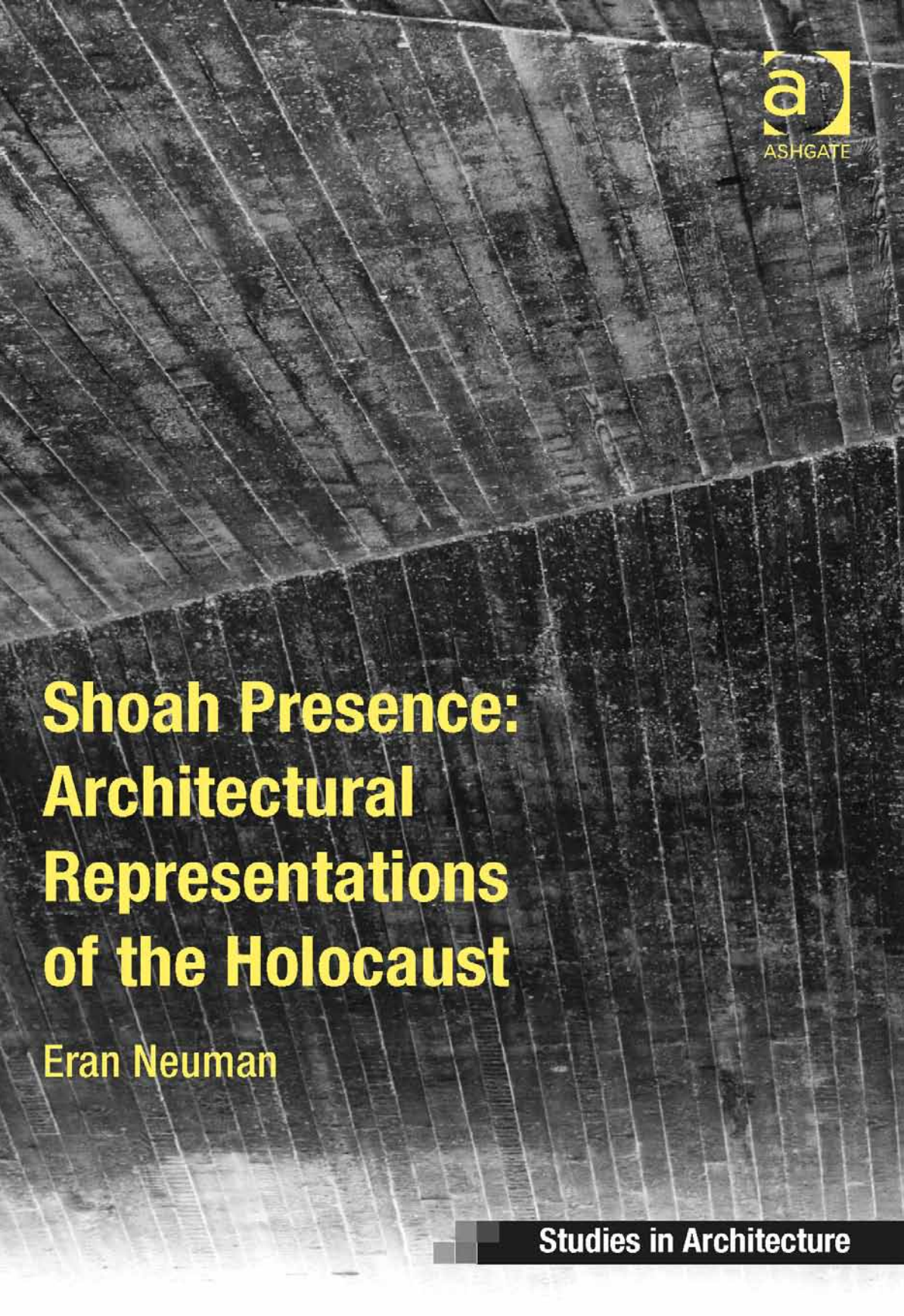
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SHOAH PRESENCE:
ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST

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Shoah Presence: Architectural Representations of the Holocaust

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ASHGATE

Published by
Ashgate Publishing Limited
Wey Court East
Union Road
Farnham
Surrey, GU9 7PT
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
110 Cherry Street
Suite 3-1
Burlington, VT 05401-3818
USA

www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Neuman, Eran, author.
Shoah presence : architectural representations of the Holocaust / by Eran Neuman.
pages cm.— (Ashgate studies in architecture)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4094-2923-4 (hardback : alk. paper)—ISBN 978-1-4724-3598-9 (ebook)—ISBN 978-1-4724-3599-6 (epub)
1. Museum architecture. 2. Holocaust, Jewish (1939–1945), and architecture. 3. Holocaust memorials. I. Title.

NA6690.N48 2014
725'.94—dc23

2013045813

ISBN 9781409429234 (hbk)
ISBN 9781472435989 (ebk—PDF)
ISBN 9781472435996 (ebk—ePUB)

To my father, Moshe, once a Holocaust victim, always a human being

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Acknowledgements

This book is the result of a journey I started many years ago, a journey that began as a personal exploration and was transformed into an intellectual one. But during this long journey, the personal and intellectual were never dissociated from one another; they were always—and will always be—tightly intertwined.

Many people, to whom I owe many heartfelt thanks, accompanied me on all or part of this journey. First, I would like to thank my teachers who both challenged me and gave me the tools for inner exploration: Professor Zeev Druckman, who taught me that architecture is about being; Professor Anthony Vidler, who showed me that intellectual exploration can be personal; and Professor Sylvia Lavin, who, with her sharp mind, never stopped teaching me what rigorous, profound thinking and work are all about.

Special thanks to the institutions that opened their archives and allowed me to explore their invaluable documents: the Yad Vashem Archives in Jerusalem; the Ghetto Fighters' House Archives in Kibbutz Lohamei Hagetaot, Western Galilee, Israel; the Yad Tabenkin Archives in Ramat Efal, Israel; the Ein Harod Archives, Kibbutz Ein Harod, Israel; and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives in Washington, D.C.

I was fortunate to be assisted by knowledgeable and helpful archivists in these archives, including Jeff Carter from the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) Institutional Archives and Yossi Shavit from the Ghetto Fighters' House Archives. Thanks also to Judy Cohen and Nancy Hartman from the USHMM Photo Archives and Zvika Oren from the Ghetto Fighters' House Photo Archive, and Dalya Guy from the Ghetto Fighters' House Library. I am grateful to Anat Bratman-Elhalel from the Ghetto Fighters' House Archives; Dr Aaron Azati from the Yad Tabenkin Archives; and Avital Efrat and Ayala Oppenheimer from the Ein Harod Archives for their kind help. Special and personal thanks go to Vincent Slatt, USHMM librarian, for his tremendous assistance and friendship.

I am indebted to the architectural firms that opened their archives and provided me with material for this book: in Jerusalem—Safdie Architects; in New York City—Pei, Cobb Freed and Partners, and Eisenman Architects; in Israel—Yahalom-Zur Landscape Architecture, Ram Karmi Architects, Chyutin Architects, Efrat-Kowalsky

Architects, Skorka Architects and Mansfeld-Kehat Architects; and in Boston—Anderson Notter Finegold, Inc. and Chris White Design. Special thanks to Cynthia Davidson from Eisenman Architects for her kind assistance.

My warmest thanks also go to Paul Shapiro and Dr Lisa Pearl from the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies in Washington D.C. for their hospitality and generosity while I was a fellow at the Center. I am very grateful to the Heideman Family for granting me the first Phyllis Greenberg Heideman and Richard D. Heideman Fellowship. Special thanks to David J. Azrieli and his daughters, Danna and Naomi, for their generous ongoing support of my academic and scholarly pursuits.

I deeply appreciate my colleagues and friends who read parts of the manuscript and provided their wise comments and ideas, especially Professor Idith Zertal and Professor Paul Jaskot who gave generously of their time and knowledge. And many thanks to Professor Antoine Picon who invited me to present parts of this work at Harvard's Graduate School of Design.

I owe special thanks to several scholars who gave me my big chance to teach at Tel Aviv University: Professor Elinoar Barzacchi, who brought me to the Azrieli School of Architecture and Professor Moshe Margalith, who trusted me and let me teach my first classes in Hebrew there. Much gratitude is also due to Professor Iris Aravot of the Technion—Israel Institute of Technology for her perceptive insights while I was a post-doctoral fellow under her supervision, and to Professor Hannah Naveh, who mentored me as a young academic professional and gave me many opportunities to express myself. Thanks to Professor Freddie Rokem for inviting me to take part in the German–Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development (GIF) research group, where I investigated some of the ideas included in this book. Indeed, beyond their invaluable professional contributions, all of them have also become good friends of mine.

To the many friends and colleagues who patiently heard my thoughts about architecture, architectural representation and Holocaust commemoration and supported me along the way, including Professor Ayala Ronel, Professor Hana Taragn, Dafna Matok, Asaf Luria, Anat Shenhav, Dr Edna Langenthal, Dr Eyal Dotan, Dr Noah Shenker, Dr Daniella Doron, Professor Tuvia Friling, Dr Nissim Gal, Dr Shannon Woodcock, Dr Efrat Blumenfeld-Lieberthal, Professor Anne Rothe, Professor Daniel B. Monk, Oran Oberman, Chaim Elad and Joshua Durban. To Professor Aaron Sprecher and Professor Chandler Ahrens, my partners at Open Source Architecture, I thank you for your support. And kudos to Kobi Franco and Hilla Shitrit for their excellent ideas for the design of the book's cover.

I cannot forget to thank my many students who, over the years, not only challenged me but also inspired me to think and write. Some of them became more than just students and contributed greatly to this project: I thank Dana Mor, Erez Klapper, Tamir Lavie for his assistance and Gili Shapira for taking this book into its final stage and compiling the many photos included here. Heartfelt thanks to Margery Greenfeld Morgan for her brilliant text editing of this book, from start to finish.

I would like to express special thanks to Ashgate Publishing in Farnham, Surrey, United Kingdom and particularly to Valerie Rose, Emily Ruskell and David Shervington for their meticulous and professional handling of this manuscript. It was a delight to work with all of you.

To my family, my sisters Orna Gilat and Miri Idelson, who shared with me some of the personal experiences mentioned in this book. And to Ruth Palmon, the mother of my child, for being a good friend.

And last but not least to the four dearest people in my life, to my mother, Ruth Neuman, who unfortunately due to her illness, will not be able to read this book or even celebrate its publication. I hope that you can still feel that I love you.

To my son, Yoel, who brings me such great joy every day with his sharpness, wisdom and light-filled smile.

In many senses, this project also belongs to my life partner, Avner Bernheimer, who was not only highly supportive throughout the years, but also enabled me to take this difficult but ultimately rewarding journey by making it possible for me to disappear for long periods when necessary and accompanying me at other times. Avner, I cannot overstate my love and gratitude for you.

And finally, to my father, Moshe Neuman, one of the most generous, kind, diligent and noble persons I know. He is truly my role model, a genuine mensch who, through his exemplary actions and conduct, taught me a lot about life.

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Introduction:
Holocaust Commemoration and Architectural Representation

MY FATHER

In August 1999, my parents, Moshe and Ruth Neuman, came to visit me and Avner, my life partner, in Los Angeles. We had been living on the West Coast for almost a year by then; we left Israel so I could pursue my postgraduate studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. My parents came to visit, ostensibly to enjoy a vacation in sunny L.A. but really to make sure "the kids" were doing well. On the second or third evening of their stay, we went out to dinner at one of the city's high-end restaurants, Asia de Cuba. The beautiful Asia de Cuba is located in a Philippe Starck-designed hotel, the Mondrian, on Sunset Boulevard in West Hollywood. From the restaurant balcony, we could see Los Angeles spread out before us, a quasi-suburban fabric carpeted with twinkling lights and ribbons of highway. My father, Moshe, a Holocaust survivor—who was deported in 1944 from his small village, Nyircsászári, in the east of Hungary, first to the ghetto in the nearest big city, Nyirbátor, then to Auschwitz-Birkenau and finally to Dachau and its satellite camps—liked to eat well. Wherever he traveled, he would seek out the best restaurants, so Asia de Cuba, with its Asian-Latin fusion cuisine, was a perfect choice for him.

In the restaurant, sitting among a smattering of Hollywood stars, my father started to question me about my postgraduate studies. A self-made master carpenter who had a practical approach to life, a survivor who lost his entire family and never finished high school, let alone an academic degree, because of the war—my father wanted to know why I had to pursue postgraduate studies when I already had an academic degree (B.Arch) and a profession (architect). Not that he was questioning the importance of education; on the contrary, he pushed my two older sisters and me to study constantly throughout our lives. He just wanted to know the nature of postgraduate studies for architects. In his mind, it was practical studies that advanced an architect's expertise. Enrolled in a critical studies program at UCLA, I had to explain that I was studying history and theory, which would certainly make me a better architect, should I want to practice in the future and not pursue an academic career.

My father insisted. He wanted to know about the courses, the seminars, the classes, my classmates, everything. Hesitating, I decided to tell him about a seminar I was just completing with Professor Anthony Vidler on architectural representation. In this mind-opening course, I was drawn to write about Holocaust representation in and by architecture. The spring of 1999, when I took the seminar, was shortly after the opening of Daniel Libeskind's extension to the Berlin Museum with the Jewish Department (better known today as the Jewish Museum of Berlin). The building garnered global attention from professionals and the general public and I, as a second-generation Holocaust survivor, was totally fascinated and enthralled by its expressiveness and uniqueness—especially since this large-scale building in the global spotlight dealt with the Holocaust. In the seminar, I wrote about the representation of history in and by architecture, using the Holocaust as a case study (much like in this book, and I will elaborate on this later).

I was hesitant to talk about the subject, because I was unsure of my father's reaction. After his release by the US Army from Mühldorf labor camp, a satellite of Dachau, he immigrated to Israel in 1948, in essence "leaving behind" the Holocaust in Europe. He never spoke about it at home, never dealt with it in front of my sisters and me, and effectively started a whole new life in Israel, life without the Holocaust. As far as I could tell, he was a healthy man who did not want to dwell much on the traumatic events he had experienced in the war.

My concerns about his reaction proved to be unfounded. There, in Asia de Cuba, my father was curious about the topic I chose for the seminar, asked questions and wanted to know more about the issue of representation and the ways in which architecture comes into play when it deals with the representation of history. He was even willing to tell his story of the war—what had happened to him and his family, where he was during his 14 months in the hands of the Nazis, which was documented down to the tiniest detail by the Germans. He spoke about the Nazi officer that helped him stay alive by leaving some extra food behind for him; the black American soldier who took care of him, effectively saving his life, when he was released from the camp seriously ill; and the return to his village to find out that at the age of 16 he was left alone in the world, with only one living relative. It was not I who started my father talking. For 30 years, I had never dared to ask. My sisters and I knew that our father was a survivor, but we did not ask many questions and he did not supply any details. Now in L.A., in a fancy restaurant, it seemed out of context to talk about the wartime atrocities and my father's experience. It was Avner, my partner, a journalist and later a screenwriter, who started to "interview" my father and ask questions—one after the other. My father replied, as if he had been waiting for years for someone to ask him about it. The story was ready in his mind and the details started to pour out, describing a horrific tale of being in captivity, in dehumanized conditions, in extreme psychological circumstances, with the threat of death constantly looming. For almost three hours, he sat there in Hollywood and told the story. I was silent. My mother, who knew all the details, interjected every once in a while to add something she recalled. Avner interviewed.

Dinner was over, we went back to our apartment, I woke up the next morning and I could not recall a single detail of my father's story. I had completely repressed it, unwilling to deal with the narrative, with the horrific details and their significance.

I completely rejected my father's representation of his Holocaust story, even if mediated by Avner. It was a failure of representation; the mind could not absorb the details. I had always been drawn to this period in history, reading and learning about it since I was very young. Yet I could not relate to it as a personal narrative that is part of my conscious life. Years later, when I was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. (USHMM) and had become a professional in Holocaust studies—at least, a specialist regarding the connection between the Holocaust and architecture—I asked my father to tell me the story again. This time, I took notes. As a researcher in a Holocaust study center, I could not continue to not know the details. I was asked by many of my colleagues about my father's story and I needed to have ready answers. This time, I was treating the task as a professional. In L.A., the revelations had been premature. The Holocaust could not be represented to me. Yet it is clear that even as an academic, I will never be able to leave the topic. The Holocaust is part of my DNA and I am bound to deal with it throughout my life.

And still later, in February 2011, I went to Dachau for the first time. The circumstances were completely different. I was visiting Munich with two of my graduate students to explore new technology for our digital design laboratory. We drove from Zurich to Munich and I asked my two young students if they had any interest in or objection to visiting the concentration camp. Both are Jewish, one religiously observant and the other secular, and they immediately responded affirmatively. As soon as I entered the site, I instantaneously burst into tears. I could not tolerate the thought that my father had been interned in this camp just before being transferred to Mühldorf. Dachau in early 2011 was in a different condition, functioning differently, than during the time my father was held there in captivity. Now it was a concentration camp transformed into a museum and a commemorative site. It did not include the 34 barracks that had been lined up one after the other and had to be demolished due to their poor condition. And a few of the guard towers, as well as the policing facilities, were also missing. Dachau today is a place of mourning and contemplation, emanating a strong aura of the events that took place there, but it is far removed from the site as it was in early 1933, when it was built as the first concentration camp in Europe. Today Dachau includes two barracks that were reconstructed as an example of the structures that used to be on site (the location of the 32 missing barracks is marked with a concrete frame on the ground where they used to stand). Postwar additions to the site include four chapels, one for each of the four religions practiced by the prisoners that had been in the camp; a Catholic Carmelite convent outside the camp's northern wall; a memorial for the Jews killed in Dachau; and several other memorials. I asked my students to leave me alone for a while so I could wander around alone, as I needed time to see, absorb, contemplate and commemorate.

Dachau became a personal place for me. The personal experience intermingled with my father's story. I recalled him sitting in Hollywood and telling the story. I could not dissociate the two experiences: back in Los Angeles, with my father present physically and me missing mentally, and now, here in Dachau, without him physically, but with him mentally. These two experiences were also tightly connected to the question of place memory and commemoration. While my

experiences are personal and related to my own biography and my life, they nevertheless raise larger questions about Holocaust commemoration places, sites and architecture. After all, the Nazi atrocities against Jews, Romas, homosexuals, communists and all others they defined as non-Aryan took place in space, in architecture and sometimes even through the active agency of architecture. The question that crossed my mind there in Dachau concerned the role of this architecture today. Furthermore, how can architecture relate to these events when dealing with the commemoration of these events offsite?

ABOUT THIS BOOK

The following pages deal with these questions. Yet to be able to delve into the issue in a more profound way, I had to define and categorize sites related to the Holocaust into two groups: one, organized and non-organized sites of commemoration in the places of annihilation; and the other, offsite sites of commemoration in various scales and typologies—organized and non-organized, institutionalized and personal. I deliberately decided not to deal with places like Dachau, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Bergen-Belsen or any killing site that was used by Nazis, whether organized as a concentration camp, a mass grave dug in the woods for burial of corpses, or a place randomly chosen for executions. Instead, I decided to concentrate on places that were chosen for commemoration that have no direct connection to the places of mass murder. Thus, I chose to discuss three museums (and I will elaborate later on the choice of museum as an example of architecture that deals with Holocaust commemoration)—the Ghetto Fighters' House in northern Israel, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, D.C.

While my fourth example is a bit different from the other three, I also decided to relate to the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin by Peter Eisenman. The first difference lies in the fact that the Memorial is situated in the very heart of the German capital, next to where the Nazi governmental compound, including the Reichskanzlei, or Reich Chancellery, and Hitler's bunker, once stood. This location creates a link to the mass murder because the wartime events were an extension of these places in the heart of Berlin. The second difference between Eisenman's Memorial and the three museums is that the Berlin site was conceived not as a museum, but as a memorial. I chose to include it specifically because I wanted to examine it in the context of places that had been used by the Nazi regime but were not where the actual killing was carried out. This way I could also examine the ways in which the Germans inserted into their current reality aspects of the Nazi regime that did not take place on site. Today, Berlin is saturated with Holocaust-related memorials. The plaques set into the city's pavements in memory of the Jewish families deported to camps, or the sign placed outside Wittenbergplatz listing the names of the camps are just two examples of how Berlin is dealing with its past. Eisenman's Memorial is one of the latest additions to this trend. My examination of this addition will consider the ways in which Eisenman conceived the question of Holocaust representation.

The common ground of the sites enables an examination of what happens when a historical narrative is inserted into another reality. Dealing with concentration

and death camps raises a completely different theoretical and historical set of questions, which, in my view, calls for separate consideration. These questions have to do mostly with the preservation of sites and less with the interpretation and representation of a historical event, such as the Holocaust, by architecture in a new context. In this book, I deliberately sought to examine historical representation in a new context, much like any historiography proposes: producing a historiographical text based on facts and documents that, in fact, create a new entity out of these references. The Ghetto Fighters' House, Yad Vashem, the USHMM and the Memorial in Berlin are cases in which the Holocaust was framed by architecture as a historical case study to be represented to the general public. Thus, these four places serve as architectural texts that reflect beliefs, ideologies, points of views and perceptions about the events that took place in Europe during the 12 years of the Nazi regime. This book deals with the histories of these cases.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE PROBLEM OF REPRESENTATION

But what is the question raised by these museums and Eisenman's memorial, what are the main issues they address and how does architecture face these issues? In many ways, the Holocaust museums are historical texts. Similar to any historiography, these museums offer an account of history and react to it in the present. Yet there are differences between historiography when it is conducted as a separate discipline and architecture when it relates to history and tries to make historical comments by its own means. The formulation and refashioning of history as a modern discipline is generally attributed to nineteenth-century German historian Leopold von Ranke,[1] and to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel[2] and Karl Marx[3] and their dialectical materialism. Their focus on primary sources as the basis for historiography, their insistence on the documents' authenticity and the call to narrativize the historical sequence raised some profound philosophical questions about the nature of history writing. Not only did they allude to questions concerning the voice of the historian, and her or his authorship and agency—which were later addressed by philosophers such as Michel Foucault[4] and Jacques Derrida,[5] on one side of intellectual map, and Theodor Adorno and Jürgen Habermas, on the other, as well as by Hayden White[6] and Dominick LaCapra[7]—but they also related to the ways in which historical processes take place. Hegel and Marx pointed out the dialectic nature of the sequence of events. Others emphasized the multi-directionality of the ways in which events function in creating consciousness and setting the stage for the next event to take place.

Nonetheless, whether one accepts one model of historiography or another, it is important to emphasize that the main medium of history writing is textual, in particular, written language. Before concluding their research and historical account, historians may examine a variety of sources and rely on visual, audio and even tectonic means of representation; indeed, they may even use visual aids such as graphs, images, diagrams and so on in the historical representation. Yet, at the end of the day, the main mechanism by which the historical representation is formulated into history is by the written word. Historians refer to the documents

they find, examine their authenticity, interpret the findings and then narrate the events they are addressing. This mechanism and the media that most historians use set the parameters by which history is told, gains credibility and is received. The written word, the text, is a format that allows the examination of past events on both the conscious and the unconscious levels. The text provides meanings that are apparent and exposed, while also enfolding hidden meanings between the lines.

But what happens when other cultural practices try to represent history, practices that do not emerge from the discipline of history and do not directly apply its methods of the written word and the text? For instance, what happen when theater performs history, or cinema provides historical accounts in mega-movies, or art and architecture present history by their own means of representation? These practices may indeed return to history in order to relate to it, but not only is the means of relating to history—cinematic, theatrical, performative, visual and so on—different, but the logic, scope and framework might be completely different, too.[8]

History can be represented in many ways. When it comes to history as a discipline, beyond the mechanism of writing and textuality as its main media, there are certain values that apply to historical representation. As a representation of past events, history must be accurate, truthful, reliable and exact. If a historian does not maintain these values, she or he would be either a bad historian or one deliberately trying to deceive. These values are not necessarily limited to history writing and textuality; they can be applied to other cultural practices as well. For instance, in cinema, documentary films sustain, or at least try to sustain, authentic representation, remaining true to the source of events they represent, accurately, reliably and exactly. In many ways, documentary films outdo history writing, because they are based not only on the textual representation but also include visual and audio representation. This, by the way, may be also their drawback, since they may not be as multilayered as textual representation. The visual and the audio provide interpretations that the textual does not and in this way, limit the possibilities for the emergence of subconscious ideas related to the topic under discussion. Like cinematic representation, architecture also provides a historical representation alluding to historiography. In architectural preservation and conservation, architects attempt to reconstruct historical structures that are truthful to the original, accurate and reliable. To that end, they treat the source of the preserved structure as a text that has to be reconstructed in the same way it was initially made. These architects and preservationists often follow the same building techniques, use the same materials and attempt to recreate the old building's same formal appearance.

The big difference between building preservation and conservation and historical writing or documentary films is that the former combines representation and the real in one entity. Architects engaged in conservation work on the historical reference itself—namely, the building. Usually, they do not recreate a new building in a different context, but reconstruct an existing building. The reconstruction is dissimilar to other cultural practices because it engages existing artifacts, such as buildings. Thus, architects do not have to represent history but rather present it as is. The representational aspect of building conservation can

be found in the reconstructed parts that architects recreate. When conserving a building, sometimes parts that were damaged, lost or are somehow missing, must be recreated. In many ways, reconstructing these parts involves interpretation. That is because a reconstructed part will always be an interpretation of the original that used to be there. Indeed, architects try to do their best to identically recreate the missing parts. Yet since it is not the original part, it is always subject to new understandings and interpretations that are part of the context in which it was conceived. This combination of the original and the interpretive creates a condition in which architecture is located between the real and the actual, and the representative and consciousness it creates. In relation to this book's subject, this is the case faced by most sites of annihilation. On the one hand, they are based on the old buildings that remain on site, while on the other they are sometimes subject to additions meant to supplement the existing remnants with the missing parts that are reconstructed on site. The questions proposed by these sites are not the subject of this book.

The differences I refer to regarding the representation of history by architecture and the actuality on which the architectural representation is based may be better discussed in relation to the interpretive nature of historical representation. Historicization always presupposes interpretation. Even if historians are dealing with genuine documents that provide valuable information, they have to contextualize them according to the findings that emerge. Their understanding and interpretation of the document, however, will always be subject to the tools—intellectual, technical and others—at their disposal. In that respect, history is not only a cultural and political construction, but one that is open to endless interpretations, all of which are time-based. History is always written from the viewpoint of the writer's present, as many have already argued.[9]

My claim here is not a postmodern one, asserting that everything is open to interpretation and can be understood in any way desired. I am well aware that a document contains some value of truth, which cannot be manipulated or diverted. Several theoreticians have already addressed this issue (Umberto Eco[10] and Jean Baudrillard[11] are prime examples). The values of the representation of past events—being accurate, truthful, reliable and exact—stem from the document itself. When interpreting a document, researchers should not take the liberty of completely dissociating their reading of the source. My claim here is that the interpretive nature of historical representation and the special condition that architecture posits when it comes to fulfilling this task opens the possibility of examining new modes of interpreting the historical document, alternatives to the written text. I dwell on this matter because this is where artistic expression (and the artistic sides of architectural expression) might come into play. It is here that art and architecture might suggest modes of interpreting the historical document that are valid, truthful and accurate, even when applying artistic modes of expression that do not stem directly from the event or the document being referred to.

Documentary films and building preservation stand on one end of this interpretive spectrum. On the other end stands a freer mode of interpretation, one that is related to the source it is citing but at the same time takes some liberty and contextualizes it differently. For instance, the citation of Holocaust imagery—

the guard towers, barbed wire and spotlights—at the USHMM refers to historical text (in material, image and space) and reconstructs it as a new historical representation. In this case, the historical reference holds a truth value as the building cites accurately from history, but the new contextualization of the cited elements creates a new story line. Thus, the citation retains a truth value and at the same time, wishes to interpret it and relocate it in the American context. In this instance, the interpretation of the historical case adheres closely to the cited original on the formal level yet its significance may be changed and recontextualized.

Artists and architects can, however, take bigger liberties when it comes to interpretation and create a completely new representation, one that stems from the original source and then proposes a new mode of representation for the subject matter. One such instance of taking such liberties is the heavy skylight atop the Hall of Witness in the USHMM. It is based on Holocaust imagery of railroads, which it transforms into a new condition in which the material and formal configuration both alludes to the old notion of the representation and opens a new one—reframing the skies of Washington. The representation lies between the citation and the free interpretation. As such, it does not function as an informational device that provides information that is accurate and truthful to the origin of the cited entity. Instead, it tries to create an atmosphere related to the historical event. In that respect, architecture does not function as a mechanism for documenting history by its means of representation—space, material and image. Instead, it refers to the effect the document or the event created. Every document creates an effect beyond the information it provides. The effect, which stems from the way in which we conceive that information, is a way to know reality; it is connected to the reality and relates to it. This means that even if we cannot know the reality itself, the effect it creates can give us some way to reach it.

It is precisely here that art and architecture can provide a historical account beyond the informational, and sometimes take more liberties and be more interpretive. Architects dealing with historicization by architecture do not preserve a close reference to the cited document; instead, they take the liberty related to the effect. This does not mean, however, that architectural representation can disregard the reference to the original and create a new entity. Such disregard could create a representation that would end up as a simulacrum or a completely new presentation. In the latter case, it would lose its credibility as a representation of the event and become something completely new. Peter Eisenman's Holocaust Memorial in Berlin teeters on the brink of becoming such a case—not that Eisenman tried to refer to any historical representation of the Holocaust or to be representational when he conceived his memorial. Yet it is impossible to consider Eisenman's Memorial as not stemming from the history it is supposed to address. In that respect, Eisenman created a dual reference, which is both a presentation that is free and does not necessarily refer to the subject matter it was meant to address—the Holocaust—and also a representation that in some vague manner conveys these references. In the chapter on the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, I elaborate on this topic and argue that Eisenman does, after all, reference the Holocaust, even if only seemingly, and that the mechanism he creates in the Memorial allows the insertion of new meanings regarding Holocaust commemoration into the monument and

its consumption. Had he not kept that reference, we could have not accepted the Memorial in Berlin as being related to the Holocaust. Indeed, Eisenman uses the context in which the Memorial is created—its location in Berlin, next to Hitler's bunker, which was chosen after a long process of selection—as a framework that give the Memorial significance as a Holocaust memorial. Nevertheless, none of these contextual aspects would have helped had the design itself not been related to Holocaust representation.

ARCHITECTURE AS A REPRESENTATIONAL MEDIUM AND THE PHYSICAL PRESENCE OF HISTORY

So, what can architecture contribute to the representation of history, in general, and more particularly, to representation of the Holocaust within these different modes of historical representation? Beyond the general differences between historiography and artistic expression, what are the media differences between architectural representation of Holocaust history and other artistic modes of representation? And does the media specificity of architectural representation create a new understanding of the Holocaust as it provides new ways to represent the event?

Even before the end of the war, when information about the Nazi atrocities was starting to filter out, several cultural and social, private and communal, local and universal practices arose to commemorate the dead and recall the events. From the *Yizkor Bucher* (Memorial Books) initiated by various communities to the private monuments, novels and films, the diversity in modes of Holocaust commemoration is clearly evident. Some modes of representation referred to historiography and sought to scientifically represent the Holocaust. Other means, such as literature, art and film, used cultural and artistic modes of representation, which did not always refer to stable modes of representation but to the expression of personal experiences, feelings and ideas about the Second World War and the Holocaust. These expressions did not always seek to be scientific and academic in their description of the events.

With the evolution of Holocaust representation via cultural practices, the modes of representation and, consequently, their significance also evolved. Every medium and the means it used proposed new angles for looking at the Holocaust. Literary expression, for instance, similar to history writing, uses textual modes of representation. This type of expression could be based on narration, association, reflection of streams of consciousness that would not always make sense, or others. Cinema, as discussed earlier, could be based on documentary material, or alternatively could offer a fantasy that deviates from the truthfulness of the historical events.

The main issue facing architecture with regard to Holocaust representation, I claim, is the issue of physical presence. Indeed, products of other cultural practices are also present in reality: in literature, books are present in reality; in cinema, the celluloid, discs or chips that contain the cinematic representation are present in reality; and in fine art, the material presence of the art presupposes its existence.

However, the physical presence in all these practices is not the primary mechanism by which the media represent a historical event. In literature, textuality is the main mechanism. In cinema, the cinematic dimension is at the center of representation; in art, it is mostly the visual and material (art in that respect is the closest to architecture). In opposition to all of these practices, physical presence—material, visual, spatial and tectonic—is the main mechanism by which architecture as media is being expressed.

These media differences reflect each of the various practices' conception of reality. In literature, the dimension the book occupies in reality is a consequence of the book's existence as an object. Its objecthood is only a means by which the book actualizes its main mechanism, which is creating a consciousness through the literary representation. Similarly, with cinema, the chips containing the films are only the means by which the cinematic representation exists as an object. As an object, the chips are only the mechanism by which the main cinematic expression is trying to influence reality, that is, films try to create consciousness through the cinematic effect upon its performative, visual and audio expressions. The physicality of the chips is not the medium by which films try to create the desired consciousness.

In architecture, the story is different. Here, the physicality of the architectural product is the medium's main mechanism. Architecture as an object or environment based on the spatial, material, and visual uses its physicality to occupy reality. This mechanism functions when architecture is dealing with its core issues, such as housing, urban planning and design, public and private buildings, and so on. It is also the case when historical accounts, such as Holocaust representation, are involved. When architecture attempts to represent historical events, whether through commemoration or by other means, it uses the medium's physicality to become actual and create a new consciousness. Architecture is present in reality in a concrete way; it defines the space in which we live; it exists through the material specificity; and it uses visual representation. Together, they all assist in occupying some dimensions of reality. Its physicality helps to create a consciousness about a desired issue, whether representation of past events or something else. Therefore, since the products of other cultural practices do not rely on their physicality, it can be claimed that they are autonomous in relation to their presence in the public sphere. Books, chips with films, paintings, and so on, can be shelved or stored in places unseen by the public eye.

Architecture, on the other side, is standing there—not only occupying part of reality but taking a big dimension out of it, in a way, actually constituting a big part of reality. One could recreate a notion of reality without architecture, but architecture's physical presence in reality imbues it with the power to influence reality in a more immediate way than other cultural practices. That is because we prioritize the physical as the primary property of existence (we believe things have to be physical in order to exist, although existence does not necessarily have to be physical). So it is no wonder that architecture as the most physical of artistic expressions takes the lead when it comes to the occupation of reality by its means of expression. This idea becomes more complex when dealing with the representation of history in reality because it seeks to create a new reality of the present saturated with the past. All architecture is loaded with historical references.

Even if not outlined, externalized or deliberate, a building is part of some history and takes place in the present. This is even more explicit regarding architecture that has not only its own history as a building, but also attempts to represent history. That is because it is here that the physicality of architecture is located between the past and the present, mediating the past to the present and creating one dimension. Thus, through its physicality, architecture provides new ways to represent and, indeed, to actually present the historical event—whether it is Holocaust-related or not. In this book, I will examine this concept while analyzing the four examples.

HOLOCAUST MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL REPRESENTATION

An examination of Holocaust representation by artistic modes shows that since the late 1980s, there has been a conspicuous surge in the construction of museums meant to commemorate the Nazi atrocities. The main reason is, of course, the dwindling number of survivors remaining as the years pass by. It is in this context that architecture turned to the museum typology to document and tell the story of the war and particularly, of the Holocaust. The reason for this is obvious: more than any other architectural typology, museums offer the most comprehensive way to commemorate. Architectural monuments, in general, represent historical events, but their means of commemoration based on the monument's physicality is limited and usually concentrates on a single idea or concept. As an architectural mode of expression, the monument is limited to incorporating and representing multiple narratives. Its manifestation usually relies on an object (more rarely, on internal space) that has an impact on its immediate environment, but this impact is narrow in comparison to that of the museum.

The museum, on the other hand, is an integration of a perception that sees the building as an object and as space simultaneously. Constituted of space that envelops the visitors, it can create complex situations and contain multiple narratives. The museum, in that respect, functions not only as a container of exhibitions, artifacts and various modes of display. In recent years, the museums themselves have become manifestations that correspond to the display and interact with it on several levels. Moreover, it is not only easier to contain the visitors within the museum building, but also easier to dissociate them from the exterior world and transport them into a new realm, a new reality. Museums offer a multidisciplinary way of representation—spatial, material, visual, display-based and experiential. In recent years, with the development of the museum typology, the historical museum has been added as a sub-category. What started in the early nineteenth century as buildings for the public display of art and artifacts, such as Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin and later Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace in mid-nineteenth-century London, has developed in recent years into a new typology—the historical museum.

Within the historical museum category, the Holocaust museum started gaining prominence in the 1990s as an increasing number of them were opened all over the world. The new home of the Los Angeles Museum of the Holocaust by architect Hagy Belzberg and Stanley Tigerman's Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education

Center have recently joined the many Holocaust museums worldwide that were built as large institutions. In recent years, however, it is also possible to find Holocaust commemoration museums that are not the product of institutionalized initiation, but rather the initiatives of private individuals who wished to commemorate their dear ones. This is an extraordinary phenomenon since the establishment of a museum requires the mobilization of a wide range of resources. Yet, for instance, the Virginia Holocaust Museum, in Richmond, Virginia, was initiated and co-founded by Lithuanian–American Holocaust survivor Jay Ipson. The museum tells the story of the war and the Holocaust in an interactive manner. Most of the display was created not by professionals but by the local community, who used basic means of display such as a manikin dressed in a Nazi SS uniform, or stuffed animals, like a dog that barks at passing visitors (the "dog" is equipped with sensors and speakers that are activated by visitors' movement). The personalization of memory is emphasized in the Virginia Holocaust Museum in the display that presents the personal story of Jay Ipson, who often greets visitors wearing a cowboy hat with the museum's logo.

The first Holocaust museum, however, was established long before the genre began to flourish in the 1990s. As early as 1942, when the news about the Nazi atrocities in Europe reached the pre-State Jewish community in Palestine, Mordechai Shenhavi, a member of United Kibbutzim movement, tried to establish a museum and memorial. Shenhavi had little success and the very first Holocaust museum was established in 1949 by Yitzhak Zuckerman and a group of Warsaw Ghetto Uprising survivors. They inaugurated the museum in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz on April 19, 1949—the sixth anniversary of the uprising. At first, they mounted their displays in a tent that functioned as a museum space. A year later, they had already erected a small building for that purpose. About 12 years after the advent of museal display of the Holocaust at Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, the next memorial was erected in Jerusalem—Ohel Yizkor (Hall of Remembrance) at Yad Vashem, which later grew into a sprawling museum compound. A decade later, Meshoah Letkuma museum (Hebrew for "from Holocaust to Revival") was established at Kibbutz Yad Mordechai on Israel's southern coast. From the 1950s to the mid-1980s, Holocaust commemoration by way of museums took place primarily in Israel, with only a few rare expressions found in other places. Since the mid-1980s and especially during the 1990s, the number of museums burgeoned to the extent that almost every state in the United States now has a Holocaust museum (some have more than one), as do many European countries. Thus, it is important to note that the Holocaust museum as an architectural typology not only flourished in recent years, but also that it is open to multiple directions of expression and representation.

THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION AND THE STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

Any representation is political. Once it has been decided to represent in one way and not another, this reflects a point of view, an ideology and perception of life. Similarly, with Holocaust representation, once it is being represented as a historical text or by architecture, it enfolds a standpoint and ideology (even if

not explicitly outlined), in relation to the events' significance. While the politics of commemoration is enfolded within these pages, the book's primary interest focuses on the architectural mechanisms of representation and not on their significance. In other words, in this book, I am trying to study and analyze the patterns and modes of commemoration by architecture and not necessarily their significance. This is not intended to underrate the importance of the politics of commemoration; rather, I believe that to fully explore the media specificity of the architectural act, one should put aside the politics of commemoration and delve into the poetics of expression. Indeed, if this book has to be categorized intellectually, it leans more to the side of phenomenology than to the politics of representation.

Thus, in this book, I describe the history of each case study, outline the story of their evolution and discuss the different stories in relation to the ways in which architecture as a medium was used to express them. In the chapter on the Ghetto Fighters' House, I outline the evolution of the means of display prior to the construction of the building designed by Milek Bickels. I then discuss some ideas for the building's expansion that were never executed, continue with the discussion of the Children's Memorial and conclude with the building's recent renovation. The overall review of this museum reveals a pattern that tries to define the relations between the private and the public when dealing with Holocaust commemoration in communal circumstances.

The discussion of the Yad Vashem compound takes a slightly different track. As the compound developed over the last 50 years, substantial new additions were made in almost every decade. In this chapter, rather than outlining the development of a single building and the discussion around it, I examine the compound's monuments and memorials as a whole and discuss the patterns they reflect. At Yad Vashem, almost all of the monuments, memorials and museums that were added over the years deal with the issue of territory. While this is highly political, given the bitter territorial conflict in which the Israelis and the Palestinians are engaged, in this chapter, I concentrate on landscape and ground as means of commemoration. In a way, Yad Vashem has become a laboratory for the insertion of memory into territory—a pattern I examine in this chapter.

The USHMM posits yet another condition. Here, I discuss the building designed by James Ingo Freed and the proposals that preceded his design. An examination of the discussions concerning the previous proposals reveals a certain anxiety regarding the level of authenticity that the building in Washington reflects. Initiated as a project based on reusing an existing structure, the first proposal for the museum was deemed insufficient because it was not authentic enough. The following proposals foundered on the same issue. It was only after Freed presented his ideas that the USHMM Council agreed to accept the proposal as sufficiently authentic. In this chapter, I review the discussion between the various agencies involved in the conception and realization of this museum and show their search for authentic representation, as paradoxical as it may sound.

The chapter on the Berlin Holocaust Memorial proposes a different sort of analysis. In this chapter, I do not follow the history of the site and memorial in detail. Instead, I refer to the intellectual history of Peter Eisenman from the mid-1960s to the present to show how his way of thinking evolved. My claim is that Eisenman's

Memorial reflects a culmination of his intellectual approach to architecture. As one of the most fruitful thinkers in architectural history, his decades-long intellectual evolution led to the development of a memorial that does not try to directly represent the Holocaust. Rather, the Berlin Memorial is a mode of architectural diagram through which Eisenman proposes a new way of commemorating the Holocaust, one that is open-ended and not didactic.

The book concludes with the question of what architecture contributes to Holocaust commemoration. The Holocaust has been commemorated by many means—literature, film, art, theater and more. Architecture took up the challenge later than almost any other cultural practice, mainly because it is arguable the most complex field in terms of the wide range of cultural agreements necessary to make it possible. There are so many stages involved in making a building, from obtaining the agreement of many agencies and authorities to securing the financing and then going through the long process of physical production. Moreover, architecture is also probably the least communicative practice of artistic expression; film, literature, art and theater are much more accessible than architecture. Focusing on the architectural mode of expression and architecture as media, I explore its meaning as a cultural practice in terms of Holocaust commemoration.

NOTES

1 Leopold von Ranke, *The Theory and Practice of History*, trans. Wilma A. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, (Indianapolis, 1973).

2 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Hegel*, ed. Stephen Houlgate, (Oxford, 1998).

3 Karl Marx, *Essential Writings of Karl Marx*, ed. David Caute, (London, 1967).

4 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York, 1972).

5 Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz, (Chicago, 1998).

6 Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore, 1987).

7 Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*, (Ithaca, 1994).

8 Freddie Rokem, *Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre*, (Iowa City, 2000).

9 Anthony Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism*, (Cambridge, 2008).

10 Umberto Eco, with Richard Rorty, Jonathan Culler, Christine Brooke-Rose, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, ed. Stefan Collini, (Cambridge, 1992).

11 Jean Baudrillard, *Selected Writings*, ed. Mark Poster (Cambridge, 1989).

1

Dwelling in Monumentality: Presence and Memory in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz

WARSAW GHETTO IN THE KIBBUTZ

In one of the many visits by groups of Israel Defense Forces (IDF) soldiers to the Ghetto Fighters' House, Yitzhak (Antek) Zuckerman told the young people in uniform that were sitting around the museum's Warsaw Ghetto model:

> *"The model in front of you shows the Warsaw Ghetto, on the eve of the uprising. In this area, confined within walls, lived as many as 500,000 Jewish people at peak times. The ghetto was about 4,000 dunams, 400 hectares; that is the size of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz today. The walls ran for 10 kilometers. Before the War, about 330,000 Jews lived here. Jews that lived in the adjacent villages, in places far from Warsaw, were brought here by force. All the urban Jews were uprooted from their native towns and brought to the ghetto."*

Featured in a 1968 documentary film by Mira Hamermesh-Kaufman,[1] Zuckerman was drawing parallels in this talk, as in many other such gatherings, between "here" and "there," between the presence in Kibbutz Lohamei Hagetaot (Hebrew for Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz) in Western Galilee and the presence in the ghetto in Warsaw, so much so that it almost seemed that he was present in both places. Mentioning that the 400 hectares of the ghetto were similar in size to the 4,000 dunams of the kibbutz, Zuckerman was unconscious that the parallel he created between the kibbutz and the Warsaw Ghetto, in fact, made them one. Referring to the model of the ghetto,[2] Zuckerman stated that "Before the War, about 330,000 Jewish people lived *here*" and that "Jewish people that lived in the adjacent villages, in places far from Warsaw, were brought *here* by force." The "here" in these expressions refers, on the literal level, to the model as a representation of the Warsaw Ghetto, which is the "there." Yet, at the same time, as Zuckerman personalizes the language through the speech act and his presence[3] and in a performative utterance, as defined by J.L. Austin,[4] he is not only talking but also performing a speech act that appropriates the meaning of words. The "here" becomes his "here," in the way that he signifies

the meaning of the word, by his presence. Physically, Zuckerman is here in the kibbutz; mentally, he is "here" in the Warsaw Ghetto. The speech act unifies them.

Drawing a parallel between the "here" and the "there" had a larger significance than just to blur the line between Europe and the Western Galilee. It was not only about recalling a traumatic event and fixating on its details, as manifested through the architectural representations, and about living a trauma as a belated experience, as Cathy Caruth shows in her book *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*.[5] By his words, Zuckerman engendered the collapse of the geographical separation, materializing a historical event as a memory in a new context, unfolding trauma's belated experience in a new place. If Pierre Nora indicated that an analysis of *lieux de mémoire* could reveal the discrepancies between history and memory,[6] then in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz these discrepancies are intensified. Zuckerman is talking about an event that did not take place in the *lieux de mémoire* to which he is referring and by the speech act that he commits; he, in fact, "imports" the event into the Israeli context, delocalizing memory and relocalizing history. Idith Zertal claimed in her seminal book *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood* that Holocaust survivors were embodying memory, carrying it as they moved from one location to another.[7] At the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, as in Yad Vashem, Kibbutz Yad Mordechai and other Israeli commemorative institutions, memory was carried from Europe into the Israeli reality, infusing this reality with various narratives. Architecture played a central role in this process, since it created the actual reality of the presence but was a symbol of the past in the present. This dual function created a dialectic process in which both past and past-in-the-present are intertwined into a reality of the present.

At the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, this dialectic takes on an even greater significance since the place functioned as a home of Holocaust survivors. Indeed, to describe the situation in the ghetto, Zuckerman twice uses the Hebrew word "hit-go-re-ru." The word, which is a conjugation of the verb stem "gar" in first-person plural, past simple tense, can be translated into English as lived, resided or dwelled. Conspicuously, Zuckerman did not use the verb "to stay" (conjugated form: stayed) or "to be" (conjugated form: were) to describe the situation of the Jews in the ghetto. The Jews *lived* in the villages around Warsaw, and they *lived* in the ghetto. A tragic figure who struggled throughout his postwar life with the fact that he had not actively fought in the ghetto uprising, Zuckerman had never mentally left the site in Warsaw.[8] It is not surprising, then, that for him, the situation in the ghetto was not provisional; life was possible, and even essential, in both places. The reason might be that the ghetto was not only a transitional condition for him, but it included a full range of life activities. "Hit-go-re-ru"—meaning lived, dwelt, resided—was about lingering in a place, at home, in a home. The ghetto was a place that grew to become a home, a place to defend. Lingering in this place, it seemed as if Zuckerman had never "left" the ghetto. In a manner similar to traumatic *Da-sein* (being-in-the-world), as Dominick LaCapra interprets Martin Heidegger, it appears that Zuckerman was "experientially being back there, anxiously reliving in [his] immediacy something that was shattering from experience for which one was not prepared … ".[9] In other words, he was reliving the events of the ghetto—in Western Galilee.

In Western Galilee, however, Zuckerman was physically in the kibbutz. Hamermesh-Kaufman's movie opens with Zuckerman describing the collective farm's fields, houses and people in a dry fashion, as a voiceover accompanying a series of images:

> *On April 19, 1949, on the sixth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the remnant that survived the camps, the partisans' forests, the ghettos rose and established the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz in Samariyya, which is between Acre and Nahariya. Today the kibbutz numbers 400 people, of whom 200 are members, 135 children in school, and 30 are soldiers in the Israel Defense Forces. The meshek[10] has grown: 375 cows, 25,000 poultry, 6,000 dunams of fish farms and field crops and a factory for electrical appliances.*

While dwelling on the memories of the ghetto, Zuckerman referred to the kibbutz by giving factual information about its growth. Here, he does not confuse the "here" and the "there." The kibbutz, as an actual place, belongs to the present and is constructed of an inventory of facts. With its roots in the ghetto (it was established by Warsaw Ghetto survivors, some of whom took part in the uprising, on the symbolic date of the revolt's sixth anniversary), the notion of the kibbutz is infused by memories of the event and the ghetto. In Hamermesh-Kaufman's movie, for example, 11-year-old Omri Weinstein, an Israeli-born second-generation Holocaust survivor whose father came from Bialystok, claimed about life in the kibbutz that "before coming (to visit) here, some people think the museum influences (our) lives. But it has no effect at all, only when we go to the museum."[11] Whether this statement by a young boy is true or not, he shows by mentioning it that even when he tries to repress it, the kibbutz, memory, commemoration and the museum as their embodiment were inseparable. Zuckerman defined the situation on the day of the kibbutz's establishment as "a lively settlement and living monument";[12] Kibbutz and House are treated as one entity. The boy's assertion definitely echoes, in simpler words, Zuckerman's perception of the kibbutz.

Blurring the boundaries between the kibbutz and the Warsaw Ghetto, and between the kibbutz and the museum, was symptomatic of life in Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz during its early years.[13] The kibbutz was founded by survivors who wanted to commemorate the Holocaust, mainly life in the Warsaw Ghetto and the uprising. Over the years, the kibbutz members continued to debate the extent of commemoration that should take place within kibbutz life; in other words, to what extent should the Holocaust be present in the kibbutz? The structure of the kibbutz as a community—or a community of memory—in which the collective good is paramount caused this question to surface in a more complex way than among survivors that lived separately in their own individual homes. Since the kibbutz was the collective home, the issue of collective memory, to reiterate Maurice Halbwachs, was even more acute.[14] Memory and its product, physical and otherwise, and the presence of the Holocaust became a matter of unmediated negotiations. As opposed to survivors living as individuals, for whom the Holocaust could be present or repressed, in the kibbutz the issue of the Holocaust's presence in their lives could not be repressed.

In Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, as opposed to other kibbutzim and to the general tendency in the recently established State of Israel regarding Holocaust commemoration, the kibbutz and the museum were literally and metaphorically synonymous. First and foremost, this was expressed in the name of the Ghetto Fighters' House. In Hebrew, the name of the Ghetto Fighters' House—Beit Lohamei Hagetaot—refers to the home. In Hebrew, *bayit* (from which *beit* is derived) means both house and home; thus, Ghetto Fighters' House could be also be translated as Ghetto Fighters' Home. The House was perceived as home. Yet, at the same time, the kibbutz is the home of all of its members and residents. In many ways, the use of the same term for both the kibbutz and the institution that commemorates the Holocaust blurred the boundaries between the two. To this day, the nickname of the Ghetto Fighters' House is "Habayit"—the home. Yoram Harpaz, who was born in the kibbutz, wrote as an adult in 1999:

> *We, the kids of Ma'ayan,*[15] *also felt at home in Habayit. Sometimes, we went in there, for no reason, to wander around the exhibitions; to get an impression of the models of the concentration camps or the Nazi uniforms, and also to show possession. We walked around in shorts and sandals among the thrilled visitors and showed them that Habayit belongs to us*.[16]

Sitting atop the hill at the entrance to the kibbutz, Habayit, as Harpaz describes it, visually dominated the kibbutz. As a boy, he felt the House was hovering over the communal dining hall where residents ate all of their meals (which at the time was right next door), as well as the members' houses and the chicken coop and the dairy and the groves; indeed, in his child's eyes, even the Mediterranean Sea and the Galilee Hills to either side of the kibbutz were overshadowed by the House. Habayit, as the place of the Shoah, dominated all.

Over the years, however, the perception of the Holocaust within kibbutz members' consciousness has changed. Second-generation offspring were more detached from the topic and the presence of the Holocaust within the kibbutz's mental and physical realm was transformed.[17] Correspondingly, architecture, which played a large part in making the Holocaust present within the life of the kibbutz, changed its role. In what follows, I outline the history of the architecture of the Holocaust commemoration in Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz and examine the ways in which architecture both makes a home for Holocaust commemoration and makes the Holocaust present at home. The concept of home as a physical reality refers in these cases to two different notions: home for Holocaust commemoration is an edifice, a museum; while home where the Holocaust is present refers to the kibbutz. Over the years, the tension between the two underwent changes; during certain periods they were synonymous, with the kibbutz as a home and the House as "home" for memory being one. At other times, they were separated; the House became an institution "housing" memory and the kibbutz's perception of home was expanded to other aspects of life. The tension and relationship between the two meanings of home was reflected in and by symbolic and functional aspects of architecture: when the two notions of home were unified, architecture was transparent and did not carry any symbolic signification. Its main role was to

function as a container for representations of the atrocities. When the connection between the two notions of home was detached, the symbolic representation of the Holocaust became much more evident. Thus, the history of the Ghetto Fighters' House proposes an understanding of the structure of the architectural language in opposing terms: when the architectural language was well-articulated, it resulted in alienation; when it was seemingly nonexistent and did not directly refer to the subject matter, it exerted an attraction. Before developing this notion, it is necessary, however, to outline the history of the Ghetto Fighters' House.

FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO TO THE WESTERN GALILEE: SPEECH ACTS, CEREMONIES AND EVIDENCE

The idea of commemorating the Holocaust was already under discussion during the transition from Europe to the Western Galilee. While forming the members of the youth movement Dror[18] in Poland into a group that would immigrate to Palestine to establish a settlement, Yitzhak Zuckerman and Zivia Lubetkin[19] (who also took part of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and later became Zuckerman's wife), stressed that it should be a commemorative settlement made up of survivors. The wish and difficulty in establishing such a settlement should not be underestimated. On the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel, settling the future nation was an essential primary task. Nevertheless, the ideology and the historical premise on which the settlements were founded, their social and economic structures and the type of settlements were constantly debated. These discussions were even more heated when it came to a Holocaust commemorative settlement. People of the Yishuv[20] were intolerant of the survivors, perceiving them as passive and unresisting victims that were slaughtered like sheep.[21] Establishing a settlement based solely on survivors would give the Holocaust a physical presence, transform the survivors into living monuments, emphasize the atrocities in Europe and would not be well-suited to the general notion of creating an independent and strong state.

Accordingly, no new settlements that were populated solely by survivors were established in Israel's first year of statehood. The youth movement Hashomer Hatzair,[22] for example, did not approve of assembling survivors in one settlement. Hashomer Hatzair members Haika Grossman,[23] who took part in the Bialystok Ghetto Uprising, and Abba Kovner,[24] a wartime partisan leader in Lithuania, lived in separate kibbutzim. Indeed, while both their kibbutzim were active in commemorating the Holocaust, neither was specifically established as a settlement for survivors or fighters. This phenomenon contributed to the prevailing notion of the Holocaust in the Yishuv's collective consciousness, which wished to keep the event distant from everyday routines, preferring to circumscribe it as a defined memory that must be actualized in a controlled way. The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz and Hakibbutz Hameuhad (the United Kibbutz Movement), the movement to which the kibbutz belongs, were exceptional in this respect. Hakibbutz Hameuhad was more tolerant and supported the idea of establishing a survivors' kibbutz, and the members of the future kibbutz were persistent in their wish to commemorate the Holocaust as part of their daily lives. An event of such magnitude as the Holocaust

becomes an eternal part of those who lived it; nevertheless, some decided not to deal with its commemoration and to move on with life. In the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, it became a central theme that was accepted by Hakibbutz Hameuhad and the people of the Yishuv, perhaps because the kibbutz was meant not only to commemorate atrocities but also to highlight the uprising.

