

On Pain and Memory: Holocaust Memorials

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Remembering, as a vital activity, shapes our relation with the past, defining our present. Memory is selective. It is built upon a dialectic relation between remembering and forgetting. Both personal and societal memories are always subject to be constructed, repressed, denied. They are slippery, imperfect, impermanent, textured, unstable, and subject to distortions. Society's collective memory is negotiated in social body's beliefs and values, rituals and institutions, and in modern societies it is shaped by public sites of memory such as museums, monuments, and memorials.

This paper, while discussing the construction of memorials, examines ideas about Pain, Memory, Time, Public Life and Space vis a vis the Holocaust and its representations.

The Holocaust presents only questions. Questions regarding moral and ethical dilemmas of human kind, and of architecture. Theodor Adorno suggests that "democratic pedagogy" comprises a potential lesson to be learned from those times in which "darkness was visible." Learning from it could also entail questioning what kind of connections, if any, could be made between "representations of modernity" being taught or repressed within architectural education and events such as the Holocaust.

The Holocaust in its extension and its vastness, appears to be ungraspable. No form of representation seems capable of addressing it completely or adequately. It threatens to remain as a rift, a breach in modern thinking. Healing must be deferred for future generations. As Time increases the distance between ourselves, our worlds, and the actual events of the Holocaust (Shoah), and survivors, bystanders, and perpetrators, are no longer alive, only Memory remains. Or better, re-collected and textured memories. Memories, and their registration, interpretation, construction and production, through storytelling, architectures, cities, landscapes, public art, and memorials, echo the distant sound of horror.

ON PAIN AND MEMORY: HOLOCAUST MEMORIALS

Demolition, Pain, Torture

The ocean of pain, past and present surrounded us, and its level rose from year to year until almost submerged us. It was useless to close one's eye or turn one's back to it because it was all around, in every direction, all the way to the horizon... Never again could be cleansed; it would prove that man, the human species-we, in short-had the potential to construct an infinite enormity of pain, and that pain is the only force created from nothing, without cost and without effort. It is enough not to see, not to listen, not to act.²

What makes unique the experience of a concentration camp, according to accounts of those who underwent that experience, unlike

other episodes of captivity and war, is that their pain is unable to find expression. "Werealized," writes Primo Levi, "that our language lacks words to express this offense: the demolition of the person."³ There are no ways to reconstruct that pain, yet it remains present forever, as traces and marks of the direct encounter with one's physicality. Pain is inflicted deliberately by other and becomes a permanent condition. As this occur, at the moment of agony in pain in mind and body, the experience is absolute: death in life. Jean Amery writes:

Whoever is overcome by pain through torture experiences his body as never before. In self-negation, his flesh becomes a total reality.... the tortured person is only a body, and nothing else beside that.... Pain, we said, is the most extreme intensification imaginable of our bodily being. . . Torture, through which we are turned into body by the other, blots out the contradiction of death and allows us to experience it personally. . . . Torture has an indelible character. Whoever was tortured, stays tortured. Torture is ineradicably burned into him, even when no clinically objective traces can be detected.⁴

Figuren

The power of knowledge, following Michel De Certeau, could be defined by the ability to transform the "uncertainties of history into readable spaces," a specific form of knowledge sustained and determined by the power to provide oneself with one's own place.' This appropriation of space entails that the "proper" is a triumph of place over time, a mastery of time through the foundation of an autonomous place, a mastery of places through sight. The division of space makes possible panoptic practices, "to see is to predict." The notions of "lebensraum" (espace vital) and ethnic cleansing, ideological cornerstones of The Nazi regime, gave rise the most extreme and excessive expression of "strategic behavior."⁶ The various maps of Nazi Europe do clearly show the vast extension of these practices, also entailing a war between Volk-place-power and Time, a war between knowledge and speech, a war against the Other. And, as Primo Levi would put it, "An obsessive war against memory, negating and falsifying reality."

