Contortions of Memory

Where are the times and worlds of our inhabitation retained?

"In xenetia – in exile," said Athos on our last night with Daphne and Kostas in their garden, "in a foreign landscape, a man discovers the old songs. He calls out for water from his own well, for apples from his own orchard, for the muscat grapes from his own vine."

"What is a man," said Athos, "who has no landscape? Nothing but mirrors and tides."

Fugitive Pieces, Anne Michaels, 1998

Our memories are grounded in the framework of remembered environments. Visiting cities and landscapes allows for the experience of these places today; memory and imagination allow access to how they were in the past. Places can hold traces of pasts that societies have been instructed to remember in a different way, or even not to remember at all.

PLACE, MEMORY, CONFLICT

The city, as a confluence of the complexity and density of human experience, is a framework for memories that are often collective—involving public life, social interaction, and group identities. Spaces of the city mediate events and their translation into memory. Italo Calvino's description of the imaginary city of Zaira highlights the reciprocity between time and place, between the ever-changing and the stable, to which the city is the backdrop. Zaira consists of:

…relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past: the height of a lamppost and the distance from the ground of a hanged usurpers swaying feet; the line strung from the lamppost to the railing opposite and the festoons that decorate the course of the queen's nuptial procession; the height of that railing and the leap of the adulterer who climbed over it at dawn….[1]

Because places present the impression of a stability that endures over time,[2] they allow for the retrieval of the past in the present. Doreen Massey has critiqued the view of space as "stable" in that it reinforces "the imagination of the spatial as petrification and as a safe haven from the temporal," thereby limiting understandings of space.[3] She makes a strong point, but I would assert that stable does not necessarily mean static. The stability of place is similar to the stability of the body, a site of constant change and growth, which still provides a stable and recognizable framework within which change occurs.

Place supports and frames memories, such that places are seen and experienced as they exist today, while at the same time memory and imagination work to allow access to the image of the place as it was in the past. As Andreas Huyssen has remarked, "an urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memories of what there was before, imagined alternatives to what there is. The strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past…"[4] For Crang and Travlou, "places of memory stand inserted simultaneously in a past order and the present, and are thus doubly located…they offer cracks in the surface of the present where time can be otherwise."[5] Because of this connection, whereby one location allows access into multiple pasts, places can be important reserves of memory in environments where official histories are heavily imposed, often at the expense of other versions of the past. This chapter outlines the dynamics of place and memory in contested environments and divided cities. While the argument has been made that all cities are divided in some ways[6] the focus of this chapter is on ethnonationally divided cities where conflict has had a major impact. Places may have been destroyed, reassembled or reconstituted to project certain meanings, yet, they still maintain potential as points of connection to an earlier past. Extreme contortions of memory are rendered evident at such sites, clearly outlining contours that may be more subtly expressed in any number of places, cities, and landscapes.

Places have the capacity to hold traces, material evidence of a past that may not coincide with official versions. Jennifer Jordon, in her study of

the restructuring of Berlin, argues that what she calls "terrains of memory" do not synchronize entirely with official versions of the past for a number of reasons. First, in any society there exists, on some level, a disconnect between "the representations of the past created by the state in the landscape and the broader popular understandings and interpretations of the past." Consensus amongst all segments of any population of a given narrative is rare, if not outside the bounds of possibility. Additionally, traces of the past life of a city remain in place.[7] In divided societies representations of the past are often distorted, exaggerating certain moments in history and concealing others; selected historical periods are remembered and others are relegated to oblivion.

The image of a place or a city as it *should* be remembered or imagined can exist alongside memories of these sites as they were experienced. A critical examination of place can allow access to these memories, and can reveal certain "unwritten testimonies" that are absent from state archives and history textbooks. National narratives are constructed in relation to the built environment, both by looking back to the past as well as in expressing a desired future. Mark Auge discusses the figure of the "return" which aims to rediscover a lost past, to return it from forgetting. The first ambition of the "return" is "to find a lost past again by forgetting the present—as well as the immediate past…in order to reestablish a continuity with an older past…."[8] This is the opposite of what he terms the "beginning" which embodies hopes for the future. These two processes are inextricably tied together, with the possibility of endless repetition over time, as is illustrated in the debate over Berlin's Stadtschloss.

Immediately following the division of Berlin, East German (GDR) state agencies developed a reconstruction plan that "would begin to free Berlin after eight hundred years of existence from [its] dishonorable burden of the past." The burden was that left by Germany's pasts of monarchy, Prussianism, militarism, capitalism, and Nazism. This was the backdrop for the razing of the Prussian Berlin City Palace, or Stadtschloss, which had been damaged in the war. The demolition was instituted by GDR authorities in 1950 in order to clear space for the Marx-Engels-Platz, a plaza for large gatherings. "The Schloss did not fit the image of a city that was to be remade as a socialist capital in which workers and peasants were to be the dominant force."[9] Instead the modernist GDR Palast der Republik was built on the site in 1963. Following Germany's reunification, and a contentious debate, this

building was demolished in 2008. The figure of the "return" can be seen in the efforts of the Stadtschloss Berlin Initiative, which has successfully advocated for the reconstruction of this building. The website of the Stadtschloss Berlin Initiative outlines what these future hopes for the city include: "A royal palace—rebuilt by the citizens of Berlin—boasting a beautiful baroque-style facade…is planned to be the biggest (tourist) attraction in Berlin, with a wide range of quality shops, restaurants and even a Business Center…Overall, the building will boast an aura of opulence and style that will be the envy of Germany."[10]

According to Karen Till, the reconstruction of the palace is an attempt to "satisfy nostalgic longings for royal (i.e., pre-Nazi) European pasts previously denied to the Cold War Germanys," through the erasure of the physical legacy of the GDR past.[11] There is a nostalgic desire at work here, but it is important to note that this nostalgia is less about the past than it is about the future. This "return" to the past is drenched in yearnings and desires for a future Germany that has reclaimed its place as a core European power. It is connected to what Svetlana Boym has called "restorative nostalgia," which she sees at being "at the core of recent national and religious revivals."[12] Memories attached to this site are not uniform, but differ greatly between east and west. East Germans may associate the Palast der Republik with pleasant memories, as it was a popular entertainment venue housing a disco, a bowling alley, and several restaurants and cafes. For them it may evoke memories of moments of life lived within its heady and exciting backdrop.[13] In contrast, it may be associated with memories of GDR antagonism and STASI[14] infiltration in the West German imagination. These divergent memories can be seen as the basis for what became an argument over good architecture and bad architecture, eventually leading to the demolition of the Palast. Yet, as Boym states, "asbestos alone does not condemn the building to destruction. Ideology does."[15] Here, the redevelopment of this contested site brings to light the underlying struggle for the control of memory and history (Fig. 2.1).

