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Patterns of Christian activity and dispersion in nineteenth-century Jerusalem

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Various Christian communities existed in Jerusalem during the nineteenth century. The three largest ones were the Greek Orthodox, the Roman Catholics (Latins) and the Protestants. These communities were strongly supported by the European Powers, thus enabling them to be very active in the development of the city. Differences in historical background and interest in Jerusalem, plus different culturally based attitudes and values led each community to make a distinct contribution to the developing city landscape. Christian building activity was pronounced: there was the construction of big imposing institutions, churches and convents which usually were used as hospices for pilgrims as well as institutions for education, health and welfare and representative functions. The dispersal of Christian residences took a special form for their locations seem to have been determined by the wish to adhere to historical sites that had special meaning to the various communities. Also the distinctiveness of the religious communal neighbourhoods was confirmed. The contribution of the Christian communities to the urban landscape of Jerusalem during the nineteenth century thus included the construction of prominent buildings which still today dominate the morphology and skyline of the city, and also the strengthening of the special spatial pattern of this historical religious Holy City.

The Holy City of Jerusalem grew and developed considerably during the nineteenth century. Among the dynamic forces that contributed to the developments in the city during that period were its various Christian communities, who were supported by the various European Powers. Because of its sacredness the city maintained marked spatial geographical features reflecting the character of the various religious communities living in it. These features were most conspicuous in the case of the Christians, who were divided into several sects and groups. The influence of religion on the location of Christian institutions and residences in the city had been felt also during earlier periods but some special developments occurred during the city in the nineteenth century.

The aim of this paper[1] is to discuss the share of the different Christian communities in the city's development, to examine the location of Christian institutions and residences as revealed in the city, and to point out the special nature of the Christian groups' contribution to the shape of the built-up area of Jerusalem

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in the nineteenth century, a contribution whose effects have lasted to this day and which now dominate big parts of contemporary Jerusalem.[1]

The different Christian communities

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Christian community of Jerusalem was relatively small, comprising a third of the city's total population, i.e. 3,000 Christians out of a total population of about 9,000. The Christians were divided into three major communities: Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics (Latins) and Armenians; and three other smaller ones: Copts, Ethiopians and Syrians. Seetzen, who visited the city in 1806, presented the following data concerning the total and the Christian population in the city at the time of his visit: Muslims—4,000; Jews—2,000; Christians: Greek-Orthodox—1,400; Roman Catholics—800; Armenians—500; Copts—50; Ethiopians—13; Syrians—11; total Christian population—2,774; total general population—8,774.[2]

Other sources indicate that Seetzen's data were close to reality. It also seems that no outstanding change occurred in the composition of the city's general population and the Christian community in it, until the 1830s. The figures quoted by Edward Robinson, who visited the city in 1838, were very similar to Seetzen's.[3]

A significant change in the status of the Christian communities in Jerusalem occurred in the early 1830s, when Palestine and Syria came under the Egyptian rule of Muhammad 'Ali and Ibrahim Pasha. The Egyptian rule (1832–40) was more open to change than had been its predecessor, the Ottoman régime. Also the Egyptians were influenced by the European Powers and consequently they treated the minorities in Jerusalem more liberally, thus enabling them freedom to develop within certain limits.

The reinstatement of the Ottoman régime in 1840 was made possible, to a great extent, by the support extended by the European Powers. In return, this regime took upon itself to follow the liberal policy that had earlier been outlined by the Egyptian rule. Those years were also, in fact, the beginning of the "Tanzimat" period, when a series of reforms were introduced by the Ottoman regime. It included decrees pertaining to equal rights for non-Muslim subjects in the Empire. These decrees invested an increasing status to the foreign consulates until the latter came only to take orders from their own governments. In Jerusalem increasing strength of the foreign representatives helped give additional power to the non-Muslim communities—the Jews and the Christians.[4]

One of the prominent changes that occurred in the Christian community's composition during the first part of the nineteenth century, particularly after the early 1830s, was the formation of an active Protestant community in Jerusalem

[1] On the appeal and strong connections of Christians to Jerusalem there is an extensive literature, with regard to general activity in the nineteenth century. See: S. B. Colbi, *Christianity in the Holy Land, past and present* (Tel-Aviv, 1969) 66–109; W. Zander, *Israel and the holy places of Christendom* (London 1971) 5–54 and Appendixes

[2] U. J. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina etc.* **II** (Berlin 1854–59) 18

[3] E. Robinson and E. Smith, *Biblical researches in Palestine etc.* (London 1841) **II** 80–6; Y. Ben-Arieh, The population of the large towns in Palestine during the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, according to western sources *International seminar on the history of Palestine and its Jewish settlement during the Ottoman period* (Jerusalem 1970) 4–8

[4] M. Ma'oz, *Ottoman reform in Syria and Palestine 1840–1861, the impact of the Tanzimat on policies and society* (Oxford 1968) 12–26

and during the course of the century, two other Christian sects were also established in the city: the Greek Catholic and the Armenian Catholic. The latter were both first established in Jerusalem during the 1840s, but throughout the nineteenth century they exerted very little influence on the city.

Attempts to summarise the total and Christian communities' population in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century are represented in the following tables:[1]

TABLE 1

The general population of Jerusalem in the years 1800–1922

Year	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Total
1800	4,000	2,750	2,000	8,750
1850	5,350	3,650	6,000	15,000
1880	8,000	6,000	17,000	31,000
1910	12,000	13,000	45,000	70,000
1922	13,500	14,700	34,000	62,200

TABLE 2

The Christian communities' population in Jerusalem in the years 1800–1922

Year	Greek Orthodox	Greek Catholic	Roman Catholic	Armenian	Armenian Catholic	Copt	Ethiopian	Syrian	Protestant	Total
1800	1,400		800	500		30	10	10		2,750
1835	1,650		900	530		100	30	20	a few	3,250
1850	1,850	50	1,000	550		100	30	20	50	3,650
1860	2,000	50	1,100	580	10	100	50	10	100	4,000
1870	2,200	50	1,200	640	20	100	75	15	200	4,500
1880	3,000	90	1,600	700	20	100	75	15	400	6,000
1890	4,000	150	2,150	770	30	100	75	25	700	8,000
1900	5,000	200	2,700	800	30	120	100	50	1,000	10,000
1910	5,900	250	3,500	1,300	50	150	100	150	1,600	13,000
1922	5,945	278	3,560	2,367	103	103	73	371	1,815	14,700

In addition to the resident Christian population of Jerusalem, many Christian pilgrims arrived in the city during the period. Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem began many centuries ago, but the nature of the pilgrimage movement during the nineteenth century had its own pace and distinctive characteristics. A large number of Christian pilgrims visited the city every year, but this number varied from one year to the next. We can assume that the number of pilgrims sometimes equalled the number of resident Christians, although they often surpassed it, and in certain years even equalled the entire resident population of Jerusalem.[2]

[1] The data in the tables presented here have been extracted by the author from data found in the literature of travellers and explorers from the nineteenth century; see Y. Ben-Arieh, *op. cit.*; also, The growth of the Jewish community of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century, chapters in *The history of the Jewish community in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem 1973) 80–121; also, C. M. Watson, *The story of Jerusalem* (London 1918) 278–87

[2] On pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century see, for instance: T. Tobler, *Deakblätter aus Jerusalem* (Konstanz 1856) 492–578; S. N. Spyridon, Annals of Palestine 1821–1841 *Journal of Palestine Oriental Society* **XVIII** (1938) 87–9; E. Pierotti, *Jerusalem explored being a description of the ancient and modern city* (London 1864) 275; F. Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land* **I** (London 1861) 173

Most of the pilgrims in the first part of the nineteenth century were Greek Orthodox and Armenians, as well as other Christian Arabs from the Ottoman empire. This composition began to change in the second part of the century when the number of Russian pilgrims grew noticeably and the number of Catholics began to increase. "Modern" tourism started to invade the city, with a strong European element and with an increasing number of Protestant pilgrims.

The Christian pilgrims' principal destination in Jerusalem was the Holy Sepulchre, and the preferred occasion for visiting it was Easter time, when religious ceremonies were conducted there. The extensive pilgrimage, combined with the growth of the resident population in the various Christian communities, led to the development and construction of many Christian buildings in the city.

The Christian Quarter and the Greek Orthodox community

The area known as the "Christian Quarter" encompassed, in the nineteenth century, as it still does today, the north-western part of the Old City (Fig. 1).

