal contributions, Ariella Aïsha Azoulay’s *Potential History* and Gil Z. Hochberg’s *Becoming Palestine*, have further enriched the study, intertwining a reframing of the analysis of archival materials and the definition of “archive” in the Israeli-Palestinian context and conflict.³

Azoulay unpacks the violent origin of numerous archives:

Papers written by politicians, in which the most atrocious commands against vast populations were prescribed – to kill, enslave, rape, humiliate, displace, uproot, expel, destroy houses, bomb shelters, confiscate, or deprive – were made into past documents at the moment

in which they were written, and these documents were doomed to be sequestered for decades from the communities they affected. But those uprooted and bombed didn't need these sequestered papers to confirm that what is written in them was done to them. These documents would be classified in an archive, away from the public eye, until a few decades later, when the many who could have been interested would be weakened and exhausted or long dead, and a few trained historians would be curious enough to retrieve and investigate them.⁴

When dealing with 1948 and its aftermath, and at least until the historiographic turn of the 1980s and 1990s with the publication of seminal contributions on the war for Palestine, the forced transfer of Palestinians, and the refugee issue, “the regime of the archive” protected, as Azoulay observes, “a polity constructed on the basis of differential power, where some groups are subordinated to others, to preserve rights and privileges to a subgroup of citizens and limit as much as possible the struggle to conceive citizenship as cocitizenship.”⁵

Revisionist historians were among the first to refuse the separation of the archival documents and the political rights and claims these documents refer to in the Palestinian/Israeli context. Azoulay maintains: “Archives, sovereignties, and human rights, constitutive of the reproduction of regime-made disasters, are also central in exporting and promoting political emancipation as the true meaning of politics. As conveyors of the emancipatory mission, [their] set up ends to be pursued along a predetermined axis of progress.”⁶

Her argument has poignant meaning if we apply it in the post-1948 decades, where this “predetermined axis of progress” was identified with Zionist stances, goals, and means. The narrative around the “declaration of independence” of 14 May 1948 – although this text was intended to be a charter of assertion of international legal sovereignty, despite its later reinterpretation⁷ – reflects how the discourse around “new beginnings” is often intertwined with violence and expulsion.⁸ In post-1948 Palestine/Israel, potential history has then the overdue role to resist the rhetoric of “new beginnings.”

Hochberg goes beyond that, deepening the limits of an archival-centered approach to the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict:

What the archives “revealed” is what Palestinians already knew, and what most Israelis knew but chose to deny. Archival findings in this context, and perhaps in many others too, are less about new findings and more about the repeated affirmation of already known historical information. Finding, exposing, sharing the same information and the same facts, time and time again – the same atrocities, the same numbers (more or less), the same unveiling of open secrets – can be numbing.⁹

If archiving is intrinsically intertwined with selection, it also entails destruction, oblivion, secrecy, or sealing. When dealing with Jerusalem during the 1948–67 period,

all of these elements play a significant role.¹⁰ One of the main elements that the historian has to face is the scarcity of sources from the Jordanian kingdom and government concerning its rule in Palestine: these archives are mostly unavailable and unpreserved, apart from printed collections of sources produced and preserved by state agencies.¹¹

Israeli institutions have collected and made available other fundamental sources, such as the archives of the Jerusalem Municipality. The collection related to the Jordanian period consists of the minutes of meetings of the Arab Municipal Council of Jerusalem from its creation in 1948 to its dissolution in 1967.¹² In most cases, in the council's minutes, one record of minutes corresponds to one meeting.¹³ The Arab Municipality itself gave order numbers to each of these meetings, apparently restarting from 1 when a new council was composed. However, opening sessions and extraordinary meetings, which were named as such, were not counted. From December 1963, confidential debates did take place at these meetings. In such cases, two different minutes were issued with the same meeting order number: a regular one and a confidential one. The minutes of meetings were originally located in the Arab Municipality building in folders identified by reference codes. After the dissolution of the Arab Municipality, those documents were moved to the Jerusalem Municipality archive and the current reference codes were added, replacing the old ones. As explored and described by Haneen Naamneh in her contributions, these archival fonds and collections allow for retracing not only the creation of the Arab Municipal Council after 1948, but also the relations established with other political, social, and religious institutions, its humanitarian action, and its general management until the 1967 war.¹⁴

Kimberly Katz unpacks how the Jordanian monarchy and government tried to “Jordanize” Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967, while choosing to not make Jerusalem the capital of the kingdom and privileging Amman in terms of political and economic choices and investments. She also highlights Palestinian opposition to Jordanian rule. However, the position of Jerusalem remained complex and multidimensional: the Hashemite kingdom invested symbolically in the Holy City, through numerous initiatives like appointing a Custodian of the Holy Places in 1951 and self-presenting itself as part and parcel of the “Holy Land,” encouraging pilgrimages, and continuing to make use of Jerusalem's religious symbols even after 1967, as part of a national discourse that aimed to unify the different components of the country, especially the Palestinian refugees.

