

Back to my past, to my childhood in Haifa at the early 1960s, I still recall a day that I accompanied my grandfather during a visit he paid to his sick friend at the municipal hospital Rambam (Maimonides) in Haifa. I was hardly seven, and walking through the white corridors while holding my grandfather's hand, I was attracted by a particular B&W photograph that was hanging on the walls of the hospital's corridors. It was an image of a nurse who, with her piercing eyes, was frontally looking at us and whose pointing finger was vertically put next to her sealed lips. She asked for an absolute silence. And indeed, silence was and is the main characteristic of places such as hospitals. I was attracted to this photograph. I think that it was the astounding directness, with which the image of the nurse looked at me and her distinct demand from us, the beholders, for an action – for being silent. I wondered at this photograph. I did not understand why silence was required in this space and why people tend to whisper in the corridors. Today, I understand how suffering and pain demand silence as part of healing process. Noise indeed causes pain. Researchers involved in sound measurement technology argue that loudness can be measured by phon – a unit for measurement of noise by living listeners – on a scale that stretches from zero phon, the near threshold of almost not hearing up to 130 phons, the near threshold of pain.¹ In fact, as loud noise crosses the near threshold of pain, the border between the sense of hearing and that of feeling is blurred and the aural becomes physical. Wegel describes this collapse of senses as the point, in which sound crosses the *maximum audibility*, namely a point in which a sound much louder is painful.² Wegel adds, that this is «a point where the hearing and feeling lines appear to intersect, [making it] difficult to distinguish between the sense of hearing and that of feeling»³. Yet, in this study about the silence of Lifta, I would like to focus on the point of pain linked to almost no noise at the threshold of no hearing (at least the no hearing of human noises) in the space of trauma.⁴

The traumatic site normally dictates muteness, as if it emphasizes the inability of words to express the painful experience it carries. This specific type of silence has pervasive presence. It is usually produced as the result of the non-intelligible state of speech.⁵ This moment of absence of language is sometimes sensed as being somehow tangible, as if one can touch this silence. Thus, here again, the aural becomes physical. Moreover, the silence in traumatic sites tinges the whole visual experience of these spaces with extra intensity. Silence appears, somehow, as an aesthetic constituent of traumatic spaces and, in some cases, becomes part of the performative ceremonial act of remembrance. Indeed, in these spaces, in the name of the suffering and the dead, so we are told, it is used as an aesthetic tool for activating in our mind



1 Lifta surrounded by the modern high-rise buildings of Giv'at Shaul, on the western slopes of Jerusalem, December 2014.

and body the sense of lost. Like the void which accentuates the loss of the density of the fullness of life, here, the silence emphasizes the loss of human sounds. This sensory state on the threshold of no hearing enforces our cognitive abilities, ignites consciousness, and enlivens memories. As far as sites of trauma and suffering are concerned, silence appears as an aesthetic component linking the precarious bind between the particular psychological state and the physical space.

The space that I have chosen to write about presents a similar aesthetic experience, which is clearly linked to the concepts of the silent and the mute. Moreover, the silence of Lifta might suggest the articulation of powers within sonic realm by keeping the privilege of the powerful to control the sound of the powerless. The space, as it is experienced today, is the ruined Palestinian village of Lifta located on the western slopes of the city of Jerusalem, just below the entrance highway road to the modern city (fig. 1). While turning our gaze into a spatial experience of one of the western valleys of Jerusalem and its ruined architecture, my discussion about the «Silence» of Lifta concerns a particular spatial experience. As any other spatial involvements, this experience engages in body interaction.⁶ Moreover, and as I will argue, a particular sense of uncanniness (*Unheimlichkeit*) is disclosed while visiting this space. This feeling of *Unheimlichkeit* (the Unhomely feeling or the «Not-at-Home» feeling) in Lifta underscores the importance of an architectural form, in this case the home – either physically speaking or, in metaphoric sense, mentally alluding – in the creation of a particular aesthetic experience in the site of the Palestinian ruined village of Lifta today. Moreover, the bodily experienced architecture of Lifta does not refer only to the visitors of this place but also to the absence of the bodies of the Palestinians expelled from it. The architectural uncanny, to use Anthony Vidler's title of his book on the *Modern Unhomely*, is rooted in, bodily speaking, our uneasiness and the sensation of the still-in-situ lost bodies of the village's inhabitants.⁷ This ghostly feeling that resides in this architectural space might be the reason for defining this space today as haunted and creepy, in short disturbing. Thus, it seems mandatory to analyze its modern histories, which contributed to its obvious uncanny



2 Lifta's ruined houses with the view of Giv'at Ze'ev at the background, December 2014.

character of today. Thus, the vein taken by me concerns the urban history of this space, and, as this village is located on the western border of the modern city of Jerusalem, it is embedded in the urban history of Jerusalem too.