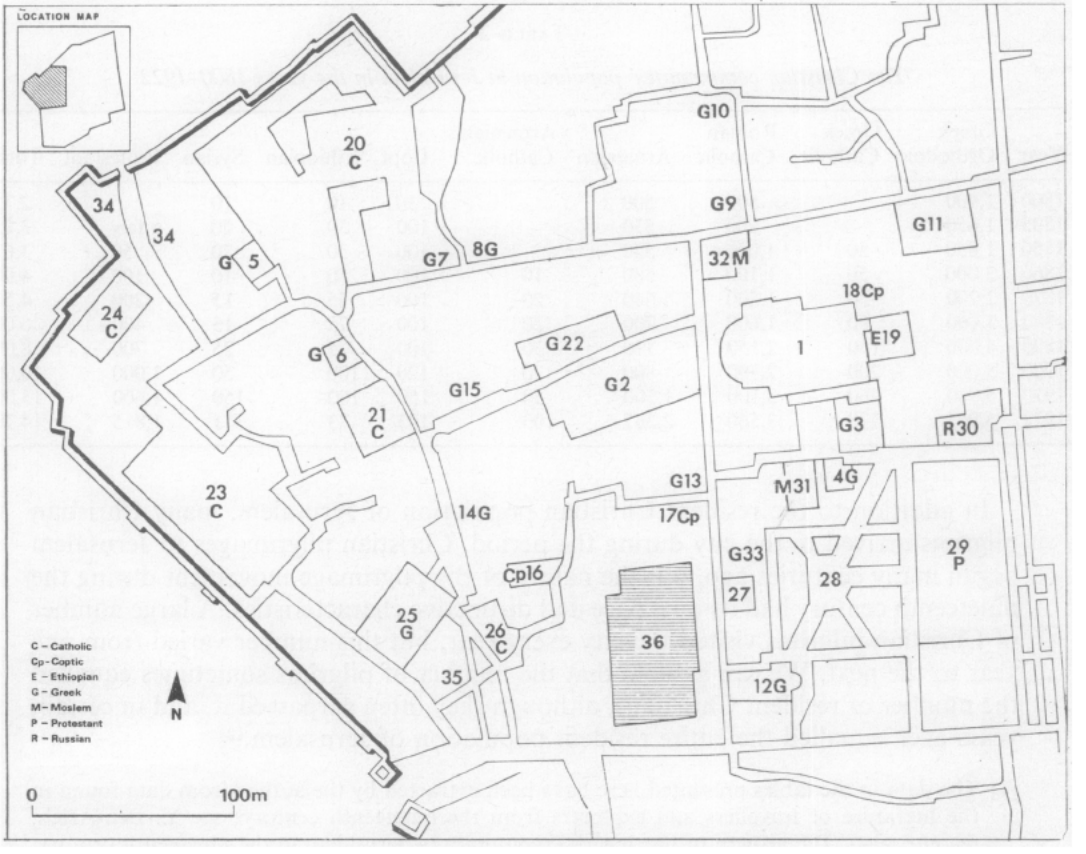

Figure 1. The Christian Quarter (nineteenth century). 1, Church of the Holy Sepulchre. 2, Great Greek Convent. 3–15, Greek convents. 16–18, Copt sites. 19, Ethiopian site. 20, Franciscan convent of St Salvador. 21, Franciscan building of the Casa Nova. 22, Greek Patriarchate. 23, Roman Catholic Patriarchate. 24, Roman Catholic seminary. 25, Greek hospital. 26, Greek Catholic centre. 27, Hamam—bath. 28, Muristan area. 29, German Church of the Redeemer. 30, Russian Convent and Church. 31–32, Muslim mosques. 34–35, Areas of new shops. 36, Pond.

Various travellers in the nineteenth century pointed out several characteristics of this quarter as revealed at the time of their visits. Among other things, they related that the quarter was inhabited by various Christian sects, and a few Muslims (especially near the Damascus Gate), but no Jews. The most prominent among the Christians were the Greeks and the Roman Catholics, yet, other sects also were represented. They also noticed a certain sub-division inside the quarter, the most distinguishable blocks being those of the Greeks and the Roman Catholics.[1]

The concentration of the Christian population in a separate quarter, and the sub-division of the quarter into blocks according to sects, seem to have developed primarily from the desire of the members of each sect to stick together as much a possible. Moreover, they aspired to stay as close as possible to the site that was held by them to be most sacred, and thus, in time, these sites became their religio-historical focal centre of attraction.[2]

The most important focal centre of the Christians at all times, including the nineteenth century, was undoubtedly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The largest and oldest Christian community in Jerusalem was the Greek Orthodox community (Table 2). Throughout the nineteenth century this community held a major share in the complex of buildings around the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 3a).[3] Most of the Greek Orthodox community was concentrated in the Christian Quarter, close to the "Holy Sepulchre". The largest Greek convent in the city (Fig. 1: G2), which was at the beginning of the century the residence of the Greek Metropolitan of Palestine and, after 1845, of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, was also situated very close to the Holy Sepulchre, so that tight socio-spatial relations existed between the two institutions. In addition to the principal convent, the Greeks had several more convents and churches scattered among the residential buildings in the city, again most of them in the "Christian Quarter", very close to the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 1: G3–15). The main purpose of these convents during the nineteenth century was to serve as hospices for Greek pilgrims and a small number of monks resided in them permanently. The nineteenth-century travellers enumerate some fourteen such convents—nine for men and five for women.[4]

Outside of the Old City the Greek Orthodox held also important sites. Some were owned by the Greeks alone, such as the Monastery of the Cross, while others were held jointly with other communities, particularly the Franciscan and the Armenians, such as the Virgin's Tomb, Gethsemane and the remains of the Ascension Chapel on the Mount of Olives (Figs 3 and 4, the historical sites). The Greek church also owned many residential houses in the Old City.[5]

[1] T. Tobler, *ibid.* 121–6; J. T. Barclay, *The city of the Great King, or Jerusalem as it was, as it is, as it is to be* (Philadelphia 1857) 454–7

[2] I. W. J. Hopkins, The four quarters of Jerusalem *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (July–December 1971) 68–85; Y. Ben-Arieh, The growth of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **65** (1975) 252–69

[3] On the complex rights of possession in the Holy Sepulchre in the nineteenth century, see: G. Williams, *The Holy City, historical, topographical and antiquarian notices of Jerusalem* I (London 1849) 447; also, Y. Ben-Arieh, *ibid.*

[4] Seetzen, *op. cit.* II 20; Robinson, *op. cit.* 80–9; Williams, *ibid.* Supplement, Historical and descriptive memoir, 16; see the names of the Greek convents in C. Wilson, *Ordnance survey of Jerusalem* (Southampton, Ordnance Survey Office, 1853), Maps Section, Plan of Jerusalem with contours, Scale 1 : 2,500. Of the Greek convents mentioned by them, the only one that is not located in the Christian Quarter is the "Jewish" St George, called thus due to its being located near the Jewish Quarter (Fig. 2: G15)

[5] Robinson, *op cit.* II 89–91; Williams, *ibid.* I Supplement, 14–20; II 538–49

