

# The City and its Rural Hinterland

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## **I**ntroduction: The City and the Country

Jerusalem was the least feudal of the major historical cities of Palestine in the nineteenth century. Its religious placement and functions determined to a large extent the preoccupations of its ruling families, as well as their relationship to the surrounding countryside. Pilgrims and the administration of the holy sites continued to play a decisive role in the fortunes of the Jerusalem *ashraf*<sup>1</sup> and their allies among the rural potentates for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The *Annals of Palestine*, a chronicle of contemporary life in Jerusalem at the first half of last century written by the Greek orthodox monk Neophytos, provides us with a rich and detailed (though often partisan) record of the relationship between the peasantry and the city. In this diary we observe three features that dominated this relationship:

- Jerusalem villages were the sites of frequent rebellions against the central authority, most notably against the Egyptian administration of Ibrahim Pasha. The main target of these rebellions was not taxation, as one might suspect, but conscription.
- In their grievances against the High Porte, and later Muhammad Ali and his stepson Ibrahim Pasha, Jerusalem notables frequently allied themselves with the peasants.
- Christian and Jewish merchants of Jerusalem were often the target of peasant rebellions. But the attempts of minority communities seeking protection in the administration of Ibrahim Pasha (which he fulfilled) did not extend itself to the Christian peasantry. Some of the severest retribution conducted by Ibrahim Pasha

was against the Christian peasantry of Beit Jala, Beit Lahem, and Kerak (the latter in Transjordan).

The most notable of peasant insurrections was that of April-May 1834, in which important sections of the Jerusalem gentry joined the fallahin rebels against the prospect of conscription in the Egyptian army against his Ottoman and European enemies. Jerusalem was besieged on May 8, and—in addition to local peasants—ten thousand *fallahin* (according to Neophytos' estimate) joined from Hebron, Nablus and other Jerusalem villages.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of Ibrahim Pasha (who escaped to Jaffa in light of rumors regarding a spreading plague), many Jerusalemites joined the rebellion inside the city. Despite calls by Ibrahim's deputy to defend the city, the Jerusalemites actually helped the rebels to storm the city.

The people of Jerusalem hurried and broke the locks of the Damascus Gate and opened it. Thousands of fallahin rushed in and captured the city surrounding the citadel, on which they opened a rapid fire. Then young and old fell to looting, beginning with the houses of the Miralais, whence they removed the heavy articles which had been left behind, such as pillows, blankets and wooden tables. Then they looted the Jewish houses in the same way. The following night, the fallahin, with some low-class bandits of Jerusalem, began to loot the shops of the Jews, the Christians, the Franks and then the Muslims. The grocers, the shoemakers and every other dealer suffered alike. Within two or three days there was not one shop intact in the market, for they smashed the locks and the doors and seized everything of value.<sup>3</sup>

It was usual in those circumstances for the Jerusalem gentry to hire armed peasant militias to guard their property against looting. These guards were recruited customarily from Malha and 'Ayn Karim.<sup>4</sup> The monasteries were often protected by Ebaidi villagers, former Christian slaves who were attached to the Mar Saba Monastery,<sup>5</sup> in the same manner that the Ta'amerah bedouins protected the convents of Bethlehem.<sup>6</sup>

When the rebellion was eventually subdued, Jerusalem experienced a few decades of relative stability, peace, and economic expansion, extending to the First World War and the entry of Allenby's army to the holy city. Trade and mercantile interests in the city brought it into increasing collaboration with Jaffa (the main entry to Palestine of European and Greek and Russian pilgrimage) and to the city of Salt in Transjordan, which was its inland supplier of goods. But Jerusalem, unlike Nablus or Jaffa, never acquired prominence as a centre of production or distribution of goods.<sup>7</sup> The increased

security brought about by Ottoman reforms and capitulations led to an increasing number of Europeans, including European Jews, to settle in the city after the 1860s. The ensuing building boom created a huge demand for skilled craftsmen and builders. This development strengthened the relationship of the city with the townships of Beit Lahem and Beit Jala (the main suppliers of Jerusalem builders), as well as with Mount Hebron villages. But the actual expansion of the city outside the city walls was northwards towards the neighbourhoods of Wadi al-Joz, Sheik Jarrah and Tur. There the Muslim notables began to build their villas. In the western expanses, Christian and Jewish middle classes established the modern communities in the direction of the villages of Lifta, Deir Yasin and Malha.

The defining relationship between the city notables and the surrounding villages was one of patronage and mutual protection, rather than one of patrician rule over a subordinate peasantry. Occasionally the historic relationship typical of the feudal cities of Palestine (Nablus and Akka) was reversed in Jerusalem. This was the case with the Sheikhs of Abu Ghosh in the West, and the Lahham clans in Bethlehem. Scholch<sup>8</sup> described this relationship as one in which the members of the Jerusalem *Majlis* [city council] derived their power and wealth from the administration of religious endowments in the city, and from using their influence with the Sublime Port to extend favours and mediate conflicts among the village *shuyukh*.<sup>9</sup> With increased European migration and settlement these patronages extended themselves to the protection of religious and ethnic minorities in the area.<sup>10</sup>

For much of the second half of the nineteenth century the Western rural hinterland of Jerusalem was occupied by disputes between the dominant *multazimun*<sup>11</sup> in the areas (Samhan, Lahham, Abu Ghosh) over the control of tax farming commissions, often through alliances with Jerusalem *a'yan*<sup>12</sup>. *Qays-Yaman* peasant factionalism was the crucible used by these sheikhs to mobilize the peasants of Jerusalem and Bethlehem villages in their respective military bands. The Shaykh of Abu Ghosh (the leading *Yamanite*) was located in a strategic area because of his control over the Jerusalem-Jaffa highway used by European Christian pilgrims. In effect, he was in a position to charge *khawa* ['protection money'] from European pilgrims and Arab merchants using the route. It was not until the early 1860s when the Ottoman Governor of Jerusalem imposed the control of the central government over these factions.<sup>13</sup>