At this stage of the kibbutz's establishment, most commemorative actions were speech acts that were meant to initiate the transition from Warsaw to Palestine. These acts were initially taken in Poland; they were powerful attempts to create a specific reality. Zuckerman, Lubetkin and others considered it an important part of their Zionist vision to establish a settlement in Palestine that would consist of survivors and fighters. Dror youth movement members, including some of the Warsaw Ghetto survivors such as Sarah Shner,[25] Buria Yodkovski and Luba Levita, met in Lodz in 1946 to devise a way to continue their youth organization activities. Although restricted by the British Mandatory government's prohibition on Jewish immigration to the region, they fled to Palestine in the *Brihah*[26] and arrived at three kibbutzim—Yagur, near Mount Carmel; Beit Hashita, in the Harod Valley; and Ginnossar, near the Sea of Galilee—where they were trained in farming and defense to prepare them for the establishment of a new kibbutz. It was probably Lubetkin's strong personality and Zuckerman's charisma that led them to participate in the *Brihah*. Lubetkin, who was known to be a powerful public speaker, addressed the group often. In an address given at Hakibbutz Hameuhad's 15th Convention in Yagur on June 13, 1946, she described the events that took place in Europe during the war, placing special emphasis on the paradox inherent in the inability to struggle and the actual conduct of the revolt. This was yet another speech act that is considered instrumental in creating a momentum that would drive the listeners to act and start a new kibbutz.[27] In her words, the uprising, which was staged by activists, new Jewish pioneers who were not herded to the Nazi death camps, found a natural continuation in the idea of collective living in a new settlement and a new life. Both were a matter of resistance, a validation that they were still present and alive and could not be annihilated—neither in the ghetto against the German Nazis, nor in Palestine against the British. The establishment of a Jewish settlement in Western Galilee offered incontrovertible proof of the maintenance of a vital and dynamic Jewish life.

Lubetkin's words at Hakibbutz Hameuhad's 15th Convention made a big impression on the listeners; nevertheless, action was not immediate. It took three years after her address for the idea to mature; less than a year after Israel's establishment in May, 1948, the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz was founded during the Passover holiday, on April 19, 1949. Similar to many other instances during Israel's early days, the kibbutz was located close to a Palestinian village, Samariyya, which had been deserted by its inhabitants during Israel's War of Independence (called by the Palestinians *Nakba*, which means catastrophe in Arabic). More accurately, the kibbutz got its start in a British military camp built next to Samariyya that had been used during the Mandate. After the British pulled out and the Palestinians fled the area, the IDF assumed control there and the land was officially allocated for the construction of the kibbutz.

1.1 Memorial ceremony at the sloping theater, 1949

The second phase in the kibbutz's establishment took place in its final location and mainly consisted of ceremonial means and display. The establishment of the settlement was marked by a day of celebration, described by some members as a reunion of friends.[28] On that day, in April, 1949, a memorial ceremony was held, a temporary exhibition was installed and Antek Zuckerman and Major General Moshe Carmel, commander of the Israeli forces in the north during the 1948 war and a kibbutz member, were on the stage in front of hundreds of attendees, including government and Histadrut labor federation representatives and military personnel. The presence of Zuckerman and Carmel together onstage symbolized what Lubetkin had previously stated: a continuation of Jewish resistance and fighting spirit that started in the ghetto (symbolized by Zuckerman) and continued in Israel (as personified by Carmel). In the ceremony, by his words, Zuckerman outlined the idea of the new kibbutz, in a way conceptually completing the transition from Warsaw to the Western Galilee:

> *Today, we have gathered here to commemorate the fighters that were killed. We thought: here will raise, on this hill, a lively settlement, a working settlement, plowing its soil, establishing workshops, opening wide its gates to the children of the Diaspora, to the Jewish people. It will bear the name of Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz.*

The actual location of the ceremony—a sloping hillside—took advantage of the site; this natural amphitheater was later transformed into a built one.

The decision to locate the ceremony on the hillside was most probably due to functional reasons: to allow a large crowd to watch the event. Nevertheless, this location carried significance beyond the functional reason, because it relocalized memory in a new spatial context and framed commemoration in relation to the specificities of the site. The view, as described in the minutes of the Ghetto Fighters'

1.2 Temporary exhibition, 1949

Kibbutz Establishment Ceremony,[29] was picturesque, with a Turkish-era[30] aqueduct visible on the western side of the stage. Torches were burning along each side of the stage, blue-and-white national flags and red Socialist banners decorated the scene, and in the background was a green plateau, functioning as a natural backdrop.[31] The effect was dual: a Romantic use of nature and an emphasis on ceremonial acts and display to present the Holocaust and the uprising. According to the announcer, "The sight is beautiful and spectacular, a light wind blows and spring struggles against the clouds. Occasionally, the local people stare at the sky, worrying: Will it prove a disappointment? Will it rain? So far, everything is conducted as planned, including forces of nature."[32] This dramatic description reflected a Romantic perception of nature and a wish for revival in conjunction with nature, with the land, in the homeland.

The temporary exhibition was installed on the hilltop, opposite the stage, along a road that started at the cabins and tents that were used for accommodation and continued all the way to the natural amphitheater. Together, the ceremony and exhibition enveloped the audience and created a multimedia representation of the events: the ceremony, on the one hand, was of a testimonial nature, while the exhibition had an evidentiary status. The exhibition included images taken by Jürgen Stroop,[33] the German commander in charge of crushing the Warsaw uprising, which depicted the life in the ghetto, the fighting and liquidation of the ghetto, the iconic image of the entrance to Auschwitz, some scenes of the death camp itself, bunkers of German extermination companies, images of Jewish children swollen from hunger and some memorial monuments. Zuckerman, while describing those images, actualized them through yet another speech act, similar to his later talks about the Warsaw Ghetto model. Yet, in this case not only did he bring history into the present using a model as a representational tool, but he also referred to what was perceived as evidence—images taken during the war.

Produced by a Nazi officer, the images' nature, content and point of view were never questioned by Zuckerman; for him, they gained a status sufficient to enable appropriating them to serve as tools for bringing to life the story of the war and the uprising. Indeed, members of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz (particularly Miriam Novitch,[34] a survivor of Vittel, an internment camp [*l-lag* or *internierungslager*] in northern France) were occupied with the collection of evidence—artifacts, photographs of the period—not always thinking deeply about the nature and status of those pieces of evidence. Similar to Roland Barthes' perception of the photographed image that he discusses in *Camera Lucida*,[35] at the Ghetto Fighters' House, Zuckerman, Novitch and others perceived photographs as objects of memory, grounded in history, that could assist in telling the story of the war.

An even weightier evidentiary status was ascribed to the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz's raison d'être—the archive, which initially consisted of parts of Dr Emanuel Ringelblum's collection *Oyneg Shabbes* (Yiddish for Sabbath Delight).[36] A Jewish-Polish historian and social worker, Dr Ringelblum started collecting and archiving information about the war and ghetto life in Europe during the war itself. Codenamed Oyneg Shabbes, the operation included about 30 people in addition to Dr Ringelblum. Hersz Wasser, Ringelblum's right-hand man in organizing the collection operation in the ghetto and the one who continued collecting and cataloging after the war, wrote in the kibbutz newsletter, *Yedioth* April 5–6, 1954: "The most important principle was to write down everything and accumulate—it was not the right time then for processing and syntheses. The material was received, with the caveat that it was faithful to the truth."[37] The idea was to collect historical evidence so that future generations would be able to learn about the atrocities committed by the Nazis.

But the archive in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz did not function only as an apparatus of evidence collection. In many ways, it was the locus of resurfacing memories, ones that were repressed and now reappeared. Jacques Derrida, following Sigmund Freud, elaborates in *Archive Fever*[38] on the idea of the archive and frames it as the locus of the unknown, or rather, the unconscious. The archival unknown, Derrida further postulates, tries to resurface; it mainly commands us to remember, even if that which is remembered is not clear. In the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, the archive definitely played an imperative role and commanded to remember. Yet the archive was not only a physical institution and location; it was also the unconscious of the survivors who actualized their resurfacing memories in the kibbutz reality as a whole. Over the years, memory in the kibbutz was a negotiation between the hard evidence stored in the archival documents and the memories of the survivors; both functioned as the fuel for memory and commemoration. Furthermore, the significance of relocating the physical material laid not only the fact that it was transferred from Warsaw and restored in the Western Galilee. Ringelblum's execution by the Gestapo in the ghetto in March, 1944, led to the transfer of some of the material that had been hidden there to Israel.[39] For the people of the kibbutz, the archival material that arrived at the kibbutz had an aura and a spiritual value that made it a mental cornerstone for the whole of the kibbutz operation. Zvi Shner, a survivor who was a moving spirit behind the House and its scientific director between 1950 and 1984, noted in a eulogy on the first anniversary of Zuckerman's death that although "Yitzhak was politically

and spiritually distant from the world of Dr Emanuel Ringelblum," who was a non-socialist religious figure, "he respected his social welfare activities and appreciated his documentation work of the destruction of Polish Jewry."[40] The archival material exerted an influence that went beyond the people who had collected it; it commanded to remember and commemorate.

The kibbutz's display of the atrocities, however, was not limited only to the exhibition of photographs. It was also elaborated into a scripted pageant, which took place on the 10th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1953 and subsequently became an annual event. The first pageant was attended by about 15,000 people, which represented about 3 percent of Israel's entire population at the time. Zuckerman asked Haim Gouri,[41] a Tel Aviv-born poet, to write a pageant for the occasion. Gouri provided the treatise "Decade—an Intertwining of Sound, Speech, Dance and Fire,"[42] which included three acts: "Lamentation of Destruction," "Voices of the Uprising" and "Message of Revival." Gouri intended the pageant to convey the magnitude of the events in Europe, as well as the idea of persistence and presence; thus, he concluded the presentation with the words: "We are here!"[43]

Gouri provided guidelines on how the pageant should be directed. To create the desired effect, he employed a variety of means aside from those mentioned in the work's title, including lighting, music, movement and voices, which were to be applied in the three sections. Taking advantage of the spatial condition of the slope and the aqueduct, the pageant was a performance that demonstrated the transition from absence to presence. The "Lamentation of Destruction" section opened with two narrators, one female and one male, mourning the dead by naming them by groups: sons, daughters, mothers, elders, those who died in the forests, those who perished by fire, and so on. This was followed by a song of mourning sung by a young woman and a dance performed by a group of teenage girls. Noa Eshkol, one of Israel's most prominent modern dancers at the time, was the chief choreographer.[44] Symbolizing a shift, "Voices of the Uprising" started with the narrators again mourning the dead and actors forming a pile of bodies, and then shifted into a portrayal of the uprising by dancers performing a battle scene. The "Message of Revival" included, besides the narration, marchers bearing torches and flags, as well as a dance about redemption and revival. It all concluded with fireworks as a "symbol of life"[45] and the singing of the national anthem. In the presentation's first two acts, Gouri emphasized the uprising as opposed to the passivity of the victims. The third section linked the fighting in the ghetto and its destruction to the revival in Israel:

> *We took revenge for your lonely*
> *and bitter death with our heavy and hot fist.*
> *To the burned Ghetto we built here a monument.*
> *A monument of life everlasting*
> *No blockade, no fear, no devouring flame.*
> *Since the poem cries out: "We are here!"*[46]

The reenactment of the dead in the death camps and the uprising both in the ghetto and in Western Galilee were not a random symbolic action of representation.

The hillside, the aqueduct and the green plateau were used as part of the ceremonial setting as the performers acted on the aqueduct and marches were held in the green plateau, thus blurring the boundaries between here and there, absence and presence.

FROM CABIN TO HOUSE: LONGING

Actual architectural actions to commemorate the Holocaust and uprising were taken immediately after the kibbutz was established. Although they were living in tents in poor conditions and faced a shortage of proper accommodation, the kibbutz members and residents decided to build a temporary structure for the exhibition and archives as early as February, 1950.[47]

Prioritizing commemoration over their own living conditions, the kibbutz members chose to make their first structure a building that included two large rooms for exhibition. This decision reflects not only the kibbutz members' prioritization of memory over personal comfort; it also alludes to the role of architecture in housing memory. Inaugurated on the kibbutz's first anniversary, on April 19, 1950, the structure's architect is unknown. Most probably, it was a collaborative work and the design was devised by a group. This idea may be supported by the fact that the structure was a cabin that looked like a "house," an iconic box-like structure with a slanted roof. Some would say the cabin looked like a farmhouse, typical of rural places in Poland or elsewhere in Eastern Europe, as well as resembling rural construction in Israel at the time. As such, the cabin did not carry any specific reference to the Holocaust or Holocaust-related visual imagery; nevertheless, it placed memory, more specifically memory of the Holocaust, in what was perceived as a home. The decision to build an exhibition space in the shape of a house/farmhouse may also have been for functional reasons—it was quick and easy to construct, yet at the same time, it also referred to an apparently unconscious collective longing for a home. Symbolically, this home was grounded in Poland.

The longing was further articulated in the choice to mount an exhibition about the life story of Yitzhak Katzenelson, a father figure for the kibbutz members. The exhibition was installed together with three additional displays depicting the living conditions in the ghettos, Nazi murder systems and the uprising. Katzenelson, a poet and an educator who was murdered in Auschwitz, was a teacher of many of those who took part in the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The moving spirit behind many of the Dror group's activities during the war and in the ghetto, he was a regular contributor to the movement's publications; he portrayed many of the period's events in such a powerful way that Zuckerman called him "the great lamenter of the Holocaust."[48] In many ways, Katzenelson functioned also as a father figure to the group in the ghetto. The kibbutz and the House were his legacy, as Novitch, who was close to him, testified years later in 1984:

> *Here, I tell myself: all that I promised Yitzhak Katzenelson—I fulfilled. I promised to gather all the evidence and documents that I could on the crime of the annihilation of the Jewish people—and I am keeping my promise.*[49]

1.3 Exhibition in the first cabin, 1949

1.4 First cabin exterior

It was only natural that the House would "install" the memories about Katzenelson in the cabin, present an exhibition about his life, collect his work and archives and that the site's full official name would be Ghetto Fighters' House—Yitzhak Katzenelson Holocaust and Jewish Resistance Heritage Museum.[50]

The three additional exhibitions were also based on personal experience; nevertheless, they were structured as historical narratives. Unlike the temporary exhibition that was initially displayed on the opening day, these exhibitions were more institutionalized as they portrayed in a linear fashion three key aspects of the war that were important for the people of the kibbutz—living conditions in the ghettos, Nazi murder systems and the uprising. In this way, memory entered home and started to be shaped according to the kibbutz's narrative—fighting, resistance and revival. Works of art, which were presented in the cabin on a regular basis, helped to portray this narrative, which represented for Novitch and others spiritual resistance that was no less active and valuable than the military action. During her frequent visits to Europe, Novitch collected all sorts of art, enabling the creation of an extensive collection containing Holocaust art, Holocaust-related art and art created by victims. Based on paintings of the ghettos, partisans' life and concentration camps,[51] the Holocaust art collection reflected for many "a living witness of the years of horror, but also an expression of the mental strength of the ghetto and camp prisoners."[52] The Holocaust-related art carried an interpretive value as it addressed and was inspired by the events, but did not attempt to depict them directly. The victims' art had a dual function: "to demonstrate the treasured talent and spirit hidden in the Jewish people … and to commemorate the memory of the artists, to compensate them through the last benevolence of saving their inheritance from loss, to establish a memorial to their strong love of art and the beauty in life."[53]

The decision to collect all types of Holocaust-related art places the House in a unique position; most of its counterparts, such as the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., collect only art that addressed the Holocaust and/or was produced during the Second World War. In the Ghetto Fighters' House, Novitch and others perceived artistic means of commemoration in a broader fashion than in other places, but it was Holocaust art that received the most attention. Thus, the first art exhibition in the House featured paintings by Esther Lurie from the Kovno Ghetto, the Stutthof concentration camps and Leibitsch camp (Lubicz in Polish). "In addition to their artistic value, the art works have high documentary importance," proclaimed the first issue of *Yedioth*, the Ghetto Fighters' House's magazine.[54] The paintings depicted images of the war and ghetto, but they also included still-lifes and portrayals of Jewish life.

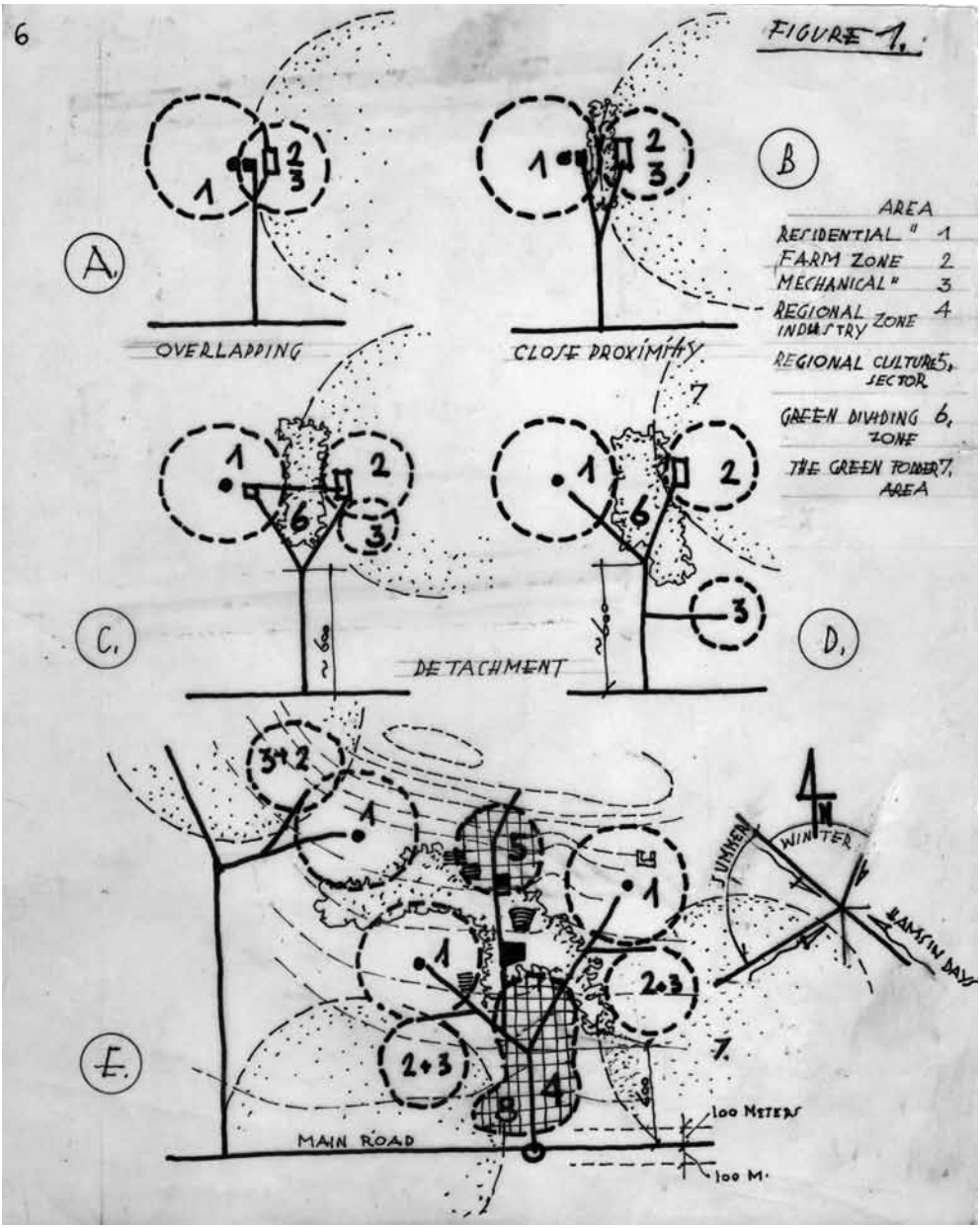
Even though the archival material on display was limited and the building was not really adequate for presenting an exhibition, the House was a big success. In the first five months after its opening by Israel's Minister of Education, David Remez, the House drew 11,000 visitors, a large number relative to the number of Israeli citizens at the time.[55] The House's popularity encouraged kibbutz members to invest in its development and on the occasion of the kibbutz's second anniversary, Zuckerman proposed "to build a big House suitable to the institution's special needs that will contain halls and studies, laboratories and modern archive arrangements."[56]

He also mentioned that a site for the new House had already been allocated on kibbutz land, but funding was not sufficient to launch the second phase.

When it came to both building and maintenance costs, funding the House was always a burden on the kibbutz. The Ministry of Education, the regional council and primarily Hakibbutz Hameuhad provided the House's financial resources. The kibbutz movement and one of its leaders, Yitzhak Tabenkin,[57] were adamant about the importance of the commemoration project, always supported the House and saved it from closure in times of financial crisis. To that end, members of the movement's kibbutzim often were asked to donate a day's salary, essentially giving up a day off. Hakibbutz Hameuhad acknowledged that the movement as a whole was obliged to support the House, but also pressed the kibbutz to set up both a local and an international organization of friends to assist in the fundraising.

Within the kibbutz, some members expressed their objection to the entire idea of the House and thought it was more urgent to build the kibbutz's economic base. The critics noted that not only did the House's activities require financial support, but also consumed labor that was necessary in the kibbutz's various fields of operation. Other objections were based on concern about the psychological effect of the House on kibbutz life. Kibbutz member Buria Yodkovski warned that "it is forbidden to build the House here. It will be a big sin if we force our children to live in the shadow of the Holocaust." In many ways, Yodkovski expressed a debate about the location of the Holocaust in the life of each individual, and even more so in the life of the young nation. Yitzhak Sternberg,[58] who was for years part of the House's management, recalls that "for a long time the museum was a source of tension between the kibbutz members who were active in the museum and those who were not." Zuckerman was attentive to both viewpoints and decided that the construction of the House and its development as an institution was essential for the kibbutz. Morally, it was difficult to argue with his stance and personally, he was a powerful and charismatic character to whom it was difficult to object.

The cornerstone for the Ghetto Fighters' House new building was laid on the fourth anniversary of the kibbutz's founding—April 19, 1952. Zuckerman asked Samuel (Milek) Bickels, the chief architect of Hakibbutz Hameuhad, to propose a design for the new House. Bickels was born in 1909 in Lvov in Eastern Galicia to a socialist-Zionist family. He studied architecture at the local Technicum, which, unlike the modern architecture schools in Central and Western Europe, still included curricula on neo-classical architecture.[59] After the Nazis' rise to power, he immigrated to Palestine in 1933 with his wife, lived briefly in Tel Aviv and Haifa and in 1951 became a member of Kibbutz Beit Hashita, where he lived until his death in 1975. In 1948, Bickels established the Hakibbutz Hameuhad Technical Bureau, which supplied architectural services to all of the movement's kibbutzim, many of which Bickels designed himself. Through his wide-ranging work in the kibbutzim, he had a tremendous influence on the Israeli spatiality in the 1950s and 60s. His approach to architecture was comprehensive since his work encompassed design in all scales and levels: regional planning of kibbutzim; design of public buildings, such as communal dining halls and Beit Ha'am (People's House) community and cultural centers within the kibbutzim; and housing for kibbutz members.

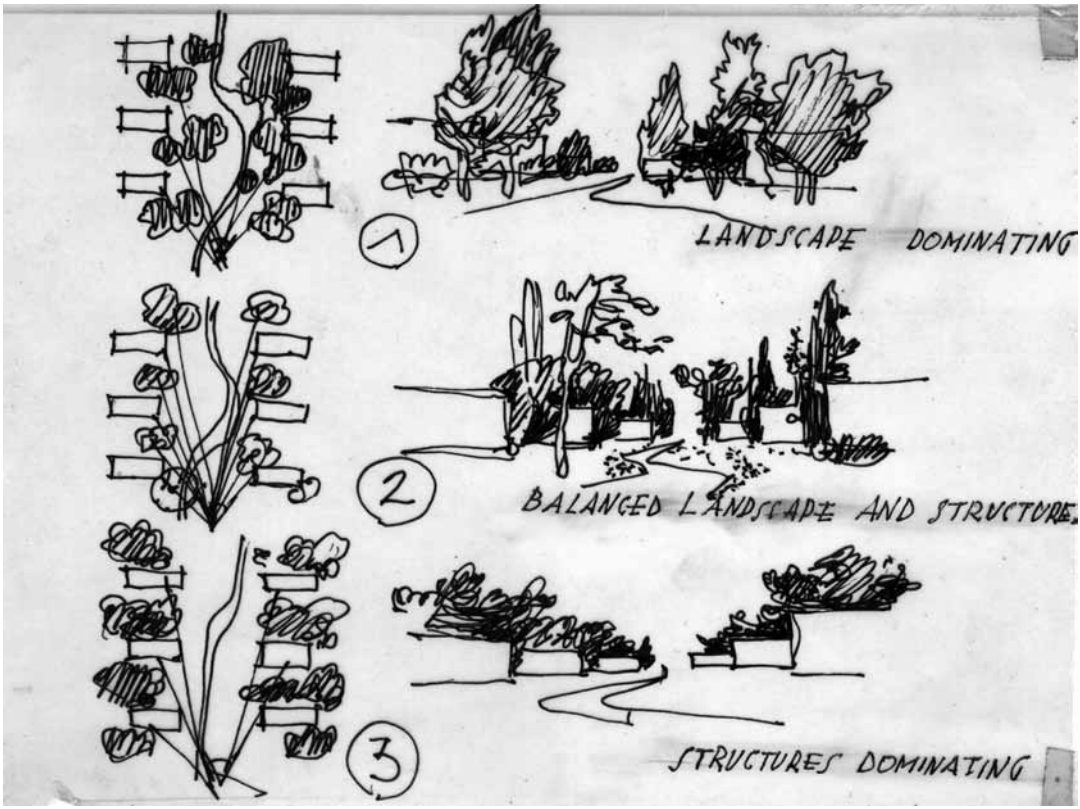


1.5 Samuel Bickels's kibbutz's planning schemes

For the Ghetto Fighters' House, Bickels proposed locating the structure on the hilltop, next to the natural amphitheater and the Turkish aqueduct, where the annual pageants regularly took place.[60] Having studied and designed many kibbutzim, Bickels was well aware of the relationship between the private and the public within kibbutz life. In the late 1940s and the beginning of the 50s, when he was planning the House, the land of each kibbutz was the property of the collective, shared by the members. The land was divided into two main sections: one that served as the collective's private space and another that served as the public sphere. In the latter, the kibbutz located its representative buildings, such as the communal dining room and the Beit Ha'am community center that was used for cultural events, as well as other gatherings and meetings. Within the kibbutz's private section, each adult member and resident was entitled to receive his or her own private small living unit that would function as a home. This condition created a gradual hierarchy of privacy in the kibbutz territory: the private home, the collective private territory, which was semi-public, and the public space.

Bickels studied the tripartite spatial conditions and in a set of drawings for kibbutz prototypes, he offered designs for the interrelation of the various sections of the kibbutz. Unlike other models, in which the kibbutz's various spatial conditions were completely separated into different regions, Bickels wanted to integrate them all together. For him, the kibbutz was a place for social and individual integration in tandem with ideological and personal growth, and he wanted to create a suitable space and territory that would dynamically enhance his point of view. Rejecting zoning schemes, popular in modernist architecture of the time, Bickels proposed models in which the public spaces with their various buildings—the dining hall, Beit Ha'am and others—would be integrated in the center of the settlements as part of the residential area that would enfold them.[61] Aware of the difficult financial situation of most kibbutzim, he sought to create flexible and multifunctional spaces that could be easily transformed according to need. In the various proposals for kibbutz types that he developed in his work at the Hakibbutz Hameuhad Technical Bureau, Bickels called these centers *agora*, referring to the public sphere in the Greek *polis*.[62] The interrelation was intended to create a civil life based on social ideas, in which the private and the public intermingle so that private lives would be part of the public. Landscape design was supposed to assist in the intermingling of the various parts, interweaving them by creating delicately varied vegetation zones. In several studies, Bickels examined the relationship between buildings and landscapes in order to prevent either vegetation or buildings from dominating one another.[63] For Bickels, both had to be balanced so that building and vegetation would visually and spatially complete each other.

Accordingly, in a dense urban tissue, such as the private-living section, one could find more vegetation; and in the less dense tissue, such as in the kibbutz's public areas, one would find less vegetation.[64] According to this design and planning philosophy, Bickels proposed locating the House on the hilltop. He may have hoped that although he was not functioning as the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz's regional planner, the residential area would eventually develop around the House. In his models for regional planning of kibbutzim, the working and farming areas were separated from the residential and public ones. In the

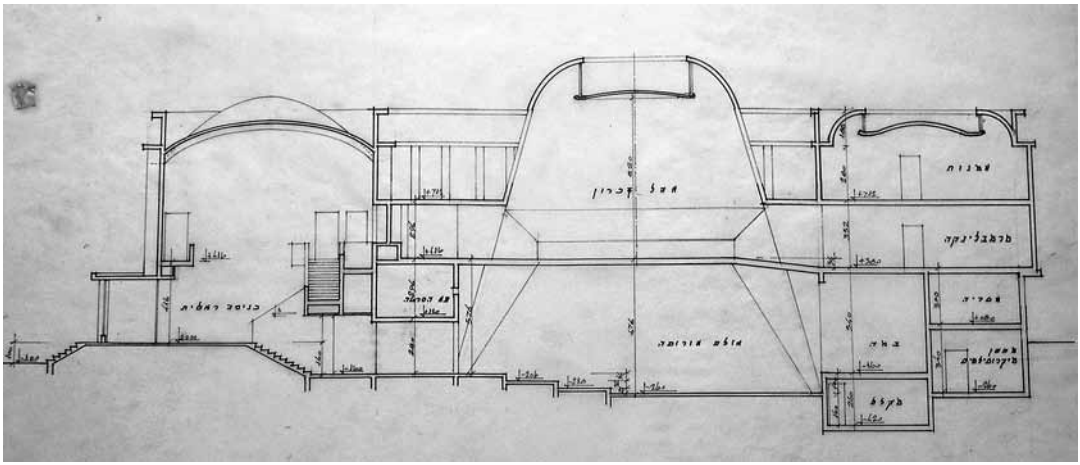


1.6 Samuel Bickles's study of vegetation in the kibbutz

early years of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, its public buildings were indeed built next to each other on the hilltop and the farming areas were more distant. Thus, the building's first stage, whose construction began in April 1954, was next to the dining hall.

Limited by budget, the first stage included only the southern wing of the square and monolithic building that Bickels designed.[65] On May 5, 1959, the second stage, the western wing, was completed. The two wings were part of a larger scheme—to construct a complete square, a building with an internal space that would have a rotunda in which the Hall of Remembrance would be located.

Bickels envisioned radiating architecture similar to the modernist idiom developed by Bruno Taut and further espoused by Mies van der Rohe. In the case of Taut and Mies, the projection of the interiority outside was literal and phenomenal, as analyzed by Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky in their seminal 1956 essay.[66] In the House, the rotunda was to be built from concrete, yet light was supposed to radiate out and make it glow. On the other hand, the main section of the House—the square part—was completely opaque and visually impenetrable. It was composed of serrated walls that made up the façades and enfolded the internal display spaces, walls that resembled a row of columns in ancient temples. Bickels proposed an almost completely concealed building with only one major opening—the entrance, which faced the natural amphitheater—and almost no fenestrations in its façades. The façades' concealing features helped to create internal spaces that would accommodate the exhibitions.

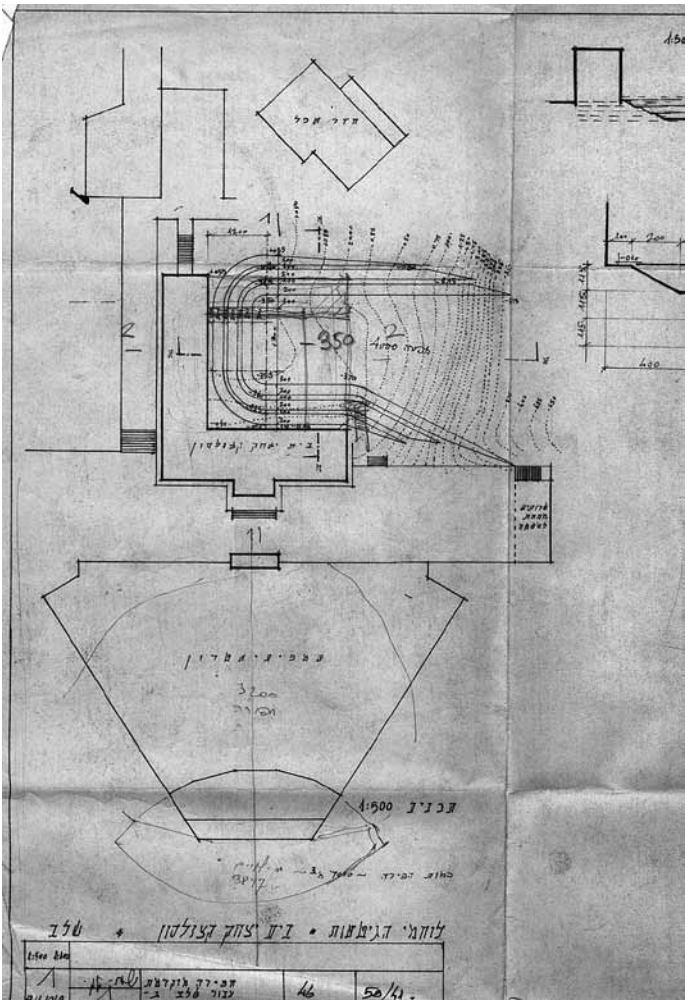


1.7 Section of central halls

The rotunda was never executed and for years after the completion of the square building, the inner part stayed empty, a void within the House space. By the late 1960s, the western and southern wings formed an L-shaped building that together with the dining hall, an architecturally insignificant square building diagonal to the House, created an internal public space. Between the museum and the dining hall was a lawn that functioned as the children's playground, so that the whole complex became the kibbutz's main square.

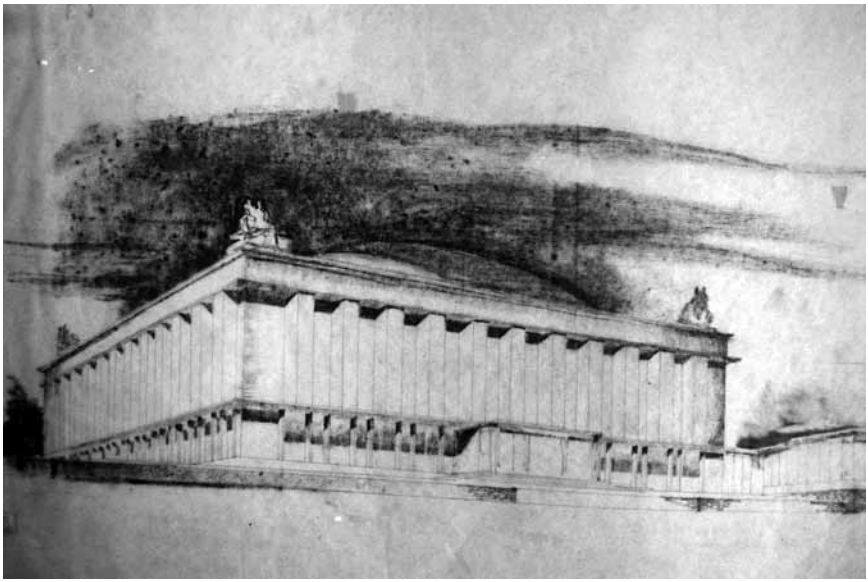
In the exhibition spaces, seven principal displays were to be presented: Hitler's rise to power, life before the ghetto, the ghetto, the Judenräte, the Final Solution, the death camps, and the resistance. Imbued with the tradition of the Technicum in Lvov, Bickels applied some of the ideas of neo-classical monumental architecture in this project. The serrated walls, which recur in several of his projects, were a modernist abstraction of neo-classical symbolism. The architectural historian and theoretician, Sigfried Giedion, together with the artist Ferdinand Leger and the architect Jose Luis Sert, described this transition as a modernization and secularization of the monument and its adaptation to modern social civic circumstances.[67] Bickels was aware of the monumentality of the House with its spatial context and in several sketches he examined the relationship between the massive building and the aqueduct, treating the building as a temple and the aqueduct as a horizontal element pointing to the building.[68] The completion in May, 1965 of the built amphitheater, also designed by Bickels, better interconnected the aqueduct and the House and emphasized the temple-like features of the House, which required an ascent to reach its entrance. To complete the design, he wanted to position a statue on each of the four corners of the roof, further emphasizing the building's temple-like features. Their positioning atop the building, together with the pedestal lower section on which it is standing, aggrandized the structure.

Bickels examined the building's visual perception in many sketches. In most, the House is depicted from one of two viewpoints: an axonometric projection that shows the rectangular feature of the House or from below, as if the viewer is lying on the ground. Neither representation was common for a visitor seeing the House; they certainly, however, reflected one of Bickels's views of the House—



1.8 Plan of L-shaped building and dining hall

a monumental edifice, a view that was further conveyed by the House's entry. After ascending from the amphitheater to the House and entering the building, visitors would reach the entrance hall. Here, they were supposed to take one of two staircases that crisscrossed each other. Programmatically, there was no need for two staircases since one would have sufficed to get to the upper floor where the exhibition starts. The reason for the two staircases might be that Bickels wanted to maintain the symmetry of the building design, which was typical of neo-classical architecture. The unintended outcome was that they created an image that could be perceived as resembling a swastika. Bickels did not design the staircases to deliberately recall the symbol of the Nazis; in fact, the interior of the House was not supposed to carry any symbolic signification, but only to create an abstract space. For Bickels, the entrance sequence had two functions: to lead to the second floor and to reflect grandeur, a gesture he tried to achieve also by means of a representation of the sky scattered with stars, using light that penetrated the curvilinear ceiling of the entrance hall.



1.9 Optional design for installation of statues in the building's corners

This is the only place in the building's interiority that Bickels's design becomes symbolic: the penetrating light not only alludes to the sky but also creates a pattern that could be taken to resemble the Star of David. In principle, the building's symbolism was not direct and only attempted to create a monumental effect. The symbols were not figurative, attempting to signify an observable imagery. Instead, they remained somewhat abstract, referring to and creating an effect of monumentality that could not be linked to any specific and recognizable sign. Mark Godfrey referred to the phenomenon of abstraction in Holocaust artistic representation in his book *Abstraction and the Holocaust,*[69] where he discusses its artistic and representational value partly in relation to the writings of Theodor Adorno and Jean-François Lyotard.[70] For Godfrey, these expressions were neither a confirmation that it is barbaric to write poetry after Auschwitz, a reference to Adorno's famous dictum, nor were they solely about the sublime and the inability to represent the Holocaust, as he draws upon Lyotard's discourse on the analytical sublime. "[A]bstract artists eschew depiction and figuration and sometimes, overt symbolism," Godfrey claimed, "but this is not to say that their abstract art work refuses signification."[71] In the Ghetto Fighters' House, abstraction appears to be meant to deal with the symbolic aspects of architecture and does not try to create what might be termed abstract functionality. Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin attempts to abstract the function of architecture in the building since he does not perceive and create functional museum space. On the contrary, one enters the Jewish Museum and faces a space that does not symbolize a specific way of using it, a space that is abstracted to the point of being almost impossible to use as a museum; it has no reference to anything but itself. In the House, the spatial conditions are somewhat opposite—space is treated in a more functional manner: The visitor follows the entryway into the stairs that dictate the ascent and then continues to move through the various galleries, exhibition spaces and so on.

Space is used mainly as a container of exhibitions and its symbolic aspect is articulated only through the penetration of light.

Bickels was a master at creating skylights that did not let direct light enter into the interior space. Throughout his career, he developed what he called "light space"—various methods of creating spatial effects with light. In the House, he uses two methods of lighting: in one method, light enters through the serrated walls and illuminates the niches, while in the other mode, light washes the space as a whole. The play of dark and light was central to commemorative architecture of the Enlightenment era. At the House, Bickels creates effects that Richard Etlin refers to in his book *Symbolic Space* as dichotomies between life and death as conceived in modernity.[72] Controlling the effects of space and light, Bickels tried to dramatize the museum experience, creating dark spaces for destruction and illuminated space for the uprising.

In May, 1953, the Knesset, Israel's parliament, passed a law dealing with Holocaust commemoration. Called the Law of Holocaust and Heroism Commemoration—Yad Vashem, the law reflected a need to tie the Holocaust to the redemption in the new State of Israel and the revelations of wartime heroism. In that respect, Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz exemplified by its very existence the connection between the Holocaust and heroism—from Warsaw to the Western Galilee. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the name Yad Vashem (Hebrew for memorial and name) in the law's title reflected an ongoing debate in Israel about the need to construct a heroic national perception of the Holocaust, one that encompasses more than just the Hakibbutz Hameuhad youth movement—a leftist ideological movement.[73] The establishment of a national institution for commemoration stimulated debates within the kibbutz regarding the relations between the two institutions. Zvi Shner, one of the founders of the House who was its scientific director between 1954 and 1980, claimed that while the House should collaborate fully with Yad Vashem, it should definitely maintain its independence and not be subordinated to the national institution.[74]

The debates around the locus of commemoration were yet another factor that spurred the House to develop its facilities. The House's eastern and northern wings were built between 1965 and 1968. Although they were planned to be built in a similar fashion to the southern and western wings with serrated walls, the plans were modified and ultimately the buildings had smooth walls because of the curators' complaints that the serrated wall niches made it difficult to design the displays. In 1970–71, the main hall at the center of the now-completed square was built for the use of the temporary exhibition. The completion of the square finalized the exhibition narrative in the following sequence: the Ghetto, which included the Katzenelson exhibition in a separate space; the Partisans; Preparing the Uprising; and the Uprising. These exhibitions continued on the upper floor with art exhibitions. In the end, however, the exhibits were arranged differently and evolved without an organized sequence. They did not try to be a comprehensive representation of the war, but rather to represent the story of the kibbutz people in a context: starting with the Ghetto Uprising, then contextualizing with life in the ghetto (to show what the uprising was against), then Nazi Germany (to show how the ghettos came to be). As the years went by,

new exhibitions were added as tools to tell the story with an emphasis on the ghettos of Warsaw and of Vilna, the Lithuanian capital. So it was, too, with the architectural models of the ghetto and concentration camps, which were built as representational tools when needed.

Over the years, the House grew and expanded not only physically by means of a library and an archive, but also in terms of its programs and further exhibitions. The House's large scale, in both built space and content, had two major effects: it lost its intimacy and it became estranged from the kibbutz itself. As time went on, the kibbutz's public spaces shifted and moved northward, where they were set between the residential sections. This left the House standing in the work zone—among factories, chicken coops and dairy barns. Indeed, in a regional plan that Bickels prepared years later to examine the zoning in the kibbutz, the House was marked as one of the collective's branches of production.[75] And while the kibbutz supplied the labor for the enterprise, the House became increasingly distant from the kibbutz and turned into a workplace. In 1981, the House became a public nonprofit organization, with 44 percent of the shares belonging to the kibbutz, 46 percent to the United Kibbutzim Movement and 10 percent to the State of Israel.[76]

To counter the somewhat alienating feeling created by the House's size, the education department that had been operating from 1974 was restructured in 1987 as a new Education Center named for Yitzhak Zuckerman and Zivia Lubetkin (who died in 1981 and 1978 respectively). The establishment of the Education Center did not go smoothly, reviving the old debates over the kibbutz's investment in the commemoration project versus the need to invest in the *meshek*. At a kibbutz members' meeting in October, 1982, one member identified only as Zvika B. said:

> *As far as I understand, Katzenelson House failed to create a connection with Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz. The plan to build an Education Center is not within our capability. [I] propose that Zivia and Yitzhak be commemorated within the framework of Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz and will be included in a general commemoration project.*[77]

In response, Yudke Helman,[78] a member of Kibbutz Gvat and Zuckerman's right-hand man who was trying to restore the connection between the kibbutz and the House, said that "it is vital to engage young members in Katzenelson's House."[79] He reinforced the idea: "I have a feeling that the second generation is intimidated by dealing with the topic: the Holocaust. And it is different with the third generation."[80] The growing magnitude of the annual ceremonies and the institutional features of the House alienated the kibbutz members. Designed by Noemi Judkowski, the Education Center was built on the museum's northeastern side, in an attempt to restore some of the House's former intimacy. Devoid of any significant architectural features, the Education Center hosts visiting groups that stay a few days in the kibbutz and study the Holocaust. Living in the kibbutz and being exposed to life there, it was believed, would make the visitors' experience and understanding of the topic much more intimate.[81] In recent years, with the construction of new additions to the House, kibbutz members, some of whom established the House, claimed that the "kibbutz 'has returned' to the House."[82]

YAD LAYELED

Ever since the establishment of the House, Zuckerman had been contemplating the construction of a children's memorial. He often recounted an incident concerning a child in the ghetto who asked him for a violin teacher so that he could have some lessons, in the midst of the starvation and suffering.[83] The episode was engraved in Zuckerman's memory, and he wanted to erect a memorial to the children annihilated during the war. Zuckerman, therefore, approached Bickels and asked him to propose a design. At the time, Yad Layeled (Hebrew for Children's Memorial), which became the memorial's name when it was finally erected, was envisioned as part of a larger project. It was a part of a complex that also included the Hehalutz (the Pioneer) archive and museum and the memorial itself, all designed by Bickels. In 1962, Yudke Helman started assembling the material for the Hehalutz archive documenting the history of the movement, which was supposed to be part of the general archive. By the early 1970s, the archive needed more space and Bickels proposed a design for a complex that would include an archive, a museum and a memorial.

His proposal conceptually and visually continued the main House because, for Bickels, the addition had to be "a) simple; b) totally suited to the existing building; [and] c) have an absolutely defined role."[84] To that end, Bickels delineated a building that was to be built to the east, between the main House and the amphitheater. Bickels and the people connected with the House wanted to take advantage of the expansion project and add some desperately needed space while constructing Hehalutz museum and Yad Layeled. Therefore, as mentioned in one of his sketches, he wanted to include, in addition to the museum and memorial, a hall for performances and gatherings, additional space for the concentration camp display, space for an exhibition about the prewar period, a cafeteria and a pavilion for eight researchers.[85] All additions were planned to occupy the same level as the main House, without ever exceeding the latter's height. The circulation was planned to link the various levels and create a continuous pathway between all buildings, with the caveat that Yad Layeled would have its own private entrance. Bickels and the people at the House wanted, on the one hand, to tie Yad Layeled to the House as part of the inclusive tale of the war, Holocaust and resistance, while on the other hand, they also wanted to separate them by providing a private entrance to the children's memorial that would not force young visitors to be exposed to the House's exhibitions prematurely. The outcome would have created a physical and conceptual duality, integration with separation: visually, tectonically and programmatically, the two entities were connected; in their circulation, however, they only appeared to be connected. This perception prevailed throughout the years, and when Yad Layeled was eventually erected, it was considered as part of the overall commemorative project in the kibbutz while at the same time maintaining its formal and institutional independence. In Bickels's proposal, the new additions were meant to enclose an inner courtyard that would serve both as a connector, the main entrance plaza to the complex, and as a divider that allowed each section to be entered individually.

Out of the several additions that were planned for the complex, Bickels mainly concentrated on designing Yad Layeled. He envisioned the structure as a square building similar to and evolving from the main House: built without the originally planned rotunda, the House remained a square building with a hole in its center, a void, while Yad Layeled was planned as a massive square building with a substantial core. It seems that by this point, Bickels had accepted that the House would not have the Hall of Remembrance at its center as he initially planned, so he decided to reverse the scheme of the House with the filled center of the children's memorial, shaped in a conic form, resembling a chimney.[86]

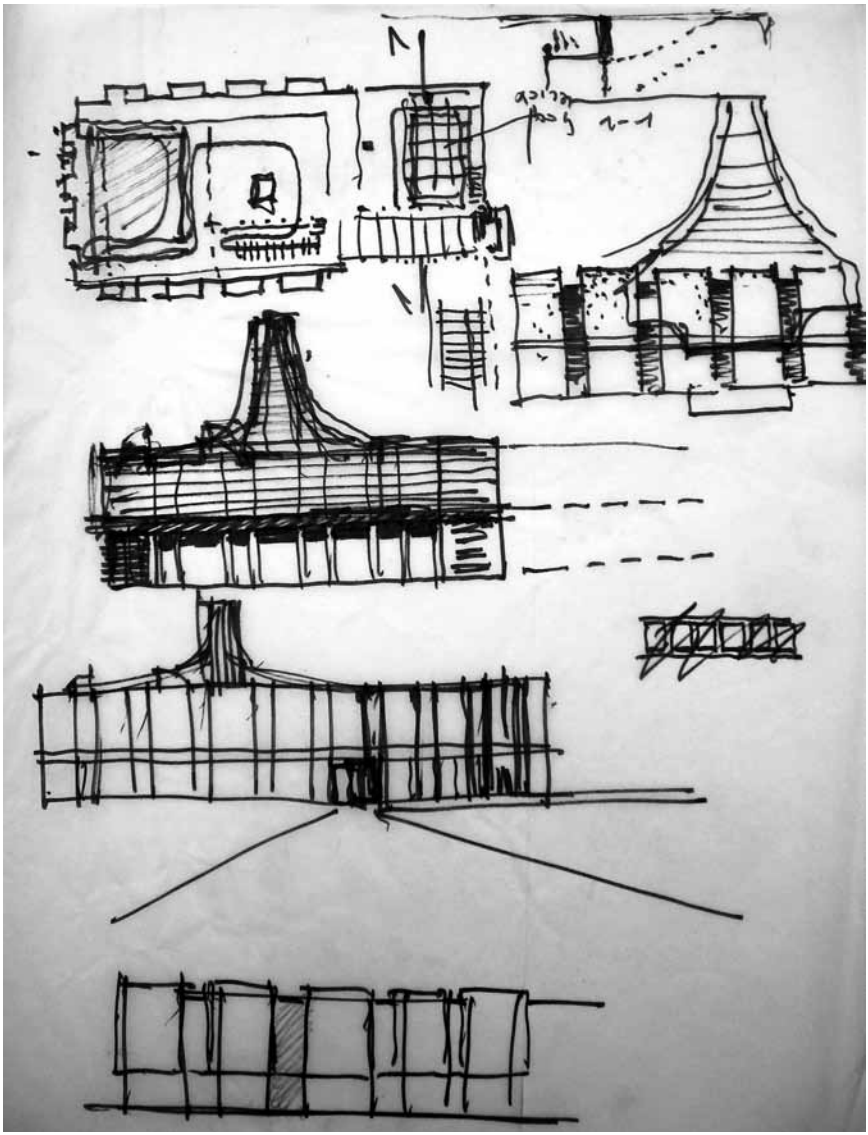
The interior space of the square memorial was divided into four sections: Children's Lives before the War ("child in the image of light and happiness");[87] Life in the Ghetto; the Life and Legacy of Janusz Korczak ("Korczak, Final Way");[88] and finally, the Memorial. A renowned educator, Korczak was in steady contact with Zuckerman and Lubetkin before and during the Ghetto years.[89] Many people at the House felt that he embodied the destiny of the Jewish people in Poland, as Zvi Shner best described:

> *In his pride and with his contribution to human culture and with his Jewish closure during the Holocaust and in the final years before that, Korczak represents the destiny of Polish Jewry, the one that sat among the Polish people for hundreds of years, the one that tried to assimilate and was not allowed, the one that searched for paths for national identity and the one that was destroyed by the waves of the Nazi Holocaust.*[90]

No wonder, then, that the House people sought to perpetuate his name: his archive became part of the permanent collection of the House, the International School was named after him and the Israel Association in Memory of Korczak was established.

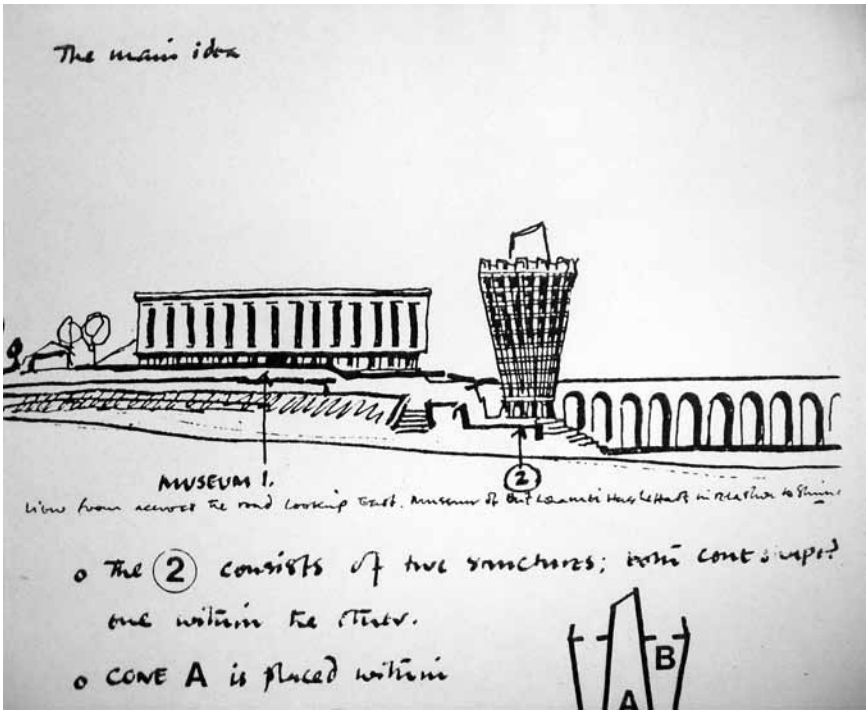
Moreover, Zuckerman and others thought that Korczak's story and his work with children could be used effectively in telling the tale of the Holocaust from a child's point of view at Yad Layeled.[91] Entering Yad Layeled, visitors, and mainly children, were supposed to follow the four consecutive spaces that created a narrative and exit into the next space of Aliyat Hanoar (Hebrew for Youth Immigration).[92] Bickels emphasized the dissimilar nature of each of the spaces and narratives by using different light treatment. The section on Jewish life before the war was to be illuminated mostly by natural sunlight. The next two rooms, the Ghetto and Korczak sections, were to be in shadow and the final section—the memorial—was to be twilight. Out of the four spaces, Bickels was most fascinated by the memorial. He sketched several alternatives for the structure's roof, giving special emphasis to the topmost part. Here, the cone-shaped roof, had it been built, was supposed to admit a moderate amount of light, creating a delicate play of light with the Eternal Flame.

Bickels's proposal was never realized, due to lack of funding. In addition, his death in 1975 led to the project's decline as he did not manage to complete the design, which remained mostly in sketch form. Some members of the House's board of directors proposed approaching Marc Chagall to offer him the task. This idea never matured because Zuckerman refused to visit Chagall in Paris before the artist gave his preliminary consent to take the project and also due to miscommunication.



1.10 Samuel Bickles's design for Yad Layeled

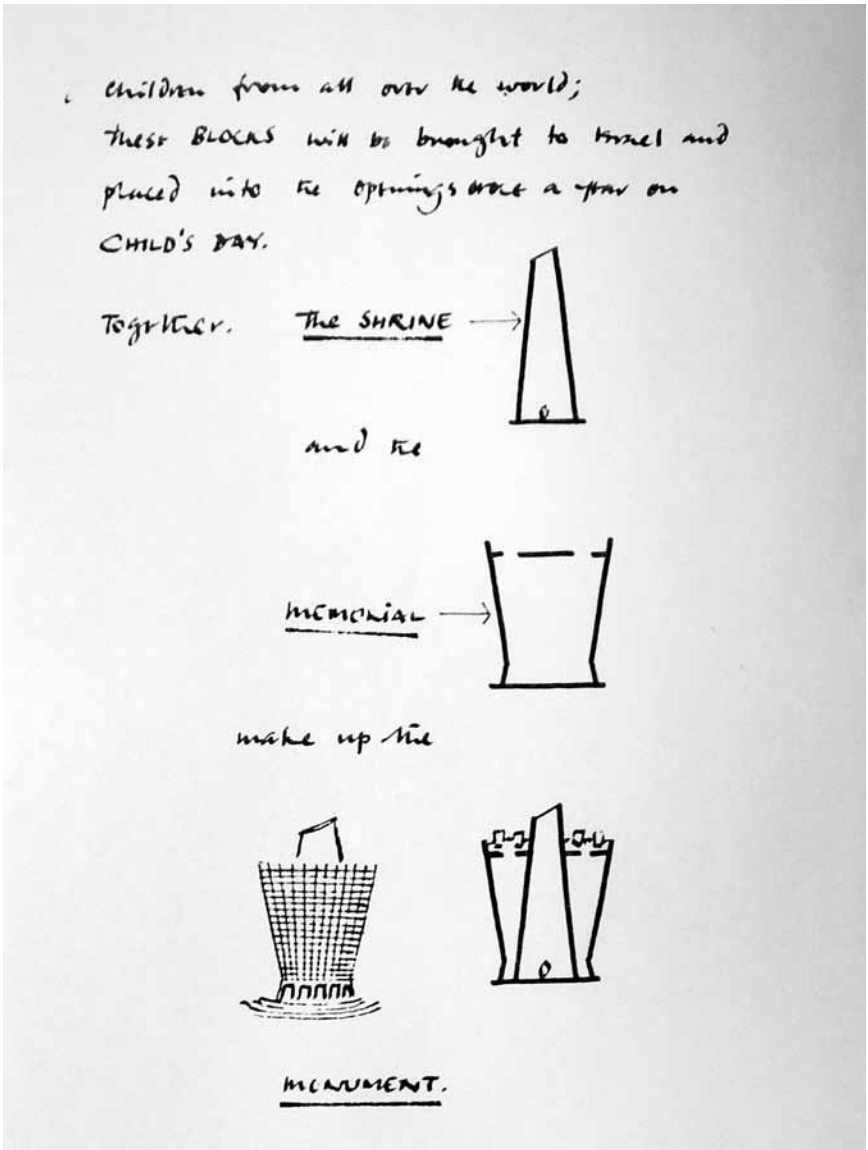
Chagall never responded, a meeting with Zuckerman was never held, and the idea of hiring the Jewish artist was set aside.[93] After Zuckerman's death in 1981, Helman became active in promoting the building of the children's memorial. And shortly thereafter, Roman Alter, a London-based Holocaust survivor who was an architect and a stained glass artist, visited the House and expressed his interest in developing the project, which was received positively. As in the other cases, Alter was shown Bickels's design and asked to devise a proposal that would refer to Bickels's initial ideas in some way. Alter took up the challenge and in December, 1983, presented his first proposal to the House's board of directors: two cones interlocked in opposite directions, located on the western side of the aqueduct, on the continuation of the amphitheater hill slope.