This chapter dissects this struggle, examining the forms this intentional harnessing of memory takes on. The themes described here certainly may be related to a more general discussion of place, but these aspects of memory increase in amplitude in divided cities and in relation to contested pasts. Ongoing conflict and its aftermath often disrupt the relationship between memory and place. Violence, upheaval, and displacement result in loss—the loss of home and neighbors, the loss of a

Fig. 2.1 *Stadtschloss billboard*. Following the demolition of the Palace of the Republic this billboard envisions the reconstruction of the Stadtschloss on the site

known way of life. The natural function of place to support and frame memory becomes abruptly subverted; additionally, the molding of national memory often occurs through the vehicle of place. At times even the image of the entire city is used to embody mythologies about the nation, but the land itself will often maintain traces that defy these mythological depictions. The disruption caused by conflict affects the place-memory relationship in intimate and everyday ways, changing the daily patterns of life, movement, and dwelling. At the same time, changes occur in very controlled and directed ways, as places are more explicitly used to project imposed meanings and are imbued with particular images or representations of the past.

This chapter is organized around five themes related to memory that are of increased significance in contested environments. Discussed first is the significance of intergenerational memory, whereby the memory of the generation that lived through periods of conflict, war, exile, or

displacement may influence the next generation's relationship to certain places. I explore here the transmission of memories about places that are inaccessible, located on the wrong side of a border, or otherwise so transformed by time and circumstance as to remain as places of absence in the city. The discussion of cultivated memory in the fabric of the city then looks at the points of similarity between the city and the archive, and important ways in which the two differ in terms of their engagement with memory. Explored next are urban mythologies generated in relation to official historical narratives. The relationship between image and memory is explored in terms of the proliferation of signs, symbols, and demarcations of territory located in contested places, and the manner in which they take root and embed in memory. The past is often more present in contested environments, and even if places are destroyed and amputated from the city this destruction does not eradicate them, but rather transforms presence into evident absence. The final section of this chapter examines memories related to these places of absence. This discussion lays the groundwork for understanding commemoration, memorial sites, and heritage practices in relation to contested sites and histories.

Intergenerational Memory

Memories about places are transmitted through generations. When the generation directly affected by the conflict is still alive, living memory, incubated in familial, communal, and informal environments, can be transmitted to other generations, perhaps even opposing official accounts. Under dogmatic or authoritarian regimes, where official histories are heavily imposed, aspects of memory retreat into the private sphere. Imposed official history, which can include organized oblivion, can leave the average citizen feeling cynical and alienated. As former Czech president Vaclav Havel has written of life under the former communist regime, "a kind of historical weightlessness renders words, values, actions, and ideas meaningless."[16] The land resists this weightlessness, at times retaining officially discarded memories. When the older generation is gone, it is the landscape, including the traces of conflict or displacement, that will modulate the memory of younger generations. Of course this will occur through other means as well, through historical record and educational institutions, but place is able to cradle memories in other significant ways.

Place may play a role in the younger generation's "postmemory." This term, introduced by Marianne Hirsch, is not the memory of direct experience, but of generational distance. It is powerful "precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation."[17] Postmemory refers to the experience of people whose lives are dominated by a narrative which occurred before they were born. In contested environments, places evocative of a troubled past or of a life no longer accessible are at times related to areas of the past that are still open wounds, too painful to be discussed. For later generations these places may become important as carriers of memory that become accessible through their materiality.

Postmemory and place come together at Berlin's Gestapo Terrain/Topography of Terror site. The Prinz-Albrecht-Palais, built in 1737 and later redesigned by the eminent German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, was used by the Nazi regime as the headquarters for the Gestapo, the secret state police. Although it suffered only minor damage in the war, the building was unceremoniously razed in 1949, its monuments and art pieces left unsalvaged. For years it remained an abandoned field, eventually becoming the backyard of the Berlin Wall. The fate of this site is representative of the abandoned and neglected memories of Germans following the aftermath of the war—unexplored, untended, and undiscussed.[18] In fact, it was not until the 1980s, three decades later, that young Germans became increasingly interested in the history of National Socialism and its legacy. Only then did a movement begin to, literally, unearth this history at the site of the former Gestapo Headquarters. Citizens' groups including the Active Museum and the Berlin History Workshop began this project of excavation by examining old city maps, collecting stories from the survivors' generation, and looking for artifacts at abandoned sites. When there was no official response to requests to investigate this site, these groups responded with their own shovels, organizing an event entitled "Let's Dig" in 1985. Known as the Gestapo Terrain, this was an important site of postmemory, which, according to Karen Till:

> for this second generation stood for those memories, social hauntings, of a traumatic past that could never be known to them personally. The name signified the second generation's emotional search for a past that would always be unknown; the landscape embodied what it meant for them to be German.[19]

The site and the memory work, *Errinerungsarbeit,* engaged in by young Germans are inextricably bound together, each forming and shaping the other. A different dynamic manifests in Marianne Hirsch's discussion of an unexperienced site of postmemory. Hirsch, the daughter of Jews who fled from the Romanian town of Czernowitz, writes:

> For me, having grown up with daily accounts of a lost world, the links between past and present, between the prewar origin and the postwar space of destination are more than visible. The Czernowitz of my post-memory is an imaginary city, but that makes it no less present, no less vivid, and perhaps, because of the constructed and deeply invested nature of memory itself, no less accurate.[20]

This place, taking form in memory, has been endowed by her parents, and while never witnessed, has made its palpable presence felt. Hirsch attempted to plan a trip with her parents to finally see Czernowitz for herself but discovered, through their excuses about the impracticality and cost of the trip, that this is a place her parents are not yet ready to return to.[21] *Beloved*, Toni Morrison's fictional treatment of the experience of slavery, memory, and obsession with the past, narrates a traumatic past that took place in the plantation house Sweet Home—a past that continues to haunt the present. Sethe, formerly enslaved at the plantation, warns her daughter Denver against ever visiting this place:

> Some things you forget. Other things you never do…Places, places are still there. If a house burns down, it's gone but the place – the picture of it – stays, and not just in my rememory, but out there, in the world. What I remember is a picture floating out there outside my head. I mean, even if I don't think it, even if I die, the picture of what I did, or knew, or saw is still out there. Right in the place where it happened…Even if the whole farm – every tree and grass blade of it dies. The picture is still there and what's more; if you go there – you who never was there – if you go there and stand in the place where it was, it will happen again; it will be there for you, waiting for you. So Denver, you can't never go there. Never. Because even though it's all over – over and done with – it's going to always be there waiting for you….[22]

Sweet Home, although never physically experienced, is established as a strong presence in the memory of the young daughter. Two processes are at work here: first the use of intergenerational memories to embellish

places in order to challenge prevalent silences and certain understandings of the past. On the other side lie places that can contain memories that are too painful, too near, too difficult to be approachable, to perhaps be returned to living memory one day, like the Topography of Terror. The manner of engagement with certain memories changes and differs among generations. During times of conflict places are destroyed or altered drastically, and there may be a need in these divided societies to go back to such places in order to discover, rebuild, or reinvent them. Traumatic memories of lost places may be difficult to discuss, thereby constructing them as sites of distance or wounded sites. Alternately, younger generations may use place as a medium for access, exploration of identity, and discovery of alternative histories. Even if abandoned in the present, they hold potential importance for future generations.