Palestinian refugees are one of the examples of the sensitivity of archives in the Middle East and on a transnational scale. As for the study of factual and potential history of Jerusalem, the municipal archives represent a fundamental, although until recently unexplored, repository of documentation. For the history of Palestinian refugees, the most relevant and at the same time unknown archive is represented by the collections of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), established by the UN in 1949. They contain the genealogical, demographic, and social history of Palestinian refugees as well as traces of their political and individual ambitions, efforts, and potentialities. The unsatisfactory preservation conditions and irregular access to the UNRWA archives,

due to the organization's political and financial crises, reduce the availability of reliable data on Palestinian refugees and prevent the broader historical reconstruction of the humanitarian and social history of the Palestinian diaspora in the Jordanian period and after 1967.¹⁵

The UNRWA archives are organized into three main archives: the Refugee Registration Information System (RRIS), which contains information on the Palestinian refugees and other persons registered by UNRWA since its establishment; the audio-visual archive, comprised of photographs (negatives, slides, digitals, and prints) and videos taken or commissioned by UNRWA since its establishment; and the Central Registry, the administrative archive, which contains correspondence and documents pertaining to UNRWA's functioning and relations with various stakeholders.¹⁶

At the time of its inception, UNRWA inherited the registration records of Palestine refugees from the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the American Friends Services Committee. In 1950–51, UNRWA conducted a census across its fields of operation, resulting in the registration of some 875,000 Palestine refugees. Since then, UNRWA has been updating registration family files from voluntarily supplied documentation on the original refugees and their descendants. Today, about 5.7 million Palestine refugees are registered with UNRWA; nearly 700,000 persons eligible for services are also registered.

The RRIS is a web-based system that includes both the current registration status of the Palestinian refugees and other registered persons, and comprise individual civil registration records organized in family ledgers and linked to documentation materials, the "Family Files." The Family Files have been digitized, with dedicated project funding, through an agency-wide scanning operation implemented in the 2000s (the Palestine Refugee Records Project). The original Family Files, currently inaccessible to researchers, remain in UNRWA's five Field Offices (in Amman, Beirut, Damascus, Gaza City, and Jerusalem).

Since its digitization, the audio-visual archive has been the most consulted of UNRWA collections.¹⁷ Over the years, UNRWA has commissioned photographers and filmmakers to document its activities, mainly for communication and fundraising purposes. Their works have been preserved in a voluminous physical archive. Split since 1996 between UNRWA's two headquarters in Amman (Jordan) and Gaza City, it contains over 600,000 records, including approximately 459,000 black-and-white photo negatives, a few hundred photographic prints, 58,000 color slides, 15,000 contact sheets, 75 films, 730 videocassettes and an estimated 80,000 born-digital images. Starting in the 2000s, with special project funding, these records have been fully digitized. The originals remain in the two aforementioned locations. The collection has been inscribed by UNESCO in 2008 in its "Memory of the World Register." In 2016, a selection of photographic records became readily available for online consultation and reproduction through the UNRWA digital archive.¹⁸

The administrative files pertaining to UNRWA's operations and relations with its various stakeholders are maintained in the Central Registry archive, originally

established when UNRWA's headquarters was in Beirut. It then moved with UNRWA headquarters to Vienna and finally back to its area of operations, split between Amman and Gaza City. The archive has been regularly updated with internal and external correspondence and communications as well as other internal records and documents. Since the turn of the century, when email gradually replaced paper communication, the archive has become gradually passive. Email communication is not systematically archived and hence the historic record is being lost, as is the case with many other public and private organizations.

UNRWA archives represent a key depository for the retracing of the history of Palestinian refugees but also to imagine potential forms and futures of return. Therefore, they are critical to rethinking the current status quo.

The 1948–67 period, however, was not only a phase marked by displacement and expulsions. During these two decades, Jerusalem experienced profound transformation in terms of urban dynamics and forms of inhabiting the space: this is notably the case of the Maghariba neighborhood. Razed on the night of 10–11 June 1967 by the Israeli army, the destruction of this district in front of the Western Wall was followed by the oblivion of the history of this quarter. Archives can intercept strands of possible histories of a now-cancelled space.