1.11 Roman Alter first proposal—two interlocked conic forms

This location would have lent the structure prominence in the site and the region, while at the same time not competing with the House, which it was not supposed to exceed in either size or height. One cone, which functioned as a central component of the memorial, was enfolded by an external envelope in the shape of a cone pointing toward the ground. For Alter, the inner cone symbolized a shrine and the outer cone a memorial.[94] The interconnecting space between the two cones was to contain a spiral staircase that would allow visitors to follow a circular route down to the bottom of the memorial. In this version, there were no exhibition spaces, nor were places set aside for education. Alter emphasized the memorial section and tried to achieve an atmosphere of contemplation, through the use of stained glass windows created from drawings made by children interned at the Theresienstadt concentration camp. The windows were to be Alter's donation to the project.

The design was criticized and Alter was asked to modify it and integrate additional functions. Four months later, on March 1984, he presented a second option, an octagonal building that somewhat recalled an Egyptian temple with three main floors. The lower level was allocated for the Korczak Hall: an educational center with a permanent exhibition showing the life and work of Korczak, as well as an exhibition about education during the Holocaust.[95] "This and the floor above are the hub of the living educational center for the child," Alter explained in his proposal.[96] They were meant to provide places to sit and a large space for lectures, discussions, choirs, chamber music and dramatic performances, as Alter described. The intermediate floor, the Creative Area, was to have four rooms and a large space



1.12 Detail of Roman Alter first proposal

designed to function as assembly spaces for children to express themselves in art. The upper level was to house the Hall of Remembrance. The Hall's walls were receded to create a smaller space than the two floors below, so that it would seem "to crown both [the lower two floors],"[97] according to Alter's description.

This option also was supposed to be located west of the aqueduct. This time, Alter proposed excavating the slope to carve out a circular space to accommodate the structure. The excavation would have created an eight-meter difference in height between the House's lower level and the proposed structure, which Alter wanted to connect by retaining walls that would function also as ramps. Together the walls and the circular form would "conceptually [look] like two hands protecting a gem,"

he envisioned.[98] The entrance to the two lower floors was from the circular plaza at the bottom. The upper floor, however, followed Bickels's scheme of connectivity to the House; it was accessible from the lower two floors or by a bridge that would connect it to the House. "Part of the reason for the separation of the Shrine from the lower section," Alter explained, "is to create an atmosphere of calm conducive to contemplation."[99] He believed that the stained glass windows installed on the Shrine (Hall of Remembrance) level would help to create the desired atmosphere.

This proposal was presented to the kibbutz members at a special meeting in September, 1984. The proposal was criticized, mainly by the renowned Israeli artist Moshe Kupferman,[100] whose vehement opposition to the design itself and its location next to the aqueduct left no room for compromise.[101] Haim Gouri objected to the construction of any memorial at all and said that the House should invest in research, book publication and film production.[102] The extensive objections to Alter's second proposal, however, were not on a personal level and he was not asked to resign. Instead, the board of directors decided to assign a local architect and a steering committee to monitor the design and building processes. Munia Abrahami, a member of Kibbutz Ma'agan Michael,[103] who finished working on the production of the movie *Pnei Hamered* (Hebrew for "The Face of the Uprising"), took it upon himself to raise funds abroad for the construction of the children's memorial. Together with the steering committee, Abrahami, who later became Yad Layeled's director, sought a local architect to join the project. Since Alter was not a licensed architect in Israel, in any case he would need someone to assist him in getting the necessary permits and in the project's execution. He recommended hiring one of Israel's leading architects, Ram Karmi,[104] whom he knew from their studies at the Architectural Association in London. Karmi was delighted to join the project and the Jewish Agency for Israel, which financed a large part of the project, also supported his selection because his reputation as a world-famous architect would be advantageous for the fundraising efforts.

Karmi was the son of one of the founding fathers of Israeli architecture, Dov Karmi,[105] and at the time he was asked to join the children's memorial project, he was working with his sister, the architect Ada Karmi-Melamede,[106] on the design of Israel's Supreme Court building. His stature as one of the country's most important architects granted him a lot of power within the project development, to the point where he took the lead and became the project's main architect. Instead of Alter's Egyptian temple-like shrine, which he disliked, Karmi proposed what appears to be a combination of Bickels's design with Alter's first proposal: a spiral building that enfolds a cone, which functions as a memorial. Initially, he proposed locating the building on the eastern side of the amphitheater, but the Jewish Agency for Israel wanted it to be on the western side, next to the aqueduct so that it would be more noticeable from the Acre-Nahariya highway. Karmi relocated the memorial to its new position and tied it conceptually to the Turkish aqueduct. The proximity to the aqueduct might explain why he decided to use the whirlpool as a metaphor for the building. Together, the building's two parts—the cone and the spiral—morphologically looked like a continuation of the aqueduct, spiraling into the ground. Later, Karmi explained the building's two

1.13 Ram Karmi's design of Yad Layeled

trajectories: the linear trajectory, a continuation of the aqueduct, a symbol for "a division line that the children had to pass on the way to the abyss."[107] The circular trajectory, Karmi explained, was "an image of a whirlpool in the sea, from which one cannot escape."[108]

Munia Abrahami, who was in charge of the project, invited Miri Kedem, also a member of Kibbutz Ma'agan Michael, and designer Uri Abramson to work on developing the exhibition. The program they wrote indicated that "the entrance to the museum will follow the aqueduct in a continuous pathway that will disconnect visitors from the world they came from."[109] Abrahami, Kedem and Abramson were also concerned with the question of how to present the harsh facts of the Holocaust to young people. They wanted to create an "attraction that will ensure continuous interest and distance that will prevent a trauma."[110] To that end, the building as a whole disconnected the visitors from the exterior space and proposed a narrative of the wartime events from a child's perspective, without explicit graphic material and using mostly replicas to convey the sights of the events in Europe. Inaugurated in May 1995, the cone's entrance level houses the Hall of Commemoration, which includes Alter's stained glass work based on the children's drawings from Theresienstadt and voices telling stories of children before the war. Underneath the Hall, a space was allocated for an Eternal Flame, while the cone's lower level holds the Korczak Hall, which includes an exhibition on Korczak's life and educational views and the orphanage he established. Although it documents his life and activities, Korczak's archive was not moved from its storage place in the House. The remaining space in the cone is used for an amphitheater for performances and talks. On its outer surface, names of children who perished in the Holocaust were engraved in various languages.[111]

Enfolding the cone, the spiral part of the building included a permanent exhibition based on true stories of children of the Holocaust. Composed of a succession of installations, the exhibition presents the main events of the war in

chronological fashion.[112] Abrahami, Kedem and Abramson tried to animate these events using basic symbols that would convey them from a child's point of view. Accordingly, in the installation "Restrictions and Prohibitions," for example, they emphasized laws that were related to a child's life, such as expulsion from school or youth organizations. In other places, they replicated scenes of places in Europe during the war. The spiral concludes with a hall for creative activities. In contrast to the dark spaces of the cone and the spiral, the hall for creation is lit by bright sunlight. Here, the young visitors are invited to use workstations where they can express themselves in various media.

THIRD GENERATION: BEING MILEK BICKELS

On February 16, 2002, the selection committee of the Extension to the Ghetto Fighters' House competition gathered for the presentation of the proposals for the museum complex's enlargement. A few months earlier, eight leading Israeli architectural offices had been invited to devise a plan for the extension of the existing House. With the turn of the millennium, the management of the Ghetto Fighters' House and members of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz decided to update the means of representation and the building that accommodates them. It was the House's director at that time, Simcha Stein, who initiated this project. After a visit to the death camps in Poland a year earlier, he joined the House in the education department in 1984, and when he was appointed the House director in 1996, he immediately started thinking about the House's reorganization and renovation. Stein thought the House was being managed on a local level and that management had to become more professional; moreover, to reflect the myriad advances in display technologies, the House had to be modernized. Thus, in 2002, the House ran a competition for an extension with a new section.

The offices of Bracha and Michael Chyutin Architects with Atzmon Architects, of Michael Mansfeld and Haim Kehat, of Alex Grynbaum, B. Baruch and Y. Idelman Architects, and of Peter Keinan represented the established generation. The office of Zvi Efrat and Meira Kowalsky with architect Dror Aviram and the office of Gabi Schwartz and Dani Besnosoff comprised the intermediate stage, while Allenby 19 Architects (which later became Skorka Architects) personified the younger generation. The selection committee—made up of Israeli architects Shimon Shapira and Hilik Arad, Simcha Stein, world-renowned curator Yona Fisher, Ghetto Fighters' House curators Batya Doner and Miri Kedem, artist Siona Shimshi, and the director of the Museum of Art, Ein Harod, Galia Bar-Or—was mandated to choose a plan that would maintain the existing building and the uniqueness expressed by its architecture, while at the same time extending the building with additional exhibition spaces.

The extension competition took place some 30 years after the House was completed. During those years, the House did not undergo any significant change. Indeed, three sections—Yad Layeled, the archive and library building, and the Education Center—were added to the Ghetto Fighters' complex but they had little influence on the House. Conceptually they were not connected to it,

nor did they have a major influence on its operation. With that in mind, the competition participants were asked to keep the existing additional structures (excluding Yad Layeled, which was out of the competition's scope) in their proposals, but were allowed to modify them. They were also asked to preserve the architectural features of the House. The competition program explicitly indicated that "the envelope of the original museum building has to be kept in its entirety because of the architectural and symbolic values that are embedded in it."[113] The program also indicated that "the envelope of the latest addition to the building, which was planned by architect Noemi Judkowski (on the eastern side of the building), is open for planning proposals, for instance, locating an auditorium on top."[114] The competition program provided an exact list of the necessary additions to the House, the various functions and the number of square meters, as well as the main issues for the participants to address. The additions included a 300-seat auditorium, a reception space, a museum shop and new exhibition spaces. The participants had to accommodate several functions in the new additions while considering the campus as a whole.

The convoluted circulation in the House was also a central issue to be resolved. Building the House in several stages had resulted in several modifications in the original plan. Not only were the serrated walls changed into smooth walls in the later stages in order to facilitate better installation of the displays, but the circulation in the House also ended up lacking a continuous flow. The competition participants were asked to propose a way to interconnect the various exhibition spaces so they would create a continuous path reflecting the museum's narratives about the war and the Holocaust. Thus, the competition program indicated the several trajectories in the House and the ways in which they were meant to interconnect. For instance, the main trajectory is supposed to lead from the entrance hall to the exhibition halls: "The Jewish Youth that Existed," "Ghettos and Deportations," "Righteous among the Nations," "The Jewish Resistance," "Uprisings in the Ghettos" and so on. The Resistance and Uprising trajectory was supposed to lead from the entrance hall to the exhibitions "The Jewish World that Existed," "The Jewish Youth that Existed" and "Fighting in the Warsaw Ghetto" and then to the "Back to Life" exhibition. The various trajectories intersect so that they create a matrix of narratives in which each visitor can find his or her own interest and way of experiencing the museum. Architecture in that respect functioned not only as a vision machine, to reiterate Paul Virilio's concept of the role of architecture, but it also became a tool in the task of historicization.[115] The various trajectories proposed several ways to learn about the events that took place during and shortly after the Second World War. The spatial flexibility resulting from Bickels's convoluted circulation allowed visitors to wander in the House in a nonlinear fashion and thus to construct an independent picture of the war and its conduct. This flexible condition was in opposition to the firm and rigid image projected by the House's envelope. The program does not outline the difference between the House's interiority (circulation) and exteriority (envelope). It is only mentioned as one of the main attributes that the participants must maintain.

Outlining the locus and nature of the new addition—the center of the House, where rotunda/Hall of Remembrance was supposed to be built—was probably the most significant part of the competition program. "The building of the current

museum, which was planned in stages, was never completed," the program points out. The center of the building contains an empty space three stories high that the building's architect [Bickels] had designated for the Hall of Remembrance/ Hall of Fighting Memory. In the current program, this space was selected to function as a central exhibition hall that would be the museum's core."[116] Thus, the various participants were asked to consider the House's void as an exhibition hall and as the means to interconnect the other spaces both physically and visually. The central space was supposed to allow gazing from one exhibition space to another, thus connecting them conceptually. The physical connections were supposed to reinforce the visual connections, as well as to assist in linking the exhibitions halls into several historical trajectories and narratives.

As part of the guidelines outlined in the program, all of the competition participants received a package that included plans and sections of the building drawn by Bickels, recent updated drawings of the building, plans of the circulation that demonstrate the flow in the building, also drawn by Bickels, and images of the ways in which light penetrates into the building. The participants were asked to consider all of Bickels's ideas regarding the circulation, the additional exhibition space in the rotunda and the light penetration. The aim of this request was not only to honor the special architecture that Bickels planned and developed in and around the House, but also to emphasize the House's uniqueness among other Holocaust museums in Israel.

It is important to emphasize, however, that the competition guidelines did not dwell much upon the nature of the new additions to the House, nor did they seek to directly address the Holocaust as the building's subject matter. The main issues treated in the guidelines have to do with Bickels's design and the ways in which the proposal should address them. Given the worldwide wave of construction in the 1990s of Holocaust museums, some of which are highly symbolic, and given the symbolic nature of Karmi's Yad Layeled building that metaphorically alludes to a whirlpool, one might expect that the guidelines would address the issue in one way or another. The only way in which the program refers to the Holocaust is not in the building's formal appearance, style or language, but rather in the exhibitions and the paths of circulation that create several narratives, as well as in the need to tell the story of those who founded the House and the kibbutz. Aside from the dark and light spaces that Bickels created and that carried a symbolic meaning, the guidelines did not refer to the House's symbolism and its relation to the Holocaust. Instead, it was treated in strictly programmatic terms of circulation, entryways and space allocations.

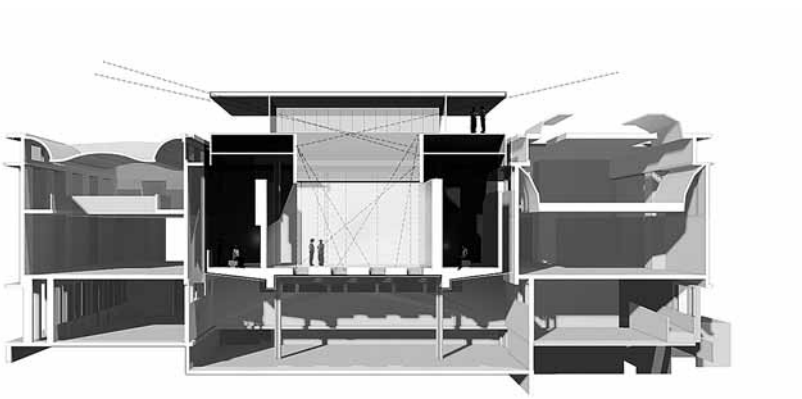
In light of the detailed instructions for the competition, it is not surprising that all the entries followed the competition program guidelines and related their proposals to Bickels's ideas, both actualized and on paper. Some even tried to address the Holocaust symbolically, but most focused on the request to refer to Bickels' design and to the programmatic demands outlined in the guidelines. Each of the proposals, however, chose to interpret Bickels' vision in a slightly different manner. Four diverse strategies can be discerned for the references to his ideas:

1.14 Chyutin Architects proposal for the extension of the building

1. A direct relationship, in which the proposals attempted to faithfully follow Bickels's ideas and execute them as he envisioned (this could be seen as a mode of simulating his ideas).
2. Partial reference, in which parts of Bickels's ideas are retained but receive a new interpretation and a new mode of execution (here, the architects referred to the original ideas and tried to maintain the general concept, while proposing a new formal way to express it).
3. Reference by additions, in which Bickels's ideas are referred to with the intention of maintaining them. Nevertheless, this strategy adds new elements that do not exist in Bickels's design and tries to modify the initial idea through the additions.
4. Ignoring Bickels's ideas totally and proposing something completely new.

Without question, the proposal of Chyutin Architects in collaboration with Atzmon Architects referred most fully to Bickels's ideas.

Michael Chyutin, an independent scholar who earned his doctorate from the Technion—Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa and, studied Bickels's life story and his ideas about urban planning and architecture, devoting more thorough study to the design of the House. In his research, Chyutin found out that Bickels located the House on a hilltop next to the amphitheater because he saw the kibbutz as a *polis* with an *agora* in its center. In the kibbutz, unlike in classical architecture, however, the *agora* was to be materialized in Beit Ha'am (the People's House) and not as a commercial venue. And specifically in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, the agora was to be replaced by the House. Chyutin also referred to another of Bickels's visions, when he addressed the location on the hilltop, the topography and the amphitheater as an allusion to the "city crown" (Die Stadtkrone), in a Bruno Taut-like utopian vision for new towns. For Taut, the city crown was a glass pavilion or a glass building; in Bickels's design, it was the rotunda that was meant to infiltrate light into the Hall of Remembrance as well as radiate light outward. Impressed by these findings, Chyutin-Atzmon decided to fulfill Bickels's vision so faithfully that they proposed building the auditorium in the same place where Bickels had initially located it.



1.15 Efrat-Kowalsky Architects with architect Dror Aviram. Winning proposal for the extension of the building

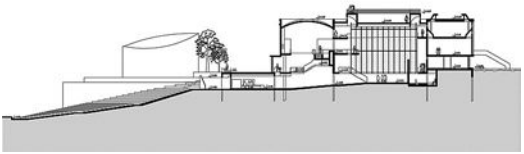
Adopting Bickels's idea for the auditorium, however, expressed itself more fully than just its location. Chyutin-Atzmon also used a sketch by Bickels to devise their own proposal; indeed, it seems they followed his sketch in a literal fashion, without creating any difference or interpreting it in a new way. The building's morphology, materials and concept resembled Bickels's design for the auditorium. A closer look at Chyutin-Atzmon's proposal, however, reveals that it created what Gilles Deleuze termed in *Difference and Repetition* "difference in itself." In his seminal book, Deleuze proposes a model in which something distinguishes from something else and creates a difference, while maintaining a linkage to the original. Deleuze worded it as follows: "… imagine something which distinguishes itself—and yet that which it distinguishes itself from does not distinguish itself from it."[117] For Deleuze, this kind of distinction between two entities is a matter of determination—they maintain a level of identity; yet they are determined separately. Chyutin-Azmon reiterated Bickels's sketch and maintained a level of identity; nonetheless, even if they had executed Bickels's idea in a literal fashion, they would have come up with a new determination for the auditorium. Their auditorium would create a difference in and of itself. In the rotunda, this condition would not occur as Chyutin-Azmon took some liberties and did not refer to Bickels's vision. Unlike his spherical structure that was based on an opaque shell, Chyutin-Atzmon came up with a transparent cubic structure. Here, it seems that Chyutin-Azmon wanted to keep the spirit of Bickels's vision but sought ways to update it. Transforming Bickels's dark shell into a light box derived from the same wish to create a space for contemplation—only the means to achieve it was the opposite.

Even if not directly and explicitly, the proposal of Efrat-Kowalsky Architects with architect Dror Aviram also referred to Bickels's vision and partially applied his ideas. Similar to Bickels, Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram proposed to locate the Hall of Remembrance in the empty space in the center of the square building, and similar to Bickels, they proposed to infiltrate light into the Hall. Unlike Bickels, however, Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram lowered the Hall of Remembrance to the basement, where Bickels had designated a space for an exhibition about Europe during and after the Second World War. Above this space, Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram proposed to locate the central hall that would tell the story of the Ghetto

Fighters' Kibbutz and House. In the Hall, they attempted to reconnect the House to the kibbutz members, who became increasingly alienated from it as it grew bigger and more institutionalized. The rooftop was constructed from two parts: above the square building, Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram proposed an observation deck with a view stretching from the Mediterranean Sea deep into the Western Galilee valley. And on top of the central Hall, where the rotunda top was supposed to conclude, Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram proposed a glass installation by the New York-based architect and artist James Carpenter. He designed a flat glass top with perpendicular plates, supporting the main structure. The installation allowed the penetration of indirect light similar to the light shafts that Bickels had designed in the square building and the one that was supposed to be in the rotunda. The difference was that the glass Carpenter chose filtered the light and allowed only blue-toned rays to penetrate. In that respect, Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram and Carpenter referred to Bickels's idea, followed his initial vision and sought ways to let indirect light enter the Hall of Remembrance; nevertheless, in their vision, the new technology of glass tinting enhanced Bickels's idea and washed the main Hall with more light.

In a way, here, similar to Chyutin-Atzmon's proposal, Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram subverts Bickels's idea and creates a light box in what can be seen as synonyms of the same architectural term: the light box replaces dark space. And whereas they might seem opposites, they stem from the same idea— light and dark being interchangable. In his book *Symbolic Space*, Richard Etlin defines the affinity between the dark and light spaces as both being related to absence.[118] Discussing the architecture of Étienne-Louis Boullée during the Enlightenment, Etlin interlinked the two and claimed that the Enlightenment architect "… used darkness, or rather negative light, in his funerary architecture."[119] Etlin discussed the Enlightenment-era relation to dark and light spaces and the ways in which they were misinterpreted by Italian Fascist architecture. At the Ghetto Fighters' House, the proposals of Chyutin-Atzmon and Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram did not use these spaces as a means of inspiring awe as Fascist architecture attempted to do. Rather, the spaces were meant to connect the building's exteriority with its interiority and thus reduce the monumental effect created by Bickels's design, as well as to symbolically let the kibbutz penetrate into the House. In Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram's proposal, this is achieved by the section of the building that consisted of three layers in three floors: the lower floor, called "Remnants," is used for archival material; the intermediate floor, "Witnesses," includes testimonies by survivors living in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz; and the upper floor, the roof deck called "Landscapes," provides a view of the kibbutz and its surroundings and interlinks the archival memories with contemporary life in the kibbutz.

The proposal of the architectural office Allenby 19, owned by the brothers Roy and Addar Secker, also related to Bickels's vision and created a light box, composed of glass walls and a concrete roof that functioned as an observation deck. Nevertheless, the more substantial part of their proposal lay in their idea to physically interconnect the various parts of the Ghetto Fighters' House campus. Allenby 19 suggested stretching two intersecting axes in the site that would connect the amphitheater and the House in the north–south axis, and Yad Layeled and the atelier of artist Moshe Kupferman in the east–west axis.



1.16 Skorka (Secker) Architects proposal for the extension of the building

A Holocaust survivor, Kupferman gained international recognition for his work, which was categorized as abstract lyricism. He arrived in Palestine in 1948 in the *Brihah* and was among the founders of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, where he lived until his death in 2003. A year earlier, when the competition took place, Allenby 19 decided to link Kupferman's life story to the House and created an underground pathway leading to his atelier that was located east of the House. The perpendicular axis, the north-south one, not only connected the House and the amphitheater but also marked the new entry point to the complex as a whole. Allenby 19 proposed that the new entry would be located a level lower than the existing entrance, the level where the amphitheater reaches its highest point. Entering the complex at this point, visitors would take a tunnel-like corridor leading them to the lower floor of the rotunda without having to descend. Along the way, they were supposed to pass under the crisscrossing stairways that would be suspended over their heads in a monumental fashion. This effect could be achieved because the staircases would function not only for descending and ascending, but their sculptural quality would be emphasized. At the end of the corridor, visitors would have arrived at the Hall of Remembrance, a light box that was meant to function as the main exhibition hall and to connect this hall with the other exhibition halls and join all of them together.

The immediate effect of the two axes proposed by Allenby 19 would be to tightly interconnect the various parts of the building. Built over the years in several stages, the House was composed of different sections that created a fragmented building. The discontinuity of the circulation, the fact that almost every addition to the House was at a different level in relation to its neighbor, the diverse approaches to executed style and material use, and other aspects created the impression that the House's interiority was a collage of bits and pieces of buildings. This notion was further emphasized by the fact that the exhibitions were arranged in a nonlinear fashion. The exhibitions were conceived as a reaction to specific needs to tell the story of the war and the Holocaust over the years. For instance, the exhibition about the Second World War was the result of a need to describe the context in which the ghetto uprising occurred. After the exhibition about the ghetto uprising was installed, it became clear that an exhibition about the war was necessary to sharpen the viewers' understanding of the rebellion. Similarly, other exhibitions were conceived and designed to complete the overall story of the war from the point of view of the survivors now living in the kibbutz. Consequently, these exhibitions created a fragmented picture of the event. Allenby 19's proposal would have unified the various exhibition spaces, leading to better continuity in the display that would have created a clearer narrative. Thus, in its proposal, Allenby 19 identified the important parts of the building and sought to connect them through the powerful and unequivocal gesture of underground pathways. In that respect, the addition that Allenby 19 proposed created a new platform for the building's old components and framed them in a new fashion. That is evident not only in the crisscrossing staircases that became a sculptural element in the building, but also in the exhibition halls that could be observed from the lower level so that

1.17 Mansfeld-Kehat proposal for the extension of the building

the building could be grasped in its entirety. In a way, Allenby 19 completed Bickels's vision and the building's monumental envelope, which conveys a sense of unification, was now also the concept of the House's interiority.

Michael Mansfeld and Haim Kehat were also occupied with connecting the building's various parts but unlike the other proposals, they concentrated on linking its interior parts. Inside the House, their attempts were based on two architectural elements: tubes and bridges. The tubes were designed to admit indirect light into the main hall. Mansfeld-Kehat used nine tubes that cut through a technical floor just below the roof top observation deck. The lower ends of eight of these tubes were supposed to protrude from the ceiling and let light into the main hall. The ninth tube continued all the way to the lower floor of the hall, where Mansfeld-Kehat located the Hall of Remembrance. In order to connect the various exhibition halls, Mansfeld-Kehat proposed using the second connective element—two bridges that would stretch diagonally, one above the other; one was meant to connect the two sides of the second floor and the other the two sides of the third floor. The two main elements in Mansfeld-Kehat's proposal—the tubes and the bridges—emphasized their wish to connect the various parts of the building and to link the exteriority of the building with its interiority. Yet, unlike Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram's proposal that tied the House's exteriority and interiority by opening the two sides to one another, in Mansfeld-Kehat's proposal the connection was more symbolic. Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram allowed experiencing the outside inside and vice versa through the opacity of James Carpenter's glass installation that admitted light. In Mansfeld-Kehat's proposal, the Hall was supposed to be an introverted dark box, so that the light did not fully convey the outside in the inner space. Instead, it functioned as a symbol of the exterior space inside.

Peter Keinan was less occupied with the issue of light penetration into the existing building and the hall that he was supposed to fill up. Like Allenby 19, he tried to connect the various parts of the Ghetto Fighters' House campus, yet unlike the young firm's proposal, his scheme tackled the question of connecting the parts from the outside. Whereas Allenby 19 proposed to dig the axes and connect the various parts in a non-apparent way, Keinan sought to start from the outside, from the Turkish aqueduct west of the amphitheater that was supposed to direct visitors through Yad Layeled to what Keinan called "a Mediterranean courtyard." From the courtyard, visitors were to continue through the auditorium, which was planned as an external building, and into the House. Creating this pathway, Keinan wished to gradually lead the visitors from the Israeli reality into the memory of the Holocaust. Inside the House, visitors would have faced an upside-down cone installation occupying the central part of the void.

The proposal of Gabi Schwartz and Dani Besnosoff was probably the most radical in its formal appearance, and its spatial and programmatic organization. That is probable because they did not relate to Bickels's vision at all. Generally, they were not directly occupied with subject matter posed by the exhibition. Instead, they concentrated on the functional aspects that the building had to fulfill as a museum. To that end, Schwartz-Besnosoff proposed two main additions that seem radical to the extent that they might have changed the nature of the building. One major addition was the auditorium that Schwartz-Besnosoff proposed to locate on top of the central hall, where the rotunda was supposed to conclude.

In their proposal, the lower part of oval-shaped auditorium curved into the main hall and created a "belly" as the ceiling of the hall. The two sides of the auditorium were supposed to let light in. The other major addition was a glass box planned to go in front of the existing building and expand the entry lobby designed by Bickels. While grandiose in their concept, the two additions did not affect the House too much. The auditorium protruded from the existing rooftop; nevertheless, it seemed to be a continuation of the roof with a curved element. The entry glass box was more apparent as it was on the ground floor and could be more easily seen; nevertheless, its transparent quality made it blend into the House façade.

The Ghetto Fighters' House Extension competition posed a unique case in which Holocaust commemoration by architecture had to be rethought in relation to an existing attempt. Bickels's House created a framework for this rethinking by setting out its formal and contextual scope. Having to relate to the House some 50 years after its first phase was inaugurated and 30 years after it was completed, led the participating architects to reconsider the existing mode of commemoration in relation to contemporary means and needs of commemoration. To that end, most participants focused on interconnecting the various parts of the House—exhibitions, spaces and circulation—while attempting to preserve the initial ideas expressed by Bickels. As a result, excluding the proposals of Allenby 19, Peter Keinan and Schwartz-Besnosoff, the interventions in the House were more surgical, on a small scale rather than as a grand gesture. This attitude was most apparent in the winning proposal by Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram based on what the architects defined in Efrat-Kowalsky's future projects as "doing almost nothing."

1.18 Intermediate floor in Efrat-Kowalsky and Aviram design

In their discussion summary, the jury mentioned the three finalists and the quality of their work: "Efrat-Kowalsky's sensitive treatment sharpened the possibilities for display in the central space, a topic especially important for the management of the House." Allenby 19's proposal, according to the jury, "is a dramatic change for the current space perception in the House." And Mansfeld-Kehat's proposal "gave clear and clean solutions to the missing functions while preserving the uniqueness of the House."[120] Indeed, out of the three proposals, the ones by Mansfeld-Kehat and Allenby 19 drew more on architectural gestures and intervened in the House using explicit architectural means. Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram's proposal was much less sweeping and fostered ways for new media installations. Its emphasis was mainly on the culture of display rather than on the architecture as a means for display.

Eventually, the jury chose Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram's proposal after a lengthy discussion, disagreements and a split vote (five in favor of Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram, and three in favor of others). This decision was well suited to the House management's overall perception of Holocaust commemoration and their desire not to make a radical change in the House. It also reflected the management's wish to connect the House to the life in the kibbutz. If Bickels referred to Holocaust commemoration by monumental architecture and placed it in a dominant position in the kibbutz, thus interweaving daily life in the kibbutz with the monumentality of the House, then Efrat-Kowalsky-Aviram's proposal attempted to follow through on this wish. Thus, their means of achieving this goal was reflected not in the building's scale, but rather through small gestures—the display in the central hall, the observation deck and the Hall of Remembrance in the basement.

The installation in the central hall, which was later named "A Story of a Place," was based on a book about the kibbutz's founders and a video installation showing a panoramic view of the kibbutz today. Dror Burstein, an author and literary scholar, conducted research on the kibbutz's founders, based on Zvika Dror's work *Dapei Edut*.[121] Dror[122] is the husband of Zmira Dror, a Holocaust

survivor, who was born in Limanowa, near Krakow in Poland. In the early 1980s, he conducted interviews with the kibbutz founders who were survivors and edited them into four books titled *Dapei Edut*,[123] or in English, *Testimonies of Survival*. Dror's project was probably one of the most important testimony collections of the time, joining Yad Vashem's testimony collection that started in 1958 and the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University that started in 1979. It is one of the first instances in which testimonies were gathered from a particular group. It was a unique undertaking for a kibbutz and in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, it had a big impact, restoring to the survivors a voice and presence that had been dimmed over the years. Burstein referred to Dror's work, reframing it into a display book in the central hall. Several copies of the book are displayed on massive tables, organized in a rectangular form in the center of the space. In the video installation presenting the kibbutz, archival documentary films appear on some sections of the screens juxtaposed with views of the kibbutz today. Thus, both displays—book and video—install the kibbutz within the House: the book inserts the history of the kibbutz and gives it a presence in textual form in the center of the House, and the video installation inserts the kibbutz by the display of images as well as by the intersection of past and present. The floor as a whole functions on a meta-discursive level, telling the story of the place in the place itself, about the ways in which the Holocaust has been remembered and commemorated in and by the kibbutz. It historicizes the kibbutz through the question of Holocaust representation and commemoration in the kibbutz itself.

Some kibbutz members asserted that the intermediate floor made them feel a renewed attachment to the House.[124] The floor indeed tells the story of the founders and the House and even mentions several of the objections that were expressed against the identification of the kibbutz with the House; nevertheless, it avoids addressing the history of the construction of Yad Layeled and some aspects of kibbutz life. The connection to the kibbutz, however, is forcefully embodied in the upper floor, on the roof of the two sections. The rooftop provides a panoramic view of the Western Galilee from the Mediterranean Sea in the west to the Central Galilee Mountains in the east, from the Lebanon–Israel border in the north to Mount Carmel and Haifa in the south. This is the spot where visitors make their first connection to their immediate surroundings after visiting the exhibition. In one of his early sketches, Bickels had mentioned that he would like to have a panoramic view, but it was not clear how that could be achieved in the isolating cupola that was planned to completely enclose the rotunda.

To complete the commemorative action the Hall of Remembrance, in lower floor, refers to archival material. To that end, two large walls, standing perpendicular to each other, functioned as two archives: one of artifacts from the wartime period and the other for art. Applying new digital technologies, the walls are black glass screens behind which the artifacts and art pieces are installed. By touching the screens at various designated points, visitors activate a corresponding light that illuminates a chosen artifact. Kowalsky worked on this installation with the House exhibition curator, Bina Sela-Zur,[125] who replaced Miri Kedem, one of the writers of the project's program. Together, they devised a way

1.19 Rooftop in Efrat-Kowalsky and Aviram design

1.20 Lower floor in Efrat-Kowalsky and Aviram design, Romi Achituv's installation in the background

to include many pieces in a rather limited space. The idea was to give the archive a presence by taking it out of the storage place and to create a non-hierarchic display. In this kind of installation, a visitor is not forced to follow a single narrative that the artifacts and art may construct, but is free to create his or her own pathway through the display. To complete this idea, a video installation is projected on a third wall, opposite one of the black-glass archive walls. Created by video artist Romy Achituv, the work is composed of projected letters of the Hebrew and Latin alphabets that move upward on the wall and randomly create names of places in Europe where the 6 million murdered Jews used to live. Similarly to the idea of the black archive walls, the information here is treated as free-floating data that crystallizes randomly into solid information.

TRANSPARENCY AT THE HOLOCAUST HOME: A CONCLUSION

In his essay "Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin: The Uncanny Arts of Memorial Architecture,"[126] James E. Young, whose groundbreaking work on Holocaust commemoration pointed to new directions for further research in the field, discusses the Berlin case in which a city has to "house" memory. Following Anthony Vidler's interpretation of the Freudian concept in his seminal book, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*,[127] Young develops a discourse on the *heimlich* and *unheimlich* and discusses the ways in which the concept of home, the place of the familiar, can start to alienate and become non-familiar. In the light of this discussion, Young questions the possibility of domesticating memory, and particularly, troubling memory such as of the Holocaust, and concludes by stating that Libeskind's museum, in fact, materializes in built form the duality of homeliness and alienation created by the concept of home in the modern era.

The question that Young raises takes on additional meanings when the concept of home is not related to large-scale places, which are difficult to grasp, as in the Berlin case, but to homes that are one's immediate environment, for which one has direct responsibility, as in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz. In the former case, the concept of home tended to be a metaphor because while a city may be a home, our ability to relate to a city in its entirety as our home is limited. The latter case presents a situation in which the concept of home can be grasped in a literal fashion: home is where one resides. Residing in and owning the place of commemoration attributes additional meaning to the commemorative act, because if Libeskind himself functions as a distant agent that interprets Holocaust commemoration and gives it a physical presence, at the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, most active agencies were living in the place of commemoration; thus, commemoration became part of their daily routine. These routines were occasionally apparent; in other cases they were transparent. Martin Heidegger defines transparency in relation to the tools that we use. Once we are not conscious of the use of a tool, then the action and tool become "transparent," nonexistent, and the action happens seemingly without intention. When using the tool requires our attention, it is no longer transparent, but rather the tool's existence becomes apparent.

In the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, architecture functions alternatively as a transparent or apparent tool. Occasionally, architecture was transparent and did not take precedence over commemoration, making itself present as a tool for the task. The kibbutz settlement, the first exhibitions, the cabin—were all functioning in a transparent way, integrating life and commemoration, mostly because they did not ask to draw from direct symbolic representation or command an active role. In this period, it was other commemorative aspects, such as the ceremony on the hillside, that were saturated with symbolism. Later, with the development and building of Bickels's House, architecture took on a larger role and its presence was more evident. In this case, architecture had a dialectical function. On the one hand, Bickels's House does not draw from Holocaust symbolism, as we later see, for instance, in the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. Yet, on the other hand, Bickels's building is not completely transparent. The House, in many ways, draws from the modernist perception of monuments and tries to abstract commemoration; it does not disregard symbolism, nor does it attempt to counter monumentality. If Gianni Vattimo claims in his essay "Ornament/Monument"[128] that in post-modernity, ornament—or what might be interpreted as hyper-symbolization—takes the form of monument and therefore results in weak monumentality (based on weak ontology), then at the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, monument maintains some symbolic reference, yet it is abstracted and therefore maintains its property and commemorative power.

Bickels's modernist inclinations in the House result in a dimmed representation of Holocaust imagery and in abstract space that makes memory linger in and by the building. He could have chosen to commemorate the event using symbolic gestures, like some of his contemporaries did (for instance, the first proposals to create a commemorative park in Jerusalem, which later became Yad Vashem); nevertheless, his design kept the House free from heavy symbolic reference, which could become ornament. This condition allowed daily life to exist near the House, in the form of the kibbutz dining hall and the playground that was interlocked between the two. The dialectic appears in the possibility of creating a unified space of commemoration and life, in one space, in one place—the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz.

Years later, in Yad Layeled, Bickels retained his way of thinking about commemoration of the Holocaust and similar to the case of the House, he did not apply symbolism to the building. Here again abstraction functions as the primary way to relate to the topic. Yad Layeled, however, became symbolic when Karmi was called in. The whirlpool metaphor and the relation to the aqueduct result in morphological references to prevailing concepts about the event. Karmi took these metaphors and gave them presence in built form, actualizing them in reality beyond their conceptual role. Now, the metaphors are built reality to the extent that one can experience them in and next to the monument. Therefore, they do not remain on the metaphorical level, a representation of a distant idea, but instead they are actualized in life itself, being a reality in and of themselves, regardless of the metaphor. Interpreting Georges Bataille, Denis Hollier argues in his book *Against Architecture* that metaphors distinguish between architecture and building: "Architecture refers to whatever there is in an edifice that cannot be reduced to a building."[129] It might be that Karmi did not want to relate to the task

of commemoration in pure functional terms and reduce it to a question of building an edifice. The metaphor assisted him in accomplishing that; yet, at the same time, it seems that it also created some alienation. Metaphor was perceived as either simple or as a poor representation of the event.

The recent addition to the House by Efrat-Kowalsky has returned to it the qualities of a home. This was partly achieved by their return to Bickels's concept of the House. Not only did they suggest inserting the addition to the House in the place where he initially designed the rotunda, but their design also plays with ideas of transparent and apparent means of commemoration. The three parts that comprise the addition start with the dark space of the archive in the basement and gradually transmute into a light space at the top. The section carries a chronological trajectory: memories of the war in the form of artifacts are "buried" on the lowest level, then transformed into the history of the kibbutz and the House in the intermediate floor and ultimately emerge as the present-day kibbutz is seen from the top in a sweeping panoramic view.

NOTES

1 Zuckerman says these words in the movie *Fighters of the Ghettos*, Director Mira Hamermesh, 1968.

2 The model of the Warsaw Ghetto was built by Yankel Wiernik, who specialized in building models of the concentration camps and death camps. His models are featured in many museums in the world, including Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

3 In his book *The Present Personal*, the philosopher Hagi Kenaan elaborates on the significance of the personalization of language. Language, he says, is only possible through its personalization in the present, which can be accomplished by the articulation of utterances. This process attributes utterances with meanings. In his insightful book, Kenaan goes beyond obvious cases in which the personal is necessary for the creation of signification (such as in uttering "I," "we," "here," "there," and so on) and shows that, in fact, language is made possible only by personal articulation. Hagi Kenaan, *The Present Personal: Philosophy and the Hidden Face of Language*, (New York, 2005).

4 J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, (Cambridge, 1975).

5 Cathy Caruth, 'The Wound and the Voice,' in *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*, (Baltimore and London, 1996), p. 7.

6 Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, (Paris, 1984).

7 Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*, (Cambridge, 2005).

8 Yitzhak Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, trans. and ed. Barbara Harshav, (Berkeley, 1993).

9 Dominick LaCapra, "Holocaust Testimonies," in *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore and London, 2001), pp. 90–91.

10 The Hebrew word "meshek" means both economy and farm. In the kibbutzim, the *meshek* was the various branches of enterprise that generated a livelihood and sustained daily life. Most kibbutzim were based primarily on agriculture combined with some industry, while others depended mostly on industry.

11 *Fighters of the Ghettos*, Director Mira Hamermesh, 1968.

12 Zvika Dror, and Yudke Helman, (eds.), *Edut*, 4, November 1989.

13 Idit Zertal, *From Catastrophe to Power*, (Berkeley, 1998), p. 96.

14 Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago, 1992).

15 Each class in a kibbutz received a name, usually something to do with nature such as names of plants, places or geographical locations. *Ma'ayan*—meaning a spring in English—was the name of the class of 1953.

16 Yoram Harpaz, "The Home," in *The Spring Children*, (Tel Aviv, 1999), p. 103. Published in Hebrew, translated for this publication by Eran Neuman.

17 In a radio interview with Kobi Barkai, a talk show host on the Israel National Broadcasting Authority's Reshet B, several kibbutz members who worked in the Ghetto Fighters' House outlined the differences in perception between the first generation of kibbutz members, those who established the settlement, and the second generation. Tali Shner, a second-generation daughter of Holocaust survivors and the director of Yad Layeled between 1996 and 2007, expressed an idea common in kibbutz thought: the fact that the children lived in a separate children's house and not with their parents, as was the norm at that time in kibbutzim throughout Israel, prevented them from being exposed to horrific stories about the war. Dalya Guy, a daughter of Holocaust survivors and the current chief librarian of the Ghetto Fighters' House Library, also noted that the Holocaust was not discussed in her parents' home. Yoram Harpaz, who was born in the kibbutz, explained that he had to leave because he could not tolerate living there. Whereas the first generation saw the kibbutz's establishment as a mission, the second generation was born into an existing reality they had to cope with. Kobi Barkai, Reshet B, Israel National Broadcasting Authority, Ghetto Fighters' House Library, item 51227, Erev Yom HaShoah (Eve of Holocaust Remembrance Day), 2002.

18 Hehalutz Hatzair (the Young Pioneer) merged with Frayhayt in 1938 to create Dror. Zivia Lubetkin was highly instrumental in the merging of the two movements and was in charge of their resettlement program in Palestine. Arie Sarid Levi, "The Young Pioneer," in *Hehalutz and the Youth Movements in Poland*, (Tel Aviv, 1979), pp. 257–71.

19 Born in Byten, Poland in 1914, Zivia Lubetkin was a one of the leaders of the Jewish underground in Nazi-occupied Warsaw. During her adolescence, Lubetkin joined the youth movement Dror, where she was a member of the executive council. During the Second World War, she was a founding member of the Jewish Fighting Organization (Zydowska Organizacja Bojowa: ZOB). She took part in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and after the war was active in the *Brihah* (escape, in Hebrew, which refers to fleeing from Europe and illegally entering British-controlled Palestine) and the resettlement in Israel/Palestine. Lubetkin was one of the founders of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, where she lived until her death in 1976.

20 The Yishuv (settlement, in Hebrew) or in its full Hebrew name "Hayishuv Hayehudi b'Eretz Yisrael" (The Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel) is a term that refers to the Jewish community living in Palestine before the establishment of the state of Israel. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Yishuv numbered about 25,000 people, which rose to around 650,000–700,000 people by the time Israel was established in 1948.

21 The call to resist and not be led to annihilation "like sheep to slaughter" is attributed to Abba Kovner, a Hashomer Hatzair member who propounded activism and resistance against Nazi occupation. Over the years, the concept of resistance was broadened to include more than only armed operations. For more on the discussion on the Jewish people being led to annihilation "like sheep to slaughter" see: Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, (New York, 1985).

22 Hashomer Hatzair (Hebrew for Young Guard), the oldest Zionist–Socialist youth movement, was established in Galicia in 1913. The movement promoted the resettlement of the Jewish people in Palestine and was active in the *aliyah* (immigration) to Israel before and after its establishment. Hashomer Hatzair established many kibbutzim and its many branches are still active all over the world.

23 Born in Bialystok, Poland in 1919, Haika Grossman was a member of Hashomer Hatzair. During the Second World War, using forged documents, she was a courier between the Bialystok, Vilna, Lublin and Warsaw Ghettos. Her activities assisted the Polish underground and in 1943 she took part in the Bialystok Ghetto Uprising. For her wartime activities, Grossman was awarded Poland's highest medal for heroism. After emigrating to Israel in 1948, she joined Kibbutz Evron in the Western Galilee. Between 1969 and 1988, Grossman served as a Knesset member from Mapam (United Labor Party). She died in 1996.

24 Born in 1918 in Crimea, Abba Kovner moved with his family to Vilnius, Lithuania during his childhood. In Vilnius, he studied in a Hebrew secondary school, where he also studied art. Throughout these years, he joined Hashomer Hatzair. During the Second World War, he commanded the United Partisan Organization in the forests of Vilnius. In 1945, he was active with the Brihah movement. Kovner fought in Israel's War of Independence in 1948. He published widely on his experiences during the war years, including *Ad Lo-Or*, ("Until No-Light") in 1947, *Hamafteach Tzalal*, ("The Key Drowned") in 1951 and *Pridah Mehadarom* ("Departure from the South") in 1949. He received the Israel Prize in 1970. Kovner died in 1987.

25 Born in Poland in 1913, Sarah Shner was a survivor of German labor camps and a partisan that immigrated to Palestine in 1947 and was one of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz founders. A graduate of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, she worked in the Ghetto Fighters' House as an archivist and published many articles and books on the Jewish struggle against the Nazis. She died in 2008 at the age of 95.

26 Brihah, was a Jewish refugees' movement that organized illegal immigration from the displaced persons (DP) camps in Europe to Palestine. After World War II ended and as part of the Zionist attempt to resettle the Jewish people in Palestine, the movement brought more than 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

27 Efrat Kantor, "The Linkage between the Kibbutz Hameuhad Leadership and Remnants of Youth Organizations," in *Changes in the Attitude of the Kibbutz Hameuhad toward the Shoah: 1945–1967*, (Tel Aviv, 1996) p. 5.

28 Efrat Kantor, "Goals and Tendencies in Memorial Ceremonies," in *Changes in the Attitude*, p. 14.

29 In *Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz's Establishment Ceremony*, The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 2950, April 19, 1949.

30 The announcer wrongly mentions that the aqueduct is from the Crusader period, while it is, in fact, from the Turkish era. In *Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz's Establishment Ceremony*.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Born in Vilna in 1908, Miriam Novitch moved to Paris to study languages after completing the Jewish Gymnasium in the city. In Paris, she became a communist and during the Second World War, she was jailed in the Vittel internment camp in northeast France, where she met the poet Yitzhak Katzenelson. In 1953, Novitch immigrated to

Israel and joined the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz. She was active in collecting archival material and art for the Ghetto Fighters' House. Novitch died in 1990 when she was 82.

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

36 Born in Buchach, Poland in 1900, Emanuel Ringelblum was a Jewish social worker and historian. He specialized in Jewish History from the Middle Ages to modern times, primarily in Poland. Before the war, he was active in Germany, helping social organizations resettle Jewish people. During the war, he established an archive in the Warsaw Ghetto that included about 25,000 items, among them documents describing life in the ghetto and its destruction. The archive also included documents on the Chelmno and Treblinka extermination camps. After the ghetto was wiped out in 1943, Ringelblum hid with his family on the Aryan side of Warsaw. In March 1944, he was found and executed. In September 1946, parts of the archive were found in the ghetto ruins. In 1950, additional material was found hidden in milk cans at 68 Nowolipki Street in the ghetto area. Parts of the archive have still not been located.

37 Hertz Wasser, *Yedioth Lohamei Hagetaot* (Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Newsletter), April 1954.

38 Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz, (Chicago, 1996).

39 About Adolf and Barbara Berman's donation of the material to the kibbutz: Ruta Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Getto Warszawskie, lipiec 1942- styczeń 1943*, (Warsaw, 1980), p. 19.

40 Avi Shner, in *Itzhak Zuckerman's Ways in Documentation and Commemoration*, The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 1938, June 7, 1982, p. 2.

41 Born in Tel Aviv in 1923, Haim Gouri is an Israeli novelist and poet. He was active in the immigration movements to Palestine prior to the World War II. In his work, he depicts the emergence of the nation and its society. In 1975, he won the Bialik Prize for Literature and in 1988 he was awarded one of Israel's highest honors—the Israel Prize for Poetry.

42 Haim Gouri, *Decade—an Intertwining of Sound, Speech, Dance and Fire*, Ghetto Fighters' House Library, item 2699, April 19, 1953.

43 Haim Gouri, *Decade,* p. 7.

44 Born in Kibbutz Degania Bet, Noa Eshkol (1924–2007) was a choreographer and the inventor of Movement Notation together with Professor of Architecture Abraham Wachman. Eshkol was the daughter of Levi Eshkol, one of the kibbutz's founders and Israel's third Prime Minister. She choreographed many dances, directed the Chamber Dance Group and taught at the Kibbutzim Seminar in Tel Aviv.

45 Haim Gouri, *Decade,* p. 8.

46 Ibid.

47 In *Kibbutz Meeting*, The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Archive, February 5, 1950.

48 Yitzhak Zuckerman, in *Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz and the "Katzenelson House for the Shoah and the Uprising,"* The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 14798, circa April 1951, p. 3.

49 Zvika Dror, 'Miriam Novitch,' in *Testimonies of Survival*, Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Publication, 1984, vol. 2, p. 84.

50 On the saving of Katzenelson's writing see *Yedioth Lohamei Hagetaot* (Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Newsletter), April 1954.

51 *Yedioth Lohamei Hagetaot* (Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Newsletter), January 1952.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 *Yedioth Lohamei Hagetaot* (Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Newsletter), November 1951.

55 Ibid.

56 Yitzhak Zuckerman, in *Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz*, p. 5.

57 Born in 1888 in Babruysk, Belarus, Yitzhak Tabenkin studied in a Talmud Torah religious school before going to Poland, where gained his secular education. In 1911, he immigrated to Palestine, where he joined the Jewish defense organization Hashomer (Hebrew for the Guard). In 1921, he joined pioneer Yosef Trumpeldor in establishing Kibbutz Ein Harod. He was a member of Mapai, the Land of Israel Workers' Party, and in 1944, he established the Labor Union Movement and became a member of Mapam—United Workers Party. Tabenkin was a member of the first and third Knessets. After the Six-Day War in 1967, he supported the Movement for Greater Israel. He died in 1971.

58 Born in Lvov, Poland, in 1927, Yitzhak Sternberg was a survivor of the occupation in Poland. After his father's death in 1942, his mother's deportation to the camps and his brother's death, he lived in Poland under a false identity. After the War, he joined the Dror movement, emigrated to Palestine and became one of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz founders.

59 David Renov, "The Biography of Bickels," in *The Architecture of Shmuel Bickels*, (Haifa, 1992), p. 7.

60 In *Dapim 118*, The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Archive, April 1957.

61 In various sketches, Bickels developed a strategy for the location of Beit Ha'am. For the full files of the sketches see: Yad Tabenkin Archive, Section 17, box 3.

62 Yad Tabenkin Archive, Section 17, box 3.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 *Yedioth Lohamei Hagetaot* (Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Newsletter) July 1959, p. 152.

66 Colin Rowe, and Robert Slutzky, "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal, Part II," in *As I Was Saying: Volume 1*, ed. Alexander Caragonne, (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 73–106.

67 Jose Luis Sert, Ferdinand Leger and Sigfried Giedion, "Nine Points on Monumentality," in *Architecture Culture: 1943–1968*, ed. Joan Ockman, (New York, 1993), pp. 29–30.

68 Avital Efrat, "Monumentality versus Dispersal," in *Symbolism and Abstraction: the Architecture of Ghetto Fighters' House 1951–1975*, (Tel Aviv, 2006), p. 15.

69 Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust*, (New Haven and London, 2007).

70 Mark Godfrey, "Adorno and Lyotard," in *Abstraction and the Holocaust*, pp. 9–17.

71 Mark Godfrey, "'abstract' and 'the holocaust,'" in *Abstraction and the Holocaust*, p. 4.

72 Richard Etlin, "The Space of Absence," in *Symbolic Space*, (Chicago, 1994), pp. 172–98.

73 For more about the debate between Yad Vashem and the Kibbutz Movement see: Roni Stauber, *The Holocaust in the Israeli Public Debate in the 1950's*, (London, 2007).

74 Zvi Shner, "Katzenelson House in its Fifth Year," in *Dapim- 87*, The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Archive, April 1954, pp. 14–17.

75 Yad Tabenkin Archive, Section 17, box 3.

76 At a kibbutz members' meeting on August 24, 1979, Zvi Shner outlined the changes in the Ghetto Fighters' House as a result of its structural changes. He noted that the institution would grow and add 13 members to the 8 currently making up the board of governors. Ten members would come from the kibbutz and the other 11 would be determined by the Hakibbutz Hameuhad movement. Change in the House's goals would have to be supported by at least two-thirds of the 10 kibbutz members on the board. Shner was trying to expand the House's activities while simultaneously maintaining its essential nature. Shner, Zvi, 'The Status of Katzenelson House,' in *Dapim—465*, The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Archive, August 1979, p. 3.

77 Zvika B., *Kibbutz Meeting*, The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Archive, October 1982.

78 Yehuda (Yudke) Helman was born in Pinsk, Belarus, in 1907. He emigrated to Palestine in 1926 and was one of the founders of Kibbutz Gvat. He was a delegate to Poland in 1939 and during the War became part of the underground in the Soviet-held part of Poland. In 1940, he returned to Palestine and in 1955 he joined the Ghetto Fighters' House. Helman was co-founder of Hehalutz Archive and a member of the House management. He was a close friend and assistant of Yitzhak Zuckerman. Helman died in 1999.

79 Helman, Yudke, *Kibbutz Meeting*, The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Archive, October 5, 1982.

80 Helman, *Kibbutz Meeting*.

81 In interviews that I conducted in July 2007 with Havka Folman and Dorka Sternberg, they both mentioned that the lack of intimacy in the House led to placing the memorial to relatives who perished in the Holocaust in the kibbutz cemetery, rather than in the House itself. Folman and Sternberg were both part of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and joined Lubetkin and Zuckerman upon their arrival in Palestine.

82 In an interview that I conducted with Havka Folman, a survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz in July 2007, she mentioned that the new design of the addition to the House by Efrat-Kowalsky architects made her feel that the kibbutz and the House were reunited.

83 In *Beit Lohamei Hagetaot-Yad Layeled*, The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 11848, item not dated.

