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**Religious Sentiment in the 1929 Jerusalem Riots**

**Introduction**

The 1929 religious riots were one of the first major conflicts between Jews and Arabs of the modern era in what was British Mandate Palestine. What started out as a few rumors turned Jerusalem into a hostile place. Several Jews and Arabs were killed and seriously maimed. The main goal of this paper will be to understand how religion played a role in the 1929 Riots, and also how the riots can be used as a barometer for measuring conflict in the surrounding area. It will also discuss the fact that it was not simply a nationalistic idealism that contributed to these riots, but rather that religious ties helped fuel this nationalism. This is significant because it indicates that it was and is a complex conflict, but that the religious side is not as well understood.. It will examine the origins of the religious claims by citing and analyzing the religious texts of both the Muslims and the Jews. Next it will illustrate the riots themselves, and what the response was, both within the Mandate system as well as internationally. There then will be an analysis of instigation of the role of the leaders, both of the Zionists and of the Arabs. To conclude, there will be an analysis of how these strong religious ties and claims play over into the disputes today.

**Religious Claims**

Both Jews and Muslims claim that the Western Wall is part of their heritage. Here we will discuss each religion’s claims to the area. This will discuss the Temple and its surrounding physical spheres in Judaism and Islam.

There are several Jewish claims “The history of Jerusalem as an Israelite city begins with David.”[[1]](#footnote-0) writes Sara Japhet, a Biblical historian. David, the new King of Israel, takes the city over by force, as described in the second book of Samuel, chapter five.[[2]](#footnote-1) There are no other accounts of this story that exist. The Jebusite perspective is non-existent. This story sets the beginning of a long-standing attachment to the area of Jerusalem. David, in order to establish his kingdom as the new ruler, wished to build a Temple. As John Lundquist puts it simply, “Kings build temples.”[[3]](#footnote-2) This is because it would indicate their dominance and often asserts their present within a domain. However, David is not the one who gets to build the Temple. Instead, his son Solomon who receives divine permission to construct the House of G-d. David, according the Bible, has spilled too much blood, as it is written, “But God said to me,‘You will not build a house for My name, for you are a man of battles and have shed blood.’” (1 Chronicles 28:3) [[4]](#footnote-3) While it is certainly an unique precedent, David still collects material to ensure that his successor would be the one to complete the task. Indeed, the first book of Kings describes to great lengths to describe how Solomon, his son, constructs the Temple.[[5]](#footnote-4) It is important to note that “there are no physical remains of the structure.”[[6]](#footnote-5) Even though no physical remains of the first Temple exist, it is the Second Temple is where a multitude of physical remnants remain as well as there being a load of textual references. The Second Temple is beginning its construction at the very end of the Hebrew Bible and is located within the stories of Ezra and Nehemiah as well as the prophet Haggai. Haggai claims that, “the glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former one.” (Haggai 2:9)[[7]](#footnote-6) Indeed, it was so. After its construction began in the Persian period, it was completed in the Greek period, but beautified in the Roman period under Herod. The Rabbinic texts go to great lengths describing the glory of the Temple.[[8]](#footnote-7) Eventually, that also is destroyed, but the connection to the city is never severed.

In Islam, there was also a strong claim to Jerusalem as well, through the Quran and other Islamic sources. It is important to state that the Quran makes no mention of the word Jerusalem, explicitly as “Jerusalem” but mentions it in terms of “al-Quds” and “al-Aqsa” meaning, “holy” and “most distant” respectively. It is quoted in the Quran as follows, “Praised be He [Allah] who transported His servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to *al-Aqsa* Mosque, whose surroundings We have blessed in order to show him some of Our Signs, for He is the One who hears and sees.”[[9]](#footnote-8) The Quran describes the journey of Mohammed who, eventually ascended to the heavens through, what is now, the Dome of the Rock. However the place in question, that is the Western Wall of the old Temple, is known in Islam as the *Buraq* (meaning lightning) which is the holy horse that Mohammed rode into his night journey to the holy city. The wall and its area today in Islam are referred to as *al-Buraq* Wall because this area is where Mohammed tethered his horse before he went through the various trials before his ascension into heaven. Within *Hadith*, which are actions, or quotes attributed to Mohammed, and that are not recorded within the Quran, it is said by Abdallah Al-Khatib that “there are many prophetic *hadiths* that exalt and glorify Jerusalem.”[[10]](#footnote-9) This indicates, there are further writings which explore Mohammed’s night journey to Jerusalem. One of which reads that, “...and each prayer in al-Masjid al-Aqsa [in Jerusalem] equals five hundred prayers elsewhere.”[[11]](#footnote-10) However, according to Nissim Dana, there is a crucial point to make here and that is that, “except for this verse, there is no other mention of this event in the Quran itself, even though this ride is considered a very important occurrence in the life of the prophet of Islam.”[[12]](#footnote-11) This also is in concurrence with the lack of historical evidence there is of this ride in Jerusalem, much like the physical evidence of David’s conquering of the city from the Jebusites. Understanding the claims from a religious perspective helps shed a perspective on this nuanced conflict.