Just before Disappearing: Urban Planning and al-Maghariba Neighborhood under Jordanian Rule

As explained above, the period of Jordanian rule in East Jerusalem was marked by a determination to reassert Hashemite sovereignty over the Holy City, especially after 1963. This resolve translated notably into intensive renovation efforts in neighborhoods located immediately adjacent to the Haram al-Sharif, and in particular Harat al-Maghariba. Tracing these urban programs involves exploring the decades that immediately preceded its destruction by Israeli bulldozers in June 1967, avoiding a teleological approach defined by its destruction and unpacking all of its unfulfilled potentialities.

The archives of municipal engineer Yusuf al-Budayri provide fresh records on this period. Among them is a copy of the town plan proposed by the American agency Brown Engineers International in 1963 at the request of Henry Kendall, who was coordinator of the town planning scheme within the Jordanian municipality of Jerusalem from 1963 to 1966 – thereby resuming a position he had held during the British Mandate.¹⁹ Close scrutiny of his proposals reveals that several recommendations involved Harat al-Maghariba or its vicinity: in front of Robinson's Arch (located on the Western Wall), for instance, there were plans for “archaeological sites as garden areas” and “sitting areas with trees and fountains,” as well as “creation of automobile parking areas” both inside and outside al-Maghariba Gate.²⁰ In a zone encompassing both al-Maghariba and Jewish quarters, there were plans for a “rehabilitation” of “deteriorated areas,” which would presuppose a preliminary “rehousing program” for the residents involved.²¹

Other traces of these development projects are contained in the archives of the Jordanian municipality of Jerusalem: for instance, the municipal council meeting on 3 July 1963 dealt with the parking lot project planned for al-Maghariba Gate area. The municipality was involved in negotiations with al-Maghariba waqf concerning the lease. On 24 July 1963, the municipal council welcomed the completion of a new school located at al-Maghariba Gate – the same worksite photographed a few months before by Yusuf al-Budayri – and stressed the need to build a wall around the new structure. A year later, on 8 July 1964, the municipal council ordered the demolition of “wooden shacks” located near al-Maghariba Gate, no doubt in anticipation of the parking lot project. On 5 May 1965, however, it was the municipality that opposed the Jordanian governor regarding the eviction of people living in these shacks, because there was no guarantee they would be rehoused. In the end, it was decided that the shacks would not be demolished until the issue of financing a rehousing scheme was settled. A few years earlier, on 7 June 1956, the Jordanian municipal archives indicate that a small police station was built near al-Maghariba Gate; the municipality covered the utility costs but collected rent from the governorate. These few elements attest to the reality of these redevelopment projects in the vicinity of Harat al-Maghariba, but also testify to the latitude that the Jordanian municipality meant to deploy when issued with orders from the Jordanian government.

These stepped-up Jordanian town planning schemes resonate with convergent testimony regarding the 1966 expulsion of a few dozen residents living illegally in the former Jewish quarter,²² but also with a dispatch from the French consul Christian Fouache d’Halloy on 29 December 1966 that mentions a project that aimed to turn part of the former Jewish quarter in the Old City into a “park” and to “allow free access to the Wailing Wall.”²³ Vague as this latter claim may seem, we understand at any rate that the southeast corner of the Old City, comprising both the Jewish and al-Maghariba quarters, was to undergo a broad-based rehabilitation project by urban developers. Already in February 1963, the French consul noted that “seventeen representatives of North American travel agencies have arrived in Jerusalem, Old City . . . in order to study the conditions in which tourism might be developed,” and he adds that “the Municipality of Jerusalem, Old City, has taken steps to devise a town

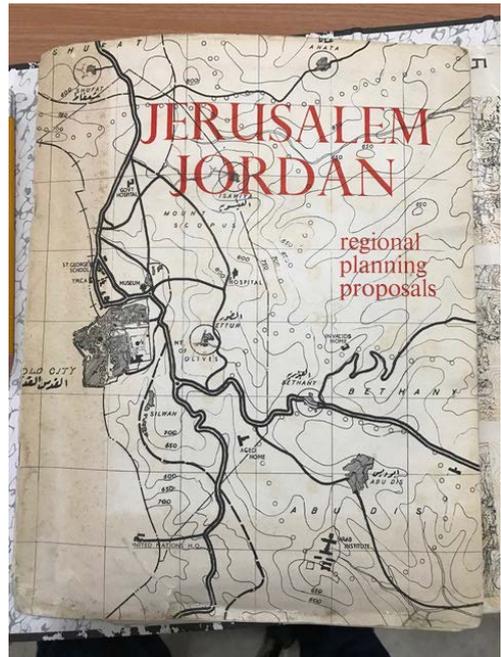


Figure 1. Henry Kendall, *Jerusalem Jordan Regional Planning Proposals*, October 1965.