84 Yad Tabenkin Archive, Section 17, box 3.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 In his memoir *A Surplus of Memory*, Zuckerman describes his collaboration with Korczak and their joint activities, which included conducting seminars and promoting immigration to Palestine. According to Zuckerman, over the years, he and Zivia became friends with Korczak. Yitzhak Zuckerman, "To the German Hell," in *A Surplus of Memory*, pp. 54–5 and 117–18.

90 Zvi Shner, in *The Legacy of Korczak*, The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 1938, undated.

91 Benjamin Anolik, *Proposal for a Program for Yad Layeled,* The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 11648, January 29, 1989.

92 Youth Aliyah (Aliyat Hanoar in Hebrew) was a Jewish organization that rescued children in Europe before and during the Second World War and resettled them in Palestine. The organization was founded by the World Zionist Organization in 1933; among its leaders were Henrietta Szold and Recha Freier. After the war, Youth Aliyah was also active in relocating children from the Displaced Persons camps in Europe to Palestine.

93 The history of Yad Layeled is described in one of the later meetings of the House management, when they discussed ways to build this project. Benjamin Anolik, Abraham Begeler and Yudke Helman, in *Towards a Discussion on Yad Layeled*, The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 5514, July 28, 1988, p. 2.

94 In *Alter's Proposal for the Children's Memorial*, The Ghetto Fighters' Archives, item not numbered and dated.

95 In *Beit Lohamei Hagetaot-Yad Layeled*.

96 Ibid.

97 Roman Alter, *Alter's Second Proposal for the Children's Memorial*, The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, item not numbered and dated, p. 6.

98 Alter, *Alter's Second Proposal*, p. 6.

99 Alter, *Alter's Second Proposal*, p. 9.

100 Born in Galicia, Poland, Moshe Kupferman (1926–2003) was an Israeli artist who specialized mainly in abstract paintings. A Holocaust survivor who was a member of the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz, he focused on the Second World War and the Holocaust as the central themes in his art. He exhibited all over the world, including at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, the Centre Pompidou in Paris and the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Kupferman was awarded Israel's highest honor—the Israel Prize—in 2000. In 2003, a gallery featuring his work was opened next to the Ghetto Fighters' House.

101 In *Kibbutz Secretary Meeting 119*, The Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz Archive, August 10, 1988, p. 295

102 Munia Abrahami mentioned this fact in an interview that I conducted with him in July, 2007.

103 Kibbutz Ma'agan Michael is located on the Mediterranean coast south of Haifa. Established in 1949 by the Hebrew Scouts, the 1,500-member kibbutz belongs to the United Kibbutzim Movement and specializes in the aquaculture and plastics industries.

104 Born in Jerusalem in 1931, Ram Karmi studied architecture at the Architectural Association in London between 1951 and 1956. After his graduation, he worked in London for several years. Upon his return to Israel, he worked with his father, Dov, one of the founding fathers of Israeli architecture. Ram designed several of Israel's most prominent buildings, including Israel's Supreme Court (with his sister Ada Karmi-Melamede) and the Lady Davis Amal High School in Tel Aviv (1966). Karmi's experiment in designing the megastructure of Tel Aviv's new central bus station was a harshly-criticized failure. He taught at the Technion—Israel Institute of Technology—and at other institutions in Israel and all over the world. Karmi was awarded Israel's highest honor—the Israel Prize—in 2002. Karmi died in 2013, at the age of 82.

105 Born in Odessa in 1905, Dov Karmi immigrated to Palestine in 1921. He studied art at Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem and architecture at Ghent University in Belgium, where he graduated in 1930. Karmi designed the Mann Auditorium in

Tel Aviv (with Zeev and Yaacov Rechter, opened 1953), the El Al Building (with his son, Ram Karmi, opened 1958), and the Knesset (together with architects Joseph Klarvin and Shimon Povsner, opened 1959). Karmi won the Israel Prize in 1957. He died in 1962.

106 Born in Tel Aviv in 1936, Ada Karmi-Melamede is one of Israel's most prominent architects. She studied at the Architectural Association in London between 1956 and 1959 and completed her undergraduate studies with a Bachelor of Architecture degree from the Technion—Israel Institute of Technology—in 1963. Karmi-Melamede designed many buildings in Israel, including the Supreme Court (with her brother, Ram Karmi), the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, the medical school at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and Beit Avi-Hai in Jerusalem. Karmi-Melamede taught at Columbia University in New York. She won the Israel Prize in 2007.

107 Rami Karmi, "Yad Layeled: Museum for the Commemoration of the Children Annihilated in the Holocaust," in *Lyric Architecture*, (Israel, 2001), p. 207.

108 Ibid.

109 Miri Kedem, Uri Abramson and Ronit Lombroso, "Visit Sequence," in *Yad Layeled: Guidelines for the Exhibition Design*, The Ghetto Fighters' House Archives, File No. 11848, July 1990, p. 2.

110 Kedem, Abramson and Lombroso, "Visit Sequence," p. 2.

111 Ibid., p. 2.

112 The exhibition comprised 11 installations in the following sequence: 1. The Yellow Star; 2. Restrictions and Prohibitions; 3. The Abuse; 4. The Outbreak of the War; 5. The Transfer to the Ghetto; 6. The Ghetto; 7. The Expulsion; 8. The Escape to the Woods; 9. Arriving at the Camps; 10. The Selections; 11. Life in the Camps. The sequence was intended to depict life during the war from a child's point of view. Kedem, Abramson and Lombroso, "Visit Sequence," pp. 4–15.

113 Competition Program paragraph 3.1.

114 Ibid.

115 Paul Virilio, "The Vision Machine," in James Der Derian (ed.), *The Virilio Reader*, (Malden, 1998), pp. 134–55.

116 Competition Program paragraph 3.3.

117 Gilles Deleuze, "Difference in Itself," in *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton, (New York, 1994), p. 28.

118 Etlin, "Symbolic Space," p. 172.

119 Ibid. p. 196.

120 Competition Committee Protocol, 2002.

121 Dror, *Testimonies of Survival*, vol. 2.

122 Born in 1926 in the Jezreel Valley, Zvika Dror moved in his childhood and lived in the center of Israel (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv). In 1953, he moved to the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz with his wife Zmira, a survivor from Poland. Dror was a teacher, an editor and delegate to Argentina for the Kibbutzim Movement.

123 Dror, *Testimonies of Survival*, vol. 2.

124 Havka Folman and Dorka Sternberg mentioned this in an interview that I conducted with them in July 2007.

125 Bina Sela-Zur was born in Kibbutz Degania Bet. She studied Jewish History and Thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Museology at the JFK University in San Francisco and the University of Minnesota. She worked in many museums in Israel and the US. Sela-Zur produced a virtual museum for the Ben-Gurion Heritage Institute in the Negev, Israel. Currently, she is the chief curator of Beit Hatfutsot, the Museum of the Jewish People in Tel Aviv.

126 James E. Young, "Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin: The Uncanny Arts of Memorial Architecture," in Barbie Zelizer (ed.), *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, (New Jersey, 2000), pp. 179–97.

127 Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*, (Cambridge, 1992).

128 Gianni Vattimo, "Ornament/Monument," in *The End of Modernity*, trans. John R. Snyder, (Baltimore, 1988), pp. 79–98.

129 Denis Hollier, "Architecture Metaphors," in *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, (Cambridge, 1989), p. 31.

2

Monumental Holocaust Landscapes at Yad Vashem

In 2005, the new Holocaust History Museum was inaugurated on the campus of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem. Designed by architect Moshe Safdie, the museum building was part of the memorial site's expansion and development project, which included the addition of a visitors' center, a new entrance complex with a winding access road and a large parking lot. The new museum was intended to add new exhibition space, measuring three times the area of the old historical building. The idea was to enable Yad Vashem to update and replace the old exhibition, adding more information and introducing new methods of presentation adapted to contemporary museum technologies.

Carved into the hill itself, the new museum building stretches over 200 meters through the Mount of Remembrance on a southeast to northwest axis. Morphologically, the building's most notable feature is a triangular prism, whose central section is sunk into the mountain and buried underground. The prism's entrance protrudes out of the hill on the southeastern side, opposite the new visitors' center (which was also designed by Safdie). That end of the prism is sealed, allowing neither light nor visitors to enter. Visitors enter through an opening on the eastern side of the prism. The exit side of the building protrudes from the northwestern side of the hill, offering a stunning open view of the Jerusalem hills and its new neighborhoods. Walking inside the prism dictates the visitors' progression within the exhibition, which is displayed in spaces adjacent to the central prism space. The exhibition spaces are completely buried in the mountain. Natural light, however, penetrates these spaces from shafts in the ceiling in every hall. Visitors walking through the prism are faced with obstacles and barriers in the floor, and therefore are forced to deviate and enter the adjacent exhibition spaces. Returning to the prism's central lane prism is permitted only through the lateral exhibition halls. Thus, visitors progress on a zigzag path, moving alternately between the prism and the exhibition spaces. Just before the prism's exit, the visitors pass through the Hall of Names, a truncated cone that also protrudes from the mountain's silhouette.

2.1 The historical museum building intersects the mountain

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Light permeates the underground section through a longitudinal slit along the prism's upper part, where the edges are detached, indicating that the prism's triangle is not closed. On the northwest side of the prism, where it breaks out of the mountain, its edges part completely and spread to the sides, revealing the mountainous Jerusalem landscape. At this point the landscape is appropriated, objectified and turned into another exhibit in the history museum; what began with the display of the events in Europe ends in the Jerusalem landscape. The building itself supports this process and marks an act of liberation, both symbolically and experientially. The visitors are liberated from the past, from the building, as they move toward the present, to the contemporary Jerusalem landscape.

The symbolic approach of representing the Holocaust, constituted by the building's path along the prism and its exit, is highly significant; it indicates the acceptance of the common Zionist narrative—from Holocaust to national revival. Safdie's building offers the experience of entering the dark prism and passing through it, through a chronologically organized historical exhibition

that moves from the period before the Nazis' rise to power, through the gradual stages of carrying out the Final Solution, until the liberation, embodied by the visitors' exit toward the light in an act of revival in modern-day Jerusalem. This act strengthens yet again the central Zionist narrative of redemption, this time using architectonic-spatial methods, accompanied by natural and artificial lighting effects: the solution to the Final Solution is national redemption in the State of Israel. The building's symbolism of the passage through the prism and exit into the landscape are also significant because of the architectural discourse reflected by Safdie's museum. The architect links the Holocaust to Jerusalem's land and landscape by creating a building dug into the mountain, projecting from its sides, appropriating the landscape and objectifying it. In doing so, Safdie joins other planners of Yad Vashem's memorial sites, who manipulated the landscape to represent the memory of the Holocaust. Like its antecedents—the Children's Memorial (designed by Safdie as well), the Valley of the Destroyed Communities and the Hall of Remembrance—the new history museum also uses the territory, the existing landscape and the very soil of Jerusalem as methods of representation. Safdie's use of the landscape indicates an attempt to embed the Holocaust inside the Israeli landscape and make it an inherent part of the local territory, as if the Holocaust took place in Jerusalem territory and is directly attached to it, thus also localizing the lesson learned from it. In response to questions, Safdie often indicated that the Holocaust must be represented in Jerusalem although it did not take place there, because many survivors live in Israel and the event is part of the local consciousness. Thus, the architectural means and use of landscape at Yad Vashem interpret the Holocaust as a unique local event, linked to Jewish revival in the State of Israel. Just as the Jewish people returned to their historical homeland, the Holocaust also arrived there, "immigrating there and becoming a Zionist," and like most Zionist acts related to immigration, it is also symbolized by holding on to the land. Thus, the Holocaust, which took place far away from the local landscape and territory, receives a local scenic interpretation and becomes a part of the Israeli landscape. It curls up there and is embedded in it, becoming "grounded" and anchored to the scenic Zionist narrative. This reading of the landscape reflects an approach in which the Holocaust's main significance exists almost exclusively in its Zionist context. As a consequence, it seems that expression of the Holocaust's more universal implications is more muted in the Yad Vashem's memorial sites.

An examination of the development of the spatial and architectural representation at Yad Vashem shows that relating commemoration to ideas of landscape and territory goes back to the site's initial planning stages before the establishment of the state of Israel. In this sense, Safdie presents a concept similar to the unarticulated but developing idea of the spatial and architectural means of representation in Yad Vashem—an expression that relates space and landscape. The Holocaust History Museum, which until 2005 was an isolated exhibition space located in a building that had no direct relation to the landscape, has now become a part of these methods of representation.

In this chapter, I examine several Holocaust memorial sites planned and executed by Yad Vashem, and analyze them in view of the commemoration concepts common in the hegemonic architectural discourse of different times. Generally,

architecture adapted monumental means of expression in the commemoration of events. Beginning in the 1940s, several prominent architectural monuments were erected on the Mount of Remembrance in Jerusalem, all using space as a method of commemoration. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how representing the Holocaust using spatial and architectural means continued the common concepts of commemoration in the ongoing architectural discourse, expressing them through landscape and territory. Thus, the use of space and landscape at Yad Vashem were not revolutionary in the architectural discourse, nor did they uncover new aspects of the Holocaust. All they did was express them in a local manner. These interpretations formed a part of the customary rhetoric in the hegemonic architectural discourse dealing with commemoration and death, always adopting the Zionist ideology as the only way of reading the events that took place in Europe. The Hall of Remembrance, for instance, was built at a time when ideas of modernist monumentalism were being formulated, and is based on similar concepts. The Children's Memorial was built at a time when Western architectural discourse returned to questions about dark and negative spaces, elements that were used in its planning. In this sense, the Holocaust, which was defined as an "event at the limit,"[1] did not receive an extreme expression in the architectural representation at Yad Vashem. This expression used the customary contemporary rhetoric to represent the concept of death, whether it was decided to be used directly, or using the rhetoric attesting the paradox of representation, the inability to represent—leading to the collapse of representation.

Studying the pre-State discussions regarding the decision to build the commemoration site, the reasons for erecting monuments, different structures or buildings in later times and about representing the Holocaust using spatial methods, will confirm my claim that commemorating the Holocaust by means of spatial methods forms an attempt to establish the memory by territorial representation. As part of the practice and rhetoric of a periodic expression, this approach focuses on local ideological issues rather than on wider universal ones. Using spatial and territorial means results from ideological needs and may be related to the fact that the Yad Vashem commemoration complex is located far from where the historical events took place; perhaps that is why repeated attempts were made to imbue them with ideological significance by stressing the local territory.

FIRST INITIATIVES—NATIONAL PARKS

During the Second World War, as the local population grew aware of the Jewish genocide in Europe and as discussions began about the need to build a memorial site, the authorities involved decided to relate the commemoration project to the Zionist project. The debates between the project's initiators, such as Mordechai Shenhavi, a member of Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek and one of the heads of Hashomer Hatzair, and members of the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and the Jewish Agency often stressed the importance of associating the events in Europe to the Jewish revival in Israel.[2] The Zionist mission of those years was focused on holding on to the old/new land; thus, it is no wonder that the first proposals for building memorial sites suggested using

landscape and territory to commemorate the Holocaust. Ideas such as the planting of local trees as a memorial act or tracing the map of Europe and the events of the Second World War in local territory were all part of the means used by the commemoration project's initiators as a way to commemorate the annihilated Jews of Europe.[3]
Obviously, these ideas are not bereft of ideology that manifests itself, above all, in the landscape, which was now going from its natural state into a process of monumentalization, by means of objectification that subjugated it to the represented ideology. Secondly, as mentioned before, these ideas carry an ideological component in their suggestion of the linkage between the wartime events in Europe and the local territory; the use of local means of representation—plants, landscape and territory—gives those distant events a local interpretation. In fact, it bridges the gap between the place of memory and the time of memory, which usually correspond to each other. In Jerusalem, thousands of miles from where the events occurred, every local tree becomes a physical symbol of an annihilated Jew who left behind a void. In this way, the void created in Europe with the Jews' extinction is physically expressed and present in Israel. Every view of the landscape becomes a compensation for the non-representable atrocities.[4]

The most interesting of those methods of representation is the use of the European map on Israeli soil as a way of shifting the events into local reality. The mapping, defined by James Corner as "an operative act which is the analogical equivalent to the actual ground,"[5] imports the European actuality of the war into local territory. The map, representing territorial reality, initiates awareness of the represented subject. When mapping brings the European death map into the territorial representation in Jerusalem, it unifies the represented (Jerusalem) and the imported representation (Europe). That is because the mapping at Yad Vashem represents not only the local landscape, but also layers of recognition of the scene of the war, so that visitors merge Auschwitz and Jerusalem into one place.[6]

Mordechai Shenhavi began his attempts to put together a memorial project for the Nazis's victims even before the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial Law was legislated by the Knesset in 1953. This law led to the formation of the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority and granted it the right to commemorate the Holocaust on a national level. Yet, as early as 1942, when the local Jewish population in Palestine was initially informed of the genocide of European Jewry, Shenhavi articulated his ideas in a nine-page document, which he presented to the JNF as a request to build a memorial site, outlining the "guidelines for a national project."[7] Shenhavi, as Mooli Brog[8] wrote, envisioned "a people's garden," a kind of large national park covering about 500 acres, which would include a centrally located building with "the names of Jewish victims all over the world, their deaths linking the current brutal war to their countries."[9] The park was to contain a cemetery, a hotel, a sanatorium, a congress hall, an archive and a cinema where films about the Nazi horrors would be shown.

To ideologically link the Holocaust and the resurrection of the Jewish people in Israel (then still Palestine), Shenhavi proposed that the park be located next to a rural agricultural settlement. The JNF did not rush to respond to this proposal, so Shenhavi came back to them a year later with the same request. In 1943, he again stressed the need to establish a commemoration project in the vicinity of new settlements.[10]

Specifically, Shenhavi suggested that the "people's park" be located in the Jezreel Valley in the north of Israel, so that "so that the visitor will naturally be led to the idea of Zionist fulfillment, to what is happening in the country, [and] to an understanding and appreciation of the activity of [the JNF and Keren Hayesod]. This explains why the proximity of different types of agricultural settlements is so valuable," Shenhavi concluded, adding that "this is an eminent architectonic issue."[11]

The JNF administration rejected the proposal out of concern that funding this project would harm other projects on a national scale. The JNF replaced the plan to establish the people's park with an initiative for an alternative memorial project, using landscape methods as well—the Forest of the Holy in the Jerusalem hills. Shenhavi, who was called "a passionate doer" by Tom Segev,[12] did not give up. The ideas for commemoration projects proposed by others convinced Shenhavi that a project of the kind that he suggested, one that would act as a "unifying project," was indeed necessary. He explained: "It is our duty to unify and merge all of our soldiers into a symbolic unifying force, perpetuating our warriors' memory in a unique national framework."[13] Shenhavi's main goal was to discount two other commemoration proposals: one by Baruch Zuckerman, head of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) Organization Department, and Dr Jacob Helman, the WJC representative in South America; and the other by Yitzhak Shneorson, a French Jew.

Zuckerman and Helman presented their proposal to the World Jewish Congress in February 1945. Their ideas also included elements of the landscape for the commemoration of Nazi victims. They proposed building a memorial in the Carmel Mountains, including a room in memory of the ghetto victims, a room presenting the names of the murdered victims and a room containing a railroad car used for deportation to the death camps. This was probably the first case in which items from the Holocaust were considered for display, long before the discussion arose about displaying genuine artifacts and the aura they exuded.

Shneorson, on the other hand, wished to establish a memorial project in Paris that would collect the names of the murdered victims. Historian Ben-Zion Dinur, who later became Israel's Minister of Education and the first chairman of Yad Vashem, saw building a "competing" project in Paris as a "Diaspora tendency."[14] He was concerned that the Parisian project would push the Zionist commemoration project out of public awareness. He defined Jerusalem as the "mother of us all,"[15] arguing it was the appropriate place for "our holy and courageous brothers [to] be recorded to eternal memory."[16] That is why he cooperated with Shenhavi, and met with Shneorson to coordinate the scope of the commemoration projects in Paris and Jerusalem. The JNF assigned the Holocaust commemoration project to the Knesset's national committee, which formed a special team to deal with the subject. The team, including David Remez as chairman, Shenhavi himself, Shlomo Zalman and Baruch Zuckerman, formulated a proposal based on Shenhavi's ideas, and published an architectonic plan for the memorial site in March, 1947.

Designed by architects Munio Weinraub and Al Mansfeld, the plan included a memorial garden including the Yizkor Hall of Remembrance to honor the murdered victims and another hall to commemorate the Jews who fought Hitler and his forces. At the request of the team members, Weinraub and Mansfeld placed what

was called the Europe Field in front of the Yizkor hall; this was envisioned as "a field made in the image of Europe, with its rivers, states and borders."[17] Thus, visitors would enter the Yizkor hall by through passing a symbolic map of the European continent, where the sites of the wartime events would be represented. Passing through this map was meant to create an effect of reenacting the events. Visitors walking within the map's borders would be detached for a short while from local reality and moved to the zone of Europe, while symbolizing European Jewry with their bodies. From the Rebels' Hall, on the other hand, the public was supposed to exit to the Homeland Field—a field designed to match the contour of the map of Israel "which will allow the living act, the Israeli creation, shaped like the land of Israel with settlements marked on it."[18]

In many ways, the Memorial Hall buildings planned by Weinraub and Mansfeld seem to express modernist monumental concepts, as they were defined by architectural historian Siegfried Giedion, painter Fernand Leger and architect Jose Louis Sert, in their seminal article "Nine Points on Monumentality" that was published in 1943.[19] For Giedion, Leger and Sert, ideas about monumentality did not take into account only monuments but also include monumental buildings, because the authors viewed the concept of monumentality as going beyond the object that contains such traits. In outlining the nine points necessary for a monumental entity, the authors referred to issues going beyond the specifications of the monument itself and attempted to address the overall concept. Giedion, Sert and Leger tried to secularize the monument and make it a representation of civic ideas, professing that monuments and monumental buildings should be placed in an open space. They should be free of what was perceived as stylistic periodic ornamentation that could date them as products of a specific school or period. Instead, the three authors thought monuments and monumental buildings should represent a shared civil memory, as opposed to a private one, marking a collective awareness and integrating different artistic disciplines. The idea behind Giedion, Leger and Sert's proposal was a modernist one: monuments were, on the one hand, a necessary part of culture and the social realm; nevertheless, they should not reflect and represent absolute rulers. Instead, they should represent the people's social and civil issues. The call to design and build an ornament-free monument also reflected the modernist tradition—a desire to make a timeless monument, outside of history. If the monument had a style that could be dated, it could not have served as a timeless representation.

It is not clear whether Weinraub and Mansfeld were aware of Giedion, Leger and Sert's "Nine Points"; nevertheless, the two architects' proposal for the Hall of Remembrance corresponds to the three authors' ideas. The Hall was designed in the modernist style, trying to avoid any historical stylistic reference and maintain a secular context. Eventually, the JNF allocated land for building at a site near Neveh Ilan, a village 10 miles west of Jerusalem. However, the project was not carried out due to lack of funding, and the idea of building it in Neveh Ilan was dropped altogether with the outbreak of Israel's War of Independence in 1948. David Remez wanted to wait until the war was over and the future of Jerusalem was determined before deciding how to proceed with the project.

TERRITORIAL DOMINANCE—THE HALL OF REMEMBRANCE

More than a decade after Shenhavi initiated his activity to establish a Holocaust memorial site, the Yad Vashem Law was passed by the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, on August 19, 1953. The law defined Yad Vashem as the "central national institution for the commemoration project of the Jewish people," responsible, inter alia, for building a memorial project on Har Hazikaron (Hebrew for Mount of Remembrance). The project, located on Har Hazikaron (close to Mount Herzl) in the outskirts of Jerusalem, was to consist of

> *… the central archive and library building; the Hall of Remembrance and the Hall of Heroism to commemorate the martyrs and the heroes; an artistic tombstone carved from local stones; a synagogue—in memory of the thousands of houses of worship and Torah places destroyed.*[20]

The idea behind the law was to relate to the Holocaust and Holocaust commemoration on a national level. Until the passage of the Yad Vashem Law, the Kibbutzim Movement, especially Hakibbutz HaMeuhad (Hebrew for United Kibbutzim), was prominent in commemorating the Jewish victims of the war. This was especially conspicuous in Ghetto Fighters' House in Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz and also at Kibbutz Yad Mordechai which is part of Hakibbutz Haartzi (Hebrew for Nationwide Kibbutz Movement). The Holocaust Commemoration Law sought ways to nationalize the memory of the Holocaust beyond the ceremonies and the exhibitions in the left-wing context of the kibbutzim. The Holocaust and its memory were to become a nationwide issue, thus becoming part of the Zionist narrative and tightly connected to the establishment of the State of Israel. To emphasize the place of the Holocaust as a national issue, the nation had to establish institutions to carry out the task.

With that in mind, it was Professor Dinur who worked to establish the memorial site near the burial place of the father of modern Zionism and the "visionary of the State," Theodor Herzl, an Austrian Jew whose remains had been reinterred on Har Hazikaron in August, 1949. The construction work began right after the cornerstone laying ceremony, held on July 1954 in the presence of Israeli President Chaim Weizmann. The terminology used by the president at this ceremony was characteristic of the way the commemoration project was perceived at the time—the sanctity of commemoration and the sanctity of the land. Weizmann stressed: "We stand here at your gate, Jerusalem, to lay the cornerstone to a project, the goals of which are to be received with great respect in the heart of every man in Israel." [21] In this context Weizmann pointed out the site's proximity to the memorial site on Mount Herzl: "This place where we are standing is holy land—the land of Har Hazikaron, near the mountain given the name of the visionary of the Jewish state—this mountain is worthy of this neighbor."[22] This proximity was perceived not merely as a spatial adjacency or an adjacency symbolic of a chronological sequence of events; rather—as many historians noted—it was known for its ideological significance and role: marking the relation between the revival of the State of Israel and the Holocaust of European Jewry.[23]

2.2 The Hall of Remembrance

The site's first building, the archive and library, was inaugurated in 1957. Designed by the architectural firms of Munio Weinraub and Al Mansfeld and of Arieh Sharon, Benjamin Idelson and Arieh Elhanani, this office building was an elongated rectangle clad in Jerusalem stone. The building was not envisioned as taking part in the commemorative act; rather, it was designed to house Yad Vashem's archival material, collection activities and administrative offices. About 1 million Israeli liras (a large sum of money at that time) were budgeted for the project, including site development, paving roads and setting areas for tree planting. Landscape architects Lipa Yahalom and Dan Zur were chosen for the site development, which was completed quickly after construction began.

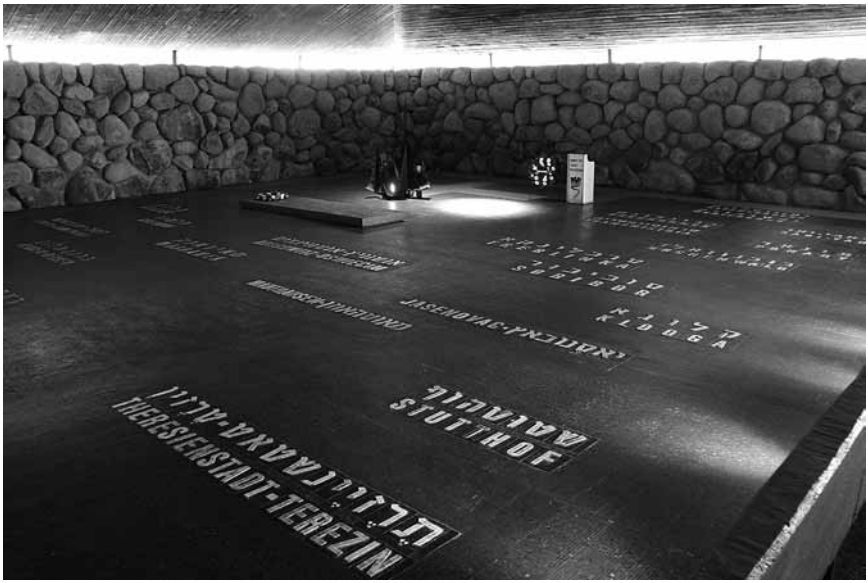
Next came the Hall of Remembrance, which was inaugurated in 1961. As the site's first memorial building, it attracted much more public attention. This building also resulted from the collaboration of several architects, this time only part of the archive and library building team: Elhanani, Sharon and Idelson. The Hall was planned as part of a memorial complex that included a synagogue, an outdoor square for gatherings and the Hall itself. Morphologically, the complex was not designed to merge into Jerusalem's hilly landscape as a monument interred in the ground or emerging from it, although buildings and monuments of this sort were already being seen at the time.

Instead, the directors of Yad Vashem and the architects preferred to locate the Hall of Remembrance as a monument that "would symbolize the 6 million murdered and the people's war against the terrible enemy" atop one of the ridges of the Mount of Remembrance. They hoped that in this way, the building would be highly visible to "every visitor, and every passenger, using the roadways to Jerusalem."[24] In this sense, the Hall of Remembrance relates to the landscape as well, but as opposed to later monuments, it makes direct use of the soil and the scenery to commemorate. To this day, no building in Yad Vashem is permitted to exceed the height of the Hall of Remembrance.

Beyond the Hall of Remembrance's height and location, its shape and size also played an important role in its design. Perhaps to highlight the monument against the area's mountainous topography, the architects made it monolithic and designed its shape according to Euclidean geometry, described in the modernist architectural discourse of the time as expressing purity.[25] The monument's cubical shape, isolated on the peak of a ridge, made it stand out and its location in the mountainous scenery led the visitor to perceive the hall as a part of a primal landscape. Often, the building was described in biblical terms. Edwin Samuel, for instance, was extremely enthusiastic while describing the Hall of Remembrance in a Yad Vashem publication. He glorified Zionism as an act of revival based on creating a landscape facing the Arab settlements opposite Har Hazikaron, which represented the old and arid scenery. The Hall of Remembrance, he stressed, is located on a mountain ridge facing old Arab villages and new Israeli settlements, with a view of recently planted green trees and bare old slopes. "You feel like you are standing in an ancient Hebraic sacrificial site," Samuel wrote, describing being filled with a sense of holiness and linking the place to the biblical story of the Binding of Isaac—"only this time, the ones being sacrificed are not animals, but human beings."[26]

Yad Vashem publications, as well as contemporary daily newspapers, called the Hall of Remembrance a "masterpiece of Israeli architecture."[27] Its cubic shape produced a wholeness composed of two parts: the monument's base, made of basalt boulders—an indication of a burial place—is topped by cast concrete, referring to the materials used in the widespread construction taking place in the young and rapidly growing country. Thus, the building's exterior symbolized the Zionist narrative of redemption. In a Yad Vashem booklet from 1960, the Hall of Remembrance was described as "a building that aims to express the Holocaust" and is "built of rustic basalt stones, brought from the valley of Beit Shean."[28] In the Hall's ground, the booklet specified, "a niche will be carved to bury the martyrs' ashes. The ashes will be put into an ancient-style sarcophagus made of Jerusalem stone, the cover of which can be removed."[29]

Yad Vashem specifically stressed the fact that the Holocaust memorial monument was built of local stone and had an element of sanctity. In this way, the memory of the Holocaust was linked to Israeli territory as a whole; from afar it was related to the biblical memory of the land, and from closer up, to the reviving country with its stones and concrete buildings. This idea was further emphasized by the cast concrete, the symbol of the new nation, which completed the narrative of redemption in the old-new land. Old nation and new nation were integrated to create a space for Holocaust commemoration, a place imbued with holy significance. Sanctity came to exist in that spot through the act of burying the victims' ashes there, which, according to Jewish law, turns the hall into a cemetery.[30] This sanctity is maintained to this day through the rituals that the Hall of Remembrance's visitors are asked to perform: wearing a yarmulke, dressing modestly and praying. The Hall and the rituals linked to it unify the visiting subjects and mark them as part of the space. The feeling of sanctity is increased by the Hall's Eternal Flame in honor of the dead.



2.3 The Hall of Remembrance interior

Yet the Hall of Remembrance's territorial reference is not completed by the material reference—the stone and the concrete. Inside the Hall, the names of concentration and extermination camps are marked in big letters engraved in the building's floor. The Yad Vashem booklet stated that the Hall's floor should present "21 names of extermination camps and places,"[31] as well as being a place of burial for the victims' ashes (in reality, 22 names are presented). The names, written in Hebrew and Latin characters, were placed on the Hall's floor according to a geographical code, corresponding to their locations on the European map.

This way, the visitors entering the Hall are placed in the middle—between a representation of Israeli building and its various materials—stone, cement and mosaics—and an abstract map of extermination camps. The distance between the distant continent and the Israeli essence, between remote events and Israeli resurrection, is reduced inside the monument's space. Thus, the visitors are interlocked between Israel and Europe, annihilation and redemption, in the context of holiness and sanctity.

One month after the Hall of Remembrance was inaugurated in April, 1961, Rachel Yanait Ben-Zvi, the wife of Israel's second President, Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, lit the Eternal Flame for the first time, starting the tradition of visiting the flame in memory of the Holocaust victims.[32] A few years later, the ceremony was included in the protocol for the State's official visitors, who are first brought to Mount Herzl to place a wreath on Theodor Herzl's grave and then proceed to Yad Vashem for a ceremony in the Hall of Remembrance. Requiring that official visitors perform the ceremony, as set down in the State's protocol, later aroused opposition from Israeli officials and politicians, who proposed making the visit to the Hall of Remembrance optional rather than mandatory. Undoubtedly, within the contexts of the Zionist narrative, an official visit to Mount Herzl and then to the Hall of Remembrance emphasizes the connection between annihilation and redemption

in the new state. The objections to the protocol were not expressed out of any wish to dissociate the two sides of the narrative, but only in relation to the mandatory manipulation imposed on the visitors.

Yet, even though this criticism continues and despite the various expansions of the Yad Vashem campus, including Safdie's most recent addition, the Hall of Remembrance is still Yad Vashem's undisputed center. While the new history museum enclosed in its distinctive prism draws a lot of attention, the Hall's purity of shape and its function as a burial site allow it to maintain its preeminence on the Yad Vashem campus.

INTERRED SPACES—THE CHILDREN'S MEMORIAL

Over the years, new buildings, monuments and commemoration spaces were added to the Yad Vashem compound. The most prominent ones, in the 1970s, were the History Museum (1973) and the Pillar of Heroism by the sculptor Buki Schwartz (1974). In the 1980s, the Holocaust Art Museum (1981) and the Monument to the Jewish Soldiers and Partisans Who Fought against Nazi Germany by sculptor Bernard Fink (1985).

Unlike the Hall of Remembrance, the two spatial additions to the compound—the History Museum and the Holocaust Art Museum—did not maintain a special relation to the Mount of Remembrance's landscape or territory. However, it should be noted that space does not constitute a central factor of the representation systems offered by these two additions to the compound's culture of commemoration. The old history museum focused on the chronological story, while the Art Museum concentrated on the visual exhibition. Neither used space to express the ideas that were supposed to be conveyed by the buildings. Maybe that is why the space and landscape were neglected in the design of these two additions, as in other spaces designed to represent the Holocaust.

Partially located under the Hall of Remembrance, the old history museum presented the events of the war in several central halls, arranged in chronological order and covering the years 1933 to 1945. The exhibition emphasized the Zionist narrative and point of view. The first wing was dedicated to depicting the events that occurred from 1933 to 1938—from the first anti-Jewish legislation up to Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass). Afterward, visitors proceeded to a space presenting the attempts at survival in occupied Europe from 1939–41, depicting life in the ghettos. The next wing focused on the years 1941 to 1945 and the extermination of European Jewry. Visitors then moved on to a wing depicting the rebellion and resistance to the Nazi regime, most of which was dedicated to the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto. The visitors' movement between the different wings was in one direction only, ending with the redemption of Israel; this placed the end of the Second World War and the Holocaust in the land of Israel.

The Holocaust Art Museum is dedicated to works of art created under the Nazi regime in Europe in the ghettos and camps, and to works created after the war, mostly by the survivors. It also includes art dealing with the Holocaust. In addition to representing clear ideological conceptions—the history museum through

2.4 Pillar of Heroism

2.5 Monument to Jewish Soldiers

narrative methods and the art museum through visual means—and to serving as an instrument for coping with a post-traumatic stress effect, the museums played a role in the instrumentalization of the displayed information, recalling what museum theorist Tony Bennett calls a cultural reformation, meaning changing the cultural perception of a certain phenomenon or event.[33] However, this instrumentalization was not achieved through means of landscape or spatial manipulation, but only through narrative methods (by creating a "story" sequence, leading to a national resurrection) and direct visual aids—photographs, paintings and models. This way the museum spaces acted, at most, as containers for the narrative and visual exhibitions.

It is interesting to note that while not dealing directly with space and territory, both Buki Schwartz's Pillar of Heroism and Bernard Fink's Monument to the Jewish Soldiers and Partisans Who Fought against Nazi Germany carry some territorial connotation. Indeed, as pieces of art, neither the Pillar nor Fink's Monument deals with space and territory. Both artists use extensive materiality in expressing their ideas about Holocaust commemoration with their sculptures. Nevertheless, the location of both of the monuments in the campus reflects a spatial and territorial way of thinking. Tim Cole noted in his book *Selling the Holocaust* that at Yad Vashem, all monuments commemorating heroism protrude up from the ground, whereas all monuments commemorating destruction are buried underground. Cole posited that this phenomenon reflected a gender-based ideology: heroism was phallic and had to be expressed and visible all around, while destruction was expressed with a womblike metaphor.[34] At Yad Vashem, in relation to the national revival on the hills of Jerusalem, it is interesting to note the dualism of ground use to represent heroism and destruction. The ground is appropriated to symbolize each of the respective ideas, but in opposite directions. One expression goes inward, digs into the ground and carves out a space, while the other uses the ground to erect, to assert a presence and gain visibility in the ground and territory. In both cases, the ground is used both materially and figuratively to gain dominance over the territory.

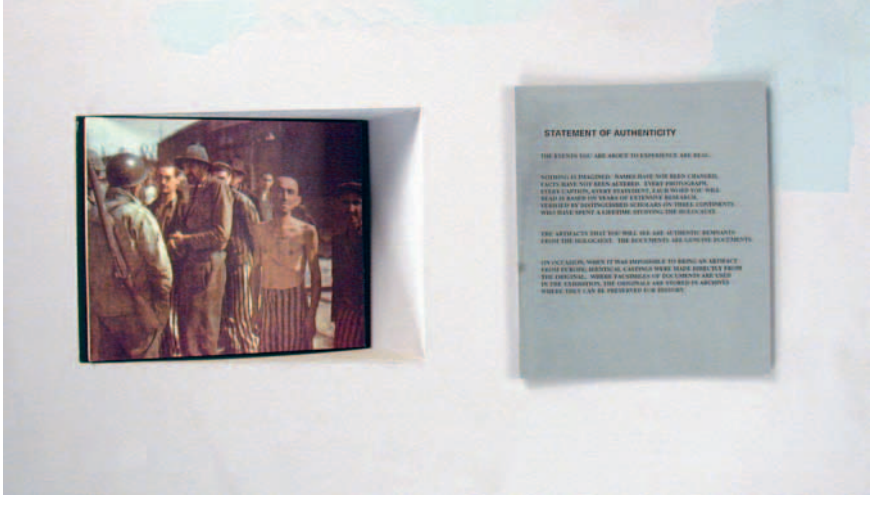
One of the monuments built during this period that does reflect a relation to the Jerusalem landscape patterns and uses the space as a representational tool, is the Children's Memorial, planned by Moshe Sadie. The monument, initiated by Yitzhak Arad, chairman of Yad Vashem at the time, was planned at the end of the 1970s and inaugurated in 1988. About 12 years prior to the inauguration, the Yad Vashem administration turned to Safdie, requesting the design of a museum commemorating the 1.5 million children who were murdered in the Holocaust by the Nazis. A year later, in 1977, Safdie presented his plan for the children's commemoration project: an underground spatial monument, which did not enable a museal exhibition. Safdie's idea was to keep the commemoration simple and direct by creating an experience in space to which no visitors could remain indifferent.

Due to budgetary difficulties, the Children's Memorial, constructed according to Safdie's plan, was built only a decade later. The long search for donors ended with Edita and Abraham Spiegel, two Holocaust survivors who lived in Los Angeles and wished to commemorate their son, Uziel, who was murdered in Auschwitz.

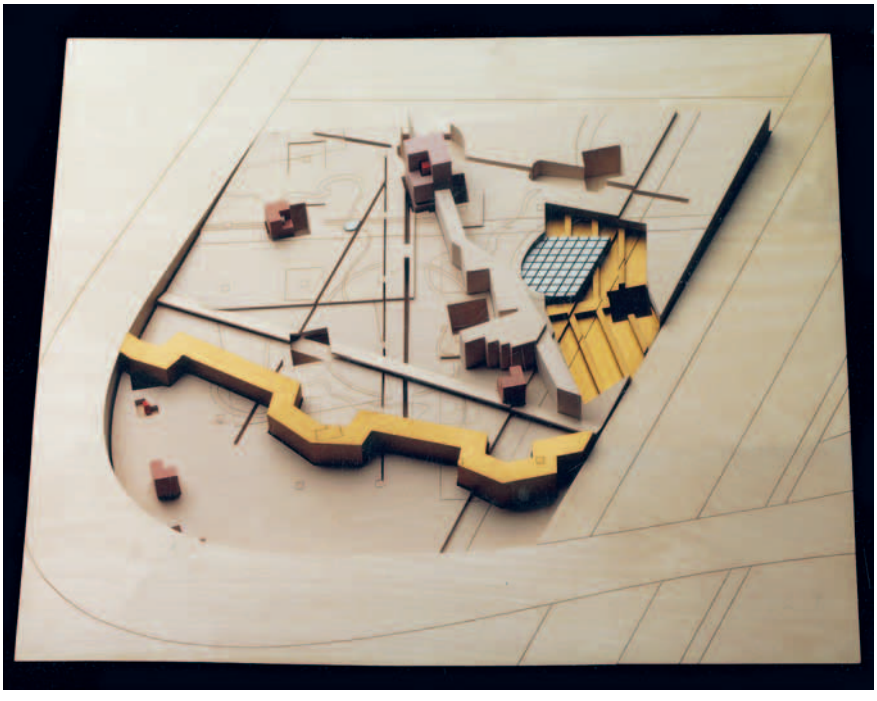
2.6 Children's Memorial entrance

2.7 Commemoration cave

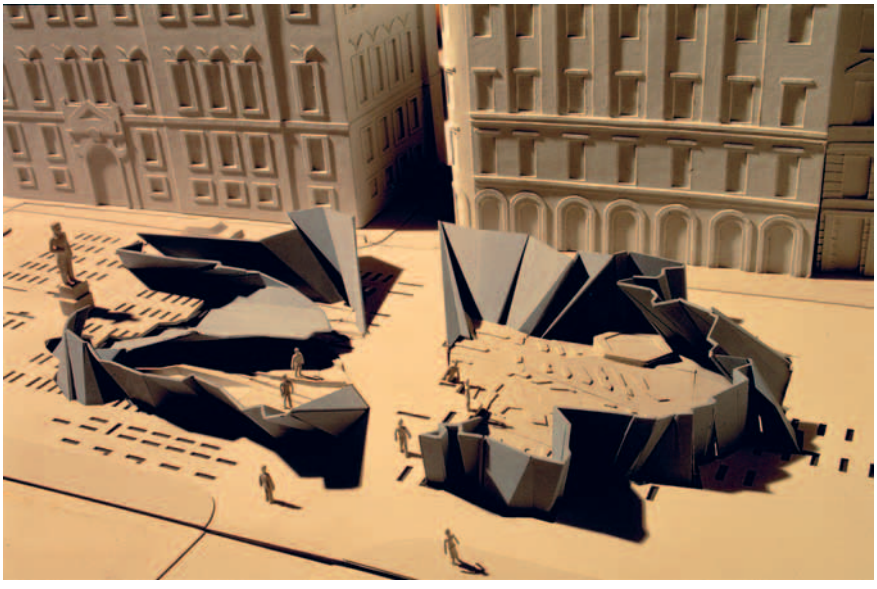
1 Sketches of the Historical Museum, Yad Vashem by Moshe Safdie



2 Statement of Authenticity in the model of USHMM 4th floor



3 Eisenman Architects, La Villette, Park, 1987. Model



4 Eisenman Architects, Monument and Memorial Site Dedicated to the Jewish Victims of the Nazi Regime in Austria 1938–45, Vienna, Austria, 1995–6. Competition entry model

The couple demanded that the monument would be named after their son. Yad Vashem, which had already been criticized for another attempt to privatize the commemoration project (the Commemoration Cave[35]), rejected this demand, which nearly caused the Spiegels to withdraw their donation.

The criticism of Yad Vashem over the privatization of memory in the Commemoration Cave was related to the scale of memory. Yad Vashem offered to commemorate individuals in a space carved into the northwestern side of the campus built with donations by families that wished to commemorate their dear ones, according to the principle the bigger the donation, the bigger the commemorative plaque. Yad Vashem was criticized on two levels: first, for the idea that Holocaust commemoration can be bought at all and second, for the idea that money plays a role in creating a scale and scope of commemoration.

The Children's Memorial elicited even more criticism. On the one hand, similar to the Commemoration Cave, the Spiegels sought to buy a monument and name it for their son, Uziel. This time, however, the issue was not the size of a plaque, but related to an entire monument. But the harshest criticism of the Children's Memorial plan was that the monument was meant not only to commemorate the Spiegels' son, but also the 1.5 million children that were murdered by the Nazis. Uziel Spiegel's memory would have dominated the memory of the murdered Jewish people as a whole. After this condemnation, Yad Vashem could not accept the Speigels' request. Eventually, the two sides, Yad Vashem and the Speigels, compromised: the monument was not named after Uziel, but the boy is depicted in an engraving at the monument's entrance.

The monument is carved into the mountain and paved with Jerusalem stone, and its entrance tunnel leads into a space completely interred in the Jerusalem mountainside. The space itself is a dark room with a single candle placed in its center. The mirrors encircling the room create an endless number of reflections, so that the single candle, the yahrzeit candle, is reflected infinitely in memory of the 1.5 million children. Upon entering the Children's Memorial, visitors are faced with photographs of children who were murdered by the Nazis. In the background, announcers read—in Hebrew, English and Yiddish—the names of murdered children, stating each child's place of birth and age of death. The room's nearly total darkness causes disorientation, making it harder for the visitors to pick out the circular path and the exit door, located on the other side of the monument. The symbolic descent under the ground and the feeling of being swallowed by it strengthen the sense of interment in the Jerusalem hills, since the monument's entrance leads visitors into two perceptually "negative" spaces—one is dark and the other is virtual. Negative spaces prevent a full physical presence in space, whether the spaces are dark and impair sight or virtual and disallow physical presence. Thus, in this space, visitors must rely on senses other than vision not only to find their way in the darkness but also to locate their presence in space. As such, both the reflected and the dark spaces make the body lose its presence within the Jerusalem hillside. The burial of victims' ashes that began in the Hall of Remembrance gets a symbolic interpretation here by the experience of the visitors themselves being "buried" in the monument for the murdered children, by dismissing their bodies.

2.8 Uziel's image at the entrance to the Children's Memorial

The recurring collapse of the physical space—once into the mirror, once into the endless darkness and once into the Jerusalem mountain—can be portrayed as an attempt to represent the Holocaust using a "Space of Absence"[36] placed dialectically between the present and the absent. In the architectural discourse, the discussion dealing with the significance of those spaces took place in the 1970s and 80s, and was defined as a counter-action against the modernist and

2.9 Children's Memorial interior

postmodernist perceptions of space. The common modernist perception viewed the architectural space as functional and abstract. In this approach, space was abstracted as a means of creating a non-symbolic and a-historical representation of architecture. Architecture tried to exist outside of time and chronology, and space as an abstract component offered ways to achieve this goal. From here, space was treated in functional terms as part of architecture's ergonomic aspects.

The postmodernist point of view returned to architecture's symbolic aspect and used space as a means of reflecting this tendency. These ideas of disorientation and absence were discussed by architectural researchers including Anthony Vidler and Richard Etlin, who returned to examine spatial models of absence that had been discussed by French architects of the Enlightenment at the end of the eighteenth century. Mostly, Vidler and Etlin examined monuments designed by Etienne-Louis Boullee and Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. A master of dark spaces, Boullee presented his mastery in monuments such as the Cenotaph for Isaac Newton, as well as in a "Temple for Nature," which was also a completely dark space. Ledoux proposed a dark space as the central space of a cemetery. Vidler and Etlin, each in his own work, placed these models against the clear light modernist space, which attempted to represent a rational way of thinking and transparency, which was literal and figurative.[37]

In many ways, Safdie's dark space in the Children's Memorial refers to the architectural discourse of absence and applies the rhetoric that resists rationalist representation as a way of commemorating the Holocaust. Just as the ideas of Boullee and Ledoux were linked to the discourse of the sublime and embodied the impossibility to represent, a discourse that took place in their time, Safdie's monument also provoked a discussion dealing with the significance of the representation it established and raised the issue of how it was possible to represent the Holocaust. Boulee and Ledoux were related to the philosophical discourse of contemporary Anglo–Irish philosopher Edmund Burke dealing with the concept of

the sublime and the collapse of representation. Burke extended the concept of the sublime and the exalted presented by Immanuel Kant, and defined the horrible and grotesque aspect of the sublime. For Kant, the sublime was merely exalted.[38] Burke asserted that sublime sensations are not caused only by exalted phenomena, but also by catastrophic ones. The grotesque, on the other hand, imitates the sublime effect—it creates artificial sublime sensations, sublimity mixed with kitsch. In that sense, the grotesque sublime was created by what Saul Friedlander defines as the relation between kitsch and death in relation to Holocaust commemoration.[39] The intense debate about whether Safdie's space is grotesque, kitsch or exalted sublime, and whether Yad Vashem's commemoration had turned into an act of "Holocaust effects,"[40] raged through Israeli journalism and continues to be a source of dispute among critics.[41]

As a product of the discourse on the sublime, the dark and the inconceivable, the Children's Memorial introduced these issues for the first time into the modes of commemoration in the Yad Vashem compound. Territory was not conceived as a means that must be dominated. Instead, it was framed in relation to absence. As such, territory was not about presence and spatiality; it was about their annihilation. Although he referred to old notions and returned through the postmodernist discourse to old ideas, with this monument, Safdie introduced a new way of thinking to Holocaust commemoration.

LABYRINTHINE SPACES—THE VALLEY OF THE DESTROYED COMMUNITIES

The next spatial monument built at Yad Vashem—the Valley of the Destroyed Communities—also links space and landscape and imports the annihilation map of Europe and this time, also North Africa, into the Jerusalem reality. Planned by the landscape architects Lipa Yahalom and Dan Zur, the monument was conceived at the beginning of the 1980s and inaugurated in 1992. Yahalom and Zur's proposal was chosen from the 18 submissions in a competition for building a monument that would commemorate about 5,000 ruined communities. "Community" was defined as a group of 100 members or more that maintained Jewish ritual facilities—a synagogue, a mikveh (a ritual bath) and so forth. The monument was established based on a clause in the Yad Vashem Law mandating that the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority was meant to commemorate the destroyed communities.[42] This clause was also used by Yad Vashem's directors in their attempts to defend against critics that questioned the necessity of this monument.

The Valley of the Destroyed Communities covers an area of about 2.5 acres, on a ridge between two hills on the memorial site's western edge. The monument is completely sunken into the ground, making it hard for the approaching visitors to notice. Visitors arrive at the entrance only after descending a winding slope, walking between trees and through terraces, and there its shape is revealed—a labyrinth. Most of the trees along the descending road have become memorial monuments, thanks to small plaques attached to them, presenting names of the Righteous among the Nations and others. In this manner, not only territory, but also vegetation becomes part of the monumental act.

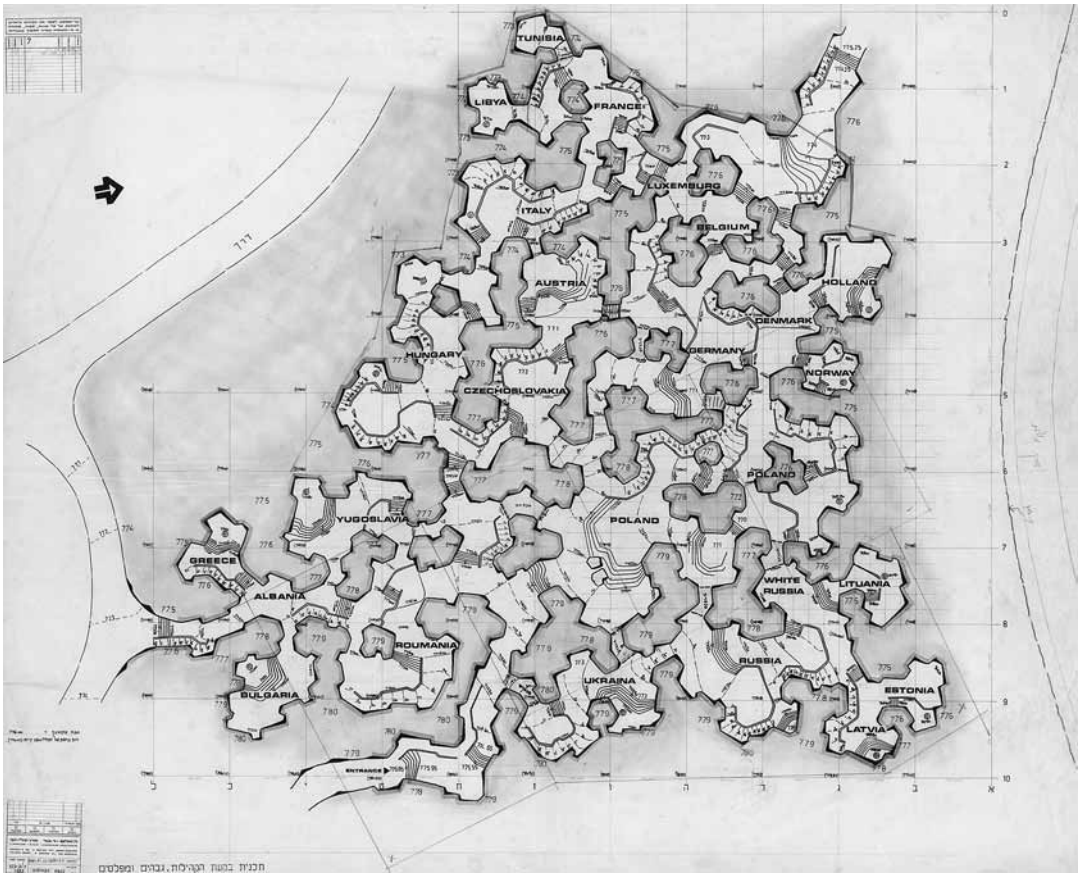
This commemorative act is intensified by the duality of the symbolic act. The Valley's labyrinthine structure is revealed only upon arriving at the entrance. Inside, the labyrinth's walls are clad with Jerusalem stone and its ground is covered with gravel. The complete lack of vegetation in the labyrinth space symbolizes the destruction, the labyrinth itself is open to the sky, and over the walls one can see the local vegetation. This representation using vegetation strengthens the perception of the Holocaust as an event placed between destruction—the nonexistent vegetation in the representation of the communities in Europe—and resurrection—the growing local vegetation.

Carving the labyrinth into the mountain left some remains that protruded from the ground to a height of three to five meters. During the initial planning stages, Yahalom and Zur considered cladding the remains in a way that would produce the sense of burning, creating a visual equivalence between the ruins of the destroyed European communities and the ruins in the monument commemorating them. It was finally decided to clad the ruins with Jerusalem stone to give the monument a local reference that does not arise from foreign ideas. Zur often remarked that he was inspired by vision of the Valley of the Dry Bones from the Book of Ezekiel. In this prophecy, Ezekiel sees a valley with dry bones that start to reassemble themselves, to be covered with muscles and tendons and become alive again. This prophecy symbolizes the resurrection of the Jewish people. It also stands as a metaphor for the return of the Jewish people to their nation. Zur used this reference in relation to the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel in his conception of the Valley of the Destroyed Communities.

In the Valley, the names of destroyed communities are carved, in Hebrew and Latin letters, into the labyrinth's stone walls and the remaining ruins, according to a double code. The first code is geographical: the location of the name carved in stone represents the location of the ruined community on the map of Europe and North Africa. In this way, the map of ruined communities is imported into the reality of Jerusalem. Each geographical area creates a small courtyard, with 22 courtyards in total. The second code is related to the size of the communities—the larger communities' names are carved in larger letters and so forth.