As a matter of fact, each city has its uncanny space. The uncanny usually appears in a particular part of the city or is located on the city's verges. This space is usually given this definition because it seems to create a sense of estrangement among the city's citizens. It is a place in which the seemingly illogical and contradictory sensation arises of feeling of 'not-at-home' at home. Unsettled and displaced, up to the point of feeling vulnerable, these are probably the adjectives used to illustrate our sense of these urban uncanny spaces. What I want to emphasize here is our frequent encounter in almost each city with this type of uncanny, eerie space. Moreover, as I will try to argue, this notion of constructing, or even imagining, the urban, uncanny space can be linked to our wish to anthropomorphize cities, namely to our wish of giving them body and soul and even constructing their alter ego – their second self, as related to their uncanny space because this space encompasses the unconventional, the hidden, the secretive, and the suppressed characters of a city – in short, its anti-image, its antihero.⁸

The village of Lifta on the western slopes of the mountains of Jerusalem, powerfully retain the horror of the Palestinian trauma of 1948 – the *Nakba* (literary meaning 'the disaster' and referring to the displacement of the majority of the Palestinians from this region around 1948). In contrast, or rather say in addition, to Lifta's breathtaking idyllic landscape, the ruined village transmits uncanniness – an uncomfortable and troubled feel, which evokes a ghostly sensation. Visiting this space several times, I used to ask myself why is it that Lifta's seemingly idyllic landscape is a disturbing one rather than pleasing. I came to realize that this irritation is caused by the specific impression of the frozen-in-time image of Lifta. Yes, by Lifta's stillness and immobility, which its ruined edifices convey. Looking at the stone-built houses with their large wide-opened empty windows, it seems as if the whole village was petrified. As if it was turned into stone by a magical spell (fig. 2). While traveling along



3 Plants struggle through walls of dilapidated houses in Lifta, December 2014.

the small brook that curves its way through the center of this village and ends in a magical water pool, one gets the impression that the flora and fauna of this space turns into stone too. A specific silence hovers over the empty houses of Lifta that recalls the ruined city of Pompeii. It is the smell of death and gradual corrosion that seem to come to one's nose, if in an imagined manner. Time abruptly stopped and caused human life to freeze at once in this village. And yet, Lifta's nature keeps growing and its natural surviving urge maintains life. Nature struggles against the man-made, stone-built houses of Lifta. Untamed and liberated from human domestication, or rather say cultivation, nature triumphs over architecture (fig. 3). The village's petrified impression is not only a visual evidence of the slip away of time in Palestine but it is, the record of the specific moment, namely the very moment of Lifta's evacuation by the Hagana forces in 1948.⁹

It seems that the area of Lifta is mentioned as early as the 13th century BCE, in Egyptian-Pharonic sources. It is described as a stronghold on a roadside at the entrance to the hills of present Jerusalem.¹⁰ If we to accept that the Biblical term 'Waters of Nafto'ah' (Mey Nefto'ah), which appears in the Book of Joshua (15:8–9) as the marker of the northern border of the land of the tribe of Yehuda (Judea) and of the southern border of the tribe of Benjamin (Joshua, 18:14), indeed refers to a Jewish settlement on these specific slopes, it seems that the biblical site of Waters of Nafto'ah was founded on the very site of the village of Lifta, most probably due to the existence of water on these slopes. At any case, it is more plausible that it was during the Roman period, namely during the Jewish Revolt, between 66 and 73 CE, that the mentioning of Bayth Liftafi (the House of Liftafi) probably refers to Lifta. Moreover, the information about the lack of water in the spring of Nepto during the Byzantine era suggests that Nepto might refer to the Waters of Nefto'ah in the bible. During the Crusades (between 1095–1291), a village called Clepsta is recorded there, and several ruins of a crusaders' building in the nucleus of the old village of Lifta might attest to the existence of this village at this era. Lifta appears in the Ottoman period too, namely in the 16th century. It is described as a small agricultural village

of circa 400 inhabitants. This village has developed along the centuries and enjoyed a rapid growth from the mid-19th century. Titus Tobler, in his writings from 1845, informed us of 600 inhabitants in this village, and enumerated circa 50 buildings. He also mentioned the relatively big congregational mosque. By 1940, and till the expulsion of the Palestinians in 1947 and 1948, the village is said to have 3,000 inhabitants and its agricultural land measures 874 hectares (2,160 acres).¹¹