planning scheme that would involve the architect Henry Kendall,” specifying that the project provided notably for “turning the Jewish Quarter into a public garden,” and that “the Wailing Wall would be kept intact, this vestige of the second temple being considered a holy site.”²⁴ In December 1964, the consul further explained that this “urban design plan” would be carried out under the aegis of the East Jerusalem Development Corporation, and that it anticipated “the demolition of numerous more or less damaged buildings.”²⁵

In the *Jerusalem Star* of 28 December 1966, an article details “Mayor Khatib’s grand plan for Jerusalem in 1967,” emphasizing, “This new year heralds a large number of important state-sponsored public projects . . . which the government gladly announces to visitors to the Holy City in this period of religious feast days,” before going on to mention the upgrading of Qalandiya Airport, the renovation of al-Aqsa Mosque, continued restoration work on the Holy Sepulchre, but also various upgrades of the water supply networks and electrical grid.²⁶ Beyond the unavoidable irony that arises when reading these documents in light of later events, we clearly perceive that the Jordanian authorities, at both governmental and municipal levels, were committed in the early 1960s to a broad scheme of modernization of the Holy City, with the stated aim of improving tourist attractions.

One final testimony shows that the perimeter of Harat al-Maghariba was particularly targeted by these tourism development projects: Fu’ad Mughrabi, who later became professor of political science at the University of Tennessee, recalls participating in an archaeological dig in the summer of 1966 under the direction of William Stinespring, in the vicinity of Wilson’s Arch, immediately bordering Harat al-Maghariba, in the northern part of the Western Wall.²⁷ He had a very special connection to this dig, since his father, who was of Algerian origin, had grown up in Harat al-Maghariba in the 1930s. In February 1966, Stinespring published a first article in the American journal *Biblical Archaeologist* about an excavation project in the sector intended to eventually create a “tourist attraction.”²⁸ The following year, in February 1967, Stinespring reported on the excavation that Moughrabi took part in, stressing that further digging would require an opening up of the excavation area. He ended with a question: “But can such an opening be made, with many people living overhead? And can we do any excavating underground without bringing down on our heads large stones or even whole buildings now resting on this ancient structure? We hope to answer some of these questions in the summer of 1968.”²⁹ The answers would come sooner than expected, as the buildings of Harat al-Maghariba would be effectively demolished, the “tourist attraction” would indeed be created, but in conditions and proportions that Stinespring could hardly have imagined.

Liberating Potential Futures

Archives are not only containers of potential pasts. Potential futures are also on stage. In contemporary Jerusalem, the construction of the “Separation Wall” during the second intifada “generated a number of urban transformations that, together with

the changes related to the new urban plans, foreshadow a very different future for the city.”³⁰ These questions are a matter not only for urban planners, but also for historians, archivists, and curators.

In recent decades, enterprises and efforts that can be linked to a transnational and largely analyzed “archival fever” and “archival activism” were pursued in Palestine and Israel, with numerous projects devoted to the discovery, cataloguing, and digitization of archives, animated by different and sometimes opposite intentions: to document the Nakba and preserve the documentary deposits that have survived destruction, or to legitimate dispossession.³¹

However, three main strands remain unexplored or not fully investigated. The first is the multitude of nonmilitary, nonstate and nondiplomatic archives in Israel/Palestine. If these have been largely explored – although relevant *omissis* and classified documents remain unknown – other types of archives, traditionally classified with labels such as private, religious, or association archives, contain fundamental information that can provide new insights on individual and collective itineraries, testimonies, and construction of memory of the 1948 trauma.

The second focus is to closely monitor the condition of “open” archives in the current “digital age.” This is notably the case of the Israel State Archives that, after being self-presented as a documentary symbol of Israeli “transparency,” were closed between 2016 and 2017 on the pretext of a massive digitization effort. The experience of scholars and the public is that documents previously accessible are no longer available for research purposes and that even physical access to the reading room has been reduced.³² At this point, and provocatively, one of the main tasks facing historians who use its collections is not only to dig and bring to light new events, but to compare the current available collections with those analyzed in the past to identify and expose the dispersal of documents and the impossibility of physically gaining access to the reading room and its holdings.