CULTIVATED MEMORY

Spatial practices are a critical part of a purposive reconstruction of the past in contested cities. Similar to any archive or state repository, official memory is intentionally cultivated in the visual archive of the city. As discussed by Aleida Assman:

> Institutions and larger social groups such as nations, governments, the church, or a firm do not 'have' a memory – they 'make' one for themselves with the aid of memorial signs such as symbols, texts, images, rites, ceremonies, places, and monuments.[23]

Places in the city, similar to documents in an archive, can be selected or excluded in order to intentionally modulate memory. Taking into consideration the strong relationship between image and memory, the city is a potent visual archive—bringing "unwritten testimonies" from different times materially together in one place. There are similarities between the city and the archive, although they differ in important ways in relation to their engagement with memory. This enduring understanding of cities as repositories of knowledge and memory is expressed in Charles Nodier's description of Paris, written in 1838:

> Idle Parisians…would you be tempted to take part with us in a spectacle without machinery and without cost? No one takes tickets at the door; no one crushes you in the vestibule, the curtain is always raised. The setting is

the immense city with its columns and noises; the decors are the churches, palaces, and houses to which glory, unhappiness, or crime attached indelible memories; the actors, they are the most illustrious personalities of the nation – in the government, the military, the sciences, letters, arts, drama – it is the entire history of France.[24]

This account renders the city as a composition of streets, movement, spaces, sounds, impressions, memories, and histories. They are brought together similar to documents in an archive: a compilation of knowledge that lays out an "entire history" in one place. Christine Boyer sees the city as a "theater of memory," its collective expression carrying within it today the memory of earlier building layouts, urban plans, and monuments. "Addressed to the eye of vision and to the soul of memory, a city's streets, monuments, and architectural forms often contain grand discourses on history."[25]

But the repository of memory that is the city departs from the archive in crucial ways, most significantly due to the nature of the relationship between place and time. In order to decipher the significance of this departure, I refer to current debates about the relationship between history and memory. Ricoeur examines the process whereby multiple memories and testimonies are translated into one historical representation, questioning the nature of this transformation, and the exact location in the historiographical process where this break occurs. He begins by dissecting the construction of archives through the collection of "documents" which are derived from original "testimonies." By following the transmission of memory through testimony to an archival document later consulted by the historian and, in the "representation" phase, reconstituted into an historiographical text, he concludes that "the change in status from spoken testimony to being archived constitutes the first historical mutation in living memory."[26] We embarked upon this short detour, looking at *testimony*, the moment where Ricoeur claims personal memory first enters the field of history, in order to begin to suggest that the city, differing from the archive, may find a place in the historiographical continuum that places it closer to memory—due to the nature of the testimonies that it contains.

Returning again to the city, by way of testimony, a comparison is in order between the testimonies that find their way into the archive, and the "unwritten testimonies" that form the repository of the city.

> Whereas in ordinary [oral] exchanges testimony and its reception are con-
> temporary with each other, in history testimony is inscribed in the relation
> between past and present, in the movement of understanding the one by
> the other. Writing is thus the mediation of an essentially retrospective sci-
> ence, of a thinking "backwards."[27]

This is the case with the archive of testimonies used by the historian. A break occurs between the giving of a testimony and the moment of its reception. However, with the "unwritten testimonies" of the city, its places and structures, the relationship between testimony and reception is "contemporary." We receive it and experience it immediately. The spatial experience of encountering such "testimony" in a city differs greatly from the linearity of consulting written testimony in the confines of the archive.

Buildings, images, objects, and public places are met with an every-day reception by the city's residents. This operates on a number of levels. First, the city is physically experienced, accessed repeatedly, and, in turn, the memories associated with these places are repeatedly accessed and reinforced. Secondly, for those with prior experience of a place, it is possible to perceive different times in this one location. At an empty site, for instance the location of the former Palast der Republik, the visitor perceives the present reality of the site: it is empty. Yet, simultaneously, this viewing is informed by the visitor's knowledge of the site's former use—the demolished building(s). Additionally, the physical structure of the city, its materiality, does not remain the same over time, but trans-mutates, affected by weather and erosion as well as alterations, demoli-tions, and reconstructions.[28] Finally, people use the city in ways that are different from those intended by planners. In what Michel de Certeau would call the "practice of everyday life," "urban life increasingly permits the re-emergence of the element that the urbanistic project excluded."[29] For Richard Sennett, the city is a site of power, but also a space in which "master images have cracked apart."[30] Thus, the repository of the city maintains the capacity to evade intentionality, even in heavily controlled authoritarian environments. Does the city, then, provide us with an archive, a repository of testimonies, that is closer to living memory, less affected by historical representation?

While the city forms a setting for memory, the body of the archive consists of the written memories themselves—memories converted from testimony into documents. Once thus established, these documents, and

the archive, can be slow to change. Alternatively, the city allows for the flow and fluctuation of memories within its spaces—having the capacity to accommodate many different kinds of memories, from multiple groups and generations. The inconstancy and variation that is allowed in the slippage of memories accommodated by the city occurs within the framework of place, the background or setting for activity. Consequently the city has room for both historical record, as well as living memory. The archive is articulate, but limited. The city is coded but full of possibilities—the capacity to live, relive, and reenact. Both of these are open to different kinds of interpretation. The question that must now be addressed is how these qualities affect the intentional cultivation of memory.

This will require examining the construction of the archive. Michel de Certeau argues that, "in history everything begins with the gesture of *setting aside*, of putting together, of transforming certain objects into 'documents.'" National archives, financed by patrons "who wanted to appropriate history for themselves," were created with "the production of new *objects* (documents that are set aside, conserved, and copied) whose meaning is hereafter defined by the relation of every item to the whole set (the collection)...."[31] This gesture of "setting aside" necessitates an act of inclusion and of exclusion. Especially with histories produced in contested states there is a purposive and intentional selection of "truths" which support the desired narrative. A different selection produces a different narrative for the other side. These "truths" form a self-reflexive "set" or "collection" upon which the past—and the future—is constructed. In the formation of this set, exclusion is crucial—yet complete exclusion is not possible in cities. In such complex lived environments there will always be Kracauer's "holes in the wall" and things that will slip in through the cracks.[32] De Certeau argues that with the creation of the archive the historian shapes "...recipes, songs, popular imagery, the layout of farmlands, urban topography, and so forth, into documents.... It means changing something which had its own definite status and role into *something else* which functions differently."[33] Is it possible to do this in the city? To some extent yes, but this transformation is never complete.