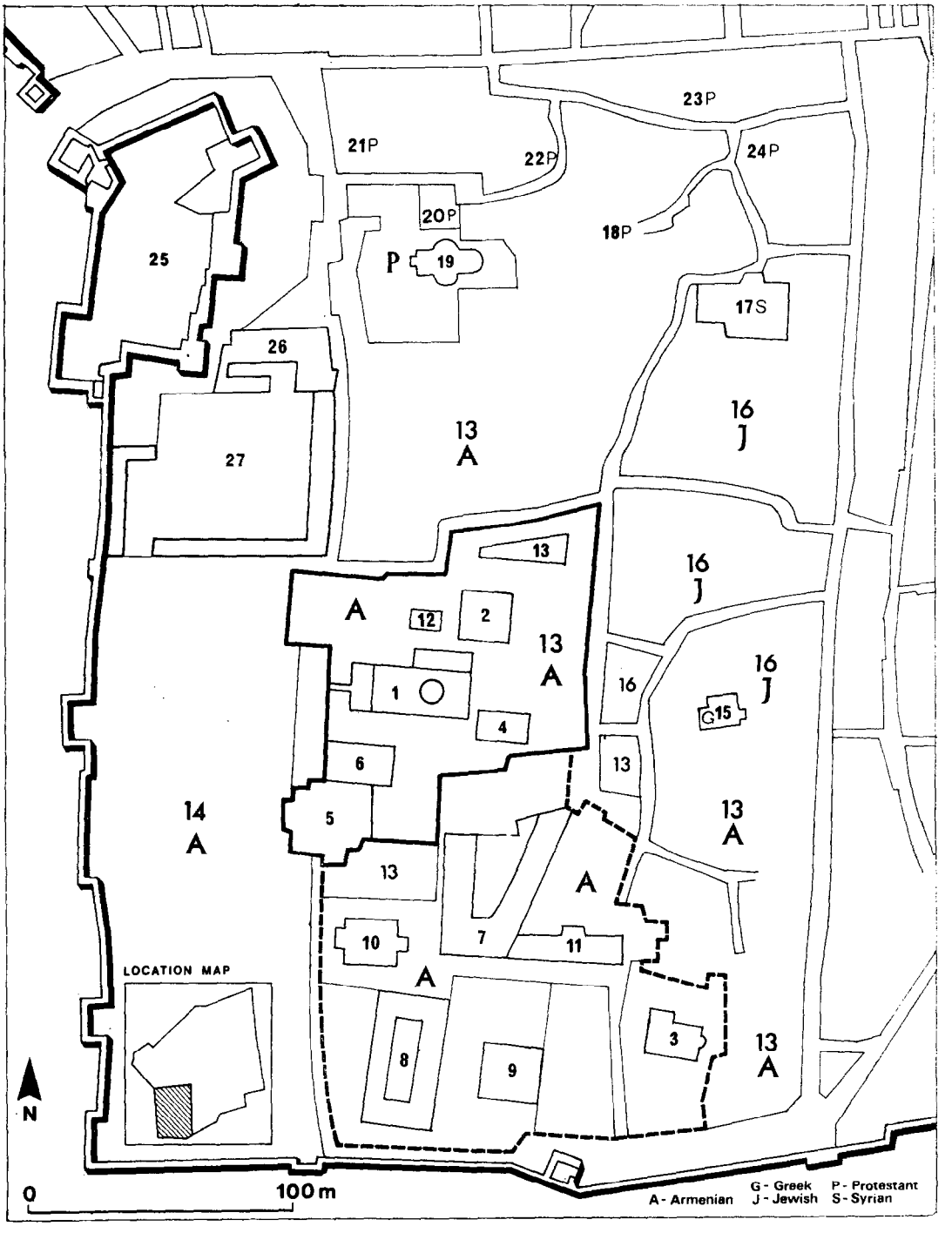

Figure 2. The Armenian Quarter (nineteenth century, mainly). 1, Armenian Church of St James. 2, Ancient Armenian church. 3, Armenian church—Deir-Zeituny. 4, Old residence of the Armenian Patriarch. 5, New building of the Armenian Patriarchate. 6, Armenian printing house. 7, Quarter for accommodation. 8, Armenian seminary. 9, Armenian school (now a museum). 10, Armenian library built in 1929. 11, Armenian school built in 1929. 12, Old Armenian workshop for candles. 13, Armenian residential houses. 14, Armenian Garden area. 15, Greek convent of St George. 16, Jewish residential houses. 17, Syrian convent of St Mark. 18, English Mission's hospital. 19, Christ Church. 20, First English consul's residence in Jerusalem. 21, First Protestant bishop's residence in Jerusalem. 22, Prussian hospital of the Diaconess Sisters. 23, Protestant Mission's school for children. 24, Protestant Mission's pharmacy. 25, Citadel. 26, Garrison built in 1830s. 27, Garrison's square.

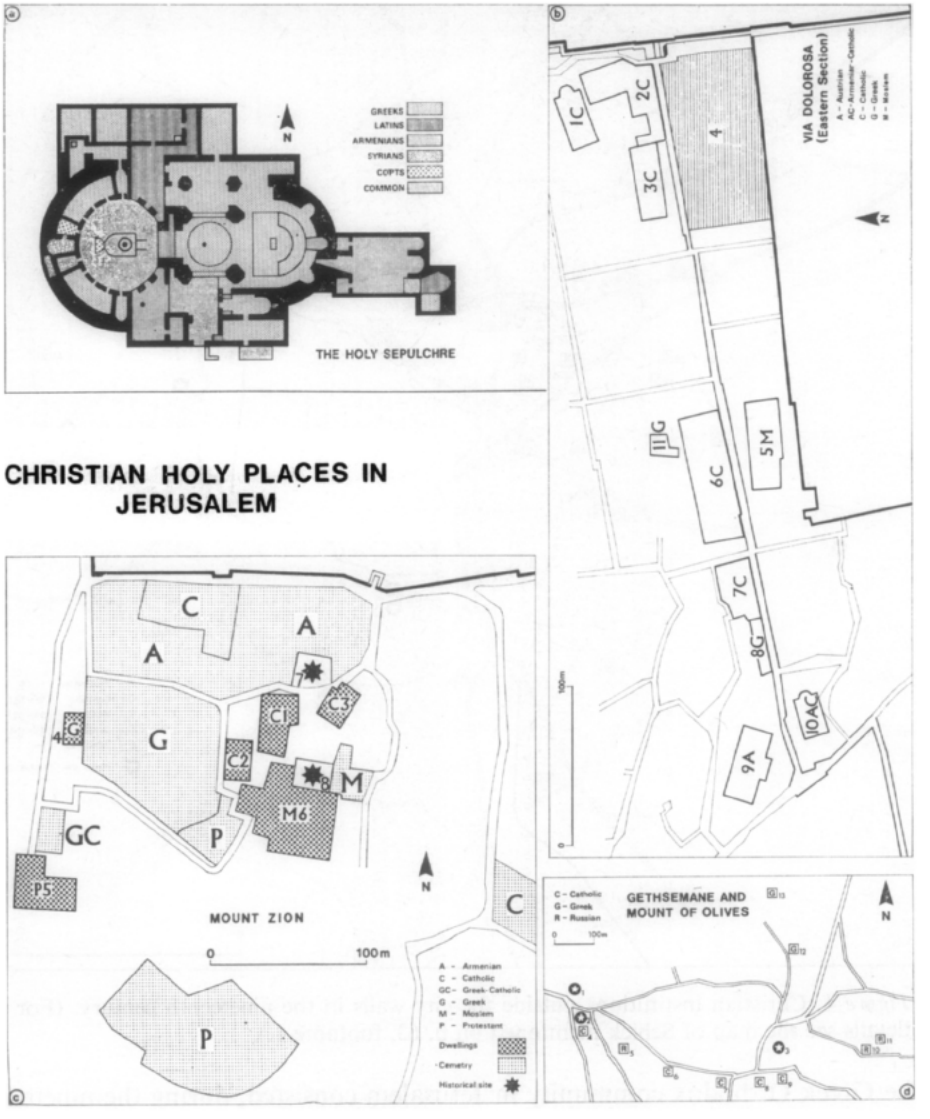

Figure 3. Main Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem (nineteenth century).

a. Rights of possession in the Holy Sepulchre area (based on Williams map, *op. cit.* I 446).

b. Christian buildings, Via Dolorosa (eastern section). 1, Crusaders' church of St Ann. 2–3, Peres Blancs' monastery and seminary. 4, Pond. 5, Turkish governor's residence (nineteenth century). 6, Flagellation church. 7, Convent of the "Sisters of Sion". 8, Greek Monastry "Prison of Christ". 9, Austrian hospice. 10, Armenian-Catholic church. 11, Greek convent of Deir-Adas.

c. Christian buildings, Mount Zion. 1–2, Church and Convent of Dormition. 3, Franciscan church. 4, Greek convent. 5, Protestant school of Gobat. 6, Muslim Khan. 7, Armenian Caiphas' house. 8, Last Supper Hall, Coenaculum.

d. Christian buildings, Gethsemane and Mount of Olives. 1, Tomb of the Virgin. 2, Garden of Gethsemane. 3, Site of the Ascension church. 4, "Church of All Nations" (1924). 5, Russian Church of Maria Magdalena. 6, Dominus Flevit Church (end of nineteenth century). 7, Benedictine Sisters' convent. 8–9, Carmelite Sisters' convent; Pater Noster and "Eleona" churches. 10–11, Russian convent and tower. 12–13, Viri Galilaei—Greek church and Byzantine chapel.