The third and last main strand is linked to a reactivation of the potential of archives not only as sites of memory but as spaces for counternarratives.³³ Archives are not only repositories of information but objects to be reinterpreted and approached, and this goes far beyond the mere historical methodology, requiring borrowings and exchanges with other disciplines and methods. As Hochberg wrote: “To fight this archival fatigue and make archives actually matter, we need to develop an altogether different approach – one that builds on imagination, future vision, playfulness, creativity, speculation What future aspirations, communities, and solidarities the archive holds are a matter of engagement: our job is to imagine.”³⁴

This different way to conceive of the archive not only attains the narration of a violent past or the denunciation of a stagnant present, but also – and no less crucially – the imagination of a possible future³⁵ through a continuous back and forth through the aspirations and potentialities to be disclosed in the past, present, and future.

Vincent Lemire is the author of *Au pied du mur: Vie et mort du quartier maghrebin de Jérusalem (1187–1967)* (Paris: Seuil, 2022).

Maria Chiara Rioli is the author of *A Liminal Church: Refugees, Conversions, and the Latin Diocese of Jerusalem, 1946–1956* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

In this joint research work, Vincent Lemire authored the section “Just before Disappearing: Urban Planning and al-Maghariba Neighborhood under Jordanian Rule,” and Maria Chiara Rioli authored the introduction and the sections “Resisting the Temptation of ‘New Beginnings’: On 1948 and Archiving” and “Liberating Potential Futures.” Rioli’s research received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreements No 835758 and No. 101004539.

Endnotes

- 1 Concerning the broad concept of potential and counterfactual history in the modern and contemporary Middle East and beyond, see Salim Tamari, Issam Nassar, Stephen Sheehi, eds., *Camera Palæstina: Photography and Displaced Histories of Palestine* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2022); Quentin Deluermoz and Pierre Singaravélou, *Pour une histoire des possibles: Analyses contrefactuelles et futurs non advenus* (Paris: Seuil, 2016); and Falestin Naïli’s introduction in this issue of *JQ*: “Reclaiming the Past, Disrupting the Present,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 92 (Winter 2022): 5–9.
- 2 On the history of al-Maghariba neighborhood, see *Au pied du mur: Vie et mort du quartier maghrebin de Jérusalem (1187–1967)* (Paris: Seuil, 2022); English translation forthcoming: Vincent Lemire, *In the Shadow of the Wall: The Life and Death of Jerusalem’s Maghrebi Quarter, 1187–1967* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2023); Nazmi al-Jubeih, *Harat al-yahud wa harat al-maghariba fi al-Quds al-qadima: al-tarikh wa al-masir ma bayna al-tadmîr wa al-tahwid* [The Moroccan quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem: history and destiny between destruction and Judaization] (Beirut and Ramallah: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2019), and “Childhood Memories of a Jerusalemite,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 73 (Spring 2018): 91–100; Maryvelma Smith O’Neil, “The Mughrabi Quarter Digital Archive and the Virtual Illés Relief Initiative,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 81 (Spring 2020): 52–76; and Thomas Abowd, “The Moroccan Quarter: A History of the Present,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 7 (Winter 2000): 6–16.
- 3 Ariella Aisha Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (London: Verso, 2019); and Gil Z. Hochberg, *Becoming Palestine: Toward an Archival Imagination of the Future* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2021).
- 4 Azoulay, *Potential History*, 341.
- 5 Azoulay, *Potential History*, 342.
- 6 Azoulay, *Potential History*.
- 7 On this ambiguity, see Derek Jonathan Penslar, “Declarations of (In)Dependence: Tensions within Zionist Statecraft, 1896–1948,” *Journal of Levantine Studies* 8, no. 1 (2018): 13–34.
- 8 “Even in later centuries, when millions of so-called free citizens could engage critically with spectacles of imperial violence, like the partition of India and Pakistan, or the destruction of Palestine and the establishment of Israel (whose ‘new beginning’ and constitution of national sovereignty generated millions of expelled), phrases such as ‘necessary violence’ and a ‘prestate phase’ prepared the terrain for the celebration of yet another bloody independence and constitution of a sovereign nation-state. Independence and national constitution continue to be repeated as the true meaning of the revolutionary events.” Azoulay, *Potential History*, 343.
- 9 Hochberg, *Becoming Palestine*, ix and 27.
- 10 Kimberly Katz, *Jordanian Jerusalem: Holy Places and National Spaces* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005), 5.
- 11 This is the case of Muhammad ‘Adnan al-

