**The Hebrew University in the City of Jerusalem (1914–1967)—Location and Name**

“I am a married woman, thirty years old. My husband is Dr. Michael Gonen, a geologist and pleasant man. I loved him. We met at the Terra Sancta building ten years ago. I was an external student at the Hebrew University, while lectures were still being given at the Terra Sancta building.”[[1]](#footnote-1)

These lines, taken from the beginning of the novel *My Michael* by Amos Oz, hint at the changing location of the Hebrew University within Jerusalem. Oz’s description allows us to attribute the meeting between the two characters to the period before the University’s activities were moved from downtown to the new campus (the Givat Ram campus, today the Edmond J. Safra Campus) built in the western part of the city near the government buildings. But these were not the first wanderings of the university, as it began on Mount Scopus, where it returned in a different form after the Six-Day War.

The topic of this article is the changing locations of the University within Jerusalem. In this article we shall assess the reasons and circumstances for the changes in its location in the context of developments and changes in the city (in its borders, local rule, etc.). The presentation of the changing location of the university in the context of existing research regarding the connections between the university and the city throughout history enables us to determine the essence of the connection that developed between the university and Jerusalem. The article will focus on geographic processes and their municipal and symbolic meaning. As befits research that draws its inspiration from geographical-historical research, this article focuses on providing historical explanations for changes that took place in physical space. The article is based on historical sources, including archival sources, maps, and photographs; field work; and secondary sources, which assisted in the description of describing the status and situation of the university during the various periods and the activity of universities in urban space in general. I

At the beginning of the article and following the discussion on the connection between the university and city, we will describe the decision of the Zionist movement’s institutions to found a university in Jerusalem. After presenting its first location in the city, we will describe the additional locations and examine the reasons for the moves to those locations, in the context of the changes in the city caused by wars and other processes, which will also be discussed. In the article’s conclusion we will examine the collection of the university’s locations in the city from a comprehensive view and evaluate the relations that developed between the university and the city.

**The University as a Municipal Institution**

From their first appearance in the Middle Ages, universities were urban institutions. Despite the changes in their purpose, role, and components, universities have remained connected to urban space, influencing and influenced by it.[[2]](#footnote-2) Laurence Brockliss examined the connection between the university and the city between the years 1200 and 2000. Referring to the development of the universities in Europe and America, he examined the question of their location in space, including in the context of the changes in their role and urban, economic, and cultural changes. Brockliss found that from their inception through 1800, universities were located in cities but were not part of them. This self-segregation was expressed in the physical construction of the institutions (closed buildings resembling monastic cloisters) and, of course, in the character of their relations with municipal institutions and local communities. In contrast, starting in the nineteenth century, universities integrated physically and ideologically into urban space. The once secluded institution became one of the most prominent urban edifices and the faculty and students developed meaningful relations with the communities where they lived and with the city’s economy and culture. Brockliss also examined the model of the American campus, built alongside or near small cities as isolated institutions. He asserted that over time, cities grew closer to campuses and the campuses became transformed from isolated territories to parts of the urban continuum. Brockliss also addressed the future of university-city relations. He proposed (before the time of COVID-19) that in light of the activity of the Open University, the university’s presence in space should be located where students are.[[3]](#footnote-3) As mentioned, he identified the patterns of universities’ spatial presence from a comprehensive perspective but did not examine in detail the reasons and circumstances of their location. Moreover, he did not examine changes in universities’ location within the city. Pablo Calvo-Sotelo also examined the distribution of universities in urban space. His research focused on identifying the archaeological and educational context and, like Brockliss, he too, focused on identifying patterns of location from a comprehensive perspective. He identified four patterns of spatial presence in the universities in Spain: peripheral (a campus located at the city’s margins); isolated (an enclave within the city); embedded (within the city); and dispersed (the university’s units are dispersed within the city).[[4]](#footnote-4) Sutlo’s typology is more detailed than Brockliss’s but, it, too, does not address the reasons for a university’s location nor for changes in its location.