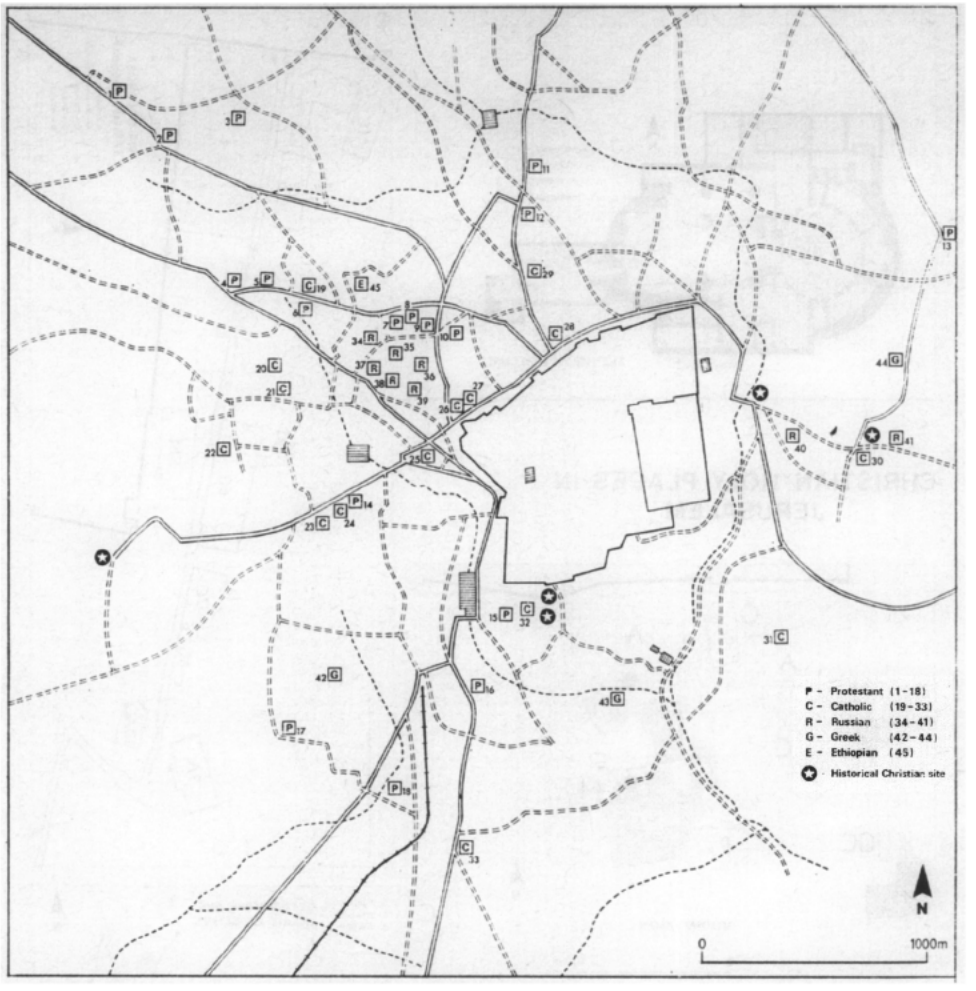

Figure 4. Christian institutions outside the city walls in the nineteenth century. (For details see the map of Schick mentioned on p. 63, footnote 1.)

The Greek Orthodox community in Jerusalem consisted, during the nineteenth century, of a majority of local Arabs and a small group of Greek monks. Their Greek clergy numbered between about one hundred early in the century, increasing to perhaps one hundred and fifty toward the end. Most of the Greek priests were foreigners who had come from the Greek Islands. The Orthodox church also had a local Arab clergy which is set distinctly apart from the Greek clergy: the local people cannot occupy high positions, and the Greeks are not allowed into local secular posts.[1]

The centre of the Greek Church and the majority of its adherents were within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire; consequently, the Greeks, like the Armenians, constituted the bulk of the pilgrim movement to Jerusalem during the first part of the century.

[1] Seetzen, *op. cit.* II 37; with regard to the Greek Orthodox community in Jerusalem during the nineteenth century see also, Nicephore. Maschopoulous, *La Terre Sainte, Essai sur l'histoire politique et diplomatique des lieux saints de Chrétienté* (Athens 1957) 204–331; Colbi, *op. cit.* 85–90; A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (New York first published 1920, reprinted 1971) 25–8

The Greek Orthodox, unlike the Protestants and the western Catholics, were Ottoman subjects and could buy land in the city with greater ease. The Greek monks were the first Europeans to start a modern profitable agriculture outside the walls of the city. These monks, who had mostly come from the Greek Archipelago, were experienced farmers, and planted extensive areas with mulberries, olives and vineyards. Their property was demisable to the Greek Church on the event of their death, which, of course, increased this church's property even more.[1]

However, the detachment of the church and the Greek ruling class from the bulk of the community brought the latter little tangible benefit from the church's wealth. The weakness of the Greeks as compared to some of the other Christian sects was due to the absence of a strong political and social backing outside the Ottoman Empire. The independent state which was established in Greece in the nineteenth century was too small and weak to fulfil this supportive function. The only country which tried to act as protector of the Greek Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire and in Jerusalem was Czarist Russia, but its financial aid was limited and its relations with the Greek Church were not always cordial.

During the 1830s and the 1840s the Greeks started to rebuild some of their convents and they also opened educational institutions. Their most important act was the renovation of the Greek Patriarchate, in 1845, four years after the establishment of the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. Until that year the Greek Metropolitan, who resided in the large Greek convent in Jerusalem, had been subordinate to the Patriarch of Jerusalem whose seat was then in Istanbul. The return of the Greek Patriarch to Jerusalem thus signified its rising importance and increased the community's activity in the city (Fig. 1: G22).[2]

The activity of the Greek Orthodox community in Jerusalem during the second part of the nineteenth century may be divided in several categories: first, repairing and rebuilding of churches and convents which had already been in that Church's possession; second, an increasing rate of land purchase for building new structures in and outside the Old City. In both instances the first objective was to provide accommodation for the Greek pilgrims who came to the city in great numbers. Another purpose was to renovate places which were traditionally sacred in the eyes of the Greek Church, both inside and outside the Old City.

The third group of activities was in the fields of education and health which developed, to a great extent, as an answer to and in defence against the activity of the Protestants. In this category were, for instance, the establishment of a Greek school and college in the Monastery of the Cross which then attracted many students, the expansion of the Greek boys' school and the establishing of a school for girls inside the great Greek convent, and the foundation of a Greek hospital, for which a special building was later constructed in the Old City (Fig. 1: G25). In the middle of the century a Greek printing house was also established in the city.

The fourth group of activities encompassed the agricultural enterprises already mentioned. The fifth category included activities, mainly towards the end of the century, such as the building of numerous shops, department stores, apartment

[1] H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient* I (Leipzig 1860) 219; E. W. Schulz, *Reise im das gelobte Land* (Muellheim 1852) 126–7; V. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine, Judée* I (Paris 1868) 77–82

[2] Williams, *op. cit.* II 538–49

houses and store houses, in the vicinity of Jaffa Gate, the New Gate and the Muristan (Fig. 1: 28, 34, 35).

The particular nature of the Greek Church's activity in Jerusalem reflected the special character of this community. The Greek monks were not well educated in the spirit of European culture, but were good agriculturalists. Also the Greek Church, as the oldest in the city and one which had considerable wealth and whose leaders were Ottoman subjects, held a powerful position that enabled it to buy lands, build intensively and amass more riches. The attitude of this church toward holy places and religious rites led it to erect churches and convents on sites that had been consecrated by Christian tradition, and to build residential buildings to accommodate the pilgrims.

The Russian Church and other eastern communities

A second element that was active among the Christians of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century was the Russian Church, which had strong ties with the Greek-Orthodox community. Unlike the Greeks, the Russians did not have a local community in Jerusalem at the beginning of the nineteenth century, except for several priests who represented it in the city. During the course of the century, Russian activity in Jerusalem grew considerably, but a large permanent Russian community did not develop in the city, for their activity was mainly expressed in the great number of pilgrims who started to arrive in Jerusalem. Even so, impressive churches, convents and hospices for pilgrims were built so the Russians developed a strong hold in the city, supported by the establishment of religious, political, commercial and research delegations in Jerusalem.