In order to be believed the Nazis had to fabricate reality itself and make the Jews look subhuman.⁹ Nazis used several steps towards the achievement of the so called "final solution." Legal measures such as the laws of Nuremberg: devoid of rights and dignity; policies of ghettoization; forced labor and starvation; euthanasia programs; concentration camps; gassing, Death marches. The essence of the Nazi scheme was to make itself — and to make the Jews — essentially invisible. To make the Jews invisible by confining them into "camouflaged" death camps, but also by reducing even the materiality of the dead bodies to smoke and ashes. The dead bodies are voided of substance and specificity by being treated, in the Nazi

jargon, as "figure": that which cannot be seen or can be seen through. The opaque sight at the dead bodies, as well as the literal reference of the word "corpse," is degraded to the transparency of a mere figure: a disembodied verbal substitute which signifies abstractly the law — material or linguistic — of indefinite substitutability.

The Germans even forbade us to use the words "corpse" or "victim." The dead were blocks of wood, shit. The Germans made us refer to the bodies as *figuren*, that is as puppets, as dolls, or as *schmattes*, which means "rags."¹⁰

Representation

The Endlösung, the so called "Final Solution", is exceptionally resistant to a redemptive perspective of humanity or life, and threatens to remain an open wound in modern thinking. Therefore, if the Holocaust could be thought of as an earthquake that has destroyed all measurement instruments, as Lyotard suggested, new methods of representation are necessary, and have not come about. An absent meaning, that we tend to reflect under the limits of representation, in a rather theoretical gesture.¹¹ Even as bystanders — as non participant observers, either during the events or in the fifty years since — we suffer something like a trauma, a breach in normal thinking about human and civilized nature; and this breach needs more time to heal. Understanding may have to be deferred to a later generation.¹² However, as the Third Reich is no longer part of the lived experience it has become an imaginative construct dependent on its intellectual representation, thus remembering has shifted from being an issue of motivation — willingness to remember — to an issue of representation — how to construct the presence of the past — leading to the concept of democratic pedagogy, proposed by Adorno.¹³

It is in recent decades, that ideologies of progress came to be seen as the dark side of modernity, and in most accounts of the darkness, the Holocaust, representing a paradoxical paradigm of progress, plays a central role in the crisis of modernity and memory. If Modernity freed the West from the constraints of memory, during Postmodernity, it seems to be struggling between amnesia and obsession with the past.¹⁴ The fascination with the past could, perhaps, be seen as a compensatory form in the fast process towards oblivion, and museums may be functioning as a key paradigm of contemporary postmodern culture.

The repression of the Holocaust memory during the 1950s and '60s, certainly contrasts with the excess of Holocaust imagery everywhere in the '80s and '90s in our culture. The Holocaust totality, has become fractured in its multiple memories, through multiple accounts while the temporal distance with the events has freed memory to focus on more than the facts alone, therefore modifying representational criteria. Awe and silence before victims and survivors, contrast with representational forms used before a prime time TV public. For new generations, distanced from the events, to whom Holocaust memory is becoming mythical or cliché, and constructed primarily through the activation of Image-Memory, "the new-found strength of the museum and the monument in the public sphere may have something to do with the fact that they both offer something that the television screen denies: the material quality of the object,"¹⁵ as Andreas Huyssen proposes. These tangible encounters with objects should be measured, *contra* the larger connections they may establish with the several memory discourses, both in the public sphere and in the electronic media.

However, even though the construction of these museums and memorials might, hopefully, be founded on public participation and debate, there is no guarantee for them not to become objects of forgetting, within a process and subject-matter that presents intractable problems for any project of memorial representation. It is the dimension added by the commentary, regarding historical representation, that may allow for an integration of the "mythic memory" and the voices of the victims within the overall representation, without becoming an obstacle for "rational historiography."

Huyssen proposes for post Holocaust generations an approach

through what he calls mimetic approximation, "a mnemonic strategy which recognizes the event in its otherness and beyond identification or therapeutic empathy but which physically relieves some of the horror and pain through the persistent labor of remembrance."¹⁶ This strategy is based on the sustaining the tension between the numbing totality and the stories of individuals, families and communities. For no matter how fractured by media, geography or subject-positions, the representation of the Holocaust might be, at its core, the Holocaust story still is unimaginable and unspeakable horror, death, pain, destruction, awe, and above all, loss.