Research on the early history of the Hebrew University gives minimal attention to the question of its location in space. Studies have identified the symbolic meanings of the university’s first site (see below) and have focused on the planning and construction of the Mount Scopus campus. Regarding the changes in the university’s location after 1948, research has identified the difficulties leading to the decision to move activities and described the process of the institution’s settling in Givat Ram.[[5]](#footnote-5) Recently, there has been a discussion of how the university dealt with its separation from the Mount Scopus campus and the activities it undertook to maintain its symbolic and political connection to that campus.[[6]](#footnote-6) This study also briefly discusses the issue of the university’s return to Mount Scopus. It appears that the case of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem as an urban university is unique, in that the university has changed its location in the city several times. Moreover, in addition to its physical presence, a symbolic connection has been built to the city that intensified the standard urban connection. This symbolic connection was birthed in the decision to found the university in Jerusalem.

**The Idea of Founding the University and the Choice of Jerusalem**

Much has already been written about the history of the Hebrew University from the beginning of the consolidation of the idea in the second half of the nineteenth century until the decision by the Zionist Congress (1913) to found the institution in Jerusalem.[[7]](#footnote-7) It was decided to found the university in Jerusalem because of the city’s historical, religious, and symbolic status and due to the aspiration to impart Zionist and modern characteristics to the city.[[8]](#footnote-8) In accordance with the opposition by some of the Zionist leaders to the choice of the city and its population, efforts were made to search for a location for the institution being created connected to but not in the city.[[9]](#footnote-9) After negotiations, it was agreed to purchase the Gray Hill estate on Mount Scopus. In addition to the functional considerations (the size of the area and its opportunities for development), the location was chosen because of its symbolic qualities.[[10]](#footnote-10) Thus even before the scientific and organizational structure of the institution was consolidated, and certainly before its faculty was hired, its location was determined—alongside the city’s built-up space rather than within it.

After the conquest of Jerusalem by the British army in World War I, the first actions to implement the vision of founding the university became possible. The cornerstone-placing ceremony in the intended area on Mount Scopus was one of the important Zionist achievements in the post-war period.[[11]](#footnote-11) Even before construction began, efforts continued to strengthen the symbolic connection between the institution and the city. An example of this can be seen in the blessing by the Zionist leader Menachem Ussishkin before the speech by Prof. Albert Einstein at Mount Scopus (1923):

Professor Einstein! Facing this location, you see Mount Moriah. Three thousand years ago one of the greats of our people, King Solomon, built a house of prayer to the God of the world, and when he dedicated the house, he prayed that this house would be a house of prayer for all peoples. And we pray now that this house, the house of the Hebrew University, which we dedicate here on Mount Scopus, will be a house of science for all peoples.[[12]](#footnote-12)

When the mandatory authorities delineated the city’s boundaries, Mount Scopus and the future university were partly (and later completely) outside the municipal boundaries. This demarcation was unable to separate the symbolic connection that had already been made between the university and the city. This connection (on the part of the university) can be seen in the entry tickets to the university’s opening ceremony (in April 1925), when its name was announced—the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

**The University on Mount Scopus (1918–1948)**

The university’s construction began with the adaptation of the Hill family house to serve as the chemistry institute (1923). Even before the opening ceremony three research institutions functioned at the university. In parallel to the process of academic organization, choosing faculty and building research programs, work began on planning the university’s physical space. Its first planner, Professor Patrick Geddes, sought to place a monumental hall in the campus’s center, and proposed locating a neighborhood adjacent to the university, which would create an urban continuum from the mountain to the city. A similar idea to create a “university city” as a space connecting to the city was proposed by the architect Richard Kauffmann (1944). These plans and the additional plans formulated for the institution were not implemented during the Mandate period,[[13]](#footnote-13) due to several reasons, including: economic difficulties, disagreement about the format of academic activity (a university of research institutions or a general university), and, of course, the security and political developments in the region.[[14]](#footnote-14) Given the lack of housing for the faculty and students in the area of Mount Scopus, travel to the university from the city was continuous.[[15]](#footnote-15) It was this travel of student and faculty commuters that in practice created the connection between the university and the city.

**Illustration 1—The University’s Buildings on Mount Scopus (c. 1930), a Symbol Distant from the City[[16]](#footnote-16)**

When the institutions of the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine) were required to decide on Jerusalem’s future in response to the 1937 Peel Commission partition plan, the university benefited. In a plan formulated by the Jewish Agency (“Jewish Jerusalem”), it was proposed to include the university’s area as part of the urban area that would be under Jewish rule.[[17]](#footnote-17) Despite the criticism that the university was separated from the Yishuv society and from the city, the Yishuv’s leaders saw importance in including it in the Jewish city. This plan was not implemented, of course, and the university remained a Jewish-Zionist institution isolated in the heart of the residential area of the city’s Arab population. When the national conflict intensified, the university’s isolation became a weak point in its activity. The difficulties in access to the university made its separation from the city more salient. To conclude our description of the university’s location during the British Mandate, during this time the university was alongside the city but not part of it, isolated both intentionally and due to external factors, resembling the status of Middle Ages universities, which were cloistered and isolated.

