

turn into a violent nationalist demonstration. Therefore there is a special "terrorists' graveyard" in the Jordan Rift Valley, where dozens of Palestinians are buried in numbered, but otherwise unmarked graves.

Many Palestinian fighters are buried in the Muslim cemetery near the Gate of Mercy on the eastern slopes of the Temple Mount. There, among the graves of simple families and the mausoleums of the well-connected, one can find the graves of those who fell in 1947-49 and 1967, of PLO fighters who fell in the Lebanon war (1982) and of those killed in terrorist incidents and the Intifada. The Palestinians honor the memory of their war dead with a ceremony beside the Monument to the Fallen of 1967, which is not far from the cemetery. The story of this monument illustrates the fact that in Jerusalem, death does not wipe out blood debts, and the dead enemy is no less threatening than the living one. The sentiment that death is the common fate of mortals is not shared by those who feel they are engaged in a struggle for survival.

In June 1967, only a few hours after the sounds of the battle for Jerusalem faded into silence, mounds of small stones began to spring up in various spots throughout the city—improvised monuments erected by members of Israeli units that had fought in Jerusalem in memory of their fallen comrades. These monuments were duly replaced by permanent memorials that were placed in the heart of the Arab neighborhoods where the battles had taken place. The visible memorialization of the Israeli soldiers caused the Arabs also to seek a way of commemorating their fallen. These were private initiatives, since the Arabs had no public agency left operating that was capable of taking on this task. Soon the eastern part of the city was dotted with some two dozen monuments, half of them Jewish and half Arab. Most were situated opposite each other, for the soldiers of both sides had fallen at the sites of the same battles.

The Israeli authorities sought to arrange for the erection of permanent Arab monuments and the removal of the improvised ones. In negotiations with the Mufti, head of the Muslim religious community, it was agreed that four monuments would be built. When work was

begun on the first and it was reported in the Hebrew press, a major storm erupted. Most of the Jewish public regarded the granting of permission to establish memorials to fallen Arabs as "rewarding those who set out to annihilate us." One of the opponents of the memorial drew an interesting comparison, asking, "Would it have occurred to the relatives of Nazi pilots killed in the London blitz to demand the erection of memorials in the heart of Hyde Park?"

There were also prominent supporters of the project. David Ben-Gurion wrote: "The soldier in the Arab Legion did his duty to his people by fighting, and he should be honored with the erection of a monument to his memory. . . . If his parents so desire, they are entitled to this." However, the voices of the supporters were weaker than the shouts of the opponents. People viewed their situation as a war for survival, and they were incapable of seeing their dead enemies as human beings who did their duty and fell defending what was dear to them. The commemoration of the fallen Arabs was perceived as a threat, and their memorial ceremonies were seen as an incitement to violence. Indeed, these ceremonies often have become occasions not for preaching peace on earth but for converting the dead into silent partners in the cry for revenge.

The Jerusalem cemeteries memorialize not only the victims of direct combat, but victims of other forms of violence as well: those who were uprooted from their homes or who fled in fear from war, that is, the refugees. Grave plots not belonging to Jerusalemites are located in the cemetery east of the Old City walls. In its easternmost section—the lowest part, and the farthest from the mosques on the Temple Mount—are the graves of refugees from the Jerusalem area villages that were conquered by the Israelis in 1948 and totally destroyed. The names of the deceased and the villages of origin are painted on simple monuments. Here lie the dead who were born in towns where not one stone remains on top of another, the names of which have even been struck from the official maps. Two generations since the last of the refugees left them, grandchildren proudly refer to those places as home. Palestinian research institutes in Jerusalem create paper memorials to

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