**Role of Nationalism within the Riots**

“It is a common view in Zionist discourse that Zionism created Palestinian nationalism.”[[13]](#footnote-12) This is an important idea when thinking about how both ideologies sprang up and through what lens sparked it. While the focus on nationalism is not the main concern of this paper, this section will indicate how nationalism played a role in the riots (and how it was fueled by religious sentiment), because it is crucial to understand how collectively they led to the riots in Jerusalem. To examine the role, the paper will discuss the Jerusalem riots and hopefully shed light on the complexity of this issue. The problem with nationalism is that it tries to keep one identity in the picture, while ignoring the narrative or stories of the other groups in the country or area. Both Jews and Muslims have accused the other side of doing this, and it leads to more conflict. Where the complexity comes into this subject is understanding where the separation of the two lies. This paper is only to highlight the fact that by adding religion into the mix, it becomes a more complicated topic. In the Zionist camp, they claimed two major arguments that there was enough space for both parties. They also claim that “there was a disagreement concerning the organizing principle for national identity, with one school...religious and Islamic and the other school...a national identity based on a modern national political awareness.”[[14]](#footnote-13) Past and current Zionists conclude from this in-fighting deligimitizes the claim for Palestinian nationhood, in contrast to the Zionist agenda which has set goals and motives. They want to prevent Jewish takeover and set forth high demands, but by doing so leave no room for compromise. The Arab side, in contrast was much more extreme. They insisted that “Autonomy be granted to the Arabs in Palestine.”[[15]](#footnote-14) But while the Palestinians petitioned the British for their own state they at the same time “believed that the British were the source of all evil and that armed struggle against both the Zionists and the British was the only way to extract that evil.”[[16]](#footnote-15) The Arabs were clearly not organized in their structure, or mentality regarding their national identity which makes it hard to support them in their claim to the land, and specifically the wall. The strong sentiment they held was because they had been residing in the area for so long, and so it was hard to remove the nationalist sentiment. However, for the Arabs, it is more likely that their sentiment was with religion origin only and not like the Jews who had stronger national feelings as well as a more cohesive claim to the area. Indeed, the conflict can be seen as multifaceted of having not only a nationalist sentiment, but also a religious attachment. Most research has revolved around the nationalist sentiment of the conflict. It also is important to discuss the other riots as well. The Tel-Aviv riots are a perfect example of how nationalism and not religion played a role in the 1929 conflict. Tel-Aviv is always seen as the true Zionist project because of its strong use of Hebrew and how it brought in all the European lifestyle (cafes for example) which the Arabs then assumed were European colonialist s taking their space. In the Tel-Aviv riots, several Jews were killed. This riot in Tel-Aviv may have been religiously charged, unlike the one in Jerusalem. The one in Jerusalem was certainly more religiously oriented, but the religious claims were indeed partly infused with nationalist emotion.

**Before the British**

Before analyzing the riots, it is important to gain an understanding o of the Wall prior to the British mandate. Doing this will help understand why Arabs felt threatened by the Jews, and why the Jews were scared of changing the status quo. The Ottomans in their late rule of Palestine, established a *waqf* which is in a sense an endowment for Muslim holy sites. This allowed the Muslims to give funds to preserve the Western Wall and its surrounding areas. The *waqf* was entrusted to the whoever the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was at the time. During the time of the riots, it was Haj Amin al-Husaini. Understanding the *waqf* is important when it comes to studying the riots because the waqf deals a lot with the historical narrative of the Muslim side. It also discusses the role of status quo-an important element in studying the riots as well. The status quo is an agreement that states that the holy spaces will be like that before 1917 (the Ottoman era). The Muslims had an agreement with the British regarding the Haram al-Sharif (the Western Wall and its surrounding areas) that they would be allowed to pray and convene there. The status quo supposedly became violated when Jewish people began moving into the residing area without the consent of the Muslim population’s authority. The Jewish side often claimed that the Muslims did not really have a strong institutional authority in the first place. This constant battle between the two sides (Muslim and Jewish) indicates how complex these riots were.