A concrete illustration of these issues can be found in Michael Herzfeld's ethnography of the Cretan town of Rethemnos and the interplay he describes between the "formal models of official culture and

the informal practices of social life." Exploring the manner in which residents react to the interference of a state that turns their homes into "monuments," Herzfeld proposes that the Rethemniots are caught in "the battle over the future of the past," informed by the interplay of "monumental time" and "social time." A national "monumental conception of history" results in a desire to transform the town into a certain kind of "heritage," which is counter to the desires of its residents.[34] State authorities pursue the rehabilitation and promotion of Venetian heritage, ignoring the Ottoman buildings, in line with the "rhetoric of modern Greek nationalism."[35] By resisting the monumentalization of their homes, the "traditional neighborhoods" and "archeological monuments" as defined by the state, Rethemniots are engaging in a struggle against transformation. This struggle can be read in the material artifacts of the city. An examination of the city yields both the intentional construction of a certain cultivated memory, one that is suitable to the goals of the state, as well as evidence, "unwritten testimonies," of the competing memories that underlie this attempt.

This intentional cultivation is more extreme, thorough, and often irreversible, in divided cities where places are often manipulated and restructured to create a certain kind of national memory, as seen in the Stadtschloss debate. Jerusalem's Western Wall Plaza is another such site. When Israeli forces claimed control of the city in 1967, they completely demolished the Maghribi (Moroccan) neighborhood located adjacent to the Wailing Wall, an important Jewish religious site, destroying the homes of its Palestinian residents.[36] This resulted in the dramatic expansion of the area facing the wall from 4 meters to 40 meters in depth—a deep walkway of 120 square meters became the spacious Western Wall Plaza. As Rebecca Simone writes, "This erasure was not only physical, but one of memory as well: the many publications about the Old City almost never include photographs of the site as it used to be."[37]

According to Robert Bevan, "this plaza has since become the focus of militant Jewish religious nationalism"—a site where religious Jews can pray, but also the site where new soldiers are sworn in by having their guns blessed.[38] Thus a site with an established significance for a religious group is reframed as an important site of *national* memory. The restructuring of the plaza is an act of urban planning, but it is also an explicit reframing of the memory of the city. While both Jews and Palestinians have memories of living in this neighborhood, the dominant narrative

Fig. 2.2   *Preparations for a ceremony* in Jerusalem's Western Wall Plaza

that has come to be imposed upon the site by the Israeli authorities—quite literally through their soldiers and guns—is that of a site of national significance. It becomes clear that the intentional manipulation of place and memory is much more heavy-handed in divided cities where conflict has disrupted the natural relationship between place and memory. As a result, a greater burden is placed on memory, a greater responsibility to remember that which has been physically altered or erased. And because these places are much more present than an archive, because the revisiting of a place involves the recollection of memories of previous visitings, the city has the unique capacity to support this (Fig. 2.2).

Place, as a supportive framework for memory, is involved both in the implicit framing of events from the past, such that events "take place" there, as well as in the explicit use of place as a focal point onto which certain selected memories can be projected. Similar to documents in an archive, places can be removed, altered, or expanded upon in order

to influence the collective memory of a group, community or nation. While places may be reconfigured in order to build a desired memory, residents' use of these places can still resist this intentional molding. In divided cities, where this manipulation may be extreme, the capacity of place to hold the remnants of multiple times in one location means that "testimonies" that have been removed from the city can still persist in memory or postmemory. And most importantly for this investigation, the city is the repository of everyday life, of urban praxis, holding unmanufactured memories related to daily practices. The study of these contortions of memory in the city can render a richer reading of divided societies and contested histories. I would argue that the city is able to provide a repository of testimonies for study that maintains the plurivocality of memories, which are often divergent, in a manner that is more accessible, and perhaps closer to nonmanipulated memory, than the archive.

Urban Mythologies

The intentional molding of memory includes the creation of mythologies related to place. Anthony Smith's work on nation building has outlined the central role of myth in this process, as used to describe the national community "as it was" in its "pure" or "unmixed" state. Such myths are related to time, referencing a golden past as well as envisioning a promising future:

> By returning to 'basics,' by purifying ourselves of the dross of an uninspiring and ambiguous present through a return to the glorious past and its heroism, we can shed our mediocrity and enter upon the 'true' destiny of our community. Identification with an idealized past helps us to transcend a disfigured and unworthy present.

Such myths use "poetic spaces and golden ages" to rebuild national memories related to place.[39] These myths restructure urban landscapes in the national imagination, lending support to official historical narratives. In contested sites they often refer to the "real" origin of the land, claiming that it was empty, devoid of a certain community, or originally populated by another group. Myths of emptiness or assertions of a long presence can be found in countries like Israel and Bosnia. The myth of a long presence is propagated in Chinese-controlled Tibet. And the myth

of a primordial unity of space, a narrative of living well together, as well as a contrary myth, can be found in Nicosia.[40] Present needs and future goals influence the reconstruction of the past, highlighting the central role of myth in nation building. Mythologies create an image which is then applied to cities and landscapes, informing narratives and spatial practices at these sites.

When multiple groups seek to control the same space, mythologies can be employed to claim original ownership. Other groups currently residing there are seen as recent arrivals, or as having an insignificant presence. In Israel the myth of emptiness was a crucial part of the project of laying claim to the land for the new state. This supposedly was an empty land ready to accommodate those that would settle it: "for a people without a land, a land without a people."[41] Wendy Pullan has argued that such renderings of an unpopulated countryside are mistaken, pointing out that several of the villages of Jerusalem, *Jabal al-Quds,* have been inhabited since the Roman period, although scholarly works have suggested otherwise.[42] This myth has momentum, and can be seen as having influenced subsequent Israeli attitudes towards the rural and urban landscape. After the first Arab-Israeli War in 1948, more than 700,000 Palestinians left Israel, and in their absence their properties were appropriated, and over 400 Arab villages were destroyed.[43] The villages that remained were renamed with "pseudo-biblical antecedents."[44] A different dynamic manifests in the case of the Balkans where the myth of the absence of a people is put into place after their removal and the eradication of physical markers of their presence. Following the ethnic cleansing of the town of Zvornik in Bosnia, the then mayor Branko Grujic declared that "there never were any mosques in Zvornik." This was a town that formerly had a population that was 60% Muslim, and was home to a dozen mosques as well as other Islamic architecture.[45] This assertion that the city or the landscape was previously free from the presence or influence of a certain group renders them as interlopers—a population without legitimate claims to the city.