**Exile from Mount Scopus**

In early January 1948 regular studies at the university were discontinued due to the security difficulties and the resultant problems with transit from the city to Mount Scopus.[[18]](#footnote-18) As a result a spontaneous move began of the university’s activities into Jerusalem but no decision was made about leaving Mount Scopus. After the attack on the Hadassah Convoy (April 13, 1948), it was clear to all that the university could not continue to operate on Mount Scopus.[[19]](#footnote-19) Despite the military pressure placed on the forces defending Mount Scopus and UN proposals to evacuate, it was decided to continue to hold the land housing the university and the adjacent Hadassah hospital. After the signing of the agreement to demilitarize Mount Scopus (July 1948), there was an expectation that it could be possible to restore activities on Mount Scopus, but it soon became clear this was a false expectation. This temporary reality was made lasting with the preparatory cease-fire agreement (November 30, 1948) and the armistice agreement with Jordan (April 3, 1949) that divided the city. According to the agreement, there was supposed to be free movement to the Mount Scopus institutions. Yet despite the repeated demands by the Israeli government and the university to renew activities on Mount Scopus, it was forced to find a solution to separate from the mountain. Beginning in April 1949, the university’s administration dedicated great efforts to renew studies and expand research activities, in parallel to efforts to find a solution to its spatial crisis. Lacking the possibility of returning to the mountain, the university began to establish itself within the city, without changing its organizational structure and while maintaining its characteristics as a multi-department general university.[[20]](#footnote-20)

**The University within Urban Space**

Until classes resumed, research activities continued at a very low level of intensity in departments that did not need laboratories. In May 1949 the opening ceremony was held for the joint Hebrew University – Hadassah medical school. This ceremony was in practice a declaration of the university’s presence within the city. It was held next to the municipality building and close to the border, where buildings appropriate for teaching and research were located.[[21]](#footnote-21) Until the medical school moved to Ein Karem (1965), the school’s holdings were expanded through several additional buildings in this area, in accordance with the Custodian of Absentee Property and the municipality.[[22]](#footnote-22) Several months later it was decided to concentrate the natural sciences departments on Mamilla Street,[[23]](#footnote-23) where student welfare services were also located.[[24]](#footnote-24) The location of these institutions on this street made the area very significant in the university’s routine activities. Despite the attempt to consolidate the laboratory activities in dedicated buildings, some of the laboratories and classrooms operated in researchers’ private homes. Additional researchers, primarily from the liberal arts, also hosted their students in their homes for classes, while administrative activities were additionally conducted in private homes.[[25]](#footnote-25) As result of the government’s and Knesset’s decision to move state institutions to the city, many buildings were sought in the city for these institutions. Given the lack of sufficient supply, there was a competition for every building appropriate for housing a ministry or institution. As a result, university departments were forced to evacuate several buildings in the city to make room for government ministries.[[26]](#footnote-26) In March 1951 a committee was formed in the university to allocate buildings and facilities for its departments.[[27]](#footnote-27) The committee’s formation and activity indicate the failure of efforts to renew activity on Mount Scopus and the understanding that to continue developing the university must make use of development possibilities in the city. As a result of the committee’s work, the university’s institutions were distributed in the city non-contiguously. The university became a presence in Jerusalem but its distribution lacked prior planning. The considerations that determined the location of departments were the supply of buildings, necessity, and financial capabilities (see illustration 2).[[28]](#footnote-28)

**Illustration 2: Distribution of the University Buildings in the City[[29]](#footnote-29)**

As mentioned, in parallel to efforts at maintaining itself, the university sought to develop itself. Despite its economic crisis and difficulties in defining its connections with the government, it opened new departments, most notably the law department—which like the medical school operated in a historic building within the city (the Ratisbonne building). Later social sciences activities were located there as well.[[30]](#footnote-30)

