

Ronit Mirsky

AN ABSENT PRESENT

A Personal Journey Through
Public Commemoration

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the Royal College of
Art for the degree of Master of Philosophy

Royal College of Art
May 2017

Blank

Copyright statement

This text represents the submission for the degree of Master of Philosophy at the Royal College of Art. This copy has been supplied for the purpose of research for private study, on the understanding that it is copyright material, and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgment.

ABSTRACT

I grew up in Israel, in a culture obsessed with memorialisation and perpetuation. As a young state, surrounded by enemy countries, Israel needed to construct a *raison d'être*. Mythmaking and heroism became the foundations of an Israeli collective memory: the land needed to be occupied with monuments celebrating those ideals. My personal and social identity was shaped by this collective memory. The memories and experiences that have shaped me as an adult are the subject of this research. I question what was behind those experiences: whether they were controlled, and if so by whom.

This research questions the power of the state to determine how memory should be experienced. A monument, above all, is a transmitter of meaning. Its commissioners, usually the governing authorities, use it to inscribe values into the individuals within a group. But these meanings are dormant and need to be revived. Each encounter with a monument creates a personal narrative that is a fragment of the national master narrative; however, these personal narratives might be controlled by the governing authorities, and have only the illusion of being truly personal. Consequently, the national master narrative helps the group to move in a unified way through space and time. I look into these narratives, trying to decipher what they actually encapsulate and whom they serve.

Throughout this research I disassemble the process of commemoration. By analysing the encounters of visitors, including myself, with places of public memory, I explore the ways in which social and national memory is formed. The key element of this research is the state of being active: in order to fully understand the experience of a visitor, I must be a visitor myself. I return, both physically and metaphorically, and revisit memories as well as the memorial sites at which they were formed. I conduct repeated rituals in these places of memorialisation; by using re-enactment, shared social activity, accidental encounters, the collecting of objects and pencil rubbings, I unpack the experience of the individual in relation to memorial sites.

Combining written and visual practice I reflect on my experiences, narrating them with storytelling, as well as the creation of artifacts, trying to challenge common notions associated with memorials. The process of my research traces the construction of memory, leading neither to an end point nor a specific answer but rather opening up a discussion about the process of memory and memorialisation.

Copyright Statment 3

Abstract 5

List of Illustrations 8

Acknowlegment 13

Author’s Declaration 15

Introduction 16

Chaper One: 22
TEL HAI / Never Mind, It Is Worth Dying For The Country

Chapter Two: 28
KATI & GIYORA / In Every Generation Each Person Must Look Upon
Himself as if He Had Left Egypt

Chapter Three: 40
DEVIL’S MOUNTAIN / Like a Man Digging

Chapter Four: 50
MENASHE / Touching the Surface

Chapter Five: 62
BAB-EL-WAD / This Stone shall be a Witness Unto Us

Chapter Six: 74
VISUAL PRACTICE

Conclusion 108

Bibliography 114

List of Illustrations

Chapter 1

Fig. 1 – Tel Hai, The Unveiling of *The Roaring Lion* monument, 1934.

Chapter 2:

Fig. 2 – The garden of Kati and Giyora.

Fig. 3 – The plaque at the garden of Kati and Giyora.

Fig. 4 – My Mother holding me at Kati & Giyora, 1979.

Fig. 5 – I am holding my son at Kati & Giyora, December 2013.

Fig. 6 – I am holding my son at Kati & Giyora, May 2014.

Fig. 7 – My mother holding me at Kati & Giyora, approx. 1981.

Fig. 8 – I am holding my son at Kati & Giyora, December 2013.

Fig. 9 – I am holding my son at Kati & Giyora, May 2014.

Fig. 10 – My father holding me at Kati & Giyora, 1979.

Fig. 11 – My husband holding our son at Kati & Giyora, December 2013.

Fig. 12 – My husband holding our son at Kati & Giyora, May 2014.

Chapter 3

Fig. 13 – Teufelsberg

Fig. 14 – Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*, The Reconnaissance.

Fig. 15 – Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*, The Script.

Fig. 16 – Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*, The Story Board.

Fig. 17 – Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*, The Stills.

Fig. 18 – Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*, The Closing credits

Chapter 4

Fig. 19 – The wall of names at The Armoured Corps Memorial Site.

Fig. 20 – The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, aerial view.

Fig. 21 – Rubbings done at The Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Fig. 22 – Objects left at The Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Fig. 23 – A frame from Harun Farocki's film *Transmissions*, captured at The Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Chapter 5

Fig. 24 – Bab-el-Wad Memorial site, a view from Highway No. 1.

Fig. 25 – Darren Almond, *Bus Stop*, 1999

Fig. 26 – Darren Almond, *Shelter*, 2000.

Fig. 27 – A replacement bus shelter selected by the city of Oshanim, 2007.

Fig. 28 – Darren Almond, *Terminus*, 2007.

Fig. 29 – J. and E. Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*, Eight steps of lowering into the ground.

Fig. 30 – J. and E. Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*, 1986

Fig. 31 – J. and E. Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*, 1993

Chapter 6

Fig. 32 – Me, making rubbings at Bab-el-Wad.

Fig. 33 – *Kati and Giyora*, The garden of kati and giyora, Monument Rubbings.

Fig. 34 – Kati and Giyora – the Plaque Rubbings.

Fig. 35 – The garden of kati and giyora, Monument Rubbings.

Fig. 36 – The garden of kati and giyora, the monument covered with my rubbings.

Fig. 37 – *The Iron skeleton is silent like my comrade*, Bab-el-wad rubbings.

Fig. 38 – The picnic benches at Bab-el-Wad, one covered by my rubbings.

Fig. 39 – Screen shot of *untitled* web magazin's cover page with my work.

Fig. 40 – Screen shot of my work's page on *untitled* web magazin.

Fig. 41 – *Gan Ha'giborim*, The Garden of heroes wall of names rubbings.

Fig. 42 – *Latrun*, The armored course memorial wall rubbings.

Fig. 43 – 1:24:00

Fig. 44 – 1:37:00

Fig. 45 – 1:52:00

Fig. 45.1 – 1:52:00, Folded.

Fig. 46 – Folding Performance.

Fig. 47 – *Paper memory #1*

Fig. 48 – My bedroom rubbings, positioned in my studio.

Fig. 49 – Screen shot of 'untitled.org.il', my work's page on the web magazin, below my work is a reference I received as a reaction to the work.

Fig. 50 – *The Garden of Heroes*, the covered wall of names.

Fig. 51 – *Teufelsberg*, Glass, nitric acid, metal.

Fig. 52 – *Teufelsberg*, empty domes.

Fig. 53 – *Teufelsberg*, step 1.

Fig. 54 – *Teufelsberg*, step 2.

Fig. 55 – *Teufelsberg*, step 3.

Fig. 56 – Concrete flowers.

Fig. 57 -The rubber mold used for the second wreath.

Fig. 58 - The two casts.

Fig. 59 - Bab-el-wad #1.

Fig. 60 - Bab-el-wad #2.

Conclusion

Fig. 61 - The Garden of Heroes, Memorial Day for the Fallen Soldiers of Israel and Victims of Terrorism's ceremony.

Fig. 62 - The Garden of Heroes, Memorial Day ceremony, the moment of the siren.

Fig. 63 - The Garden of Heroes, Memorial Day ceremony, honor guard by the wall of names

List of Journeys

Chapter 1

Tel Hai, 33.238701, 35.576598.

Chapter 2:

The garden of Kati and Giyora, 32.050111, 34.862706.

Chapter 3:

Teufelsberg, 52.497940, 13.241411.

Chapter 4:

The Armoured Corps Memorial Site, 31.839331, 34.980388.

Chapter 5:

Bab-el-Wad Memorial site, 31.803127, 35.078463.

Aknowlegment

I would like to thank my supervisors Jo Stockham and Nicky Coutts for their invaluable help and guidance in the development of the project.

I would also like to thank all of the RCA staff, especially the printmaking technicians who have always accommodated me in this very long journey.

Thanks to Gemma E. Holt for her help through the depth of bureaucracy and to Cathy Johnes for proofreading this thesis.

Thanks to my dearset friend Ella Shenhav for helping me to think in English.

Lastly, I would like to thank my one and only, Oded, for his immense patience, support and encouragement. I could not have done this without him.

Author's Declaration

During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification.

The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Signature _____

Date _____

INTRODUCTION

I am an image-maker. My background is in visual communication, where my work has always been concerned with the production of memory. I am intrigued by the process of shaping memory, and interested in my role in this process. Probing into the social responsibility of an artist has brought me to a cross-disciplinary approach and this fine art research project, in which I set out to explore the shaping of social and national identity. This research will examine ways in which this identity is created, focusing on memorialisation and commemoration. By breaking up the elements that form commemorative activity, I will attempt to trace its objective.

The concept of 'collective memory', as defined by Maurice Halbwachs in his book *La mémoire collective*, written in 1950,¹ is one of the key elements of this research. Halbwachs claims that collective memory has little to do with historical facts. It is a reconstruction of the past, created to serve the ideals of a group or a social system in order to validate its existence. Halbwachs claims that this reconstruction is a manipulation:

'Even at the moment of reproducing the past our imagination remains under influence of the present social milieu... Modern societies penetrate and insinuate themselves more deeply into their members'.²

Moreover, the notion of collective memory appears through commemorative performances in which the participants create a personal commemorative narrative, putting historical facts into the form of a story. These personal narratives together form a master national narrative that is intended to characterise what the group shares as a community. In this research, I argue that the national master narrative compresses the subjective experiences of individuals into a flat, homogeneous narrative.

This research explores the private experience of public places of remembrance. It is structured around a series of site visits to carefully chosen sites in Israel and Germany, where I investigate my own memories of experiencing commemoration. The sites were chosen according to their personal meaning for me: I feel that the only way to truly look into this issue is to use myself as a subject, developing my first-hand experiences into case studies. Using excavation as my method, I metaphorically, and sometimes literally, turn the soil over and over again, conducting repeated rituals in the sites I visit. Through these rituals I attempt to identify the role and function of memorials in the shaping of national identity and analyse how the past is experienced in the present.

Each chapter focuses on one site, opening with a narration of my experience at this site. It follows with an analysis of a commemorative principle that is expressed by the narrative.

In the first chapter I focus on my first memory as an active image-maker, which coincidentally took place at the first modern monument in Israel, a monument that was built fourteen years before the establishment of the state of Israel. The Jewish community of Palestine wished to affirm their ownership over the land: one way of doing this was by erecting monuments. A call for the building of more monuments was suggested in an article in one of the Jewish community's national newspapers in 1939, declaring that in the diaspora Jews were not able to mark their history in a physical way; here, in Israel, they must do this.³ This approach continued after the establishment of the state of Israel. In its early days,

1/ Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950). The book was written prior to 1940, but first published five years after Halbwachs died in Buchenwald concentration camp in 1945.

2/ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Trans. and ed. by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.49.

3/ Maoz Azaryahu, 'Zickaron Banof: Haandartaot Hasmuyot Min Haayin. Shlosha Mikrim.' [A Memory in

Cenery: The Hidden Monuments. Three Cases.], *Cathedra*, 150, (Jan. 2013), 211-238 (p. 216).

Israel consisted of a mixed community of immigrants. The ending of World War II left the persecuted Jews of Europe looking for a safe shelter, and accordingly, the state of Israel was declared a Jewish state: Jews from all over the world were encouraged to come and unite there.⁴ Under these circumstances arose a need for a national identity, an immediate national ethos that would bring together different nationalities into a unified group.

In this chapter I analyse the production of collective memory. I look into how group memory can be affected by its members' personal memories and how those memories are shaped throughout childhood. Halbwachs stresses the importance of having a meaningful experience in order to create a memory, and I try to decipher what those experiences might be and how it is possible to retain a memory from a lifetime that was not your own. Focusing on my memory of a trip to the memorial site of Tel Hai in northern Israel I try to trace the geography of public remembrance, looking at how commemoration is positioned in a social context. In order for a place to become an experience, a story needs to be told: I explore the different stories a memorial site tells, and how those stories demonstrate the political battle over the national master narrative.

The second chapter begins with a childhood memory, recalling a monument located in the neighbourhood I grew up in. Its location raises questions about the role of monuments in everyday life and the part they play in the life of a community. Following the role of tradition in transmitting collective memory I look into ceremonies and rituals, exploring how repetition can create a sense of continuity, immersing individuals into their community's past in order to make them feel part of its future.

Remembering my past experiences as a child in a local memorial site, I looked for family photos I remembered being taken at the place. I visit the site again with these photos, restaging them with my son. Through this act I observe the way that intergenerational knowledge can be passed on through an activity. Continuity is not just being told something, it is knowledge that needs to be gained physically; it is about doing something and repeating it. Repetition can heal, linking and bonding individuals into a united group, whether this is a family or a state. By restaging the photos at a public site of remembrance I link the personal and the national, tying together the past commemorated at the site with my own past and future.

In the third chapter I look at Teufelsberg, a man-made hill in Berlin. Teufelsberg is a physical layering of history: a Nazi military base covered in war rubble that became the base for an American radar station. After visiting the site I discuss its hidden history, starting with the myth of Prometheus, in which forgetting becomes the essence of humankind. Bernard Stiegler's interpretation of this myth defines forgetting as the condition of being. I then explore Nietzsche's 'historical sense', whereby he argues that humans, unlike animals, know what they have forgotten. According to Nietzsche the balance between remembering and forgetting is crucial: forgetting must thus be an intended action. That is, the past must be used by humans for their own benefit. Next, I adopt a Benjaminian method of excavation, conducting myself digging physically and metaphorically. Benjamin argues that in order to truly look inside memory, we must repeatedly turn it over. What we find in this process is as important

4/ From the Israeli Declaration of Independence: "The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people - the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe - was another clear demonstration of the urgency of solving the problem of its homelessness by re-establishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State." Israel's Declaration of Independence, available at http://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm

as what we were initially looking for. I demonstrate this by exploring Uriel Orlov's work *Unmade Film* (2011–2013), in which he digs up layers of trauma that the Israeli state wanted to hide. Using this example I examine whether a balance between remembering and forgetting exists in Israel, and the Israeli state's official attitude toward forgetting as a sin and its decree that its citizens should not forget. The question that arises here is what they do forget, and who forgets it for them? It seems that this balance ought to be in the state's best interests, since this is necessary in order to create a consistent national narrative, and through this to maintain a feeling of continuity. The notion of a shared past creates the notion of a shared future to come; forgetting must thus be part of this act.

A paragraph referring to Chapter Four that is redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.

[REDACTED]

The fifth chapter explores the idea of authenticity. Examining Israel's first national memorial, Bab-el-Wad, I explore the narrative presented to the public about this memorial and the true events behind it. Bab-el-Wad commemorates the convoys that brought supplies to besieged Jerusalem during the Arab-Israeli war in 1948. Officially, it consists of the actual vehicles that were part of those convoys. Today, documents have emerged that challenge the authenticity of these vehicles, suggesting they have been fabricated to replicate them. This prompts questions about the value of mimesis. Further, when I visited Bab-el-Wad the vehicles had been moved because of roadworks, and instead I found a picnic site with benches in the shape of the commemorative vehicles. In relation to mimesis theory, I discuss the function of those two different types of copies: the vehicles presented as the original ones and the benches that physically resemble the shape of the vehicles. Following Benjamin's notion of the aura I ask whether authenticity is at the essence of this memorial, questioning whether preservation in this case means allowing the natural process of decay or protecting the vehicles from it. I then address the origin of the idea of the monument. The first monuments in the Biblical book of Genesis functioned as silent witnesses, evidenced by the fact that an object was in a certain place at a certain time. Thus, a monument is a testimony to a past event, and is accordingly authentic. Next, I test the potential for an object to be a witness through Darren Almond's project *Terminus* (1997–2007) Almond's objects are the bus shelters

outside Auschwitz. He filmed them, and transported them into a gallery space in Germany. The project evolved in several stages over ten years. Almond treats the shelters as a kind of monument; they tell the story of what they witnessed, and encapsulate history. That is, they carry the illusion of a direct encounter with the past, and as such serve as its reminder. In contrast, Nora, in his study of lieux de mémoire has argued that monuments are not places of memory but rather encourage forgetting.⁵ According to Nora, monuments are archives of the past and carry within them the burden of remembering, taking it from their visitors. The 'counter-monuments' movement adopted Nora's arguments, exhorting the visitor themselves to be responsible for remembering. I demonstrate the values of counter-monuments through the example of one of the best known, the *Monument Against Fascism* (1986), known as the 'vanishing monument', by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz. The artists created a monument that invited interaction with visitors and was lowered into the ground in several stages until it completely vanished, thus making the visitor a participant in the memory process both by taking an active part at the site and by ensuring that they will be the only ones who will remember the monument, thus placing the burden of memory upon them.

To conclude this chapter, I discuss the monument's role in telling a story, questioning the role of authenticity in the act of commemoration and observing the monument's importance instead as a memory trigger. It can still transmit value, even as a copy; its effectiveness should not be defined by its uniqueness but rather by its ability to make the visitor think about the past that is commemorated, not by manipulating the viewer but rather by encouraging independent thought: keeping the memory alive by creating a dialogue about it.

In the final chapter I discuss my own visual practice. As a practice-based research project, personal work forms an integral part of it. In my research method the written and visual parts inform each other. Sometimes the writing precedes the visual and sometimes my research is done visually and is only manifested in writing. In this chapter I present the visual part of the research, analysing it and connecting it to the rest of my work. I work in a very ritualistic way: throughout my journeys I perform different rituals that I use as a method to gather information that I later reflect upon, as well as to make work that is the consequence of this reflection. I do not aim to present a finished product, but see the process of the work as important as the work itself, mimicking the ongoing process of memory. Benjamin's excavatory approach also guides me through the practical work, and I attempt to incorporate my discoveries in the process of making into my future work.

This research is a study of the culture of commemoration. With an Israeli background I feel that commemoration is one of my foundation stones. Here I set out to explore the elements that form the activity of commemoration, raising questions about contemporary practices of commemoration and ways in which I think commemorative practices could take place in the future.

5/ Pierre Nora, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, Trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, 26 (1989).



Fig. 1

TEL HAI

Never Mind, It Is Worth Dying For The Country

When I was eighteen, I lived in a commune. We were a group of young dreamers. We read Marx, Marcuse and Adorno and believed we would change the world. I was the artist of the group, making a drawing or a photo when it was needed.