Towards the end of Ottoman rule the Pasha of Jerusalem with the help of the Jerusalem *Majlis* was able to re-organize the relationship between the Governor and the surrounding villages through the appointments of village mukhtars as local representatives of the state. This was the culmination of the modernist administrative reforms which the Ottomans initiated in response to European impositions including bureaucratic centralization, privatization of land (through the land code of 1858 and the attempt to eliminate communal [*musha'*] ownership, and finally the formal

elimination of shaykhdoms and tax farming. In the city of Jerusalem, the municipal council rose to prominence. Inherited by the British Mandate, they elevated its ruling families from city patricians to a hegemonic class in the entire country.

### **The Western Villages before the War**

With Jerusalem becoming the capital of the country after the First World War the relationship of the Jerusalem sub-district villages to the city was transformed. In this we must distinguish between what became the suburban villages (Beit Hanina, Lifta, Malha, Deir Yasin, 'Izariya, Silwan and 'Ayn Karim) and those that remained in the hinterland.

'Western Jerusalem' itself is a post-1948 term, delineating the boundaries defined by the Armistice Agreement of 1949 which separated the Israeli-held part of Jerusalem, from the Eastern part that became part of the West Bank under Jordanian rule (1948-1967). Nevertheless even before 1948, villages to the west and south of the city had their own peculiarity, defined by topography and commercial significance. The western villages had two attributes: proximity to the Jaffa-Tel Aviv Highway, and their integration into the western expansion of the city's middle class neighbourhoods.

To gain a better perspective on the nature of alienation of the west Jerusalem villages from the rest of the district one should compare them with the status of those villages that remained in Arab hands. Rich soil and a higher rate of rainfall and foliage characterize the western slopes of the Judean mountains. The region has a number of perennial streams and the terrain gradually slopes in the direction of Lydda, Ramleh and the maritime plains. In contrast, the eastern slopes are arid and semi-arid and fall sharply towards the Jordan Valley, the soil is poor and terracing is difficult to maintain due to steepness of the slopes. The result is (or was) a higher population density and concentration of villages in the western region—the area that came under Israeli control.

A decisive factor affecting the manner in which these villages underwent changes in their agrarian structure was their proximity to the western slopes of the city, particularly to its Jewish suburban colonies. Geographer Aziz Dweik suggests four concentric parameters of distance which were 'cutting edges' in the morphology of those villages:<sup>14</sup>

- Those in the inner rim of the municipal boundaries (less than 5 kilometers of the city centre), including Issawiyyeh, Tur, Abu Dis, Silwan and Sur Baher. All of those remained in Arab hands after the war.
- Villages in close proximity to the city centre (5-10 kms). On the western side those included Lifta, al-Malha, Qalunya, Qastal, Deir Yasin, Beit Safafa, Walajeh,

Jura, and 'Ayn Karim. Those were invariably on their way to suburbanization, their agricultural land valorizing as real estate.

- Intermediate villages (10-20 kms). Those included Beit Naquba, Abu Ghosh, Suba, Khirbet al-'Umur, Sataf, Deir 'Amr, Beit Thul, Saris, 'Aqqur, Deir al-Shekh, Ras Abu Ammar. With the exception of Abu Ghosh—which collaborated with the Jewish forces before the War—all of these villages were demolished.
- Outer rim villages (over 20 kms from the centre). Including Nataf, Beit Mahsir, Deir al-Hawa, Ishu', Artuf, Islin, Sar'a, Ism Allah, Deir Aban, Deir Rafat, Beit Itab, Sifla, Jarash, Beit Jimal, al-Bureij. Again these villages were obliterated, and new Israeli settlements established over their ruins.

The sub-district covered an area of 1.57 million dunums, of which 88.4 percent was Arab owned, 2.1 Jewish owned, and 9.5 was public land. The area contained 274,950 inhabitants of which 59.6 percent were Arabs and 40.4 Jewish (1945 data).<sup>15</sup> The total area owned by villages in West Jerusalem which were destroyed was 251,945 dunums of which 231,446 dunums (91.8 percent) was Arab owned, 6,897 (2.7 percent) was Jewish owned, and 14,629 (5.8 percent) was public land. The total Arab population evicted from those villages was 23,649.<sup>16</sup> To those we must add a further 25,000 who were expelled from West Jerusalem urban neighbourhoods.<sup>17</sup> The area contained two of the largest three villages ('Ayn Karim and Lifta—1,024 and 323 dunums of built up area respectively), with Malha, Qalunya, and Beit Mahsir ranking among the biggest ten villages in the sub-district.<sup>18</sup> The displacement led to considerable population pressure on eastern villages who had to absorb many refugees on their land that was appropriated for refugee camps.