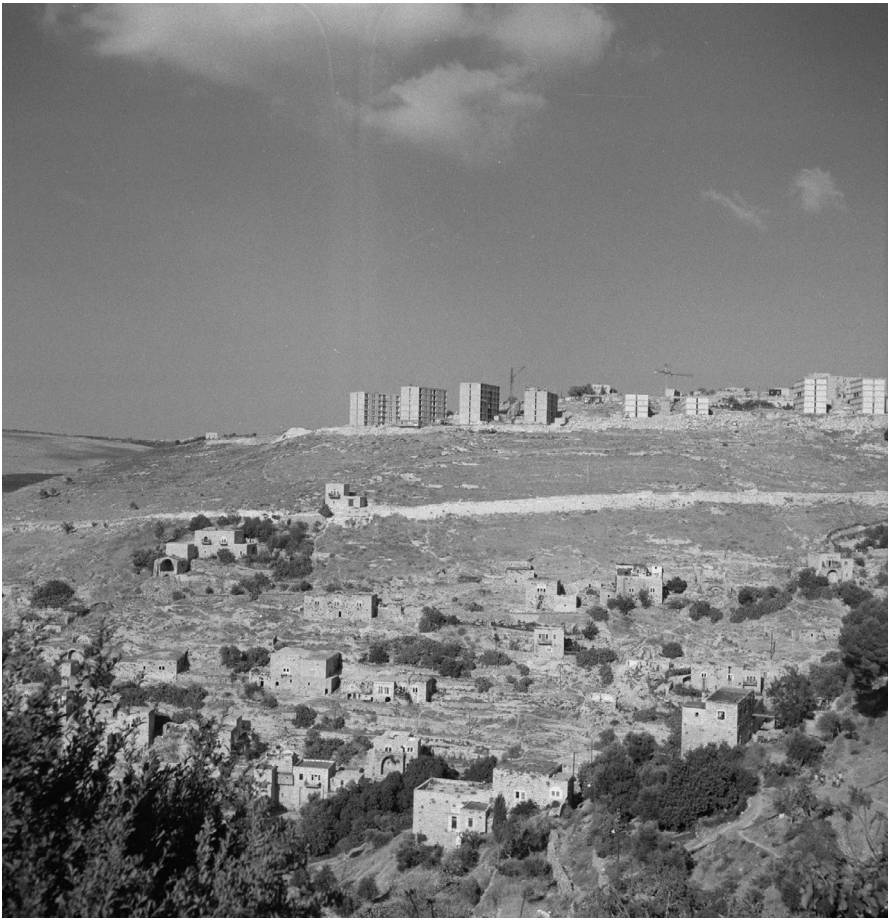
The Zionist terror started on 28 December 1947. One of the coffeehouses was attacked by the Zionist right-wing group Stern, killing six and wounding seven. Between December 1947 and January 1948, many inhabitants fled Lifta. This exodus continued until May 1948. It is worth mentioning that the infamous massacre of Dir Yassin, on 9 May 1948, one of the horrendous atrocities made by the Zionists to the Palestinians, in which at least 107 Palestinians were killed, took place just a few kilometers from Lifta. After the 1948 war, as this part of the Jerusalem's suburbs fell into the hands of the newly established state of Israel, the young state did not permit any Palestinian to return to this village.

Depopulated¹² from its inhabitants, the village was left in its ruins; the land and all the assets of this village were expropriated by the Israeli government. Between 1948 and 1953, as waves of Mizrahi Jews arrived in Israel, the government moved some Yemenite and Iraqi-Kurdish Jews to some of the houses of this village, with the hope to establish there a Jewish settlement called May Nafto'ah. But the majority of these immigrants left the site in the 1960s, as modern West Jerusalem has its modern buildings' boom and as the Jewish immigrants in Lifta preferred modern urban accommodations. Thus, the majority of the houses in this village remained unoccupied.