On the one hand, Russia largely assumed the role of protector to the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem and acted as the main rampart of the Greek Church against France and other Catholic powers (which patronised the Roman Catholics) and England and Prussia (who spread their wings over the Protestants). On the other hand, there were recurrent frictions and quarrels between the Greek Orthodox Church, which wished to be independent and free to determine its own policy, and the Russian Church which disapproved of this tendency and of the Greek Church's neglect of its pilgrims and subjects.[1]

During the second part of the nineteenth century, particularly after the Crimean War (1856), Russia's activity and involvement in Jerusalem began to increase. The number of Russian pilgrims grew constantly. A Russian shipping company opened a special line from Odessa to Jaffa to serve the Russian pilgrims. In order to increase its share in the pilgrims' traffic, the company took an interest in the improvement of conditions for the pilgrims, and started to apply pressure for the establishment of new hospices and for the improvement of the pilgrims' conditions in the city. In October 1860 the acquisition of lands in the "Russian Compound" area, which had taken several years, was completed and the building started; it was finished in 1864 (Fig. 4: R35–39).[2] The considerable number of edifices built

[1] D. Hopwood, *The Russian presence in Syria and Palestine 1843–1914, Church and politics in the Near East* (Oxford 1969) particularly 33–95; H. B. Tristram, *The land of Israel* (London 1876) 399–400; C. Orelli, *Durch's Heilige Land* (Basel 1878) 194–5

[2] M. C. Finn, *Reminiscences of childhood* (London 1929) 168; P. Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui Voyage dans la Phénicie* (Paris 1884) 228; Lievin de Hamme le Frère, *Gudie-indicateur des sanctuaires et lieux historiques de la Terre-Sainte* I (Jerusalem 1869; Quatrième edition 1897) 160; C. Warren, *Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem* (London 1884) 409

in that area included many that were conspicuous in nineteenth-century Jerusalem, and form even today a prominent element in the urban landscape.

The Russian Compound continued to fill the important function of accommodating the Russian pilgrims until the First World War. The institutions located in the compound served thousands of Russian pilgrims ("bogamolichi"), who were mostly poor peasants. The place also served as a locale for activities among the local population. In addition to other services, a courthouse for Russian subjects and for guests who were under Russian protection, a guard, and, later on, also a post office, were maintained in the place.[1]

The Russians were active in other fields, too. They acquired a piece of land near the Holy Sepulchre, in the Old City, where later on, important archaeological findings were discovered and incorporated into the hospice that was built there for first-class pilgrims and clergymen (Fig. 1: R30).[2]

Russian activity, which was intensified in the 1880s, and the large number of Russian pilgrims who arrived in the country at that time, brought on both the acquisition of more lands and an accelerated rate of building by the Russians. In 1886 they bought a tract north of the Russian Compound and built on it a new hospice that was completed in 1890 (Fig. 4: R34). They also repaired the old part of the compound. After the termination of all the construction and repair works, the hospices were able to provide accommodation for many thousands of pilgrims.[3] Other building activities were carried out by the Russians on the Mount of Olives and in Gethsemane. On the Mount of Olives they built, at first, a chapel and a hospice, to which they later added a high tower with a prospect over both the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea (Fig. 3d: R10–11).[4] In Gethsemane they put up a fine and rich church, the Maria Magdalena Church, which was constructed after the fashion of the Great Church of Moscow and had seven domes (Fig. 3d: R5).[5] All the activities by the Russians were stopped by the outbreak of the First World War and the Communist Revolution.

The Armenians

Another Eastern community, with a population which ranked third among the Christian communities in Jerusalem at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was that of the Armenians (Table 2). The Armenians lived close together, more than any other community in Jerusalem, in their quarter which was built around the important convent of St James (Fig. 2; see the walls of the ancient quarter and the new one). Located there was also the residence of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, who officiated additionally as Patriarch of Palestine and Cyprus (Fig. 2: 5). The Armenians owned parts of the lateral buildings in the Holy Sepulchre and had a foothold in other holy places in Jerusalem, such as the

[1] Orelli, *op. cit.* 180–9
[2] Pierotti, *op. cit.* 33
[3] *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements* (PEF. QSt.) 1890 3; L. Oliphant, *Haifa or life in modern Palestine* (London 1887) 309–11
[4] PEF. QSt. *ibid.* (1887) 215; K. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria—Handbook for travellers* (Leipzig 1912) 77–8; Lievin, *op. cit.* I (1879) 368
[5] Baedeker, *ibid.* (1912) 76

Caifhas House on Mount Zion, and had a share in the Virgin's Tomb, Gethsemane and the remains of the Ascension Chapel on the Mount of Olives (Figs 3 and 4).[1]

The Armenian community was prosperous and its convent and church were among the most magnificent edifices in Jerusalem. The Armenians lived mostly on trade, for the revenue from the hundreds and thousands of pilgrims who stayed every year in the convent and its vicinity provided a source of livelihood for most of the local community.[2] When western influences started to invade Jerusalem, the Armenian community also began to be active. For example, in the late 1830s an Armenian printing house was established, while in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s schools for boys and for girls, a seminary and a hospital for pilgrims were founded in the Armenian Quarter (Fig. 2: 7, 8, 9).[3]

These developments in the Armenian community were similar to those which occurred in the Greek community. They, too, tried to reconstruct holy places, but this often led to conflict with the Greeks and the Roman Catholics over rights to undertake such activity. They fostered the cult of religious rites, they bought lands and built houses outside the walls, and, in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century they started an extensive building of shops, department stores and warehouses in the vicinity of the Zion and Jaffs Gates.[4]

Copts, Ethiopians and Syrian-Orthodox

The other three Eastern communities in Jerusalem during the nineteenth century were the Copts, the Ethiopians and the Syrian-Orthodox, but each numbered only a few dozens and their contribution to the development of the city was very limited. It should also be noted that particularly after the 1840s, in conjunction with a general intensification of Catholic activity in Jerusalem, small Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic and Syrian Catholic uniate communities (each an Eastern Christian group which had accepted Papal supremacy) began to gain power in the city; yet, due to their smallness, these communities, too, had very little influence on the city's development.

Roman Catholics and European support

During the entire nineteenth century the Roman Catholics (Latin) community retained its position as the second largest among the Christian communities of Jerusalem (Table 2). The entire Roman Catholic community was also concentrated within the Christian Quarter. The Holy Sepulchre had a strong appeal to members of this community, too.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic community in Jerusalem consisted of local Arabs with the exception of a small number—about thirty—of Franciscan monks. A Roman Catholic patriarchate did not exist at that

[1] Wilson, *op. cit.* I notes, 59; Baedeker, *ibid.* 1876 162; Colbi, *op. cit.* 101–3; see also A. K. Sanjian, *The Armenian communities in Syria under Ottoman dominion* (Cambridge 1965) 123–215

[2] Robinson, *op. cit.* II 91; Williams, *op. cit.* I, Supplement, 20–5; II 554–9; F. A. Strauss, *Sinai und Golgotha, Reise in das Morgenland* (Berlin 1847) 239–46

[3] Tobler, *op. cit.* 443–4; I. J. S. Taylor, *La Syrie, la Palestine et la Judée* (Paris 1855) 342–5; Pierotti, *op. cit.* I 13, 201–11; C. Wilson, *op. cit.* Notes, 159

[4] PEF. QSt. *op. cit.* (1897) 241; (1899) 281

time, and the community was led by the Franciscan convent of St Salvador. Most of the Franciscan monks were Spanish and Sicilian (Italian).[1]

Unlike the Greek-Orthodox the Roman Catholics had, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, only one central convent in Jerusalem, that of the Franciscans; these last had been nominated since the Crusades as "Custodians of the Holy Land" and of the holy places in it. In Jerusalem they resided first on Mount Zion, and on being expelled from there, in the sixteenth century, moved to their present residence in the St Salvador convent, which is situated very conveniently for them at a vantage point over the north-western part of the Old City, not far from the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 1: C20).[2]

The nineteenth-century travellers describe the Franciscan convent as being, at the beginning of the century, a large separate unit occupying several acres of land. It has its own craftsmen—blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, millers, bakers and others. Even the cooking and other chores were performed by the monks and their men. The place also had a pharmacy and a clinic where the Catholic pilgrims and local population received medical treatment.[3] The convent contained a hospice, where most of the Catholic pilgrims who came to Jerusalem stayed. Near the convent were more structures owned by the Franciscans. They also had a strong foothold in the Holy Sepulchre, and certain smaller positions in other holy historical places in Jerusalem, as had the Greek-Orthodox and the Armenians.[4]