There, (in Auschwitz) something happened that up to now nobody considered as even possible, an irreversible rupture in human history. The deep layer of solidarity among all that wears a human face was touched (and torn). As Habermas describes "Auschwitz has changed the basis for the continuity of the conditions of life within history."¹⁶

At this point it seems important to present two connected arguments on memory and its relation to time and space.

Layered Memory

Layers of memory, defying chronology and division of time, appear to be common in Holocaust testimonies. In *Voices*, Charlotte Delbo writes:

The skin enfolding the memory of Auschwitz is tough. Even so, it gives way at times, revealing all it contains. Overdreams the conscious will has no power. And in those dreams I see myself, yes, my own self such as I know I was: hardly able to stand on my feet, my throat tight, my heart beating wildly, frozen to the marrow, filthy, skin and bones; the suffering I feel is so unbearable, so identical to the pain endured there, that I feel it physically, I feel it throughout my whole body which becomes a mass of suffering; and I feel death fasten on me, I feel that I am dying. Luckily, in my agony I cry out, my cry wakes me and I emerge from the nightmare drained. It takes days for everything get back to normal, for everything to get back inside memory, and for the skin of memory to mend again. I become myself again, the person you know, who can talk to you about Auschwitz without exhibiting any anxiety or emotion. Because when I talk to you about Auschwitz, it is not from my deep memory my words issue. They come from external memory, if I may put it that way, from intellectual memory, the memory connected with thinking processes. Deep memory preserve sensations, physical imprints. It is the memory of the senses...

For Henri Bergson, the illusion of divisible time is based on a spatial construction related to a cinematographic model of knowledge, and has two levels: the belief that time's relation to human experience is symmetrical with that of space, and the construction of "homogeneous" time on the model of infinitely divisible space. The coexistence of past and present is not a matter of the holding together in unity of a succession of discrete states, but rather a coexistence of different elements within one state. He suggests that the past survives in two distinct forms — "motor mechanism" and "independent recollection," being the former a "habit" memory, which allows us to adapt to the present situation associated to the life of action, and the latter a "recollection" memory associated to the life of dreams. It is central to Bergson's argument the solidarity between past and present through the prolongation of the past into present action through "habit" memory.

Memory is not a regression from the present to the past — a fading of an image — but rather a "progress" from the past to the present." Unlike Nietzsche and his "eternal recurrence," Bergson argues that nothing singular can recur, while understanding "duration" as the nonrecurrent reality, the past is virtually existent in the present. If we are to make sense of the passage from a present — that is not — to a past that "is," we must, think of a virtual coexistence of the pastness

in the heart of the present. This means that we move from past to present, from recollection to perception. Rather than thinking past and present through the model of successive moments, we are to see them as different aspects under each moment, if we are to apprehend the reality of duration." This brings us to a second argument related to Jewish tradition.

Time and Memory - History and Narrative

Before modern Israel, The Jews, while "playing on and with a terrain of a foreign power," had no "proper" place throughout history. The absence of "proper locus" implied, for Jewish Life in the Diaspora, a particular relation to the land, both culturally and physically, as well as a particular relation to imagination, history and time. The sense of place was located in a book, the Torah. Jerusalem, The Lost City; Israel, The Promise Land; The Temples and their destruction; The Exodus, the wandering in the desert, Mount Sinai. and many others, are examples of mythical imaginary memories and constructions of territories, landscapes, spaces, and places in time present in Jewish consciousness. Thus, the notion of the "public," or publicness, in Jewish culture, history and religion, is related not directly to the construction of public space, but rather based on *time in the form of memory and narrative*.²⁰

Time is framed by the Sacred Text, the Torah, in which the location in the year is precisely known by the portion of the book to be read. This cyclical process locates the Jewish people in a timeframe that configures the year as narrative, following a pattern based on the perpetual repetition of the movement along the text. Time is always becoming.

Memory of historical events and the narratives delivering this memory, have been always central to Jewish faith, tradition and identity. For if the Jewish God is known only insofar as he reveals himself historically, then to remember history and to interpret its texts assumes religiously obligatory proportions. "remember the days of old, consider the years of ages past" (Deu.32:7).²¹ The traditional "remember events as if they happened to you", embodies the notion and "experiential" dimension of the common past in an ongoing continuity. "... whatever was horrible and frightening should be remembered as horrible and frightening, no matter how much time has elapsed since the event transpired... when remembering the past, the Jew relives the event as if it were a present reality."!