During the British Mandate student dormitories had not been built on Mount Scopus and the university’s involvement on this front was limited. When studies were renewed within the city the university developed residential solutions for its students including transforming the Notre Dame hostel near the border into a dormitory,[[31]](#footnote-31) but the building did not suffice and many students continued to live in rented rooms and apartments in the city. The students’ proximity to the university buildings and the broad allocation of the university’s departments in different areas of the city caused a continual and salient presence for the university in the city in practice. This presence intensified during the university’s major events such as the Magnes Run (in memory of Dr. Judah Leon Magnes, the university’s first chancellor and president) which passed by the university’s main buildings in the city. Lacking a central auditorium for the university, the academic ceremonies took place in various auditoriums in the city (the Edison Theater, the YMCA building). These ceremonies were also an additional opportunity to present the university to the city and in the city.

During the years 1948 through 1958 the university operated in approximately fifty buildings throughout the city, in a distribution that would appear to resemble that of the nineteenth-century European university but in this case, it was due to the force of circumstance rather than dedicated planning and construction. The university’s departments faced serious challenges caused by the haphazard integration and the constant lack of space. In terms of the university’s relationship with the city, this was a period in which the university and the city were integrated with each other and the university community provided the city additional life.

**Activities to Form a New Campus**

While dealing with arranging its activities within the city, expanding its academic activity, and struggling for its independence (ideologically and economically), the university’s leaders sought a new location. Because of their aspiration and efforts to return to Mount Scopus, they were uncertain whether the new campus would complement or replace Mount Scopus.[[32]](#footnote-32) When it became clear that it would be impossible to return to Mount Scopus and when the pressure the departments placed to increase the supply of classrooms increased, they intensified their efforts to create a new campus.[[33]](#footnote-33) Most of the discussions of this topic were held with representatives of the government, and the municipality’s involvement was very limited. At first the state opposed the university’s proposal to dedicate some of “greater Rehavia” for the university. This opposition stemmed from the fact that the land in question had been expropriated from the municipality for the construction of the government campus in the city.[[34]](#footnote-34) After negotiations, the state’s and military’s opposition to the proposal continued, and as an alternative the university (and Hadassah) was offered to build its new campus on land southwest of the city.[[35]](#footnote-35) In this proposal, the state sought to use the institutions and their location in space as a means of expanding the city’s boundaries. Despite the major pressures brought to bear on it, the university stuck to its refusal to accept this land as an alternative to the new campus. Its leaders, supported by its faculty, asserted that locating it distant from the city would separate it from Jerusalem and raise difficulties for the faculty’s and students’ daily life. In response to the government’s propose, the university proposed an alternative near the Talbiyeh neighborhood.[[36]](#footnote-36) When a solution for the university’s problem was not found, the government decided to create a special ministerial committee to deal with the topic.[[37]](#footnote-37) In June 1953 the government decided to dedicate part of the area of Neve Sha’anan and greater Rehavia for the university.[[38]](#footnote-38) This decision was a major achievement for the university. The transfer of the title to the land to the university indicated that it had officially found land within the city and adjacent to the governmental institutions. In June 1954, in the presence of the state’s leaders and faculty members, a groundbreaking ceremony was held and a new location was declared for the university (illustration 3).[[39]](#footnote-39)

The activities to develop and build the campus in an American format concluded (partially) by 1958. The campus that was built included the facilities and services needed for teaching and for students, in accordance with the progress of construction and at the request of the committee for celebration of the state’s 10th anniversary, the ceremony dedicating the campus was integrated into the national celebrations. Its dedication marked the beginning of the end of the “campus in the city” period. several years would pass until all the university’s departments and units would be moved into Givat Ram. With the construction of the Givat Ram campus adjacent to the government campus and in an area locked between two urban residential areas (neighborhoods), the university was again separated from the city. In contrast to the university’s status on Mount Scopus during the Mandate period, it was now located within Jerusalem’s jurisdiction, but this administrative fact did not affect its substantive connection to the city. After seeking to increase its presence in the city (in Talbiyeh), it found itself again in an area isolated from the city. The benefits of this area were clear, and it offered the university prominence. But in terms of its connection to urban life, it now fit the American model of a campus within the city but practically adjacent to it.[[40]](#footnote-40)

**Illustration 3—The Groundbreaking Ceremony for the New Campus—Adjacent to the City and Near the Government Institutions[[41]](#footnote-41)**

**The University (Also) on Mount Scopus**

As mentioned, during the 1960s the university’s activities were moved from the urban space to the Givat Ram campus. Although a number of units continued functioning within the city for several years afterwards, they were the exception to the rule. The university started to become identified with the new campus in the West of the city, and efforts to return to Mount Scopus appeared to have ceased. Yet the geopolitical events in Israel and Jerusalem resulting from the June 1967 war offered the university a new challenge.