The villages most transformed by the combined impact of suburbanization and the elevated status of Jerusalem as the centralized capital of the country were those in the inner two circles. Lifta is a case in point. By the mid-thirties this village became a primary source of construction activity (quarries) and building skills in the city.<sup>19</sup> Upper Lifta was integrated into the new Arab Jewish suburb of Romeima. The vastness of village land made it a prime real estate attraction, and created substantial differentiation in internal village wealth. These boundaries were delineated by Sur Baher and Beit Safafa to the south, Tur in the East, Beit Hanina and Shu'fat in the northeast, 'Ayn Karim and Malha towards the south.<sup>20</sup>

Village architecture began to reflect the style and sophistication of suburban Jerusalem. Two-story villas with gardens with inner yards and garden areas began to dot the slopes of the lower village.<sup>21</sup> The introduction of a bus route and the expansion of a transport network increased the mobility of the village to the outside

world. A large number of the young men in the village received their education in Jerusalem colleges as well as in Beirut, Damascus and Cairo universities and beyond. In 1935 the Lifta-Deir Yasin Bus Company was established. It boasted a fleet of three buses and a number of private taxis.<sup>22</sup> Unlike the situation in outlying villages, Lifta had two coffeehouses, two carpentry shops, barbershops, and a butcher. It also had one modern clinic, two village doctors (trained in the American University in Beirut) and two staff nurses.

Because of their proximity to Jewish and mixed neighbourhoods (Romeima, Giv'at Shaul, Mahne Yehuda, Mea Sha'rim) the village had substantial and amicable economic relations with the Jerusalem Jewish community. Lifta was probably the only Jerusalem village that was physically intermeshed with the Jewish communities of Jerusalem. The new village coeducational high school—built by voluntary public contribution was built in Romeima adjacent to Jewish housing.<sup>23</sup> But these developments were not confined to Lifta. The trend was replicated in 'Ayn Karim, Deir Yasin and—to a lesser extent—in Malha.

Deir Yasin, which became the most famous of the four villages, witnessed similar transformation in the thirties. Its fate was linked to the fortune of the Jewish colony of Giv'at Shaul, whose growth eventually completely incorporated the lands of the village after the latter's partial destruction in 1948. Deir Yasin's agricultural base began to change in the early twenties when a large number of its youth began to work in the ranks of the British army and police and in building activity. Its first quarry was established in 1927, and the village boasted ten varieties of superior building stone.<sup>24</sup> A considerable number of its labour force was also involved in construction work, both in the Jewish suburbs, and in the Arab neighbourhoods of West Jerusalem. One of the most repeated grievances of the villagers were the differential wage rates—set officially by the Mandate authorities for Jewish and Arab workers. A Deir Yasin villager commented:

I worked with the British Army for ten years, from 1938 to 1948. I would continue to receive [a daily] allowance of 20 piasters, as opposed to 40 piasters for Jewish workers. When we protested as to why the Jewish workers received more they would say: 'You can always go back to your homes and eat your squash and tomatoes. Those poor Jews have nothing'.<sup>25</sup>

This ideological explanation of differential wages for Jews and Arabs (even when the latter were urbanites and had no land), recalls Carmi and Rosenfeld's discussion of this phenomenon referring to the Arab workers having "a pipeline to the village fields"—an issue which persisted throughout the Mandate.<sup>26</sup> Until 1947,

official government publications issued a list of differential wage rates for Arabs and Jews in the various trades.<sup>27</sup>

With the onset of the forties, daily life in Lifta, 'Ayn Karim, Deir Yasin and Malha became increasingly intertwined with that of the growing Jewish neighbourhoods of Beit ha-Kerim, Giv'at Shaul, and Kiryat Moshe—mostly in the form of commercial dealings and construction activities. The peddling of vegetables and fruits, especially by village women, and the sale of building materials from the village dominated these transactions.<sup>28</sup> Palestinian villagers also availed themselves of medical services of Jewish doctors, with Dr. Ticho, the eye doctor, becoming a household name. Though there was limited social intercourse between the two communities, relations in general were mutually amicable.<sup>29</sup> The following interviews with Lifta women is indicative of these relationships:

We used to buy supplies from their stores, and they would buy stones. We were neighbours who complemented each other. There was little competition. On Saturdays Jews and Arabs would mingle in the village market. ... Friendships grew between the Jews of Romeima and the people of Lifta, which continue until today. [...] Before Romeima was established Lifta people used to shop in Mahne Yehuda, and then sell their vegetables there. Most of the Jews there were Eastern. Many were Kurds and Bukharan and they spoke Arabic fluently. In one case a Liftawi, Fahmi Ibrahim Abu Sa'd married a Jewess from their ranks.<sup>30</sup>

The strain generated by the 1936 rebellion, which involved a number of Lifta, Malha, and Deir Yasin peasants, were soon calmed, only to re-surface in the 1947-48 period after the Partition Plan was announced.

## **The War of 1948**

Military operations following the Partition Plan of November 1947 involved confrontations between Arab and Jewish forces over a one-year period (December 1947 to November 1948). On the Arab side were Palestinian irregulars led by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Huseini, *al-Jihad al-Muqaddas* (JM), the Arab Liberation Army (ALA) [*Jaysh al-Inqadh*] led by Fawzi al-Qawuqji, and troops from the Egyptian Army and the Arab Legion. But the official Arab forces did not engage the Jewish forces until after the termination of the British Mandate on May 15, by which time the military struggle in Palestine was basically resolved in favour of the Zionists. Until then the brunt of the fighting was born by the JM. Several villages (such as Malha, Lifta, and Deir Yasin) had their own armed defenders.

On the Jewish side were the Haganah, the main forces under the general command of David Ben Gurion, in addition to the revisionist forces of the *Irgun Zvei Leumi* and the Stern Group, better known as *Lehi*.