The ontical quality of time engendered by ritual remembering transforms the Jewish experience of existence in time. Through such observances, memory distortions of a purely quantitative experience of time are overcome. An exhaustive quantitative time-framework creates "archeological consciousness of periods" that never fully integrates past events into one's own existence. But the qualitative consciousness of time induced by regular ritual remembering at the festivals merges the past, present, and future into a single "historic stream of Jewish Spirit."²³

The Holocaust and its unbearable horror will, probably, enter the realm of mythical memory after several generations. As for now the rift, the wound, are still present.

Shoah Memory

So this story will not finish with some tomb to be visited in pious memoir. For the smoke that rises from crematoria obeys physical laws like any other: the particles come together and disperse according to the wind, which propels them. The only pilgrimage, dear reader, would be to look sadly at a stormy sky now and then.

— Andre Schwarz-Bart²⁴

Missing Stones

The first memorials of the Holocaust were books. These Yizkor Bikher (memorial books) remembered the lives and destruction of European Jewry, using the oldest Jewish memorial media: words on

paper. These "Bikher" served as symbolic tombstones for the murdered. These books were meant to turn the site of the reading into memorial space, in response to what has been called "the missing gravestone syndrome," by creating interior spaces, imagined graves sites, as the first sites for memory.²⁵ *In the absence of tombstones, Holocaust memorials can function as a mourning site.* As these memorials memorialize suffering, pain and horror, they should not be considered monuments for heroic celebration. Rather, they must be considered as a kind of "countermonument."²⁶

Politics

The motifs for these memorials are varied by recalling war dead, resistance and/or mass murder. They are constructed by different nations, groups, communities and represent different understandings and relationships to the process of remembering, or better not forgetting.

Some memorials have the aim to educate future generations and help generate the sense of shared past. Others are conceived as expiation of guilt, and others are to attract tourism according to the state, its institutional forms of remembrance and national imagery, in addition to Jewish memorial iconography. Holocaust memorials in different nations recall and evoke different things. In Germany, they recall the Jews, in their absence. In Poland, they evoke in the figure of the Jew the destruction of the country. In Israel, they tend to evoke both the martyrs and the heroes, as well as the birth of the modern State of Israel. In US, the notion and values of freedom, and the new homeland. It seems clear that memory is not pure, not clean. Memorials do express the politics of memory.

Transference

The massive repetition of memorials, words, and images about the Holocaust, seems to be producing a "liberating" effect. In a sort of therapeutic way, when transferred onto an object or icon Memory is placed outside ourselves, perhaps displaced altogether, thus, relieving the viewer or community, from the burden of the memory-work. This transference to the memory-place could signify divesting ourselves of the responsibility and obligation to remember, thus the operations become self contained and detached from our daily lives." As James Young warns "under the illusion that our memorial edifices will always be there to remind us, we take leave of them and return only at our convenience. To the extent that we encourage our monuments to do our memory-work for us, we become much more forgetful. In effect, the initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them"²⁸

The memorial experience in the sites of concentration camps, as James Young notes requires a deliberate act of memory. For, by themselves, *they lack the will to remember*, that is without the people's intention to remember the ruins remain little more than inert pieces of the landscape. "Remnants in the camps tend to negate the distinction between themselves and what they evoke. "They invite us to mistaken the debris of history for history itself."")

Beyond Transparency

Public Holocaust monuments are produced to be historically referential. They generally avoid referring hermetically to their own making process, to their own presence, but refer to past events "because" they are no longer present." *Their value is not based on the public art work, but in a certain point beyond themselves.* Their material presence is meant, somehow, to turn invisible, transparent, bridging between the individual memory-work and the events they recall. Their responsibility and value as public monuments is based on this capacity to evoke. In their "time-carrier" character, that may bring forth intensified memories. Their evoking potential depends on various factors such as site, artwork, uses in public space, community values, but specially in the way their lives are taken by the public.