In early June, after months of security tensions, Israel attacked Egypt with the goal of breaking the blockade on the Suez Canal. The war on the Egyptian front deteriorated into war on additional fronts including against the Kingdom of Jordan. After IDF forces along the border within Jerusalem were attacked, Israel went on the offensive on the Jerusalem front. At the end of hostilities, which continued for six days, Israel had conquered the territories of Judea and Samaria including the eastern part of Jerusalem. Before the government decided on the future of (united) Jerusalem, the university declared its plans. On June 8th, a day after the conquest of the old city, university president Eliahu Eilat lot rushed to declare to its trustees and admirers:

With the historic unification of Jerusalem, the long exile of the Hebrew university from Mount Scopus has reached its end. My fellows and I are already planning the restoration of our campus on mount Scopus and in the near future we will provide you additional details about this.[[42]](#footnote-42)

A day after this declaration, a delegation from the university travelled to mount Scopus along the historic route to raise the university’s flag on the National Library building. The commitment-setting declaration, the symbolic gesture, and the rapidity of the response, hint that the university may have had contingency plans ready regarding Mount Scopus. But this was not the case. These actions appear to have been influenced by the general atmosphere following the achievements of the war, the desire to create facts on the ground, and the outbreak of historic longings for the mountain.[[43]](#footnote-43) It is unclear what factual basis there was for the university president’s declaration that work planning to return to the mountain had already begun.

With the war’s end, internal discussions within the university about the future of Mount Scopus began. Many ideas were raised about its future use, and a large list of units was prepared “proposed to move to Mount Scopus.”[[44]](#footnote-44) The committee for planning the restoration of Mount Scopus, headed by Supreme Court Justice Haim Cohn, began its work already on June 12th. Its formation indicated that the decision about the campus’s future on Mount Scopus had already been made in practice. the committee was left to decide only which of the university’s units would return there, when this would occur, and how. It was clear to its members that it was necessary to act quickly and take advantage of the spirit of the moment, which included an atmosphere of volunteerism, to take major steps. Declarations about the mountain’s desired status were connected to this discussion:

The university’s founding was inspired by a major vision, and we must ensure that departments that are transferred will have spiritual and political significance given our current situation […] We must first move all parts of the university that have a connection to Jewish tradition and improving relations with our neighbors.[[45]](#footnote-45)

The Cohn committee found it difficult to decide on priorities regarding the units to be transferred to the mountain given organizational, budgetary, and ideological difficulties. Its members expressed different views on the matter, and it was decided that the final decisions would have to be taken by all the university’s institutions. Yet the committee’s members all agreed that a spirit of life should be restored to Mount Scopus.

In parallel to the discussions held within the institution and the decision by the university's trustees to create a fund to restore Mount Scopus, the university’s leaders worked to enlist the government to support its future steps.[[46]](#footnote-46) This was a return to the collaboration from the time of the construction of the Givat Ram campus, when the university had successfully enlisted the state’s leaders to enable a new campus to be built adjacent to the government campus.

In addition to discussions about formulating a plan to develop Mount Scopus, information was gathered about the costs of restoring the historic buildings there and preparing them for university use. Many volunteers among the student body and the public were enlisted for these activities, and significant engineering work began. It was recommended to renew use of the historic Mount Scopus theater for ceremonies. The first ceremony held there was the honorary doctorate ceremony in late June 1967, during which Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Yitzhak Rabin was awarded an honorary doctorate. Not only discussions and ceremonies were held on the mountain before the final decision on the format of the return to Mount Scopus was held. Already in early July 1967, classes were renewed on the mountain. This was in a summer course for foreign students held in the Jewish Studies building (the Rosenbloom Building), which was cleaned and organized for this purpose. More time would pass until significant and regular classes would be held on the mountain but the developing trend was clear.[[47]](#footnote-47)