The Zionist forces conducted thirteen operations for the capture of Jerusalem. The objective of these operations was twofold: (1) to clear the Tel-Aviv-Jaffa-Jerusalem highway for the free movement of Jewish forces; and (2) to clear Arab villages on the western flanks of Jerusalem from their Palestinian population to provide demographic depth and linkages between the proposed Jewish state and the city of Jerusalem, in the framework of *Plan Dalet*.<sup>31</sup> Between December 1947 and up to the period of British withdrawal (May 15) the Zionists conducted seven military operations in Jerusalem: Operations *Barak*, *Nachshon*, *Har'el*, *Makkabi*, *Yevussi*, *Shifon*, and *Pitchfork*.<sup>32</sup> All of those operations were conducted inside the boundaries of the UN proposed Arab State, and (in the case of the last three, partly inside the areas of the proposed international boundaries of Jerusalem). The second series of attacks (operations *Ben-Nun*, *Yoram*, and *Qilshon*) took place after the end of the Mandate (May 15, 1948) and up to the first truce (June 11, 1948). The third attack (operations *Dani* and *An-Far*) took place in between the two truces in a ten-day period (July 8-July 18), also in the territories of the proposed Arab State. The fourth and final attack (extending through a protracted period between July 18 to November 1948), known as Operation *ha-Har*, was the most crucial in the clearing and displacement of the Arab village population of western Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup>

The confrontation between the contending Arab and Jewish forces exposed the weakness and lack of preparation of the Arab side. Most of the indigenous Palestinian militias had been either crushed or debilitated by the British counter-insurgency campaign of 1936-39, a mere eight years earlier. In the Jerusalem area the Arab Liberation Army was virtually absent. Established by the Military Committee, itself established by the Arab League in October 1947 to defend Palestine, it consisted of Arab volunteers (mostly Syrians, Iraqis and Palestinians) who fought in the Galilee and the North. With the absence of an ALA presence in the center of Palestine, the Military Committee, in effect, regarded the two great commanders of *al-Jihad al-Muqaddas*, Hasan Salameh, in the Jaffa-Lyddá front, and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Huseini, in Jerusalem, as the *de facto* commanders of the Arab forces.<sup>34</sup> In Jerusalem, before the withdrawal of British Forces, the *Jihad* forces were virtually alone. During May of 1948 they were augmented by the one contingent of the ALA, about 300-500 fighters (it seems that the numbers kept vacillating) led by Fadil Abed Rashid and another 70 Muslim Brother volunteers from Syria led by Shaykh Mustafa Siba'i.<sup>35</sup> By contrast the Jewish forces were well equipped, well trained (many of them having served in contingents of the British Army, as well as in the European fronts), and more numerous. The dissident forces of the *Irgun Zvei Leumi* alone, which operated

heavily in the Jerusalem-Jaffa area, were superior in numbers and armaments to the Arab forces. Their fighters were estimated in 1946 to be between 3,000-5,000.<sup>36</sup> The total figures for *Jaysh al-Inqadh* under Qawuqji, was 3,830 men,<sup>37</sup> and for *al-Jihad al-Muqaddas*, 1,563 men.<sup>38</sup>

Initially the JM forces of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Huseini, established in December 1947 by the Higher Arab Committee, consisted of only 25 fighters.<sup>39</sup> However they were soon joined by local urban volunteers and village militias. At the height of the fighting for Jerusalem, Abu Gharbiyyeh—himself third in command of the *Jihad* forces, enumerated 15 contingents in the 'army'. Five of those contingents were formed by volunteer militias recruited from the inner rim villages (Abu Dis, 'Izariya, Sur Baher, 'Ayn Karim and Beit Safafa)—what Khalidi calls 'the rural forces'.<sup>40</sup> The remaining ten were suburban militias under sub-commanders (situated in the Old City, Wadi al-Joz, Sheikh Jarrah, Qatamon, Mamillah, Musrara, etc.).<sup>41</sup> Altogether they numbered not more than 740 fighters, plus another 1,200 forces from the combined Arab forces (Salvation Army, Arab Legion, and Egyptian army).<sup>42</sup> The forces were poorly organized and poorly equipped. Al-Hut describes a very high degree of tension and weak coordination between the two main Arab forces: *Jihad al-Muqaddas* and *Jaysh al-Inqadh*; partly due to Qawuqji's personal animosity to the Huseinis, but mainly due to the different political agendas that guided the Arab League states and the Palestinians.<sup>43</sup>

Two main military confrontations resolved the fate of Jerusalem's western suburbs and its villages. One was the strategic battle for Qastal (April 3-9, 1948), and the encirclement and destruction of Deir Yasin village (April 9). Al-Qastal changed hands twice in the bloody struggle to control this secure village overlooking the Jerusalem-Jaffa highway, but the death of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Huseini, the supreme commander of JM, on the night of April 8 led to demoralization among the Palestinian forces and the evacuation of that crucial terrain towards the east.<sup>44</sup> The battle for Deir Yasin was more crucial for its psychological impact on displacement than for its military consequences. The fighting itself involved only a few armed villagers against the combined forces of the Irgun and the Stern Group. No Arab Liberation Army or *Jihad* forces were present.<sup>45</sup> The massacre of civilian members of the village following its surrender was widely publicized by both the Jewish forces (in order to intimidate the resistance in the region and beyond) and by Palestinian political leaders (in order to invite Western pressure against the Zionists). Palestinian publicists exaggerated the number of civilians massacred (from about 120 to over 400), initially as a result of miscount, and later to dramatize the character of the tragedy.<sup>46</sup> As a result, the village and the massacre became symbols for the Palestinian *Nakbeh*, and created a massive spirit of defeatism that contributed to the evacuation of neighbouring villages. The events of Deir Yasin were crucial in

the evacuation of Lifta, 'Ayn Karim, Malha, and beyond. Later in May they played a decisive role in the fall of Qatamon, Baq'a, Mamillah and Musrara.