**The Riots Themselves**

The Jerusalem Riots themselves occurred on August 23, 1929. “Both sides set out to define their shrines. Both established committees to defend their holy sites. The Muslims ratcheted up their presence in the area. The Jews did the same.”[[17]](#footnote-16) writes Hillel Cohen regarding the days leading up to the riots. In the book, *Side by Side*, it is referenced that the British, when they removed the partition wall in the Jewish service, it instigated some animosity because the Arabs had considered it a moral victory while the Jews had felt embarrassed.[[18]](#footnote-17)  The partition that is being discussed is that of a prayer divider. According to Jewish law, men and women must pray separately, so this barrier had been erected to separate the two genders. The Muslims, thinking that the divider was impeding on the wall space, asked the British to remove it. When the divider was removed, the Jews became angry. Despite multiple factors at play here, it is very hard to measure who instigated the riots first. It also is difficult to say “whether the first fatality was a Jew or an Arab.”[[19]](#footnote-18) It reads that the Arabs went to the wall for their Friday prayer armed with weapons in order to defend the Mosque because they heard that the Jews were planning a march that day (August 16th) towards the wall.[[20]](#footnote-19) This was only because that day happened to be the Ninth day of Av. The Ninth day of Av in the Jewish tradition is the saddest day in the Jewish calendar. It is a day that commemorates the loss of the two Temples, the first Crusade began around this time which killed about 10,000 Jews and other major calamities. This was the reason the Jews gave for wanting to march to the Temple space (to commemorate), not to blow it up like Muslim rumors had claimed. All of this constant fanning of the flame led to eventually to the riots one week later.

Then on Friday, August 23rd, 1929, the area erupted with merciless beatings. Cohen quotes Yisrael Amikam, a man who was at the riots and made an eyewitness report to the whole event, “At 12:30, an Arab mob of huge proportions stormed the neighborhood.”[[21]](#footnote-20) However, there is not much validity to this claim as Cohen writes that he [Amikam], “moved up the time so as to place this Arab attack on the Jews prior to the lynchings that Jews committed against Arabs.”[[22]](#footnote-21) Regardless of when the riots began, or who started the fight. The Arab mob stormed against the Jews and began killing those who instigated them. But Jews also beat those Arabs who had hid within the holes within the city as was recounted by Mikhail Schammas. Hillel Cohen helps paraphrase his testimony by writing that “Al-Dajani may have hidden while wounded until being discovered by the *Halutzim* [Jewish pioneers], who dragged him up the street and continued to beat him.”[[23]](#footnote-22) Fariq Al-Dajani was a member of the Jerusalem National Muslim Association.[[24]](#footnote-23) The *Halutzim* were part of a Zionist movement that was mostly leftists. That is all we known about him. In the end of the riots, 17 Jews and likely 2 Arabs were killed. Several more on both sides were wounded. Nevertheless, whoever started the fighting, there was certainly a reason for it. While it most certainly could be tied to the nationalism in the area that was growing, there definitely is a strong religious claim to these spaces that needs to be addressed.