Similar to the Children's Memorial, the Valley of the Destroyed Communities creates a passage from the labyrinth to an observation point overlooking Jerusalem, as a sign of resurrection (this idea was later used by Safdie in the new history museum building). And indeed, Yad Vashem publications describe the labyrinth as "the garden of revival and resurrection."[43] A small museum called The House of Communities is located in the center of the labyrinth, displaying temporary exhibitions of different Jewish communities. The labyrinth was described in Yad Vashem publications as creating the feeling of dead end, provoking sensations of insecurity, uncertainty and helplessness.[44]

The judges in the Valley of the Destroyed Communities design competition included the Hall of Remembrance's architect, Arieh Elhanani; the Chairman of Yad Vashem's Directorate, Yitzhak Arad, and the Deputy Chairman of its Council, Dr Chaim Pazner; landscape architects Arieh Armoni and Zohar Yossef; the Chairman of the Yad Vashem Council and member of Knesset Gideon Hausner; the Chairman of the JNF Directorate Moshe Rivlin; the Ministry of Education Director-general, Shmuel Eliezer; and sculptor Moshe Ziffer. They awarded the first prize and



2.10 Valley of the Destroyed Communities, geographical organization of the communities' names

the right to execute their plans to Yahalom and Zur, explaining that "the design takes into maximal consideration the topography and the existing vegetation," thus enabling a gradual entrance to a "world of genesis" through "commemorating by low vegetation, going out to the garden of resurrection and revival and observation on the landscape of the renewing and flourishing land of Israel."[45] "The ruins in the valley of commemoration," the judges explained, "seem as if they were survivors of a once-perfect landscape, of which parts have sunken and disappeared." By the end of the tour, "the garden overlooks the landscape of Jerusalem Mountains, leading the visitor at its end to a bird's-eye lookout, from which one can observe the memorial site while maintaining continuous eye contact with Yad Vashem."[46] The shift from Holocaust to resurrection then passes through the genesis scenery of the Jerusalem Mountains.

Even though the monument's architects and the project's initiator, Yitzhak Arad, drew inspiration from the dry bones prophecy in the Book of Ezekiel, it is hard to separate the monument from contemporary Israeli and global cultural and political trends. From the 1980s onwards, the architectural discourse discussed the labyrinth as an anti-architectonic model that contradicts one of the first architectonic archetypes—the pyramid.[47] Denis Hollier, for instance, discussed the labyrinth and the pyramid at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 80s,

2.11 Valley of the Destroyed Communities, size of communities' names according population size

based on Georges Bataille's writings in the 1930s. Bataille referred to architectural history and the question of architecture's origins, objecting to existing architectural structures and dismissing the hut or the house, which were considered the origins, the starting points of the architectural discipline. Instead, he identified the prison as the architectural origin, since architecture, just like the prison's space, disciplines the human subject by symbolic spaces that shape the self into a formulated subject. For Bataille, discipline is the starting point, the foundation stone, of the subject and therefore also the starting point of architecture. Jacques Lacan would define this as the point of entry into the symbolic being which the language offers us. Accordingly, the prison space is the architectural space located in the starting point that leads the subject into symbolic orders. The labyrinth, Bataille claims, is opposed to the prison. The labyrinth is not a human invention, architectural or otherwise; it does not have an inventor—not a human being, nature or god—and it is a place that cannot be written, mapped or planned.

In his quest for the origin of architecture, Bataille also refers to the pyramid. He identified this structure as the counter-complement of the labyrinth, since it is one of the first monuments in humankind's history. The labyrinth, on the other hand, deconstructs monumentality. Hollier elaborated on this idea, claiming that the labyrinth provokes loss of the self and its point of reference is space and architecture. It dismantles architectural hierarchies by annulling inherent dichotomies. In the labyrinth, there is no separation between interior and exterior, there is no orientation, and it does not create a sense of shelter. It forms a counter-paradigm to the architectural paradigm of monumentality—the pyramid.[48] Dan Zur expressed several times his wish to create an inverted pyramid.[49] Yad Vashem publications described the Valley of the Destroyed Communities as deprived of any historical reference, thus making it an expression of deconstruction.[50]

In her article "Re-placing Memory," Yael Padan notes that the sense of disorientation is not total in the Valley of the Destroyed Communities.[51] The engraved names of communities reflect a geographic order and moving in the labyrinth facilitates some comprehension of its structure, thus preventing a sense of total disorientation.[52] The dichotomy between orientation and disorientation, mentioned by Padan, strengthens the visitors' perplexity in distinguishing between the symbolic and the real, and the annulment of differences and distance between Europe and Jerusalem. On the one hand, visitors enter a constantly deconstructing architectural structure, and are thus pushed into the real. This structure is located in Jerusalem. The visitors grasp the concrete reality of actual space and time through symbolic representation—the map of Europe, helping them locate themselves inside the labyrinth. And on the other hand, the map of Europe is what creates the labyrinth, and the Jerusalem stone, rustically chiseled, enables orientation. This way Europe and Jerusalem constantly switch roles, with one creating the labyrinth while the other provides a solution, and vice versa. This situation permits the moving of visitors from Europe to Jerusalem and back again, shifting between labyrinth and reality, creating confusion between the roles of the two places.

2.12 Cattle Car suspended over the valley

SAFDIE UPDATES—MUSEUM, HISTORY AND LANDSCAPE

As the years passed, more and more monuments were added to the Yad Vashem compound at an ever-increasing pace. The most prominent of the monuments added during the 1990s was the Cattle Car—Memorial to the Deportees (1995), also designed by Moshe Safdie, this time in cooperation with architect Uri Shitrit.

Safdie and Shitrit placed a train car, which carried Jews to concentration and extermination camps, on railroad tracks stretching out of the Jerusalem hillside toward the distant landscape and stopped over a chasm. The German railway car, donated by the Polish government, was placed at the far end of the tracks, where it looks as if it is about to fall off the edge of the precipice. Like many other additions to the site, the Cattle Car is located on one of Yad Vashem's terraces. Visitors to the complex arrive at the Cattle Car while strolling between memorial terraces. On these terraces stand items such as an ambulance of the type used by Count Folke Bernadotte, representing the Swedish Red Cross, to move Jewish people from Germany to Sweden to save their lives. There is also a boat used by Danish underground members to smuggle Jews from Denmark to Sweden during the war. In Yad Vashem publications, the Cattle Car is described as a "monument which symbolizes the destruction and extinction on the one hand, and the life and hope, on the other hand, expressed in Israel's revival and its capital Jerusalem."[53] Again, the reference to landscape and territory is used here as a means of commemoration and perpetuation—the car is suspended between earth and sky, at the brink of falling into the Jerusalem chasm. Here too, the Jerusalem landscape constitutes the background for a monument to which authenticity is most important (a "real" cattle car, of the type which transported Jews to their execution). The railway car stands as a figure over a ground, making it protrude over the landscape. As an artifact representing authenticity by virtue of being a real object, the railway car

metaphorically brings to an end in the Jerusalem scenery, the ride that began from Nazi Germany to Poland.

To date, Yad Vashem's biggest expansion project has been the building of the Holocaust History Museum, which was initiated and actively supported by Avner Shalev, the authority's current director. The initiative arose partly in response to the extensive construction of Holocaust museums all over the world during the 1990s. These museums represented a form of competition to Yad Vashem, both in fundraising and in methods of commemoration.[54] The USHMM in Washington D.C., designed by James Ingo Freed, and the Berlin Jewish Museum designed by Daniel Libeskind, are the most prominent of the international museums that encouraged the expansion initiative.[55] The museums in Washington and Berlin defined new patterns of commemorating the Holocaust—the Washington museum applies direct visual illustration, while the Berlin museum turns to deconstructive architecture. The exhibitions in both museums were also more comprehensive and up-to-date than the ones displayed in the old history museum at Yad Vashem. The expansion project, called "Yad Vashem 2001," started with the creation of a master plan for the memorial site. Architect David Reznik, an Israel Prize laureate, and landscape architect Dan Zur proposed a plan to unify the entire site into one memorial campus, which would facilitate walking around in what was considered "a rough geographical site."[56] Yad Vashem's previous director, Yitzhak Arad, pointed out that past decisions concerning the location of monuments did not refer to an overall site plan, but were taken according to the monument's size and the free space available.[57] Reznik and Zur wished to create a path that would determine the direction of walking through the site and would link the various monuments, which were randomly located. To that end, Reznik and Zur created a sequence, an architectural narrative based on a path among the various scattered monuments.

Safdie also agreed that the campus' scattered monuments should be integrated by one sequential path; nevertheless, he asked to change some aspects of Reznik and Zur's plan. Mainly, Safdie objected to the location of parking for the buses that bring some 2 million visitors a year to the campus. The buses usually stay on campus during the entire visit, which could take up to several hours. Reznik and Zur proposed directing the buses to the valley on the southwestern side of the entrance, thereby hiding them in the hills and avoiding any disruption while visiting the campus. Safdie wanted to keep this valley vacant, so that visitors entering the new history museum would have a floating feeling while crossing the hanging bridge between the visitors' center and the museum. He proposed, therefore, that the buses use a parking lot that would be concealed under the mountain terraces on the eastern side of the entrance.

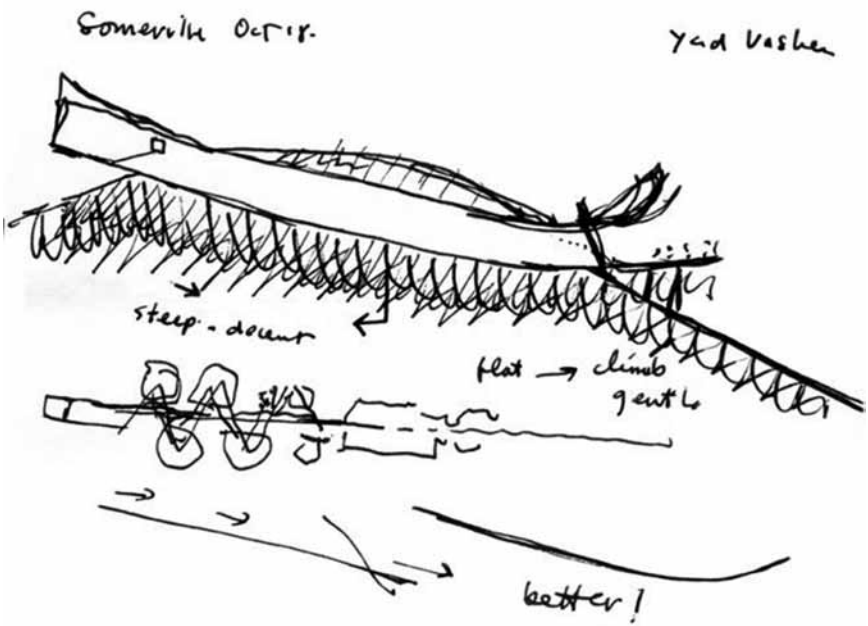
Sadfie's proposal for the change in the Yad Vashem master plan emerged after a deep study of the mountain's topography. Irit Kochavi, Yad Vashem Project Architect and head of the architecture design team in Safdie's Jerusalem office, says they were able to properly conceive the complexity of the project and its site and devise a design strategy only after they learned and analyzed the mountain's topography. With this knowledge in hand, Safdie came up with the idea of moving the buses' parking lot, and was able to plan the entrance sequence and, probably more importantly, to suggest a building that would intersect the mountain and not sit on its ridge.

2.13 Safdie's entrance, perforated wall

In a closed competition for the museum's extension, Safdie's plan for the new campus and Holocaust History Museum was chosen out of the six submissions invited by Yad Vashem. Among other invited participants, two other architectural firms, Kolker-Kolker-Epstein-Diamond and Yasky-Sivan, also reached the competition's final stage. Out of the three finalists, Safdie's plan was selected by a team of professional judges, including architects Saadia Mandel, Ulrik Plesner and Yoram Fogel, architecture historian Professor Michael Levin and former Israel Museum Director Dr Martin Weil. The judges chose Safdie's proposal because it was comprehensible and organized a clear sequential path, as well as integrating the history museum building into the landscape and the mountain, without interfering much with the scenery and Yad Vashem's other main monuments.

In a certain way, Safdie's design was a way to transfer visitors from their daily routine of life into the context of Holocaust representation at Yad Vashem, as well as an attempt to organize the circulation in the campus' entrance. In Safdie's proposal, visitors would pass through a perforated wall, in the image of an aqueduct that functions as a barrier between Yad Vashem's interiority and the space outside. After entering the site, visitors would reach a roundabout and afterward a square in which groups could gather before departing in various directions. This gathering place had been missing in Yad Vashem and today it functions as a place of contemplation. Several sections of Yad Vashem are located in the square's periphery: on the northern side, the administration building; on the western side, the visitors' center that includes a cafeteria, an information center and more, while the new history museum lies a little further west; and on the northwestern side, a pathway leading to the archive and education building. Safdie planned the whole complex, wishing to keep the identity of each section separate.

Out of the entire complex, the Holocaust History Museum was the most important element. In this project, in many ways, Safdie returned to the Children's Memorial.



2.14 Selected alternative for the museum design

Both the memorial and the museum begin in the open, dig into the earth and into darkness, and then release their visitors into the light-filled open air in Jerusalem. In the Children's Memorial, this sequence is relatively brief. In the new history museum, the gestures are much bigger. As in many other cases in which architects develop their ideas, Safdie experimented with several versions of the same option that he finally submitted. The catalogue presenting the master plan "Yad Vashem 2001" presents several of Safdie's alternative suggestions for building the museum.

All of the plans were based on walking through the prism, from its darker side toward the light at its other end, revealing Jerusalem. The differences between the alternatives were minor, consisting mainly of different proposals for circulation between the prism's space and the exhibition spaces, to achieve a circulation that would not detract from the main idea. The general site plan allowed Safdie to include a clear walking path for visitors from the minute they arrive until they exit on the other side. After parking near the site's new entrance, visitors arrive at the entrance plaza, where they can choose to proceed through the new visitors' center and a suspended bridge to the new history museum, to walk through the Avenue of the Righteous among the Nations, or to take a path leading to the new archive and the new building of Holocaust studies (both designed by architects David Guggenheim and Daniel Mintz).

The entrance space of the new visitors' center is composed of a circumferential set of columns, surrounded by a set of glass walls that close the space. Entering this space, the visitors can proceed over the bridge to the history museum, or descend to the center's lower levels, where stores and restaurants are located. The suspended bridge linking the visitors' center and the museum is a light construction, giving the visitors a sense of suspension between sky and earth. In the catalogue,

2.15 Suspended bridge, entrance to the museum

Safdie describes the conception and creation of the passage on the suspended bridge as an attempt to provoke a sense of sanctity. The experience of passing-through, he hoped, would create a feeling of elevation, caused by being surrounded by air and the fragility of the bridge's components. After walking the length of the prism and the museum's exhibition halls and passing through the Hall of Names, visitors then proceed to the Hall of Remembrance and the new Art Museum.

Safdie often says it was important for him to retain the monolithic aspects of the historic building. His intention was probably to create an architectural symbol that would convey a direct idea with an unambiguous message. Rodolfo Machado and Rodolphe el-Khoury defined the traits of monolithic structures in the preface to their book *Monolithic Architecture* as having the "capacity to deliver a tremendous eloquence with very little formal means."[58] For them, monolithic architecture was about simplicity and consistency. The book outlines several architectural structures that create a monolithic appearance, such as latent monoliths, which convey repressed desire. Familiar monoliths, they claim, are ones that create a feeling of déjà vu upon first noticing them. Safdie's Yad Vashem, in that respect, is indeed a monolith, as he claimed; yet his design's monolithic traits function well to express the Holocaust. The monolithic expression reflects a viewpoint that Holocaust representation should be clear and direct; therefore, the building's language and concept supports this approach.

The unifying perception of Yad Vashem as a site that must clearly and directly convey a monolithic idea was also expressed in the campus' overall scheme. The "Yad Vashem 2001" master plan and the new museum reformulated into one overarching monolithic idea. That is because Safdie's different paths at Yad Vashem not only crystallize the experience into one experience of a narrative nature, namely, "telling a story" (the Zionist redemption narrative), but they also constitute a consolidated landscape approach to commemoration. Visitors walk alternately in open air

2.16 Sketches of museum sections

(Avenue of the Righteous among the Nations), suspended between sky and earth (the hanging bridge) or strolling around objects that are suspended between sky and earth (the Cattle Car monument), descending under the ground (Children's Memorial) and emerging from the bowels of the earth to the redemption offered by Jerusalem (in the new history museum). The landscape and the space merge into a representational method of memory constituting the main elements of the spatial commemoration method in Yad Vashem. In his decision to locate the history museum at least partially underground, Safdie applies Yad Vashem's prevalent mode of commemoration which refers to territory and local scenery.

In contrast to the old museum building, the new Holocaust History Museum building updates the methods of museal representation, as well as emphatically using territorial and landscape methods. The museum itself, however, maintains the presentation of the central ideological Zionist narrative, relating to the wartime events in terms of the Holocaust, heroism and resurrection.

EPILOGUE: SPACE AND LANDSCAPE—CENTRAL PATTERNS OF COMMEMORATION

As in many other cases, the architectural discipline and discourse—practice and theory—have come to the issue of representing the Holocaust relatively late, compared to other areas of thought, mainly because applying architectural ideas is a slow and expensive process that requires the consent of many diverse parties and authorities. Yad Vashem was one of the first cases in Israel and worldwide, of commemorating through architectural methods (following just after the construction of the Ghetto Fighters' House). The use of architectural methods at Yad Vashem relied mainly on two commemoration patterns: one using the museal space and the other using monuments based on space, rather than on solid objects.

Since then, especially during the 1990s, the museal space has been the main commemoration pattern of the many architectural monuments marking the Holocaust that have been built. While a great number of Holocaust museums were built in the 1990s all around the world—from Japan through Europe and North America—Yad Vashem remains one of the preeminent museums commemorating the Jewish genocide by the Nazis.

An examination of the differences in commemoration methods at the various museums reveals the uniqueness of the Yad Vashem's method, in which territory, landscape and space are linked by the act of commemoration. From the very first stages of formulating the idea of building a Holocaust commemoration site, and then throughout the years, the architectural practice sought to unify territory with landscape and space. The aim of relating those three elements was to symbolize the sanctification of the earth with the murdered victims' blood.[59] But European Jews' blood was not spilled in Israeli territory, which is why repeated attempts have been made over the years to "import" Europe into the Israel's scenic reality. The war and annihilation were imported to the Jerusalem hills, whether by marking the extermination end concentration camp map in Jerusalem territory, or by placing authentic objects from the wartime years in the Jerusalem scenic context. Moreover, the project's realization applied local landscape methods. In this way, the distance between Auschwitz and Jerusalem was reduced, and the legitimacy of using the Holocaust memory as a constitutive means of Israeliness was reinforced.

This act of politicizing memory has been widely discussed in Israel and elsewhere in relation to the Holocaust and the any historiographical act. The writing of history presumes a writer, a voice, an agency, that holds an agenda and ideology, even if not outlined and well-articulated. Similarly Holocaust commemoration and the ways in which the historical story is told enfold an ideology and a political standpoint. In Israel, critical historians and philosophers, such as Idith Zertal, Adi Ophir, Ariella Azoulay and others, have addressed the politics of commemoration and the ways in which they come into play in the national conceptualization of Israel as a Jewish state that relates to the Holocaust. The use of territory as the main means of commemoration at Yad Vashem meshes well with their arguments: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is over territory; therefore, it is not surprising that a nation that must deal with territorial issues to the point of obsession would choose to commemorate the Holocaust by territorial means.

Yet beyond the link between the territory and national revival, the case of Yad Vashem is interesting because it provides ways to explore the means by which architecture can manipulate territory, land and landscape and treat them as materials in the creation of national and personal consciousness. The territorial act at Yad Vashem is, in that respect, one of mankind's ways of taming nature, of acculturating it and making it part of its structure. One of architecture's longest-running issues revolves around the question of culture-nature relations. Architecture's old role was to tame nature, to provide shelter. At Yad Vashem, the relation to nature through cultural practices and products such as monuments and museums in the context of historical narratives alludes to certain ideas in modern architecture that romanticized nature and objectified it to become part of cultural narratives. These ideas addressed the relation between death and nature.

Yad Vashem adds to these histories in that it provides a new set of ideas about the ways in which history and memory could be embedded in nature. Yad Vashem's uniqueness stems from the fact that these acts are taking place in sites far distant from the territories where the events actually occurred. This might be the reason for the ever-developing methods and patterns of commemorations that characterize Yad Vashem.

Indeed, over the years, the use of spatial methods of representation and the relation between territory, landscape and commemoration have undergone a transformation. While initially the relation between commemoration and scenic means was direct, over time this relationship changed into the rhetoric regarding the deconstruction of representation, the inability to represent (as in the cases of the Children's Memorial and Valley of the Destroyed Communities). With the addition of a major layer to the spatial representation of the Holocaust—the "Yad Vashem 2001" project—it appears that the commemoration pattern of using scenic methods and territory, and linking the space to the landscape as a means of commemoration, is being reinforced and established as the central paradigm of Holocaust representation at Yad Vashem.

NOTES

1 In a conference held at the University of California in 1991, Holocaust researcher Saul Friedlander raised the issue of representing the Holocaust. Defining the Holocaust as an "event at the limit," Friedlander asks whether representing an event of the Holocaust's dimensions and scope is even possible. The different speakers, including *Carlo Ginzburg*, Amos Funkenstein, Vincent Pecora and others, discussed the question by analyzing different methods through which the Holocaust was represented. Friedlander edited the different speakers' articles in a book called *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"* (Cambridge, 1992). The articles in the book discuss the various meanings of Holocaust representation through different media. Yael Feldman, for instance, discusses the relation between ideology and psychology in different Israeli literary narratives about the Holocaust. Yael Feldman, "Whose Story Is It, Anyway? Ideology and Psychology in the Representation of the Shoah in Israeli Literature," pp. 223–39. Berel Lang raises the question of dealing with the relation between limits and representation. He discusses the theoretical difference between limits (restrictions) and the representation of those restrictions. Berel Lang, "The Representation of Limits," pp. 300–318.

2 *Yechiam Weitz*, "The Establishment of Holocaust Memory in Israeli Society during the 1950s," in Yisrael Gutman (ed.), *Basic Changes in the Jewish People After the Holocaust*, (Jerusalem, 1996), pp. 473–93. And in Roni Stauber "The Jewish Response during the Holocaust: Discussing the Building of a Memorial Site in Yad Vashem," in *A Generation's Lesson: Holocaust and Bravery in Public Thought in Israel during the 1950s* (Jerusalem, 2000) pp. 157–70.

3 In a meeting of the National Committee for the Knesset of Israel, held in Tel Aviv on November 26, 1948, committee member Mordechai Shenhavi claimed that in view of the new state's inadequate financial means, resources should be pooled to build one big commemoration project. The National Committee for the Knesset of Israel was the official body responsible for Holocaust commemoration until shortly after the founding of the state of Israel. The committee members included (chairman) David Remez, Dr Avraham Granot (Granovsky), Mordechai Shenhavi, Shlomo Zalman,

Ben-Zion Israeli, Dr A. Antke and others. In a meeting held on November 26, 1948, commemoration methods in memorial sites in Israel were discussed. Shenhavi detailed the ways of commemoration and warned against wasting time and resources. (From the tender meeting protocol, November 26, 1948, Archive of the State.)

4 Using distant natural landscapes is repeated in different representations of the Holocaust. The distant natural scenery is perceived as a quiet representative, a post-mortem silence. In Claude Lanzmann's movie *Shoah*, for example, as well as in the work of German artist Anselm Kiefer, and in other artists' work, the distant natural scenery symbolizes the quiet, the silence and inability to transform the representation of the Holocaust into terms of manmade or other landscapes. The distant natural scenery forms an analogy to the collapse of language in post-traumatic situations. As Cathy Caruth claims, based on a Lacanian conception, the post-traumatic effect expels the existence out of the language. In that sense, the distant scenery is expelling the symbolism of the landscape out of the design/architectural language of everyday life. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*, (Baltimore, 1996).

5 James Corner, "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention," in Denis Cosgrove (ed.), *Mappings* (London, 1999), pp. 213–52.

6 In her Book *Death and the Nation*, Idith Zertal interprets Knesset member Aryeh Sheftel's assertion that every Jew takes the memory of the Holocaust with him wherever he may go, as a linkage between Auschwitz and Jerusalem. Sheftel's words reflect the recurring perception of uniting the event in Europe and Jerusalem. See: Idith Zertal, *Death and the Nation: History, Memory, Politics*, (Or Yehuda, 2002), p. 96.

7 Mooli Brog, 'The History of Forming the Memory of Holocaust and Bravery in Yad Vashem,' *Yedioth Yad Vashem*, 12/3 (1996), pp. 14–17.

8 Ibid., p. 14.

9 Ibid., p. 15.

10 Ibid., p. 15.

11 Ibid., p. 15.

12 Tom Segev, "Memory, The struggle of forming the past," in *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 418–19.

13 Brog, "The History," p. 16.

14 Segev, "Memory," p. 421.

15 Ben-Zion Dinur, "Yad Vashem Actions," *Yedioth Yad Vashem*, 3/11, (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 10.

16 Ibid., p. 10.

17 Taken from the proposal booklet by Munio Weinraub and Al Mansfeld, published by the architects' office, *Yad Vashem Archive*.

18 Ibid.

19 The article by Giedion, Leger and Sert indicates the dilemmas architects and artists were facing during the first half of the twentieth century, while attempting to define monumentality, to plan or design monuments or to establish a different form of historical or other representation. With the rejection of existing architectural styles (from Greek and Roman styles to Neo-classical style), and with the rise of civil power caused by the national revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the old historical monumentalizing methods were removed from the accepted architectural language. Architects and artists wished to represent historical events and important people without turning to historical symbols of the old regimes,

but in an abstract manner. This tendency grew as a reaction against the monumentalist-historicist representation that was used by European totalitarian regimes. Giedion, Leger and Sert acted in this spirit, wishing to disconnect the monumental historical representation from its old customary patterns, used at the time in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and the Communist Soviet Union. Instead, they wished to establish a civil democratic monumentality, which would suit the modernist spirit of Western Europe. Jose Louis Sert, Fernand Leger and Sigfried Giedion, "Nine Points on Monumentality," in Joan Ockman (ed.), *Architecture Culture: 1943–1968* (New York, 1993), pp. 29–30.

20 "The Functions and Activities of Yad Vashem," (1954), p. 2.

21 *Yediot Yad Vashem* (Yad Vashem Newsletter), 8–9, (1954), p. 11.

22 Ibid. p. 11.

23 Saul Friedlander and Adam B. Seligman, "The Israeli Memory of the Shoah: On Symbols, Rituals and Ideological Polarization," in Roger Friedland and Deirdre Boden (eds), *Now Here: Space, Time and Modernity*, (Los Angeles, 1994), pp. 356–71.

24 *Yediot Yad Vashem* (Yad Vashem Newsletter), 8–9, (1954), p. 11.

25 Architecture historian and theorist Bruno Reichlin, discusses the relation between shape and purity. Published in *Architecture and Cubism conference proceedings*, Reichlin's article links purist painting to the Euclidean architecture of Le Corbusier. For Reichlin, the formalistic resemblance indicates Le Corbusier's wish to reproduce ideas from the field of painting in architecture. The non-Euclidean geometry, Reichlin claims, served Le Corbusier as a mediator of purist ideas. It is likely that Le Corbusier, who maintained an ongoing relationship with Siegfried Giedion, had an impact on Giedion's formation of ideas about monumentality and purity. See: Bruno Reichlin, "Jeanneret Le Corbusier, Painter–Architect," in Eve Blau and Nancy Troy (eds), *Architecture and Cubism*, (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 195–218.

26 'The New Memorial Shrine in Jerusalem,' Yad Vashem Archive, (Jerusalem, 1961), p. 4.

27 *Yediot Yad Vashem* (Yad Vashem Newsletter), 28 (Dec. 1961).

28 *"Yad Vashem" booklet*, 1 (1960), pp. 10–11.

29 Ibid., p. 11.

30 The relation between the earth and the body is interpreted at "Yad Vashem" in a broader and more extended manner. As demonstrated by Idith Zertal in her book *Death and the Nation*, Zionism, as other national movements, sanctified the ground and territory by using the body. Usually the spilled blood sanctified the soil, creating an affinity between sanctity and nationalism. Idith Zertal, "The tortured and the sacred: Establishing a national martyrology," in *Death and The Nation*, pp. 24–78. The ashes of the dead at Yad Vashem are linked to the sanctity of the ground and to local nationalism.

31 *Yad Vashem Booklet*, 1, (1960), pp. 10–11.

32 *Yediot Yad Vashem* (Yad Vashem Newsletter), 28, (Dec. 1961), p. 3.

33 Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, (London, New York, 1995), p. 193.

34 Tim Cole, "Yad Vashem," in *Selling the Holocaust*, (New York, 1999), pp. 121–45.

35 The "Commemoration Cave" was a project initiated during the 1980s by Dr Yitzhak Arad. According to the plan, survivors and their families could commemorate their deceased relatives in a cave, located at the bottom of one of the terraces, by placing

personal memorial stones, for which they were asked to pay. This demand provoked severe public criticism against the economic discrimination between those who could afford to pay for commemoration and those who could not. The discussion about the cave and the payment, which eventually reached Israel's High Court of Justice, included the claim that paid commemoration privatizes and gives the wealthy precedence and a privilege of forming memory. Although the petition to annul the project was rejected by the High Court of Justice, Avner Shalev, Arad's successor as chairman of Yad Vashem., decided to shelve the project due to the profound public criticism it aroused. "Yad Vashem Freezes the Commemoration Cave Paid-Project," *Maariv*, May 26, 1996.

36 Richard Etlin, "The Space of Absence," in *Symbolic Architecture: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy,* (Chicago, 1994), p. 173.

37 Ibid., p. 173. See also Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*, (Princeton, 1987).

38 Philosopher Jean-François Lyotard returned to discuss Kant and his notions of the sublime. In his book *Leçons sur l'analytique du sublime* published in 1991, Lyotard discusses the analytic aspects of the sublime. He extends Kant's discussion of the relation between beauty and the sublime to the relation between the sublime and taste. He also applies an analytic discussion of the mathematical structure of the sublime, as well as the ethical issues of the subject. Jean-Francois Lyotard, Leçons sur l'analytique du sublime (Paris, 1991).

39 Saul Friedlander, *Reflections on Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death*, (Jerusalem, 1985).

40 Regarding this issue, see the column by Tom Segev, *Koteret Rashit*, July 8, 1987.

41 Tim Cole, 'Yad Vashem,' p. 139.

42 "The Functions and Activities of Yad Vashem" (Jerusalem, 1954), p. 2.

43 *The Valley of the Destroyed Communities*, 1988, p. 6.

44 *The Valley of the Destroyed Communities* (Jerusalem, 1992), p. 4.

45 *The Valley of the Destroyed Communities*, 1988, p. 6.

46 Ibid., p. 4.

47 Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth; Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Connolly, (Cambridge, 1990).

48 Denis Hollier, "The Labyrinth and the Pyramid,'" in *Against Architecture*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 57–73.

49 On various occasions, including a personal conversation with the author of this book.

50 *Jerusalem Yad Vashem News*, (Jerusalem, 1992), p. 3.

51 Yael Padan, "Re-Placing Memory," in Haim Yacobi (ed.), *Constructing a Sense of Place: Architecture and the Zionist Discourse* (Burlington, 2004), p. 256.

52 Ibid., p. 256.

53 Cattle Car Monument—Deportees Memorial, Yad Vashem publication for the inauguration of the monument, (Jerusalem, 1990).

54 Vered Kellner, "The Great Dictator," in *Kol Hair* (Jerusalem, March 27, 1998), pp. 50–52.

55 Ibid., p. 51.

56 Esther Zandberg, "Har Hazikaron," *Ha'aretz* (September 18, 1997).

57 In a conversation with the author of this book, which took place in Arad's house in Ramat Hasharon, Israel, in July 2002.

58 Rodolfo Machado, Rodolphe El-Khoury, Detlef Mertins (eds), "Introduction," in *Monolithic Architecture*, (New York, 1995), p. 12.

59 Zertal, *Death and the Nation,* p. 39.

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3

"The Events you are about to Experience are Real": Authenticity at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum

STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY

Upon exiting the elevator on the fourth floor of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), the visitor is confronted with a life-sized image of American soldiers standing next to a pile of charred bones, skulls and upper body parts.

It is not quite obvious that the debris is composed of human remains, probably because the entire heap is covered with coal and burnt tree trunks. In another context, it might appear to be ashes from a single, unremarkable source. In this instance—in a Holocaust museum in Washington, D.C.—and judging by the shocked expressions on the faces of the soldiers staring at the blackened pile, it is clear that the image holds far greater significance than had it been presented without a context. Portraying the American troops' discovery of the Nazi atrocities at the end of the Second World War,[1] it is an image that reveals much but does not try to be explicit. This, the opening image for the permanent exhibition of the USHMM, was selected from various options. The exhibition's designers were seriously considering at least one other image to open the permanent exhibition—a photo of naked female corpses piled on a wagon taken in Buchenwald a few days after the camp's liberation.[2] Some designers wanted to use the photo of the women, but others were in favor of the burnt corpses because the blurred image was less threatening and only vaguely resembled actual human bodies. This was thought to be more appropriate because it avoided presenting women's genitalia, as Jeshajahu (Shaike) Weinberg, the museum's director between 1988 and 1994, pointed out.[3] James Ingo Freed, the architect that eventually designed the USHMM, was concerned not only with the content of the photographs. He was also concerned that their size might frame them in an inappropriate way. In a letter from February 1987 addressed to Dr Eli Pfefferkorn, who served as a Director of Research at the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Freed states: "I have come to feel that huge blowups of photographs of atrocities have a certain pornographic intensity that seems very much like a second violation of the victims."[4] Freed was concerned

about how the images would be received, adding "I feel that we must show these photographs but I do not believe we should celebrate them."[5]

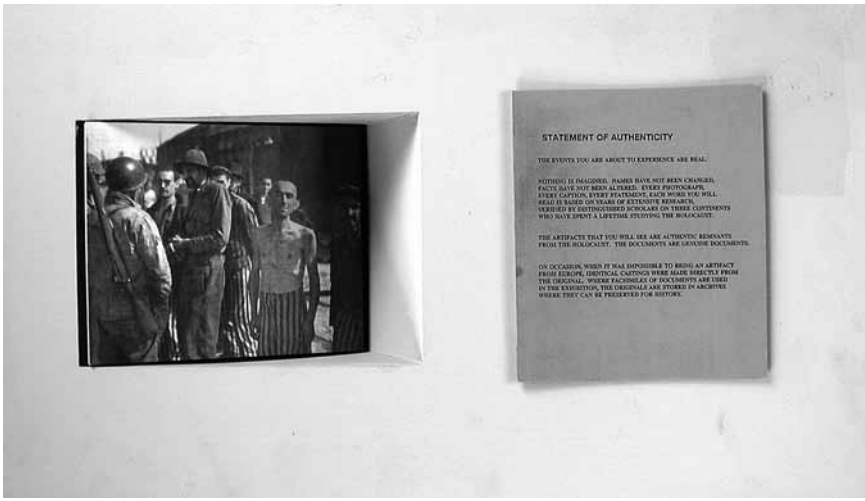
The question of the degree of explicit representation of the wartime atrocities in Europe runs through many discussions in the museum. The USHMM's mission to educate, research and be a living memorial gave rise to numerous debates about the ways in which the Nazis' attempted genocide should be presented. In the late 1970s and during the 1980s, Holocaust deniers were a vocal force in America. Thus, the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the museum's founding body, aspired to establish an institution that would promote a true historical representation of the events in Europe, partly to counter the deniers' claims. The concern with presenting an accurate and genuine display led the museum's curators and designers to consider various options—some presented the horrors more explicitly, while others were somewhat milder in tone. In any case, the museum's curators and designers sought to create an authentic display, a presentation so true and accurate that it would not permit any type of Holocaust denial.

This concern even caused them to think of posting the following statement at the entrance to the permanent exhibition:

> **Statement of Authenticity**
>
> *The events you are about to experience are real.*
>
> *Nothing is imagined. Names have not been changed, facts have not been altered. Every photograph, every caption, every statement, each word you will read is based on years of extensive research, verified by distinguished scholars on three continents who have spent a lifetime studying the Holocaust.*
>
> *The artifacts you will see are authentic remnants from the Holocaust. The documents are genuine documents.*
>
> *On occasion, when it was impossible to bring an artifact from Europe, identical castings were made directly from the original. Where facsimile of documents are used in the exhibition, the originals are stored in archives where they can be preserved for history.*[6]

On April 26, 1989, Ralph Appelbaum, the exhibition designer, presented design models of the various exhibition floors to the museum curatorial team. In one model, the Statement of Authenticity dominated on an entire wall across from the fourth floor elevators, exactly where the photo of the burnt bodies was eventually mounted in the actual museum.[7]

Indeed, framed in another context, this statement reflects far more complex theoretical concerns than merely responding to deniers. It posits questions about the relationship between representation and authenticity. What is an authentic representation? Is it even possible to represent authentically? Or is it the case that any representation involves interpretation, thus losing the authenticity existing in the represented event? And if representations are interpretative acts, then might it be the case that representations can never be authentic? These questions came up repeatedly in the US Holocaust Memorial Council meetings,[8] in the curatorial team's meetings[9] and in private discussions.[10]



3.1 Statement of Authenticity in the model of USHMM 4th floor

The USHMM Statement of Authenticity deals with these questions in at least three different ways that sometimes contradict one another, but which reflect the meaning of authenticity as seen by the museum's creators at the time. On the one hand, the statement proclaims (much like Walter Benjamin's discourse on the aura of the artwork in the age of mechanical reproduction[11]) that the authentic lies within the material use, formal configuration and functional properties of an artifact. A claim such as "The artifacts you will see are authentic remnants from the Holocaust"[12] implies that the material of which a specific artifact is made bears an authentic value because it was used for a specific purpose and because it maintains its formal organization, which reminds us of the function it used to perform. For instance, wood that was used to construct a railway car that transported victims to the concentration camps, in its specific formal configuration, is authentic because it was used for that specific purpose and because it maintains its formal organization. Had it been deconstructed and reused for other purposes, most probably this wood would have not been considered as authentic evidence from the past of a specific event. The wood had to maintain three properties to be considered authentic: material, formal and functional. By possessing these properties, it can also maintain its symbolic function as part of an authentic artifact.

The USHMM Content Committee was well aware of the value of genuine artifacts that were used in the the Second World War period. They often speculated about the ways in which they should acquire these artifacts. At a committee meeting in February 1988, they even discussed whether an ad asking for donations of genuine Holocaust artifacts should be placed in the *New York Times*.[13] Arthur Rosenblatt, the museum's director between 1986 and 1988, stated that the material should be original and authentic. The historian, Sybil Milton, noted that these artifacts are becoming rare and the USHMM is in competition with other institutions to acquire such artifacts. In that respect, the battle over authenticity was not only against deniers but also against others who sought authenticity.[14] Eventually, a full-page advertisement was placed in the *Times* and Rosenblatt initiated search groups to seek out authentic artifacts.

If the search committees could not find genuine artifacts, the Statement of Authenticity gave them another way to represent the Holocaust. It proposed that authenticity can be achieved without the actual material that was used to construct a specific artifact, declaring that "when it was impossible to bring an artifact from Europe, identical castings were made directly from the original."[15] Here, to overcome the absence of genuine material, which is necessary and presupposes the construction of an artifact's formal and functional properties, a new material has to be used. The formal and visual similarities between the original artifact and the replicated one would compensate for the absence of genuine material presence and create the desired authenticity. In this case, an artifact's origin and authenticity lay within the formal and visual resemblance. The statement notes that authenticity can be mediated as long as a simulation is close enough in its formal and visual properties to the original. Under these circumstances, simulation would not create simulacra, as Jean Baudrillard posits in his discourse on simulation and representations,[16] because the simulated replica retains its relation to the original and does not try to create its own reality.[17]

The third and most striking way in which the USHMM Statement deals with the question of authentic representation, however, is the opening claim: "The events you are about to experience are real."[18] The complexity of this claim lies in the juxtaposition of three concepts: events, experience and real, with their interrelation and the dual layers of meaning they suggest. First, on its literal level, if we take the meaning of the term "real" to be actual and authentic, then the claim suggests that visitors are about to experience actual and authentic events. This is quite obvious because every event or phenomenon we experience is real, actual and authentic at its moment of occurrence. We cannot experience a non-real event. Thus, in the museum, visitors are going to experience the "real" of the museum through the reality it constructs, which is a representation of the Holocaust, presented by narratives in various media. The visitors will experience a representation of the Holocaust as the reality of their immediate experience. The representation is going to be the authentic experience of the moment.

On the conceptual level, the claim that "the events you are about to experience are real" does not refer to the current reality suggested by the museum itself, but rather to the events that took place in Europe before, during and after the Second World War, which now are presented in the museum. These are the events and they are real. Here, the real stands for true and valid. The paradox and confusion in the use of the terms stems from the use of the word "experience". We are about to experience events that are real. Nevertheless, if the events belong to the past, how we can experience them? How we can experience the past in the present, if the past has already gone? Moreover, if we can only experience the real and if the real presented by the museum is that of the past, we are about to experience the past in the present in a way that would make the past the reality of the present. Past and present are collapsing into one another, creating one reality. Representation as the mediator of the past and the real as a possibility for authenticity in the present are united, so that the representation becomes an authentic reference to the present.

The paradox regarding the definition of authenticity in the opening claim and in the statement as a whole—a paradox that involves issues of material presence that

has authentic value; of formal, visual and functional properties that are supposed to validate an event's authenticity by the mediating artifacts; of past, present and future collapsing into each other into one temporal structure—in many ways underpins the basis of symbolic architecture. Architecture is always of the present. We are present inside architecture in the present. Even when we are outside of a built structure, we are present in "another" architecture that is external and in the present. The reality of the present is mediated to us by the material presence, the visual and formal configuration and function of the architectural realm. This reality can be of the moment, but it can be a representation of the past (as such, it will be the past in the present). Thus, in symbolic architecture, when the past is brought into the present, we are located between two temporal structures: that of the presented past and that of the present as an actual spatiotemporal structure of existence. The past is represented by spatial, visual and tactile means and experienced in the present through those means. The present is the reality of the moment, a reality that is composed of the material presence, the formal configuration and function of the used space. This reality may include a represented past as part of its construction of a current reality, thus amalgamating the past and the present.

The questions about the USHMM, a museum that vividly brings the past to the present, concern which reality the museum refers to and what the levels of authenticity in this reality are. Is it the authenticity of the immediate reality of a museum in Washington? Or is it the reality of the represented event—the Holocaust? Or maybe it is a reality that integrates the two—representation and authentic immediacy. These questions take on another dimension when one thinks of architecture, authenticity and representation. The Statement of Authenticity referred mostly to the genuine artifacts—a railway car, human hair, suitcases, uniforms and other objects from the war period. But how is architecture, as a newly constructed realm, supposed to create an authentic representation of the Holocaust? How can it overcome the difficulties of acquiring an aura of a genuine artifact of the past, materially and non-materially? Furthermore, how can space, one of architecture's primary components, create an authentic representation of history, when time has passed and the space has changed its nature? Indeed, how can space represent an event authentically when the location of representation is thousands of miles away from where the event occurred?

These questions will come up in the following discussion of the evolution of the USHMM's architecture, its various manifestations in diverse scales and its use of architectural properties—space, program and image. Also under discussion will be the perception of authenticity as reflected in the different proposals for the museum's conception, design and construction and as interpreted by its founders, architects, designers and other involved parties. Initially conceived and presented as an ostensibly neutral container, the first proposal for the USHMM building did not attempt to be an authentic mediation of the events in Europe. Only later, with the transformation in the perception of the role of architecture and the development of ideas about authenticity, did the museum's design start to resemble places in Europe; at that point, the question of authenticity and architecture became more sharply focused and authenticity was conceived as having to do with the symbolic reference.

Similar to the second perception of authenticity presented in the statement, material is absent and the space of occurrence is distant, so the museum tries through visual and formal resemblance to convey that which is authentic.

Nevertheless, my argument is that while referring to the visual and formal properties and sticking fairly closely to the represented places in Europe, architecture as language exceeds the visual and formal representations. Through the integration of the tactile, visceral and bodily experiences as part of the visual and formal perceptions of the architectural language, architecture transcends the paradox of authenticity and creates what can be termed authentic representation—representation that is perceived to be authentic. Architecture, in this case, is not narrowed down into symbolic language but rather expands the structure of language to include non-symbolic properties in our understanding of the symbolic. The integration of the visual and formal representations with bodily perception creates language that is perceived as authentic representation of the event. This language does not strive to replicate the events in Europe, but rather to create a notion of authenticity through the representational means of architecture—the authenticity of the here and now together with the representation of the past. Martin Heidegger claimed in *Being and Time* (*Sein und Zeit*) that an authentic *Da-sein* (being-in-the-world) is determined by the level of belonging to a situation.[19] In the USHMM, architecture helps to create a notion of belonging through the integration of visual, formal and bodily experiences as the language of architecture.

To show how this perception of the structure of architectural language evolved and how we make Holocaust present in the context of Washington, D.C., the discussion will examine two tracks: the historical, tracing the transformation in the perception of the museum's architecture; and the theoretical, delineating the evolution of the concept of authentic representation.

LITERAL SPACE AND REUSED STRUCTURES: THE AUDITOR'S COMPLEX

The first proposal for the USHMM building, presented to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council on February 26, 1984, was designed by the Washington and Boston architectural firm Anderson, Notter, Finegold, in collaboration with architect Ted Mariani.[20] The firm of J. Timothy Anderson, George M. Notter Jr, and Maurice J. Finegold specialized in preservation. They were commissioned in 1978 to survey the Auditor's Complex at the intersection of Independence Avenue and 14th Street in Washington as part of a plan to reconstruct and preserve the complex. The Auditor's Complex comprised a main building constructed between September, 1878, and June, 1880, for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (BEP), plus three annexes that were built between 1902 and 1905. Architect James G. Hill, the supervising architect for the Secretary of Treasury in the mid-1870s, designed a building in the neo-Victorian style.

Located on the National Mall, the BEP building was designed as part of an attempt to improve the neglected area. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the French general commissioned by George Washington in 1791 to be the master planner of the nation's capital, planned two axes of public space: the Mall and a broad swath stretching from

3.2 Drawing of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing

the White House to the Potomac River. Both were supposed to function as national parks, but L'Enfant's plans did not materialize immediately. In fact, the Mall axis started to evolve only during the 1850s, when it was decided to locate the Smithsonian Institution and its branches there. The Smithsonian went on to develop a succession of projects, starting from the east between First and Third streets and reaching all the way to the lot between 12th and 14th streets, that included botanical and public gardens, as well as the Smithsonian and Agriculture Grounds.

The BEP building was considered an integral part of the creation of the national institutional buildings. Thus, Hill produced a design that would contribute to the Mall's continuous façade, a building composed of a main block on B Street (today Independence Avenue) and a small wing along 14th Street. For building materials, he selected terra cotta, granite, sandstone and bonding mortar, but most notable was the hard-burned brick that dominated the building's entire envelope. It gave the building its red hue, which makes it stand out in an environment of mostly limestone-clad buildings. Although intended as a primarily utilitarian building where engraving and printing took place, Hill always considered the structure's symbolic aspects and designed a highly decorative and ornamental building. The building's Mall location and the fact that it was planned for the use of the BEP encouraged him to articulate it meticulously. It is no wonder then that one finds ornamental railings, doors and partitions not only in the reception and administrative rooms, but also in the engraving and printing halls. Hill set the fundamental ways in which later architects would perceive the material, visual and morphological properties of the building and site.

Three additions to the site, constructed between 1890 and 1900, pretty much followed Hill's formalism. Designed by architect Willoughby J. Edbrooke and added to the building in 1891, the southwest wing used the red bricks and followed the

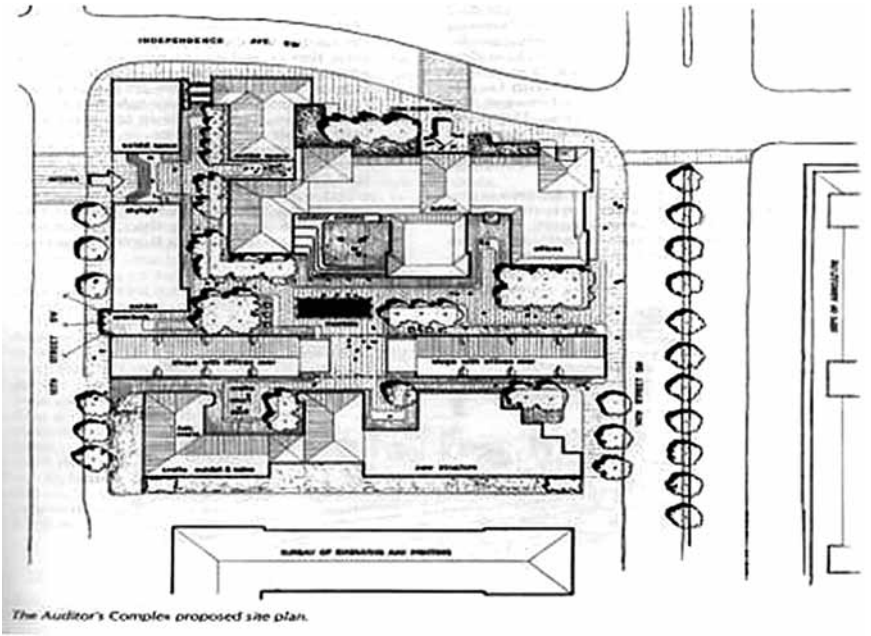
details of the main building's façade and fenestration. For the second addition in 1895–6, in the center of the building, architect William Martin Aiken[21] also followed Hill's design meticulously. In 1890, the third and most notable addition, by architect James Knox Taylor,[22] was the strictest in applying Hill's formal ideas. Two years later, when Taylor designed an outbuilding, Annex 2, for use as a boiler house, he deviated somewhat from Hill's ideas; while he continued with the red brick as a construction material, he took some liberties with the detailing. Annex 1, a stable and laundry, was built in 1904 and later in the same year, the site's last major addition came with the building of Annex 3.

This building would play an important role in the conception of today's USHMM building and the discussion around its articulation. Also designed by Taylor, Annex 3 is known today as the Ross Building and accommodates part of the USHMM offices. The building's style shifts away from the strict neo-Victorian genre and integrates neo-Classical motifs. Despite expanding and adding more space, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the BEP had outgrown the existing structures. In 1914, after three years of construction, the BEP moved to its new home farther down 14th Street. The building at the intersection of Independence Avenue and 14th Street became the offices of the Navy auditors.[23]

Surveying the complex about a century after it was built, Anderson, Notter, and Finegold thought the main building by Hill possessed the highest historical and architectural values. They considered the additions on the northwest and southeast sides to be less significant.[24] Nevertheless, they advocated preserving all the buildings on the site, and in line with the General Service Administration's ideas, they proposed a complex that would "localize the priorities of the Nation."[25] Anderson, Notter and Finegold wanted to continue the tradition that started with the Smithsonian's first idea for the Mall that included Botanical Garden and was reinforced with the addition of the National Air and Space Museum in 1976, with a new commercial complex and museum. The Auditor's Complex was intended to house an American folk craft museum, as well as commercial space and offices. All together, these were meant to create a courtyard that would be accessible from all directions (the Mall, as well as 14th and 15th streets) and would serve as a refuge from the Mall.[26]

In a series of perspective drawings and roof plans, Anderson, Notter and Finegold show the programmatic division of the various functions envisioned for the site and the overall atmosphere they wished to achieve—a small-scale picturesque view that would create a congenial environment. As specialists in preservation, it is not surprising that Anderson, Notter and Finegold proposed retaining the Auditor's Complex with all of its various components. They were mainly occupied with the ways in which the building should maintain its formal properties dating from the late nineteenth century. For them, preservation had to relate to the material presence of architecture. Even their wish to maintain the complex's original concept, namely, to be part of the succession of buildings along the Mall, could have been interpreted in various ways. Anderson, Notter and Finegold could have decided to tear down the complex and create a building that would better serve the new purpose. Nevertheless, it seems that the wish to maintain the building's urban role was only a secondary factor in their decision making.

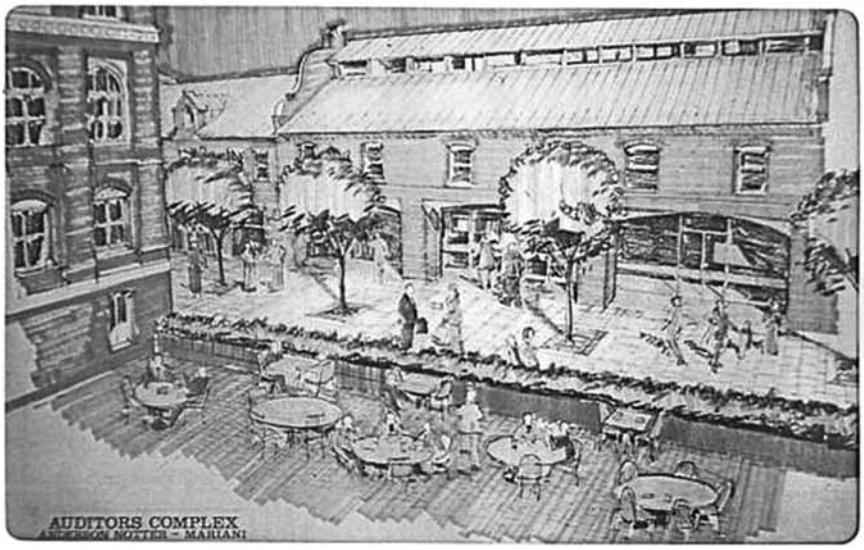
3.3 Aerial view of the site, Annex 3 on the lower left side



The Auditor's Complex proposed site plan.

3.4 Plan of the American Craft Museum proposal

3.5 American Craft Museum, drawing of the internal court

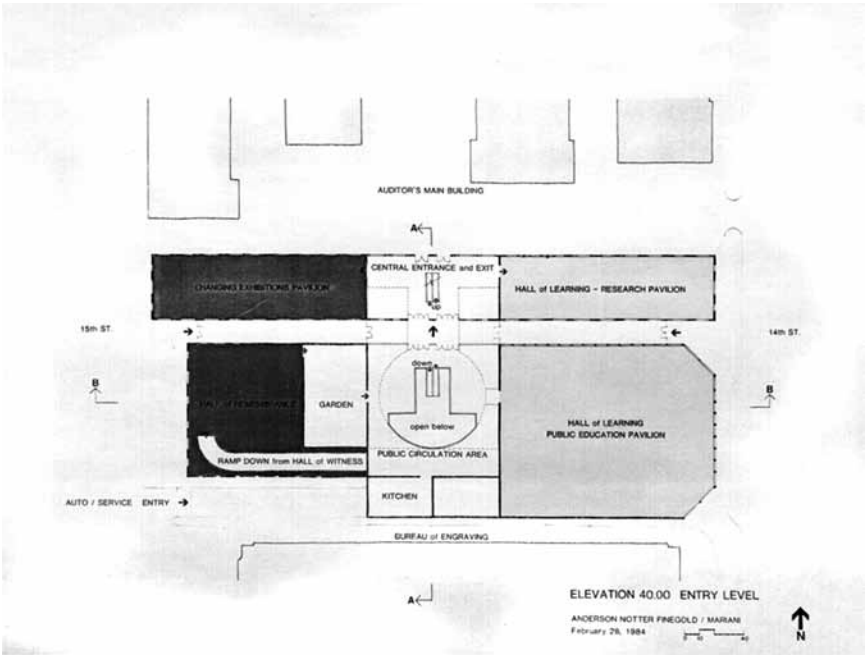


3.6 Proposal for the courtyard of the American Craft Museum

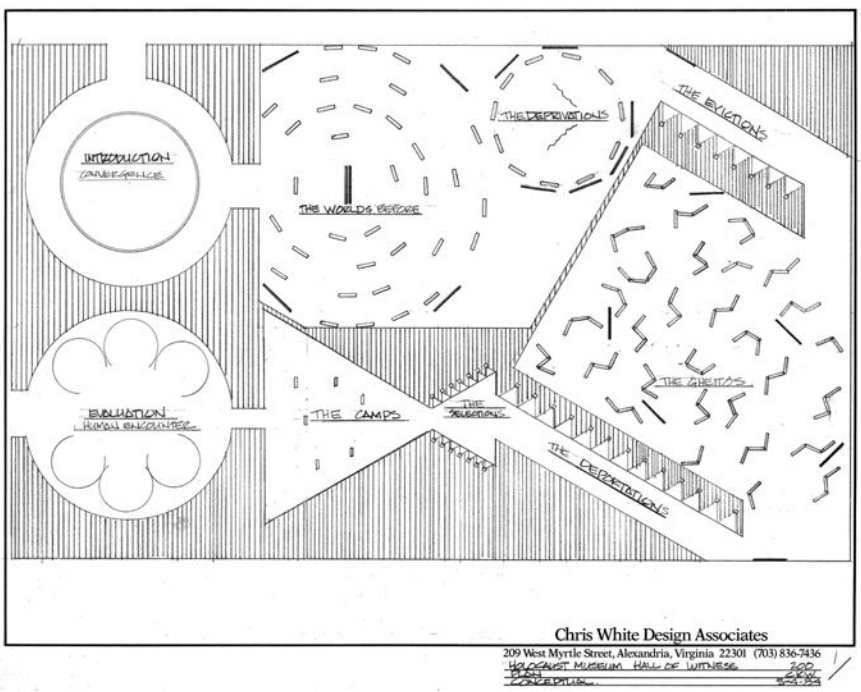
A similar prioritizing of the building's formal aspect prevails in their design of the American folk craft museum. In their elaborated design for a shopping center and a small museum, Anderson, Notter and Finegold did not develop a new and unique formal scheme, but rather used the imagery of the main Auditor's building for the development of the other parts. Accordingly, the development of Annexes 2 and 3 and their appropriation as museum buildings were to be achieved by gestures—the creation of fenestrations and replacement of rooftops—that would resemble the language of the main building. Even within the context of a discourse on preservation and reuse, which was gaining momentum at that time, they focused on the building's visual and formal properties.