A systematic examination of this process of displacement appears in *All That Remains*, a survey of destroyed Palestinian villages based on Arab eyewitness accounts, Israeli military records, and Palestinian and external contemporary reports. Of the thirteen Jewish operations listed above, two were decisive in the successful attempts to clear the Palestinian population. The first, Operation *Nachshon* (launched on the night of March 30-April 1, 1948), was planned by Ben-Gurion himself. It involved three battalions of the *Haganah* and *Palmach* forces and was conducted within the general framework of *Plan Dalet*. According to Benny Morris the operation was characterized by “an intention and effort to clear a whole area, permanently, of Arab villages and hostile or potentially hostile villagers”.<sup>47</sup> The operation succeeded in the occupation and clearing of Deir Muhaysin and Khulda villages (both in Ramleh District, on the borders of the Jerusalem district) and Qalunya. Within the framework of Operation *Nachshon*, and in coordination with the *Haganah*, Deir Yasin was attacked by the *Irgun Zvei Leumi* and the *Lehi* forces. The massacre in the village resulted in widespread panic and the evacuation of several surrounding villages, including Lifta and 'Ayn Karim.<sup>48</sup>

The second operation, *ha-Har* (launched on October 18, 1948, after the second truce), was spearheaded by the *Har'el* and *Etzioni* Brigades and commanded by Yigal Allon. The aims of this operation were to “widen the Israeli held corridor to Jerusalem and link it with the territory occupied [by the Jewish forces] in the Hebron Hills.”<sup>49</sup> Morris suggests that the population in the area of this operation (including the villages of Allar, Deir Abban, and Barbaara) were expelled by implicit (i.e. unrecorded) orders issued by Allon.<sup>50</sup> Refugees from these areas moved eventually to Bethlehem and the Hebron hills.

## Consequences of Displacement

Of the approximately 40 villages and hamlets in the Jerusalem sub-district that remained on the Israeli side after the 1949 armistice agreement, 38 had their population evicted to the east of the new boundaries (see map and appendix on Jerusalem District villages). In very rare cases, such as Qariat al-Inab and Qalunia, a few inhabitants were allowed to relocate to neighbouring villages like Abu Ghosh. Despite some nominal offers for returning the refugees, and despite repeated UN resolutions to this effect, virtually none of the Jerusalem refugees were allowed back. The incorporation of East Jerusalem and the West Bank in Israeli-held territories after the war of 1967 made it possible for thousands of Jerusalem refugees to go back and visit the ruins of their original villages in the early days of occupation. But even these nostalgic returns became more and more difficult as Israel reinforced

the blockade against Palestinians entering Israeli-held territories.

What happened to those refugees? It is significant that the vast majority of Jerusalem refugees continue to live in the immediate vicinity of their original homes—that is within less than 100 kilometers of those villages. In the introduction to this book we discussed UNRWA registration data as a chief source of information on the number and location of Jerusalem refugees. The main weakness of the *Unified Registration System (URS)* is twofold: firstly, since UNRWA registration was originally intended as a framework for relief services, it tends to substantially undercount urban refugees from the western suburbs who did not require, or who declined to receive these services; secondly it does not cover the number and status of refugees who relocated outside areas of UNRWA field operations.<sup>51</sup> However this gap is less relevant to Jerusalem's *rural* refugees who, in their large majority, were in need of relief, and tended to relocate to camps and other refugees shelters within the five areas of UNRWA services. Table 1 indicates the various locations of these movements:

**Table 1** Jerusalem Rural 1948 Refugees from Western Villages Alive as of 1997, By Host Region

<i>Place of Refuge</i>	<i>No. of Refugees</i>	<i>% of the total</i>	<i>No. of Villages represented</i>
The West Bank	36,130	32.7	38
Jordan	73,908	66.9	37
Gaza	99	0.1	6
Syria	221	0.2	7
Lebanon	81	0.1	6
<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>110,439</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>38</i>

*Source:* Derived by author from UNRWA, Relief and Social Service Dept., URS (Amman HQ), May 22, 1997; or Jerusalem sub-district villages which came under Israeli control in 1948, including Abu Ghosh, but excluding Beit Safaja (see appendix). Figures include 1948 refugees alive today and their direct descendants.

The pattern of rural refugee displacement from the war of 1948 shows opposite trends from the fate of urban refugees. Here the vast majority (67 percent) eventually ended up in Jordan, while only a third (approximately 33 percent) continue to live in West Bank refugee camps and other communities. The higher proportion of refugees who ended up in Jordan (mostly in Amman and its surrounding refugee camps) include a large number of refugees who were displaced in the war of 1967. The higher degree of dependence of camp refugees on UNRWA services may explain why more refugees of rural rather than urban origin ended up in Jordan. The numbers of Jerusalem rural refugees who ended up in Syria, Lebanon and Gaza is negligible, constituting less than half a percent of the total.<sup>52</sup> The bulk of Jerusalem refugees continue to live only hours away from their former residence, and often within sight of their former villages and towns.