**British Responses to the Riots**

The British, who were the governing body and rulers of the Mandate at the time of the Riots had many things to say about them. They conducted an investigatory report after the riots were completed (not just those in Jerusalem) named the International Commission on the Wailing Wall, that convened in 1930. In this commission, there were reports from British police forces, Jews as well as Arabs. The purpose of these reports were to explain what was going on, but also to attempt to find who was to blame for the riots. Within the Commission, they discovered that Jews did not view the space as a holy space in Islam. It reads that, “The Jews deny that the Wall, the pavement, and the Maghrebi Quarter can be considered as Muslim holy places.”[[25]](#footnote-24) The Maghrebi Quarter is the Arab neighborhood, where much of the riots took place. They also state that “The Muslims did not, until recent years, call the Wailing Wall, al-Buraq.” This is an interesting evaluation because it is such an important event in Islamic history as the Muslims claim. In contrast, the Muslims claim that, “the Jews never claimed any rights to that wall.”[[26]](#footnote-25) The divide between the Jewish and Muslim claims clearly indicate the religious schism and tension there exists between the two groups in regards to the space of the Western Wall. There were a few reports from British officials that described the attacks such as Sergeant Sigrist who said, “Jews called ‘boos’ at the Lifta Arabs passing by and then were attacked.”[[27]](#footnote-26) This indicates an instigation and reaction, with Jews seemingly to blame here. Another authority “[Leslie Charles] recounted that Jews armed with sticks stood along Jaffa Road, waiting to beat Arabs.”[[28]](#footnote-27) The British, in the end, concluded that the Arabs had instigated an attack on the Jews and the attack was not premeditated.[[29]](#footnote-28) This conclusion was reached in a separate committee known as The Shaw Commission which discussed the roles of each party in the totality of the riots. These two points are interesting because they put the blame solely on the Arabs because the Arabs had acted mostly on a rumor that the Jews were going to be coming and taking the wall by force. This greatly upset the Arabs who felt it had not placed enough emphasis on the Jewish beatings or instigations. It fueled a fire that the British were not on their side. However, “The commission largely acquitted the mufti (Al-Husaini) of accusations that he had orchestrated the violence for political ends”[[30]](#footnote-29) because the British had found it hard to measure solely on religious measures. This greatly upset the Jews as they felt that the Mufti had played a central role in riling up the Arab population that he ruled over. This was the one riot, where religion claims superseded the nationalist claims of both parties. By absolving Haj Amin al-Husaini of any blame, the British indirectly believed that it was not his religious discourse that led to the riots, but simply that it was the nationalism that fueled the riots.

**The Media**

This riot in Jerusalem was the first time major news correspondence had covered the conflict in the area. Indeed, their journalism helps prove that religion did have a role in these riots, and not just nationalism.There were two major news sources with correspondence on the riots: *New York Times* and *Times of London*. They each provided some interesting insight into the riots from an international perspective. Even if these reports came out after the riots, they still provide a unique perspective on the way religion played a role within the riots. Jacob Levy, the New York Times reporter quotes an Arab spokesman, “[Mr. Stocker] the immediate causes of the outbreaks were ‘manifestations and demonstrations carried out by the Jews in Palestine…’”[[31]](#footnote-30) The Jews also claimed the same. Indeed, two Arabs served as witnesses for the Jews in the testimony.[[32]](#footnote-31) The news reports also discussed the role that the specific space-that is the Western/Buraq Wall in each group’s faith. The several letters to the editor to *The Times* indicate a strong religious divide. Haj Amin al-Husaini wrote a note to the editor that attempts to takes the wall under Islamic rule by stating that “G-d made His servant Mohamed alight with his horse Burak on that spot.”[[33]](#footnote-32) One letter indicates that “it has always been the property of the Jews.”[[34]](#footnote-33) and goes on to also correct the historicity of the Mufti and his (and Islam’s) claims to the Wall. The two groups continue to attack each others claims to the holy site, such as the quarrel of Harry Sacher. Harry Sacher was a member of the World Zionist Organization, and worked very closely with Chaim Weizmann. He wrote in a letter to the editor of *The Times* claiming that, “the Western Wall is not part of the waqf...”[[35]](#footnote-34) and that the Jews have prayed at the wall “for many centuries…before all the buildings now in existence within the Haram area were constructed.”[[36]](#footnote-35) A counterpoint brought by Abdullah Suhrawardy. Suhrawardy was a prominent Muslim scholar who was educated by British universities. His letter to the editor states that the Jews admit that it (the wall) has been a part of its history and go on to claim it still is part of a holy relic to Muslims.[[37]](#footnote-36) The back and forth discourse between the Arabs and Jews relating to the holy site is not new, but these riots really opened it up between the groups-and one can still see how it plays out today. Jacob Levy, the New York Times correspondent journalist also discussed the role of the Wall specifically within the context of the riots. “It served merely as one of the principal elements that aroused the Arabs and create an Arab national and anti-Zionist movement in the country…”[[38]](#footnote-37) Levy continues that the Arabs never really considered it a major shrine *until* the Jews arrived.[[39]](#footnote-38) On the Jewish end, Levy writes that the Jews made a big fuss of the whole ordeal as well writing that “the Zionists made such an issue of the matter that it began to appear to an outside observer as though the fate of 16,000,000 Jews throughout the world depended on the Wailing Wall.”[[40]](#footnote-39) Due to the large amount of media coverage of the event, the Western Wall riots soon became a touchstone for measuring the Zionist and Arab conflict from around the globe. It brought international awareness to the entire struggle and started to reach other entities and institutions. These organizations slowly started to raise awareness for their causes and specific sides. While this does indicate strong national sentiment, it is important to realize that a lot of the sentiment comes from a desire for a religious claim in the space.