On one occasion we travelled to Tel Hai, a memorial site in northern Israel. Tel Hai was first settled as a small agricultural village, functioning as a communal society, together with the first Kibbutzim that were starting to form around that time. In 1920, it was the focus of a territorial dispute between the French and the Arabs. The settlers of Tel Hai were neutral in the dispute, but anticipated conflict. Former Russian war hero and Zionist activist Josef Trumpeldor was summoned to help protect the area. Trumpeldor had fought in the Russian-Japanese war, where he was injured in battle, and was later decorated for bravery.

In March 1920, the 20 villagers of Tel Hai were attacked by a large group of armed Arabs. Eight villagers died, including Trumpeldor. The day of the battle was later declared a national memorial day in the Hebrew calendar. The myth associated with Tel Hai revolves mostly around the heroism of Trumpeldor, and the common belief is that his last words were: 'never mind, it is worth dying for the country.' Today it is claimed that Trumpeldor only mumbled a swear word in Russian on his deathbed, but the myth of Trumpeldor is still very much alive. His last words, slightly altered, became a national slogan, 'It is good to die for our country'. Apparently the Eleventh of Adar, Tel Hai day,⁶ is no longer celebrated in schools, but when I was a child, teachers used to display posters with Trumpeldor's famous last words around that day, highlighting the centrality of the commemoration of Tel Hai and presenting it as a legacy for future generations.

In 1934, the artist Avraham Melnikov constructed what is known as the first modern monument in the country: a large figure of a lion, six metres tall, inspired by ancient Babylonian statues. The statue was placed on the tomb of the Tel Hai heroes, and is known today as the Roaring Lion.⁷

I had been to Tel Hai several times before. On this occasion, with my commune, I do not remember many details. I had my camera with me, as always, documenting. Ofer, the unofficial leader of our group – the smartest, most revolutionary and charismatic – asked me to take a photo of him in front of the Roaring Lion. I stood and looked through the viewfinder, trying to find the right frame. Then I decided to kneel, and

⁶ By the Hebrew calendar

⁷ Yael Zrubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 42.

find an angle where Ofer would appear bigger than this monumental roaring lion. I may not remember much about this trip, but I this image has stayed with me, even though I have not seen the actual photo for almost twenty years. It is one of my first recollections as an activist image-maker.

An individual shapes his or her social identity within society. This identity is created by a combination of economic, social, cultural, political and ideological forces. The matrix of social identity is at the heart of this research. As mentioned earlier, Maurice Halbwachs maintains that collective memory relies on the personal memories of the individuals in a group. It is reciprocal: collective memory is transformed according to the personal memories of its group members at the same time that the personal memories of the members change according to the collective memory of the group. An individual can be a member of several groups, each with its own collective memory. Thus, the individual carries several collective memories: I am a part of Israeli society, and as such I carry the Israeli collective memory in relation to commemoration and the myth of the battle at Tel Hai. I was at the time also a member of my commune and my youth movement, with a different view of the collective memory and values in relation to this myth. This contradictory situation made me act critically, making a statement by depicting Ofer from a low angle, and choosing to challenge the myth that is part of the Israeli collective memory.

Halbwachs claims that the shaping of collective memory begins in early childhood. A child is a part of a group, and as such is influenced by the events that affect the group. The child does not know how to recognise an important or influential event, but they can recognise the importance that adults give to the event. These memories of what the child recognises as important events are internalised and become their past, creating points of reference to the shared history of the group. Accordingly, the child's memories are occupied with the memories and values of the group.

'The life of the child is immersed in social milieus through which he comes in touch with a past stretching back some distance. The latter acts like a framework into which are woven his most personal remembrances'.⁸

Furthermore, it is individuals who emphasise the importance of certain events in the life of a community, and they are the ones who inscribe those events in the collective memory of the group. But is the choice of events an individual free choice, or is it controlled and mediated?

Halbwachs continues to discuss the process of creating individual memory: he stresses the importance of experiencing an event, claiming that memory relies on lived history, rather than on learned history.⁹ As long as the past is alive in the consciousness of the group's individuals it will be remembered, maintaining continuity between generations. When a past is no longer active in the individual's mind, the collective memory changes accordingly. That is, in order to keep collective memory alive, the individual must have an experience of it. The more meaningful the experience for the individual the more it will become a remembered event and will stay alive in the collective memory. Moreover, collective memory encapsulates the group members' memories and by doing so it bridges the gaps an individual might have in terms of the shared past of the group. By belonging to a group, then, an individual may have a memory of an event he did not participate in, but was a meaningful one to other members of the group. This is what Alison Landsberg has called 'prosthetic memory': Landsberg suggests that by having an experience at a site such as a cinema or a museum a memory about a past event can be inscribed into an individual, immersing them in a historical narrative from a time before they were alive.¹⁰ Thus, according to Landsberg, an artist can have a real effect on history.

8/ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 68.

9/ Ibid, p. 57.

10/ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

The transference of a personal memory into a collective one is at the heart of the process of memorialisation. Formal and informal commemorative performances, such as artworks, books, films and festivals, are generated by individuals but mediated by ruling authorities. In relation to the question of the free choice of memorable events, memorials are one way to control this choice. Moreover, public sites of remembrance bring historical events into the consciousness of the community. That is, the importance of a site lies in its visibility: 'What is potentially visible is omnipresent', according to David Lowenthal.¹¹ The commissioners of a memorial reconstruct the past according to their needs, choosing which event will be publicly remembered.

The Roaring Lion monument in Tel-Hai was erected in 1934, fourteen years before the declaration of independence of the state of Israel. It was commissioned by the Jewish National Council, together with the Histadrut, a socialist organization of trade unions, which together formed the leadership of the Jewish occupants of Palestine. The huge statue could be seen from far away. Melnikov first called the statue 'The Lion of Judah', the biblical symbol of the Tribe of Judah (of the twelve tribes of Israel) and the kingdom of Judah, a symbol that was later adopted by the kingdom of the House of David. The statue was always referred to, however, as the Roaring Lion, emphasising its heroic symbolism. The image of Trumpeldor was often connected to the figure of a lion, brave and fearless; Melnikov engraved Trumpeldor's famous words beneath the lion's feet, with the names of the eight Tel Hai inhabitants who were killed. The statue was positioned in front of their graves.

The myth of Trumpeldor was embraced by both Jewish Palestine's socialist leadership and the right-wing political opposition. Each used the myth according to its own values, creating a different remembrance narrative. Those two movements developed into Israel's two main political parties today. Israel has had a right-wing leadership for a long time now: the narrative of the myth of Trumpeldor is a nationalistic one, in which the death and sacrifice of Trumpeldor is seen as heroic and significant in the continuing fight over the land of Israel. The socialist youth movement I was part of, which was supported by the Labor party, tells a different narrative of remembrance: Trumpeldor himself believed the land can only be occupied by work and settlement, not by war and victory. The battle over collective memory is a political one: while the national education system tells one story, there are several informal frameworks that are trying to tell another, fighting over the shape of collective memory. By integrating new meanings to points of reference in Israeli public remembrance a new national narrative can be created.

A commemorative site tells three stories: of the past event it commemorates; of its creation and the history presented at the site, and of the individual encounter of a visitor to the site. The last of these is made of endless stories, each visitor creating his own personal narrative.¹² Returning to the notion of prosthetic memory, if memory is usually experienced from the present backwards – to the past – memorialisation is experienced from the present forward – to the future. While individuals may not be able to remember a past event they were not part of, they will remember their personal encounter with the event, whether this was a visit to a site or another way of experiencing it. This will help them to place the memory in time and space. By performing an act of commemoration, such as participating in a ceremony or watching a commemorative film, the individual creates a personal narrative, linking

11/ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 239.

12/ Maoz Azaryahu, 'From Remains to Relics: Authentic Monuments in the Israeli Landscape', *History and Memory*, 5: 2 (Fall - Winter, 1993), (82-103) p. 84.

a story about a past with a story about the present, the present being the recent experience of the individual, whether this was meeting old friends at the ceremony or having a drink after the film. This personalisation of the commemorative act helps to immerse individuals in their group's history. In this process of narration, memory relies on history. This so-called personal memory is mediated, however: first by the selection of the event to be commemorated and second by the integration of historical facts into it.¹³ Hayden White suggests that putting historical facts into the form of a narrative endows them with authority as well as making them desirable; they inherit a certain coherent form that belongs only to stories. He stresses the danger in giving these narratives authentic historical value:

*'Narrative discourse, far from being a neutral medium for the representation of historical events and processes, is the very stuff of a mythical view of reality, a conceptual or pseudoconceptual "content" which, when used to represent real events, endows them with an illusory coherence and charges them with the kinds of meanings more characteristic of oneiric than of waking thought.'*¹⁴

The narratives that White calls 'oneiric' are fragments of a national history: when they are put together they create a master commemorative narrative.¹⁵ The master narrative focuses on the social identity of the group, answering questions such as 'who are we?' and 'where did we come from?' by giving a framework to what the group shares as a community. Above all, the master narrative presents the group as a unit moving through history and time, giving it a historical pattern of commemorative festivals.

Each year on the eleventh of Adar ceremonies are held in Tel Hai. Two different narratives are celebrated, one of heroic fight and sacrifice and the other of work and pioneering, demonstrating the conflict over public remembrance. This conflict activates the relationship between history and memory, creating the tension that is commemoration.

13/ Zrubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, p. 6.

14/ Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p. ix.

15/ Zrubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, p. 6.



Fig. 2

KATI & GIYORA
In Every Generation Each Person Must Look
Upon Himself as if He Had Left Egypt

Near the house where I grew up is a war monument.¹⁶ It commemorates two local soldiers, Kati and Giyora, who died during military service. The monument is made from a single boulder cut in two, creating two large grey stones. The surface of each stone is covered with a polished metal plate, offering a cold, smooth and shiny texture on one side, in contrast to the rough texture of the stone. Growing up, all the local children used to play around the stones; I remember a photo from one of my childhood albums, of my mother holding me as a baby on one of the stones. When I was too old to climb the stones, 'Kati and Giyora' became a meeting point for friends.

When I was a little girl, I remember being afraid of those stones: the fact that they were cut and covered in metal made me think that the two soldiers, Kati and Giyora, were buried inside them. The stones looked enormous to me and I imagined they could hold a body (or two) easily.

I didn't really know who Kati and Giyora were, and maybe I didn't care. I assumed they were two friends who grew up together: neighbours, best friends, both killed during military service, maybe in the same war. There might have been a metal plaque near the stones telling their story, but it does not exist in my childhood memory.

My family left the neighbourhood years ago. Even though I was no longer a child when we left, in my mind the stones remained enormous. Recently I revisited this childhood place. I was surprised to discover the stones were not big at all. Apparently scale changes when you grow up.

16 <https://plus.google.com/117233241783426790156/about> [Accessed on 2.4.2014]

A monument portrays three elements: the subject of commemoration, the design of the monument and the place where it is located.¹⁷ The placing of a monument carries within it decisions on the nature of its encounter with the public. Some monuments are sited where the event they commemorate took place; sometimes in an out-of-the-way location, thus the visitor's encounter would only be a truly intentional one, requiring a special effort. On the other hand, a monument placed in a more central location creates a more mundane public encounter. Therefore, the location of the monument will affect the personal experience of its visitors, determining its place in their memory. For instance, the memorial site Bab-el-Wad, which I examine later, is located in its authentic place, on the side of Israel's main road connecting Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. As such, the encounter with Bab-el-Wad can be both intentional and unintentional: the visitor either parks the car near the site or passes by it on this busy road on their way to Jerusalem/Tel Aviv. A monument has a symbolic role; its meaning, or the meaning that was initially given to it by its commissioners, is present, but the character of the public encounter with it inscribes in it additional new meanings. Lewis Mumford highlighted the importance of placing monuments in central locations for the community, such as the local post office or the main city square. In his view the presence of death in the life of a community is a document for an active community life: an indication of a shared past, of continuity and a sense of a shared future.¹⁸ Furthermore, a monument should play a role in everyday life, filling it with living activities such as playing or dancing, creating personal experiences.¹⁹ These activities might revive a specific memory, these mundane encounters with monuments thus giving the individual a chance to activate their connection to the group's collective memory, to charge it with everyday experiences, claiming it and making it their own. This is where the personal and the collective memory interact.

Israel was established as a Jewish state. As such, it adopted the fundamental principles of Judaism: 'Zekhor!' is one of them. This form of the verb 'to remember' as a command is used throughout the Bible whenever Israel is admonished: 'Remember!²⁰: the command to remember is unconditional, and even when remembering is not a commandment it is pivotal. Moreover, the verb 'to remember' is complemented by its antonym, 'to forget': Israel is ordered to remember, as well as to not forget.²¹ Further, forgetting is the cardinal sin, always negative; as much as individuals are responsible for remembering, they are equally responsible for forgetting. Likewise, memory is a battle over continuity; collective forgetting prevents inter-generational knowledge. 'To Remember and Not Forget' has become an official slogan used on various memorial days in Israel. As can be expected, the terror of forgetting is stirred by the constant need to justify the existence of the Israeli state. After all, the past is a necessity; the command to remember had been translated from a religious command to a secular one, to validate Israel's alleged right to occupy its land.

These structures are repeated in order to create a unified group, a bridge between past and future, formed by tradition. Traditions are invented in order to meld a group of individuals into a "people", immersing them in a past while promising a connection to a future: inter-generational knowledge is transferred through traditional performances, that are repeated and set in the group's calendar, thus adding an element of time into the matrix of memory.

The Haggadah ('telling' in Hebrew) is a book read at the Passover dinner by the whole family. It tells

the story of the exodus of Egypt, setting forth the order of the 'Seder', the traditional commemorative festival of this biblical story. The Haggadah demands that each reader know and feel the story as if it happened to him or her.²² Therefore, the Passover dinner, like many other religious traditions, reenacts the story of the exodus. This religious reenactment is based on the assumption that in order to remember one must feel, taste, touch – have a personal subjective experience. Moreover, the individual does not just carry the memory with him; by reenacting the traditions and customs one becomes the memory; one becomes a mnemonic device, a monument. It follows that religious ceremonies are ritual actions, repeated regularly by the religious group's members; they are symbolic representations, designed to evoke feelings.²³ As such, they work simultaneously in two ways: they establish a connection to ancient tradition, repeating past stories and customs, and they create a personal contemporary tradition where each participant has their own part in the ceremony, whether active or passive; thus an inner tradition is created within smaller groups, for example, a family Christmas day.

Commemorative ceremonies act in a similar way, with secular content. Nonetheless, the ambition is usually to create some sort of a 'religious' group, as unified and dedicated to its ideas as orthodox Jews to their Rabbi. In a similar vein to the values of religious ceremonies, the governing authority is trying to make its members connect to a past as well as to a future, feeling continuity past their lifetime. The commemorative ceremonies work in the same ways as the religious ones, creating small traditions within the group such as going together each year to the ceremony, or sharing a drink before or after the ceremony. One might not remember which song was sung at the ceremony, but one will remember who they met, sat next to or had a chat with. Therefore, ceremonies are able to inscribe meanings and values into its participants, making memory personal.

In order to create a tradition, an act must be constantly repeated. Repetition denotes a connection with the past; personal everyday rituals, family and wider social rituals are all continually repeated. Ideas may be emphasised through repetition, and when the group members repeat the same action, the group's unity is intensified: repetition creates familiarity, and as such can bridge and heal any alienation the individual might feel in relation to the group, creating a sense of continuity to the past and the future, whether real or false.

I did not visit the Kati and Giyora site for years. It stayed dormant in my memory, waiting to be re-activated. When I finally revisited it, I found the plaque telling the story, as follows:²⁴

The Garden of Kati and Giyora

Kati and Giyora lit bonfires here in their childhood, and played hide and seek.

When they grew up, they went to war and never came back...

Katriel Tau

Fell in battle with hostile forces on the Lebanese border

On 4 September 1974

Aged 20

17/ aoz Azaryahu, 'Zickaron Banof: Haandartaot Hasmuyot Min Haayin. Shlosha Mikrim', p. 214. Press, 1982), p. xiii.
21/ Ibid, p.5.

18/ Lewis Mumford, 'Monuments and Memorials' *Good Housekeeping*, 120 (January 1945), p. 108, quoted in Esther Levinger, *Andartaot Lanoflim Beisrael* [War Memorials in Israel], (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1993), pp. 59-60.

19/ Ibid.

20/ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, (Seattle, WA: University of Washington

22/ 'In every generation each person must look upon himself as if he had left Egypt' – From the Haggadah. This is according to this verse in the Book of Exodus: "And thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, this is done because of which the LORD did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt. (Exodus 13.8), <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Exodus-Chapter-13/#8> [accessed on 2.11.2015]

23/ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

24/ Translated from Hebrew by myself.

Giyora Hagay

Fell in the Yom Kippur War, 18 October 1973

In the Battle of the Chinese Farm²⁵

Aged 18



Fig. 3 / The plaque at Kati & Giyora Garden.

Taken from an online collection of historic social photographs in Israel. You can see two stickers of 'Remember' - the Memorial Day for the Fallen Soldiers stickers, with the symbol of the 'Blood of the Maccabees' flower, the Israeli adaptation of the British red poppy.

On further research I found that both boys were commemorated in several other national monuments. The monument in my home town was commissioned by the boys' parents, with the help of the town council, to mark their loss and friendship in the place where they played together. There is no record for the Garden of Kati and Giyora on the Israeli official memorial website for fallen soldiers . There are several other monuments mentioning their names, but this local monument does not appear on any official records. It is, however, mentioned on the town's Wikipedia page. Wikipedia is written by its users; I find it very interesting that this monument does not appear on the government's memorial site but is listed on a user-based one. To me, this makes it a much more personal monument.²⁶ Kati and Giyora's families wanted the continuing generations of neighbourhood children to play at this place; they wanted it to be a more of an everyday spot. Moreover, while I mentally revisited those memories, they did have a tangible form: the photo I remembered taken at the monument. Looking for this photo, I found three that were taken at Kati and Giyora's: the photo I remembered, and two more that were taken a couple of years later. In these I am wearing the same outfit; in one of them my mother is holding me while in the other I am in my father's arms. I assume they were taken on the same occasion, my mother and father taking turns behind the camera. During the course of this research my family had seen many changes: I became a mother for the first (and second) time and my father had died (my

mother had died several years before). I decided to revisit Kati and Giyora and to use these photographs as a way to bridge generations and find continuity that would heal my loss. I created my own ritual, reenacting the old photos with my partner and my new baby. I repeated this act twice, a few months apart, trying to create some sort of a ceremonial feeling, mixing a habit of memory with the feeling of continuation. Restaging my dead parents felt odd and right at the same time. Not having my mother beside me when I became a mother, I always wonder how she felt when she became a mother and how she would have reacted to seeing me with my son. By restaging myself as her I tried to put myself in her place, changing roles from daughter to mother. I used the monument as a teaching device, claiming my own past while connecting it to my future. The original photos were probably taken randomly; they could have been taken at the local park. The fact they were taken at Kati and Giyora marks the presence of this memorial site in the life of the community, serving the purpose of its commissioners, the families of Kati and Giyora. This site was a place where the past connects with the present, a living place rather than a place for buried memories. The new photos I took transmit the past actively to the next generation, my own past and the past commemorated at the site. They tell a narrative of continuity: Kati and Giyora themselves played here, followed by me and my friends: and now my son plays in the same place. This site of commemoration is a marker for the active continuation of a community, transferring inter-generational knowledge while making the individual feel part of a past and a future.