**Table 2** Towns and villages depopulated in 1948, Jerusalem District

Name	Name in Arabic	Arab Population 1948	Total Land Area (dunums)	PGR (coordinates)
Allar	عَلَّار	510	12,356	155125
Aqqur	عَقُور	46	5,522	157129
Artuf	عَرُتُوف	406	403	150130
Ayn Karim	عَيْن كَارِم	3,689	15,029	165130
Bayt 'Itab	بَيْت عَطَاب	626	8,757	155126
Bayt Mahsir	بَيْت مَحْسِير	2,784	16,268	153133
Bayt Naqquba	بَيْت نَقُوبَا	278	2,979	161134
Bayt Thul	بَيْت ثُول	302	4,629	157136
Bayt Umm al Mays	بَيْت أُم الْمَيْس	81	1,013	157131
Burayj al	الْبُرَيْج	835	19,080	143127
Dayr 'Amr	دَيْر عَمْرُو	12	3,072	159131
Dayr Aban	دَيْر أَبَانَ	2,436	22,734	151127
Dayr al Hawa	دَيْر الْهَوَا	70	5,907	153128
Dayr ash Sheikh	دَيْر الشَّيْخ	255	6,781	156128
Dayr Rafat	دَيْر رَافَات	499	13,242	146131
Dayr Yassin	دَيْر يَاسِين	708	2,857	167132
Ishwa	إِشْوَع	719	5,522	151132
Islin	عَسَلِين	302	2,159	150132
Ism Allah, Khirbat	خَبْرَةَ إِسْمِ اللَّهِ	23	568	145132
Jarash	جَرَش	220	3,518	151126
<b>Jerusalem (New City)</b>	الْقُدْس	<b>45,000</b>	<b>20,790</b>	<b>172132</b>
Jura al	الجُورَة	487	4,158	164129
Kasla	كَسَلَا	325	8,004	154132
Lawz al, Khirbat	خَبْرَةَ الْوَلُوز	522	4,502	160130
Lifta	لِفْتَا	2,958	8,743	168133
Maliha al	الْمَالِحَة	2,250	6,828	167129
Nitaf	نِطَاف	46	1,401	156138
Qabu al	الْقَبُوع	302	3,806	161126
Qaluniya	قَالُونِيَا	1,056	4,844	165133
Qastal al	الْقَسْطَل	104	1,446	163133
Ras Abu 'Ammar	رَاسِ أَبُو عَمَّار	719	8,342	158127
Sar'a	صَرَعَة	394	4,967	148131
Saris	سَارِيس	650	10,699	157133
Sataf	صِطَاف	626	3,775	162130
Suba	صُوبَا	719	4,102	162132
Sufla	سُفْلَى	70	2,061	153126
Tannur al, Khirbat	خَبْرَةَ التَّنُور	0		154124
Umur al Khirbat	خَبْرَةَ الْعُمُور	313	4,163	159133
Walaja al	الْوَالِجَة	1,914	17,708	163127
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>38 villages</b>	<b>73,258</b>	<b>272,735</b>	

Table created by Salman Abu-Sitta. Data appears in *The Palestinian Nakba 1948* by Salman Abu-Sitta, London: Palestinian Return Centre, 1998.

**Table 3** Events of the 1948 War and Refugees, Jerusalem District

Name	Depopulation Date 1948	Exodus & Causes	Israeli Operation	Defenders	Destruction	UNRWA Registered Refugees, 1997
Allar	22-Oct	M	hh	EG	4	2,723
Aqqur	13-Jul	M			3	109
Artuf	18-Jul	M			5	2,776
Ayn Karim	18-Jul	C, M			6	13,978
Bayt 'Itab	21-Oct	M	hh		3	4,089
Bayt Mahsir	10-May	M	mc	ALA	6	17,227
Bayt Naqquba	1-Apr	M	nn		6	698
Bayt Thul	1-Apr		nn		3	1,802
Bayt Umm al Mays	21-Oct	M	hh		3	262
Burayj al	19-Oct	M	hh			6,099
Dayr 'Amr	17-Jul	E	dn		6	247
Dayr Aban	19-Oct	M	hh	EG	3	14,997
Dayr al Hawa	19-Oct	M	hh	EG	2	265
Dayr ash Sheikh	21-Oct	M	hh		2	885
Dayr Rafat	18-Jul	M	dn		2	492
Dayr Yassin	9-Apr	M/E			6, M+	3,363
Ishwa	18-Jul	M			6	2,943
Islin	18-Jul	M	dn		3	1,695
Ism Allah, Khirbat	17-Jul		dn		5	4
Jarash	21-Oct	M	hh		2	1,343
<b>Jerusalem (New City)</b>	<b>28-Apr</b>		<b>ys,qn,sc,qd</b>			<b>102,166</b>
Jura al	11-Jul		dn		4	2,110
Kasla	17-Jul	M			2	1,231
Lawz al, Khirbat	13-Jul		dn		2	3,699
Lifta	1-Jan	M			6	13,392
Maliha al	15-Jul	C,M	dn		6	10,208
Nitaf	15-Apr				4	226
Qabu al	22-Oct	M	hh		2	2,105
Qaluniya	3-Apr	M	nn		5	5,339
Qastal al	3-Apr	M			2	731
Ras Abu 'Ammar	21-Oct	M	hh		2	4,031
Sar'a	18-Jul	M			2	2,694
Saris	16-Apr	M	nn	ALA	2	3,333
Sataf	13-Jul	M	dn		3	3,777
Suba	13-Jul	M	dn		3	3,770
Sufla	19-Oct	M	hh		2	383
Tannur al, Khirbat	21-Oct		hh		4	
Umur al, Khirbat	21-Oct	M		EG	2	1,646
Walaja al	21-Oct	M	hh		4	9,504
					<b>Total</b>	<b>246,342</b>

Table created by Salman Abu-Sitta. Data appears in *The Palestinian Nakba 1948* by Salman Abu-Sitta, London: The Palestinian Return Centre, 1998.