Looking to Holocaust memorials from the viewpoint of traditional art inquiry, may ignore the "essentially public dimension of their performance, remaining either formally aestheticist or almost piously historical,"³⁴ and may not take on account the public dimension and "dialogic character of memorial space."³⁵ *Memorials are not just public art, but embodiments of memory through art in the public realm.* If the Holocaust entailed the transformation of European landscape into a vast-endless horror, how to represent it?

FIVE TALES: PUBLIC SPACE AND PUBLIC TIME

Thousands of stones. Scattered. Pointing down and above. Simultaneous tombstones and markers on a map. Representation of the places where the Jews who died there once lived. The small ones are for the shtetl, the larger for towns. A towering rock for Warsaw. The vertical space, the space of nature. The space of the dead remains ... 17,000 granite stones, go on forever. The horizontal space, the space of man, obliterated by stones. Missing tombstones. Treblinka.

A granite slab. Confront with oblivion. Auschwitz-Birkenau. Slightly elevated. 60 meters wide. 1,000 meters long. No one is to walk the soil. Floating effortlessly, through the remains. Holes framing foundations, chimneys. In time, nature will regain the site ... Eventually. No monument, no inscription. The pain and the suffering... A history not to be excavated. It could never be memory. Only silence, a granite path and a question: What happened here?

White plaster figures lying on the ground. Difficult arrival, No signs, no location. Hidden in the Presidio Park. A sculpture grouping, looks out, to the bay. San Francisco. A pile of dead bodies. An image. *The Image.* White plaster figures lying on the ground. No story, no appearances captured. An opaque photo.. Strong, directly unmediated. The associative process blocks out. The figures become self-referential. Almost solid and dense. No transparency, no metaphor. White plaster figures lying on the ground. Memory canceled. Just a hint, when looking to the sky and the bay, after a deep breath.

An open public discussion. Quincy Market. Boston. An urban site, noise, color. Statements on memory. A public competition. Six glass towers. Six Candles of light. Six holes in the ground. Transparency, numbers, words, pits, stones, smoke, dates, details. But... Somehow... something seems to be missing. The scar, the breach, the rift, the wound to the skin of the earth. The pain; The ground and the pain. it's too... Almost perfect. And still, a stone on the ground, a burning candle, a flower pot. A place to mourn. And those who walk the freedom trail, pausing, contemplate layers of evoked memories of the consequence of an absence of freedom.

One Day Two Minutes — Yom Hashoah.

Perhaps, of all ways to commemorate the destruction of European Jewry, none is more endemic to Jewish tradition — save narrative — than Yom Hashoah, the day of remembrance of the martyrs and the heroes of the Shoah. None of all other forms of commemoration, being monuments, paintings, cinema, fiction, nor testimony, are so rooted in tradition as commemorative days,³⁶ during which remembrance is based on the performance and reenactment of the ritual of remembering.

The multitude of remembering acts that take place during the day, have a common fixed point in public time-space when all the air in the territory of the state of Israel is filled with the sound of a two minutes siren at 8 am, established by Law, during which all traffic on the roads shall cease.

Just before the hour, some people begin to hesitate and wait. Then the siren begins, low and deep and rises until reaches scream pitch, an open-mouthed wail. All in the street stops in their tracks: taxis, buses, trucks, pedestrians. Drivers get out of their cars, some look at the sky, then at their watches, and then to the ground ...³⁵

This pause, this moment of silence, is a ritual in which a memory

text is condensed and rewritten at the same time in all different manners. During those two minutes, people and all moving things are turned into standing monuments. The siren, as James Young says "encircles us with sound, gathering all into one great space of time, turning the very ground we share into public memorial space."³⁶ *Memorial site becomes.* It becomes at the precise location in which reality happens to find oneself, at those particular two minutes. Everyone performs and remembers their personal Shoah, in a collective ritual of collected memories, meaning a shared time of disparate remembrance.

At this point, it must be distinguished between unified forms of commemoration and the unification of memory itself. The nationalization of many discrete memories, produces neither a unity of Holocaust experience, nor the unification of memory itself, but rather constitutes a shared ceremony that creates the sense of shared past, unifying the plurality of publics during a brief moment in a common experience.