Although they elaborated on the design concept and detailing and the discussion around the realization of the complex reached an advanced stage, Anderson, Notter and Finegold's ideas for the Auditor's Complex were never executed. That is because they eventually realized that complex was too small for the functions it was meant to accommodate. But their involvement with the site did not end with the cancellation of the American Folk Craft Museum. In 1980, when the Building Advisory Committee of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council selected the site next to the Mall out of 12 locations that were proposed by the US government, the firm was asked to devise a design for a Holocaust museum.[27] Dr Lazlo Tauber, chairman of the council's Building Steering Committee, persuaded the council and primarily its chairman, Elie Wiesel, that the architectural firm was highly qualified and had extensive experience both in museum planning and in preservation projects.[28] The firm had counseled the Holocaust Memorial Council ever since the site was chosen for the Holocaust museum. Moreover, since the project was under time constraints and the council wanted to launch it immediately, Anderson, Notter and Finegold's involvement could have jumpstarted the process, obviating the need for an architectural competition and saving the time that a new office would need to learn about the site and the project.[29]

After receiving the commission, Anderson, Notter and Finegold started working on the design concept with exhibition designer Chris White, who had been brought into the project earlier by Anna R. Cohn, the museum's director of development at the time.[30] The exhibition designers and the architects collaborated and tried to devise a joint strategy for the building and exhibition.[31] The architects were less concerned with the type of museum the structure was meant to house than with the preservation of the buildings and the ways in which they would accommodate the new institution. Together with Cohn, Eli Pfefferkorn and David E. Altshuler, director of education, they proposed that Annex 2 serve as the museum's main building. Since Annex 2 was not large enough to hold the entire museum, as was clearly shown by the case of the American folk craft museum, they recommended the construction of new additions between Annex 2 and the new BEP building. The plan envisioned visitors entering the museum from both 14th and 15th streets into a circular space, creating a circulation pattern that would have isolated the interior spaces from the external environment and directed people to the various sections of the museum—the Hall of Witness, the Hall of Learning, the Changing Exhibitions Pavilion or the Hall of Remembrance.



3.7 Anderson, Notter, Finegold and White proposal for the Holocaust Museum



3.8 Floor plan for the exhibition space by Chris White

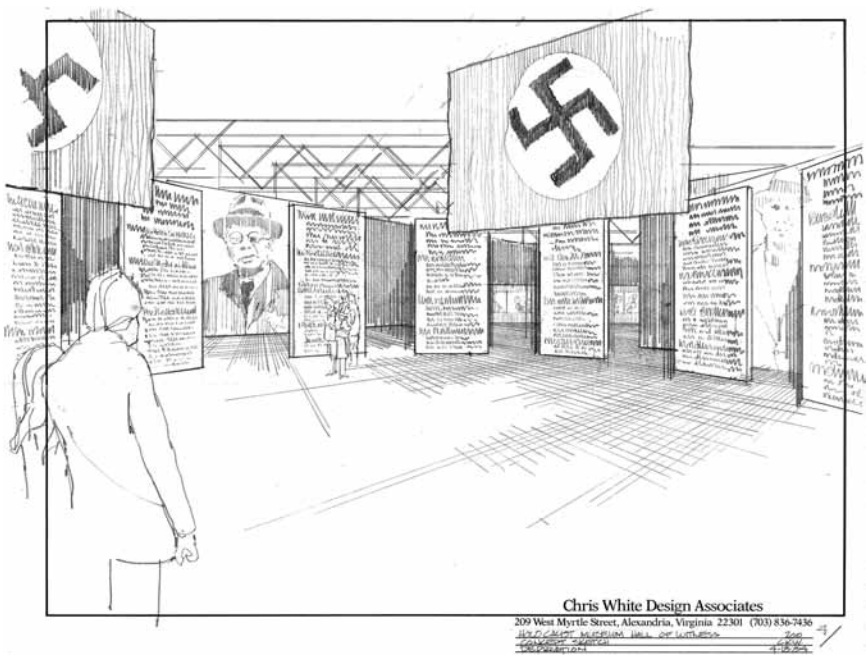
This isolation would have created an autonomous space, impervious to the Washington reality outside.

Thus isolated, the museum's spaces were intended to enhance particular feelings, according to their respective functions: study in the Hall of Learning, a space of education; and memory in the Hall of Remembrance, a space of contemplation. The exhibition space in the Hall of Witness was supposed to "not so much teach, but evoke," as Altshuler declared.[32] It was meant to create an atmosphere that would stir up the visitors' feelings and emotions.[33] Climbing to the second floor, right above the circular space, visitors would have been able go to either the Hall of Learning or the Changing Exhibition Pavilion, both of which were located in Annex 2. Alternatively, visitors could have entered the Hall of Witness, the site of the permanent exhibition. There, White proposed a schematic design of a sequence of spaces that would intensify the visitors' identification with the display. Cohn wanted the sequence to tell the story of the war from liberation backward.[34] In this way, as Altshuler told a Council meeting in February 1984, visitors would be "moving back in time,"[35] becoming time travelers whose passage back to the moment of the events would reconstruct a memory of the vanished Jewish communities, from extermination back to life in Europe before the war. White designed several schemes for narrative organization, all of which could accommodate changing the chronologies to move from past to present or vice versa. As the actual display had not been developed yet, White primarily concentrated on space allocation as a main parameter for the exhibition design.

In a design from April 6, 1984, which was included in Anderson, Notter and Finegold's design proposal booklet,[36] the sequence of spaces is set backward and starts with Bearing Witness, then runs through The Loss, Deportation, The Ghettoization, Eviction, The Deprivation until it reaches The World Before. A proposal from February of the same year, which followed the chronology from the beginning of the war to liberation, was somewhat better elaborated. In both cases, White used space in a literal fashion. The February proposal, for example, envisioned visitors reaching a circular exhibition space called The World Before, where a large number of images would show the richness of European life—Jewish and otherwise—before the war.

Here, visitors were to get acquainted with the history of individuals and groups "whose history and biography could be authenticated."[37] White planned to present the material without interpretation; the overlaying of the images, one after another, was a linear representation of the multilayered life before the war with no attempt to interpret it further. Standing in the center of the exhibition, visitors would have gotten glimpses of images, a collage of faces and scenes from the time, which all together were meant to convey the intricacy of life. The depth of vision and space correlated to the depth of life in prewar Europe. Thus, space was used in a literal fashion corresponding to the idea that it was supposed to convey. The complexity of life was conveyed by the complex presentation of images. Community life was portrayed by a multitude of images reflecting the individuals who made up that community. Space was not used to convey a more complex structure, to investigate meanings and offer new ways to see history and the events in Europe. In the next exhibition space, Deprivation, which was also a circular configuration, White again used space literally.

3.9 Perspective image, "The World Before," by Chris White



3.10 Perspective image, "Deprivation," by Chris White

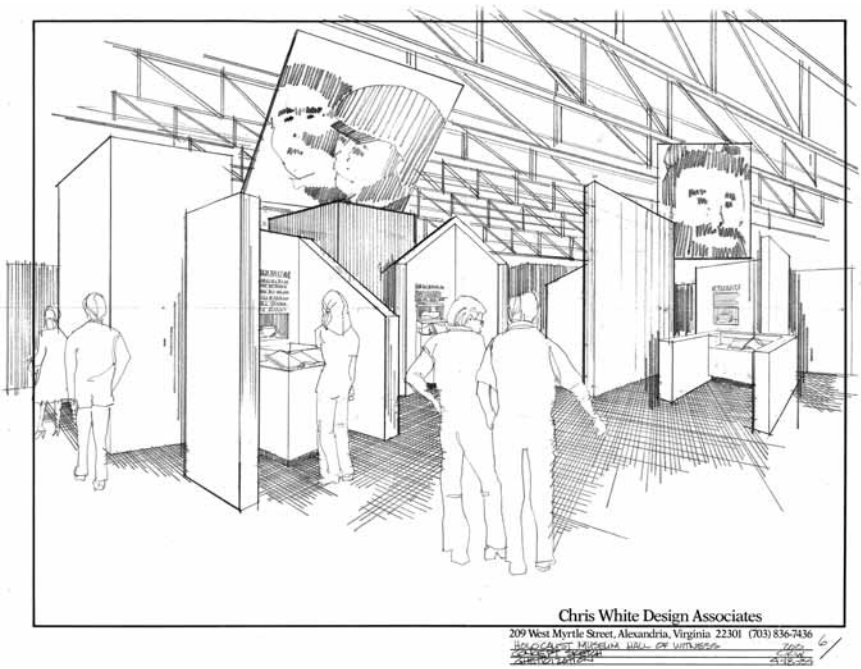
This time images and information were aligned in a way that eliminated the multilayered representation of life. In this space, visitors were to stand in the center viewing the information around the room's perimeter. The display was to be based on a massive photo-mural of what Altshuler called "original photographs of a Nazi mass rally,"[38] the Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass) and other images showing the period during which victims—Jewish and others—still lived in their homes but had started to lose their rights. Here, all information would have been conveyed in a clear and straightforward fashion. With nothing hidden and everything—both visitors and information—exposed, a viewer could have experienced a panoptic sensation of being inspected by the information in a confined space enclosed by the circle of panels. In this way, space could have functioned as a means to transform visitors' ideas about the information they were seeing.

Eviction and Ghettoization, the next two exhibition spaces, were somewhat more elaborated and were interpreted as opposing spatial conditions, each simulating notions of the events they were representing. To present life in the Jewish ghettos created by the Nazis, Ghettoization was configured as a labyrinth, with partition walls of varying heights scattered in apparent disorder that would have made it difficult for visitors to grasp the display's overall spatial organization.

The ghetto was a labyrinth, and so was the space in this section. Wandering around these deliberately confusing walls, visitors would step into small niches in which pods and boards provided information. Visitors were meant to get lost in the labyrinth created by the display. As opposed to this, Eviction was an articulation of space that was easy to grasp. Once entering this section, visitors would have seen the entire space, all the way to the other side. There was nothing to explore in this space, which served as a passage to the next section.

Like Eviction, the next stage, Deportation, was also a transition space, a passageway that used space in a straightforward manner to transfer visitors from the Ghettoization section to the exhibition's three concluding spaces. In this space, the curatorial committee wanted to present artifacts related to the act of deportation, such as a film of a crowd of people being herded to the camps, or authentic items such as children's suitcases and a railway car of the type used for deportations, which had already been donated to the museum by the Polish government.[39] Locating these artifacts in the corridor would have represented the movement and dislocation experienced by the victims.

The last three parts of the planned display—The Selection, The Camps and Evaluation-Human Encounter—were to conclude the sequence. Here, space was used in somewhat more elaborated fashion as it referred to symbolic aspects of each represented stage on the way to annihilation. Whereas in previous sections, space was used to simulate the function of space in each of the conditions during the war—the labyrinth of Ghettoization, the transition features of Eviction, and so on—here, space also had symbolic meaning beyond its function as a representation of the respective conditions. The shape of the Selection section space, a triangle, referred to the symbols of the Holocaust—the Star of David, the yellow patch that Jews were forced to wear at all times. Beyond its symbolic features, this space was also meant to function as a transitional space. Visitors were supposed to enter from the triangle's wider side and, as the other two

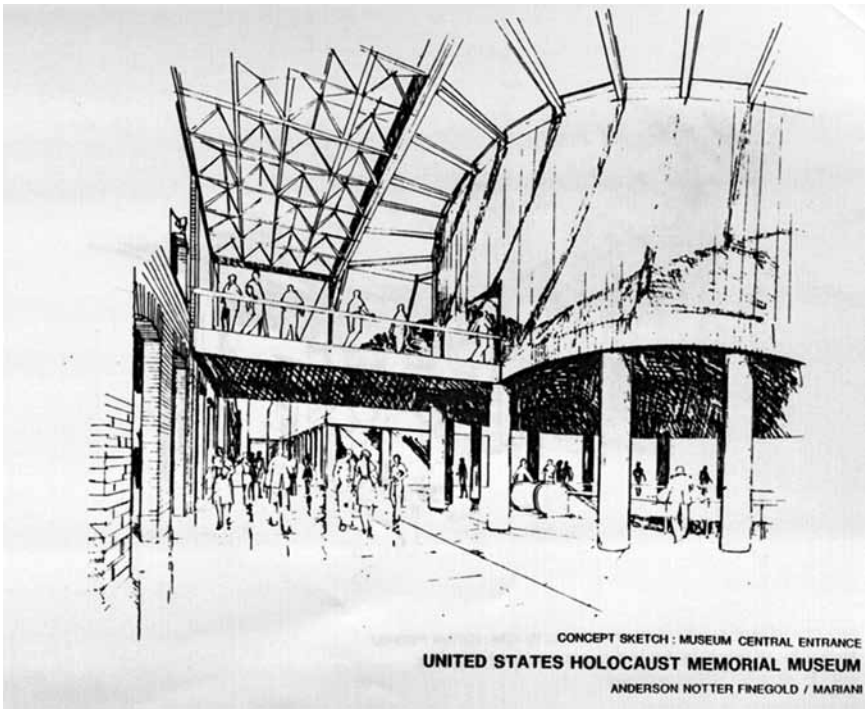


3.11 Perspective image, "Ghettoization," by Chris White

sides narrowed down, be forced to move toward the triangle's apex, where a door would lead them into the Camps sections. A sloping ceiling completed the gesture, beginning at a full story high in the triangle's wider side and getting lower until it touched the top of the door lintel in the apex. On the walls of the Selection section, White proposed a display of portraits to symbolize those undergoing the process of selection. Together, imagery and space were meant to force visitors to move on to the next section, The Camps, another triangular space, this time in the opposite configuration. In The Camps, visitors were to face an exhibition of six objects, each representing a victim, who was representing many more. Among the objects, the curatorial team wanted to include authentic artifacts such as eating utensils or eyeglasses in a case.

White's use of spatial articulation and the integration of the artifacts reflect his perception of authenticity: the spatial organization was meant to enhance the authentic material presence of an artifact. His spatiality was not interpretive and did not suggest unfolding new meanings by way of the display's organization. Authenticity was to be achieved by the material presence of the artifacts; space and architectural symbols were not utilized for this task. White made no attempt to create a complex condition in which space could have fostered a multilayered understanding of the displayed objects, the topic under discussion or the sequence of events. Experiencing the artifacts themselves was thought to be enough.

By concluding the exhibition at the Hall of Witness, the Hall of Remembrance did not reflect any special interpretation of the memorial space. Anderson, Notter and Finegold decided to locate the Hall of Remembrance at the entrance level, next to the circular entrance space. Once the visitors had moved through the



3.12 Perspective image, "Museum Central Entrance," by Anderson, Notter and Finegold and Mariani

exhibition, whether it was organized in reverse linear chronology or vice versa, they would descend into the Hall of Remembrance. Despite having an opportunity to express their perception and interpretation of Holocaust memorialization as they designed the building, Anderson, Notter and Finegold chose to leave it as a generic space. On April 19, 1984, in a letter to Adam I. Friedman, Cohn mentions that the council was only beginning to consider in earnest the nature and scale of the project's memorial aspect. "We have not yet decided, for example, whether the memorial component of the museum will be exclusively an architectural structure, single commissioned work of art, many art works or a combination of all or some of these varied elements."[40] In the architects' sketches, the Hall of Remembrance's most conspicuous feature was the adjacent garden, a transitional space that visitors would have had to cross on the way back to the circular entrance area. Several months later, Cohn worked on preparing an architectural competition for the Hall of Remembrance, but for unclear reasons. it was never held.[41]

The proposal by Anderson, Notter and Finegold elicited much criticism. Disappointment with the design, expressed by Hyman Bookbinder,[42] a council member appointed by President Jimmy Carter to the President's Commission on the Holocaust, reflected the general opinion. In a United States Holocaust Memorial Council Meeting held on February 28, 1984, Bookbinder said: "Looking at the thing as a whole, I don't have a sense of what it is. Every institution in this city of ours has a readily identifiable picture in one's mind, whether it be the East Gallery, whether it be the Hirshhorn, whether it be the Lincoln Memorial."[43]

Bookbinder's frustration with the lack of identity he felt in both the building and the exhibition stemmed from his view of the generic design proposed for the building. Indeed, the building's symbolic properties were indistinguishable. Anderson, Notter and Finegold resolved the building—structurally, functionally and programmatically—in terms of circulation and space allocation, while paying considerable attention to its symbolic aspects. For them, "[t]he concept design phase involved the development of alternative conceptual layouts for the project which would both fulfill the program requirements as well as embody the theme of the Holocaust Memorial Museum within the building and site."[44] Embodiment was not to be reflected in the body of architecture itself; it was to be found only in the interior space. Instead, Anderson, Notter and Finegold wanted "to preserve the traditional view as those buildings were seen from the street."[45] Thus, the building's visual properties did not aspire to resemble Holocaust-related imagery. The building did not try to raise the question of authenticity or represent scenes from Europe; nor was it an abstraction or a unique expression that would have distinguished it from others. The architects' use of generic trusses like those that can be found in any depot structure, the ordinary volumetric and morphological articulation and the disregard of the material choice rendered the building commonplace, a structure that could serve any other purpose.

This does not mean that Anderson, Notter and Finegold were not aware of the potential that the project and the design itself could have exposed. They were also well-aware of the site's potential, the location in the nation's Mall and the proximity to the Smithsonian's various institutions. They also knew it was possible to use the existing structures in the Auditor's Complex. It might be that in a way similar to their proposal for the preservation of the Auditor's building and its transformation into a folk craft museum and commercial center, they wanted to create a subtle environment, one that would not frighten off visitors to a Holocaust museum. Even their proposal for the use of the burnt red bricks in Annex 2 did not try to allude to similar structures in Europe, Bookbinder saw in these bricks a resemblance to Auschwitz. "And I'll never forget, as I've written about it also, when I came and I saw the red building, tears came to my eyes because I thought I was back in Auschwitz," he said in the same council meeting.[46] Bookbinder, who was born in Brooklyn in 1916 to a Jewish family that emigrated from Poland, sounds as if he were a survivor when he speaks of being back in Auschwitz. For him, the red bricks became an emblem of the sights and sites in Europe. Anderson, Notter and Finegold did not relate to this. Red bricks were neutral materials that had no special meaning for them and therefore did not need to be applied in any special manner. They made bigger reference to preservation issues than to Holocaust imagery and materiality.

Whereas the design concept for the building was widely criticized, the proposal for the exhibition design was pretty much accepted with the understanding that the exhibition details and concept had to be further examined and developed; none of the caveats had anything to do with the use of space as representational media. The main concept and ideas were accepted, although some issues were raised. Several council members, for instance, expressed their wish to display the exhibition in a chronological fashion: from the beginning of the events in Europe through liberation.[47] Concerned about the visitors' psychological state upon

exiting the exhibition if it were presented in reverse, these members thought it would be better to conclude with the liberation. Others, such as Reverend John Pawlikowski, a Polish representative on the US Holocaust Memorial Council, noted that non-Jewish victims should be represented in a more significant way.[48] Echoing a question regarding the definition of victims and survivors, he alluded to the issue of the "narrator's" point of view, that is, who is telling the story. Dr Marvin Berstein, another council member, expressed his concerns that a time-bound exhibition would lose its effectiveness over the years.[49] Several people raised the issue of integrating personal testimonies and artifacts in the exhibition.[50] They thought that all artifacts should undergo a very strict authentication process.[51] The curatorial team addressed these caveats and in later meetings, they tried to integrate more information—such as more testimonies—in the exhibition.

Anderson, Notter and Finegold were asked to present a new design that would not include the Annex buildings. Albert Abramson, a Washington developer and owner of the Tower Construction Company who replaced Dr Laszlo N. Tauber as chairman of the Holocaust Memorial Council's Building Steering Committee, and Micah Naftalin, who served as the council's deputy director since 1982, persuaded the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation of Washington D.C. to approve the demolition of Annex buildings 1 and 2.[52] A site study by the Program Division Staff indicated that Annex 2 would not be able to accommodate a museum as big as the planned US Holocaust Memorial Museum.[53] Hired to survey the site, Sigal Construction Corporation said much the same regarding the museum's size, adding that the building's structure would not be capable of structurally supporting and programmatically accommodating the proposed design.[54] They convinced all those involved that the Annex buildings must be demolished. In addition to the approval of the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation, the demolition required an authorization from the US Holocaust Memorial council,[55] which approved it shortly thereafter. Annex 3, however, stayed intact and was not touched because no consensus could be reached regarding the building's historical value. With the demolition of Annex buildings 1 and 2 and the creation of a space large enough to accommodate a newly designed and structured building, the second phase could be launched, with new ideas to be examined.

NEO-CLASSICAL INTERPRETATIONS

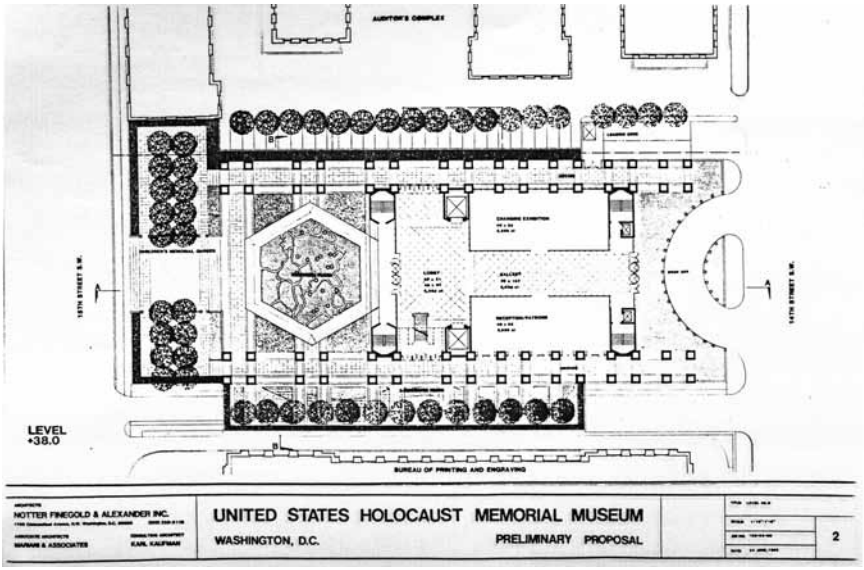
Seeking a better architectural representation of the Holocaust, Notter and Finegold (now with a new partner, James G. Alexander) proposed a fully granite-clad building. Maurice Finegold, the architect in charge, designed a building with an inner courtyard, in the shape of a large oval. Years later Finegold described to historian Edward T. Linenthal the intense pressure he felt upon having to come up with a new design in such a short time. "I felt like there was a gun at my head," Finegold said.[56] Working mostly with building steering committee chairman Abramson, Finegold felt there was no discussion of the building's visual aspects with other museum officials. His design centered on a massive building structure, enfolding an inner courtyard and a receding frame structure that would accommodate the Hall of Remembrance.

3.13 Model of neo-classical proposal for the building

Finegold's building was oriented toward the park across 15th Street, from which the Washington Monument and the White House were visible. Later proposals also oriented the building in this direction, attempting to integrate the museum, and primarily the Hall of Remembrance, with the axis stretching between the White House, the Washington Monument and the Jefferson Memorial. The design tried to connect the museum to the city by its orientation and location. Other architectural aspects were not considered in the attempt to connect the building to the cityscape and urban design.

Finegold, as a matter of fact, never fully elaborated his design, mainly because Abramson proposed developing a scheme suggested by Karl Kaufman, a staff architect in the latter's firm. Although not highly enthusiastic about Kaufman's concept, Finegold was cooperative and was willing to set his own plan aside and assist Kaufman in developing the concept together. The two men devised a new building design, reaching a high level of articulation of several of the building's floors. Their proposal sought to connect the building to the city by employing visual, material and formal references to Washington architecture and by a programmatic organization of the building's sections. In that respect, the proposal tried to more fully integrate the building into the cityscape and urban design. The main connection was by the ground floor, which was open on both sides (14th and 15th streets) and allowed free passage under the building.

This passage resembled a space for processions similar to those seen in religious structures. The building was composed of a massive roof supported by walls along two of its sides, creating a frame-like structure inside which the museum sections were supposed to be built. According to this proposal, the building's inner sections would not touch the ground; they were designed to hover over the central space running from 14th Street to 15th Street. Almost completely vacant, the ground floor was planned as an open space that would have not only allowed visitors to cross between 14th and 15th streets without having to enter the building,



3.14 Ground floor plan of the neo-classical proposal

but would also create an open public space of contemplation in which passersby could linger for a while. To that end, the ground level's openness was also intended to let the environment—that is, Washington itself—"enter" the site. Unlike the previous proposal, in which visitors were meant to enter a space that would isolate them from what was outside, in this proposal the entrance and the ground floor were connected to the external context, creating continuity between the city and the museum. This aspect of the building was in many ways more radical than the one eventually built by Freed, because it integrated daily life (to the extent that it exists in the Mall and the US government buildings and monuments) and the Holocaust under one roof and in an open space that does not require isolation. Indeed, this antedated the work of Peter Eisenman, who years later reached an integration of daily life into Holocaust commemoration with his design for the Berlin Holocaust Memorial. His ideas, however, were much more advanced and did not try to impose any particular way to commemorate the Holocaust.

The connection between 14th and 15th streets was not planned to be achieved only physically, by means of a pathway through the building. In contrast to the museum building's dull and commonplace imagery in the previous proposal, this time the design provided a strong and dominant image, one that was difficult to ignore. The most conspicuous element was the hexagonal Hall of Remembrance, which was supposed to hover above the entrance to the passageway between 14th and 15th streets.

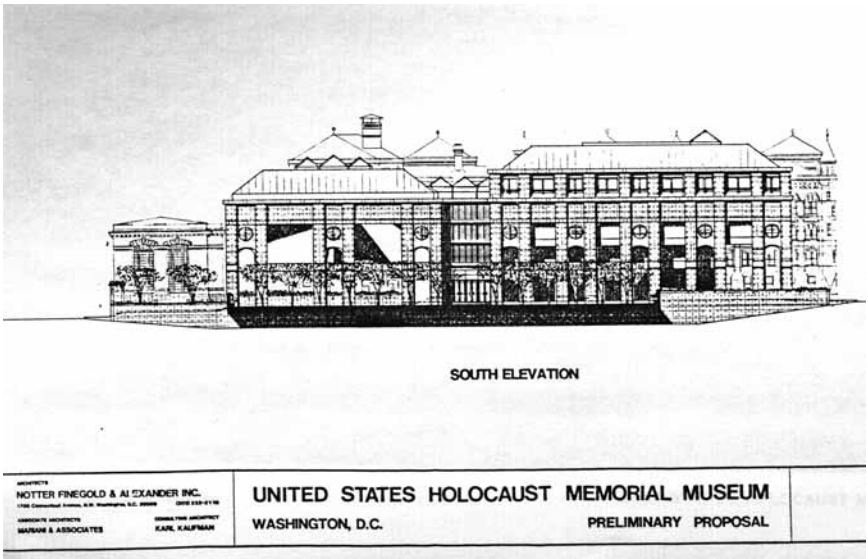
According to *Washington Post* architectural critic Benjamin Forgey, the "most notable facet of the building, to be located at midblock between 14th and 15th streets south of Independence Ave., will be a powerfully sculpted 15th Street façade in which a granite-sheathed hexagonal Hall of Remembrance, nearly 40 feet high, will hover some 20 feet above the entrance."[57] The Hall of Remembrance's highly symbolic shape was dictated by the council members, who wanted to use a six-sided shape to allude to the 6 million Jewish victims of the Nazis.[58] For them,

the hexagonal shape also referred to the *Magen David* (Star of David), although missing the additional triangles that complete its outline. The Hall of Remembrance was discussed not only in relation to its shape and the shape's significance, it was also recognized as a necessary place for meditation, where visitors could find a quiet place for contemplation after visiting the permanent exhibition. To achieve that end, its design should have allowed for a personal experience that would facilitate the internalization of the story presented to visitors in the permanent exhibition, just before entering the Hall.

Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman bowed to the council's wishes, using the required shape and assigning it a highly visible location—on 15th Street. They also tried to achieve a space that would not impose itself on the visitors but rather let them absorb what they had already seen. The hexagonal shape, the observable scale and what was considered a commanding location would have made the Hall part of a line of renowned monuments in Washington. In much the same way as the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials, the Hall of Remembrance was designed as a temple, a space to foster contemplation and remembrance where *yahrzeit* (commemorative) candles were to be lit. It was meant to function as the visit's climax, coming right after visitors emerged from the narrative and storytelling aspects of the Hall of Witness. This might be why the council members criticized the architects' decision to locate the library on top of the Hall of Remembrance. Some council members could not accept the fact that an additional structure, whether it was a library or something else, would have been right above the Hall. For them, the uppermost structure had to be the Hall of Remembrance, which was meant to connect the Hall with the sky through its ceiling, to create an axis of light.

It is not surprising that Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman located the library on top of the Hall of Remembrance. The architects paid more attention to the ground axis; the connection between 14th and 15th streets and the spatial and programmatic organizations inside the building seem to be freer and casual. The ground level, on the other hand, drew (even if subconsciously) on historical architectural models that promoted rituals. In many ways, the ground plan bore some resemblance to a Roman basilica, suggesting a space for processions. The space analogous to the main nave on the ground floor consisted of an entrance from 14th Street leading to the upper floors. Those who did not want to enter the building could have proceeded to a Memorial Plaza, a garden located where the altar in a basilica usually is. Probably a remnant of the previous design proposal, the garden in this plan was linked to the Hall of Remembrance in a vertical, rather than horizontal, fashion. On their way out of the Hall of Remembrance, visitors were not forced to cross the garden but could select alternative routes. Located on 15th Street, the garden was accessible to visitors without having to enter the museum and thus connected to the external life of Washington.

Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman's proposal drew fire for being too massive; particularly, the hexagonal Hall of Remembrance was criticized for being too dominant in the overall scheme.[59] Together with Finegold and Kaufman, Abramson devised another scheme in which the Hall of Remembrance was scaled down and lowered. In this proposal, the Hall is still hovering above the Memorial Plaza, but it appears to be less dominant. The building itself was also modified and



3.15 South elevation of neo-classical proposal

was now divided into two distinct parts: a multistoried section containing the Hall of Remembrance and library; and a second section, one floor higher than the other part, housing the permanent exhibition, offices and mechanical rooms. The two sections were connected about two-thirds of the way into the site by an entrance space and a lobby intended to distribute visitors to the various sections. This connective space also allowed visitors to cross from the Hall of Witness to the Hall of Remembrance. The decision to split the building into two distinct parts enabled recognition of the various functions located in each section. Almost in a modernist fashion—paradoxically in a building that applied a postmodernist citation of historical architectural components, which usually blur the ability to understand the programmatic division—the building's functions were apparent in its envelope.

To tone down the building's massive impression, Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman added colonnades along both sides that created niches similar to side aisles in a basilica. They emphasized the processional nature of the ground floor, the connective pathway between 14th and 15th streets and the insertion of the Washington reality into the site. A row of trees, running along the outer side of each colonnade, completed the ground floor design. The trees also contributed to bringing external urban reality into the building context, with the vegetation that started outside now entering the building on its ground floor. On the building's western side, additional trees were configured into a small Children's Memorial Garden, leading to the expansive lawn across the road on 15th Street.

In their design, Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman did not provide much elaboration of the parts that were supposed to accommodate the permanent exhibition, offices and mechanical rooms. They only indicated that the permanent exhibition should occupy three floors, with the offices located on the top floor. The mechanical rooms were on the uppermost level in this part, next to office spaces. It seems the architects were mainly occupied with the building's overall concept and its positioning within the Washington context, rather than with the exhibition itself.

At this point in the design process, there was not much connection between the architects and the exhibition's designers. Together with the designers, Altshuler and Cohn (until she resigned from the exhibition directorship[60]) were developing the various exhibition spaces in terms of content and design,[61] while the architects working on the building schemes were treating the permanent exhibition space as a black box.[62] The overall design had two schemes: the building's concept referred outwardly to the city and the exhibition was directed inwardly without considering the location of the museum itself. The fact that they coincided and were part of the same project was not a function considered by the design team. Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman's building could have just as well served other purposes; it had no connection to the Holocaust and the exhibition could have been installed in any other building with a similar amount of floor space.

Similarly, the building's exteriority was not fully about the Holocaust representation or imagery. Besides the Hall of Remembrance that was apparent as a unique building element, the rest of the building parts could have been associated with any architectural function or program. The choice of material, that is, the plan to clad the building entirely in granite, did not take into account the nature of the exhibition. And the granite exterior and neo-classical design made the building blend right in to its Washington surroundings. The building had two parts: an exterior one that referred to the Washington reality and an interior one that remained neutral and was supposed to provide the space to tell the story of the Holocaust.

These differences did not go without notice. In a council meeting on June 9, 1986, several council members expressed their concern about the building's design strategy, especially its exteriority, which was much more articulated and elaborated. For example, Reverend Constantine Dombalis, former Dean of the Sts. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Richmond,[63] said of the building's imagery:

> *The design has a great deal of warmth and nobility, but I was wondering if there's something distinctive about the design as you would find that immediately adjacent to the Thomas Jefferson Memorial or the Washington Monument, something distinctive that would project the project—when I would come to Washington from Idaho I would want to see there's something there that I've heard about back in my school, what would be the distinctive feature, or does the appearance at this time blend in so much with the other architecture about it that it would tend to dissipate it?*[64]

For Dombalis, as for many other council members, the building's distinctive features, such as the Hall of Remembrance, were not sufficient to create an emblematic museum. The building's overall image blended seamlessly with its surroundings and played against the branding of the building as a unique and specific edifice. Its references were not to the events in Europe; rather, its formal and visual properties were too local.

Other council members expressed their confusion regarding the significance of the building's two sections. "As I look at your plan," said council member Leonard Greenberg,

> *you use three words, and is this a monument, is this a memorial, is this a museum, and further as I look at your footprint, it seems to me you have two separate buildings, and would you care to categorize what each building is because I think as we look at the project there's more here than meets the eye.*[65]

Greenberg in effect expressed a concern about the nature of the building's clarity. For him, the museum's symbolic function had to be read through the building—monument and memorial—and not its programmatic configuration. In an internal document several years earlier, Wiesel himself expressed his wish to construct an exceptional building that would integrate the various parts of the museum:

> *Our museum is meant to be—and to look—unlike any other. It must be singular in such a way that it could not be taken for anything else. It ought to arouse at once total despair and infinite hope, ultimate vulnerability and resolute firmness. Every aspect of this museum, inside and outside, must express the inhumanity of the killer and the humanity of the victim, and the calculated madness that surrounded them both.*[66]

The design of Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman fell short of this goal, in Wiesel's eyes.

Abramson was always straightforward in his reaction to the dissatisfaction of Wiesel and others. In a letter to Wiesel about the first design strategy, he said:

> *I have received your Chairman's Guidelines for the Content Committee prepared August 12, 1985, and I was terribly shocked and disheartened by the first two pages of your comments. In all the past months of intensive effort and many meetings and conversations, you never once indicated to me that you felt we were proceeding with a "wrong design." As we evolved from one architectural stage to another, I never had any intimation from you or any other member of the Council that the present design does not represent those dark times, and I have strong feelings that we need something else. Unfortunately, the present design does not meet the historic, and human values, nor the artistic requirement inherent in this awesome event.*

At the time, Abramson offered to Wiesel to disband the Building Committee, to terminate the work with all the architectural firms involved and to halt the approval process with the Fine Arts Commission and various municipal authorities in Washington. Wiesel gave them another chance, but they again failed to resolve these issues.

At this point in the project, the committee was perplexed. It was the third attempt to come up with a design for the Holocaust museum that had failed to deal with the issues this kind of building must address. This controversy gave rise to a belief that a project of this scope and complexity called for a leading world-class architect that would know how to combine all aspects of the project, both exterior and interior, into one integrative building. This condition is not uncommon in the process of the making of architecture. It occasionally happens that the scope and complexity of a project is only revealed through the design process itself. In these cases, architects and supporting teams are often replaced by professionals that

can carry out the tasks and materialize the project. Thus, it was not surprising—indeed, it was highly professional and collegial—for the firm of Notter, Finegold and Alexander to accept the addition of another architect to the project to assist in the conceptualization and design of the Holocaust museum in Washington.

VISCERAL SYMBOLISM: AUSCHWITZ IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Architect James Ingo Freed, of Pei, Cobb and Freed Associates, a New York-based architectural firm, was initially invited to become a consultant on the project.[67] Freed was not interested in this role and suggested instead that he propose a new design for the building. Wiesel was impressed by Freed and believed he could provide a world-class building and deal with the question of Holocaust commemoration. This was evident in a museum press release dated November 18, 1986, stating that

> *the Holocaust in its enormity defies language and art. In James Freed we found an architect who can master this unique challenge. My colleagues and I are certain that James Freed, with his impressive talent and record of achievement, his great sensitivity, his personal experience with racial persecution and his sense of dedication, will contribute mightily to the construction of a memorial museum of lasting significance.*[68]

Freed's experience of persecution was firsthand and unmediated; therefore, it was felt that his perceptions of Holocaust and commemoration were stronger and clearer. Wiesel especially felt that this was more authentic and valid.[69] On certain occasions, Freed recalled some images of his childhood in Germany and the persecution that he experienced. Born in 1930 to a Jewish family in Essen, Germany, he was a child when Hitler came to power and he witnessed the terrifying events of Kristallnacht in 1938, just before fleeing through Switzerland and France to the United States with his sister (his parents left Nazi Germany shortly after and joined the family in Chicago in 1941).

The persecution suffered by Freed was incomprehensible to the 9-year-old boy. He recalled years later:

> *My family and I already had experienced what to a child seemed unrelated events, but I could not understand them. Simple things which children normally take for granted were mysteriously denied—for example, we could no longer enter the public park.*[70]

Freed was not raised according to strict Jewish religious rules; his identity was not shaped by any special Jewish traditions. Thus, for him, like for many other assimilated German Jews, the persecution came as a surprise. As they had in Germany during the Weimar Republic, the family maintained a secular Jewish lifestyle in the United States. The Holocaust was not present in the family's life, as was the case with many other survivors. "We just forgot about it, took it out of our minds," he told Linenthal years later.[71] The absence of the Holocaust from Freed's life did not weaken his candidacy to be the project's architect. On the contrary,

it was believed that as a child who was forced to flee Germany just after Hitler's rise to power and who was subsequently brought up in the United States, he would be able to interweave the story of the Holocaust into the American context.

Additionally, Freed's experience in designing large-scale projects and his connections to world-class architects and architectural discourse were highly relevant. By the time he started working on the USHMM, his reputation was already established and his projects were widely discussed in architectural contexts. Before starting to work on the USHMM design, he finished New York City's Jacob K. Javits Convention Center and Plaza, which at the time was the home of the world's largest exhibition hall and garnered a great deal of coverage in professional architectural publications and general magazines. In addition, his partners—I. M. Pei,[72] who was at the time designing the Pyramid at the Louvre, and Henry N. Cobb[73]—were involved in large projects all over the world.[74] The office as a whole enjoyed an excellent reputation for its ability to carry out large-scale and complex projects. Freed's own reputation also rested on his strong connections to the academic world. Shortly after graduating from Illinois Institute of Technology in 1953, he worked in the office of his teacher, one of most important figures in modern architecture, Mies van der Rohe. Between 1973 and 1978, he served as a professor and the dean of the Illinois Institute of Technology architecture department and in the 1980s he taught at Rhode Island School of Design, Columbia University and Yale University. These prestigious affiliations always enriched his vision, as he noted in a television interview on the Washington public broadcasting station WETA.[75]

With these impressive credentials, Freed approached the project managers and expressed his dissatisfaction with his predecessors' designs. For him, as for others involved in the process, the design of Notter, Finegold and Alexander did not address Holocaust commemoration to the extent it should have. Accordingly, Freed sought ways to relate to the task and once he realized he could not come up with a concept that fulfilled his vision of how architecture should express the Holocaust, he decided to invest some time in a serious study of the museum's subject matter. He recalled:

> *The first six months of the project essentially involved intuiting our way into the building. When we got the project, frankly, we were not really able to cope with the material because we didn't know enough. We went ahead and we read as much as we could and we looked at films until we were blurry-eyed.*[76]

This secondhand mediation of the events was not enough, and Freed felt he needed to study the subject more profoundly, through a firsthand experience. He therefore initiated a trip to Poland, and in October, 1986, he cleared time to visit Holocaust-related sites, primarily the extermination camps Auschwitz and Birkenau, together with Finegold and architect Arthur Rosenblatt,[77] the museum's director between 1986 and 1988. "When I walked into this," Freed said of Birkenau, "some archaic memories must have been stirred, because emotionally this was a turning point for me. As we walked to the crematorium, there were scuffled-up little bones everywhere that never ever turned to dust."[78] Freed's feelings of connection to the site, the lingering aura of past atrocities conveyed by the physical remnants

of extermination and the camps' tectonics enabled him to relate to the subject matter. He had to physically experience the site of mass extermination to be able to start designing. The arousal of archaic memories and his deep visceral experience in Auschwitz led him to realize that the museum should create a similar experience. "I was [taken] with the idea of a visceral memory, visceral as well as visual."[79]

The main question that emerged from Freed's experience in Poland was how that visceral reaction could be created, or rather recreated, in the museum in Washington, D.C. Freed was bothered by the question and expressed it in one of the compositions he wrote while working on the museum design:

> *I find it nearly impossible to deal creatively with a subject matter so heated. It is, of course, for me impossible to anesthetize it. I also find it impossible to reconstruct architecturally the world as it was in the Holocaust Memorial Museum, and further, I found it not desirable to attempt a purely scenographic approach with all its implication of 'kitsch' and the devaluation and trivialization of that terrible and unexpected event.*[80]

The question, for Freed, was how to create a visceral experience without falling into the trap of simulated environments. Thus, he settled on the following architectural approach: "the use of the tectonics of the camps, ghetto and official buildings I had visited, along with a muted somewhat abstracted symbolism, which I thought could serve as a basis for an exploration of this building."[81]

In referring to the tectonics of architecture, Freed in many ways drew on the discourse advanced by the British–American scholar, Kenneth Frampton, his Columbia University colleague. Frampton discussed architectural tectonics as a means of criticizing postmodernist architectural culture that promoted visual and image-based architecture as the main features of architectural making. In his work, which culminated in 1995 in his seminal book *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture*, he posits a phenomenological approach to interpret and reach a multi-sensual experience of architecture. The craft of architecture, the meticulous detailing of a building and its materiality were the means for achieving a tectonic experience by way of a building. While Freed's idea for the US Holocaust Memorial building was influenced by Frampton's discourse, Freed's task was more complex than the one outlined by Frampton. That is because Freed had to take into account the building's historical aspects and try to maintain its tectonic features even though historical representations by buildings tend to be first and foremost visual and not tectonic. To create a tectonic feeling that would engender a visceral experience, he had to rethink the visual and imagery he was exposed to in Poland.

The integration of the visual and the visceral in the USHMM results in a dual mediation—a symbolic perception and a bodily one. Visitors are exposed to the museum's symbolic representation through the various visual and formal representations, and they also experience the museum in a tactile, spatial and material way. The latter is conveyed mainly, but not only, by the massive details of Holocaust imagery. The building's materiality—brick, steel, marble and concrete—consists of materials that one can feel beyond their visual presence. These materials, in many

ways, stand in opposition to glass and plastic, which do not convey a pure material presence. The dual mediation Freed attempted to create in the USHMM alludes to an episteme of the represented event by combining both informational perception and experience. This is not an easy task. An architect dealing with this kind of integration must achieve a delicate balance: to avoid making the museum too experiential through its mode of expression and bodily experience, or too informational, referring only to rational thought.

3.16 14th Street entrance in the existing building

Freed was attentive to this complexity. To achieve a visceral experience that would mediate the events of the Holocaust, he decided to expose visitors gradually to the museum's subject matter, to incrementally build their experience of the museum as they moved from the Washington reality to that of the museum. The first step was the transition from the reality outside into the museum realm. The entrance, Freed stated, should be grand and wide, yet also function as a barrier dividing the museum's exteriority and interiority.[82] He therefore created several layers in the 14th Street entrance: initially, visitors pass through a fenestration in a limestone wall that stretches from the ground almost all the way to the building's roof. They then proceed into a vestibule between the building's exteriority (on the 14th Street pavement) and its interiority (which leads to the Hall of Witness).

In this fashion, Freed creates a gradual entry sequence into the building. Then, after a security check with metal detectors (as an institution related to Jewish issues, the USHMM is defined as a high-risk facility), visitors approach the main atrium. This space is secondary in the transitional sequence into the Holocaust "reality" as it is a space between the city outside and the permanent exhibition. As a secondary transitional space is attempts to integrate both the local nature of the external reality and the relatively subtle symbolism foreshadowing what the visitors are about to see. This was meant to work both on the factual plane, providing information on the visual level through architecture, and on the intuitive plane, enabling people to have an experience through space and tectonics.

Yet the integration of the building with its environment does not conclude with the Hall of Witness. Freed's desire to create "a good neighbor"[83] to the monuments and the Mall around the museum helped him to integrate it with the Washington reality. The surroundings offered "clues about how to proceed" with the building design, he stated when presenting the design to the Council on April 27, 1987.[84] These "clues" led him to choose Washington limestone as a cladding material for the building, and, at the same time, suggested the red brick already present at the site as another potential material. Freed was fascinated with the brick façade of the Auditor's Building and he wanted to integrate the brick into the museum; it reminded him of the extermination camps he had visited, transferring him to another reality, the one he encountered there in Poland. The material presence that enabled the integration of the here and the there could enhance the visceral experience, going beyond the visual representation of wartime events. The final design, therefore, incorporated the two materials: Freed used limestone for the façades facing 14th Street and the BEP building, while for the inner part,

3.17 Existing building atrium

3.18 15th Street entrance to the existing building

which faces the Auditor's Building, he used brick that recalls the red hue of the Auschwitz buildings. While Freed used either limestone or brick for each of the façades mentioned, he decided to integrate the two materials in the15th Street façade.

The building's connection to the Washington reality outside was also reinforced by the choice of the Hall of Remembrance's location. Similar to Notter, Finegold and Alexander and Kaufman, Freed accepted the council's desire to use the hexagonal shape for the Hall's design, with the six facets of the hexagon alluding to the 6 million murdered Jews.[85] Unlike the previous proposal, however, he extracted the Hall from the main building and placed it as independent structure in what is now called Raoul Wallenberg Square, the plaza on 15th Street.

The separation positioned the Hall in a more imposing way, making it a free entity akin to a Renaissance cupola, which emphasized its temple-like properties. This decision corresponded to the council's wish to make the Hall the building's most prominent exterior feature.[86] The Hall's location as an external part of the building raised some new ideas about its connection to the surroundings and the possible entranceways into the Hall's inner space. In early studies for the Hall's design, Freed wanted visitors to be able to access the Hall from the plaza. He designed several entranceways—flights of stairs—in the corners of each of the hexagon's facets that would lead into the Hall. These entrances even further emphasized the Hall's separation from the main building, its elevated position and its resemblance to a temple into which visitors would have had to ascend. Its connection to Washington's daily reality was heightened because visitors were able to enter the Hall without having to enter the main building. The curatorial team eventually decided to allow access to the Hall of Remembrance only from the permanent exhibition, to serve as a closure for the exhibition with a space for contemplation; this had the effect of internalizing the use of space in the Hall and defining it as an object when perceived from the outside.

Nevertheless, Freed inserted the outside into the Hall of Remembrance by letting light wash the space. He determined the final articulation of the hexagonal hall in a series of study models, deciding to isolate each side of the hexagon so the facets would not touch each other. As a result, light penetrated to the Hall through the slits between the sides. The effect created by connecting the internal space with the external light enhanced the Hall's sublime atmosphere. This effect corresponded to the wish of the council to make the Hall a "spiritual space" and a "luminous space."[87] Additionally, the material chosen for the facets—the same limestone used for the 14th Street façade and the one facing the BEP building—functioned as yet another mediator between inside and outside. On the one hand, it defined the interior space, and on the other hand, it served to bring the outside inside. The overall effect in the Hall of Remembrance was respectful, and both contemplative and awe inspiring. The Hall's size—6,000 square meters—was spacious enough to accommodate up to 750 visitors at one time, if commemorative ceremonies were held there. Yet visitors do not feel dwarfed by or lost in the space. The Hall allows the performance of private and intimate rituals through the parameter of

the hexagonal shape, where the names of the concentration and death camps are marked on the walls and *yahrzeit* candles can be lit.

The 15th Street façade eventually combined two materials organized in two surfaces: the Hall of Remembrance's limestone facets protruded from the red brick structure, which completed the façade at the back. Freed wanted the Hall to protrude from the red brick building even more than it ultimately did; he had envisioned the westernmost façade of the Hall as aligning with the Ross Building. Protrusion on such a scale would have highlighted the Hall's temple-like properties even more. The Washington Fine Arts Commission rejected the plan, stipulating that the Hall should not extend past the façade of the BEP building. Freed relocated the Hall in accordance with the commission's request and added a small fountain between the Hall and the sidewalk on 15th Street.[88] In August, 1989, due to budget cuts the council was forced to make, the fountain was changed to a reflection pool. The pool was meant to add another dimension to the atmosphere of contemplation; nevertheless, it was also cancelled due to further budget cuts and was replaced by a rectangular lawn, framed by stones that provide seating for visitors.

The Hall of Remembrance, the rectangular lawn and the receding main building created a plaza on 15th Street. The square is completed by Annex 3, which stands on its northern side. Today, this annex functions as the USHMM's office space, cafeteria and employee recreation area; nevertheless, in late 1987 and early 1988, the USHMM council members and the designer-architects were considering demolishing the building. The main advantage of tearing down Annex 3 would have been opening the square on 15th Street to the Mall, thus creating a better connection between the USHMM building, the Washington Monument and the Jefferson Memorial. The aim was clear: to create an unbroken tie linking the Holocaust Museum and its commemorative part—the Hall of Remembrance—to the monuments that commemorate American history. But the Auditor's building and Annex 3 stood squarely between the vast lawn of the Washington Mall and the USHMM building. Demolishing Annex 3 would have physically connected part of the museum building with the Mall. This idea was promoted by several council members. In a letter to the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office, the Acting Executive Director of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, David Weinstein, declared that the new "design is developed for the landscaped plaza which will replace the annex."[89] Weinstein, Rosenblatt and the council members met several times with representatives of the Historic Preservation Office, mainly Stephen Raiche and Tanya Beauchamp, but could never persuade them to accept the demolition of Annex 3. Raiche and Beauchamp saw the building as a masterpiece by James Knox Taylor, one of Washington's most important architects at the turn of the twentieth century, and repeatedly rejected the US Holocaust Memorial Council's request.

The Historic Preservation representatives were backed by the local professional milieu in their refusal to demolish Annex 3. After praising Freed's design for the USHMM, Benjamin Forgey, the *Washington Post*'s architecture critic, argued that demolishing Annex 3 would not achieve the desired connection between the building and the Mall. He further claimed that the USHMM building reflected a sort of identity crisis: "it is, simply, that the building wants to be two things at once—

a free-standing monument and a good neighbor, a piece of the city facing the park."[90] In his sharp observation, Forgey outlined the conflict that the USHMM building faced: on the one hand, a wish to blend into Washington's history as reflected in its urban reality, and on the other hand, a wish to maintain a well-respected appearance within the cityscape. An underground tunnel was originally planned to connect between the main building and Annex 3 but this idea was later dropped due to budget cuts. This means that today USHMM officials need to cross the Raoul Wallenberg Plaza on 15th Street to go from one building to the other.

Yet the USHMM building's connectivity to the city did not conclude with articulation of the façades and plazas that they created. Aware of the crucial nature of the moments immediately following a visitor's physical entrance to the building, Freed now examined the gradual entryway into the building and the ways in which the Hall of Witness is perceived upon entering from 14th Street. The Hall of Witness, called also the atrium and no longer referring to the permanent exhibition space as in Anderson, Notter and Finegold's first proposal, was a four-story-high space meant to welcome visitors. Eventually, Freed shifted the entrance so that visitors enter on the south side of either the 14th Street or the 15th Street façade. This allowed him to align the entrance sequence with the twisted skylight as it leads the visitors diagonally through the atrium space. Composed of heavy metal trusses, the skylight was deliberately twisted in two dimensions: the first, in relation to the atrium's square space, with its apex starting in one corner and running diagonally all the way to the opposite corner; and the second, in relation to itself, as might be seen in section, so that the skylight's surface is short on one side and elongates as it moves toward the other side. With this gesture, Freed wanted to break with symmetry. Public buildings are organized in a symmetrical fashion, spatially and programmatically, so that they will be understood more easily, Freed claimed. "The public process is one of sandpapering away irregularities, to the extent that the building loses some of its bite. That's why public projects tend very literally to be symmetrical objects, with very few extruded elements," Freed explained.[91] Therefore, in the Hall of Witness, he created a diagonal that would give rise to an uneasy feeling among the museum's visitors.

Aside from dictating the skylight's direction and shape, the diagonal also provided the guidelines for the space as a whole. The skylight emblazoned the Hall's floor with a line of light that indicated the diagonally oriented space, and the stairs leading down from the second floor, just after the exhibition concludes with the Hall of Remembrance, also followed the diagonal scheme, as did the stairs to the basement floor. "The skylight over the Hall of Witness," Freed concluded, "cuts diagonally across the hall because that is the path of travel. We did this to disengage you, to move you diagonally across the space. If you think of it, it becomes apparent that such a skylight would be twisted—twisted by the geometry, but also by the force of the logic that sends you diagonally across, the tension of the diagonal splitting the space in two."[92]

In addition to the Hall of Witness' monumental skyline, the eight red brick towers along two sides of the atrium helped create the desired ambiance as visitors approached the exhibition. The museum's director, Jeshajahu "Shaike" Weinberg, together with Rina Elieli, described it as follows:

> *Entering the Museum, visitors find themselves enveloped in a very unusual atmosphere. This is for the visitors the transition space separating everyday reality from the ghost world of the Holocaust exhibition which they are about to see. It is a difficult border to cross. The monumental four-story atrium known as the Hall of Witness, which is the entrance hall of the building, evokes an immediate emotional reaction. People speak of feelings of fear, loneliness, helplessness, almost of panic, but also of holiness.*[93]

To achieve this atmosphere, Freed had the bricks laid in the English-cross pattern, similar to the one used for the barracks in Auschwitz. The subtle pattern on the wall and the imagery of the towers created a context that would transport visitors into a new reality, completely different from the outside world. For Freed, "the metaphor of the guard tower was the watching, the overview, the distancing of the persecutors from the prisoners. Everywhere you were being watched."[94] At the USHMM, Freed was citing the guard towers in Auschwitz, but at the same time, he tried to keep their significance vague. "I don't want to [tell] anybody these are towers and towers are bad,"[95] he told Linenthal. Freed liked to keep the symbolic meaning of the building's formalism ambiguous. In the interview for WETA-TV, he said the building's detail could also recall a chocolate factory in Belgium. "The building is full of dualities," he said,

> *white and black, left and right, life and death. The business of steel is very important. For example, in Brussels, there's a candy factory done that way [with steel straps], very benign. And here there's also this thing on the oven, the crematorium. What does structure mean? Can architecture talk? I do not know. If you see it on an oven you'd relate it that way. If you see it in a candy factory you'd relate it this way. I didn't want to particularly make something that is overly symbolic, that wouldn't work, it would be too theatrical.*[96]

The Hall of Witness entrance sequence concludes with taking the elevators to the fourth floor, where the permanent exhibition begins. Designed in a heavy industrial style, the elevators functioned as yet another mediator. Some visitors mentioned that the elevators' design and the noise they make as they move raise associations to railroad cars. Spreading over three full floors, the permanent exhibition starts on the fourth floor and goes all the way down to the second. Freed and the curators used a common strategy for museum display, namely, a narrative space that starts at the top and descends all the way to the entrance.[97] Frank Lloyd Wright used a similar strategy in the Guggenheim Museum in New York City. Other museums all over the world adopted this strategy and made it the main scheme for museum design. The exhibition itself, as was presented to the USHMM Content Committee, was dedicated to the story of the Holocaust as evolved throughout the war years; nevertheless, they also decided to dedicate "a significant space to a key part of the Holocaust story that is usually ignored: the period from 1945 to the present."[98] Additionally, the curators wanted to "integrate American elements into the each major area of the Core Exhibition in order to bring the Holocaust story home to American audience."[99] At the end, out of the detailed history of the period, the curators had to narrow the narrative into a communicative story that would

mediate the events through several means of communication—visual, textual and spatial. Accordingly, they decided to present "those moments and experiences that are emblematic: the events that are both historical and symbolic."[100]

Unlike the close working relations between Notter, Finegold and Alexander and exhibition designer Chris White, Freed was distant from Ralph Appelbaum, the permanent exhibition designer, and was not involved in the design of the permanent exhibition. During his work on the USHMM, Freed sought to get involved in designing the exhibition space and even to integrate the permanent exhibition with the building, but his offers were declined. He therefore treated the exhibition space as a black box and only twice made modifications in the building so that it would suit the exhibition's needs: lowering the floor where the railroad car was positioned and allowing the Tower of Names to penetrate the fifth floor so that it would reach the topmost ceiling. The bridges that connect the two sides of the black box museum parts, however, are completely lit. In the museum, information is provided in the dark and contemplation takes place in the light.