It is the particular modern urban development of Jerusalem of the late 1950s and early 1960s, and in particular the developments in the immediate vicinity of this village, which I would like to discuss and confront with the modern history of the ghostly village of Lifta. The new modern social building project built just next to this village in the 1960s, on the hills above, created, metaphorically speaking, a modern crown to Lifta Valley. The strong and sharp contrast between the modern and the old tinged the whole area with a nostalgic backwardness, which has kept its lure and repulsion until today. The reframing of the village of Lifta within the big picture of the modernization of West Jerusalem turned this rural space into the alter-ego of the city of Jerusalem, and if for a short period. Yet, the consequences of the creation of this image of Lifta in the early 1960s have their impact on decision-making processes concerning varied urban plans suggested for Lifta, either for improvements and expansion or for conservation. Thus, the image of Lifta keeps impinging on the image making of modern west Jerusalem too. I am fully aware that my claim to regard the early 1960s building projects in Jerusalem as the watershed moment in the history of the making of the image of Lifta can be criticized. It is true that modernization in Jerusalem can be traced back to around the mid-19th century. For example, around 1859–1860, the first modernized settlements outside the walls of Jerusalem were built (Mishkenot Shananim). In addition, the Ottoman project of modernization by the second half of the 19th century mixed with Colonial aspirations of re-building Jerusalem brought new modes of urban planning and buildings' aesthetic to Jerusalem. In fact, as early as the beginning of the 19th century, right after 1904, as the city became more involved in worldwide trade and new social strata of merchants and brokers settled outside the old walls of the Jerusalem, the dichotomy between the 'Old City' and the city rural suburbs was softened. The new settlements outside the walls introduced modern

European and modern Imperial Ottoman architectural styles and thus created a sort of in-between zone, which, on the one hand, kept to the urban aesthetics of Jerusalem and, on the other hand, related the aesthetics of the Palestinian rural house. Moreover, as the traditional urban architecture of Jerusalem changed, the traditional structure and the organic growth of the Palestinian village changed too. In 1924, for example, mandatory law controlled the architectural development of the Palestinian villages. As a consequence, the once clear-cut architectural distinction between village and city was tempered. The myth of the organic and authentic growth of the Palestinian village was reformed and so was the fabrication that the city of Jerusalem was imprisoned within its own medieval image.¹³

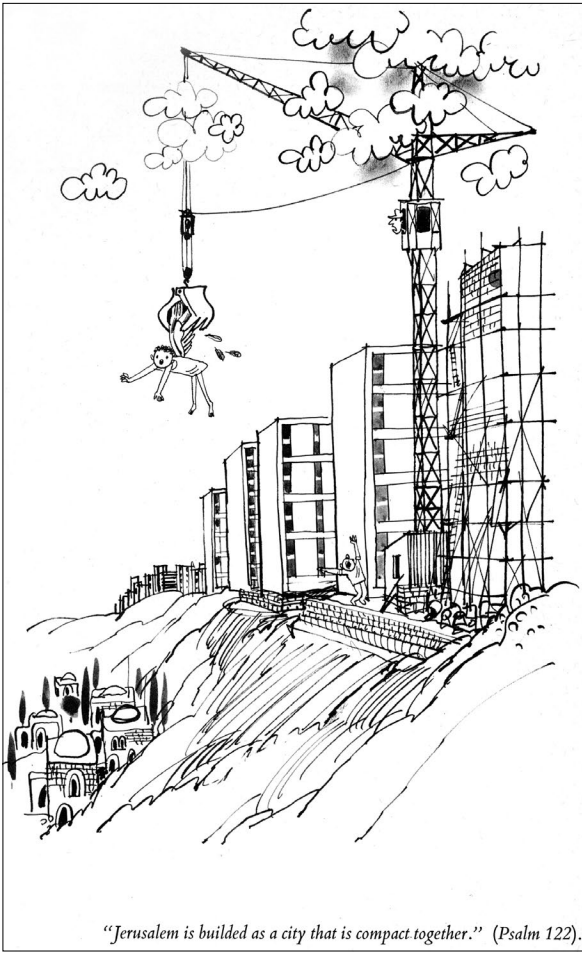
As far as Lifta is concerned, the pre-1948 Jewish settlements built just next to Lifta, especially the «modern» Romema Colony, which is situated above Lifta, marked Late Ottoman modern interventions in the architectural landscape of Jerusalem's suburbs.¹⁴ And yet, the modernist Israeli architectural injection of the 1960s to the urban planning of Jerusalem and the change in the collective mind in Israel as to the image of its new capital city were pivotal for re-celebrating the sharp division between past and present in Jerusalem. Moreover, the building of the western part of the divided city of Jerusalem as totally modern appeared crucial for the understanding of this Israeli modernist approach. The old city of Jerusalem, located in eastern part of the divided city, within the old walls, remains (between 1948 and 1967) under Jordanian control. Thus «Sacred Jerusalem» and venerated holy spaces – metaphorically speaking Jerusalem's heart and spirit, were outside Israeli control. During the late 1950s and early 1960s the Israeli government aimed at a creating a secular and modern architectural image for western Jerusalem. This building concept was taken in order to present Jerusalem and the Land of Israel as a modern space governed by modern social-democratic regime nurtured by the Zionist dream of a Jewish State. Zionism was thus engaged with modernity to enhance the national project of the newly established state of Israel. To be more accurate, it appears that strong Israeli desires to «liberate» Jerusalem from the burden of its long holy past, plan for it a clean and ideal future, emancipate it from former ancient or medieval architectural forms, and set its citizens in a new urban setting in which architecture follows reason rather than convoluted emotional whims and messianic desires, were at play. The making of secular western Jerusalem was an ideology, which began to have tangible realities on the ground. Large complexes of modern and official public constructions and even art in public spaces formed part of this ideology, which culminated in the very early of the 1960s. The short poetic, semi-documentary thirty minutes long film of David Perlov *In Jerusalem* (B'Yerushalayim) produced in 1963 captured at best the atmosphere of this city in this specific conjunction of time. The film consists of ten chapters organized to tell a full story of the whole faces of Jerusalem through a span of time that goes back to 1911 until 1936, like one's lifetime in Jerusalem, looking from the very present moment of 1963. In chapter seven, *Jerusalem of the Future*, modern public spaces of the city are shown. These modern spaces are depicted together with their newly citizens. Motion and ceaseless communication are accentuated, both suggesting the notion of progress, freedom of movement, and social mobility. In one of the scenes in this chapter the newly social housing project of Romema is documented. The social housing buildings, which consist of large white blocks are organized on top of the western hills of Jerusalem, one next to each other, while the deserted houses of Lifta appear as if sporadically planted in the valley below.