Perhaps, those two minutes in which movement is suspended by law, could be seen, reading Michel De Certeau, as the juncture of strategy and tactic. The State and the people transforming the territory of the nation into temporal-timeless sound-space memorial. Two minutes. Fixed points in space. Those fixed points mark the trajectories of "Holocaust Memorizers," signifying a hiatus, a breach, a rift in everyday life, occupied by memories and remembrance.

This personal pause when turned into collective could be read also as representing the erasure of time and space, erasure of motion, erasure of life. That... what has been lost and it's remembered.

CONCLUSION

Holocaust memory and memorials are embedded in a complex paradox. On the one hand the impossibility of fully representing the Holocaust, and on the other the extreme necessity of representing it within the public sphere. Perhaps, that paradox may never be resolved, for a complete representation may not even be desirable. So, There is no conclusion. There is no possible conclusion that may imply a veiled form of closure. No representation, no simulation, no possible explanation, that could provide us with an answer to the first and last impossible question to be asked: Why did the Holocaust happen?

The Holocaust appears to be the ultimate cross discipline subject, transcending the artificial barriers and discreteness in academic circles as well as in life. Working through might mean, being aware of both the distancing effect of intellectual work, as well as the recurrence of strong emotional impact. To learn from the Holocaust might mean to be able to regard both public life, public art and architecture from other perspectives. Even to observe modernity, and its mythical constructions with other eyes. And questions arise for Architecture and Education:

- In which subtle ways, still, the separation and discreteness of our life and teaching could be linked to those dark times?
- Do we acknowledge and present, within our teachings of Modernity, this dark side?
- What questions can we ask about power, control, space, territory?
- What about patronage, monumentality?
- What about the design of concentration camps, gas chambers and crematoria?
- And what about memory and memorials?

Holocaust memorials may enter, by evoking something much larger and beyond themselves, the realm of Architecture, as proposed by Loos. The tomb and the monument.

Their final aim would be to keep memory from freezing, and maybe keep our hearts from freezing as well, for at the end, all comes back to a painful core: unrepresentable, unimaginable, unspeakable horror.

The ocean of pain, past and present surrounded us... in every direction, ... all the way to the horizon"