Similarly directed is the myth of the long presence, whereby a particular group uses the landscape and urban fabric to attest to their long-standing connection to certain sites. Israelis have also employed this myth to justify their claim to a land to which they have made great efforts to show enduring connection. A good example of this can be found in Jerusalem, just south of the old city walls, at the City of David. At this site, seen as the center of King David's ancient empire,

El-Ad a private, nationalist settler group, is using selective archeology and the transformation of the landscape to attest to the long presence of the Jewish people in Jerusalem. While such claims can be seen to be supported by historical and archeological evidence, what is troubling is that this history is selectively represented while centuries of subsequent Palestinian inhabitation are completely ignored. This occurs through El-Ad's material presentation of archeological findings and its representation in promotional material and its website. This is also facilitated through new residential buildings near archeological sites, built in the "Israeli vernacular," landscaping strategies, and the removal of skeletal remains from fifteenth-century Islamic tombs. According to Pullan and Gwiazda:

> El-Ad's strategy here is effectively a culmination of the wider selective amnesia, which the popularization of archeology has served to engender in the Israeli imagination, whereby events of two thousand years ago are remembered more vividly than everything that happened between the ancient past and the present.[46]

It becomes clear that these mythologies attached to the land are not just innocent imaginings, but rather powerful narratives that enable a radical rethinking of space, which is often operationalized as destructive actions. According to Smith:

> …such myths and symbols, values and memories, shape the nation-to-be. They are not simply 'instruments' of leaders and elites of the day, not even of whole communities. They are potent signs and explanations, they have capacities for generating emotion in successive generations, they possess explosive power that goes far beyond the 'rational' uses which elites and social scientists deem appropriate.[47]

While myths can be put in place to explain and ameliorate the disruptions caused by conflict, they also have generative power to build upon this disruption and direct the future development of places and cities. In the Tibet Autonomous Region the reformulation of space is being used to support Chinese claims to this area. This is hotly disputed, with Tibetans pointing to over one thousand years of independence from Chinese rule, most recently from 1912–1949. In Lhasa the myth of the long presence of the Han Chinese has resulted in the demolition of Tibetan architecture and the reframing of the city with a spatial

typology, displaced from context, that is to be found throughout China. The 1980 Lhasa Development Plan has led to disastrous results, with the obliteration of entire areas that include many traditional Tibetan residential neighborhoods and old stone houses. They are being replaced with buildings and spaces that conform to the architectural style of modern China.[48] The most extreme example of this has taken place at the foot of the Potala Palace, where the seventeenth-century village of Shoel was completely demolished to create an oversized Chinese plaza to accommodate large gatherings.[49] This is a radical change in the relationship between the palace and the city, shifting the entire urban orientation.

The Potala was once the perceived center of the old town, connected to the city by the neighborhood that stepped down the hillside.[50] Now it is the backdrop to a square, which in Chinese urban planning has an association that is mainly political—meant for the hosting of parades and large gatherings. "By the late 1980s what was once the city of Lhasa had become the Tibetan quarter. No longer an entity in itself, it had become a fraction of the city that stretched on either side of it…."[51] The redevelopment of this central and symbolic part of the city aims to disassociate this place from older meanings, and to introduce instead the symbolic language of the modern Chinese nation. Here the myth of the long presence is used to justify destruction and to introduce new places and architectural elements which then support this myth. Clearly the disruption caused by conflict does not stop with the end of strife or violence or with a political settlement. Rather, it continues to affect places as they are altered both physically and symbolically.

While these mythologies may be heavily imposed and affect spatial production, as Herzfeld reminds us, their control over how the city is both lived and imagined is incomplete. In the interest of present needs, places are molded and manipulated, and then returned as symbols related to the myth of the group, community, or nation. In divided societies different groups can hold radically different views about the same place, and these views may often be contradictory to the official, packaged myth or image of the city.

Image and Memory

A large number of images of division circulate through Nicosia. There are the obvious images: national colors and military posts, flags, checkpoints. But there are also empty and dilapidated buildings, UN trucks

driving past sidewalk cafes, rows and rows of laundry hung up to dry in seemingly abandoned lots, graffiti that references the division, and sandbags and sniper holes lingering on in empty buildings. While a certain *image of the city* is used to construct salient mythologies in divided cities, the *images* to be found in these cities also exert an influence on memory. There is an elemental connection between memory and image, and they have been linked from the *eikon* to Henri Bergon's "memory-image." For Bergson the survival of images in memory is crucial to the operation of recognition.[52] If a memory reappears, if it is able to be recalled or recognized, this indicates that its image had survived. Image is central not just to memory, but also to perceptions of the present, which are not limited merely to the contact of the mind with the objective present. Rather, memory-images[53] inform and complete perception as they influence the interpretation of the present.[54] In this way, images from the past always penetrate and infiltrate the now. As Yates' description of the "art of memory" outlines, ideas can be attached to images and then stored in places. As the ancient orator makes a speech, he draws from "the memorized places the images he has placed on them. The method ensures that the points are remembered in the right order, since the order is fixed by the sequence of places in the building."[55]

Images are integral to the recollection of memories, and place acts as a framework for these images. Images in the form of signs, iconic structures, impressions of density, and compositions of color and shadow pervade the city. These images are located in places that people move through and experience physically through the senses. While this relationship exists in any city, where images may provide a common frame of reference for residents, prevalent in divided cities are images which are directed, intentional, persuasive, and provocative. In contested or divided cities, selected meanings and memories are projected through the use of emplaced images and symbols. Daily life is marked by concrete and symbolic signs of what does or does not belong to claimed territories (Fig. 2.3).