The allusion of the building's red brick imagery and heavy metal skylight to places in Auschwitz led several architectural critics to see a double meaning in the building's design. Michael Sorkin, a New York-based architect who was the architectural critic of the *Village Voice*, wrote: "In his design, James Freed and his collaborators walk a fine line between strategies of abstraction and representation, sometimes skirting kitsch, but always creating solemn, dignified, serious spaces."[101] Sorkin's criticism echoed a debate about means of representation and symbolism with the context of Holocaust representation. In *Architectural Design*, Joan Branham outlined some difficulties that could be encountered when designing a Holocaust museum:

> *… from a design perspective, the memorial museum gives rise to a number of conceptual challenges. A beautiful building would risk adorning the Holocaust and thus rendering it palatable. A literal design, recapitulating the architecture of the Nazi camps, would trivialize the Holocaust by creating a simulacrum. And a completely neutral structure, designed to frame but not engage its internal collection, would admit the inability of contemporary architecture to exercise form as a mechanism of meaning and responsibility.*[102]

RETHINKING ARCHITECTURAL AUTHENTICITY

Throughout the twentieth century, the discourse on authenticity in architecture focused mainly on issues of poetics and mimesis. Referring to numerous philosophical conceptions on the matter, from Martin Heidegger's being-in-the-world as a modus for authentic being[103] to Theodor Adorno's critique of the discourse on authenticity in his book *The Jargon of Authenticity*,[104] architectural historians and theoreticians discussed the concept in relation to issues of origin and truthfulness. In the prevailing view, authentic architecture drew from the site of its location and related to the origin of the place in order to devise the manmade production of architecture. Christian Norberg-Schulz was probably the most dominant architectural scholar in the 1970s and 80s to profess this notion of

architectural authenticity in his discussion of the concept genius loci.[105] For him and other architectural scholars (such as the Venetian architectural philosopher, Massimo Cacciari), architecture could unfold a level of authenticity embedded within the reality in which it was located, if it maintained a relation to the existing properties (material, spatial, temporal) of the place.

In recent year, several architects and architectural theoreticians also addressed the concept of architectural authenticity, but unlike Norberg-Schulz and thinkers of his generation, most scholars today refer to the concept in relation to postmodern consumer societies or to the emerging digital architectural culture. While criticizing the architecture of consumerism, the Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa, for example, declared in his essay "An Archipelago of Authenticity"[106] that "[a]uthentic design must be grounded in empathy and compassion." Consumerism could not result in these qualities. Or, as William J. Mitchell bluntly put it in his essay "Antitectonics: the Poetics of Virtuality,"[107] Kenneth Frampton's book, *Studies in Tectonic Culture*, in many ways predated the criticism on immateriality, a-spatiality and a-temporality of the digital realm and called for authenticity of space and matter in architectural production.

In opposition to these modes of conception of place, architects are able to perceive and conceive places in negative terms. In these cases, architecture as a means of conveying and creating a notion of reality was perceived as one that goes against its immediate context—environmental, spatial or cultural. This results in what could be considered faux architecture, a mimetic architecture that does not reveal a truthful notion of place from the existing surroundings. Instead, this architecture inserts into the place of its location new ideas about space and place that were considered foreign and, therefore, created a feeling of displacement and alienation among the place's inhabitants and users. This results from the clash between the experience of the existing environment and the "inserted" architecture.

On the other side of the architectural theoretical map, some architects, architectural theoreticians, historians and critics criticized these perceptions of authentic architecture, claiming that in any case, architecture is a modality open to various interpretations and that there is now a clear and absolute essence of place that an architect should and can decipher or relate to. This argument rejected the notion of origin for the creation of architecture, based on the claim that architecture is a cultural, political and social construct and therefore cannot sustain essential and authentic properties of place. Based on subjective points of view, this perception claimed that every architect, dweller or observer may see and interpret spaces and places in a different manner and all interpretations will be equally valid. The fact that one interpretation is prioritized is only a matter of the politics of representation that favors one way of seeing a place over another. Hilde Heynen expanded on this debate in her book *Architecture and Modernity*, in which she discusses the concept of authenticity in relation to the idea of architectural autonomy and the avant-gardes.[108] Much like the critique of postmodernist thinkers, architectural theoreticians that criticized the concept of authenticity as a viable and constructive concept for architectural creation and interpretation referred to social and political discourses and framed the politics of authenticity

as the main issue. Claiming there is no objective notion for an authentic place, the meaning of place is a matter of cultural and social negotiations, they posited. Every architect can define the modality of authenticity of a place, and no modality is better than its counterpart.

Yet, while, the discourse on authenticity in architecture referred to the concepts of place and space, it rarely addressed the issue of authentic architectural representation of history. Indeed, while modern architecture referred to historical references—from nineteenth century neo-classicism to postmodern historicism—the notion of authenticity was not the issue. Instead, the historical reference tried to be accurate in terms of style (neo-classicism) or the reference was a matter of pastiche and irony (as in postmodernist architecture). It is only with the evolution of the historical museum typology, one that operates beyond its functional role as a container of history and offers a symbolic representation of the past in the building itself, that the notion of historization or historiography by architecture emerged. Architecture had become and was considered a historical text.

In that sense, the USHMM offers a unique case for the examination of modes of historization in and by architecture. In the USHMM, James Freed refers to the history of the Holocaust through the application of imagery—from the towers that were built at the entrance, through some part of death and concentration camps, to barbed wire, fences and lights. Nevertheless, the references that Freed suggests in the building stay on a vague formal level and are not a direct citation. The multiple towers at the building's northern end hold a clear reference, yet at the same time, they do not refer to any specific place. Similarly, the use of barbed wire and lights, of heavy metal construction and red brick clearly refers to Holocaust imagery, yet these elements are abstracted and decontextualized, creating a notion of reference but not committing to an exact place. This mechanism of citation allows Freed to construct what can be defined a referential authenticity: an attempt to create an authentic experience and to bypass the problem of referential citation that instantly creates a hierarchy between the source and that which it simulates. The perception of the reference is regarded as truthful for the cited source, and this level of truthfulness, based on material, formal and visual referentiality, results in the consideration of the references as authentic. This does not mean the actual artifact or reference itself in the building is authentic; authenticity lies in the truthfulness of the reference and not in the objects themselves.

The question of authenticity of place and the insertion of history into present realities, however, is far more complex. Since the site in Washington, D.C. is far distant from the location of the historical event, Freed had to overcome these temporal and spatial distances. Indeed, his way of citing Holocaust imagery and integrating it into the context of the capital city distances the immediate reality to the past so the operation inserts new realities from foreign contexts into the Washington context. I would like to claim, however, that these realities do not create a foreign notion of place that is disrupted by the insertion of mimetic architecture into a new context. Freed inserts into the Washington reality a reality from a distant context; nevertheless, he frames this context as a citation of a past event. Most proposals for the USHMM explored the boundaries between the building's interiority as the locus of historical references and its exteriority as conveyor of these references

to the external context. Unlike previous proposals, Freed's did not attempt to be historical representation in disguise, whether neo-classical or supposedly neutral. Notter, Finegold and Alexander's second proposal tried to camouflage the historical representation in a neo-classical building, thereby deceiving the users of the urban context regarding the nature of inserted reality. Anderson, Notter and Finegold's initial proposal to use the Auditor's Building was an even greater deception as it tried to seem neutral in the context of Washington, D.C. Freed explored the boundaries between interior and exterior historical references and balanced between the exposure of the references from the inside out and the context of this exposure. Thus, it can be claimed that Freed perceived the building as a history book that encapsulates a historical event in a defined medium and embeds it in a context. As a defined piece of historical representation, the building can be perceived as authentic because it does not attempt to present itself as part of contemporary reality. The USHMM Memorial Council wanted to create an authentic representation of a historical case through a symbolic building that would cite from the imagery of the event and would not try to be of the moment. Freed balanced the two, pushed the limits and created what could be perceived as an authentic historical reference.

Authenticity, in Freed's proposal, does not lie in the object or place of perception. Nor does it lie in the recipient subjective feeling or thought. Instead, authenticity is situated between object and subject, place and dweller, and material and use. The object has to convey a degree of authenticity—through its material, formal and/or functional properties—in order for an authentic feeling to emerge. These qualities meet the human subject as an evaluator of the levels of authenticity embedded within the object—while the subject, being human, may refer to different aspects of authenticity existing within the object (material, formal, referential, and others) to determine his or her own ideas.

NOTES

1 Anna Cohn, the Director of Museum Planning between 1982 and 1985, and David Altshuler, a professor of Judaic Studies at George Washington University, and came to the Museum with Cohn as interim director of education, speculated many times on the nature of the museum's exhibition. Three options were discussed with Elie Wiesel: chronological narrative, thematic interpretation and a combination of the chronological and thematic approaches. Referring to Beit Hatfutsot (Museum of the Jewish Diaspora in Tel Aviv), Cohn and Altshuler said that Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, Beit Hatfutsot director who later became the director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, suggested that the exhibition should be arranged in a chronological fashion so that it would "tell the story." For Weinberg, this meant the creation of a "straightforward, uncomplicated narrative that people of all ages and backgrounds can easily understand." US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, September 26, 1983, 97–014, box 114, Museum Planning [10].

2 Edward Linenthal, "Enduring Issue: Shaping the Boundaries of Memory," in *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*, (New York, 1995), pp. 193–8.

3 Linenthal, "Enduring Issue," pp. 193–8.

4 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, February 26, 1987, 2011.036, box 2, Letter from James Ingo Freed to Eli Pfefferkorn, p. 1.

5 Ibid., p. 1.

6 The text appears in a model that Ralph Appelbaum, the permanent exhibition's designer, presented to the Council on April 26, 1989. It is not clear who wrote the statement. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Construction Office, Floor Layout Models of the Permanent Exhibition, April 22, 1990, 2001.065, box: A through F.

7 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Construction Office, Floor Layout Models of the Permanent Exhibition, April 22, 1990, 2001.065, box: A through F.

8 In a memorandum to the council members in March 31, 1981, Anna Cohn said: "The Museum/Memorial should strive for authenticity. It should avoid the spectacular and 'show' atmosphere. Many documents are available and should be used to authenticate all the presentations." US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, April 7, 1981, 97–014, box 112, Museum/Memorial Site Selection [1 of 2].

9 In a comprehensive, 313-page study titled "Report on the Original Artifact Resources from the Holocaust Era in Selected European Memorial Institutions," which was conducted in February 1985, Aline Isdebsky-Pritchard differentiates between the authentic material presented in those European institutions and replicas. The study was used by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum's permanent exhibition staff to assist in its search for material in Europe. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Archive Branch, Reports to the US Holocaust Memorial Council Regarding: European Holocaust Archives, Memorials and Museums, 1980–89, February 1985, 2001.165, box 3, Reports on Original Artifact Resources from the Holocaust Era [1 of 3].

10 In a letter dated February 24, 1981, written by Bernard D. Fischman to Rabbi Bernard S. Raskas, a member of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, Fischman referred to discussions of possible material to be used in the exhibition. While discussing NBC-TV's series *Holocaust* that was aired in April 1978 and the possibility of presenting a fictional conversation between Hitler and Eichmann, he mentioned that "authenticity is a sine qua non." The museum should not use alleged docudrama techniques, as Gerald Green did in his NBC-TV series. For Fischman, "docudrama," a word coined by Green, was a simulated authenticity. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, February 24, 1981, 97–014, box 64, Fischman Bernard.

11 Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty and Thomas Y. Levin (eds), Edmund Jephcott (trans.),*The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, (Cambridge, 2008).

12 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Construction Office, Floor Layout Models of the Permanent Exhibition, April 22, 1990, 2001.065, box: A through F.

13 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, James Freed Collection, February 29, 1988, 2011.036, box 3.

14 Ibid., box 3.

15 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Construction Office, Floor Layout Models of the Permanent Exhibition, April 22, 1990, 2001.065, box: A through F.

16 Jean Baudrillard, "The Precession of Simulacra," in Sheila Glaser (trans.), *Simulation and Simulacra*, (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 1–43.

17 In a review published in February 1993 in *Progressive Architecture*, the architectural critic Michael Sorkin wonders how visitors will perceive the museum and its artifacts: "How will people acquire the knowledge and feeling that lives in these artifacts? What redeems these elements from the mnemonics of the theme park?" Sorkin also proposes a response to these speculations: "The culture is moving so fast into simulated realms that the line between evocation and defamation is too constantly relocated." Sorkin expressed a common view that the thematization of the Holocaust may result in kitsch. Michael Sorkin, "The Holocaust Museum: Between Beauty and Horror," in *Progressive Architecture*, 74/2, (1993): p. 74.

18 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Construction Office, Floor Layout Models of the Permanent Exhibition, April 22, 1990, 2001.065, box: A through F.

19 Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (trans.), (New York, 1962).

20 George M. Notter, who served as the president of the American Institute of Architects in 1983–4, graduated from Harvard's Graduate School of Design with an M.Arch. degree. He chaired the Board of the Boston Architectural College and was elected as a Fellow of the American Society of Arts. Among Notter's many awards was IFRAA's Edward S. Frey Award.

21 Born in South Carolina, William Martin Aiken served as the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department from 1895 to 1879. He died on December, 1908. An obituary published in *The American Architect* later that month described him as a man who brought to the office highest ideals. Aiken assumed his post at a time when public federal architecture was criticized for poor construction and design. He worked to change this by close inspection of many projects. Staff Writer, "In Memoriam—William Martin Aiken," in *The American Architect*, XCIV/1722, (1908).

22 Born in Knoxville, IL in 1857, James Knox Taylor was nominated as the Supervising Architect for the Treasury Department between 1897 and 1912 after serving as a draftsman in the Department from 1893. Taylor studied at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the mid-1870s and then worked at Haight and Price Architects in New York City as a draftsman. In 1882, he established his own practice together with Cass Gilbert. After he left the Treasury Department, Taylor became a professor of architecture at MIT. Taylor died in 1929.

23 From 1914, when the Bureau of Engraving and Printing moved to its new building, the Agriculture Department started using the Auditor's building. The complex was unoccupied starting in the 1960s.

24 Anderson, Notter and Finegold, *The Auditor's Complex: A Synopsis of the Historic Structure Report*, General Service Administration, July 1979.

25 Anderson, Notter and Finegold, *The Auditor's Complex*, p. 56.

26 Ibid. p. 58

27 For more details see: Edward Linenthal, "The Site of the Holocaust Memory," in *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*, (New York, 1995), p. 58.

28 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Records of the Chairperson: Elie Wiesel, 1978–1986, August 17, 1984, 1997–013, box 9, Correspondence: July–September 1984.

29 In August 1982, the Council considered holding an architectural competition for the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. "The competition," said a brief to a potential competition organizer, "is being established to attract the greatest design talent and

those who might have special insight and special solutions to many design problems entailed in this project." The Council wanted to establish an "effective and precise communication with the design community," which they considered "most essential." US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–1995, August 10, 1982, 97–014, box 114, Museum Process Committee.

30 Prior to joining the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and working at the Smithsonian, Anna Cohn directed the B'nai B'rith Museum and the Jewish Museum in Washington D.C., one of the largest Jewish museums in the world. Cohn was born in Minneapolis in 1950. During her childhood she lived in Israel and the Netherlands. As an undergraduate at the University of Minnesota, she studied history and Judaic studies. She specialized in Art History at Williams College in Massachusetts. U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–1995, circa 1984, 97–014, box 28, Correspondence: Anna Cohn [1 of 4].

31 Chris White and Anna Cohn consulted with Wiesel regularly on the exhibition design, mainly regarding the Hall of Witness as the museum's primary section. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, December 28, 1984, 97–014, box 28, Correspondence: Anna Cohn [2 of 4].

32 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, February 28, 1984, 2000.051, box 4, Council Meeting February 28, 1984, p. 41.

33 The museum development staff was constantly occupied with the question of the museum's psychological effect upon visitors. In September 1982, the National Institute of Mental Health held a workshop on the subject, on behalf of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. Summarized in a 35-page document, the workshop examined several issues, including the relationship between the educational and psychological status of the exhibition's viewers, the exposure of children to Holocaust-related material, and the role of parents in accompanying children to the exhibition. The participants included professionals and academics from the mental health fields, as well as museum staff. Together they devised a scheme to assess the exhibition's impact on visitors. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Staff Assistant to the Director, The Joint National Institutes of Health/US Holocaust Memorial Council Conference Titled: *Remembering and Memorializing the Holocaust: Psychological and Educational Dimension*, 1982, October 1983, 1997–001.0, box 1, National Institute of Mental Health Report, October 1983.

34 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu "Shaike" Weinberg, 1979–1995, May 10, 1984, 97–014, box 28, Correspondence: Anna Cohn [3 of 4].

35 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, February 28, 1984, 2000.051, box 4, Council Meeting February 28, 1984, p. 50.

36 Anderson, Notter and Finegold, and Mariani, *Concept Study U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum: Auditor's Complex, Washington D.C.*, April 6, 1984.

37 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, February 28, 1984, 2000.051, box 4, Council Meeting February 28, 1984, p. 55.

38 Ibid., p. 53.

39 Jacek Nowakowski was in charge of collecting and buying artifacts in Europe. In several interviews, conducted in January 2007, he described the ways in which he searched for artifacts and mentioned that authenticity was the first criterion

for acquisition. The railcar presented in the permanent exhibition, he noted, was a donation by the Polish Government to the USHMM. There was no proof that the donated railcar was in fact used for the transportation of victims to the camps; therefore, the plaque describing the railcar says that this same type of railcar was used for deportation without indicating that this specific one had been used for that purpose.

40 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–1995, April 28, 1983, 97–014, box 28, Correspondence: Anna Cohn [1 of 3].

41 In a memorandum that Anna Cohn sent to Micah Naftalin on July 3, 1984, she mentioned the division of responsibilities among the various parties that participated in the museum's design. Anderson, Notter and Finegold and Chris White were responsible for the development of the Hall of Witness and the Hall of Learning. At the time, Cohn was responding to an enormous number of inquiries from architectural offices, designers and artists asking about commissions for the museum's development. She felt a competition was one way to examine proposals for the Hall of Remembrance. In this document, she also indicated that along with the architects and the exhibition designers, an in-house consulting committee would assist in creating a collection of artifacts, documents and non-print media and would decide on the "philosophy of authenticity of the museum exhibitions and research capabilities." US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–1995, July 3, 1984, 97–014, box 28, Correspondence: Anna Cohn [2 of 4].

42 Born in New York City in 1916 of Polish immigrant parents, Hyman Bookbinder was a graduate of City College of New York where he studied Social Science and New York University and the New School for Social Research where he studied economics, sociology and political science. Between 1967 and 1988, he served as the American Jewish Committee's representative in Washington, where he was responsible for liaison between the committee, the White House and Congress. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter appointed Bookbinder a member of the President's Commission on the Holocaust to make recommendations for an American memorial. He then became a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and its Committee on Conscience.

43 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, February 28, 1984, 2000.051, box 4, Council Meeting February 28, 1984, p. 44.

44 Anderson, Notter and Finegold, and Mariani, *Concept Study*, p. 11.

45 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, February 28, 1984, 2000.051, box 4, Council Meeting February 28, 1984, p. 18.

46 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, February 28, 1984, 2000.051, box 4, Council Meeting February 28, 1984, p. 26.

47 Ibid., p. 62.

48 Ibid., pp. 63–4.

49 Ibid., p. 68.

50 Ibid., p. 81.

51 Ibid., p. 108.

52 In a privileged and confidential memo that Micah Naftalin sent to Elie Wiesel and Albert Abramson, he discussed the ramifications of demolishing the Annex buildings. Among the points he raises, Naftalin mentioned that the demolition would have to be

approved by the Council in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act, a federal law that applies to the museum. The need for the Council's approval could turn the issue into a dispute and the absence of an alternative design could also be problematic, he noted. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, December 21, 1984, 97–014, box 114, Museum Planning [10].

53 A site study prepared by the Program Division Staff had already indicated on June 24, 1983 that Annex 2 would be able to house only the museum's administrative offices and storage area. There was no way it could accommodate parking and exhibition halls. The study recommended that the museum buy Annex 3, thus gaining more space. "Our museum will be one of the most significant architectural projects of this generation," the study noted and proposed holding a competition to select the designers. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, June 24, 1983, 97–014, box 115, Museum Site Study.

54 Sigal Construction Corporation wrote to Micah Naftalin on November 9, 1984, that even though it appeared that the existing buildings could accommodate the museum, "after review of the existing soil conditions, the existing building scheme which utilizes these structures, our recommendation is that all three structures: Annex 1, 1a and 2 be demolished and a new building scheme be designed." US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, November 9, 1984, 97–014, box 1, Abramson, Albert, [2].

55 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, December 21, 1984, 97–014, box 114, Museum Planning [10].

56 Edward Linenthal, "Building Holocaust Memory," in *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*, (New York, 1995), p. 75.

57 Benjamin Forgey, "First Step to a Memorial," *Washington Post*, May 11, 1985, p. G1.

58 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu "Shaike" Weinberg, 1979–95, April 15, 1984, 97–014, box 108, Museum Development Committee [5 out 6].

59 Forgey, "First Step to a Memorial," p. G1.

60 In her letter of resignation from January 20, 1985 addressed to Elie Wiesel, Anna Cohn mentioned that her relationship with the Council "had not worked out" and therefore she needed to seek another job. Cohn had had differences with some people involved in the museum's development. Her resignation marked the beginning of a turnover in the museum's development personnel, which was also reflected in the changing perception of the museum and the exhibition themselves and eventually led to the hiring of James Ingo Freed. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, Records of the Chairperson—Elie Wiesel, 1978–87, January 20, 1985, 1997–2013, box 6, Anna Cohn, Museum Chair.

61 Ibid., box 6, Anna Cohn, Museum Chair.

62 At a Council meeting on June 9, 1986, Maurice Finegold presented in detail the new scheme for the museum building. He closed the presentation by saying that he still had to wait to see "how the interior of the building exhibit may impact the design of the building." US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, Minutes and Records Relating to Council Meetings, June 9, 1986, 2001.051, box 7, Council Meeting June 10, 1986, p. 79.

63 Reverend Constantine Dombalis was a Dean of the Sts. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Richmond. He served as a delegate to the United Nations, where he participated in the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He also served on the Virginia Middle East Commission and as Commissioner to UNESCO and was appointed to the US Holocaust Memorial Council by President Carter.

64 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, US Holocaust Memorial Council, Minutes and Records Relating to Council Meetings, June 9, 1986, 2001.051, box 7, Council Meeting June 10, 1986, p. 81.

65 Ibid., p. 87.

66 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, November 20, 1985, 97–014, box 108, Museum Development Team, November 20, 1985, p. 2.

67 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–1995, September 27, 1986, 97–014, box 109, Museum Development Committee, book 1.

68 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu "Shaike" Weinberg, 1979–95, November 20, 1986, 97–014, box 108, Museum Development Committee.

69 In the Chairman's Guidelines for the Content Committee that Wiesel released on August 12, 1985, while discussing the potential of presenting the events of Kristallnacht, he wrote: " … the eyewitnesses should come forward to relate their experiences. Their testimonies are priceless and should be recorded on audiovisuals." The firsthand experience had to be prioritized because it was authentic. US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu "Shaike" Weinberg, 1979–95, November 20, 1985, 97–014, box 108, Museum Development Team, November 20, 1985.

70 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, James Freed Collection, Eyewitness to Kristallnacht, 2011.036, box 3.

71 Linenthal, "Building Holocaust Memory," p. 85.

72 Born in China in 1917, Ieoh Ming Pei (I.M.Pei) immigrated to the US when he was 17 years old. He received his B. Arch. degree from MIT in 1940 and M. Arch. degree in 1946 from the Harvard Graduate School of Design, where he was a student of Walter Gropius. In 1955, Pei established his architectural office, which later became a partnership with architects such as Henry Cobb and James Freed. The most prominent of Pei's many professional awards was the Pritzker Architecture Prize in 1983.

73 Born in 1926, Henry Cobb is one of the three founding principals of Pei Cobb Freed and Partners. He graduated from Exeter Academy in 1944, Harvard College in 1947 and Harvard's Graduate School of Design with an M. Arch. degree in 1949. Cobb taught at Yale University and Harvard University and was with the recipient of many awards, most notably a Lifetime Achievement Award from the New York Society of Architects.

74 For list of projects see: http://www.pcf-p.com/a/i//.

75 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Videotapes of Museum Related Speeches and Interviews, 1991–3, 2002.062, box 2: Tape # 21.

76 James Ingo Freed, "The United State Holocaust Memorial Museum," *Assemblage*, 70 (1989), p. 62.

77 Born in the Bronx in 1932, Arthur Rosenblatt attended Cooper Union School of Architecture and received a B. Arch. from Carnegie Institute of Technology, now

Carnegie Mellon University, in 1956. He was involved in the reshaping of Metropolitan Museum of Art and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, where served as director between 1986 and 1988. Rosenblatt was a partner in the firm RKK&G Museum and Cultural Facilities Consultants. He died in 2005 at the age of 73.

78 Freed, "The United State Holocaust Memorial Museum," p. 62.

79 Ibid., p. 65.

80 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, James Freed Collection, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: What Can It Be?, September 28, 1988, 2011.036, box 4, pp. 1–2.

81 Ibid., p. 2.

82 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, James Freed Collection, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Letter to Karl Kaufman, September 9, 1992, 2011.036, box 8.

83 On April 27, 1987, Freed presented his design to the council members, asserting that "the US Holocaust Memorial Museum building must have its own dramatic presence in relation to the monuments and the Mall and yet it must be a 'good neighbor.'" US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu "Shaike" Weinberg, 1979–95, April 27, 1987, 97–014, box 109, Museum Development Committee, book 1.

84 Ibid., book 1.

85 In a council meeting on September 24, 1986, the museum's director at the time, Arthur Rosenblatt, announced that James Ingo Freed had agreed to work in association with Notter, Finegold, and Alexander on the museum design, noting that Freed "understands that a Hall of Remembrance of hexagonal shape suspended above the Memorial Plaza is an agreed concept and he will work with this concept." US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu "Shaike" Weinberg, 1979–95, September 27, 1986, 97–014, box 109, Museum Development Committee, book 1. Reference: US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Director of the Museum, Subject Files of Jeshajahu 'Shaike' Weinberg, 1979–95, April 15, 1984, 97–014, box 108, Museum Development Committee [5 out 6].

86 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Files of James Ingo Freed, May 18, 1987, 2011.036, box 1.

87 Ibid., box 1.

88 This pool was never executed. Instead, a small lawn was planted.

89 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Files of James Ingo Freed, May 18, 1987, 2011.036, box 1.

90 Benjamin Forgey, "Annex 3: Worthy—and Endangered," in *Washington Post*, February 20, 1988, p. B2.

91 Freed, "The United State Holocaust Memorial Museum," p. 61.

92 Ibid., p. 71.

93 Jeshajahu Weinberg, and Rina Elieli, "The Building: A Resonator of Memory," in *The Holocaust Museum of Washington*, (New York, 1995), p. 25.

94 Freed, "The United State Holocaust Memorial Museum," p. 63.

95 Linenthal, "Building Holocaust Memory," p. 88.

96 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Videotapes of Museum Related Speeches and Interviews, 1991–3, 2002.062, box 2: Tape # 20.

97 For more information about the history of museum organization see: Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, (London, 1995).

98 US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Institutional Archive, Files of James Ingo Freed, Exhibition Story Outline, May 11, 1988, 2011.036, box 3.

99 Ibid., box 3.

100 Ibid., box 3.

101 Michael Sorkin, *Progressive Architecture*, 2.93 p. 74

102 Branham, Joan, "Mapping Tragedy in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum," in Richard Patterson (ed.), *Architectural Design*, Vol. 70/5, (2000): p. 55.

103 Heidegger, *Being and Time.*

104 Theodor Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity*, Knut Tarnowski and Frederic Will (trans.), (London, 1973).

105 Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, (New York, 1980).

106 Juhani Pallasmaa, "An Archipelago of Authenticity: The Task of Architecture in Consumer Society," in Gregory Caico (ed.), *Architecture, Ethics, and the Personhood of Place*, (Lebanon, 2007), pp. 41–9.

107 William J. Mitchell, "Antitectonics: The Poetics of Virtuality," in John Beckman (ed.) *The Virtual Dimension: Architecture, Representation, and Crash Culture*, (New York, 1998), p. 206.

108 Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*, (Cambridge, 1999).

4

Diagramming Memory: Peter Eisenman's Holocaust Memorial in Berlin

EISENMAN SPEAKS

In one of his many interviews about the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin, the Jewish American architect, Peter Eisenman, spoke about the way in which he feels the Holocaust should be commemorated:

> *I don't like the Holocaust industry. I don't like Schindler's List. I don't like anything that turns something so problematic into something so simple and easy … "good guys" and "bad guys." It was a very complex situation.* [1]

Eisenman is referring here to the two decades preceding the inauguration in 2005 of the Memorial he designed in Berlin. During these two decades, not only did the Holocaust become a commodity with mass appeal, but it also turned into a huge business. As Tim Cole showed in his book *Selling the Holocaust*,[2] Holocaust commemoration involves billions of dollars and the Holocaust as a brand is being defended to maintain its unique status. It is no wonder, then, that Eisenman, who has always been at the forefront of architectural experimentalism, refused to take part in these processes. Ever since he submitted his dissertation to the University of Cambridge in 1963,[3] Eisenman has developed a discourse and practice that challenged the boundaries of architecture. Referring to mainstream architecture was certainly not his perception of the built environment; neither were attempts to be communicative on the popular level, whether it had to do with the Holocaust or with architecture in general. As Eisenman explains in relation to his approach to the design of the Memorial in Berlin:

> *I didn't want to do something that is kitsch: a Jewish Star in the landscape, or lights that blink toward the concentration camps. And equally, I didn't want to do something that … if you go to the concentration camps, and this is my experience, and you see that it is horrible, the actual site and you know … . But then when you leave you can assimilate that experience into your psyche … you walk away and you say: "Oh that was awful … for the grace of God." I wanted*

> *something that you couldn't do this with, something that stuck with you, that wasn't assimilatable … that is wasn't part of an experience that you had before or that you could conceptualize.*[4]

Eisenman's criticism of the communicative nature of Holocaust commemoration, whether through kitsch architecture or communicative modes of horror, did not conclude with his wish to create an experience that could not be assimilated into the psyche. Coming from a deconstructivist tradition that dwelled extensively on disorientation in and by architecture,[5] labyrinthine structures[6] and the void, Eisenman was not occupied with orientation and order in the memorial:

> *When you go to the memorial there's a sense of being potentially lost in space, kids get lost from their mothers. You hear kids screaming, some are playing tag, and some are screaming because they are lost, once you move away you are gone … and the sense that the city disappears, and people are coming down and up … . it's like ghosts, people appear out of nowhere … you think people appear … you bump into people. There's a sense of the experience of the now, an experience that is sort of out of body.*[7]

This experience was not directed. In many ways, Eisenman tried to leave the monument without a clear signification, a monument that does not try to convey a specific message or idea:

> *It has no function, it has no purpose, it has no goal, it has no message, and yet three million people in one year came there.*

For him, the Memorial's open-ended aspect allows multiple everyday activities to take place there. As Eisenman describes:

> *[People] eat lunch there, they make love there, they play tag there. I have never seen kids so happy running out of their school buses. And these little kids go home to their grandparents, who may have been Nazis, we do not know, and they ask "Where were you today, little Hans?" "Oh, we had a field trip to the Holocaust Memorial" or "Whom did you have lunch with today?" "I had lunch with Gertrud and we met at the Holocaust Memorial." The fact that it became part of the everyday life of third- and fourth-generation Germans was really important to me. Not something that will make them daven*[8] *… no symbolism at all.*[9]

The Memorial's non-symbolic features allow the introduction of different modes of operations into its space. If architecture as a text allows one to "read" in specific ways, then an architectural text that has no clear meaning undoubtedly makes possible multiple "readings"—or in our case, uses—of the text. Hence, as an open text, the Memorial in Berlin permits daily activities to take place in it and its environs.

But what is the nature of the architectural text's open-ended aspect? How it is structured, and how does this condition function in architectural circumstance? In this chapter, I will follow the development of Eisenman's intellectual perception of the architectural realm and will attempt to contextualize the Memorial in Berlin as an outcome of a process that began with his dissertation and concluded

with the Memorial. Over the course of more than 40 years, Eisenman challenged architecture and the architectural text, and their modes of signification. It is no wonder, then, that when he faced Holocaust commemoration, he turned to a discourse he had dwelled upon for many years and used it to best articulate what he wanted to express in relation to the Holocaust. As the highlight in many ways of Eisenman's oeuvre, the Memorial in Berlin can serve as a lens through which his complete body of work can be reviewed. This process, which requires a contextualization of Eisenman's work from the mid-1960s onward, will serve as a means of understanding the Holocaust Memorial.

Thus, the structure of this chapter is somewhat different than the previous ones. While it also refers to the history of a case of Holocaust commemoration by architecture, the reference is not to the case's institutional history, but to the history of the architect who brought it about. Undoubtedly, the institutional history of the Memorial in Berlin plays a significant role in its conceptualization and crystallization as an architectural entity that deals with the Holocaust. This history was well articulated by James Young, in his book *At Memory's Edge: After-image of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*,[10] when he described his involvement as a juror in the selection process of Eisenman's proposal, on which he was then working with Richard Serra. Yet, unlike other chapters and discussions included in this book, the institutional history of the Memorial in Berlin does not reveal the whole story. This is at least partly due to the fact that it is rather short in relation to the histories of other cases discussed in this book—Ghetto Fighters' House, Yad Vashem and the USHMM in Washington, D.C. Moreover, unlike any other architect that addressed the Holocaust in his designs and is referred to in these pages, Eisenman is the only one who functioned as an active agency in the architectural discourse, generating a discussion that had a major impact on architecture as a whole.

Eisenman is an architect and theoretician who did not find in the practice of architecture sufficient scope for expressing his ideas. Ever since he finished his postgraduate studies in 1963, he has played a central role in the North American architectural scene (particularly in New York), using several modes of operation to foster a wide-ranging discourse. One of them was the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies in New York, which he founded in 1967 and directed until 1982. The Institute was a center for architectural debate and a place to foster new ideas about the intellectual signification of the discipline. Together with leading theoreticians such as Anthony Vidler, Diana Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas and architects such as Rem Koolhaas, Bernard Tschumi and Frank Gehry, Eisenman posited an alternative to the prevailing structuralist discourse in architecture and introduced critical thinking into the discipline. This was expressed in many conferences and debates, but mainly through the Institute's journal, *Oppositions*, published between 1973 and 1982.[11]

But even beyond the Institute, Eisenman consistently challenged the boundaries of architecture. His discourse on architectural autonomy and its political role (or lack of such) drew on the tradition of architectural theoreticians such as Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky and created a notion of architectural formalism that could have been understood as a call for the aestheticization of the architectural entity.

It is from this vantage point that Eisenman challenges modes of architectural signification, both as a way to decipher and interpret architecture and to design and execute it. This approach certainly comes into play in the Memorial in Berlin.

In this chapter, I will outline the development of Eisenman's intellectual perception of architecture and will claim that the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin is the last phase in a long-running exploration of architectural signification as a textual mode of operation. Eisenman not only treated architecture as a text; he also changed his perception of its signification and concluded with the diagram as a way to rethink the architectural text. My claim and analysis of the Memorial in Berlin will focus on the way in which Holocaust commemoration becomes a matter of diagrammatic operation, a term that was borrowed from the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and prevailed in the architectural discourse from the early 1990s on. This term was further developed by Eisenman and most certainly affected his perception of Holocaust commemoration.

After discussing Eisenman's discourse and the ways in which it led to the design of the Memorial, I will contextualize the Memorial in relation to other commemorative acts in Berlin. In the past two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall, innumerable monuments have been erected in the city and other commemorative acts have taken place. Such acts include the golden plates embedded on the sidewalks in Berlin Mitte and the sign outside the Wittenbergplatz U-Bahn station in western Berlin that lists the names of concentration and death camps, as well as the Jewish Museum designed by Daniel Libeskind. Berlin has become a city-wide commemoration site. Thus, at the end of the chapter, I will locate Eisenman's Memorial in relation to the overall commemorative acts in the city as a diagrammatic mode of commemoration that advances them a step further.

EISENMAN'S STRUCTURALIST PERCEPTION OF ARCHITECTURE

In 1963, Eisenman submitted to Cambridge University his dissertation entitled *The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture*,[12] which was supervised by Sir Leslie Martin. In the preface, Eisenman naturally expresses his gratitude to his supervisor but more importantly, also acknowledges some of his colleagues and students. Most prominent among them are Colin Rowe and Anthony Vidler. Rowe, a British scholar, had already published some seminal essays on architectural interpretation as early as the beginning of the 1940s. The most important of these essays, "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa,"[13] was published in 1947. In this essay, Rowe proposes a structuralist manner of architectural analysis, based on a model he developed in his dissertation written under the supervision of the art historian Rudolf Wittkower.

Rowe's dissertation was principally a theoretical speculation on how the sixteenth and seventeenth century British architect, Inigo Jones, would have written a theory book similar to that written by the Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio. Wittkower, one of the most important specialists on Renaissance and humanist architecture of his time, greatly influenced Rowe, who wished to explore the introduction of Renaissance and humanist ideas into sixteenth and seventeenth century British architecture.[14] While Jones was the one who brought

ideas prevailing in Venetian humanist architecture to England, he never produced a written theory about it. Rowe returned to Jones' work, extracted some ideas and wrote a theory as if Jones had written it. The formulation of the theory was based on thought structures existing in Jones' work; Rowe simply inserted ideas expressed by Jones into this structure.

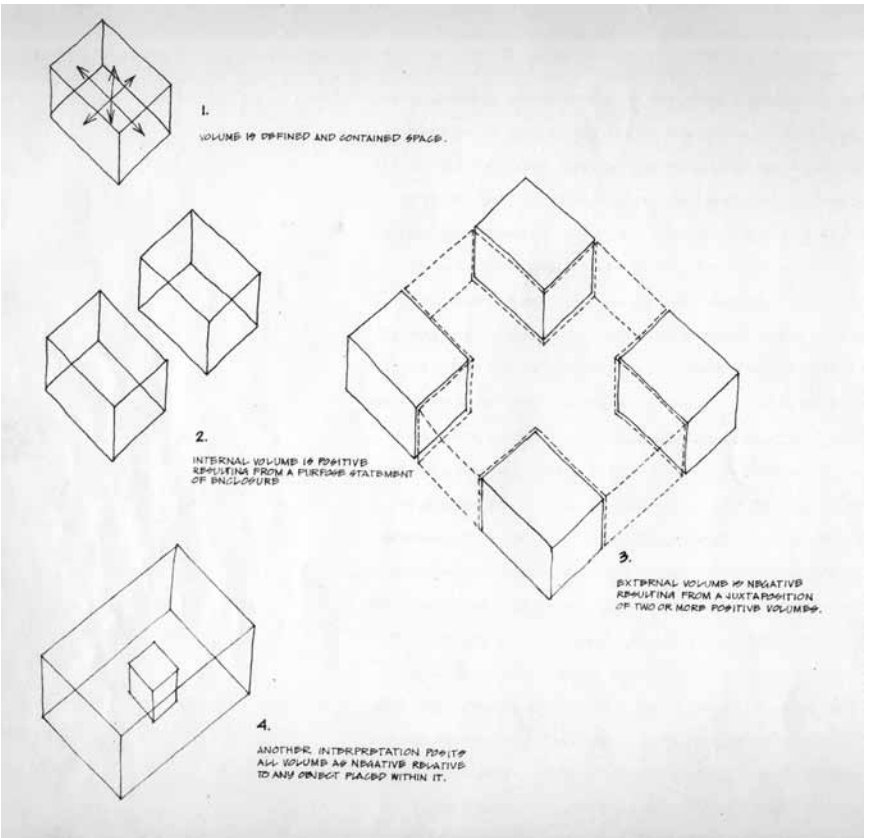
It is here that Rowe already starts to develop a comparative structuralist analytical method that later influenced Eisenman's writing and work. This method was even further developed in "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa," in which Rowe returns to Palladio again and compares his villas to the modernist villas of Le Corbusier.[15] Unlike Jones, who temporally succeeded Palladio and referred to his work, Le Corbusier lived some 300 years after Palladio. To bridge this temporal gap, Rowe abstracts the mathematical configuration of both architects' villas and shows that in general, there is no difference between them. Although Palladio emerged from the humanist tradition of the Renaissance and Le Corbusier was a modernist, Rowe finds similarities between them based on the mathematical configuration of both designs.

Rowe's comparison was made possible by the dissolution of any stylistic features in the villas. He searched for an ideal underlying structure that would allow the comparison, and mathematics enabled the construction of such a structure. The differences between the villas were merely a matter of the interpretations that each period suggested. For Rowe, they were the same idea expressed as different iterations. The most important issue was the overall structure and not the stylistic difference.

In his dissertation, Eisenman in many ways follows Rowe's structuralist mode of thinking. Eisenman attempts to define the language of architecture based on its form. As such, his claim is not historical but rather based on linguistic structures that allow form to be treated autonomously, without relating it to the context from which it derived. With this perception of architecture, Eisenman, in fact, proposes a new model for architectural analysis and thinking. For Eisenman, form is in the basis of architecture.

Through its formal articulation, architecture generates the contextual, social and political references. Thus, he posits, architectural significance lies within the interrelations of the several forms that constitute architecture. In the dissertation, Eisenman analyzes several examples of modern architecture—from Theo van Doesburg, through Le Corbusier to Paul Rudolph and Louis Kahn—and contextualizes their work in relation to theories of modern architecture from J.N.L. Durand, Auguste Choisy, Henry Russell Hitchcock and Siegfried Giedeon.[16] Using these examples, he shows the difference in formal articulation, defines the syntactical aspects of modern architecture and suggests a way to understand their signification.

It is important to stress the influence of Rowe's ideas on Eisenman and the ways in which the logic of his dissertation argument was structured, because in addition to reflecting ideas prevailing in contemporary intellectual discourse, Eisenman's thesis also proposed a new way of thinking about the architectural project as a whole. On the one hand, Eisenman's state of mind during this period of his work can be related to structuralist ways of thinking derived from the linguistics



4.1 From Eisenman's dissertation, formal analysis of design evolution

of Ferdinand de Saussure. Similar to contemporary thinkers that referred to the de Saussurian discourse, such as Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco, Eisenman wished to draw signification of textual expressions (in his case, in architecture) through the dissociation of the signed from the signifier. De Saussure proposed a synchronic way of constructing meaning in language, namely, that the meaning of a linguistic utterance is a matter of synchronized agreement about its meaning and not something inherent to the utterance.[17] In his dissertation, Eisenman proposed a similar approach, claiming that meaning in architecture is an outcome of the interrelation of the various parts that create the syntactical structure of the architectural utterance and not an external value.

In order to claim that, Eisenman needed to dismantle one of architecture's main features—its utilitarian function—and maintain only its symbolic function. This is because if a synchronized structure of language is the way to construct its signification, then one has to dwell on its symbolic aspects. Years later, in 1976, Eisenman better articulated this viewpoint. In his seminal essay, "Post Functionalism," published in the sixth issue of *Oppositions*, he explains:

> *… for the past fifty years, architects have understood design as a product of some oversimplified form-follows-function formula. This situation even persisted in the years following World War II, when one might have expected it*

> *would be radically altered. And as late as the end of the 1960s, it is still thought that the polemics and theories of the early Modern Movement could sustain architecture.*[18]

For Eisenman, the problematic aspects of the prevailing idea of Louis Sullivan's idiom was not a matter of his wish to fully discredit the functional side of architecture, but rather an attack on two main streams that focused on this idea: those who held the positivist perception of architecture expressed by the postwar neo-technologists (Reyner Banham, Cedric Price, Archigram and others) and those who perceived modernism as a break from the humanist tradition. In relation to the latter, Eisenman argued that focusing on architecture's functionalist aspect still located the human subject at the center of the architectural realm. This attitude could be found in the work of one of modernism's leading architects, Le Corbusier, not only in his articulation of the human body as the center of architectural creation—the Modulor, which he developed a humanist system—but also in his built work.[19] In "Post Functionalism," Eisenman did not refer to the Modulor; he only draws parallel between humanism and modernism (much like his teacher Colin Rowe did in his "Mathematics" essay).[20] But it serves to discredit the humanist–functionalist tradition upon which architecture drew during the period from the Renaissance to the postwar years.

In relation to the postwar positivist techno attitudes, Eisenman criticized the redemptive aspects that architects of the 1950s and 60s saw in technology. During these years, Banham researched and propounded architecture based on advanced technology and engineered systems.[21] He mainly referred to the work of Archigram in its various iterations, which were based on computation, mechanical engineering and cybernetics. For Banham, this work pushed the idea of form-follows-function to its limits. It also provided a way to think about architecture as "a machine for living," as Le Corbusier called it. Unlike for Le Corbusier, for Archigram, the machine was not a metaphor for architecture; instead, architecture became and was supposed to function as a machine. This, for Eisenman, symbolized the complete dominance of the utilitarian function over architecture, posing a danger that architecture would be perceived and produced only as an outcome of functionalism. To negate functionalism, he offered in "Post Functionalism" several modes of architectural existence. He explains:

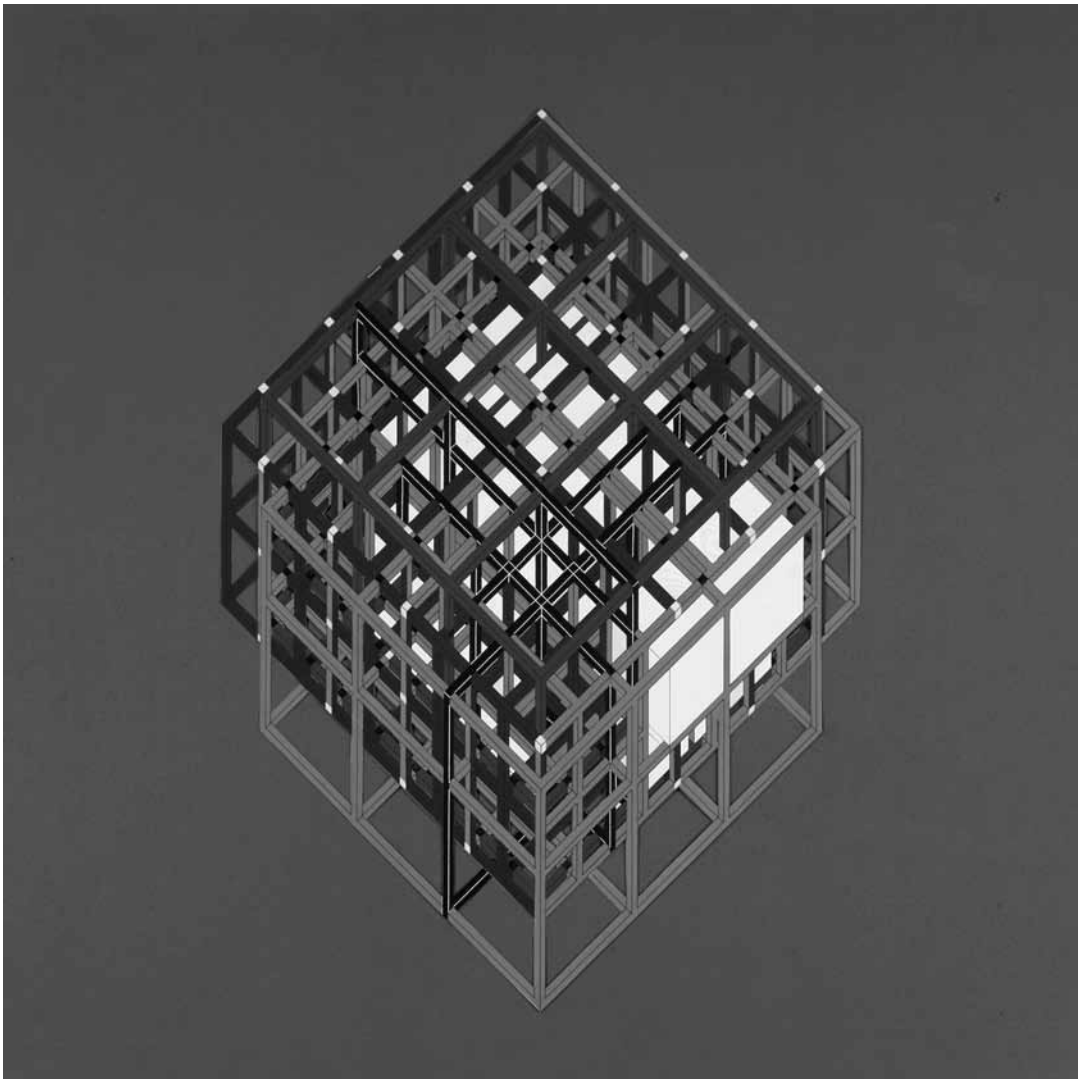
> *[A] new theoretical base changes the humanist balance of form/function to a dialectical relationship within the evolution of form itself. The dialectic can best be described as the potential co-existence within any form of two non-corroborating and non-sequential tendencies. One tendency is to presume architectural form to be a recognizable transformation from pre-existing geometric and Platonic solids. In this case, form is usually understood through a series of registrations designed to recall a more simple geometric condition. This tendency is certainly a relic of humanist theory. However, to this is added a second tendency that sees architectural form in an atemporal, decompositional mode, as something simplified from some pre-existent set of non-specific spatial entities. Here, form is understood as a series of fragments—signs without meaning dependent upon, and without reference to, a more basic condition.*[22]

Here, Eisenman offered to dissociate form from function and meaning and leave it for its own sake. Meaning might prevail once form is later conceptualized but certainly not as an outcome of function.

Eisenman's post-functionalist attitude was not only a matter of Rowe's influence; it was also a reaction to an architectural discourse that developed concurrently with his ideas at the University of California, Berkeley. From the early 1960s, Christopher Alexander, then a young faculty member in the university's Department of Architecture, also developed a linguistic approach to architecture. Alexander completed his doctoral studies at Harvard and published his book *Notes on the Synthesis of Form* in 1964.[23] Like Eisenman, Alexander developed in his research and book a linguistic structure for architectural design. Unlike Eisenman, however, Alexander formulated his theory from patterns existing in reality. Thus, when he wants to define, for instance, the linguistic structure of a good street, he examines the proportions of what is considered a good street by a large number of users, analyzes its properties (geometric, material, visual, and so on.) and defines a syntax of this condition in order to create a language that architects would be able to use in the future. Alexander, in fact, employs an empiricist way of analyzing space to outline rules for architecture design.

The comparison between Eisenman and Alexander is significant for understanding the Memorial in Berlin not only because of the differences that emerged in architectural intellectualism at the time, but also as an architectural modus operandi that Eisenman started to develop in the mid-1960s and continued in the Memorial in Berlin. Indeed, Eisenman and Alexander reflected two opposing ways of thinking about architecture as a language, the latter a positivist, one perceiving language as a true reflection of reality, while for Eisenman language was autonomous, independent of reality. As Eisenman declared many times, his dissertation was a response to Alexander's *Synthesis of Form*.[24] These different approaches were not only a method for interpreting architecture but also a way to develop designs that were meant to be executed. For Alexander, architectural design grounded on linguistic models had to be based on what could be defined as terms existing in the architectural language. Eisenman sought new modes of architectural expression that were internal and derived from the existing context. As such, they did not have to make sense immediately; it was only later that one would be able to decipher them and try to comprehend the experience. The autonomy of form espoused by Eisenman helped to create architectural utterances that did not derive from a specific context. Instead, they were free and not yet decipherable.

The exploration of formal autonomy in his design work did not start with the Memorial in Berlin. It began as early as the late 1960s in one of Eisenman's first project series, "House I to House X," where he explored the issue of architectural domesticity. The Houses series was an exploration of interrelated forms that started with a geometric configuration and was developed so that each succeeding form was a variation on its predecessor. For instance, in House VI, which Eisenman designed for Suzanne and Richard Frank in Cornwall, Connecticut, between 1972 and 1975, he began with a cubic form that he then divided into 27 smaller cubes.[25]



4.2 Peter Eisenman, House VI, axonometric drawing, 1972–6

These occupy the larger cube in a 3×3×3 arrangement. Eisenman then continued with the evolution of the form, whose interrelation in the system might seem random, but is in fact based on specific parameters in what can be considered parametric design. The parameters did not follow any architectural program that reflected the utilitarian function of the building, but rather were a formal exploration of the evolution of form.

Years later, in another context and in relation to the formal, programmatic and functional relations of architecture, Eisenman declared:

> *I do not think function has to do anything with architecture at all, never have. Because … does it matter what the program for Borromini's church was? It was the same for the church of Bernini. Does it matter that Santo Spirito and San Lorenzo in Florence had the same program, same size church, completely*

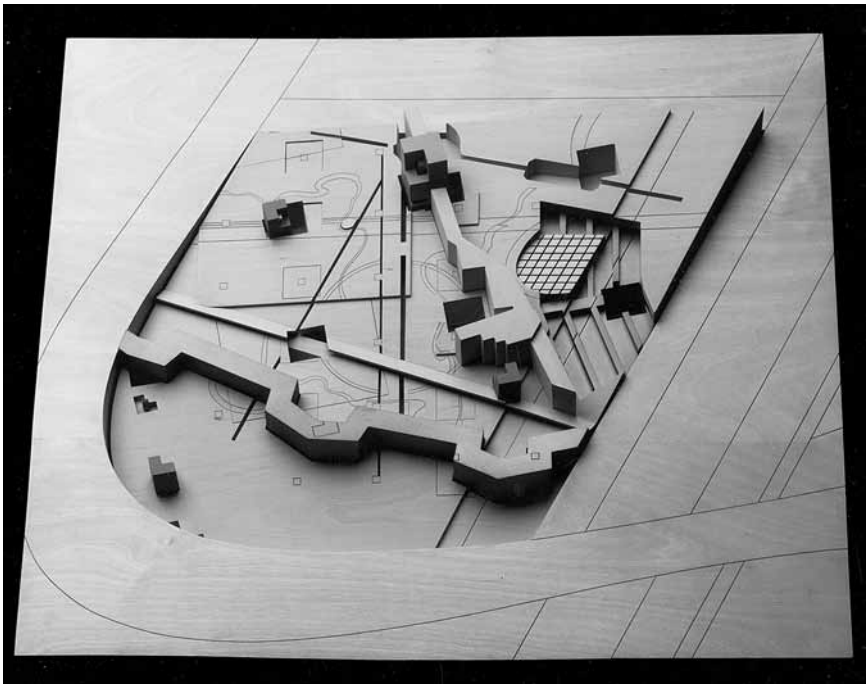
> *different architecturally. Why was it different architecturally? Because, Brunelleschi was trying to do something with the architecture. He did not give a damn about the function. And it functioned—as long as it functioned, it functioned.*
>
> *With architecture, I know I have got to solve certain functions, so that is in the back of my mind. But, I have to overcome the solving of the function and that solution is not what I call thematic. Because, the thematic is the architecture.*[26]

Eisenman's dissolution of the architectural function and his concentration on form during this stage of his career reflected a modernist avant-garde attitude that sought to create architecture for the sake of architecture. This is the thematic aspect of architecture, which Eisenman propounded. In their design methodology, architects do not have to address what seems to be external to architecture in and of itself; instead, architecture must evolve from architectural issues, Eisenman claimed. By positing this, he certainly did not claim that architecture need not address its political, social or cultural aspects; rather, as a practice that occupies a large slice of reality, architecture must use its tools to address all of these issues, in its own disciplinary way. However, this in no way means that Eisenman claimed architecture must be generated using political, social or cultural issues as distinctive guidelines to create the architectural space. On the contrary, if the architect is the form giver, then she or he must generate the formal presence of ideas and concepts, and the functional, social, political and cultural aspects will follow. They will emerge as the architectural entity is utilized by the users. Eisenman's formal articulation at this stage of his career viewed the form as an autonomous entity that must relate to its own properties. This perception led to the emergence of form as an independent entity that is not necessarily related to the reality it is meant to address.