25/ The battle of the Chinese Farm was one of the bloodiest Israel had known, a four-day battle in which 163 Israeli soldiers lost their lives.

D7.A6.D7.97.D7.94...D7.9C.D7.Ao.
D7.95.D7.A4.D7.9C.D7.99.D7.9D..
D7.91.D7.9E.D7.A2.D7.A8.D7.9B.D7.95.
D7.AA...D7.99.D7.A9.D7.A8.D7.9o.
D7.9C [accessed at 24.10.16]

26/ Katriel Tau (Kati) memorial page: <http://www.izkor.gov.il/HalalView.aspx?id=96542>

Giyora Hagai memorial page: <http://www.izkor.gov.il/HalalView.aspx?id=94337>

Kiriat Ono Wikipedia page: https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A7%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%99%D7%AA_%D7%9o%D7%95%D7%Ao%D7%95#.D7.9o.D7.AA.D7.A8.D7.99...D7.94.D7.Ao



FIG. 4 / MY MOTHER HOLDING ME AT KATI & GIYORA, 1979



FIG 5 / I AM HOLDING MY SON AT KATI & GIYORA, DECEMBER 2013



FIG 6 / I AM HOLDING MY SON AT KATI & GIYORA, MAY 2014



FIG 7 / MY MOTHER HOLDING ME AT KATI & GIYORA, APPROX.1981



FIG. 8 / I AM HOLDING MY SON AT KATI & GIYORA, DECEMBER 2013



FIG. 9 / I AM HOLDING MY SON AT KATI & GIYORA, MAY 2014



FIG. 10 / MY FATHER HOLDING ME AT KATI & GIYORA, 1979



FIG. 11 / MY HUSBAND HOLDING OUR SON AT KATI & GIYORA, DECEMBER 2013



FIG. 12 / MY HUSBAND HOLDING OUR SON AT KATI & GIYORA, MAY 2014



Fig. 13

DEVIL'S MOUNTAIN Like a Man Digging

Teufelsberg, literally 'Devil's Mountain', is an artificial hill in Grunewald, former West Berlin, made from approximately 12 million cubic metres of war rubble. After the heavy bombing of Berlin in the Second World War, the city was full of rubble. The debris that needed to be cleared was dumped on Teufelsberg. Teufelsberg is not the only man-made rubble hill in Germany, but what makes it unique is what lies beneath the rubble: a half-built Nazi military training school, designed by chief Nazi architect Albert Speer. The Allies tried using explosives to demolish the school, but it was so sturdy that covering it with debris was easier, so after the war it became a rubble disposal site. As the rubble accumulated on Teufelsberg, it became the highest hill in Berlin and also in West Germany. As a result, the US National Security Agency (NSA) built one of its largest listening stations, rumoured to be part of the global ECHELON intelligence-gathering network, on top of the hill. The station operated until the fall of the Berlin Wall. After reunification it was closed and the equipment removed, but the buildings and the radar domes were left, and are still there today.

A few years ago I travelled to Berlin, having managed to avoid visiting Germany all my life. Growing up in Israel, from a very young age I was exposed to aftershocks from the horrors of the Holocaust. This exposure created deep-seated memories. All children are afraid of the dark, but I was afraid of the Nazis that hid there. I was sure Hitler was hiding under my bed, or following me on the street. I was afraid gas would come out of my shower instead of water. Just as I was traumatised by the Holocaust, I was afraid of walking on German streets, or hearing German being spoken.²⁷ Finally, prompted by my studies, I decided to face my fears, and went on a research trip to Berlin, a city haunted by its violent past. One of my points of interest was Teufelsberg. It is not your regular tourist attraction, but I wanted to climb on that ghostly mountain.

Paradoxically, the station I arrived at for visiting Teufelsberg was the one from which the Nazi trains, filled with captured Jews, left Berlin towards the concentration camps across Europe. From the station I could see trees in the distance, and I set off in that direction. Eventually I found myself at the entrance to a small forest. There was a map of the forest by the path so I tried to plan my way to Teufelsberg on the map. While I was looking at the map a strange man approached me. He was dressed oddly, wearing socks on his hands and carrying a bicycle. He came close and asked me with a very heavy German accent if I needed help. I asked him for directions to Teufelsberg. I was trying to be polite but I felt petrified. Despite the fact he had a

²⁷ Researching those memories, I interviewed other Israelis in my age group. I was amazed to find we share similar memories from the Holocaust. Those memories, from a time we did not live through, are what Alison Landsberg calls 'prosthetic memory', recollections that were created as a result from an encounter at an experiential site (such as a cinema or museum), a term I explored in Chapter 1.

Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004)..

bicycle with him, he offered to walk me there. As I didn't see any way I could refuse, I agreed.

We started walking, chatting, into the woods. I kept thinking what I should say when he asked me where I was from. Should I say I was from Israel or from the UK? He started talking about a book he was carrying and how he got hold of this book. His English was not very good and I did not understand exactly what he was talking about: it had something to do with 'Juden' and the place they were deported from in 1943. Then he asked me where I was from. I replied, 'Israel'. There was no reaction. 'Is English your first language?' he asked. 'No, it is Hebrew,' I replied. He had never heard of Hebrew before. 'The language of the Juden,' I said cautiously. I was anxious to see his reaction to this new fact: I was Juden: but I do not think he made the connection. We were walking into the forest, alone, no one in sight, miles from anywhere and I was worried about the German (Nazi) - Jewish situation I had got myself into. Where was my common sense? It was quite unlike me to get myself into a situation like this. I was terrified. As we continued to walk into the forest, I realised my stupidity. Here I was, a young woman walking with a complete stranger, and I was worried about his German/Nazi roots. He could rape me, kill me or abduct me, regardless of his or my nationality.

He talked about being from West Berlin and hating East Berliners; for him the East/West division would always be there. When we turned onto the hill path and started climbing, I started to panic. The sun was starting to set and my imagination was working overtime. We started climbing and, not wanting to continue walking with him, I told him I could manage on my own from there. It looked as though climbing was difficult for him, and after a few minutes he excused himself and said he would have to go down. He asked for my phone number, but I took his number instead. We said goodbye and I continued on alone. I kept thinking that he might have allowed me to go and called his accomplices to execute his rape/abduction plan. With every turn of the path I questioned whether I should keep going or head back. Finally, I got to the radar station. I could not believe I was actually climbing on what had been a Nazi base. The deserted radar station was interesting, but I was still afraid - of Norbert, the German weirdo, of the Nazi forest and of finding my way back in the dark.

When I started heading back down the path, I realized I had been so preoccupied with my fears, I had not actually noticed the way I had come, or how to get back. I

had no recollection of the path and had the distinct feeling I was getting lost. It was starting to get dark and I was frightened. After about forty minutes of wandering through the forest, I heard noises. It was a German family, walking towards me. I asked them for directions, then just about ran all the way back to the station.

The surface of Teufelsberg as it is today does not reveal its history; this history is hidden under the soil, waiting to be dug out, exposed. While it is covered, it is dormant. Forgetting and remembering are bonded in the whole. This connection could be considered in relation to the Greek myth of the brothers Prometheus and Epimetheus; the name Prometheus is from the Greek for foresight, while Epimetheus is from the Greek for afterthought. According to the myth, as narrated in Plato's Protagoras, the brothers were given the task of distributing characters to all living creatures. Epimetheus asked his brother if he could carry out this task by himself, the task checked later by his brother. He gave characters to all the animals, making sure their powers would be balanced so that no species would be eliminated by another. When Prometheus came to view his brother's work, he saw that Epimetheus had given all the character traits away, leaving none for humans; humankind was left exposed and weak. Prometheus then stole fire and the skill of art from the gods to give to humans, so that humans could have the means to live.²⁸ In Bernard Stiegler's analysis of this myth Prometheus represents memory, and Epimetheus forgetfulness.²⁹ Man, forgotten by Epimetheus, is deprived of a quality that will embody his place in the natural world; Prometheus then steals fire and gives it to man to compensate for this lack. Stiegler suggests that it is only by this gift that the existence of man is possible; fire, 'the origin of technique' as Stiegler refers to it, is the substance of man, it is the condition of his being. Thus, humanity's essence is that it is forgotten. 'Humans are the forgotten ones. Humans only occur through their being forgotten; they only appear in disappearing.'³⁰ Furthermore, Epimetheus' forgetfulness causes of the separation of humans from animals; therefore the origin of humanity is forgetting. Stiegler continues by emphasising the essential double process of memory: humans must remember Epimetheus; forgetting must not be forgotten. Stiegler suggests that forgetfulness defines humanity: it is thus as crucial to forget as it is to remember.

Friedrich Nietzsche also suggested that the distinction between humans and other animals is the ability to forget. In a similar vein, Nietzsche saw the origin of humanity in this differentiation. He indicated this in his use of the term 'historical sense': the power to know the past and to know of our part in the narrative of the past: 'our part' refers to individuals, to people and to human culture. According to Nietzsche, animals forget, but they are unaware that they have forgotten; they do not know of their past and only live in the present; in Nietzsche's words, they can only feel 'unhistorical'. Humans, on the other hand, have the ability to feel 'historical', to remember what they have forgotten. Moreover, humans are chained to the past; happiness is derived from the ability to forget. Forgetfulness is essential to living a healthy life; the balance between remembering and forgetting is vital.³¹ Nietzsche states that humans cannot live without forgetting; forgetting is an action, an active attempt to rationalise the relation to the past. Something is accepted and acknowledged, rather than denied; not all past experiences are beneficial for our present and future.

*'It is possible to live almost without memory, and to live happily moreover, as the animal demonstrates; but it is altogether impossible to live at all without forgetting. Or, to express my theme even more simply: there is a degree of sleeplessness, of rumination, of the historical sense, which is harmful and ultimately fatal to the living thing, whether this living thing be a man or a people or a culture.'*³²

28/ Plato, *The Collected Dialogues*, Ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. Bollingen Series LXX. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp.318-139.

29/ Bernard Stiegler, *Technics and Time: The Fault of Epimetheus*, Vol. 1, trans. by Richard Beardsworth and George Collins, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 200-203.

30/ Ibid, p. 188.

31/ Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life'[1874], in: *Untimely Meditations*,

trans. by R.J. Hollingdale (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 60-67.

32/ Ibid, p.62.



Fig. 14 / Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film* The Reconnaissance

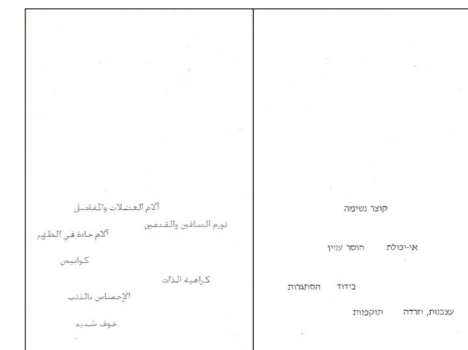


Fig. 15 / Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film* The Script

33/ Petar Ramadanovic, 'From Haunting to Trauma: Nietzsche's Active Forgetting and Blanchot's Writing of the Disaster', University of New Hampshire (2001), <http://pmc.iath.virginia.edu/textonly/issue.101/11.2ramadanovic.txt> [accessed 8.4.2014].

34/ Walter Benjamin, *Berlin Childhood around 1900*, (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. xii.

35/ The Bab-el-Wad vehicles I will mention in the next chapter were the vehicles that were blocked in this siege.

36/ The eleven parts of the project are: *The Reconnaissance*, a sound installation that orchestrates a conversation about a potential future film project by Pier Pasolini and Robert Smithson that might have taken place some time between 1963 and 1967, somewhere between Palestine and New Jersey; *The Voiceover*, an audio walk through the village of Deir Yassin and the psychiatric hospital Kfar Shaul; *The Staging*, a video work documenting a workshop held in Ramallah and Jerusalem that explores a form of image theatre that constructs embodied images conveying abstract ideas as well as concrete situations and

narratives; *The Storyboard*, a booklet of drawings made by pupils at Dar Al-Tifi-Arabi in East Jerusalem, telling the story of Hind Al Hussein, who took the orphans of Deir Yassin and set up in her own house an orphanage and school that still exists today; *The Score*, a recording of a concert held in Ramallah to mark the 65th anniversary of the Deir Yassin massacre; *The Script*, a series of drawings made from psychiatric case histories from the Treatment and Rehabilitation Centre for Victims of Torture, Ramallah; *The Stills*, a series of photographs taken at Kfar Shaul psychiatric hospital; *The Production* Photographs,

The key is thus to know when to remember and when to forget: history must be employed for the purpose of life. Above all, the activity of forgetting is the opposite of ignorance; humans know what they have forgotten.³³

The past needs to be exposed in order to be used: it needs to be drawn to the surface. Further, if forgetting is an activity, then bringing the forgotten to the surface must be active as well. Walter Benjamin, investigating the nature of memory, claims that in order to truly explore the past, a man must 'conduct himself like a man digging'.³⁴ Using the metaphor of physically digging through earth, he calls the search into memory an excavation. In his view, in order to find something within one's memory, one must turn memory's soil over, returning time and again to the same matter. According to Benjamin, success only results from a methodical, planned excavation. However, success is not necessarily finding the matter in question; the material discovered through the act of quarrying is as valuable as the findings. By searching for one thing, others surface; hidden secrets are revealed. A 'meticulous investigation', as Benjamin calls it, can happen only when one truly devotes oneself to the task of digging; only then do blind spots become visible. Throughout this research I have tried to adopt Benjamin's suggestion and devote myself to the task of digging. I have looked for blind spots that influence the personal experience of commemoration. My findings are brought here, both in the form of narratives and analysis of the themes they portray and in the form of artworks I produced in the context of this research.

An example of an artwork revealing history's blind spot is Uriel Orlow's project *Unmade Film* (2011-2013). The project deals with the Deir Yassin, a historical narrative that the State of Israel wanted to be forgotten. Orlow's starting point was the Kfar Shaul mental hospital in Jerusalem, established in 1951 to specialise in the treatment of Holocaust survivors. Orlow knew the place as a child; his great aunt was a patient at the hospital and he used to visit her with his family. Kfar Shaul was established on the ruins of the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin, which was depopulated in a massacre by Zionist paramilitaries in April 1948, as part of the fight against the siege on Jerusalem in the war for Israeli independence.³⁵ The project was created from a series of fragments that point to the structure of a film. The film was never made, but remained a fragmented document that needs to be activated by the viewer. A combination of sound, drawing, video, music and photography is presented to the viewer in eleven parts.³⁶ *Unmade Film*



Fig. 16 / Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*
The Story Board



Fig. 17 / Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*
The Stills

is not so much an exhibition of a film as an exhibition of the process of making the film. In this process Orlow asks questions about the politics of memory; he is not trying to represent the past but to explore the questions it poses for us. The Deir Yassin/Kfar Shaul location has a very violent past: the houses that now accommodate mental patients were the place of a horrifying massacre: their original owners were murdered. This part of the houses' past is hidden today, and there is no visible evidence of it. The ruins of Deir Yassin were turned into a functional facility in an attempt to hide or forget its original occupants. In Orlow's view, history is not linear; it is spatial, made by a sequence of events in space rather than time. He argues that one cannot go back in time, but could return to a particular space. By using latent methods rather than more traditional historical ones, Orlow attempts to bring to the surface history's blind spots, to activate a forgotten past.

Ruins are a tangible piece of history, treated as palpable memory while representing a past. But the word 'representing' is important here: ruins are always mediated and open to a range of interpretations. They can be used as a part of a national commemoration discourse, symbolising certain meanings, meanings that they inherited.³⁷ As part of his excavation, Orlow asked a range of scholars for their interpretations of the Deir Yassin ruins. Esmail Nashif, a Palestinian anthropologist, gave his view of the role of ruins in Palestinian history, suggesting that memory effaces ruins rather than

making them visible.³⁸ Nashif claims that the mediation of ruins covers their true power: if the ruins could be approached without mediation, taking out their semiotic symbolism, they would capture the visitor in a way that would prevent him from turning back; he would become a part of the ruins.³⁹ However, as Nashif states, visiting mediated ruins leaves the visitor as a tourist, a bystander. He adds that by turning ruins into museums or shrines they are actually effaced. This practice of turning ruins into sites of memory makes quite clear the presence of a national discourse. It is an attempt by the ruling authorities to neutralise their influential power and to serve a particular goal in the pursuit of national and collective memory.

Ruins might also be used differently in a national role. The Deir Yassin ruins were repopulated and used for a different purpose; one of the events that Israel is attempting to conceal to this day.⁴⁰ In repurposing the ruins of the deserted village a new narrative was written, one that was intended to adhere to the national master narrative. Even this new narrative, however, was a controversial one. The young state of Israel tried to create a 'new' Jew: not the victimised diasporic Jew, but a powerful, heroic, Israeli one. Holocaust survivors were thus asked to adopt this character: there was no space for their traumas and they had to bury their haunted memories and rewrite their personal narratives. European Jewish refugees soon experienced the stress of this pressure, which prompted the need for a mental hospital specialising in the treatment of Holocaust survivors. Kfar Shaul Hospital is therefore a literal, physical layering or filling of the site of one trauma with the survivors of another.⁴¹ Consequently, Deir Yassin/Kfar Shaul is an example of the familiar Israeli tactics of replacing one historical narrative with another and displacing multiple layers of memories with a single undisputed linearity. Orlow reconstructs a narrative of space and time, digging into history and bringing traumas to the surface, juxtaposing rather than layering them. This presents new challenges to the project. Orlow writes in the book that documents the project:

'Joining them [the trauma of Deir Yassin inhabitants and the trauma of the holocaust survivors] in a film would create a moral problem; placing one suffering next to another immediately invited the comparison of something that cannot and should not be compared.