Nicosia, for example, exhibits two large-scale mountainside landscape flags, of Turkey and of the TRNC, lit up at night and located so as to be visible to Greek-Cypriots in the south. The flags are so large that they can be seen from space. This large and prominent image has been intentionally created and located so as to express the state's claim to this side of the city and proclaim their enduring presence to the other side (Fig. 2.4). Such images are not only authored by state authorities, but

Fig. 2.3 *Images of division*. Images of division that inform daily experience within Nicosia's walled city

can also be put in place by different groups living in the city, as Belfast's murals exemplify[56] (Fig. 2.5). Such images also inform the perception of these places in later revisitings. As Bergson points out:

> There is no perception which is not full of memories. With the immediate and present data of our senses we mingle a thousand details out of our past experience. In most cases these memories supplant our actual perceptions, of which we then retain only a few hints, thus using them merely as 'signs' that recall to us former images.[57]

Thus images, whether neutral or more explicitly aimed at persuasion, have a long life span, embedding in memory to later inform subsequent revisitings of place. These may appear as smaller, more subtle markers. Michael Billig posits that there is a perpetual "reminding" of nationhood that occurs through a continual process of "flagging," using a multitude of banal, familiar transmitters including everyday political discourse, cultural products, and newspapers. "The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with a fervent

Fig. 2.4 *TRNC landscape flag*. Landscaped flags mark the mountainside north of Nicosia. These flags are clearly visible from the Greek-Cypriot side of the city, especially when outlined with lights at night. The phrase on the left "*Ne mutlu Türküm diyene,*" means "How happy is the one who says I am a Turk"

passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building."[58] While Billig's argument is structured around critical discourse analysis that examines language, this discussion can also be applied to image. In divided cities, it is the prevalence of images, designed to demarcate territory and belonging, that operate in the same way as the "prosaic, routine words" of banal nationalism. Smith has argued that nation building is never complete; it is a recurrent activity.

> It is one that involves ceaseless re-interpretations, rediscoveries, and reconstructions; each generation must re-fashion national institutions and stratification systems in the light of the myths, memories, values and symbols of the 'past,' which can best minister to the needs and aspirations of its dominant social groups and institutions.[59]

YOU SMUG-FACED CROWDS WITH
KINDLING EYE.
WHO CHEER WHEN SOLDIER
LADS PASS BY.
SNEAK HOME AND PRAY YOU'LL
NEVER KNOW.
THE HELL WHERE YOUTH AND
LAUGHTER GO.

Fig. 2.5 *Murals in Belfast*. Murals in Belfast create a network of urban images that demarcate territory and belonging

Images, located in places throughout the city, are part of this constant renewal. Similar to instruction through history textbooks, media, and political discourse, these images are part of efforts to intentionally mold memory. By filling in the background with constant reminders of ownership, images inhabit contested places. As Billig and Smith argue, constructing nationalism is a perennial process, and the organized use of emplaced images plays a crucial role in this, on a daily basis. Places can be embellished with images of the past in order to project meanings relevant to the present, and even for the future. Mussolini's Fascist regime sought to create a "New Italy," one that would be strengthened by authentication through the Roman past: a modern, yet timeless, imperial power that could fulfill its natural destiny as the successor of the Roman Empire. In 1922 Mussolini called on Rome as a symbol and a myth. "We dream of a Roman Italy, that is to say wise, strong, disciplined, and imperial. Much of that which was the immortal spirit of Rome rises again in Fascism...."[60]

While for centuries ruins had not been of central concern for urban planning in Rome, Mussolini initiated a renewal project, uncovering the considerable ruins of the Roman Forum, and building the Via dell'Impero, a street running through this newly revealed archeological site.[61] Entering the street from one piazza, the viewer is able to see Trajan's Column, Trajan's Market, Trajan's Forum, Augustus's Forum, and Caesar's Forum.[62] This creation of a modern route through these striking images of past Roman glory was instituted to express continuity with and the reawakening of this "golden age" in the new Fascist regime. Again, it must be reiterated that these images are part of a perpetual process, enduring through time. When Albert Speer, architect of the Third Reich, was working on his plans for Berlin in the 1930s the future image of the Reich's buildings was of great importance. He stated that "By special materials and by applying certain principles of statics…we should be able to build structures that even in a state of decay, after hundreds or… thousands of years would more or less resemble Roman models."[63]

These buildings were meant to endure as images, informing later generations. These images, organized in space, play an important role in the creation of national mythologies. It becomes clear that the use of both individual images, such as flags, as well as the image of the city in its entirety, is quite heavy-handed in divided societies. They demarcate territory and broadcast ownership—presenting a persuasive argument for the rightful claim to the city. Images aid in recollection, and thus are potent cues for memory. They play an active role in the process of creating national meanings, and influence the everyday visual background of the city.

ABSENCE

Memory can be manipulated from a distance through the embellishment of places with official meanings, and closer up place has the capacity to hold memories that may challenge these meanings. But the relationship between place, memory, and conflict cannot be reduced to a discussion exclusively about the tension between national and individual or formal and informal. The disruption or break caused by conflict, in many cases, results in the loss of certain places, their inaccessibility, or the transformation of place so radical that it is no longer materially recognizable. It creates buffer zones, green lines, and ruins. Yet, these physically altered places of absence may still be substantial and palpable in memory. Places of absence are more than just holes in the city; they can hold

an evocative power much greater than designated commemorative sites. The shift in the exchange between place and memory in divided cities is not just about the imposition of memory, but also occurs on a deeply personal level, and places of absence provide an opportunity to explore this. In divided cities and contested landscapes absence does not indicate emptiness. This absence can be related to the integral relationship between memory and forgetting. Merleau-Ponty writes of the forgotten:

> the lost memory is not accidentally lost, it is rather lost in so far as it belongs to an area of my life which I reject…Forgetfulness is therefore an act; I keep the memory at arm's length as I look past a person whom I do not wish to see…the resistance…does not specifically reject the memory. It is directed against a region of our experience, a certain category, a certain class of memories.[64]

Thus there is a distancing, a removal of the self from the proximity of memories related to this "region of experience" being concealed. This distance can exist in one's mind, yet, in the physical landscape the past can be near, residing in a place of absence. Concealed behind a locked door or in an abandoned part of the city, it is kept in reserve. As Anne Michaels writes: "there's no absence if there remains even the memory of absence…If one no longer has land but has the memory of land, then one can make a map."[65] These places of absence function like a portal to the past, to lost times, to a way of life that has been lost in the disruption that severed people from this place—yet still left the ties intact. Thus, absence is related to forgetting, concealment, distance, and remoteness, grounded in certain places that can potentially offer a strong connection to the past.