After the committee on the rehabilitation of Mount Scopus formulated its recommendations, a committee was formed to implement them. This committee was asked to discuss three topics: the transfer of existing academic units to mount Scopus; the formation of new units on Mount Scopus; and the transfer of research units and services. This committee and its recommendations (e.g., moving the law department; creating the Truman Institute; and moving the archaeology units, which were still scattered throughout the city) were what in fact led to the renewal of the university’s activities on the mountain.[[48]](#footnote-48) After a short period of discussions in the university’s institutions, architect David Resnick was presented instructions for initial planning for Mount Scopus. Several months later he presented a theoretical plan for renewing the university’s presence there.[[49]](#footnote-49)

As mentioned, these were the initial decisions that indicated the university’s strong desire to create facts on the ground. Time would pass until a programmatic committee for planning and construction on Mount Scopus would be created. The methods and decisions of this committee exceed the bounds of this article. The committee decided on moving additional units to Mount Scopus (such as the liberal arts and social sciences departments) and building a new campus there. The decisions on the matter bore, of course, academic, economic, and organizational consequences, but regrarding the university’s appearance and distribution in the urban space, the significant decision, made soon after the old city’s conquest, had already been made. The university chose to operate in two locations in the city (Givat Ram and Mount Scopus) for a variety of reasons: academic, national, and nostalgic. The campus in the West of the city was close to but isolated from the city. The historic campus, which was isolated during the Mandate period, gained the potential of being part of the section of the city developing in the east due to the city’s unification.

**Conclusion**

During the period between 1914 and 1967, the university’s location within Jerusalem changed while the city itself changed. In its early days, the university overlooked the city and maintained a distance from it. This type of presence greatly matched the Middle Ages model, even though the university was founded based on the model of the nineteenth-century European universities, which were part of the city. Only due to the events of the 1948 war was the university forced to locate itself within the city. In these circumstances its presence in the city was implemented without comprehensive planning and influenced by many pressures and difficulties. As a result, it was scattered throughout the city but not assimilated into it. Its broad distribution and the lack of appropriate facilities for its operation made the university’s day-to-day functioning difficult. During the 1950s, the university had not yet abandoned the possibility of returning to Mount Scopus, but reality forced it to build itself a new campus. In its efforts to find a site for the campus, the university opposed a plan to move it significantly far away from the city (the Ein Karem plan). After negotiations with the state government, the university succeeded in settling into a site far from the city but close to the center of government facilities. The distance between the new campus and the city had shrunk, compared to on Mount Scopus, but the makeup of the campus including all the student facilities (dormitories, cafeterias, sports facilities) and the faculty (the National Library and other facilities) created a separation from the city. This separation was also due to the city’s topography, its road network, and urban development activities, but it was due no less to the desire of the university’s leaders to maintain hegemony and isolation.

The results of the 1967 war were very significant regarding the development of Jerusalem’s urban space and of the university. Even before the city’s official unification (June 28th, 1967), the university decided, in coordination with the state government, to situate itself on both campuses. This decision made the university both isolated and scattered. Although this decision stemmed from many considerations, at this juncture the university’s potential contribution to the city was one of the noteworthy considerations. The university’s president Eliahu Eilat presented this position well in his lecture at a gathering of the trustees:

I’m referring not only to the physical restoration and institutional development of mount Scopus, but rather also to the contribution the Hebrew University must make to Jerusalem as a whole—to Jerusalem as a city of Torah, to the capital of Israel, in spirit and not only in material, as a spiritual center for the Jewish people as a whole in both of the university’s campuses: the one on Mount Scopus and the younger one on Givat Ram. We will make sure from now on to continue to fulfill this mission with even greater strength.

As mentioned, various factors influenced the university’s location in urban space and the relations between the city and the university. These factors include: the symbolic roles intended for the university; security considerations; relations with the state government and, partially, with the municipal government; and economic issues. Its connection to the city was created, certainly from a symbolic perspective, on the eve of World War I, when the land on Mount Scopus was purchased. During the British mandate, although it failed to create a physical connection to the city, the institution’s symbolic status as a Zionist institution in Jerusalem increased significantly.[[50]](#footnote-50) In the situation after 1948 and before the new campus was built, the university had a strong physical presence within the city. The university remains symbolically connected to Mount Scopus. Although the land where the new campus was built had been annexed to the city’s municipal jurisdiction in the 1950s, this was insufficient to connect it significantly with the city. In the decision to return to us, the university sought to increase the potential of contact and connection with the city and also strengthen its symbolic meaning.