At the same time, one trauma cannot be thought without the other.

The film needs to be made but cannot be made.

Making a film would run the danger of creating a sense of closure, release, or redemption and of failing to acknowledge that the past is unfinished business, that the ghosts are still everywhere.'⁴²

Orlow does not intend to provide his viewers with catharsis. He wants the viewer to leave with unresolved emotions, both aesthetically and politically. He requires the viewer to resolve this on their own, making them accomplices in the film; they become an active participant in the creation of an experience of

documentation of the research, development and production process of an unmade film; *The Props*, objects found in a room in Kfar Shaul hospital; *The Closing Credits*, a projection of white dots over a black background, marking 418 Palestinian villages depopulated in 1948; *The Proposal*, a performance in which the artist presents the project from its very beginning.

Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*, (Zurich: Edition Fink, 2014), pp 6-7.

37/ In Chapter 5 of this study, 'Bab-el-Wad', I will examine in more detail the

authenticity of ruins and their part in the national discourse.

38/ Many Palestinian ruins from the 1948 war are still present today in Israel.

39/ I will write about semiotic signs and their meaning in more detail in the next chapter.

40/ In 2010 Haaretz newspaper (the oldest and one of the most important daily newspapers in Israel, considered to have very left-wing ideals) appealed to the High Court of Israel, asking for archived documents about the events in Deir Yassin from April 1948 to be made public. The court denied the appeal, ruling that it might harm

Israel's foreign affairs and would be "unbecoming to the dead". <http://elyon1.court.gov.il/files/07/430/103/po8/07103430.p08.htm> [accessed 2.11.2015]

41/ Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*, p.143.

42/ Ibid, pp.143-144.

memory. Hence the individual fragments of the work come together only through collaboration with the viewer.⁴³

Blank

If humanity is defined by its ability to forget, then why do modern societies – and in this I include Israeli culture – not allow forgetting? According to the Israeli slogan “to remember and never forget”, forgetting is a weakness, or even a sin. Yet Orlow’s work demonstrates how the state of Israel encourages forgetting by accumulating layers of narratives, each covering and hiding the previous one. This is, of course, because forgetting is indeed encouraged in Israel, but only the kind of forgetting that would benefit the state: that is, the forgetting of events that contradict the values of the state. Remembrance, as Benjamin put it, is an act of digging. Hidden narratives must be exposed. Only by creating a coherent surface of narratives, a clear memory line, can a sense of continuation be created. This sense is necessary for the unification of a group, and a balance between forgetting and remembering should be preserved. This balance would help the group move forward – looking back while progressing to the future.



FIG. 18 / Uriel Orlow, *Unmade Film*
The Closing Credits

⁴³/ A similar approach to the role of the viewer towards an artwork can be seen in Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz’s ‘m’; Chapter 5 will explore this monument in more detail.



Fig. 19

MENASHE

Touching the Surface

Everyone Has a Name / Zelda
 Everyone has a name
 given to him by God
 and given to him by his parents

Everyone has a name
 given to him by his stature and the way he smiles
 and given to him by his clothing

Everyone has a name
 given to him by the mountains
 and given to him by his walls

Everyone has a name
 given to him by the stars
 and given to him by his neighbours

Everyone has a name
 given to him by his sins
 and given to him by his longing

Everyone has a name
 given to him by his enemies
 and given to him by his love

Everyone has a name
 given to him by his feasts
 and given to him by his work

Everyone has a name
 given to him by the seasons
 and given to him by his blindness

Everyone has a name
 given to him by the sea and
 given to him by his death

לכל איש יש שם / זלדה
 לכל איש יש שם
 שנתן לו אלוהים
 ונתנו לו אביו ואימו

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתנו לו קומתו ואופן חיוכו
 ונתן לו האריג

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתנו לו ההרים
 ונתנו לו כתליו

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתנו לו המזלות
 ונתנו לו שכניו

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתנו לו חטאיו
 ונתנה לו במיהתו

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתנו לו שונאיו
 ונתנה לו אהבתו

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתנו לו חגיו
 ונתנה לו מלאכתו

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתנו לו תקופות השנה
 ונתן לו עיוורנו

לכל איש יש שם
 שנתן לו הים
 ונתן לו מותו

44 Translated from Hebrew by Marcia Falk, in: Bergmann and Jugovy, Generations of the Holocaust (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1991).

This chapter is redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.











Fig. 24

BAB-EL-WAD

This Stone shall be a Witness Unto Us

It was a hot, sunny day in early June. We were driving in a convoy, going up to Jerusalem on Highway No.1. I was driving the leading car; three more cars followed. I had travelled that road many times before, going through the narrow gorge known as Sha'ar Hagay in Hebrew, or as Bab-el-Wad, its original Arabic name, meaning 'gateway to the valley'. The landscape typically includes wrecks of old rusted, burnt, bullet-punctured armoured vehicles scattered by the side of the road. These wrecks are actually relics from the battle for the road to Jerusalem, one of the major battles of the Israeli War of Independence in 1948, the remains of the convoys that carried supplies and auxiliary staff to besieged Jerusalem. After the war the wrecks were moved to the roadside, not to avoid disturbing the traffic but to remain as silent evidence. The burnt, rusting wrecks became symbolic of the heroic sacrifice of the drivers, mostly civilian volunteers. Shortly after the war, a song was written about Bab-el-Wad, emphasising that the fallen should not be forgotten, comparing the wrecks to the silent fallen comrades:

*Bab-el-Wad,
Do remember our names forever,
Convoys broke through, on the way to the city,
Our dead lay on the road edges,
The iron skeleton is silent like my comrade.⁵⁶*

It soon became one of the most popular songs of this period and over the years has gained mythical status. In the national imagination the wrecks were thus rapidly transformed into relics, becoming both an object of pilgrimage and a striking landmark for travellers on their way to the capital.⁵⁷ On Israel's tenth Independence Day it was decided to transform those relics into an official memorial, the first memorial commissioned by the Israeli government. After long debate, it was decided that the wrecks would be left as they were, with simple preservation work. The battle dates were engraved on nearby boulders, detracting as little as possible from the authenticity of the wrecks and enhancing the evocative power of the landscape by mobilising natural objects and topographical features as additional primary witnesses.⁵⁸

The road, which became Highway No. 1, is linked with the relics, endowing the relics with evocative power. It seems as if time has stood still since the date of the battle, even though the relics have been relocated several times over the years due to roadworks. Stopping on this part of the road is forbidden by traffic regulations, so access to the relics is restricted, and can only be managed with great difficulty. As this

⁵⁶ *Bab-el-Wad*, original lyrics by Chaim Gury, translation by Daniel Shalev, <http://www.hebrewsongs.com/song-babelwad.htm> [Accessed on 1.2.2014]

⁵⁷ Maoz, Azaryahu, 'From Remains to Relics: Authentic Monuments in the Israeli Landscape', *History and Memory*, 5:2 (Fall - Winter, 1993), 82-103 (p. 93).

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 96.

is a main highway, the relics are seen regularly by travellers to and from Jerusalem. Public interaction with them happens mostly in motion.

In 2009, preservation work was carried out to address the decay of the vehicles: they were painted with anti-rust paint, and were rearranged so that they would be more publicly accessible. It was still difficult to reach them, but theoretically possible. This caused a public debate about the authenticity of the relics and brought to the surface many earlier facts and discussions that had led to the establishment of the memorial sixty years before, when governmental committees were held away from the public eye. Apparently, sixty years earlier the area had been restricted from view for a while so the displacement of the vehicles to the roadside was hidden from passers-by. It was reported that at the time the original vehicles were replaced by new ones. There was proof that ten old ambulances were sold to the state.⁵⁹ The theory presented was that the original vehicles did not look 'right', so similar vehicles were bought, then made to look as if they had been damaged during the war. They were artificially decayed, burnt and shot at. The whereabouts of the original vehicles remained unknown. The State of Israel denies these accusations but this discussion is still active in academic historical circles.

So, back to that hot June day. Earlier, when I mentioned a pilgrimage to Bab-el-Wad, I was made aware that Highway No.1 was again undergoing construction, and that the Bab-el-Wad relics were moved while the work was being carried out. I asked some friends to pay attention to the whereabouts of the relics on their way to Jerusalem. One reported spotting them at the next junction toward Jerusalem. Another said they were moved to the other side of the road. I decided to go and look for them myself. I persuaded some friends to come with their families to have a picnic with me at the memorial. In Israeli culture, The Memorial Day for the Fallen Soldiers is followed by Independence Day; there is a strong link between the two. Ceremonies for the fallen soldiers are held in military cemeteries in the morning, and in the evening of that day the independence celebrations begin. The usual way of celebrating is to have a picnic on the morning of Independence Day.

We drove past Sha'ar Hagay, and the next junction ahead, but we saw no relics. We decided to continue looking on the dirt roads going to the woods surrounding Jerusalem. Interestingly we spotted a sign to the Jerusalem Siege Breakers Memorial. We followed the sign and found ourselves in a very strange memorial/picnic site. There was a small memorial for the soldiers of the War of Independence, followed

by a couple of flat rusty-looking metal sheets (actually made from a wooden board painted to look like rusty metal) in the shape of the Bab-el-Wad armoured vehicles. On one side was a flat car, and on the other side benches were attached to that 'car', making it an armoured car-shaped picnic bench. Nearby were a couple of these odd-looking benches and some regular picnic tables. We parked the cars and started unloading. While my friends and their families were eating, I went to explore the space. I saw remnants of the Memorial Day for the Fallen Soldiers ceremonies held a month earlier – a wilted memorial wreath was placed at the site. I wanted to take the wreath with me but wasn't sure of the ethics of this; I felt it wasn't quite right to take a wreath that had been left as a symbol of remembrance for my 'artistic' goals, and more importantly would be seen as disrespectful by others, so I left it there for the moment. As I planned to make rubbings of the original relics, I had brought my materials with me. I decided it would be useful to do rubbings of the dummy relics-picnic, especially bearing in mind the whole question of the importance of authenticity in terms of the original memorial. I went ahead with the rubbings, and by the time I had finished, it was time to pack up for home. Just before we left, I stopped the car in front of the small memorial and quietly put the wreath into the boot of the car. There were some other families picnicking at this strange site, and I did not want to raise any questions at that point, but it seemed that having the wreath as research material, having an authentic trace from this site, was an opportunity I could not miss. I packed the wreath in my bag and brought it back with me to London.

I left the wreath to wilt for several months, not sure exactly what to do with it. Finally, I cast it in concrete, trying to create a memorial of my own, casting its absence, its trace. The outcome was not successful at first, but the authentic wreath had been ruined during the casting. I had no choice but to fake a new cast with a fresh new wreath I made on my own. I did this, finally making the memorial I first imagined. Whether it was authentic or original is another matter.⁶⁰

Authenticity is a fascinating but problematic concept. The philosophical question of the origin and its

⁵⁹ Michael Assaf, *National Parks in Israel from Concept to Realization (1948-1998): their Definition, History, Characteristics and Contribution to the Conservation and Shaping of Heritage Sites in the Land of Israel*, Unpublished PhD thesis., Bar Ilan University (2009), pp. 171-175.

⁶⁰ I will develop the idea behind the casts further in Chapter Six

copies is an enduring one. Plato uses the term "mimesis" in *The Republic*. Mimesis, for Plato, means 'imitation' – although with far-reaching consequences. It indicates the relationship between art and life, between the material world and the rational order of ideas. In Plato's Theory of Forms, mimesis is the lowest Form: the most tangible Form, but the least real one. Higher Forms, ideals such as goodness, justice, truth or perfect beauty, can be only attained by a few, the philosophers. Plato may have seen mimesis as a potential threat to ideals of justice and reason. He thought of artistic imitation as holding within it the danger of the illusion of knowledge. For instance, in the case of Bab-el-Wad memorial site the benches represent the lowest form of the ideal of truth. They are an illusion, a creation of the world of images. They are a representation of the vehicles. The vehicles themselves are just one level higher than the benches: they belong to the world of objects, but they remain a representation too, a representation of the idea of truth. The benches and the vehicles co-exist in the physical world, a world Plato referred to as a world of illusions. Truth in that sense is a sublime idea, which can only be understood by philosophical reasoning. For Plato, the base from which to understand all Forms, hence to understand life, is to understand "the Form of the Good". Only a true philosopher can recognise the Form of the Good and through this to recognize the qualities of the physical world. Plato thought of artistic images as a shadow of the real; they imitate the physical form rather than the rational truth and produce only 'phantoms', not real things. Plato uses the metaphor of a mirror, which is essentially empty, merely reflecting something without actually having its essence. Moreover, his theory of mimesis is a political one – the artist is a danger to society: using the images he produces, which are only shadows of the real, he can fool his viewers and thus suppress and rule them.⁶¹

Aristotle continued this theme, seeing mimesis as an educational tool. He defined mimesis as a craft, with its own goals. The fictive distance from the truth gives the viewer the ability to learn from its representations; as opposed to Plato's claim that mimesis controverts rational thinking, Aristotle claimed that it encourages it. For Aristotle the material form of mimesis is a part of what makes it pleasurable, and thus educational.⁶² Following Aristotle, both the benches and the vehicles can be used for educating the public about its past.

Many more recent scholars have worked on the idea of mimesis. In the twentieth century, Walter Benjamin questioned the relationship between the 'original' work of art and its 'copy' in the age of mechanical reproduction. Benjamin argued that authenticity is the essence of the work of art, and as such it is at risk when a work is being reproduced.

*'The authenticity of a thing is the quintessence of all that is transmissible in it from its origin on, ranging from its physical duration to the historical testimony relating to it. Since the historical testimony is founded on the physical duration, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction, in which the physical duration plays no part. And what is really jeopardized when the historical testimony is affected is the authority of the object, the weight it derives from tradition.'*⁶³

The uniqueness of the original work is in the 'here and now', as Benjamin refers to it. The object's 'aura' is this 'strange tissue of space and time',⁶⁴ existing only in a specific place. It is the physical distance between the work and its viewer that creates the work's authority. This unapproachable distance does not exist

61/ Matthew Potolsky, *Mimesis* (New York; London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 15-31.

2008), p.22.

64/ Ibid, p.23.

62/ Ibid, pp. 32-46.

63/ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility – Second Version', in: *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, trans. By Edmund Jephcott, Rodney Livingstone, Howard Eiland, and Others. ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University,

in the copy; thus the work loses its authority. Similarly, the authenticity of the singular experience of meeting the original work disappears with reproduction. The experience is no longer a unique one, since the work is no longer unique. This goes back to the question of the historical testimony: when the work is not based on tradition it raises political questions about its authority. In the case of Bab-el-Wad the vehicles maintain the distance from the viewer even though they are a reproduction; thus they maintain their authority as a historical testimony.

Another twentieth-century development from Plato's mimesis is the notion of the simulacrum. Gilles Deleuze critiqued Plato's view of mimesis as a shadow of the truth. In his analysis of Plato, Deleuze differentiates between two types of copies: The eikastic copy, which is similar to the original in all aspects, and a phantastic copy, which changes according to the limitation of the viewer, and only resembles its original from a certain point of view. The phantastic copy, which Deleuze develops into his notion of the simulacrum, is only a duplicate of the physical appearance of the original.⁶⁵ The simulacrum has a different social function from that of the eikastic copy. While Plato sees the copy as a danger, distorting and hiding the original idea of the truth, Deleuze suggests that the simulacrum is independent, breaking free from its original.

*'The simulacrum includes within itself the differential point of view, and the spectator is made part of the simulacrum, which is transformed and deformed according to his point of view.'*⁶⁶

At the Bab-el-Wad memorial the vehicles are an eikastic copy, made as a complete duplicate of the originals, replicating their physical and social character. On the other hand, the benches at the site are a simulacrum. They only resemble the physical appearance of the vehicles from a certain point of view, and even then it is very obvious to the spectator they are not the historic vehicles. They do not aspire to be duplicates, and indeed serve a different social function. The benches were made to enable activity by the visitor, thus making him/her part of the commemoration process. Both the vehicles and the benches educate the public about the events that happened at the site, and as such play a political role, but they do this in different ways.

While the benches are accessible, inviting interaction, the vehicles are distant and deceive the public about their true origin.

The world we live in is so saturated with copies that it becomes difficult to know what is original and what is a copy; mimesis is entwined with reality itself. Since the simulacrum is autonomous it is a true thing and can be used for educational and political purposes. It can help to make noble ideas more accessible to the public, but at the same time mimesis, whether it be an eikastic copy or a simulacrum, holds within it the danger of the illusion of knowledge. The vehicles at Bab-el-Wad are, as stated, a copy. The story of their fabrication is available only to those who have researched and questioned the process of the Bab-el-Wad memorial site's establishment. This fabrication is discussed in academic historical circles; 'authentic' documents proving the fabrication have been presented. Furthermore, some scholars have critiqued these documents: why should they trust the documents and not the vehicles themselves? Outside these circles, the story of the fabrication is well hidden. The process of this research enabled me to see this fabrication for the first time; Israelis with whom I shared the story reacted with surprise, mixed

65/ Gilles Deleuze and Rosalind Krauss, 'Plato and the Simulacrum', *October*, 27 (1983), pp. 47-48.

66/ Ibid, p.55.

with amazement. Since nobody could think of a reason for faking those vehicles, nobody is suspicious of them.

Moreover, when issues of the preservation of these rusting objects arise, the public reaction is divided. Pro-preservation activists claim that the vehicles should be preserved, as they are too important to Israel's culture to let them disintegrate. On the other hand, anti-preservation activists claim the authenticity of the vehicles is of prime importance, and preservation might harm this, thus they should not be touched and should be allowed to decay. Both sides see the authenticity of the vehicles as their most important characteristic, never questioning their origin. Israeli society treats them as an authentic testimony, as truth. The State of Israel denies the fabrication to this day, communicating that they see authenticity as the most important aspect of the Bab-el-Wad site. The act of burying the truth created an illusion of knowledge that controls the public, as if revealing the truth would hinder public education about its national history. The state would like the public to believe that the vehicles they see have seen the events commemorated at the site: the vehicles are considered to be witnesses, just as the poem suggests: 'The silent skeleton'. These silent skeletons are embedded in the national narrative of Israel as the experience of the battles of 1948. For me, knowing their true origin does not change their role. Even though they were not part of the battles themselves, they were, and still are, an integral part of the commemoration process that followed. As mentioned above, Benjamin argued that interrupting an object's historical testimony affects its authority. By burying the fabrication of the vehicles, the characters of the original vehicles were transmitted to the vehicles present at the memorial site. This way neither their physical duration nor their historical testimony was harmed, and their authority was unaffected. An artificial distance and unapproachability was created, a distance that was required in order to create the uniqueness of the vehicles. They were positioned in the 'particular place' of the original vehicles, aiming to mimic the 'unique existence', the singular experience the public needs in order to assure their authority.⁶⁷ By doing so, the state eliminated the option of questioning this authority, leaving no space for political questions: the state is in control of the experience and memory of the individual.