For many years the Topography of Terror endured as a site of absence. There had been a strong desire to maintain its openness and indeterminacy. In 1993, Andreas Nachama, then the site's director, expressed a desire to maintain this quality:

> In ten years, when all the construction sites are finished and everything is beautiful, all of a sudden there will be that open wound in the city. I think that this is better than any attempt to design it, because so far there is no adequate form to translate the Holocaust in an artistic way. I think that

you can do that only by walking on these traces, by reconstructing it for yourself. [66]

This alludes to an important characteristic of absence; it is open and unrefined, not yet overly-filtered through applied layers of interpretation. Remaining undistilled, it allows for the association of a multiplicity of memories. The purity of absence appears to be important in terms of intergenerational memories of conflict or trauma. This attitude towards the site perhaps mirrors the formation of an identity that is heavily structured by a sense of loss. While Marianne Hirsch does not correlate "absent memory" to her own personal experience as a child of an exiled Jewish family, and she does not see her own identity as "empty,"[67] there are some writers who have argued for the centrality of absence or emptiness for this generation. In Nadine Fresco's discussion of "absent memory" the postwar generation's diasporic life is a *diaspora des cendres,* where the place of origin has been incinerated. For Henri Raczymov, theirs is a "memory shot through with holes," and this absence or void "is a condition that must be preserved and should never be bridged."[68] Alan Finkielraut goes as far as to claim that postwar Jewish identity is a form of absence: "What makes me a Jew is the acute consciousness of a lack, of continuous absence: my exile from a civilization which, 'for my own good,' my parents did not wish me to keep in trust."[69]

Today Palestinian writers also refer to the centrality of absence; Palestinians have even been termed "present absentees" by the Israeli authorities.[70] Elias Sanbar writes of 1948, the year of the *Nakba* when many Palestinians were forced to leave their homes:

> That year, a country and its people disappeared from maps and dictionaries…"The Palestinian people does not exist," said the new masters, and henceforth the Palestinians would be referred to by general, conveniently vague terms, as either "refugees" or in the case of a small minority that has managed to escape the generalized expulsion, "Israeli Arabs." A long absence was beginning.[71]

These expressions of trauma and intergenerational memory again come back to the centrality of what is absent, of what no longer remains. Place has the capacity to remain still throughout time and hold absence. This absence may then allow these ambiguous and complicated memories to

be more acutely experienced than any attempt to reformulate or make sense of them through historical representation, abstraction, or commemoration. Artist Horst Hoheisel's inversion of the Aschrott Fountain in Kassel, Germany deliberately embraces absence. This fountain, built by a Jewish citizen in 1908, was later torn down by the Nazis. Hoheisel built a replica of this twelve meter high pyramidical fountain, inverted it, and then inserted it into a hole in the ground. For Hoheisel, it was important that this absence in the fabric of the city should remain as an open place in which contemplation or mourning could occur. He states:

> The sunken fountain is not the memorial. It is only history [offered] to bypassers so that they will take notice and look for the memorial *(Denkmal)*[72] in his or her mind. Only then will memory-work take place at the fountain. With the water plunging down, one's thoughts can be pulled down into the depths of history, and perhaps a feeling of loss, of the destroyed place, of the missing form, will be made tangible. And then, after the contemplation, together with the feeling of loss, mourning can occur.[73]

Here again, absence is considered to be endowed with greater meaning than any object that could be created to occupy this empty space.[74] The above examples illustrate the correspondence and traffic between absence and the imagination—the capacity of the imagination to fill this absence with what the viewer would project upon it. It is the power of that which is suggested, but not yet delineated. Baudelaire articulates this notion in his prose poem *Windows*:

> Looking from outside into an open window one never sees as much as when one looks through a closed window. There is nothing more profound, more mysterious, more pregnant, more insidious, more dazzling than a window lighted by a single candle. What one can see out in the sunlight is always less interesting than what goes on behind a window pane. In that black or luminous square life lives, life dreams, life suffers.[75]

He goes on to describe a woman seen through a far-off window. From this glimpse of her form, from the shadow of her gestures, he dreams up her life story, her "legend." It is the vagueness of the glimpse, the fuzziness, the lack of definition that allows this to occur. He ends the poem by asking, "perhaps you will say 'are you sure that your story is the real one?' But what does it matter what reality is outside myself, so long as it has helped me to live, to feel that I am, and what I am?"[76]

This alludes to something crucial that must be understood about the importance of places of absence; these are places that are open for interpretation, and different personal memories can be supported by these sites. As Baudelaire suggests, it is not the "real story," the official history, that is important. Rather the "story" only needs to support life, to support continuity. Places of absence are able to play a critical role as a frame for the memories of conflict, a frame that is flexible and indeterminate, one that can support many individual interpretations as well as accumulate meanings that are important in the collective memory of a community. As such, these sites differ greatly from official commemorative sites and restructurings of the city. A multitude of meanings and longings can be projected onto these places, which being "empty" hold the invitation to contain—to be filled with meaning. At the same time, these places, as physical sites that one can visit, gaze upon, and experience through the senses—or revisit through photographs, maps, and stories—allow the individual to be transported back to a personal past. Aided by the memory-frame provided by place, personal recollection is supported. Therefore places of absence can be collective symbols, and, at the same time, are important points of entry into the remembrances of the past of personal experience. It is at these sites that the individual and the collective collide. Places of absence may seem forgotten, undesired, but a deeper resonance and meaning may lie below this perceived mantle of neglect. Part III, *Poiesis: Designing for Emotional Bodies* will return to several of the points raised here to make suggestions for design and heritage practices.

Dynamics

Two major points can be inferred about the manner in which conflict alters the nature of the relationship between place and memory. First, place is an important vehicle for memory, as well as a tool for understanding divided societies where official narratives are heavily imposed. Place naturally supports memory and, by its perceived stability, is able to contain multiple times in one location, fortifying and nourishing memories, thereby aiding access to the past. At the same time, in divided cities where places may be greatly transformed, memory can provide access to what is no longer physically present. Places may also contain remnants of earlier times, telling a story that differs from official accounts, thus making place a valuable resource—an important tool for understanding

these complex histories and societies. While places may be reformulated in order to refer back to and officially remember a certain past, this operation is related to present needs, as illustrated by the multiple reconfigurations of the Stadtschloss site in Berlin.

Secondly, the very nature of the bond between place and memory is drastically altered by conflict and disruption, affecting this relationship both in organic ways—as in everyday patterns of life and access to certain places change—and in artificial ways, whereby place is more explicitly used to convey certain meanings. In divided cities, national memories are heavily imposed, and divergent versions of these memories exist. Residents of these cities must navigate these official versions, as well as their own personal memories of everyday life in the city—resulting in a perpetual tension between the official myth or image of the city and its lived reality.

I have argued that, similar to the archive, places and cities are integral to an intentional restructuring of the past. However, the city differs from the archive in several important ways, related mainly to the exchange between place and time. This chapter has traced the process of constructing an archive, highlighting the crucial moment of testimony where personal memory first enters into the process of historiography. It has been demonstrated that the nature of testimony in the city differs from that of the archive, in that the urban encounter with testimony is contemporaneous—we encounter these "unwritten testimonies" now. Where the archive is finished and limited, the city remains open and full of possibility; the unintentional and the everyday are able to slip in. The flexible and ever-changing nature of the city situates it as a repository of testimonies that is closer to living memory—one less affected by historical representation than the archive. It is the repository of everyday life. This is important in divided societies where official histories, and the archives used to construct them, are often heavily cultivated, disallowing room for multiple perspectives. This can extend to the city as well, where the intentional manipulation of place may be so extensive and so thorough, that memories associated with these places may be the only means of access to a past that has otherwise been physically erased from the city. The next part of the book, *Focus: Excavating Nicosia's Buffer Zone*, engages in this exercise—looking to the artifacts of the city of Nicosia, as well as the memories of its residents, to reconstruct a place drastically altered by conflict.