The Franciscans were active in the 1830s: they got a foothold in the "Via-Dolorosa", when Ibrahim Pasha made over to them the "Flagellation" area, and in 1839 they built there a small chapel with money that had been donated by the Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, to commemorate his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This signified the beginning of Christian building activity on a large scale in that area (Fig. 3b: 6C).[5]

The Franciscans were active in four fields in Jerusalem and Palestine: first, they attempted to get a footing in the holy places, which brought them into conflict with the Greek-Orthodox, who were chief masters of these places, and with the Armenians. Second, in order to provide for the growing number of pilgrims they enlarged their old hospice and built a new building (the "Casa Nova") nearby in the 1850s (Fig. 1: C21), where they could accommodate hundreds, and later even thousands of pilgrims every year. Third, in order to guide and teach the pilgrims about the country and its holy places they set up printing and publishing facilities. The fourth field of activity was that of education, health and welfare, which they developed particularly during the second part of the century, in cooperation with the Roman Catholic patriarchate, the government of France and other Roman Catholic societies.[6]

The 1840s brought on an essential change in the development of the Roman Catholic community in Jerusalem, when the Roman Catholics, following the

[1] Robinson, *op. cit.* **II** 88; Strauss, *op. cit.* 241–3; Peterman, *op. cit.* **I** 217–8

[2] Seetzen, *op. cit.* **II** 9; Strauss, *ibid.*; Taylor, *op. cit.* 342–5

[3] Seetzen, *ibid.* **II** 17–25; Williams *op. cit.* **I**, Supplement, 13–39; W. R. Wilson, *Travels in the Holy Land . . .* (London 1822) **I** 230

[4] Seetzen, *ibid.* **II** 9; Strauss, *op. cit.* 241–3; Taylor, *op. cit.* 342–5

[5] Williams, *op. cit.* **II** 461–2; Schultz, *op. cit.* 130–1; Baedeker, *op. cit.* (1876) 209

[6] W. L. Gage, *The comparative geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula by Carl Ritter*, translated and adapted to the use of biblical students **IV** (Edinburgh 1866) 204–5; A. S. Norow, *Meine Reise nach Palästina* (Leipzig 1862) 181–90

example of the Greeks, established their own partiarchate (1846). At first, there were differences of opinion between the new Roman Catholic patriarch and the Franciscan monks, who were aggrieved at having been deprived of their role as Custodians of the Holy Land. There was, apparently, also a political background to that conflict since the establishment of the patriarchate was due largely to the demands of France, who regarded it as its own representative and felt that its creation would provide a foil to the Anglo-Prussian Protestant activity on the one hand, and the Russo-Greek on the other. The Franciscans, in contrast, represented the policy of Rome in Jerusalem. Consequently, the Franciscans complained that the Patriarch was reducing their position and income in order to increase his own, and that he disregarded the fact that they had been the first representatives of Catholicism in Palestine for hundred of years. Rome seems to have taken the monk's side, and even tired to transfer the Patriarch's seat to Antioch, but French pressure was strong enough to cancel this project.[1] In 1859 foundations were laid for a new building for the Roman Catholic Patriarchate in the Old City, to replace the temporary residence near the St Salvador convent. The new building was completed in 1864 (Fig. 4: C23).[2]

The 1840s and the 1850s were also years of organisation of Roman Catholic schools for boys and for girls. Other important institutions were also founded: a printing house, which has since fulfilled an important role in Franciscan activity in Jerusalem, and the beginning of a small hospital, that developed later into the St Louis hospital.[3]

Two Roman Catholic women's societies started to operate in Jerusalem after the establishment of the Patriarchate: "the St Joseph Sisters" and "the Sisters of Sion", both active in the field of education and the establishment of schools. The Patriarchate established also a seminary (Fig. 4: C24). All of these had a considerable financial support from the French government.[4]

Following the "Berlin Treaty", in 1878, the early 1880s saw increased activity on the part of France and the Roman Catholic orders in Jerusalem. In 1887 the Notre Dame de France was built in Jerusalem to accommodate the many pilgrims. The construction of the convent was put in the hands of the Assumptionists, who belonged to the Order of the "Fathers of Augustin de l'Assumpsion" (Fig. 4: C27).[5] The French hospital—St Louis—was built in the late 1880s, near the Notre Dame de France. This hospital treated both the pilgrims and the local population. The building of the Notre Dame and the St Louis hospital provided the final motive for breaching the wall for the "New Gate", in order to make an easier approach for the residents of the Christian Quarter to their buildings outside the walls (Fig. 4: C26–27).[6] Also during the 1880s, the Dominican Order began work in Jerusalem. In 1884 it founded outside the city walls, not far from

[1] P. Medebielle, *The Diocese of the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem 1963) 28–9

[2] Strauss, *op. cit.* 241–3; Pierotti, *op. cit.* 162, 262–79; Baedeker, *op. cit.* (1876) 216; H. Scherer, *Eine Oster-Reise ins Heilige Land. Im Briefen an Freunde* (Frankfurt 1866) 177–9

[3] Tobler, *op. cit.* 458–97; Petermann, *op. cit.* I 217–8; G. M. Wortabet, *Bayroot, Syria and the Syrians* II (London 1856) 219–21; L. H. Depuis, *The holy places* (London 1856) I 120

[4] J. Finn, *Stirring times, or record from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles from 1853 to 1856*, edited and compiled by his widow . . . II (London 1878) 397; Pierotti, *op. cit.* 277–9; Lievin, *op. cit.* I (1897) 123; PEF. QSt. *op. cit.* 1894 169; A. Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem* (London 1904) 159–60

[5] PEF. QSt. *op. cit.* (1904) 298

[6] Baedeker, *op. cit.* (1887) 203

the Damascus Gate, the convent and cathedral of St Stephan. The convent contained also a practical school for Biblical studies, which was active in various public and educational fields (Fig. 4; C29).[1] Several orders of Roman Catholic sisters also increased their activity in Jerusalem at this time (Fig. 4: C20–25, C33).

The Roman Catholic activity in Jerusalem was connected not only with France, but also with other Catholic Powers of Europe, such as Austria and southern Germany. Austria's influence, which was comparatively great during the first stages of the city's development in the middle of the nineteenth century, declined towards the end of the century. Among the activities that the Austrians were engaged in was the construction of a large hospice that was founded as a religious institution. Construction took four years and was finished in 1860. This impressive structure provided accommodation for many pilgrims, but especially Austrians (Fig. 3b: 9A).[2] The German Catholics were also active in Jerusalem, and even though their actual activity started late in comparison with the Protestants, they had begun to take an interest in the city quite early in the century. The Duke Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, who visited Jerusalem in 1838, induced the Bavarian king, Ludwig I to found a missionary movement for the spreading of Christianity in the Holy Land. This movement functioned from 1838 to 1888 and collected during that period money for the Catholic Church in Palestine. Other German Catholic societies were founded later on, with the objective of protecting the general interests, and particularly the religious interest, of the Germans.

For many years the German Catholics worked in Jerusalem through the Roman-Catholic Patriarch and the donations from Germany were transferred to him. Only after the war between Germany and France in 1870/1, when patriotic feelings became stronger among the German Catholics did they seek to work separately.[3]

German Catholic activity in Jerusalem after 1870/1 was closely connected with general German activity in the city at that time. German activities are discussed more fully later in the section which deals with Protestant activity in Jerusalem, but mention can be made here of two main projects that were carried out by this community around the turn of the century. First, in 1890 the German Catholics succeeded in buying land near the Damascus Gate for a new hospice—the St Paulus Hospice. The building was started in 1905 and completed on Easter 1910 (Fig. 4: C28).[4] Second, in 1898, when the German Emperor visited Jerusalem, he submitted to the German Catholics the use of the Dormition area on Mount Zion which he had just received as a gift from the Sultan. The purpose of the latter step was to free the German Catholics from French influence. The Dormition area, which according to Christian tradition is the place where the Holy Mother died (hence its name), and is situated close to the Last Supper Hall, was made over to the German Catholics as a site for a new convent and a large church. The construction of the convent was completed in 1906, and its management was placed

[1] K. Schick, "Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Jerusalem" *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* (*ZDPV*), Bd XVII 261–76; Bd XVIII, Tafel 4, Karte der näheren Umgebung von Jerusalem, Mastab 1 : 10.000, 1894/5

[2] B. Neumann, *Die Heilige Stadt und deren Bewohner* (Hamburg 1877) 309–10; K. Schnabl, Die Römisch-katolische Kirche in Palästina, *ZDPV*, *ibid.* VII (1884), 288–9; J. Finn, *op. cit.* II, 345, 309–10