The importance of objects as witnesses was considered as long ago as the Biblical Book of Genesis. Jacob's memorial to mark the peace between him and his father-in-law, Laban. The Hebrew word for this monument is Gal'Ed, literally meaning a heap that witnessed. The word Gal'Ed is still used in Hebrew for a monument. Another heap of stones marked to remember is mentioned in the Book of Joshua: After the Israelites crossed the river Jordan to the land of Israel,⁶⁸ Joshua sent twelve people (one for each of the twelve Israeli tribes) to bring twelve stones from the river Jordan back to Israel. He placed the stones as a monument to the power of God: 'And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the LORD which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God'.⁶⁹ The Gal'Ed, the monument, functions as a memory trigger. It was there to witness God's miracle, and as such it can testify for generations to come. Thus a monument is a vessel endowed with historical authority, as it embodies the link between history, community, society and terrain in the process of creating an identity between past and present.⁷⁰ Moreover, it is a way that the monument's commissioners, usually governments or public agencies, transmit collective memory to the public. Consequently, monuments might be considered impartial recorders of history, but in fact they narrate history in selective and controlled ways, hiding as much as they reveal.

67/ Both phrases are quoted from Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility – Second Version*, p.21 *Israeli Landscape*, p.84.

68/ The biblical story tells of a miracle: when crossing the river, God made the river turn back so the Israelis could cross it on the land

69/ Joshua 24:27, <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Joshua-Chapter-24/#27> [accessed at 20.10.2015]

70/ Maoz Azaryahu, *From Remains to Relics: Authentic Monuments in the*

Darren Almond's artwork *Terminus* (1997– 2007) examines the subject of objects as witnesses. It evolved in several stages, starting with a double projection of two black-and-white films, *Oświęcim*. He shot the films on his first visit to the Polish town of Oświęcim, location of Auschwitz, the Nazi concentration camp. The films show a bus stop seen from both sides of the street. In this early piece Almond started to explore the symbolism of transporting people in the context of the notorious Nazi camp.

The images are redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.



Fig. 25 / Darren Almond, *Bus Stop*, 1999

Fig. 26 / Darren Almond, *Shelter*, 2000

In *Bus Stop* (1999), the next stage of the project, Almond removed two bus shelters from the entrance to Auschwitz; they were first exhibited in Galerie Max Hetzler in Berlin in 1999, a building that stands on the site of a former Nazi deportation center. The mundane shelters exhibited in the gallery space became symbolic objects, open to new inspections and interpretation. Their new positioning prompted questions about displacement: was their history immersed into their material in a way it was present in this new site? Moreover, Almond inscribed those mundane objects with a sense of importance. Uprooted, disconnected from context, they became much more than just two bus shelters; in the gallery space they have the presence of monuments, witnesses or documents of the past. Additionally, in order for the viewer to engage with the symbolism the shelters represent he needed to know their origin, to know what they witnessed. One of the shelters had the word 'Muzeum' written on top of it, with a pointing arrow; in the gallery space this arrow could point to any museum. The connection to the town of Oświęcim was only made with a more careful look at the bus timetable; the viewer had to make their own connection between the Polish name of the town to the Nazi concentration camp.⁷¹ The history the shelters represented was thus hidden and needed to be activated by the viewer. Therefore, by being placed as art works in a neutral gallery space the shelters gained a sense of momentousness, at the same time they losing their role as witnesses, a role that could have been activated only by their original context. The next stage of the project: *Shelter*, (2000), featured in an exhibition at the Royal Academy, *Apocalypse*, where Almond exhibited replicas of the Oświęcim bus shelters, made from stainless steel and oak. His intention was to replace the old shelters with his new ones, placing them in their original location: the entrance to Auschwitz. The replicas lacked the authenticity of the originals making them anonymous. Almond's choice of materials also made the shelters look distant and frozen in time: thus, if something memorable was to be reflected in them, it was hidden. With his choice of "noble" materials,

71/ Auschwitz is the German name for Oświęcim. The town's name was changed into the Polish name after the Second World War.

Almond made the shelters look like monuments rather than mundane objects.

The residents and authorities of Oświęcim did not like Almond's design and the new shelters never reached Oświęcim. Almond himself said it almost caused an international crisis, acknowledging his mistake too late by showing 'Shelter' in a museum without the full realisation of the project.⁷² However, in 2007 Almond contacted the Oświęcim authorities, suggesting he would design new improved bus shelters according to their taste. In return, he would be allowed to purchase seven sets of old bus shelters. *Terminus*, the latest part of the project, showed fourteen bus shelters, all looking similar to the first Bus Stop, crowded in a gallery space. The cramped gallery context recalled somewhat the the crowded huts in Auschwitz-Birkenau. The shelters looked similar one to another, differentiated only by their state of preservation and wear and tear. Almond arranged them opposite each other, as two bus stops across a road going in opposite directions. They were staged in decreasing degree of preservation, the best preserved at the front to the least preserved at the back. The distance of the shelters from the viewer could be seen as a distance of time. Almond returned to the act of displacement in Bus Stop in giving the shelters the status of witnesses, recorders of history. Even though a bus stop might be a mundane unnoticed object as in its original surroundings, it is the specific original location of those stops that gives them their meaning. The symbolism of transportation in the town of Oświęcim, where people were transported to their deaths, cannot be overlooked. Almond constantly worked in two directions, placing his objects opposite one another, as if going to and from the destination. Furthermore, the displacement of his objects worked for and against them: they obtained a new status of monumentality while at the same time losing their original role and function. Therefore it is only a question of time until they will not be relevant anymore, as the new shelters Almond designed become the symbolic object he was looking for witnesses to the transportation of people in Oświęcim.

Spatial context should not be underestimated in inheriting collective memory. Authenticity is a powerful tool: it turned Bab-el-Wad into a national myth. The decision to keep the Bab-el-Wad memorial site at the original place of the battle, even though it is a disturbance to the development of Highway No.1, was deliberate. When I went to visit, the vehicles had been moved in order to widen the road, but they were brought back to the site when the work was finished. Every few years roadworks are carried out at the site, yet the question of the location of the memorial site is not discussed, demonstrating that the



The images are redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.

Fig. 27 / A replacement bus shelter selected by the city of Oświęcim, 2007

Fig. 28 / Darren Almond, *Terminus*, 2007

72/ Mark Godfrey, Darren Almond, 'The Genesis of Terminus: A Conversation', in *Terminus*, ed. by Kathleen Madden (Berlin and London: Holzwarth Publications, 2007), p. 23.

site is a significant aspect of memorialisation. Furthermore, the illusion of a direct encounter with the past requires more than a formal declaration; it also requires a certain medium that links the visitor with the past that is represented. A memorial site is an intersection between public art and political memory, thus reflecting the aesthetic context as much as socio-history.

The role of a monument is as a reminder; but do monuments fulfil this role? What is their function? We may need to explore the meaning of the word 'monument'. The origin of the word is Latin, from 'monumentum', memorial structure, tomb or record. The origin of the word 'memory' is the Latin word 'memor', mindful; a monument needs to remind us and make us be mindful. Rosalind Krauss has claimed that monuments created during the modernist period are unable to refer to anything beyond themselves. After Krauss, critics questioned whether an abstract, self-referential monument could ever commemorate events outside of itself, or whether it would endlessly refer only to its own gestures towards the past, a commemoration of its essence as a dislocated sign.⁷³

Pierre Nora, in his study of '*lieux de mémoire*' (sites of memory) thought of memory as completely reliant on its visual record. He saw the materiality of the trace as its centre. According to Nora, monuments are mnemonic devices, holding a record of an event. Rather than being sites of remembrance they encourage forgetfulness, since they carry the social responsibility to remember within them. That is, the individual is free from carrying the burden of remembering: the site is an archive holding the memory for him:

*'Memory has been wholly absorbed by its meticulous reconstruction. Its new vocation is to record; delegating to the archive the responsibility of remembering, it sheds its signs upon depositing them there, as a snake sheds its skin.'*⁷⁴

After the Second World War, the assumption that a monument is eternal was questioned by both historians and artists. The counter-monument movement challenged the notion of the monument, trying to create anti-monuments that would provide more stable answers to commemoration. James E. Young, one of the main scholars of the movement, defined its core principal as 'to return the burden of memory to those who come looking for it'.⁷⁵ In Young's view the monument is a totalitarian form of architecture that stays fixed and does not evolve with time. It freezes history, while it should 'forget as much of history as it remembers'.⁷⁶

One of the first and best-known counter-monuments is Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz's *Monument against Fascism*. In 1983 the municipal council of Hamburg-Harburg which invited artists to propose a design for a 'Monument Against Fascism, War, and Violence - and For Peace and Human Rights'. Jochen Gerz won the commission; the inauguration of the monument took place in Harburg in 1986. The artwork invited the city's residents and visitors to engrave their names and sign against fascism on the twelve-metre tall monument, a hollow, square lead-coated aluminium column. A steel soft stylus was attached to the pillar, inviting the public to draw marks on the soft lead. As soon as the accessible part of the monument was covered with signatures, it was lowered into the ground in eight stages, between its inauguration in October 1986 and its disappearance on November 1993.

Today, a text in seven languages recounts the history of the Monument against Fascism:

73/ James E. Young, 'Memory and the End of the Monument', in: *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, ed. by S. Horenstein and F. Jacobowitz (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 62 (quoting Rosalind E. Krauss, *The originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1988), p. 280.

Review, 9:2 (2007), p.68.

76/ *Ibid*, p.71.

74/ Pierre Nora, '*Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*', p. 13.

75/ Jennifer L., Geddes, 'An Interview with James E. Young', *Hedgehog*



The images are redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.

1986 1987 1988 1989 February 1990 December 1990 1991 1992
 Fig. 29 / J. and E. Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*. Eight steps of lowering into the ground.

*the 70,000 signatures, the sinking of the column and its disappearance. This text reads: We invite the citizens of Harburg, and visitors to the town, to add their names here next to ours. In doing so we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12-metre tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day it will have disappeared completely, and the site of the Harburg Monument against Fascism will be empty. In the end it is only we ourselves who can stand up against injustice.*⁷⁷

In a very simple and bold way, this counter-monument challenges some of the regular conventions of memorials. It was a provocative, changing, conspicuous element in the public environment. As such, it could not be ignored by passers-by, and demanded interaction. Moreover, it invited its violation. Not only did the visitors who contributed their marks become artist-rememberers and self-memorialisers; soon the marks made by the public were not just signatures. The monument became a site of graffiti and different kinds of drawings, text and symbols, from a star of David to a swastika. Giving the public a free hand in the process of remembering, each individual could offer his or her personal view on the subject, as nothing was right or wrong. The site permitted all reactions, even ones that opposed the initial idea manifested by the memorial. Consequently the monument illustrated the possibilities and limitations of the memorial.⁷⁸ In this way, it functions as a "counter index" to the way time, memory and history cross over in every memorial site.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the vanishing act of the monument made the viewer the subject of the artwork. It positioned the site as amnesiac, stating that memory cannot reside in an inanimate object. Furthermore, the Gertz assumed that the memory of the monument will remain after it is gone. Being invisible, the monument transferred the burden of memory to its viewers, as James E. Young noted. Moreover, this self-consuming, self-effacing monument left behind only the memory of the monument. Thus, the site of memory still exists today but the visitor to the vanished monument needs to learn about the site's story.

A monument, first and foremost, tells a story. It is the story that inherits meaning in a mute object, animating it whilst turning it into a mnemonic device. But commemoration cannot rely on monuments alone. Monuments are still, frozen, while memory is an ongoing process. Memory flows, it is changes constantly according to the changing of society and its individuals. Thus, commemoration needs to be an active process as well. The only way to keep commemoration active is to find ways in which the memory stays within individuals. That is, the monument should only be a memory trigger. Furthermore, in the act

77/ http://www.gerz.fr/html/main.html?art_ident=76fdb6702e-151086198058d4e4bob8fc& [accessed at 12.2.2016]

(New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 130.

78/ The fact that visitors need to touch the memorial, which I wrote about in Chapter 4, is very much present in here. Shalev and Gerz use this need for touch to activate the site, to make the visitor a part of the commemoration process

79/ James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*,

of choosing the event to be commemorated, and choosing the way it will be commemorated, memory is shaped.

The authenticity of a monument, in my view, should not be an important aspect of it: in order for a story to be told, the object does not have to be authentic. Copying reality does not hinder memory, and a copy can be just as useful in terms of transmitting values. On the contrary, the visitor must not be manipulated but should be encouraged to have an independent opinion, whether this concurrent with, of different from, that of the commissioners of the monument. A dialogue about commemoration activates and reinforces the site as a place of memory, enforcing its position in society and thus making it more memorable, the initial purpose of creating a monument.



The images are redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.

Fig. 30 / J. and E. Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*, 1986 Fig. 31 / J. and E. Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*, 1993

In this chapter, I explore my visual practice: the tangible works I have created as a part of this research. I claimed earlier that a monument is a recorder of memory. Since the subject of this research is the visitor's experience of the monument, I have tried to capture the experience of my own journeys in my work. Exploring the possibilities of a creating my own mnemonic devices is an integral part of this research, another way of analysing personal experience in a public place of memory. The works were either created at the site and exhibited far from their original location, or were made far from the place they serve as a reminder of. Exploring the notion of displacement and the importance of location was part of the initial research goals: where does memory truly lie, within man-made memorials or within the visitor to these places of memory? I explored whether a memory can travel with its carrier, and what the impact of this kind of travel would be on the memory itself and on its carrier. Moreover, showing my work is another method of research: in order to research the representation of memory, I wanted to explore the public reaction to my work. I used both digital and physical platforms, looking at the different reaction they produce. The connection between the visual and the written parts is reciprocal: I sometimes use the visual as a research method that ends up as writing, and sometimes the visual embodies the conclusions of the writing.



Fig. 32

VISUAL PRACTICE

This part is redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.



FIG. 33 / *KATI AND GIYORA*
THE GARDEN OF KATI AND GIYORA, MONUMENT RUBBINGS, 130X180 CM



Fig. 36 / The monument, covered with my
rubbings



FIG. 34 / *KATI AND GIYORA* - THE PLAQUE RUBBINGS



FIG. 35 / THE GARDEN OF KATI AND GIYORA, MONUMENT RUBBINGS

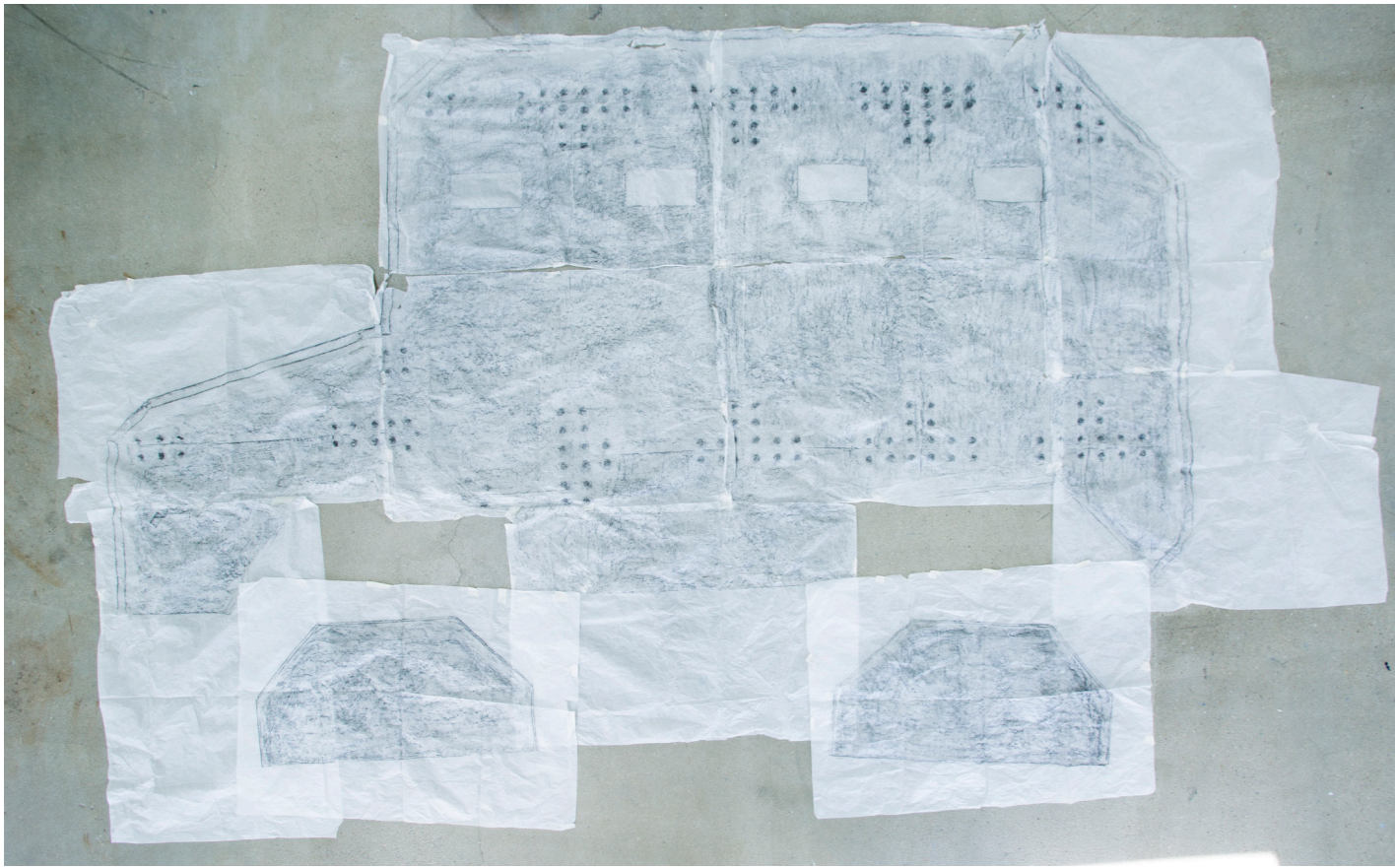


FIG. 37 / *THE IRON SKELETON IS SILENT LIKE MY COMRADE*
BAB-EL-WAD RUBBINGS, 380X230 CM



Fig. 38 / The benches, one covered by my rubbings

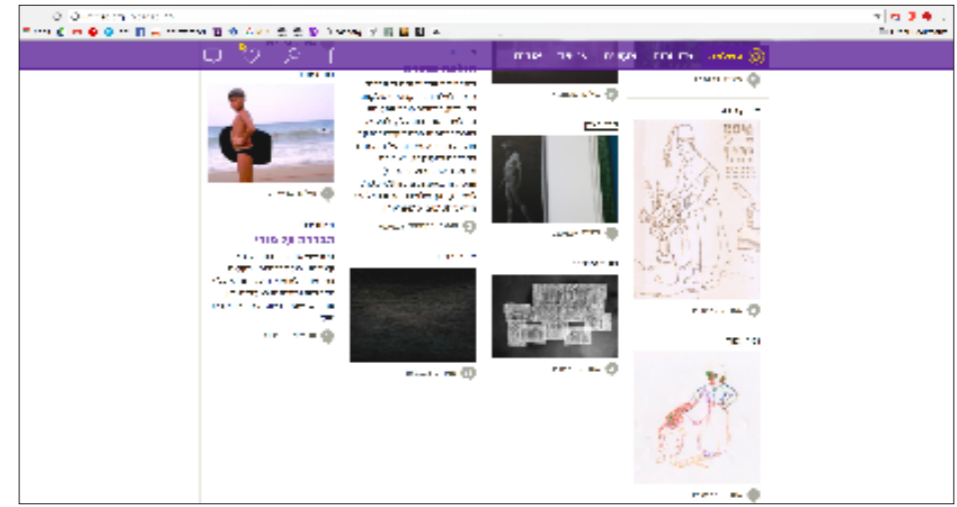


Fig. 39 / Screen shot of *untitled* web magazin's cover page with my work.