The Hebrew University’s movement among several locations is a unique case of an institution’s movement within a city. Despite these moves and the findings about the symbolic and physical aspects of its operation in space, the university’s name—which created and continues to create meaning for the institution—remained the same throughout the entire period. Its academic activities, understandably, provided this name additional meaning, but that is a manner for an additional study.

This article has focused on the location of the institution in urban space. To complete the picture of relations between the university and the city, it is necessary to examine additional aspects of this connection. Such an examination must also consider and address the question: “What is the city of Jerusalem?”

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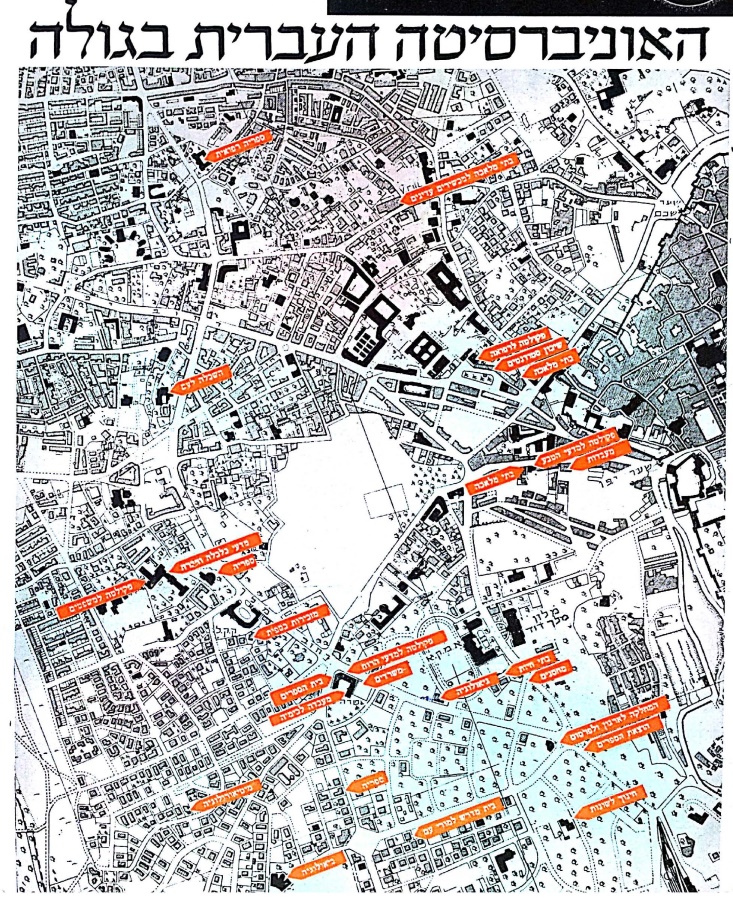
**** Illustration 2

Illustration 3

**C:\Users\user\Documents\מאמרים\בונים לעיר מעמד\חומרים למאמר ספר ירושלים\1004126.TIF**

1. Amos Oz, *My Michael*, Knopf (1972). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. T. Bender, *The University and the City—from Medieval Origins to the Present*, Oxford University Press (1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. L. Brockliss, “Gown and Town: The University and the city in Europe, 1200–2000,” *Minerva* 38 (2000), pp. 147‑170. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. P. Campos Calvo-Sotelo, “From Typological Analysis to Planning: Modern Strategies for University Spatial Quality’, *CIAN-Revista de Historia de las Universidades*, 17/1 (2014), pp. 31‑58. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. D. Dolev, “Migdal Hashen Beqiryat Haleom: Hatoknit Ha-adrikhalit Leqampus Begivat Ram” (The Ivory Tower in the National Campus: The Architectural Plan for the Givat Ram Campus,” *Zmanim* 96 (2006), pp. 86–93. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Y. Paz, “‘‘Olim Veyordim Bo’: Haziqa Hasimlit-Politit Lehar Hatzofim Uleqampus Hauniversita Ha’ivrit Betqufat Hamuvla’at, 1948–1967” (‘Climbing and Descending On It’: The Symbolic-Political Connection to Mount Scopus and to the Hebrew University Campus During the Enclave Period, 1948–1967) Cathedra 163 (5777— 2017(, pp. 69–104. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
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