[3] V. Cramer, *Ein Jahrhundert Deutscher, Katolischer Palästinanmission, 1855–1955* (Koln 1956) 7, 47; G. Meinertz, *Im Lands des Herrn* (Donawörth 1939) 57–60

[4] Cramer, *ibid.* 54; E. Blyth, *When we lived in Jerusalem* (London 1927) 139–42; H. W. Hertzberg, *75 Jahre Deutsche-Evangelische Gemeinde Jerusalem* (Leipzig 1927) 36

in the hands of the Benedictine Brothers; the church was finished in 1910 (Fig. 3c: C1–2).[1]

To sum up Roman Catholic activity in Jerusalem we have to distinguish between the first and second part of the century, and treat separately that which took place at the end of the century. During the first part of the century the main activity was carried out by the Franciscans, and was somewhat similar to that of the Greek Orthodox, that is, tending to the Holy Places and accommodating the pilgrims, while the Arab members of the congregation remained very much segregated from this secluded group. Around the middle of the century the Roman Catholics responded to the activity of the Protestants and the Greeks in Jerusalem by establishing institutions for health, education and welfare. This was not conducted by the few Franciscan monks who were already in the city, but rather by Europeans, especially the French and a great number of other Roman Catholic orders, who then started in Jerusalem a diversified philanthropic activity, and established there many orphanages, old people's homes and institutions for the blind, disabled and retarded, vocational schools and workshops. Thus, by the end of the century Roman Catholic philanthropic activity had surpassed that of the Protestant Mission which had been the first in that field.

The Catholic Mission succeeded even more in its work among the Eastern Christians than did the Protestant one, since its ritual concept seems to have been more acceptable to the local people than the more abstract Christianity of the Protestants. The success of the Catholics induced an expansion of the Eastern Catholic congregations in Jerusalem—the Greek Catholic, the Armenian Catholic and the Syrian Catholic.

By the end of the century, the Roman Catholics began to equal the Protestants in the educational level of their monks. While at the beginning of the century the Franciscan Brothers in Jerusalem were usually uneducated, towards the end of the century other Catholic orders, like the Dominicans, whose monks were well educated, started to operate in Jerusalem. The Catholics also established research institutions, which largely owed their existence to the support extended by important European states, such as France and Germany.

Protestants and European support

The Protestants were in many respects the most active of the Christian communities in Jerusalem during the period under discussion. Until the 1820s they had no foothold in the Holy City. The first Protestant penetration occurred in the 1820s when American Presbyterians established in Jerusalem a mission amongst the Eastern Christians. They were followed, later, by English Protestant missionaries. It seems that these missionaries, at first, encountered difficulties in their attempts to settle in the city but their activity got official recognition under the Egyptian rule, in the 1830s. At that time the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews started its regular activity in Jerusalem. Its local representative, the missionary Nicolayson, who was well acquainted with the city's problems and aware of the deficient health conditions prevailing in it, demanded that the "London Society" establish a hospital in the city. In 1838 a missionary

[1] Meinertz, *op. cit.*; Cramer, *op. cit.* 47; Baedeker, *op. cit.* (1912) 72; Auguste Victoria-Pfingsthaus-Stiftung, *Die Deutsche Festtage im April 1910 in Jerusalem* (Potsdam 1913)

doctor, who was a converted Jew, was sent to Jerusalem and opened a medical station there, as a first step toward establishing a hospital.[1]

The Protestants' activity in Jerusalem did not diminish with the return of the Ottoman régime in 1840, rather it intensified, following the 1839 reforms of the Tanzimat. The status of the Protestants in the Ottoman Empire in general, and consequently also in Jerusalem, was further raised as a tribute to the Protestant Powers—Britain and Prussia—who had helped the Turks to drive Muhammad 'Ali away. At the same time, Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, initiated the establishment in Jerusalem of a joint Protestant bishopric in which the Anglicans and the German Protestants co-operated. The first bishop—Dr Alexander—who was appointed in 1841 was a converted Prussian Jew; he died four years after his arrival in Jerusalem. In 1846, Mr Samuel Gobat—a Swiss who had been a missionary in Africa—was appointed Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem. He stayed in office for 33 years, until his death in 1879, and was very active in the city's life. The joint bishopric was maintained until 1887.[2]

Immediately upon its establishment, in 1840, the Protestant bishopric launched upon an intensive activity. The English and German Protestants joined forces to build in 1841 the first Protestant church in Jerusalem and the entire Middle East—"Christ Church"—opposite the Citadel. They encountered difficulties when archaeological findings were discovered on the site, and the Ottoman authorities also raised objections to the continuation of the building. This latter opposition was overcome by convincing the authorities to accept the church as if it were the private chapel of the British consul. The church was built and when it was consecrated on 21st January 1849, the ceremony included prayers in English, German and even Hebrew—the latter with a view to attract Jewish converts (Fig. 2: P19).[3]

In addition, the English-Protestants continued to organise their hospital. A suitable house was rented in the Old City, and the hospital was officially opened on 12th December 1844. The English Mission also took a very active part in the field of education. In the 1840s and the 1850s schools were founded for boys and for girls, as were vocational schools and even an English college (Fig. 2: P18, 23, 24).[4]

The German Protestants were also active, starting with medical services. In about 1846 the German Mission rented a house in the Old City and turned it into a sort of hospital, which was run by the Deaconess Sisters (and therefore known as Deaconess House). The house served, apparently, also as a hospice, especially for poor pilgrims. In 1847, a missionary school was added—the "Deaconess School" (Fig. 2: P22).[5]

[1] On the activities of the Protestants in Jerusalem see: A. L. Tibawi, *British interests in Palestine 1800–1901—A study of religious and educational enterprise* (Oxford 1961) particularly 1–27; A. L. Tibawi, *American interests in Syria 1800–1901: A study of educational literary and religious work* (Oxford 1967), particularly 1–30; also T. D. Halsted, *Our missions: Being a history of the principal missionary transactions of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews from its foundation in 1809, to the present year* (London 1866) 136–84; S. Olin, *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land* II (New York 1843) 313–5; Colbi, *op. cit.* 85–90

[2] Strauss, *op. cit.* 239–71; Scherer, *op. cit.* 197–8; Baedeker, *op. cit.* 22

[3] W. H. Bartlett, *Walks about the city and environs of Jerusalem* (London 1844) 85–91; Strauss, *ibid.*; Schultz, *op. cit.* 93–4

[4] Finn, *op. cit.* II 101–7; W. H. Bartlett, *Jerusalem revisited* (London 1855) 41–9

[5] Petermann, *op. cit.* I 196, 215–6; A. A. Isaacs, *A pictorial tour in the Holy Land* (London 1867) 37–40

Another German Protestant activity in Jerusalem started in the 1840s, a branch of the mission of the "Brothers"—"the Craftsmen". The head of this mission was the secretary of the Christian Society in Basel, Spietler, a dreamer of romantic missionary visions, one of which was the revival of a Christian bond between Jerusalem and Ethiopia. For this purpose he planned to establish twelve "apostolic stations"—in accordance with the tradition of the Apostles—along the "Special Apostolic Route". These apostles were to be travelling craftsmen who should work for their living and spread Christianity. Near Basel Spietler founded the "Brothers' House" as a training base, and planned to build the first station in Jerusalem. In the middle of the century "Craftsmen" were sent to Palestine, where they rented a house in the Old City, but owing to their ignorance of local conditions, to financial difficulties and excessive demands on the part of Spietler, the project failed. Some of the "Brothers" returned to Basel while others stayed on and were integrated into the general missionary work under the guidance of Bishop Gobat. Some of these men eventually figured prominently in the city's Christian society. The most distinguished of these were the architect Conrad Schick, who became one of the most important scholars on the subject of Jerusalem, Blandsferger, who was active in introducing modern agricultural methods to Palestine, and Ludwig Schneller, who built outside the walls, in 1860, the Syrian Orphanage (the "Schneller Orphanage") (Fig. 4: P2).[1]

The activity of the Protestants, both English and German, in Jerusalem continued in various fields. In the Old City constant attempts were made to establish vocational schools for boys and for girls, and outside the walls the Protestants were among the first to build modern buildings to which they transferred their institutions from the Old City (Fig. 4).