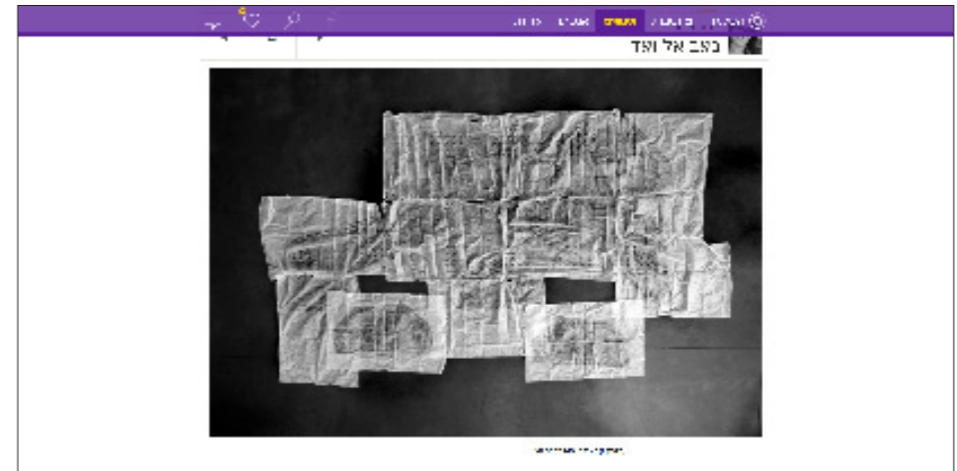


Fig. 40 / Screen shot of my work's page on *untitled's* web magazine.

The image is redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.

The image is redacted at the moment due to a process of obtaining third-party copyrights agreement.

Paper Memory

Throughout this research I was interested in exploring the connection between language and material in terms of memory. Memory is an abstract concept that is commonly thought about in physical form. There is always a need for a physical evidence of a memory, whether this is a family photograph or a historical document. The physical trace of an action is proof that it happened. I wanted to research these traces, using them as a method of learning about the character of memory triggers. For me, it was a way to physically research an abstract thought, to develop the visual works that are an integral part of this research.

Every action, once performed, leaves some sort of trace. The memory of this action is demonstrated by its trace. For instance, making rubbings is an action: I physically go over a surface with a pencil. The marks left on the paper I am using, the rubbings, are the memory of this action. I used the rubbing method to research the notion of the importance of location in terms of memory. First I did rubbings of my own bedroom. Then I took these rubbings and placed them in another personal location: my studio. That is, I made the rubbings on one big roll of paper that later I positioned in my studio, trying to recreate the familiar walls in another familiar location. As this was a very personal place, I could only test my personal reaction to it. Other viewers' reactions to it were very vague, as the personal connection to the rubbings was missing. When I rubbed at memorials, however, the reactions were stronger: even with no personal connection to the specific memorial that had been rubbed, viewers connected it to their own memories and experiences of a public space of memory. The room rubbings were a method of testing the placing of one space in another location. I imagined that in order to research a personal experience I should start with a personal space, but this taught me that I should use a more social and collective subject to explore the notion of repositioning.

Moreover, I developed the term 'paper memory', referring to the traces an action leaves on a piece of paper. I wanted to research the connection between memory and material, thinking of how an event can be immersed in a material – in this instance, paper. Further, making the paper into a kind of memorial I explored its function as a reminder of an event. The first paper memory I explored was an unintentional one: being a printmaker, I noticed the by-products of printing and etching: when the metal plate, covered in ink, goes under the press, it is usually laid on tissue paper. The tissue paper is printed with an impression of the negative side of the etching plate. This creates an unintentional print, a print that is the remnant of the action of printing. I collect these traces of action. They look like shadows of memory. For me they tell the story of the work that was created in the process, but for the objective viewer they are images telling an unknown story, open to new interpretations.

After looking into unintentional by-products, I decided to create my own paper memory. Using my regular ritualistic method, I created a series of works. First I painted a large piece of paper a bright colour on one side, then folded it into a common origami shape (a boat, a plane and a cootie catcher). Then, I made tiny marks using pen and ink on the exposed part of the paper shape. The first work I created this way was part of a performance at a fine art research forum. While the presentations were going

on I sat on the floor folding and making my little marks. When the presentations were over, I stopped marking the paper. Then I unfolded the paper and hung it on the wall, the white side with the marking on it facing forward. The bright colour shone through the creases of the paper. In this performance I wanted to create a ritual of making traces. I tried to find a way of transferring the rituals I perform in my journeys to a studio, so I needed to artificially create an activity that will leave traces, an artistic gesture whose intention is what it leaves behind. The next two works were not made in front of an audience but had the same method of folding and marking. The titles of the works stand for the time it took me to make them. The works recorded my actions and stand for the ritual of making them. The intention of these works is the making, or rather the traces of this making. Thus they are the memory triggers for the action of memory. The paper becomes the event here: the use of pen and ink makes the paper an authentic index of my action – my personal handwriting is left on it. The creases could have been made by anyone, but the marks bear my own handwriting. These works demonstrate the different elements that I use in my visual work: rituals, indexicality, recording an experience and creating a mnemonic device. I think of paper memory as a way to translate to material my ideas about the palpability of memory. Both the print by-products and the origami pieces are exceptions in this research: these do not deal with commemoration but translate its values into a more abstract body of work. By developing these artworks I take fragments from the practice of commemoration and research them in isolation from their original context so that they can be viewed individually.