**Key for Table 3:**

Exodus/Causes:	E=Expulsion, M=Military Assault C=Influence of fall of other town
Israeli Operation:	nn=Nachshon (6-15 April); Tel-Aviv--Jerusalem road hh=Har'el (13-20 April); against villages on Jerusalem road dn=Dani (7-18 July ); against Lydda and Ramle and nearby villages mc=Maccabi (8-16 May); against villages of Latrun area ys=Yevussi (26-30 April); against Jerusalem area villages qn=Qilshon (14 May);against Arab western Jerusalem and Old City sc=Schiffon (14 May); against Old City of Jerusalem qd=Qedem (17 July); against Old City of Jerusalem
Defenders:	EG=Egyptian Army ALA=Arab Liberation Army
Destruction	1=Complete obliteration 2=Destruction, rubble identifiable 3=Demolition, standing walls 4=Most houses demolished, one standing 5=Most demolished, up to 2 Jewish families living there 6=More than two Jewish families occupy houses 7=Inaccessible

**Endnotes**

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<sup>1</sup> *Ashraf*, singular *sharif*. The term given to people who claim their families are related to the family of the prophet Muhammed; these are often the elite families in a region.

<sup>2</sup> Monk Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine*, Translated and edited by S. N. Spyridon, Jerusalem: Palestine Oriental Society, 1938, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals*, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals*, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Annals*, p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> *Annals*, p. 64, footnote.

<sup>7</sup> *Annals*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander Scholch, *Palestine in Transformation: 1856-1882*, Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993, pp. 124-125.

<sup>9</sup> *Shuyukh*, singular *shaykh*. In rural areas title used for elders, principally chiefs, clan leaders, or heads of villages.

<sup>10</sup> Scholch, pp. 232-234.

<sup>11</sup> *Multazimun*, 'Tax collectors' — a position that was bid for or often given out to dominant families.

<sup>12</sup> *A'yan*, 'Notable families'.

<sup>13</sup> Scholch, p. 229.

<sup>14</sup> Aziz Dweik "A Topology of Jerusalem Villages and their Functions" in *Shu'un Tanmawiyah*, Vol. 5, No. 2/3, (Winter 1996), pp. 134-136.

<sup>15</sup> Nijim, B.K., and Mu'ammam, B., *De-Arabization of Palestine/Israel, 1945-1977*, Kendall/Hunt, 1984.

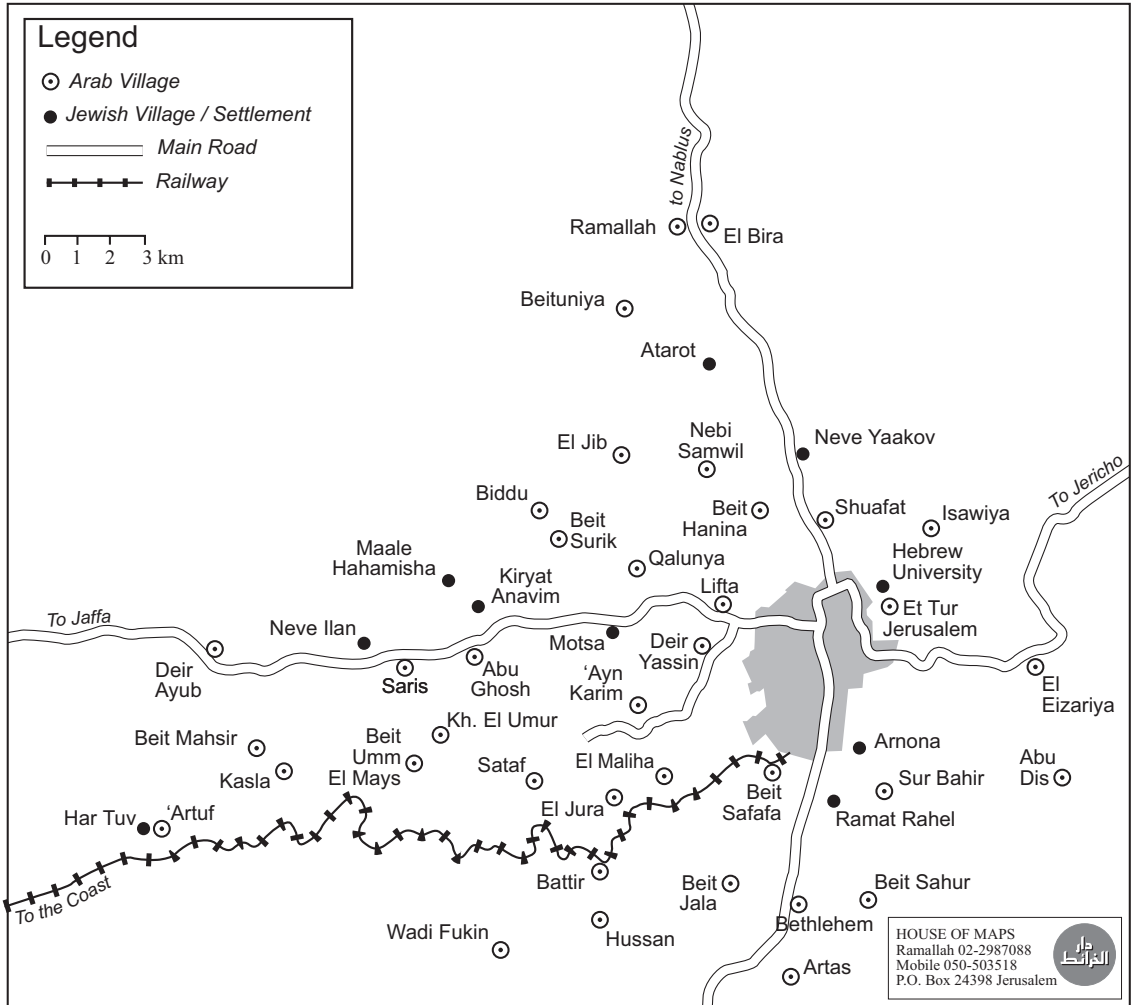
<sup>16</sup> Calculated by the author from Khalidi, *All that Remains*, pp. 266-323.