— Primo Levi

NOTES

- ¹ "we are not mere observers of world history who could romp around more or less untouched in its enormous rooms, nor does world history itself, whose rhythm increasingly simulates that of catastrophe, appear willing to grant its subjects the time in which everything could get better on its own. This leads directly to the question of democratic pedagogy. Enlightenment about what happened in the past must work, above all, against a forgetfulness that too easy goes along with and justifies what is forgotten." Theodor Adorno. *What does coming to terms with the past mean?* lecture included in Eingriffe (interventions) from *Gesammelte Schriften* vol. 10, pp. 555-72 tr. Geoffrey Hartman.
- ² Primo Levi. *Shame. Art from the ashes*, Ed. Lawrence Langer. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), p. 117.
- ³ Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz and the Reawakening* (New York: Summit Books, 1985) from Giovanni Leoni "The First Blow." in *Holocaust Remembrance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994, ed. G. Hartman), p. 208.
- ⁴ Jean Amery, *Torture. Art from the ashes*, p. 130. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: Univ. California Press), p. 36-7.
- ⁶ strategies are actions which, thanks to the establishment of a place of power (the property of a proper), elaborate theoretical places (systems and totalizing discourses) capable of articulating an ensemble of physical places in which forces are distributed. They privilege spatial relationships, they attempt to reduce temporal relations to spatial ones through the analytical attribution to a proper place to each element or group. A tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the chance to see, and operates in isolated actions, by taking advantage of opportunities. What it wins it cannot keep. It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of proprietary powers. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. (Berkeley: Univ. California Press), p. 38.
- ⁷ As Emmanuel Levinas writes: Knowledge seizes hold of its object. It possesses it. . . . Speech addresses itself to a face. The face, for its part is inviolable; those eyes, which are absolutely without protection, the most naked part of the Human body, none the less offer an absolute resistance to possession, an absolute resistance in which the temptation of murder is inscribed: the temptation of absolute negation. The Other is the only being that one can be tempted to kill. This temptation to murder and this impossibility of murder constitute the very vision of the Face. To see a face is already to hear "you shall not kill", and to hear "you shall not lull" is to hear Social Justice. "you shall not kill" is therefore not just a simple rule of conduct; it appears as the principle of discourse itself and of spiritual life. . . . Henceforth, language is not only a system of signs in the service of a pre-existing system. Speech, according to Levinas, belongs to the order of morality before belonging to that of theory. See Emmanuel Levinas, *Difficult Freedom. Essays on Judaism*. tr. Sean Hand (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1990).
- ⁸ Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved* (New York: Vintage International, 1989), p. 31.
- ⁹ Hanna Arendt *The Image of Hell. Essays on Understanding* (New York: Harcourt-Brace & Co.), p. 199.
- ¹⁰ from Shoshana Felman, *Film as witness: Claude Lanzmann' Shoah in Holocaust Remembrance* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994, ed. G. Hartman), p. 95.
- ¹¹ Saul Friedlander questions the representational adequacy of writing history, for "while no recent event has elicited so much documentation and analysis, knowledge has not become understanding" New methods of representation are necessary, and have not come about. In this regard he suggests that both the individual voice of the victims and of the commentator should be introduced, "in a field dominated by political decisions and administrative decrees which neutralize the concreteness of despair and death" See Geoffrey Hartman. *Darkness visible in Holocaust Remembrance*, p. 5.
- ¹² See Saul Friedlander, *Trauma, Memory and Transference. Holocaust Remembrance*, pp. 252-263.
- ¹³ *What does coming to terms with the past mean?* lecture included in Eingriffe (interventions) from *Gesammelte Schriften* vol. 10, pp. 555-72 tr. Geoffrey Hartman.
- ¹⁴ Historic centers, markets, ports, retro-fashion, antiques and more, added to the obsessive personal memorialization through photography, video, memoirs, biography, are expressions of a museum like sensibility, Adorno calls it "Museal."
- ¹⁵ Andreas Huysen, *Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age*, in *The art of memory*, ed. James Young. (New York: Prestel, 1994), p. 12.
- ¹⁶ Quoted by Huysen *Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age*, p. 16.
- ¹⁷ Charlotte Delbo, *Voices. Art from the Ashes*, pp. 78-9.
- ¹⁸ See Genevieve Lloyd, *Being in Time* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 104.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 107.
- ²⁰ When speaking about narrative, Paul Ricoeur argues that the "philosophical understanding of time collapses into aporias which cannot be resolved within the limits of the dichotomy between treatments of time centered on 'the time of the cosmos' and those centered on 'the time of the soul'. the two approaches are complementary and irreducible. Neither can accommodate or absorb the other into a unified account of the natural time, From within a definition which emphasizes physical motion, we cannot understand human time; but nor we can coherently, think the time of the soul constituting the reality of time. Cosmological and phenomenological time cannot be reconciled. There's a kind of poetic resolution found in narrative. Time becomes human in the form of narrative, which articulates our experience of time and time is brought to language by narrative." From Genevieve Lloyd, *Being in Time* (London: Routledge, 1993) p. 12-13.
- ²¹ From James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 209-210.
- ²² From Lawrence Sullivan, *Memory Distortions* (Harvard, 1997). p. 389.
- ²³ *Ibid.* p. 389.
- ²⁴ Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p. 1.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ²⁶ Huysen *Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age*, p. 15
- ²⁷ When memory is transferred to a memorial or icon, we could think that memory is condensed. shrunk to embody an object, to which we relate through the gaze, in a sort of snapshot condition. This "photographic quality," could generate the illusion of intensity. Thus a distancing effect is created, that could be overcome when the memories they evoke, remain present in the viewer.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ²⁹ James Young, *The Art of Memory*, ed. James Young (New York: Prestel, 1994), p. 23.
- ³⁰ *ibid.* p. 24.
- ³¹ Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p. 12.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ³⁴ The commemoration takes place every year The 27 of Nissan, five days after Passover, around the beginning of April. It is located in the Israeli Calendar- between Passover (remembrance of the Exodus), and the day of celebration of the foundation of the modern State of Israel, bringing together both biblical and modern return to the land of Israel, through symbolizing the passage from Egypt, through the Shoah, to the foundation of the modern state of Israel.
- ³⁵ Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p. 275.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 277.
- ³⁷ Primo Levi, *Shame. Art from the Ashes*. p. 117.