Due to the split between the Anglican and the Lutheran Churches at the end of the nineteenth century, the activity of these churches then assumed a nationalist nature. It is also interesting to notice that the English activity at that time varied greatly from that of the Germans. Whereas the former continued to concentrate on the activities of the various English missionary delegations to the city, in research activities which included the establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and in the fields of health, education and welfare, all of which did not entail the construction of special large edifices in the city,[2] the German activity became more and more of a nationalist nature, and found expression in the construction of conspicuous buildings.

When the Prussian heir-apparent visited Jerusalem in 1869, after the consecration of the Suez Canal, he was presented by the Turkish Sultan with the eastern part of the Muristan area in the Old City. In 1870 the Germans built on that site a small church for their own community centre. Later, with the growth of German activity from the 1880s until the first decade of the twentieth century, they built there a most important German Protestant centre with a large church in its midst and a tower that was designed to be the highest of its kind in the city (Fig. 2: P29).[3]

When the German Emperor and Empress visited Jerusalem in 1898, they decided to purchase a suitable tract of land on the Mount of Olives and build there the "Augusta Victoria". This building, too, was specially designed by German

[1] Schulz, *op. cit.* 127–218; L. Schneller and V. Schneller, *Ein Patriarch der Evangelischen Mission im Heiligen Land* (Leipzig 1925)

[2] Finn, *op. cit.* II 397; Goodrich-Freer, *op. cit.* 180–200; Blyth, *op. cit.* 16–7, 145–86, 233

[3] Orelli, *op. cit.* 126; Warren, *op. cit.* 254; Lievin, *op. cit.* (1898) 433–4

architects and great efforts were put into its construction. Even today it is one of the most imposing buildings in Jerusalem, and conspicuously stands out against the skyline of the Mount of Olives ridge (Fig. 4: P13).[1]

A special topic in German activity in Jerusalem is the establishment of the Templers' colony in 'Emeq Refa'im (Fig. 4: P18). The Templers belonged to a religious sect that dissented from the established Southern German Protestant Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their faith was based directly upon their own understanding of the precepts of the Old and New Testament. Their colonisation movement in Palestine had been motivated by the wish to establish a devoted Christian community. The movement took on the name of the "Temple Gesellschaft" (the Society of the Temple), which incidentally, had no relation to the Crusaders Order of the "Templars".[2]

The importance of the Templers' colonies for the development of Jerusalem lay chiefly in their forming a permanent settlement in the city. Although their initial motives in coming to Palestine had been mostly religious, with a certain mystic aspect, they lived on their work and not on donations. Another important contribution made by them was the introduction of European methods of organisation, work and craftsmanship, hitherto unknown in the region.[3]

To sum up the general Protestant activity in Jerusalem, it appears that in its main objective—the conversion of people to their faith—they had small success. They could not approach the Muslims who were strictly forbidden to convert to other religions, and their activity among the Jews resulted in only a few dozen converts. Yet, the Protestants' activity in Jerusalem was important not in forming a Protestant community, but more in leading the way in the development of the city in many fields. They were the first to develop institutions of health, welfare and vocational education. These evoked a chain reaction, first among the other minorities, for whom these institutions had been established, and later among the Ottoman authorities and the Muslim community who also tried to imitate this activity. The impact was especially strong because the Protestants dealt with problems which were particularly acute. The Protestant Church had also a stimulating effect on the movements towards modern settlement beyond the city walls.

Several reasons seem to have been behind this: first, the strong yearning that prevailed among the members of this community for the Bible and the Holy Land, which was realized only in the nineteenth century, when changing political conditions enabled intensive western activity in the region. Second, they found a greater scope for activity, since unlike other Christian communities, they were not bound by the existing ecclesiastical authorities and ritual associated with the Holy sites. Thus, their activity was of a different nature, and was directed toward the local population, hence the establishment by them of health, welfare and educational institutions, and the experimentation with agricultural settlements. The third, but not least important, reason was the fact that the people who conducted the Protestant activity in Jerusalem had a superior general education and better medical and technological skills than members of the other communities. They

(1) Auguste Victoria-Pfingsthaus-Stiftung, *op. cit.*; Blyth, *op. cit.* 131–8

(2) On the Templers there is an extensive literature; *op. cit.*, see especially with regard to Jerusalem: C. Paulus, Die Tempelcolonien in Palästina *ZDPV* IV (1883) 31–42; C. Hoffman, *Occident und Orient* (Stuttgart 1875) 108–25; A. Carmel, German settlement in Palestine (Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1970)

[3] H. Brugger, *Die Deutschen Siedlungen in Palästina* (Bern 1908) 30

were also backed by a comparatively large capital since they had the financial support of the then rising powers—Britain and Prussia—which looked upon these Protestant Churchmen as their own representatives.

Conclusions

The study of the Christian communities' activity and dispersion in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century may lead us to four main conclusions. Firstly, that the Christian population of Jerusalem did not grow much in the nineteenth century. If at the beginning of the century it amounted to about 3,000 persons, in the following more than a hundred years, that is, until the eve of the First World War, it only quadrupled to reach 13,000 persons. Such growth was small as compared to the growth of the total population in the city and the Jewish community in particular (Tables 1 and 2).

The growth of the smaller Christian communities—the Syrians, the Ethiopians and the Copts—was insignificant. The Eastern Catholic communities that made their appearance in the city in the course of the century—such as the Greek Catholic and Armenian Catholic—remained small, too. The most significant change was the establishment of the Protestant community and its various ramifications in the city, and the growth in the population of the three principal communities. The Armenian community grew mainly at the end of the century and on the eve of the First World War, particularly as a result of Armenian immigration from Turkey. The growth of the other two—the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholics—occurred also mainly in the second part of the period under discussion, largely because of the improvement of health conditions in the city and a decrease in the mortality rate.

There was also no noticeable change during the century in the number of priests of the various religious groups, whether Greeks, Franciscans, Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians or Syrians. On the other hand, there was a considerable increase in Protestant missionary activity, and a significant increase in the number of Roman Catholic orders.

Secondly, due to the insignificant growth of the Christian population, there was almost no building of new permanent Christian residential neighbourhoods, except for the German Templers' colony, the American/Swedish colony and many private houses of properous citizens, especially Europeans who were mostly Protestants. This, again, was in contrast to the city's general development, when in the nineteenth century a new city sprouted outside the city walls, its built-up area surpassing in size that of the Old City. The majority of the additional Christian population of Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Armenians was absorbed in the nineteenth century into the quarters and regions inside the Old City that were already inhabited by members of these communities. Many houses, rooms and stories were added within the old bounds of the quarters and blocks and the overall density increased.

Thirdly, the dispersal of Christian residences in the Old City took on a special form, for their locations seem to have been determined by the wish to adhere to religio-historical sites of the various communities thus creating a pattern of religio-communal neighbourhoods inside the Old City. In the area outside the city walls the dispersion of Christian buildings was determined by yet another factor—the desire to remain close to the Old City.

Lastly, it appears that the decisive influence in the activity and the spatial dispersion of the Christian communities in Jerusalem was the religious factor. The various Christian communities clung to religio-historical sites in the city and endeavoured to reside close to them; to restore, repair and reconstruct ancient sites; and even to buy new plots of land and build new buildings, as close as possible to their religio-historical centres. Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem became more extensive in the nineteenth century, and the Christian missionary philanthropic activity in the fields of health, education and welfare for the local population brought about the construction of a great number of new buildings in the Old City and in the area outside, or very close to it.

Christian activity in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century was largely backed by the European Powers, who had many interests in the Middle East, including Jerusalem. This gave Christain building activity in Jerusalem during the nineteenth century a particular significance for the Christians constructed big, imposing institutions, churches and convents which were used, usually, as hospices for pilgrims, as well as institutions for education, health and welfare and other representative functions, such as consulates and also private houses. The tracts of land acquired for building purposes were large, particularly in the relatively vacant area outside the walls. A great number of the buildings also had an additional function, that of representing the community or the European Power that had built them, and they were, sometimes, mere prestigious edifices that symbolically signified their owners' position in the Holy City. The contribution of the Christian communities to the Holy City during the nineteenth century was not in significantly adding to the permanent population, or in the creation of many new residential neighbourhoods, but rather in endowing the growing urban landscape with many prominent buildings which, to a great extent, still dominate the shape, nature and skyline of the Old City and its topographical basin.[1]

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[1] Our last conclusion fits with Toynbee's remark on the shape of the traditional Holy City. A. Toynbee, *Cities on the move* (London 1970) 153–4