**Religious Authorities**

The two major religious authorities of the time were the Rabbi Avraham Isaac Kook, who was the Chief Ashkenazi Rabbi of Mandate Palestine and Haj Amin al-Husaini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Leader of the Supreme Muslim Council. The insight of the religious leaders will help the discussion of how big of a role religion played within the riots and how large of a part it still plays today. Joseph Levy, who was a reporter in the Middle East for several years, found an opportunity to interview Rabbi Kook and of his opinion on the riots. Rabbi Kook, “contradicted the Arab contention that the Jews have designs on the Moslem holy places in Mosque Al Aksa area where the temple formerly stood...and that it is even forbidden to partake in any physical action to rebuild…”[[41]](#footnote-40) Rabbi Kook, attempting to alleviate fears, is stating that Jews will not build a space there until the Messiah arrives. This is important to understand because the Muslims had spread rumors that the Jews were going to build on the Temple mount area and disturb the status quo. It is also interesting to illustrate Rabbi Kook’s opinion on violence and war. In a letter from Rabbi Kook to a friend, he wrote that, one is obligated to go to out [and fight] in a mandatory war (*milhemet mitsvah*), one type of which is to the rescue [the people of] Israel from the clutches of an enemy that has attacked them, as Maimonides has written in *Hilkhot melakhim* 5:1.”[[42]](#footnote-41) While Kook never advocated for ridding Jerusalem of the Muslims, he is suggesting that the Jews have a religious obligation to defend themselves should they be provoked. This is interesting because it brings up the debate of what is a provocation, whether it be an actual attack, or the imminent threat of an assault. Kook never specifies which he is discussing here. The Muslim leader, Grand Mufti Husaini, has much more variability to his positions which makes him a hard figure to study especially his role within the riots. Jacob Levy talks about how Husaini riled up his Arab crowd in order to assert his power and spread false claims that the Jews were planning to build up the Temple and take the space for themselves.[[43]](#footnote-42) Zvi Elepeg writes an important note saying that he “supported a policy that reached-although never crossed-the threshold of violence.”[[44]](#footnote-43) To contrast these two narratives is key. Elepeg is writing this much after the fact, and in hindsight. Levy is writing at the time and in the moment. It is important to understand the two narratives here because it reveals how complex and difficult it can be study the role Mufti Husaini and his role within the riots. His role, as understood to Levy, is that of a instigator. To Elepeg, he is seen as a leader just doing his job in the time that he needed to. This difference indicates how complexity of understanding the role of religion as well as nationalism in the riots. This is a key point to understand on how Husaini understood his opponents (those being the Zionists and British), that is, as forces that needed to be reckoned with but not through physical means. Philip Mattar writes also that on the day of the riots, “[Husaini] instructed the Friday preacher, Sa’id al-Khatib, to give a pacifying sermon...the mob would not listen to him.”[[45]](#footnote-44) One of the key points to mention is that Husaini is the one who requested the Jews remove their *mechitzah* (divide) that they had set up for their prayer. They thought it interrupted the status quo of the *waqf* in the Mosque area.[[46]](#footnote-45) So by requesting to remove the partition, they (Muslims) set off some angst among the Jews towards the Muslim and British authorities. The Mufti told the Shaw Commission that he tried to keep things calm.[[47]](#footnote-46) Rana Barakat, in her PhD dissertation, as quoted by Hillel Cohen states that, “Popular resistance to the Mufti’s conciliatory policy was evidenced [in the Shaw Commission].”[[48]](#footnote-47) So while the Mufti claimed to have been peaceable, his followers clearly were not. Some of them even called for a holy war.[[49]](#footnote-48) In addition, Haj Amin al-Husaini was not simply the religious leader of the Arabs, but also was the national leader and representative. It therefore becomes imperative to compare his religious and nationalistic stances. Chaim Weizmann and Ze’ev Jabotinsky, two major Zionist figures will be the point of contrast to the Arab point of view. It is also an important point to note that Weizmann had strong ties with the British. Chaim Weizmann, in response to the riots, wrote “It is clear that a final and radical settlement of the Wailing Wall question is urgently necessary.”[[50]](#footnote-49) Weizmann does not speak of any inciting to violence. He is strongly committed to Zionism but only through negotiations with the British. Ze’ev Jabotinsky, another Zionist leader took a much more aggressive stance. In his famous Iron Wall speech, he states that, “We cannot offer any adequate compensation to the Palestinian Arabs in return for Palestine. And therefore, there is no likelihood of any voluntary agreement being reached.”[[51]](#footnote-50) The differences of opinion within the Zionist camp indicates against Husaini, on his nationalist side worked against the Jews strongly in his role of Supreme Muslim Council. It is said that in one of his council meetings, “the delegation made use of propaganda material that Jews in Palestine had disseminated abroad for fundraising purposes. Efforts by Zionists leaders to purchase the Western Wall area from waqf served as ‘proof’ that the Jews were planning to take over the mosques and build the next Temple on their site.”[[52]](#footnote-51) This propaganda often is used as a point by the Zionist side that claims that Husaini was igniting the anger in the Arabs. Indeed, this is a stark contrast to his claims that he was peaceable to the Jews. Rabbi Kook did not say much, and what he did say, indicates no inciting, or desire to upset the Muslim population on the area of the Wall. The Grand Mufti Husaini is complex because while he claims to have been nonviolent, many of his statements prior (the rumor that the Jews were going to take over the area, that Jews would build the Temple over the Mosque) contradict this claim. He also had several of his followers go against him, it would seem. Modern Jerusalem is still very much in conflict due to these claims and rumors.