FIG. 43 / 1:24:00



FIG. 44 / 1:37:00



FIG. 45 / 1:52:00

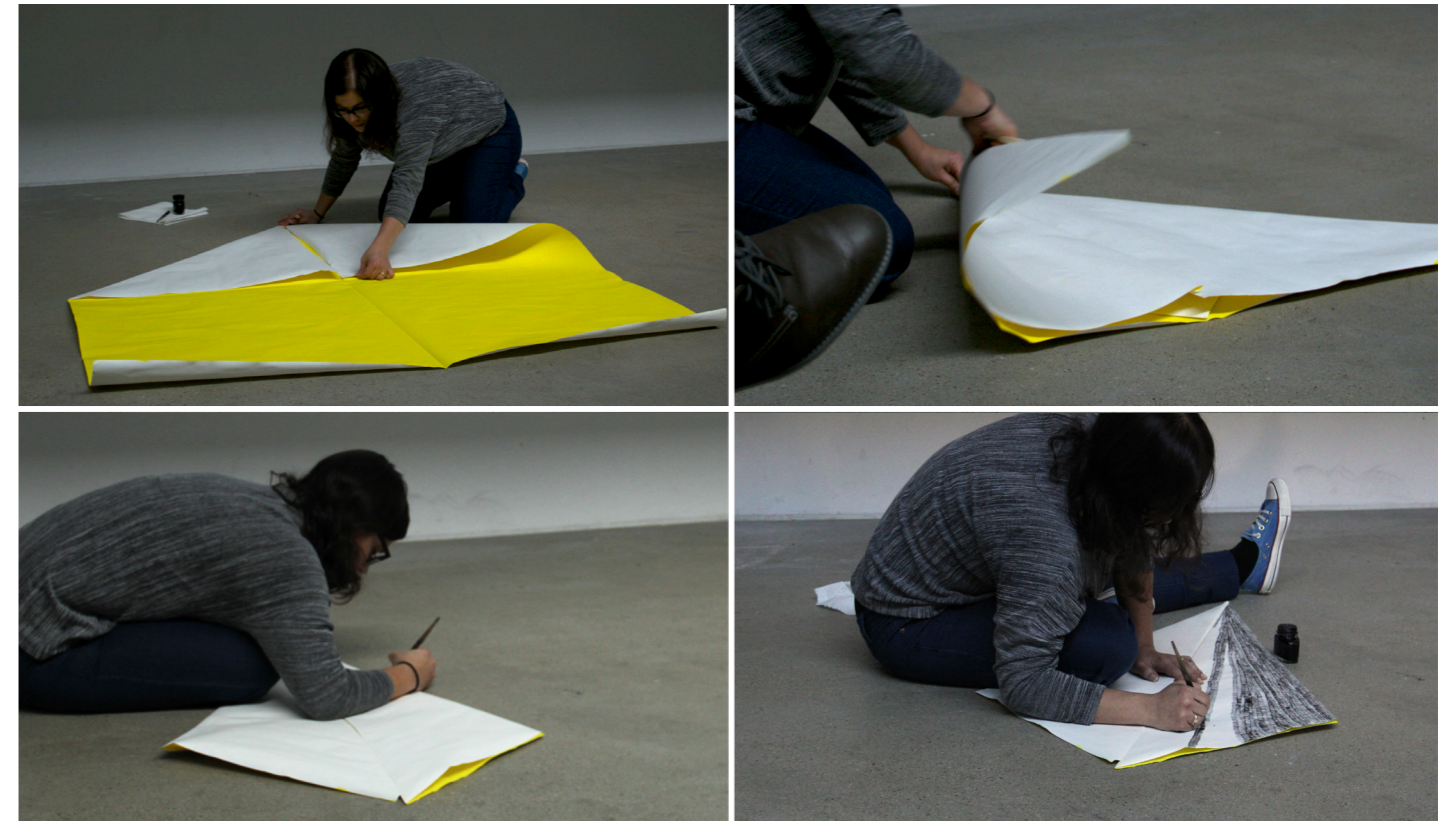


Fig. 46 / Folding Performance

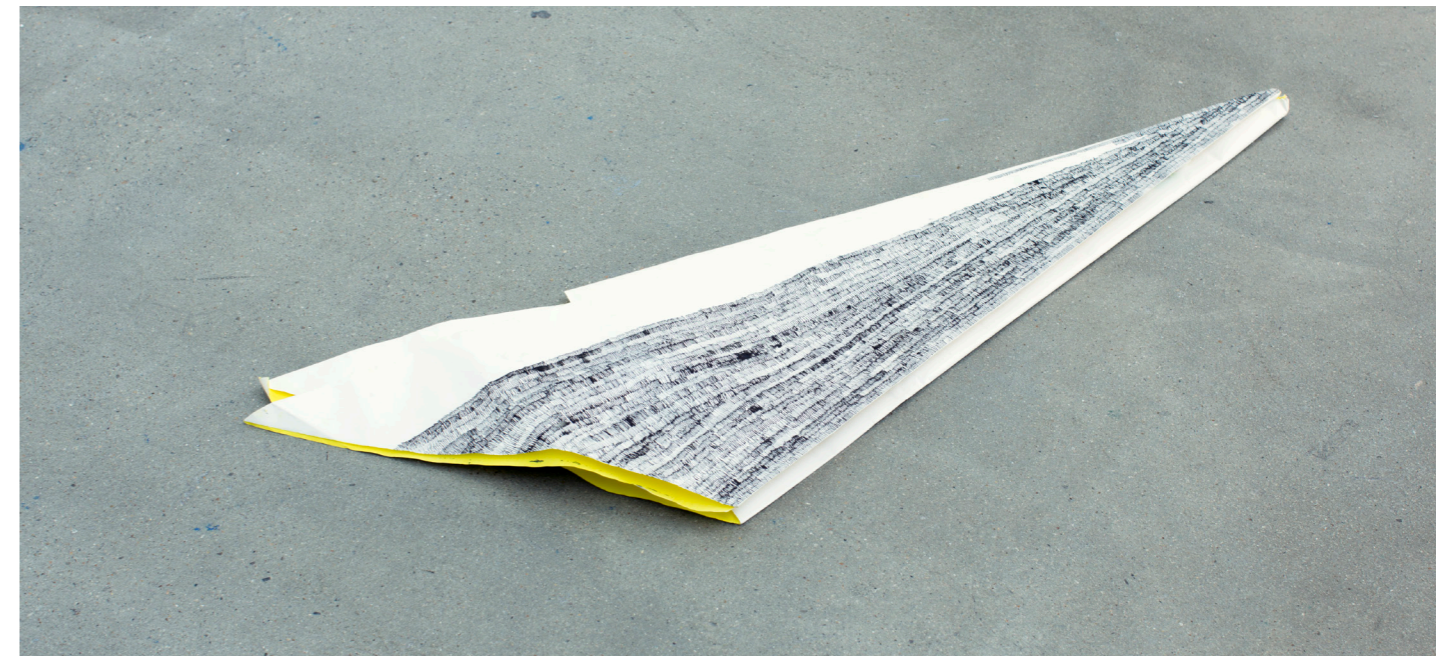


FIG. 45.1 / 1:52:00, Folded

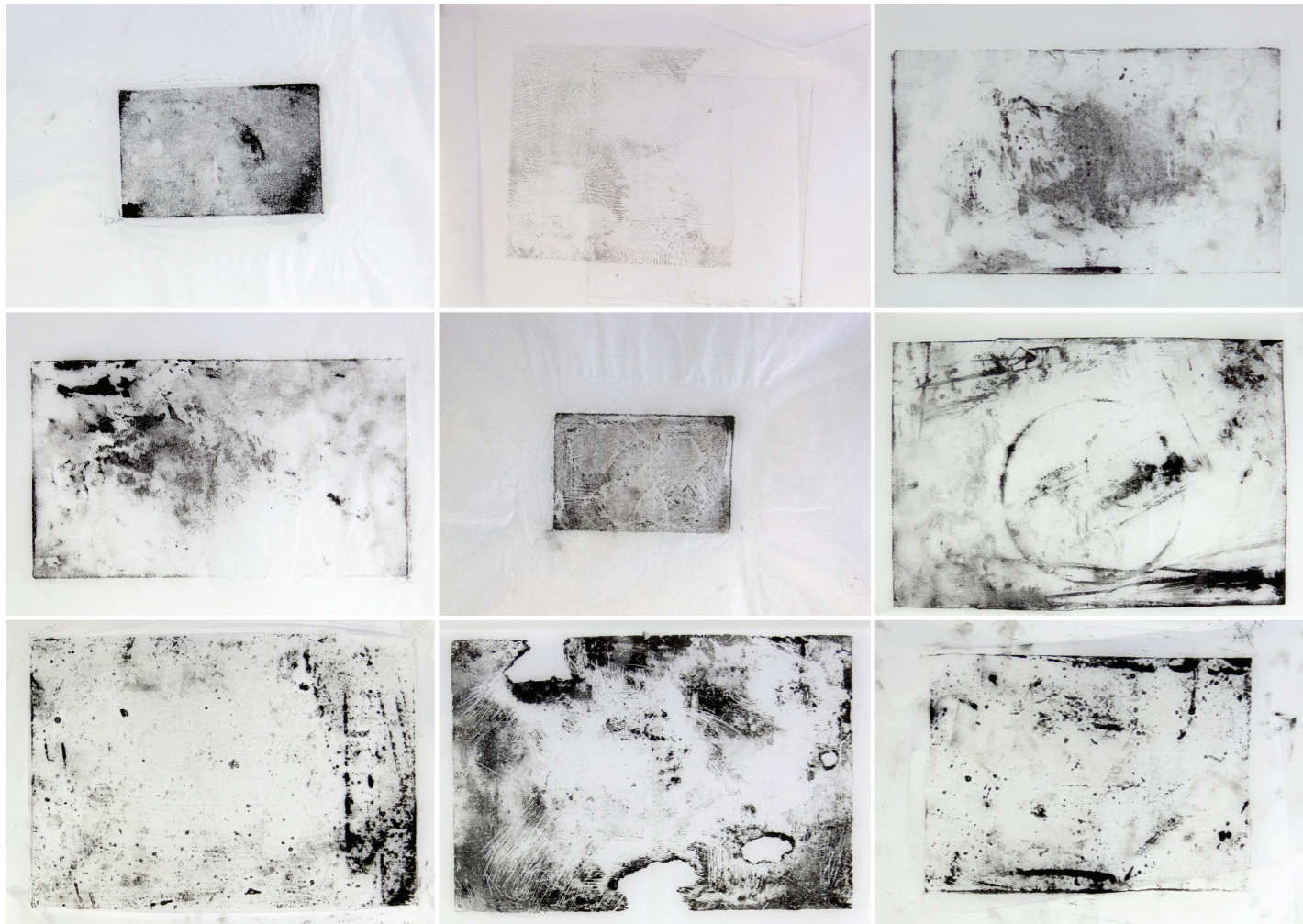


FIG. 47 / PAPER MEMORY #1

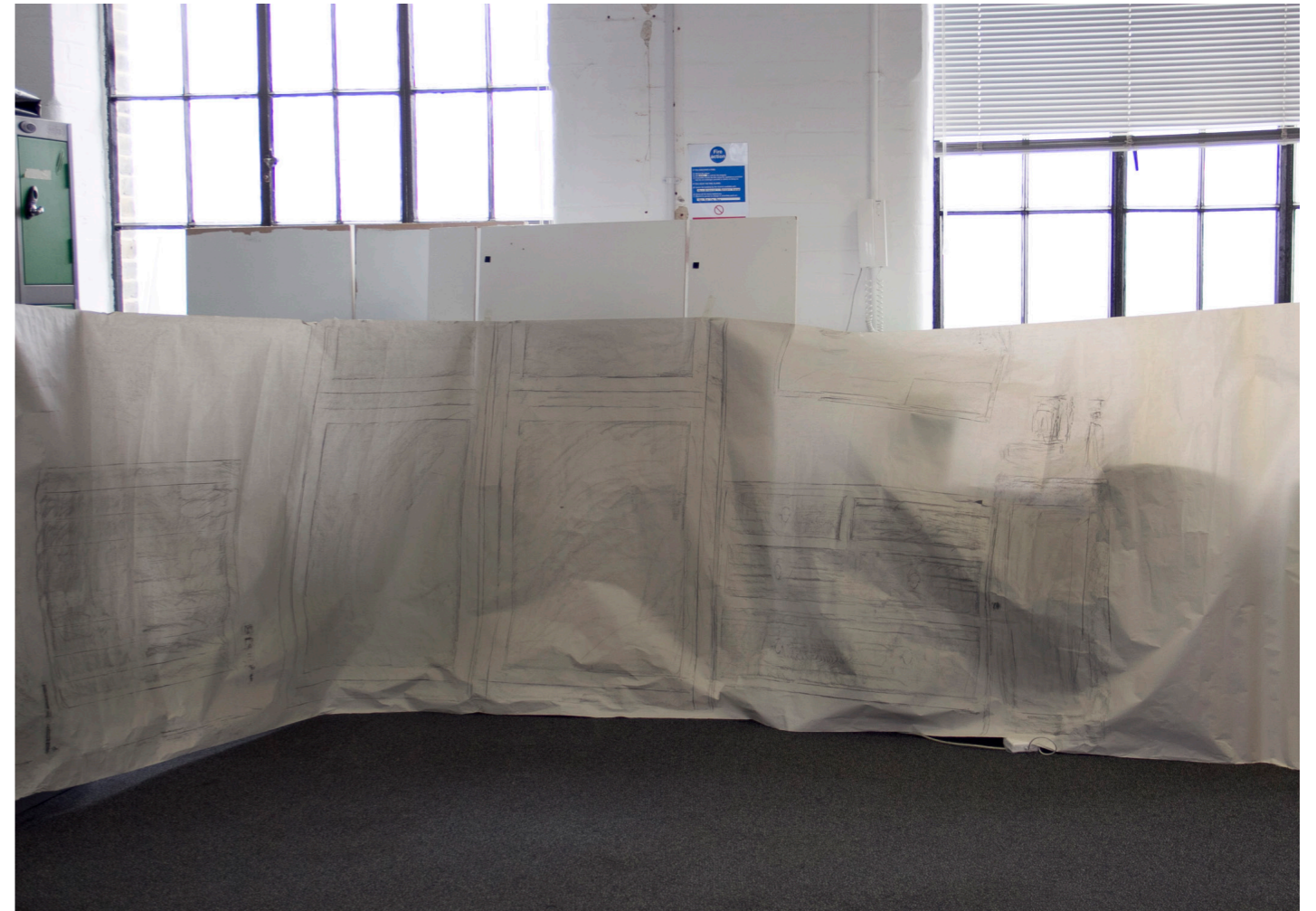


Fig. 48 / My bedroom rubbings, positioned in my studio.





Domes

When visiting a monument, I always collect some objects that were left in the space, which serve as a sort of a souvenir for me, a piece of tangible memory. Those memory objects stand for my experience. In a way, they authenticate it, as they are proof that it indeed happened.

Susan Stewart, in her book *On Longing*, suggests that souvenirs are a way of domesticating an experience: by having a tangible object that symbolises an event or a place one can 'take home' an experience. The souvenir authenticates the experience, validating it while giving it a material form.

*'The souvenir distinguishes experiences. We do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby exist only through the invention of narrative.'*⁸¹

The souvenir validates the experience of its possessor, 'moving history into a private time'.⁸²

I visited many sites for this research, but only at Teufelsberg in Berlin was I really a tourist. Like most tourists, I visited souvenir shops. But the souvenirs that are sold in those shops are generic objects, objects that were made as an attempt to fix a moment in time for the visitor to take home. As Stewart argues, a souvenir needs to be personal, to tell a subjective story of its bearer. Thus, I created my own souvenirs. I collected objects I found at Teufelsberg: a tin containing little metal pieces: nuts, bolts, springs and suchlike. Wishing to mimic the process of memory, I made glass domes within which I placed the objects. Inside the domes was nitric acid; I wanted to gradually let the objects degrade, carrying out an opposite activity to the one performed by the shop-bought domes. Mimicking the ongoing process of memory in material, I wanted my domes to show the effect of time, to slowly deteriorate until only remnants of the objects that were inside remained – some sort of metal dust floating in the acid. I made five domes, and at the time of writing, more than a year after their creation, they are still slowly decaying. The process the acid creates is interesting. At first it is clear; then it gradually becomes more and more obscure, until the object cannot be seen at all. When the acid stops being active, it goes back to being clear again. I find this to be symbolic of the process of forgetting and remembering. Furthermore, the domes I created are desirable objects, their aesthetic value lying in somewhat of a contrast to the progression that they are going through. At the end of the process, all that will be left is the memory of what was inside them, functioning as a trigger not only for my own experience of Teufelsberg but for the tourist experience in general, and to the ongoing process of memory.



FIG. 51 / TEUFELSBURG,
GLASS, NITRIC ACID, METAL

81/ Susan, Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 135.

82/ Ibid, p.138.

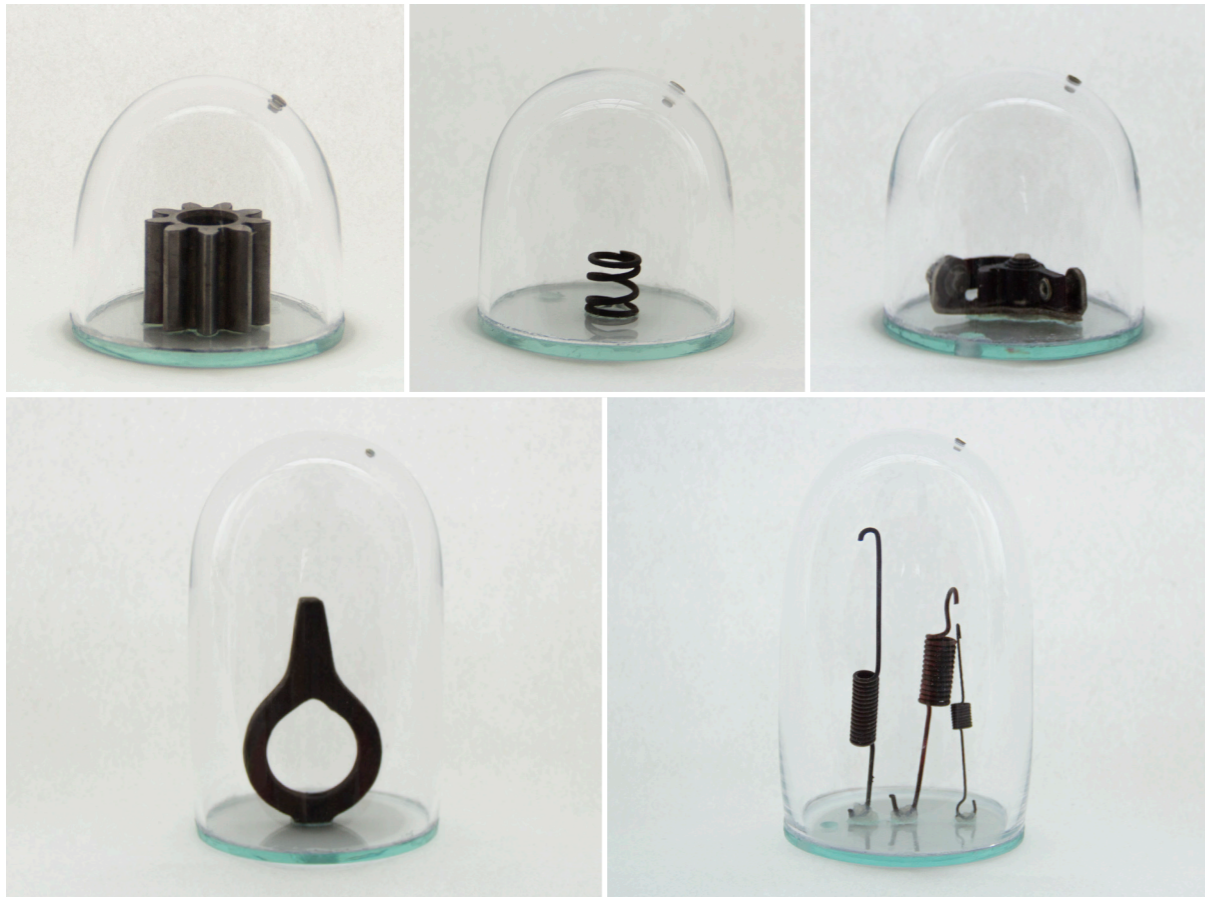


Fig. 52 / Teufelsberg, empty domes



Fig. 53 / Teufelsberg, step 1



Fig. 54 / Teufelsberg, step 2



Fig. 55 / Teufelsberg, step 3

Sculptures

Another object I collected in one of my journeys was a wilted memorial wreath I found at the memorial of Bab-el-Wad. I visited the site more than a couple of months after the Memorial Day for the Fallen Soldiers and found the wreath, which was probably left there during the commemoration ceremony held on that day. The wreath held within it a series of stories: the story of the person who put it there, the story of the ceremony it was part of, and the story of its cultural symbolic meaning as a memorial wreath. I took the wreath with me to London. It was not going to survive for very long, as it was wilting and decaying, its flowers starting to fade into dust. Wishing to encapsulate its symbolism, I cast its negative, capturing its impression: the cast would thus show its absence. I chose to cast it in concrete, a material that is on one hand harsh and brutal but on the other hand neutral and mute. Adrian Forty argues that concrete might seem today as a default material when it comes to monuments, but states that before the Second World War it was considered to be unbecoming for the memory of the dead. Only after the Second World War did the use of this ubiquitous and permanent material become appropriate for the cause of commemoration.⁸³ In the case of the wreath, I knew the original would be destroyed in the process of casting. When the cast was finished, I discovered that even though the wreath had wilted over several months and appeared to be completely dry, it still had some life within it. The interaction between the concrete and the flowers created dust, powder. The concrete sucked out all the life that was left in the flowers, so they could not dry properly in order to capture their impression. The representation of the wreath was created, but it did not mimic the wreath the way I imagined it to be. That is, the object cast in concrete was not recognisable. The viewer could not know the absence of which object he is witnessing. The wreath was a trace of my experience in the journey to Bab-el-Wad, and now this trace was gone. It was effaced in the process of the casting, but the trace of its effacement, the cast, had no recognisable impression if it.

I wanted to have another go at casting, as I did want the original object to be recognised within the cast. I then created a new wreath out of fresh flowers, similar to the original. Having the experience of the interaction between living flowers and concrete, I decided to move further away from authenticity: I cast the new wreath in rubber, creating a rubber mould, in order to create a plaster wreath. The plaster wreath was then recast in concrete. The final outcome, the concrete cast, was actually a very distant representation of the original found wreath. In Plato's hierarchy of forms it would have been on the very bottom of the pyramid, as it was very distant from the Forms of the Good. This work was distanced by four stages from the original wreath I found at the site.

However, to the viewer it seems much more 'real' than the first cast: the viewer of the first casting attempt could not be sure what he was looking at, while it was much clearer in the second cast. Moreover, when presenting the two casts together, a connection between them is made, as they are similar in material, size and shape. Paradoxically, the process of making the casts mimics the story of the Bab-el-Wad monument: the original authentic vehicles were not acceptable to the monument commissioners, so new ones were created. Similarly, I created two casts. While the story of the fabrication of the vehicles is hidden from visitors to Bab-el-Wad, I present my viewers with the two casts together. A monument

occupies a space, declaring ownership of its land. My casts, presented as works of art in a gallery space, become neutralised, independent of their origin. Therefore they become a monument to their own memory, to my own memory – to my experience.

⁸³/ Adrian Forty, 'Concrete and Memory' in: *Memory: History And Amnesia In The Modern City*, Mark Crinson, ed. Urban (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), p. 77.



FIG. 56 / CONCRETE FLOWERS



Fig. 57 / The rubber mold used for the second wreath



Fig. 58 / The two casts



FIG. 59 / BAB-EL-WAD #1



FIG. 60 / BAB-EL-WAD #2

CONCLUSION

For many years I was away from Israel for the week of commemoration.⁸⁴ In the first couple of years of living outside Israel I made an effort on the Israeli memorial days to listen to Israeli radio, trying to feel the special atmosphere I remembered experiencing on those days. This year, 2017, was the first in many that I was in Israel for that week. I wanted to attend the ceremony at Gan Ha'giborim, in my home town. The last time I went was almost fifteen years ago. I remember that night, since it was when I met my future husband. As I have stated in this research, these ceremonies function as social gatherings. I went to the ceremony that night with a childhood friend who asked me to continue with her to a later ceremony in Tel Aviv, the closest big city. She was planning to meet her college friends there, and did not want to go on her own. I went along, and a few years later married one of those college friends.

This year, as I was in Israel at the time I could not resist the research potential in attending the ceremony. This time I went alone, as an observer. I arrived half an hour before the start of the ceremony and was surprised to find that the garden was already full. Big screens were set up around it in anticipation of the larger crowd to come. I observed the crowd: there were people of all ages: families with babies and toddlers, groups of teenagers, soldiers who had come home for a short vacation and young couples. People were hugging, happy to see old friends, and kids were running around. The setting, white plastic chairs laid out on the grass and lights shining through the trees, reminded me of a wedding ceremony. Many more people continued to fill the area, and eventually you could hardly see the big screen. There was a buzz in the air that immediately stopped at the sound of the Memorial siren. The ceremony began.

I began this research because I wanted to study the way social identity is constructed. I have explored the shaping of memory in my work for many years, and wanted to conduct comprehensive research into the way I feel individuals' social identity is being manipulated. It was only natural that I would use myself as a case study, analysing my past memories and experiences. My aim was to explore how the experience of a visitor to a memorial site is constructed, identifying the place of a personal voice in the act of commemoration. In order to do that, I needed to fragment this experience by exploring the different elements that comprise 'commemoration'.

Using myself as a subject, I investigated the Israeli culture of commemoration, which is imbued with elements of memorialisation. Choosing excavation as a method meant that I returned again and again, both in time and to spaces. My method of work is ritualistic: I conduct my own personal 'ceremonies' at the sites I chose to visit, as well as copying these little 'ceremonies' in my studio work. I immersed myself in the experience of commemoration, mimicking the methods by which the ruling authorities configure those experiences.

The act of making the work is as important to me as the work itself, as I try to copy the process of memory in my work. I see this as a never-ending process: thus I do not aim to offer a finished artwork but rather the process of creating the work becomes part of showing it, connecting visuality, materiality and the abstract concept of memorialisation.

Research is about being active, asking questions and casting doubt on everything, and I feel that in relation to commemoration this is even more important. All individuals need to question the reality presented to them, and ask themselves: who does this reality serve? Is it themselves, or might someone else be benefiting from this presentation? Social protest usually involves the present or the future, but people tend to take the past as it is. By analysing memories and experiences of the past I demonstrate

⁸⁴/ Two weeks in May are devoted to commemoration: they start with the Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day (dated by the Jewish calendar: the 27th day of the 7th month, the day the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising began), exactly a week before the Israeli Fallen Soldiers and Victims of Terrorism Remembrance Day (dated by the Jewish calendar: the 4th day of the 8th month), which is, symbolically, a day before Israeli Independence day (dated by the Jewish calendar: the 5th day of the 8th month, the day of the declaration of the state of Israel)

how these affect the future, how the past is being manipulated in the present, and how it is used in the battle for national identity.

The experience of the visitor is at the heart of this research, so I wanted to examine other visitors' experiences at the places I visited. I thus initiated activities to provoke the interest of others present at the site. Sometimes my attempts were successful, like the meeting with Menashe, and sometimes I was alone, interacting with no-one. Additionally, showing my visual work was very important to me as I wanted to analyse reactions to it, testing the importance of location in terms of commemoration as well as the feelings and memories my work triggers. I anticipated some of the reactions I received, but some took me by surprise: overall, they encouraged me to move forward with the research. I showed the work both physically and online, finding that the visual work does prompt memories, but that it functions differently when the viewer stands in front of it, able to touch it and be aware of its scale, from when the viewer sees it on a screen in private. In general, viewers who saw the physical work reacted to its tangibility while viewers who experienced a digital version of the work referred more to its content. It is relevant here, however, to note that my online viewers were all Israeli, so the work resonated with their existing knowledge and experience of Israel's collective memory, which might explain their greater interest in the subject than in the work's hapticity.

Another angle I wanted to explore in these different ways of presenting the work concerns representation. A memorial is a representation of an event or a person: my work represents my personal experience at a site of public memory. The visitor to such a site, feels that they know about the event commemorated, as visiting is an experience involving all the senses, but they can only really perceive the representation of the event. The matter of authenticity is also at issue here. I have suggested that the importance given to a mute object that was present at the time of the event commemorated is over-privileged. Moreover, creating work that represents my personal experiences takes the question of what is represented forward: that is, away from the real. There is a difference between having a real experience and having an experience of the real. I want to emphasise this progression in the process of representation, making my viewers aware of the distance from what is considered to be "real". The rubbings are a good example of this, as they clearly represent the wall of names. I feel that a viewer looking at a photograph is very aware of its distance from the real object, but actually looking at a physical object like the rubbings has the same distance from the "real". Haptic work creates an illusion of authenticity. In this sense, then, a digital viewer does not have the same palpable sense of being able to touch the work, so their reaction to it is more rational. The wreath casts are a little different in terms of representation: the cast that seems more "real", that looks like a cast of a wreath, is actually the fake one, and the one that does not have a clear association with what it represents is the cast of the real wreath.