- Bakhit, ed., *al-Watha'iq al-Hashimiya, awraq al-malik 'Abdallah bin al-Husayn: al-idara al-Urduniyya fi Filastin, 1948–1951* [The Hashemite documents: the papers of King Abdallah bin al-Husayn: the Jordanian administration in Palestine, 1948–1951] (Amman: Jami'at al-Bayt, 1995).
- 12 The description of this collection was accomplished within the Open Jerusalem Project (“Open Jerusalem: Opening Jerusalem Archives for a Connected History of ‘Citadinité’ in the Holy City,” funded by the European Research Council), online at (openjerusalem.org) bit.ly/3NAFtzz (accessed 2 November 2022).
 - 13 The gaps observed in the original numbers given to these meetings and documents suggest that one record of minutes is missing for the beginning of summer 1955 and another for autumn 1955 (B936-7). Moreover, the minutes of the meetings held between January 1958 and December 1959 could not be identified.
 - 14 Haneen Naamneh, “Navigating the Time of Arab Jerusalem: A Perspective from Within,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 50, no. 3 (2021): 52–55, and “A Municipality Seeking Refuge: Jerusalem Municipality in 1948,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 77 (Spring 2019): 110–21.
 - 15 These questions will be at the core of the *Jerusalem Quarterly*’s forthcoming special issue titled “Retracing UNRWA’s History: Archives, Social History, and Visual Culture on Palestinian Mobilities and Humanitarianism,” to be published in 2023, co-edited by Maria Chiara Rioli and Francesca Biancani.
 - 16 For this information on UNRWA’s archives, Maria Chiara Rioli is profoundly grateful to Lex Takkenberg, former UNRWA Ethics Chief Officer.
 - 17 Michelle Hamers, “The UNRWA Film and Photo Archive,” *Photography and Culture* 14, no. 3 (2021): 401–13.
 - 18 The archive is available online at unrwa.photoshelter.com.
 - 19 Henry Kendall, *Jerusalem: The City Plan. Preservation and Development during the British Mandate, 1918–1948* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office [HMSO], 1948).
 - 20 Henry Kendall, *Jerusalem Jordan Regional Planning Proposals* (London: Cook, Hammond, and Kell, 1965), plates 10 (“Gardens and Vistas,” proposals 2 and 10), 8 (“Streets and Parking,” proposal 6).
 - 21 Kendall, *Jerusalem Jordan Regional Planning Proposals*, plates 13–26 (“Specific Projects with Generalized Locations,” proposal 49).
 - 22 See Abowd, “The Moroccan Quarter,” 9, based on an interview he conducted with a former mukhtar of al-Maghariba quarter, Muhammad Abdelhaq, on 26 September 1999.
 - 23 Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes (henceforth CADN), Jerusalem 294 PO/2, box 29, 29 December 1966.
 - 24 CADN, Jerusalem 294 PO/2, box 48, 6 February 1963.
 - 25 CADN, Jerusalem 294 PO/2, box 59, 17 December 1964.
 - 26 “Mayor Khatib Outlines Projects for the Holy City in 1967,” *Jerusalem Star*, 28 December 1966.
 - 27 Correspondence with the author, March 2017.
 - 28 William Stinespring, “Wilson’s Arch Revisited,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 29, no. 1 (1966): 27–36.
 - 29 William Stinespring, “Wilson’s Arch and the Masonic Hall,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 30, no. 1 (1967): 27–31.
 - 30 Francesco Chioldelli, “The Next Jerusalem: Potential Futures of the Urban Fabric,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 53 (2013): 51.
 - 31 On this idea, see Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) and Cassie Findlay, “Archival Activism,” *Archives and Manuscripts* 44, no. 3 (2016): 155–59.
 - 32 On this point, see Ilan Pappé, “An Indicative Archive: Salvaging Nakba Documents,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 49, no. 3 (2020): 22–40; Hagar Shezaf, “Burying the Nakba: How Israel Systematically Hides Evidence of 1948 Expulsion of Arabs,” *Haaretz*, 5 July 2019.
 - 33 Ann Laura Stoler, “On Archiving as Dissensus,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 38, no. 1 (2018): 43–56.
 - 34 Hochberg, *Becoming Palestine*, ix and 27.
 - 35 On this reflection, see Arjun Appadurai, “The Capacity to Aspire,” in *Culture and Public Action*, ed. Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 59–84.