<sup>17</sup> Khalidi, *All that Remains*, p. 581.

- <sup>18</sup> Dweik, pp. 145, 150. Only Beit Safafa was divided between Arab and Israeli control. The area refers to built-up area only, since village-owned land was much larger. *All That Remains* gives slightly different figures: 426 dunums (built-up) for Lifta, and 1,034 dunums for 'Ayn Karim. The lower figures probably indicate Arab-owned areas only.
- <sup>19</sup> Sherif Kana'ana and Lubna Abdul Hadi, *Lifta, Destroyed Village Series*, Monograph no. 12, Birzeit University Publications, Birzeit, 1991.
- <sup>20</sup> Kana'ana and Abdul Hadi.
- <sup>21</sup> Kana'ana and Abdul Hadi.
- <sup>22</sup> Sherif Kana'ana and Nihad Zeitawi, *Deir Yasin, Destroyed Village Series*, Monograph no. 4, Birzeit University Publications, Birzeit, 1991 (second edition), pp. 27-28.
- <sup>23</sup> Kana'ana and Abdul Hadi, pp. 24-5.
- <sup>24</sup> Kana'ana and Zeitawi, p. 28.
- <sup>25</sup> Kana'ana and Zeitawi, p. 28.
- <sup>26</sup> Carmi, S. and Henry Rosenfeld, "The origins of the process of proletarianization and urbanization of Arab peasants in Palestine", in Krausz, E. (ed.) *Studies of Israeli Society: Migration, Ethnicity and Community* (1974).
- <sup>27</sup> See *A Survey of Palestine*, Vol. 2, (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1947—reprinted by the Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, 1991), pp. 735-744.
- <sup>28</sup> Kana'ana and Zeitawi, p. 46.
- <sup>29</sup> Kana'ana and Abdul Hadi, p. 24; Kana'ana and Zeitawi, p. 46.
- <sup>30</sup> Kana'ana and Abdul Hadi, p. 29.
- <sup>31</sup> Walid Khalidi, "Plan Dalet" in *From Haven to Conquest*, edited by Walid Khalidi. Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1987.
- <sup>32</sup> Khalidi, ed., *All that Remains*, p. 325.
- <sup>33</sup> Khalidi, ed., *All that Remains*, p. 325.
- <sup>34</sup> Bahjat Abu Gharbiyyeh, *Fi Khiddam anNidal alArabi alFilastini*, 1916-1949, Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1993, p. 250.
- <sup>35</sup> Abu Gharbiyyeh, p. 266.
- <sup>36</sup> Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, based on British sources. See Appendix IX-A "Zionist Forces on 15.5.1948, pp. 861-866.
- <sup>37</sup> Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, p. 860.
- <sup>38</sup> Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, p. 860.
- <sup>39</sup> Bian Nweihed al-Hut, *Al-Qiyadat wal-Mu'assassat asSiyasiyyeh fi Filastin 1017-1948*, Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1981, p. 615.
- <sup>40</sup> Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, p. 859.
- <sup>41</sup> Abu Gharbiyyeh, p. 247.
- <sup>42</sup> Abu Gharbiyyeh, pp. 265-266 and 246-247.
- <sup>43</sup> al-Hut, pp. 615-6.
- <sup>44</sup> al-Hut, pp. 623-624; Abu Gharbiyyeh, pp. 204-209. Abu Gharbiyyeh himself fought at Qastal and provides one of the most vivid descriptions of the battle.
- <sup>45</sup> Abu Gharbiyyeh, pp. 221-2; al-Hut, p. 625.
- <sup>46</sup> Abu Gharbiyyeh, p. 222; Kana'ana and Zeitawi, pp. 57-61. The latter study, based on oral testimonies, claims to have the most exhaustive list of people killed at Deir Yasin on the basis of affidavits by survivors.
- <sup>47</sup> Benny Morris, *Birth of the Palestine Refugee Problem*. Cambridge: University Press, 1987, xvii, xviii, pp. 111-115
- <sup>48</sup> Khalidi, *All that Remians*, pp. 278-9.
- <sup>49</sup> Khalidi, *All that Remains*, p. 266.
- <sup>50</sup> Morris, pp. 217 and 219-221.
- <sup>51</sup> For a discussion of problems in refugee registration data see Tamari and Zureik, *The UNRWA Archives on Palestinian Refugees*, Institute of Jerusalem Studies, Jerusalem: Institute for Jerusalem Studies, 1997, pp. 11-19.
- <sup>52</sup> Compared to about 3 percent for urban refugees in the same regions.

## Map 2

# Jerusalem District Villages (Selected), 1948



### Villages of the Jerusalem District, Destroyed in 1948

(see comprehensive list with population and land ownership in Table 2 in Chapter 3)

'Allar	Bayt Umm al Mays	Ishwa'	al-Maliha	Saris
'Aqur	al-Burayj	'Islin	Nitaf	Sataf
'Artuf	Dayr 'Amar	Ism Allah, Khirbat	al-Qabu	Suba
'Ayn Karim	Dayr Aban	Jarash	Qaluniya	Sufla
Bayt 'Itab	Dayr Al Hawa	al-Jura	al-Qastal	al-Tannur, Khirbat
Bayt Mahsir	Dayr Rafat	Kasla	Ras Abu 'Ammar	al-Umur, Khirbat
Bayt Naqquba	Dayr al-Sheikh	al-Lawz, Khirbat	Sar'a	al-Walaja
Bayt Thul	Dayr Yasin	Lifta		