EISENMAN, THE VOID, THE ABSENT AND THE PRESENT

Eisenman's research into the question of architectural language was further developed in the 1980s through his work with the French philosopher Jacques Derrida. Eisenman invited Derrida to take part in his proposal for the design competition for Parc de la Villette, an urban park on the outskirts of Paris, in which he decided to examine Plato's concept of the *chora*. Derrida was an excellent partner for the examination of this concept and its materialization by architecture, not only because of his background in philosophy, but also because he challenged concepts about spatiality that stemmed from classical philosophy. Most notable was Plato's concept of the *chora*. Plato defined the *chora* as a space or a site that is located somewhere between the intelligible and the sensible. The intelligible, according to Plato, stems from reason, from the world of ideas, whereas the sensible is related to the material world. Thus, Plato's *chora* lies between reason and matter, as it is neither the intelligible nor the sensible while at the same time being both. It can be manifested only in space as a means of creating place.[27]

In Derrida and Eisenman's book *Chora L Work*, which contains drawings, transcripts of the two years' work on the Parc de la Villette proposal and other material, the Derrida noted:



4.3 Eisenman Architects with Jacques Derrida, La Villette, Park, 1987. Model

> *Chora is something that—and this may lead to the right thing—something that cannot be represented. Chora cannot be represented, except negatively. You may not think of negative theology, but this would be wrong. It is nothing sacred or theological—it's a space. It is a space that cannot be represented, so it is a challenge to anything solid, to architecture as something built.*[28]

Here, Derrida took Plato's concept and expanded it with a discussion of a structure without origin, essence and hierarchy. For him, *chora* is the non-material as well as the non-ideal; it is the means of allocating space and creating a spatial condition without orientation and direction.

Eisenman took from the Derridian discourse on *chora* several concepts related to making the absent present, and vice versa, and related them to spatial existence. If *chora* is somewhere between the ideal and the material, then anyone dealing with the concept in architectural terms must deal with in between conditions of architectural presence and absence. For Eisenman, the material aspect of architecture is always present and the ideal is absent and their interchange leads to the possibility of creating a space that would provide a new condition for human existence, a place that is not necessarily intelligible or sensible. In *Chora L Work*, he defined this condition as a means of decentering the human subject outside of his or her anthropocentric positioning in the world:

> *In the work that we have been doing, we distinguish between the presence of absence and the absence of presence. It is through this distinction that we attempt to activate absence and operate simultaneously with presence and absence in a critique of the anthropocentric tradition, which represses absence.*

> *What we are trying to do is to create an architectural text, which while centering, at the same time speak of an other, a decentering.*[29]

It is here that Eisenman develops a deconstructivist discourse about the role of architecture and its place in the world as a text, beyond its material presence. Yet for him, as for his counterpart Daniel Libeskind, the primary means of achieving the decentering of the human subject is through the concept of the void, since it provides a way to generate new modes of reference in and by architecture.

Libeskind stressed this discourse in his design of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, where he referred to the issue of absence and presence by architectural means of ostensible non-representations. For Libeskind, the concept of the void alludes to absence and presence. This void is manifest in the intersections of the two building parts—the straight and the zigzag—where an implied absence, a void, is left. It is also evident in Libeskind's references throughout the creation of the building, which include a reference is to Arnold Schoenberg's unfinished opera *Moses und Aaron*. Schoenberg's inability to complete the opera brought to mind the stuttering of Moses, who also could not express himself; he, like Moses, was present and absent with his words. Libeskind also referred to the list of the Jewish people absent from Berlin. Here, again, Libeskind refers to a long roster of absent people that are only made present by the appearance of their names on the list.

These references served as a means of determining the location of the Jewish Museum in Berlin through an abstract matrix that Libeskind created. By developing this method, Libeskind, in fact, tried to take architecture into a new realm where the material is abstracted into a condition of non-presence. If traditionally architecture followed a linear mode of thinking in which a concept is rationalized and then materialized in built form, Libeskind tried to maintain this process in absolute continuation. The concept that he developed—namely, the void together with the abstracted matrix—steers the design methodology and serves as a means of devising the building's form and organization, but it never actually concludes. That is because, on the one hand, it is impossible to realize the non-realizable void, and on the other hand, the matrix as an abstract machine, as termed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari,[30] which does not function as a mechanism based on cause and effect. On the contrary, it seeks to be based on the discontinuation of the two.

While both Eisenman and Libeskind were considered part of the deconstructivist trend that emerged in European and North American architecture from the early 1980s and while both referred to similar terms in the deconstructivist discourse, their perception and interpretation of presence and absence in and by architecture was somewhat different. Libeskind leaned toward symbolic representation that alluded to the discourse of the sublime, the inconceivable and the non-representational. The absent is that which is not quantifiable and therefore cannot be perceived or grasped. Indeed, the absent or the voided may leave traces, yet in Libeskind's work, these traces are only references that allude to previous presence but cannot make them materialize in any way in the present, they only emphasize

the absence. Eisenman also refers to the traces that absence leaves, yet unlike Libeskind, his conceptualization of this concept does not try to conclude with the presence of absence through the symbolic or any other means of representation, nor does it try to demarcate the once presented. Instead, Eisenman posits the question of presence, absence and voids to challenge architectural traditions and especially architectural significations. As Eisenman's partner, Cynthia Davidson, describes:

> *Whether moving backward or forward in time, the void, the presence and absence, appears repeatedly in Eisenman's work. In a continuing confrontation with meaning and signification, in a struggle to overcome the truths of vision that dominate how architecture is perceived and experienced, Eisenman relies again and again on process as a way to "free architecture of its own traditional language and concerns," that is, from presence as a manifestation of truth.*[31]

Thus, for Eisenman, absence functions as a subverting mechanism that tries to create conditions in which the material presence does not allude to an absolute reference. Instead, it attempts to create multiple references and thereby deconstruct the definitive articulation of architectural presence. It is a condition in which architecture becomes an open-ended utterance, which is not necessarily direct and that carries no specific signification.

Eisenman and Libeskind's differing perception of the void, the absence and the presence of architecture later resurfaced in the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. In the Extension to the Berlin Museum with the Jewish Department (the project's official name), Libeskind used the concept of presence and absence to refer to the negative, to demarcate loses, the destruction, the voidance. It is here that he creates a condition of the unquantifiable through the concept of the void. The voided space is unquantifiable and cannot be represented by any symbolic means. This, of course, poses a profound paradox: how can a void exist in a practice such as architecture that celebrates existence? How can a void exist in a practice based on material and spatial existence? Libeskind leaves these questions open, only allocating spaces that generate this paradox.

In Eisenman's work, the issue of absence, presence and void are generative and productive. It is a way to search for a new meaning in architecture, one that does not stem from a reference to an existing term, but a new term that might emerge out of the void that Eisenman's discourse offers. Davidson identifies two of Eisenman's projects—the Aronoff Center for Design and Art in Cincinnati and the Nunotani Corporation Headquarters in Tokyo—as including active voids.

The design center was built between 1988 and 1996 to house the University of Cincinnati's College of Design, Art, Architecture and Planning and an art center. The Tokyo project was built between 1990 and 1992 to serve as the headquarters of the international commercial design company. Each project stemmed from intensive research on its spatial organization through the development of geometrical analysis related to the geometry of its building site. The scheme for each building concluded with voided parts in the spatial organization, with no specific signification. As Davidson explains:

4.4 Eisenman Architects, Aronoff Center for Design and Art, University of Cincinnati, 1988–96. East entry, upper level

> *… A deep analysis of the site projected onto the strictly formal manipulation of geometric, often L-shaped form, produces voids that become more purposeful than in House II. No longer the excavation in the periphery, these voids are active spaces that change how the building is viewed and occupied. In the Nunotani building, the void is an expanding vertical volume of light that breaks up large office floor plates; at the Aronoff, it is still a tall central space around and through which students and faculty circulate, with ever-changing views of both the building and its inhabitants*[32]

In these two projects, Eisenman does not use the voids to allude to an absence of something that used to be present. Instead, they are used to mark the absence of something that will be present in the future. Thus, he creates voids that generate new ways to perceive the buildings they occupy in relation to their initial programmatic and spatial organizations.

In terms of the architectural language, Eisenman's inquiry into the question of presence and absence posits a new structure for architectural signification, as it does not suggest fixed meanings for architectural utterances. In Eisenman's worldview, the structure of architectural language carries no clear content at the moment of its utterance. On the contrary, it attempts to remain undecided, without clear signification, offering instead a framework for a content that will emerge in the future. This structure is initiated as an empty condition into which content is later infused. For Eisenman, this process allows the absent, as a concept that alludes to the nonexistent, to become present, thus providing a mechanism for the emergence of new modes of concept-making in architecture.

4.5 Eisenman Architects, Nunotani Corporation Headquarters, Tokyo, Japan, 1990–92

TIMELESSNESS AND SPACELESSNESS IN THE VIENNA HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL

Concurrent with the conception of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin (at this stage with Richard Serra), Eisenman had a chance to speculate about architecture, memory and the Holocaust in the competition to design the Holocaust Memorial in Vienna. The Austrian–Jewish Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal, a Holocaust survivor who wanted to commemorate the 65,000 Austrian Jews that were murdered by the Nazis, initiated the competition. His action was a result of the controversy created by the Memorial against War and Fascism in Vienna. Designed by the Austrian sculptor Alfred Hrdlicka, in this memorial, the Jewish people are portrayed naked in a way that was considered undignified by most of Viennese Jewry. To compensate for the ill feelings aroused by this controversy, Wiesenthal proposed the erection of a new monument that would commemorate only the murdered Jewish people. He invited several leading architects and artists from Europe, North America and Israel to take part in a competition, including Rachel Whiteread, Karl Prantl and Peter Waldbauer, Michael Clegg and Martin Guttman, Ilya Kabakov, and Peter Eisenman.

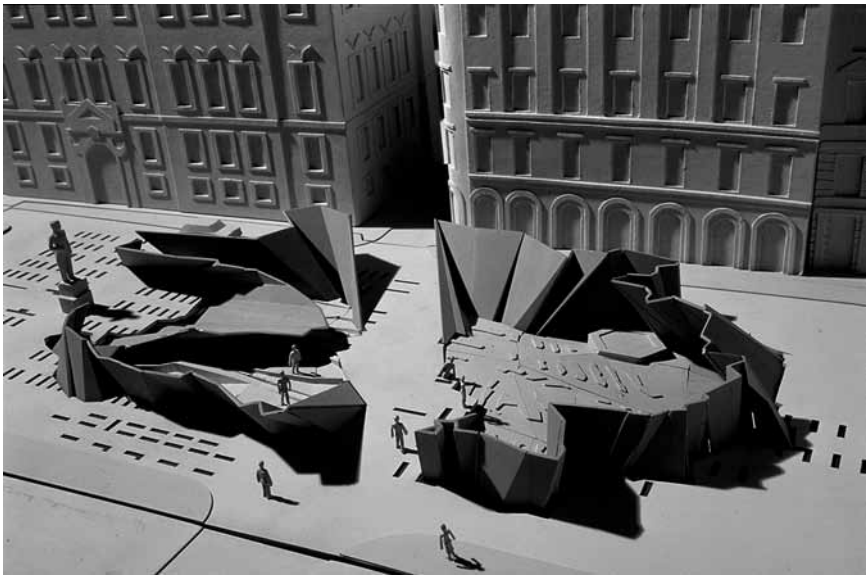
Whiteread won the competition with a design of a memorial that referred to the Jews as the people of the book. The British artist, who was known for casting large concrete installations, composed a memorial consisting of hundreds of books cast in concrete and organized on cast-concrete shelves; the books' spines faced inward so that their title and author cannot be seen. Together, the hundreds of books create a shed-like concrete box measuring 7×10×4 meters. To complete the installation, Whiteread added cast-concrete doors without knobs. She wanted to

demarcate the inability to go inside the monument, which, in fact, does not provide a space but is constituted only of solid matter. In this monument, Whiteread offered a concept diametrically opposed to the ideas expressed by her contemporaries. Unlike Libeskind or Eisenman in Berlin, Whiteread dealt with the absence of the Jewish people not with abstracted or voided space, but with the material presence; hence, she referred to the Judeo-Christian tradition of symbolizing absence caused by death with the material presence of a tombstone.

In October 2000, Wiesenthal unveiled the monument, which was installed in Judenplatz Square in the heart of Vienna. This location carried a special signification as the site of remnants of a medieval Jewish synagogue that was burned when restrictions were imposed on Viennese Jews in the early fifteenth century. The remnants were unearthed while the foundation for Whiteread's monument was being dug, causing some delay in the construction. Some Viennese Jews saw in the synagogue remnants sufficient reference to Jewish suffering and wanted to use the ruins without any additions as the means for commemorating the Holocaust. Others viewed locating the monument at this site as a symbolic act, returning Jewish memory to a place from which the Jews had been expelled and attempting to make the reason for their expulsion—the book—once again present there. Those who supported using the synagogue ruins for Holocaust commemoration proposed moving Whiteread's monument to another location.

But the construction delay also resulted from criticism of Whiteread's monument by other groups of Austrians. In the 1990s, right-wing parties gained power and Jorg Haider's far-right Freedom Party (FPO) entered the coalition government. This trend in Austrian politics created some sensitivity around the monument's construction. Whiteread, for her part, rejected all criticism and declared that if the monument were moved, she would withdraw her proposal and a new competition would have to be announced. She demanded that the monument stay in its original location, while trying to integrate the remnants into the memorial site as a whole. Eventually, the remains were housed in a small museum and Whiteread's monument was installed in the square as initially planned. Nevertheless, it is no wonder that it took six years to complete the monument and unveil it at a crowded ceremony in autumn 2000.

Eisenman's proposal was somewhat different. Similar to Whiteread, he referred to symbols emanating from the Holocaust, but unlike her design, he did not keep the symbols' initial properties. Instead, he abstracted and changed their scale and properties, creating a new constellation by interrelating them in a new manner. Eisenman's design consisted of three layers. The first layer was based on two maps of Vienna's Jewish Ghetto—one dating from 1421 and the other from 1678—which were scaled down to fit into Judenplatz Square. The second layer was a map representing the Anschluss (the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany on March 13, 1938), which was also scaled down to fit the square's dimensions. In his drawings, Eisenman positioned the two maps of the Viennese Jewish Ghetto three meters below ground level of the current square, while the Anschluss map was positioned three meters above ground. To link the territorial representations conveyed by these maps, Eisenman connected the contours of the maps by random lines that created faceted surfaces. These surfaces



4.6 Eisenman Architects, Monument and Memorial Site Dedicated to the Jewish Victims of the Nazi Regime in Austria 1938–45, Vienna, Austria, 1995–6. Competition entry model

were to be built from steel plates, enclosing an inner space. Thus, upon entering the enclosed space, a visitor to the monument would have been contained in a triple representation—the two ghettos and the Anschluss map—embedded within the reality of Judenplatz Square. Changing the size of the maps and their superimposition would have annulled the significance of scale and location, placing the human subject in an omnipresent location—being present in several places simultaneously.

To complete his design, Eisenman proposed a third layer—an inscription of a scaled-down plan of Auschwitz in the ground of Judenplatz Square. With this inscription, Eisenman introduced another locality into the monument's context and superimposed this layer upon the other ones. The idea behind this superimposition, Eisenman declared, was to "represent the extreme of reason, of rationality gone mad, in its hyper-ordered grid of buildings and fences, to suggest that under the laudable reason of the Enlightenment lays the possibility of inhumane reason."[33] Reason is challenged throughout the monument as a whole, which gives expression to new ways to deal with the complex topic. Thus, for Eisenman, the monument in Vienna became a Talmudic operation, as it does not try to solve problems, to suggest a firm opinion, but rather to open questions, pose dilemmas and engender a debate about the topic. Additionally, as Eisenman declared, the monument space and its symbolic form were supposed to create an evocative experience, stemming from the various maps and plans that would allude to the past conditions of the Jewish people in Vienna. Their positioning did not reflect a clear reason and their location certainly did not follow a reasonable rule. As such, they proposed a multilayered experience conveyed by the space.

The implosion of information into one site and one structure—Eisenman's proposal—was in many ways a continuation of the idea of the void. In his proposal, Eisenman created a condition in which space and its derivatives—geography,

territory and mapping—were superimposed to create a multilayered space, a multilayered territory, a multilayered condition. Thus, he not only dissociated spatiality from its territorial connotation and contextualization, but also treated them as information that can be manipulated to create a formal presence that is not directly derived from the information itself. These representations were meant to create conditions that are not defined. Instead, they were "floating" freely under and above ground and had no specific signification. The only signification that can be attributed to them is the very fact that Eisenman uses them as a means of creating the monument's morphology. The maps lost their scale, becoming virtual representation in space. They were voided of any direct meaning, as was time. Organized randomly in Judenplatz Square, the maps did not reflect any chronology, or specific timeline. Their organization did not try to unify space and time in the location where the event took place. Space and time were not unified. Instead, they collapsed into a void, into a non-representational condition in which chronology and spatiality as historical conditions are determinative in the creation of the conditions of the present.

This attitude is typical of Eisenman's early work. In the Houses project of the 1960s and 70s, Eisenman was one of the leading architects that used axonometric representation to convey architecture. Unlike the perspective drawing, in which space and time intersect to create a representation of reality in one moment, the axonometric representation is constituted of multiple temporalities in which no dimension is shortened in order to create the perspectival representation. The axonometric representation is multi-temporal. In Vienna, Eisenman returned to this condition and created, in a different manner, the timeless and spaceless. Memory, in that respect, was not a matter of time but became a construct of the present that enfolded the past in a non-chronological way. Different frameworks of time and space intermingled and reflected memory.

THE BERLIN MEMORIAL

The Memorial in Berlin was a different story. Here, Eisenman left the concepts regarding absent and presence to which he referred in the 30 years preceding the evolution of the Berlin memorial—the void, the *chora*, and timeless and spaceless structures—and referred instead to the diagram as a means of conveying the idea of memory. In what follows, I will briefly outline the circumstances under which the proposal by Eisenman and Richard Serra was chosen and will analyze their proposal. The competition's history has been well-discussed; the best account can be found in the book *At Memory's Edge*[34] by James Young, who was involved in the selection of the Eisenman–Serra proposal. In this section, I will not repeat the whole story, but will address only the parts in which Eisenman was involved and their influence on his design, initially with Serra.

The competition for the Memorial in Berlin followed a controversy in Germany. Initiated in 1988 by talk show personality and journalist Leah Rosh and the Second World War historian Eberhard Jäckel, the Memorial was initially supposed to be located on the site of the former Gestapo Headquarters, where the Topography of

Terror, a foundation that deals with the perpetrators, now stands. Rosh and Jäckel sought a place that would connect the memorial to the events it addressed. The site of the Gestapo Headquarters was ideal, not only because of its former use, but also because it was in the center of Berlin and was part of the sequence of memorial sites. But the fall of the Berlin Wall led to the change of the site. On one hand, with the fall of the Wall, the memorial gained more credibility and was now contextualized as part of the return of the German nation to its old capital city. Some public figures argued that Germany could not return to its capital without commemorating the event that led to its division. Additionally, the fall of the Wall and Berlin's reunification made available vacant territories that had formerly been a no man's land in the heart of the divided city. The site originally intended for the Memorial was allocated to deal with the perpetrators. So the German government designated a new site for the Memorial next to the Brandenburg Gate, not far from the Reichstag and also close to places where buildings of the Nazi regime had once stood, among them Hitler's bunker and his Chancellery. Measuring roughly 20,000 square meters, the new site in the very heart of Berlin was an extremely valuable piece of real estate. The designation of this site despite its great monetary value also carried a symbolic meaning—namely, that money and market forces played no role in the choice.

With more than 500 proposals submitted to the competition, the jury made a joint selection, choosing the proposals of Christine Jackob-Marks, a Berlin-based architect, and of Simon Ungers, a New York-born artist who lived in Cologne. Their proposals resembled each other and the jury did not want to discriminate against either one by choosing a single proposal. Their idea was to integrate both proposals into one. Eventually, Jackob-Marks' proposal gained more prominence and was further developed. She proposed a thick concrete tombstone tilted and occupying the site as a whole, running from two meters high on its lower side to reach a height of seven and a half meters at its highest point. While the design was meant to make a huge impact, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl did not like the proposal and claimed it was undignified. He decided to withdraw the government's support for the construction of the monument, an act that had two effects: first, the cancellation of the jury's choice and second, the ignition of a huge debate in Germany. Leading newspapers, journalists, columnists, politicians and public figures commented on the thorny issue, discussing not only the fiasco of the selection and subsequent cancellation of Jackob-Marks' proposal, but also questioning the purpose of the Holocaust memorial in the heart of Berlin—and even whether such a project was necessary at all.

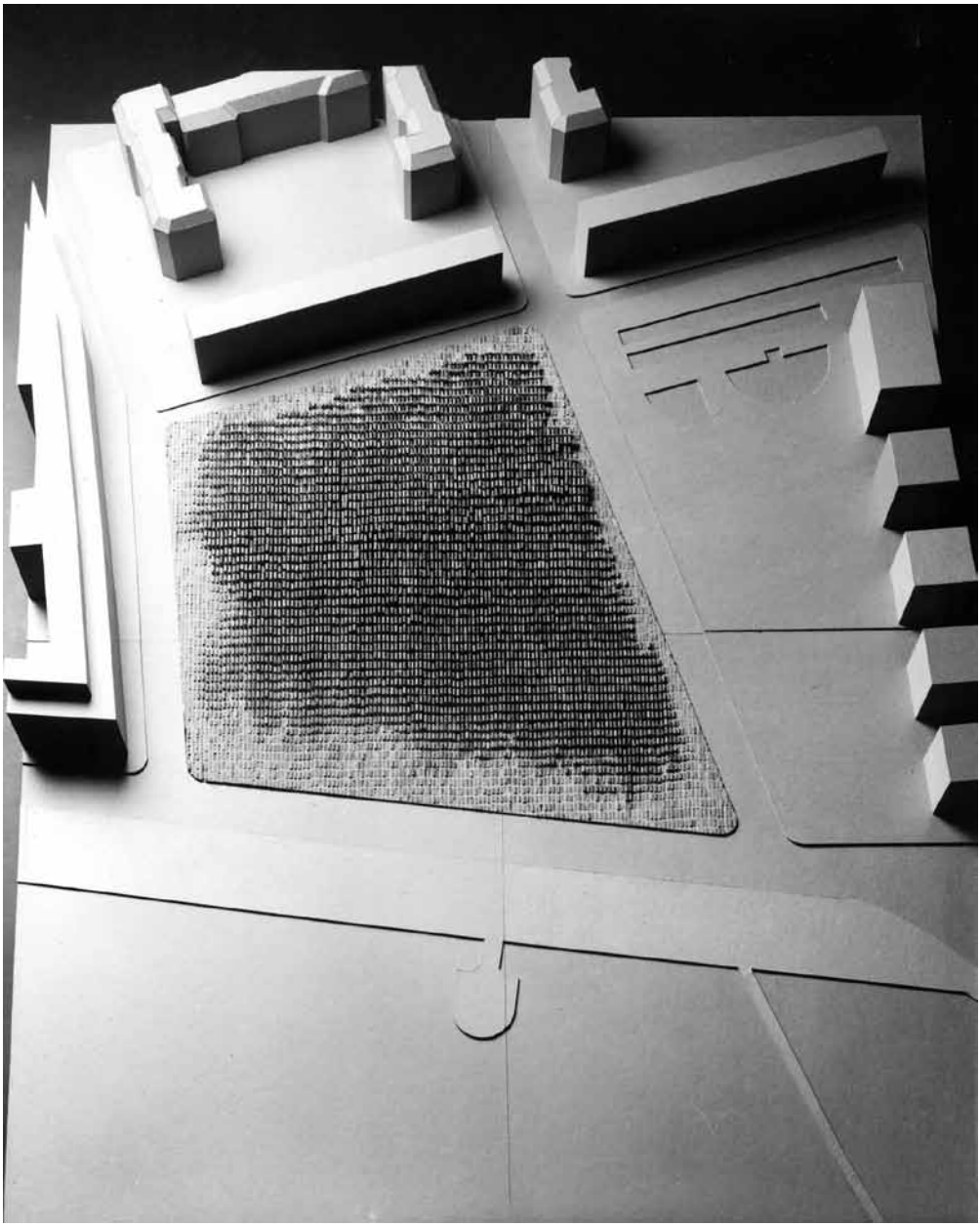
This intense, sometimes contentious, discussion resulted in the declaration of a new competition in 1997. Unlike the first competition, the new round was closed and participation was by invitation only. Those invited included the nine finalists from the first competition and about 10 world-renowned artists and architects such as Daniel Libeskind, Dani Karavan, Rachel Whiteread, James Turrell, Christian Boltanski, Jochen Gerz, Rudolf Herz and Reinhard Matz, Zvi Hecker, Gesine Weinmiller—and of course, Peter Eisenman and Richard Serra. Some of the invitees declined to participate: Whiteread did not want to enter another competition on the topic while she was still working on the monument in Vienna. Boltanski had

already designed a Holocaust memorial in Berlin—the *Missing House*, a building in the Mitte quarter that was bombed in 1945, where he marked the names of the missing families in the exposed walls of the building's interior. He decided not to participate in the competition. Turrell never replied to the invitation.

The proposals ranged from symbolic gestures to abstract ones. Karavan referred to one of the most prominent Holocaust symbols—the Star of David—and proposed planting a field of yellow flowers in this shape at the memorial site. The flowers' seasonal cycle of blossoming and withering was meant to symbolize the ever-recurring cycles of life and death. Similar to Whiteread in Vienna, Hecker was also somewhat symbolic and referred in his design to the concept of the Jews as the people of the book. His design consisted of several walls that were supposed to recall the pages of books. Text in Hebrew was to be engraved on the monument's walls and its surrounding ground. Libeskind took a more abstract approach, proposing a monument that he titled *Stone Breath*, which consisted of a broken wall located linearly throughout the site. The broken wall recalled the void in the Jewish Museum, creating echoes of each site within the other one. In a way, it was expected that Libeskind would propose a design of this type—not because he was unable to come up with new ideas on the topic, but because of the need to extend the idea of the void as portrayed in the museum into another context. In the museum, the absence of the Jewish people from the city is portrayed by the voids that intersect in the building. In the monument, these voids would have gained independence as freestanding elements, thus losing their contextualization. Whereas in the Jewish Museum, the voids are interwoven into the fabric of Jewish life as portrayed by the museum, in the monument they were free and without context, becoming mainly an aesthetic gesture without any textual significance.

Eventually, Libeskind's *Stone Breath* made it to the list of finalists together with three others: proposals by Jochen Gerz, Gesine Weinmiller, and Eisenman and Serra. In *Warum?* (Why?), Gerz wanted to erect 42 stainless steel pillars, each bearing the word Why? in a different language, that would create an interactive field. Weinmiller played with the word *chai*, the Hebrew word for "life," and symbolized it with 18 sandstones scattered in the site. In Gematria, a system of assigning numerical values to Hebrew letters, the word "*chai*" equals 18, hence the choice of the number of stones. Eisenman and Serra came up with the field of roughly 4,000 slabs that were meant to fill up the site. The slabs ranged in height from ground level to five meters high.

Kohl favored the latter proposal and even invited its two creators to Bonn, Germany's capital at the time, to present their idea. Even though the Germans favored Eisenman and Serra's proposal, they still wanted to reconsider some of its aspects. They felt the design would create a labyrinth that might be too claustrophobic to wander in, so they asked Eisenman and Serra to reduce the number of slabs and modify their sizes to make them more approachable. This was when Serra withdrew from the competition and decided to let Eisenman continue by himself. Serra felt it was unacceptable to be asked to change the design. Eisenman was more attentive to the ways in which the monument was going to be used by visitors and in 1998 came up with a new design, with fewer slabs that were also smaller in size. Although the new design called for about 3,000 slabs, the memorial ended up with 2,711 such columns.



4.7 Eisenman Architects with Richard Serra, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, competition model, 1998

4.8 Eisenman Architects, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, 1998–2005. Aerial view

Eisenman often tells a story about a New York yeshiva student who heard him lecturing about the monument. This student came to him and mentioned that the number of pages in the Talmud is equal to the numbers of pillars in the monument. This correspondence was thoroughly unintentional, of course, since Eisenman did not mean to have any symbolic meaning, but it did carry a mystical significance.

Architecturally, the choice of the field of slabs was imbued with other significance. On many occasions, Eisenman declared that the Memorial carries no symbolic significance and that his use of columns that could resemble tombstones or graves was not deliberate. In fact, Eisenman never referred to or revealed his intention in designing the field of slabs. This might have been deliberate, out of a desire to keep the significance of the Memorial open to endless interpretations. Indeed, had he described and interpreted his own work in a manner akin to Libeskind's formulation of the discourse around the Jewish Museum, the entire discourse about the Memorial could not have ignored it. Avoiding any explanation of the references he and Serra initially used for the design helped to preserve the Memorial as an open text awaiting interpretation.

In fact, both architectural scholars and visitors interpreted the formal configuration of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin in several ways. Some did see in its formal configuration a graveyard with tombstones. Others thought the grid configuration of the slabs resembled the organization of a city. This interpretation is interesting because it refers to the similar configuration of American cities. The grid layout of American cities stemmed from a wish to create a democratic arrangement.[35] Although it seems artificial and nonorganic, the urban grid was perceived as a means of imposing human organization on nature. As a system that has no beginning and no end, the grid was also referred to as enabling endless growth.

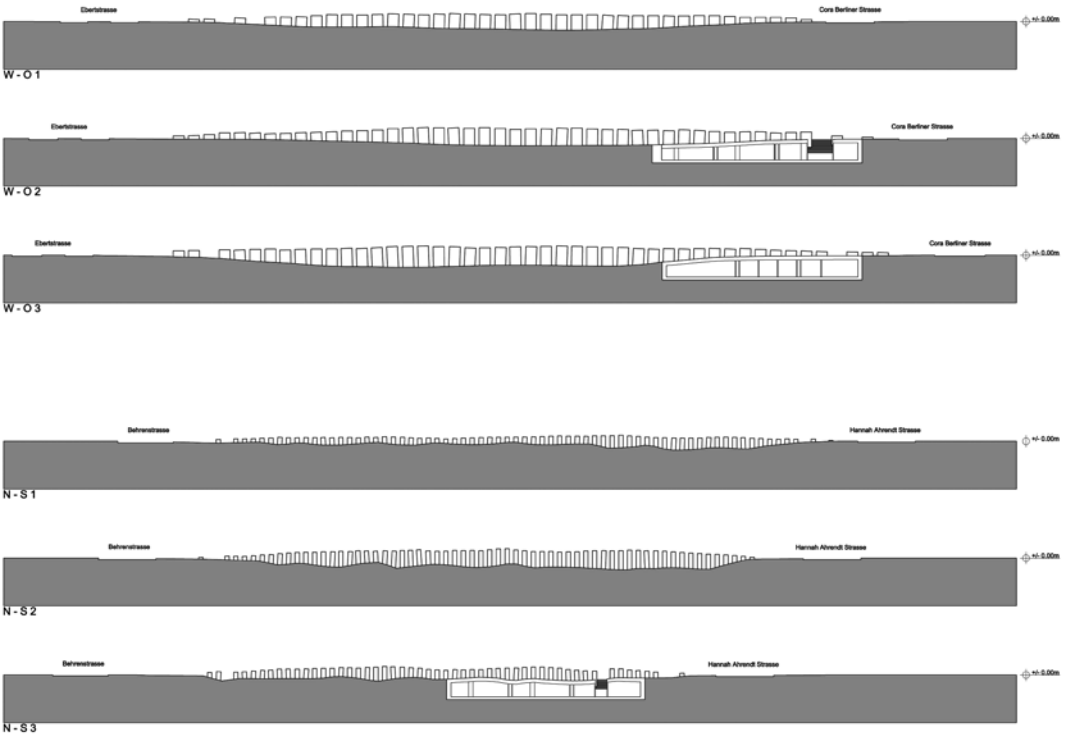
These notions about the grid were associated with the Memorial in Berlin for several reasons. The democratic arrangement of cities provided by the urban grid, in which each slot in the city grid was treated equally, was associated with the equality of death, the idea that all dead people should be recalled equally. Additionally, the grid's open-ended configuration helped to create a conceptual field condition in which the Memorial, like a city, is able to grow endlessly. Thus, the Memorial has no beginning and no end; at its peripheral boundaries, it fades into the ground leaving an impression that it could continue endlessly.

In art and architectural theory, the grid is also referenced in other contexts. Rosalind Krauss discussed the grid in the early twentieth century in relation to abstraction. In her seminal essay "Grids," she mentions that "the grid announces, among other things, modern art's will to silence, its hostility to literature, to narrative, to discourse."[36] Undoubtedly, Eisenman was aware of Krauss' discourse on the grid. They both moved in the same circles in New York City and their intellectual backgrounds were similar. Krauss' discussion of the grid in relation to early twentieth century avant-gardes is closely connected to Eisenman's interests and intellectual concerns. In his work, Eisenman dealt with issues of autonomy and self-referential expression, in a similar way to ideas prevailing in early twentieth century avant-garde artistic circles. As Krauss related these tendencies to early twentieth century artistic expression:

> *In the spatial sense, the grid states the autonomy of the realm of art. Flattened, geometricized, ordered, it is antinatural, antimimetic, antireal. It is what art looks like when it turns its back to nature. In the flatness that results from its coordinates, the grid is the means of crowding out the dimensions of the real and replacing them with the lateral result not of imitation, but of aesthetic decree. Insofar as its order is that of pure relationship, the grid is a way of abrogating the claims of natural objects to have an order particular to themselves; the relationships in the aesthetic field are shown by the grid to be in a world apart and, with respect to natural objects, to be both prior and final.*[37]

In many ways, Eisenman's Memorial functions in a similar fashion. It tries to be located outside of Holocaust or architectural narratives; it attempts to be anti-mimetic; and it has an order that is particular to itself. In that respect, the grid functions well as a mechanism that can be associated with Eisenman's complete oeuvre. Since the mid-1960s, Eisenman has been occupied with architectural autonomy—an occupation that was manifested in Berlin once again.

Another aspect emphasizing the Memorial's autonomy is the undulating ground in which its 2,711 columns are planted. The surface movement makes visitors climb up and down while they wander among the pillars, which intensifies their changing height. Pillars that are seen one way may be perceived in a new way by someone moving on the undulating surface. At the same time, the surface makes the visitor aware of his or her bodily existence. The issue of movement on oblique surfaces was explored in the 1960s by architects and theoreticians such as Claude Parent and Paul Virilio.[38] For them, it was a way to curtail the regime of the eye as the primary sense that dictates and directs human movement throughout



4.9 Eisenman Architects, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, 1998–2005. Section drawing

the architectural space. In recent years, architectural discourse and practice have returned to reexamine the inclined surface. Projects such Foreign Office Architects' (FOA) Yokohama Port Terminal and UN Studio's Mobius House proposed new ways to interpret the architectural surface based on folding processes. In Mobius House, the folded surface did not address the body's performance in the architectural realm; rather, it challenged the architectural program. UN Studio also sought ways to create programmatic continuity, this time on continuous surface based on a twisted-ribbon configuration. In Yokohama, FOA interwove various programmatic aspects into continuous spatiality. Eisenman's undulating surface in the Memorial in many ways is also trying to examine how the folded surface affects the architectural realm. Eisenman's program was somewhat limited as it mainly addressed issues of memory and commemoration. Thus, the programmatic aspect of the undulating surface was minor and the bodily movement as the main operation on the surface became the primary issue.

Eisenman drew heavy critical fire for the Memorial's lack of historical reference, concentration on the human body and movement, and its autonomy. Some representatives of Berlin's Jewish community felt the Memorial was not "Jewish enough." They thought it was too abstracted, and since it carried no Jewish symbolism or Holocaust narratives, too far distanced from its "purpose." This might be why the Memorial's directors decided to add a subterranean Information Center, which offers a brief history of the Second World War and the Holocaust, told through the eyes of several Jewish families.

4.10 Eisenman Architects, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, 1998–2005. One room in the Information Center

The Information Center did not try to tell the in the same way as Holocaust museums all over the world; rather, it was meant to complete the Memorial with information that would frame the whole project in relation to the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis. To do this, Eisenman delicately extruded the slabs downward into the subterranean area and used the grid they formed above ground as a way to organize the display underground. Eisenman's use of the same design strategy—the slabs—connected the Memorial's upper and lower sections conceptually. Thus, visitors to the Memorial are located not only in the same geographical position, but they start with the tectonic experience on the ground and then delve into an informational experience underground that uses a somewhat similar means of expression.

The connection between the Memorial's upper and lower parts, however, did not affect Eisenman's initial idea. The Memorial is still an open-ended architectural condition in which visitors feel free in many ways: some play tag, climb on the slabs and jump from one to the other, while others have their lunch among the columns and so on. These activities are challenged and sometimes reinforced by the Memorial's undulating surface. Moreover, the site's guards often interfere by asking visitors to behave in a way that is considered proper for a memorial site. The clash between the condition the Memorial provides and the dictated mode of behavior can be seen as both a bottom-up and a top-down interpretation of the memorial site. For Eisenman, the Memorial as an open text had to allow the emergence of non-dictated behaviors; as an open condition, it must allow the "reading" of the architectural text in multiple ways. These "readings" are conveyed through the appropriation of the site in any given way. On the other hand, the top-down interpretation dictates the ways in which the Memorial should be appropriated, delineating how architecture must be used.

Eisenman, obviously, could not foresee the ways in which the Memorial would be appropriated. He could only create the open-ended condition and wait for future behaviors to emerge. This, of course, did not include all modes of behavior; indeed,

4.11 Eisenman Architects, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, 1998–2005. Exceptional behavior in the memorial

4.12 Eisenman Architects, Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, 1998–2005. Playfulness in the memorial

it would not be unreasonable to assume that some extreme behaviors would not be tolerated by Eisenman himself as activities appropriate for the Memorial site. The limits of these activities cannot be tested as the security guards do not even allow routine daily activities (having lunch, playing tag) to take place. Yet the chase game that visitors "play" with the guards exposes two main issues: first, the level of daily activities the visitors are willing to perform at the site and secondly, the level of guarding enforced there. With respect to the latter, the guard policy at the Memorial site is not really harsh, so some activities are allowed to take place briefly before being stopped by the guards. While the German authorities could have enforced stricter guarding policies, the current policy does permit the release of some behaviors that the visitors are willing to execute. This condition exposes the level of daily activities that are tolerated within the context of Holocaust commemoration and in relation to the security policy. Eisenman's Memorial functions as the condition in which this "play" takes place, challenging both the bottom-up-visitor interpretation of the place and the top-down-authorities' tolerance toward the integration of daily activities into the context of Holocaust commemoration.

* * *

The Memorial's autonomy, its lack of direct reference and its tectonics can be understood in relation to Eisenman's diagrammatic architecture. In recent years, Eisenman's work has addressed the diagram and offered new understanding of this architectural tool. Historically, the diagram was used as a means of organizing information and as a way to create of new architectural realm. Christopher Alexander was one of the most prominent theoreticians to adopt this method in the mid-1960s when he used the diagram as a positivistic tool to calculate new data in order to create architecture. In his seminal book *The Synthesis of Form*,[39] he already employs diagrams for the interrelation of data in a spatial manner, defining diagram as "any pattern which, by being abstracted from a real situation, conveys the physical influence of certain demands or forces."[40] For him, the diagram is a starting point for the synthesis of data, which, indeed, reduces the data into an abstracted representation, but does not try to break the connection between the diagram as a representational tool and the data it is supposed to represent.

Eisenman, who had a long history of objections to Alexander's work, used the diagram in a completely different manner. For him, the diagram was not a representational tool; rather, it was meant to offer a generative mechanism. To that end, Eisenman employed the diagram as a mechanism that does not refer to specific data as fixed meanings, but serves as a mechanism for interpretation of existing data, one that is supposed to create new meanings. In Eisenman's operation, the diagram stems from an existing condition but then tries to release itself from any ties to the initial reference. The diagram, therefore, is a mechanism that organizes information but does not act as a signifier of previous notions, thus opening new understandings of the issues it addresses.

Eisenman used the diagram frequently and in diverse ways, as Robert E. Somol showed in his essay "Dummy Text, or The Diagrammatic Basis of Contemporary Architecture" in the book *Diagram Diaries*.[41] The Memorial in Berlin, however, is the most well-defined example of Eisenman's diagrammatic operation. The Memorial as an architectural text does not try to refer old notions of the event it represents. Unlike the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, it does not refer to any symbolism related to the Holocaust. It also avoids referring to more abstract Holocaust-related notions, for instance, abstract references to death such as those in Yad Vashem's anti-space memorials (Safdie's Yad Layeled or the New Historical Museum). Instead, Eisenman's memorial keeps its references open and ambiguous. It is not quite clear what the columns in the memorial are referring to. A cityscape? A graveyard? And what is the columns' significance in relation to the movement in and around them? As an architectural text, the Memorial in Berlin is open ended, still waiting to be interpreted. It might carry many meanings and significations and ideas that are yet to become. While it does diagram the event it is supposed to represent, it tries to make something new out of it.

In many ways, Eisenman here follows the definitions of the diagrammatic discussed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their groundbreaking book *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.[42] Deleuze and Guattari connect the discussion of the diagram to the modes of signification, distinguishing the diagram from the index, the icon and the symbol as a means of representation. The index, they posit, creates the tightest connection between the signifier and the signified. That is because the index as a mode of representation attempts to be the closest to that which it tries to represent. The icon, for Deleuze and Guattari, only pertains to signification. It is secondary in the connection between the signified and the signifier as it allows a certain freedom in the mode of representation. Here, the representational aspect of the signified is abstracted while maintaining some relation to the represented so they are visually and figuratively connected. The symbol is tertiary, as it does not try to maintain any connection between the signified and the signifier. This mode of representation is completely independent of the signified, with no connection to it whatsoever. Only the cultural and social agreement ties the signified and signifier together in this case. Any word or concept in human language is constructed on this notion. As in the work of the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand De Saussure, language is constructed in this fashion as the synchronization between an item from reality and its representation by language, which is not related to it formally.

Yet, it must be stressed that even when there is a large distance between the signifier and signified, as in the case of symbolic representation, these modes of representation still maintain a connection between the signified and the signifier. The signified posits the reference to which the signified has to refer. In the process of signification, they try to maintain a level of meaning that is conveyed by the referenced issue—the icon on a higher level, the symbol on a lower one. In Holocaust commemoration, this could be through symbols taken from the event itself or historical facts. The historical event sets the reference that architecture as a historical text in three dimensions—material, spatial and structural—tries to represent.

The diagram, on the other hand, does not attempt to signify, but rather to set a condition of something that is yet to become, according to Deleuze and Guattari. It is an open system that is seeks signification in future constructions and not in the past. As such, it is a reference for the future. While it does relate to an existing condition, it does not try to represent it. Instead, it tries to open new meanings related to the signified, that is, it does not lose connection with the signified but at the same time it is not committed to its original meaning and signification.

Eisenman's memorial rests on this notion. It constructs a signification system of a meaning that is yet to become. The non-symbolic configuration of the Memorial, the very fact that it does not refer to any symbolism related directly to the Holocaust, makes it possible to associate the monument with multiple meanings while retaining a notion related to the event. This does not mean that someone seeing the Memorial would immediately know its role as a commemorative act for the Jewish people murdered by the Nazis. Yet at the same time, the Memorial as an architectural text well serves its function of relating to the topic it addresses, making it plausible to accept it as a commemoration of the Holocaust.

It is this open-ended construction that allows the insertion of new activities that carry new meanings into the Memorial context and thus to Holocaust commemoration. The Memorial's open-ended aspect allows the appropriation of the Holocaust as an event that does not have a closed and tight signification but rather an event that can absorb everyday activities into its scope without losing its primary role. It is here that Eisenman creates the most unique opportunity for Holocaust commemoration, one that does not try to dictate meaning and experience, but rather allows new notions to enter our relationship to the Holocaust.

NOTES

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3 Peter Eisenman, *The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture*, (Baden, 2006).

4 Eisenman, *Performalism.*

5 For more about Eisenman's discourse on deconstruction in architecture see: Jacques Derrida and Peter Eisenman, *Chora L Works*, (New York, 1997).

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7 Eisenman, *Performalism.*

8 Yiddish for praying and slightly swaying in place.

9 Eisenman, *Performalism.*

10 James Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-image of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, (New Haven, 2000).

11 Oppositions, (New York, 1973–84).

12 Eisenman, *The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture*.

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14 That was mainly through the publication of his book: Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, (London, 1962).

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25 Peter Eisenman, *House of Cards*, (New York, 1987).

26 Eisenman, *Performalism*.

27 Plato, *The Timaeus of Plato*, (New York, 1973).

28 Jacques Derrida, "Chora," in Jacques Derrida and Peter Eisenman, *Chora L Works*, p. 10.

29 Peter Eisenman, *Chora L Work*, p. 9.

30 Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, (London, 1988), pp. 141–2.

31 Cynthia Davidson, *Tracing Eisenman: Peter Eisenman Complete Works*, (New York, 2006), p. 29.

32 Cynthia Davidson, *Tracing Eisenman*, p. 30.

33 Peter Eisenman, "Holocaust Memorial, Vienna," in *Any* 15, (New York, 1996).

34 James Young, *At Memory's Edge*.

35 Martin Leslie, "The Grid as Generator," in *Architectural Research Quarterly*, 4, (2000), pp. 309–22.

36 Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), p. 9.

37 Ibid., pp. 11–12.

38 Claude Parent and Paul Virilio, *The Function of the Oblique*, (London, 1996).

39 Alexander, *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*.

40 Ibid.

41 Somol, "Dummy Text, or The Diagrammatic Basis of Contemporary Architecture."

42 Deleuze and Guatteri, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

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Epilogue: Presencing the Holocaust

THE PHYSICALITY OF THE HOLOCAUST

The extent to which the Holocaust is present in the life of each one of us differs. Its presence is obviously a matter of each individual's cultural, social, political and personal circumstances. For Israelis, the Holocaust is part of their daily lives; it is embedded in life systems and constantly referred to in politics, cultural and social practices. Jewish people all over the world also deal with the Holocaust, not necessarily on a national scale (as in Israel, for instance), but through communal or personal means of expression. For Germans and Poles, the Holocaust, naturally, takes place in another dimension and has other meanings. The Holocaust might also be present for those who are not personally related to the horrific historical event but are connected to its significance. The level and scope of the Holocaust's presence in our lives also depends on the means that make that presence possible. In some cases, it could be through textual means of communication, while in others, it may be through visual and cinematic means. In both cases, Holocaust representation as a historical event through the use of informational, fictional or other modes of expression can serve to make it present in one's consciousness as a virtual or actual event.

In this book, I examined another dimension in which the Holocaust is made present, namely, architecture. My main interest was to study the ways in which architecture makes the Holocaust present in our lives by using its physical dimension. As discussed in the introduction to this book, architecture's main mode of expression, as a cultural, social, personal and political practice, is primarily the physical dimension. Architecture relies on its physicality to convey ideas, create environments, occupy a slice of reality and exist. This does not mean that other modes of expression do not rely on the physical dimension in order to exist. Books, for instance, have a physical dimension, as do films, paintings and other cultural and artistic modes of expression. Nevertheless, it is in architecture that the physical dimension becomes the leading mechanism of expression. This is also the case regarding representation of a historical event such as the Holocaust.

The physicality of architecture becomes the main vehicle in its attempts to relate to the subject matter and make it present in the real world.

In this book, I outlined four different cases in which the physicality of architecture brings up several ways in which the Holocaust has to be considered through the architectural medium. The chapter on the Ghetto Fighters' House in Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz in Western Galilee questions the familiarity created by the physicality of architecture. The physical dimension of architecture can alienate the users, who would not feel at home there. That is because it may not come across as a familiar context, one that the users can relate to, appropriate and use. In this case, architecture could distance the users and would not allow them to feel at home. In the chapter on the Ghetto Fighters' House, I discussed the building's history and the context that led to its construction to show how the physicality of architecture could either alienate or accommodate its users—even when it comes to creating a physical presence of a horrific event such as the Holocaust. The museum started out as a tent in which random artifacts from wartime Europe were displayed, then moved into a generic box-like structure, and eventually into the museum building that resembled, on the one hand, a fortress in Eastern Europe and, on the other hand, some type of synagogue. The physicality of architecture in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz was a reflection of the community that conceived and executed it. Thus, architecture's physicality and the ways in which it was reflected in the Ghetto Fighters' Kibbutz related to the Holocaust in two ways: on the one hand, it was dignified and respectful and, on the other, everyday and mundane. The structures they left behind in Europe had been the daily context for the initiators of the project. Thus, these structures served as a reference for the everyday perception of the development of the Ghetto Fighters' House. The awe that Bickels's design conveyed contextualized the new building as a dignified entity. Together, they created a physical realm to which the users could relate and appropriate as their own way of Holocaust representation.

In Yad Vashem, the question of architecture's physicality in relation to the Holocaust is addressed through its mode of configuration. The physical appearance of architecture can take on many forms: it may be physical through buildings, according to their various typologies; as monuments that are more constrained in their physicality and their mode of existence; as megastructures; or in any other mode—scaled down, in open space, enclosed and so forth. Architecture's mode of appearance affects the ways in which it operates. Buildings as an architectural typology use architecture's physical aspects as a means of integrating several functions or architectural elements, thus creating a coherent way to use and consume space. Monuments are more limited in their programmatic abilities and are usually used to convey a single message. Through their enormous scale, megastructures try to be even more inclusive than a building and to integrate a whole city in one entity. On the Yad Vashem campus, the configuration of the various buildings and monuments exploited the potential existing in the diversity of architectural physicality, yet as shown in the chapter, the main issue at Yad Vashem was the territoriality of architecture. Indeed, architecture needs territory in order to exist. No building, monument, square, street or other architectural element can exist without territory. Yet at Yad Vashem, the use of territory goes

beyond the presumption that architecture needs territory to exist and makes territory the main aspect of architecture. In that sense, the issue of territory takes on additional meaning at Yad Vashem: if territory is a defined spatiality—one that can be recognized, demarcated, characterized and singled out of a larger spatial condition—then at Yad Vashem, the territory as a preconfigured spatial condition combines the "here" (Jerusalem hills) and the "there" (Europe during the war) into one spatial configuration. In that respect, the inclination at Yad Vashem to address the Holocaust through land and mark the territory uses the physicality of architecture as a defined entity, one that is already attributed with significance.

In Washington, D.C., the question of the physicality of architecture is related to its validity, that is, through the examination of whether architecture represents the Holocaust in an authentic way. In popular culture, architecture is usually considered authentic when it is old and conveys a feeling of something that was preserved and unchanged by time. Think of a visit to an old village in Europe, which we usually consider to be authentic. We consider this village authentic not only because it is old but also because we perceive it as genuine. In other words, architecture does not necessarily have to be old; it can also be considered authentic if it remains true to its origin. The example of the old village illustrates a case in which one is exposed and deals with genuine architecture, that is, architecture that was not copied or changed but only preserved. The case of authentic architecture becomes more complicated when dealing with copies of architecture. Then the authenticity of the copied architecture is in question. The central question is whether copied architecture can be authentic at all, or will it always be a representation that carries different properties and cannot be treated similarly to the original. In the chapter on the USHMM, I discussed the possibilities of constructed representation that aspires to be considered authentic. The museum's location in Washington, thousands of miles away from the sites where the Second World War and the Holocaust took place, posed this question before the officials, architects and designers involved in the project. They had to deal with this conundrum on several levels—the general concept, the display, the artifacts and more. Architecture addresses this question in a completely different manner. Unlike most other means of display, it is fully constructed and does not rely on pieces that are old and/or genuine. Thus, the physicality of architecture played a major role in conveying an authentic representation of the Holocaust on two main levels: through its material attributes and its formal ones. The formal aspect had to do with the resemblance of the copied parts to their sources, while the material attributes addressed the wish to create an effect related to the Holocaust. In both cases, architecture tried to go beyond the limits of representation and the inherent inability to create an authentic representation, in order to produce one that at least would be considered and accepted as such by the visitors.

The chapter on the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin in many ways expands the discussion of the USHMM. While the USHMM's physicality deals with authenticity, symbolism and reference to the origin, in Berlin, the monument's physicality tries to create an open-ended representation, one that does not directly refer to what could be considered a Holocaust symbol. In Berlin, Peter Eisenman proposed a new way of relating to the Holocaust—through the architectural diagram. His memorial

does not try to copy Holocaust imagery or suggest any physical appearance related to the Holocaust. Instead, he creates something new; something that can be accepted as related to the Holocaust, while remaining free and not alluding directly to the event. In that respect, Eisenman's memorial is located in the in-between: somewhere between the reference and the non-referential. This positioning of the memorial allows it to be open-ended, to accept many ways of appropriation and interpretation—and still be a Holocaust memorial. As such, the physicality of architecture plays a main role in Eisenman's memorial, not only because its formal appearance does not try to resemble any Holocaust reference, but also because its mechanism stays open and allows multiple perceptions and interpretations. Here, architecture's physical attributes offer a diagrammatic mode of reception of architecture, of something that is yet-to-become, in the words of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. The physicality of architecture functions as the mechanism that allows this process to occur.

THE PHYSICAL TURN

The intellectual discourse in the artistic and architectural worlds has singled out two turning-points in these disciplines in the last couple of decades. Some theoreticians, such as W.J.T. Mitchell,[1] James Elkins[2] and others, claimed that visuality replaced textuality in scholarly work and the ways in which this shift in dominance affects how culture is being perceived and analyzed. This represents a move from an emphasis on cultural linguistic structures as a textual construct, to the visuality of expression and its structure as the basis for cultural analysis. In recent years, other theoreticians noted another turn in cultural studies—the spatial one.[3] Following the work of philosophers such as Michel Foucault's discourse on heterotopias and policing by spaces and Henri Lefebvre's definition of the ways in which we inhabit, perceive and conceive space, these theoreticians emphasized the importance of spatiality in human beings' lives. These two shifts in thought created a new way of looking at culture and society in general, and at the products they generate.

In this book, I sought to look at yet another important dimension of human beings' lives—the physical dimension. My consideration, in many ways, refers to Martin Heidegger's discussion in his seminal book *Being and Time*, in which he poses the question of existence prior to the Cartesian cogito.[4] Heidegger considers our existence not as a given condition based on our ability to think about it, but as an a priori condition. Similarly, my intellectual focus in this book was on physicality as a presupposition for existence. Without physicality, entities cannot exist. The question I tried to outline and discuss was the various modes of physicality that cultural practices and products require in order to exist. In architecture, the physical dimension is the main property. Thus, if one were to quantify the level of physicality in the artistic and cultural utterances, architecture would have to be located as one of the primary practices. Thus, the underlying discussion in this book goes beyond the consideration of Holocaust commemoration and the physicality of architecture that represents it, to a deeper examination of social

and artistic practices based on their physical attributes. With the advent of digital media and its reliance on virtuality, the physical dimension is both being redefined and gaining prominence. The more virtual we become, the more we understand the importance of the physical dimension. Thus, the physical turn is just around the corner.

But what has all this to do with the Holocaust and Holocaust commemoration? In 2010, Atlantic City, New Jersey, held a competition for the design of a Holocaust memorial to be installed on its famous boardwalk. This surprising choice of context for a Holocaust memorial drew the attention of many architects and designers worldwide, and 715 entries were submitted. The competition's interesting results indicated a shift in Holocaust commemoration, with many projects based on digital media that proposed to use the virtual dimension as a primary mode of representation. Virtuality is also used in many displays in Holocaust museums all over the world. One need only recall the innumerable screenings that take place in the new historical museum at Yad Vashem or at the Holocaust museum in Los Angeles. It seems that virtuality is taking over Holocaust commemoration and it won't long before we see memorials online. In that respect, this book sums up and proposes a discussion of the dimension that dominates Holocaust commemoration just before it shifts into a new mode. In the future, physicality is not going to vanish from Holocaust commemoration, but virutality will change the ways in which we use physicality for this purpose. The evolution of Holocaust commemoration is about to enter a new phase in which architecture will still offer a substantial mode of expression, but one that might lose its priority to new media or need to undergo some far-reaching changes.

NOTES

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