**Conclusion**

All things considered, there is much to be said about the Arab and Zionist conflict specifically in regard to the 1929 riots. The two groups were and still are vying for the spaces they hold dear. Jerusalem and more specifically, the Western Wall clearly is a touchstone for both Muslims and Jews. In order to thoroughly understand the riots, one must also understand the religious aspect as well. While nationalism did play a part in the riots, it is important to understand that this hyper-nationalism was fueled in strong part by the religious sentiments both groups hold to the city. This riot of 1929 can be seen as a barometer of this sentiment. This event also brought in international news attention which in turn set off more feelings of attachment to the land and space for both religions (Jewish and Muslim) around the world.

**Epilogue**

The religious riots still echo heavily today in regards to the sacred space. As Abraham Sela describes in his article, the riots led to lasting and massive impacts within each group-both Zionist and Arab[[53]](#footnote-52), especially the British in regards to their security. The Muslims were disgraced and had lost any traction they had gained down to nothing. The Jews revamped their immigration and continued pouring into the Holy Land much to the contention of the Arabs and British. The contention with the Muslims on the Jewish side regards how authentic the Muslims believe the space to be and also the fear that the Jews would rebuild the Temple over the Mosque. The Jews, have fears that the Muslims will come to claim the whole space under the *waqf* of the Mosque and thereby eradicating any Jewish historical presence in the area. The site has been very hostile in recent years. Ariel Sharon, the former opposition leader in Israel, went on a walk on the Temple mount, and claimed that the space was a Jewish space. His speech did not go unnoticed and set off what was then the Second Intifada.[[54]](#footnote-53) A group named the Jewish Underground sought to blow up the Temple Mount in order to rally Jews to come and build the Third Temple, and also to incite a Muslim jihad against Israel and thereby forcing G-d to bring the Messiah immediately.[[55]](#footnote-54) The Muslim side has hotly contested with the Jewish control of the area. Last year, 3 terrorists killed two security guards located on the Temple Mount because they felt that Israeli and Jewish control was getting out of hand.[[56]](#footnote-55) Recently within two months, Israeli police arrested three Islamic State members who were planning an attack on the Western Wall and other religious holy sites.[[57]](#footnote-56) While a solution to managing the space is not in sight, one lesson that can be taken from the whole ordeal of 1929 and what could be applied to today is that both faiths value their spatial traditions. Valuing and respecting the customs and rituals of a party, regardless of who was their first, can help us understand that it is a holy space. The adherents to the faiths that practice there should attempt to grasp the idea that because it is a holy area, there ought to be an aura of holiness in the conduct around the space.

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