Moreover, some of the visual work I embarked on was very personal: making rubbings of my bedroom, or photographing my family. I learned from my research into commemoration that even though this work was generated from my research question, it did not raise reactions that were useful for me: I wanted to look at collective memory, and they connected my viewers to their own personal memory, which was not what I was looking for. Therefore I tried to produce work that referred to public memory. Even though my work concerned specific sites that my viewers might not have known about,

it resonated with experiences of sites of public memory that they were familiar with. Furthermore, this research has been about opening a discussion, a public discourse concerning the social and political powers controlling the practice of commemoration. By showing my visual work I exposed viewers to this discourse, and I hope to continue this work in the future.

At the beginning of this thesis I discuss my role as an image-maker. Furthermore, I briefly examine the differing views of Plato and Aristotle on the role of the artist. I think it is clear that an artist has political power, but he or she needs to use it wisely. Together with this power comes a responsibility, a social responsibility over one's work. In this thesis I explore both sites that were designed by an artist as well as artworks that encourage critical thinking. I have grown as an artist during this research, and intend to continue and use my power as an artist to ask questions about my culture and society.

At The Garden of Heroes, I stood still at the sound of the siren. The ceremony began with a prayer, followed by a speech by the mayor. I looked at everyone around me and felt like an outsider. Next to me stood a family with two little boys who were playing quietly. I wondered if I would bring my boys to this ceremony next year and decided that I probably would not. Now I was an outsider; I examined others' reactions at this event but could not immerse myself in it. The process of conducting this research has enabled me to grow personally and professionally. Though I always had a critical view about my surroundings, I now feel much more committed to my role as an artist who tries to critically engage viewers and express a view on the construction of collective memory. I did not stay to watch the whole ceremony. I circled around Gan Ha'giborim, looking at the ceremony and the crowd from different angles. When I felt I had collected enough information, I left.

Here my journey ends. Above all, this journey has been about searching for a personal voice in the process of commemoration. I hope my voice has been heard, and has also opened up a space for many more voices to come.



Fig. 61 / The Garden of Heroes, Memorial Day for the Fallen Soldiers of Israel and Victims of Terrorism's ceremony.



Fig. 62 / The Garden of Heroes, Memorial Day ceremony, the moment of the siren.

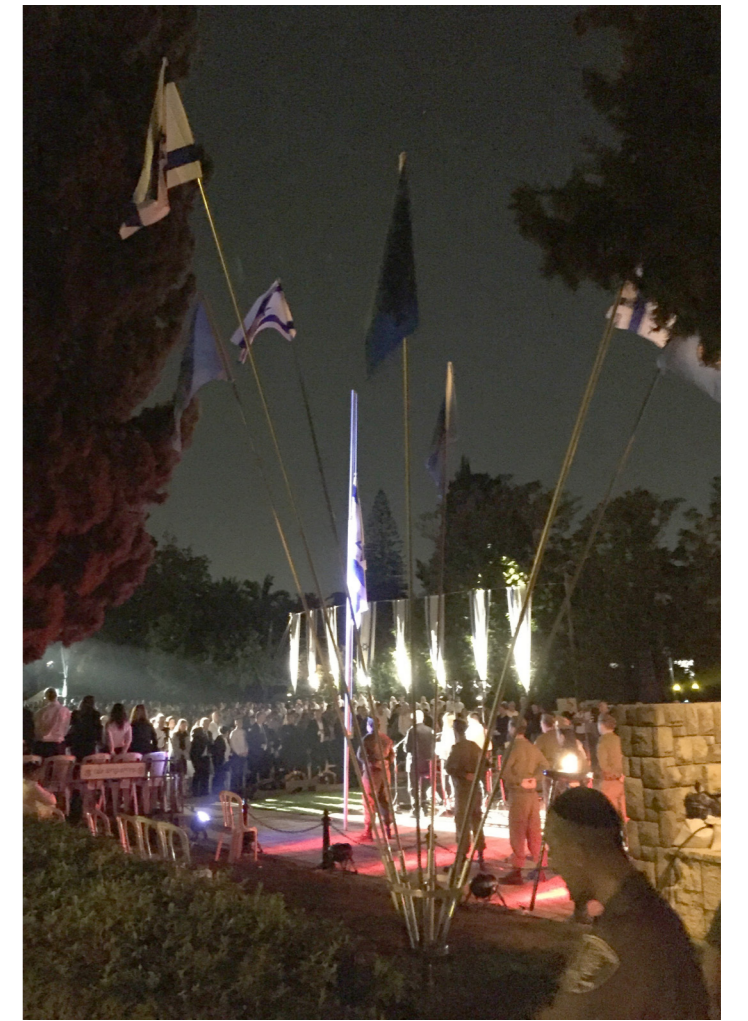


Fig. 63 / The Garden of Heroes, Memorial Day ceremony, honor guard by the wall of names

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (Verso Books, 2006).

Barthes, Roland, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Random House, 2000).

- *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers. (New York: Hill and Wang 1972).

Baudrillard, Jean, *Simulations*, (New York: Semiotext(e) Inc., 1983).

Benjamin, Walter, *Selected Writings: 1931–1934. Vol. 2*, (Mass: Harvard University Press, 2005).

- *Berlin childhood around 1900*, (Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006).
- *Illuminations*, (London: Pimlico; New Ed edition, 1999).
- *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other*

Writings on Media, trans. By Edmund Jephcott, Rodney Livingstone,

Howard Eiland, and Others. ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2008).

Berger, John, *Berger on Drawing*, Edt. Savage, Jim, (Cork: Occasional Press, 2005).

Bergson, Henri, trans. by Nancy Margaret Paul, and W. Scott Palmer, *Matter and memory*, (New York: Courier Corporation, 2004).

Boym, Svetlana, *The Future of Nostalgia*, (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

Certeau, Michel de. *The practice of everyday life*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

Connerton, Paul, *How societies remember*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

- *How modernity forgets*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Crinson, Mark, Edt. *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City*, (London: Routledge, 2005).

Deleuze, Gill, *Difference and repetition*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

- *The Fold: Leibniz and the baroque*, (London : Continuum, 2006).

Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology*, Trans. by Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, (Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

- *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-portrait and Other Ruins*, Trans. by Brault Pascale-Anne and Naas Michael, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- *Speech and Phenomena, and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*, (USA: Northwestern University Press, 1973)
- *Writing and Difference*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

Dillon, Brain, *The End of the Line: Attitudes in Drawing*, (London: Hayward Publishing, 2009).

- Edt. *Ruins: Documents of Contemporary Art*, (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2011).
- Edt. *Ruin Lust*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2004).

Eco, Umberto, *Faith in Fakes: Essays*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986).

- *A Theory of Semiotics*, (USA: Indiana University Press, 1976).

Elkins, James, *On Pictures and the Words that Fail Them*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Farr, Ian, Edt. *Memory: Documents of Contemporary Art*, (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2012).

Forty, Adrian, *Words and buildings: a vocabulary of modern architecture*, (London: Thames & Hudson ,2000).

Forty, Adrian, and Ian Cameron, *Objects of desire: Design and society since 1750*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995).

Forty A. and Küchler S. Eds., *The Art of Forgetting*, (New York: Berg, 2001).

Freud, Sigmund, *On Metapsychology: The Theory of Psychoanalysis*, Vol.11 of 'The Penguin Freud Library', trans. By James Strachey, ed. By Angela Richards (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991).

Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory*, Trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

- *The collective memory*, (New York, Harper & Row Colophon Books, 1980).

Heidegger, Martin, *Basic Writings: Martin Heidegger*, Edt. By Krell, David F., (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).

- *Poetry, Language, Thought*, Trans. by Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper & Row 1971).

Hewison, Robert, *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline*, (London: Methuen, 1987).

Horenstein S. and Jacobowitz F. Eds., *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003).

Ladd, Brain, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Landsberg, Alison, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

Leach, Neil. *Rethinking architecture: a reader in cultural theory*. (London: Routledge, 2005).

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, trans. by D Nicholson-Smith. (Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1991).

Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

Madden, Kathlee, Edt. *Terminus*, (Berlin and London: Holzwarth Publications, 2007).

Michael, Assaf, '*National parks in Israel from concept to realization (1948-1998): their definition, history, characteristics and contribution to the conservation and shaping of heritage sites in the land of Israel*' (Unpublished PhD, Bar Ilan University, 2009).

Merewether, Charles, Edt. *The Archive: Documents of Contemporary Art*, (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2006).

Nietzsche, Friedrich, Daniel Breazeale, and Reginald John Hollingdale, *Nietzsche: Untimely Meditations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Leach, Neil, *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Orlow, Uriel and Thal, Andrea Eds., *Unmade Film*, (Zurich: Edition Fink, 2014).

Peirce, Charles S., *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, Edt. by Hartshorne Charles and Paul Weiss, 6 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).

Perec, Georges, *Species of spaces and other pieces*, (London: Penguin, 1997).

Plato, *The Collected Dialogues*,. Ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. Bollingen Series LXX. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961).

Potolsky, Matthew, *Mimesis*, (New York: Routledge, 2006).

Princenthal, Nancy, Carlos Basualdo, and Andreas Huyssen. *Doris Salcedo*, (London: Phaidon, 2000).

Proust Marcel, *Swann's Way*, (New York: Viking Books, 2003).

Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, history, forgetting*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

Julie Rodrigues Widholm and Madeleine Grynstejn Eds. *Doris Salcedo*, (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2015)

Rossi, Aldo, and Peter Eisenman. *The architecture of the city*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982).

Saltzman, Lisa, *Making memory matter: Strategies of remembrance in contemporary art*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Sebald, Winfried Georg, *Austerlitz*, trans. by Anthea Bell, (London: Penguin UK, 2013).

- *The emigrants*, (London: Random House, 2013).

Shevi, Orli, *Memory And Power : Reflections On History, Memory, And Auschwitz In Contemporary Art And Film*, (unpublished PhD, San Diego: University of California, 2010)

Spence, Jo and Holland, Patricia, Eds. *Family Snaps: The meaning of domestic photography*, (London: Virago Press, 1991).

Stewart, Susan *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, (London: Duke University Press, 1993).

Stiegler, Bernard, *Technics and Time: The Fault of Epimetheus*. Vol. 1, trans. by Beardsworth, Richard and Collins, George, (USA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Stier, Oren Baruch, and Landres, J. Shawn. *Religion, violence, memory, and place*. (USA: Indiana University Press, 2006).

Taylor, Charles, *The Ethics of Authenticity*, (Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Yates, Frances A., *The art of memory*, (London: Routledge, 1966).

Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1982).

Young, E. James, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

- At Memory's Edge: *After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000).

White, Hayden, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (USA: JHU Press, 2009).

Williams ,Paul, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2007).

Zerubavel, Yael, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Articles

McQuillan, Colin, 'Philosophical Archaeology in Kant, Foucault, and Agamben', *Parrhesia*, 10 (2010), 39-49.

Ascherson, N., 'Remains of the Abomination', *The Independent* (22 January)(1995): 12-16.
<<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/remains-of-the-abomination-1569138.html>>

Akcan, Esra, Apology and triumph: memory transference, erasure, and a rereading of the Berlin Jewish Museum', *New German Critique* 37:2, 110 (2010), 153-179.

Ballengee-Morris, Christine, 'Tourist souvenirs', *Visual Arts Research* (2002), 102-108.

Bar Or, Galia. 'The Story of the Museum of Mediterranean Archeology at Nir David', *Journal of Israeli History*, 31:1 (2012), 167-187.

Bennett, Tony, 'Habit: Time, Freedom, Governance', *Body & Society* 19:2-3 (2013), 107-135.

Cohen, Eric, 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, (1988), 371-386.

Deleuze, Gill and Strauss, Jonathan, 'The Fold', *Yale French Studies*, No. 80, (1991), 227-247.

- Deleuze, Gilles, and Krauss Rosalind. "Plato and the Simulacrum." *October* 27 (1983): 45-56.

Doane, Mary Ann, 'Indexicality: Trace and Sign: Introduction', *Differences*, Vol.18:1 (2007), 1-6.

Donohoe, Janet , 'Dwelling with monuments', *Philosophy & Geography*, 5:2, (2002), 235-242.

DeLyser, Dydia. 'Authenticity on the ground: Engaging the past in a California ghost town', *Annals of the association of American geographers*, 89:4, (1999), 602-632.

Dwyer, Owen J., and Derek H. Alderman, 'Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors', *GeoJournal*, 73:3 (2008), 165-178.

Foote, Kenneth E., and Maoz Azaryahu,

- 'Toward a geography of memory: Geographical dimensions of public memory and commemoration', *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 35:1, (2007), 125-144
- 'Semiotics', *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Volume 10, ed. by Nigel Thrift, Rob Kitchin (Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2009), p. 89-95.

Eco, Umberto, 'The Theory of Signs and the Role of the Reader', *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 14:1 (1981), 35-45.

Feige, Michael, 'Introduction: Rethinking Israeli memory and identity', *Israel Studies* 7:2 (2002), v-xiv.

Fortier Anne-Marie, 'Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)', *Theory Culture Society* Vol. 16:2 (1999), 41-46.

Geddes, Jennifer L., 'An interview with James E. Young', *Hedgehog Review* 9:2 (2007), 68-72.

Hebbert, Michael, 'The street as locus of collective memory', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 23, (2005), 581-596.

Hoelscher, S., & Alderman, D. 'Memory and place: Geographies of a critical relationship'. *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 5, (2004). 347-355.

Jenks, Hillary. 'Urban space, ethnic community, and national belonging: the political landscape of memory in Little Tokyo', *GeoJournal* 73:3 (2008), 231-244.

Krauss, Rosalind, 'Notes on the index: Seventies art in America', *October* 3 (1977), 68-81.

- 'Notes on the index: Seventies art in America. Part 2', *October* 4 (1977), 58-67.

Laanemets, Mari. 'Places that remember', *Koht ja Paik/Place and Location* (2000), 73-75.

Levinas, Emmanuel, 'The trace of the other', *Deconstruction in context*, (1986), 345-59.

Lin, Maya, 'Making the memorial', *New York Review of Books* 47:17 (2000), 33-35.

Lowenthal, David, 'History and Memory', *The Public Historian*, Vol. 19:2 (1997), 30-39.

- 'Fabricating Heritage', *History and Memory*, Vol. 10:1 (1998), 5-24.

- 'Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory', *Geographical Review*, Vol. 65: 1, (1975), 1-36.

MacCannell, Dean, 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol.79:3, (1973), 589-603.

- 'Tourist agency', *Tourist studies* 1:1 (2001), 23-37.

Maoz Azaryahu, 'McDonald's or Golani Junction? A Case of a Contested Place in Israel', *The Professional Geographer*, 51:4, (1999), 481-492

- 'From Remains to Relics: Authentic Monuments in the Israeli Landscape', *History and Memory*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1993), pp. 82-103
- 'The Iron Skeleton Is Silent, Like My Comrade': The Remains of the Armored Vehicles at Sha'ar Ha-Gai', *Cathedra* 106, (2002), 119-138.
- 'Zickaron Banof: Haandartaot Hasmuyot Min Haayin. Shlosha Mikrim.' [A Memory in Cenery: The Hidden Monuments. Three Cases.], *Cathedra*, 150, (Jan. 2013), p. 216.

Marder, Michael, History, 'Memory, and Forgetting in Nietzsche and Derrida', *Epoché*, Volume 9:1 (2004), 137-157.

Mayer, Tamar, 'The struggle over boundary and memory: nation, borders, and gender in Jewish Israel', *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13:4 (2012), 29-50.

Miles, Malcolm, 'Remembering the unrememberable: the Harburg monument against fascism (Jochen and Esther Shalev Gerz, 2009)', (2010), 63-71.

Neil Leach, 'Belonging', in: London: Postcolonial City, *AA Files*, 49, (2003), 76-82.

- '9/11', *Diactrucs*, 33, Nos. 3-4, (2003).

Newman, Michael, 'Derrida and the Scene of Drawing', *Research in Phenomenology*, vol.24, (1994), 34-218.

Nora, Pierre, 'Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire', *Representations* (1989) 7-24.

Ochsner, Jeffrey Karl, 'A space of loss: the Vietnam Veterans Memorial', *Journal of Architectural Education* 50:3 (1997), 156-171.

Pensky, Max, 'Three kinds of ruin: Heidegger, Benjamin, Sebald', < <http://www2.binghamton.edu/philosophy/people/docs/pensky-kinds-of-ruin.pdf>> [accessed 8.4.2014].

Ramadanovic, Petar, 'From Haunting to Trauma: Nietzsche's Active Forgetting and Blanchot's Writing of the Disaster', *University of New Hampshire*, <<http://pmc.iath.virginia.edu/textonly/issue.101/11.2ramadanovic.txt>> [accessed 8.4.2014].

Reuben Rose-Redwood, Alderman, D., & Azaryahu, M. 'Collective memory and the politics of urban space: An introduction', *GeoJournal*, 73(3), (2008), 161-164.

Riegl, Alois. 'The modern cult of monuments: its character and its origin', *Oppositions* 25 (1982), 20-51.

Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. "Collective memory and the politics of urban space: an introduction." *GeoJournal* 73.3 (2008): 161-164.

Schreel, Louis, 'The Work of Art as Monument: Deleuze and the (After-) Life of Art', *footprint* 8:1 (2014), 97-108.

Stevens, Quentin, Karen A. Franck, and Ruth Fazakerley, 'Counter-monuments: the anti-monumental and the dialogic', *The Journal of Architecture* 17:6 (2012), 951-972.

Sturken, Marita, 'The wall, the screen, and the image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial', *Representations* 35 (1991), 118-14.

Sully, Nicole, 'Memorials incognito: the candle, the drain and the cabbage patch for Diana, Princess of Wales', *Architectural Research Quarterly* 14:02 (2010), 115-128.

Schwartz, Barry, 'The social context of commemoration: A study in collective memory', *Social forces* 61:2 (1982), 374-402.

Trigg, Dylan, 'the psychoanalysis of ruins', *3:AM Magazine*: Sunday, December 9th, 2012, 14-18.

Visker, Rudi, 'Dropping: The "Subject" of Authenticity.' Being and Time" on Disappearing Existentials and True Friendship with Being', *Research in phenomenology*, 24, (1994),133.

Watson, G. Llewellyn, and Joseph P. Kopachevsky. 'Interpretations of tourism as commodity', *Annals of tourism research* 21:3 (1994), 643-660.

Films

The Ister (David Barison and Daniel Ross, 2004).

Transmission (Harun Farocki, 2007).

Blank