Notes

1. 1972, p. 10.
2. See for example Halbwachs, for whom "it is the spatial image alone that, by reason of its stability, gives us an illusion of not having changed through time and of retrieving the past in the present" (1992, p. 57).
3. 2005, p. 28.
4. 2003, p. 7.
5. 2001, p. 175.
6. Marcuse(2002), Waquant (2002, p. 222).
7. 2006, p. 25.
8. Auge (2004, p. 55).
9. Koshar (2000, p. 159).
10. http://www.stadtschloss-berlin.de/englisch.html. Accessed March 6, 2017.
11. 2005, p. 7.
12. 2001, p. xviii.
13. Boym (2001, p. 189).
14. STASI refers to the Ministry for State Security, an East German intelligence and secret police agency.
15. Ibid., pp. 187–190.
16. Koonz (1994, p. 258).
17. Hirsch (1997, p. 22).
18. Moeller (2005).
19. 2005, p. 80.
20. 1997, p. 244.
21. Ibid., pp. 267–268. Hirsch later made four visits to Czernowitz between 1998 and 2008 as described in her book *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (2010) co-authored with Leo Spitzer.
22. Morrison (1987, pp. 46–47). See King for an analysis of Morrison's use of the term "rememory" (2000, pp. 150–162).
23. Assmann (2008, p. 55). See also Geary for a thorough treatment of the manipulation of memory through the re-organization of archives (1994).
24. Quoted in Becherer (1984, pp. 177–178). Translated by Becherer from French from Charles Nodier's *Paris Historique: Promenade dans les Rues de Paris* (1838).
25. 1994, p. 31.
26. Ricoeur (2004, p. 168). See also Debord: "With writing there appears a consciousness which is no longer carried and transmitted directly among the living: an *impersonal memory*, the memory of the administration of society" (2010, p. 131).
27. Ricouer (2004, p. 170).

28. Sarah Farmer's study of Oradour-sur-Glane explores this issue (2000).
29. de Certeau (1984, p. 95).
30. 1994, p. 26.
31. 1988, p. 73.
32. In *History: The Last Things Before the Last* Siegfried Kracauer points out that "there are always holes in the wall for us to evade and the improbable to slip in" (1995, p. 8).
33. Ibid., p. 74.
34. 1991, p. 5.
35. Ibid., p. 57.
36. Bevan (2006, p. 107).
37. Simone (2005).
38. Bevan (2006, p. 108).
39. Smith (1988, pp. 182–183).
40. The construction of myth does not occur only in ethnonationally divided cities, as Norman Klein discusses in his study of the changing mythology of Los Angeles (1997, p. 29).
41. This statement is not without controversy. See Garfinkle for a discussion of this phrase, which he claims has been often misassigned authorship and distorted in subtle ways, changing its meaning significantly. One example is Edward Said's quotation of this phrase as "a land without people, for a people without land" in *The Question of Palestine*. Garfinkle claims that "in the case of Said and all that follow…the absence of the indirect article 'a' before the word 'people' substantially changes the meaning of the phrase from the political to the demographic and literal" (1991, p. 540).
42. Pullan cites Joan Peter's *From Time Immemorial* and Ben Arieh's *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century* as examples of accounts that disregard the Arab presence on the land (Pullan 2008).
43. Whalid Khalidi's *All That Remains: the Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* describes these former villages and the current uses of this land, which includes several post-1948 Israeli settlements on confiscated village land (1992).
44. Bevan (2006, p. 104).
45. Ibid., p. 47. See also Balic's *The Destruction of Bosnian Architectural Heritage*: An Interim Report (1994).
46. 2009, p. 115.
47. Smith (1996, p. 201).
48. Herzer and Ragbey (1996).
49. Leckie (1994).
50. Sinding-Larsen (2001).
51. Barnett (2006, p. 73).

52. Research in cognitive psychology supports the importance of the relationship between images and memory. Paivio's 1969 experiments in the "verbal learning lab" demonstrated that one of the best predictions of how easy a word would be to remember was given by the extent to which subjects reported that it gave rise to an image. Experiments by Bugelski in 1968 found that an efficient way of learning to associate a pair of words was to form an image of each and imagine the two interacting. "Whether images 'existed' or not, instructions to use them appeared to have a marked effect on learning" (Baddeley 1990, p. 98).

53. Memory-images work to materialize "pure memory," which Bergson refers to as underlying memories that have not been actualized or brought up to the surface of consciousness. This is memory that "is pure from all admixture of sensation, is without attachment to the present, and is consequently unextended" (2004, p. 181).

54. Bergson (2004, p. 170).

55. 1966, p. 3. See also Carruthers (1990, pp. 71–74).

56. Leonard (1992).

57. Bergson (2004, p. 24).

58. Billig (1995, p. 8).

59. 1988, p. 206.

60. Borden (2005, p. 3).

61. Koshar (2000, p. 131).

62. Borden (2005, pp. 21–25).

63. Koshar (2000, p. 130).

64. 1962, p. 144.

65. Michaels (1998, p. 193).

66. Excerpt from Karen Till's interview with Nachama in 1993 (2005, p. 134). The condition of this site has changed considerably since this interview. It now houses the Documentation Centre, which opened in 2010, and has a much more finished character.

67. Hirsch is uncomfortable with this notion of absent memory, underlining that this differs from her own personal experiences. Her parents' home town of Czernowitz is very present for her: "The deep sense of displacement suffered by the children of exile, the elegiac aura of the memory of place to which one cannot return, do not create, in my experience, a feeling of absence: I've sometimes felt that there were too many stories, too much affect, even as at other times I've been unable to fill in the gaps and absences" (1997, p. 244).

68. Hirsch (1997, p. 243).

69. Ibid., p. 244.

70. Abu-Lughod and Sa'di (2007).

71. Sanbar (2001).
72. *Denkmal* is the German word for a general memorial. *Mahnmal* refers to a memorial that bears witness to past crimes, or is a public place of admonition. A *Gedenkstatten* is an educational site with historical exhibitions (Till 2005, p. 82).
73. Till (2005, pp. 99–102).
74. See Huyssen (1997) and Edge and Weiner (2006) for a discussion of the empty void as a major organizing principle in Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin.
75. Baudelaire (1970, p. 77).
76. Ibid.

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Topographies of Memories
A New Poetics of Commemoration
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2017, XVII, 340 p. 55 illus. in color., Hardcover