4 David Anatol Brutzkos' Housing Project in Upper Lifta, early 1960.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the whole landscape of the western slopes of Jerusalem went through major changes. Two new Jewish neighborhoods, the Romema Ilit and Givat Shaul, were raised on top of Lifta slopes. They consist of modern social housing – rectangular blocks organized in a clear and sterile order, which transmit the idea that social housing of the white cube with better sanitary infrastructure and hygienic plans. These series of buildings, the David Anatol Brutzkos' Housing in Upper Lifta create a white crown-like chain over the Palestinian deserted village of Lifta (fig. 4). The village appears then as aged, grim and gray, archaic and regressive. Lifta seems to be caged in the valley, frozen in time, and veiled by biblical allure, while the modern Jewish Israeli housing triumphs above, celebrating its future in white.¹⁵

A caricature made around these years by an Israeli renowned caricaturists Shemuel Katz illustrates well this rift between the modern present and the biblical past (fig. 5). Organized as if in a military parade, the large cubes of the social housing project of Romema Ilit are set on the very top of the hill. Below this complex, marked by a huge stone-build segregation terrace, the old houses of Lifta are set within the slopes of the hills. The two different spaces are defined as separated from



5 «Jerusalem is built as a city that is closely compact together» (Psalms 122:3). Drawing by Shemuel Katz, before 1970.

each other. And yet, a spectacular and dramatic scene binds the two. A frightened angel held by a clamshell bucket of a tall construction crane is about to be thrown into the slopes of Lifta's valley. The angel appears quite frightened and wounded. Several feathers are torn from his wings, and he is quite terrified. The scene recalls the tragic story of the Fall of Icarus, whose fall to the sea was caused by the damage of his wings too. It is likely that the depicted angel metaphorically symbolizes the expulsion of the spirit of sacred Jerusalem from the modern western slopes of the city to Lifta.¹⁶ Thus, it is possible that Lifta took in the early 1960s a new urban role and meaning within the modern city of Jerusalem. Yet, in 1967, when the old city of Jerusalem fell into the hands of Israeli Defense Forces, new aspirations flourished, for a while, for the recovering the soul of Jerusalem in the old section of the Jewish quarter in the old city. But, very soon after, with the modern reconstruction of the old city and its Jewish quarter, this wishful thought quickly vanished.¹⁷ It seems therefore, that the Palestinian village, with its nostalgic pastoral feel, appeared as container for the enshrining the vanishing soul of the Modern state of Israel. This concept of the village, and especially Lifta, as a reliquary box of the «Gone Palestine» governs the collective mind of Israelis and Palestinians alike.

As mentioned above, the area of Lifta has been continuously set apart from the large development project of Jerusalem. Shortly after 1967, with the annexation of the east Jerusalem, Lifta's area was declared by the municipality authorities of Jerusalem as a light industrial zone, though letting very few habitation plans. But, in general the space was left almost forgotten. The decaying of Lifta's buildings attracted illegal occupants, and the government, in order to avoid this illegal advancement, took the decision to destroy most of the domes of the old houses of Lifta. This act imperiled the state of these buildings, and therefore, in 1977, the architect Ulrik Plasner suggested a preservation plan for this village. Discussions about preservations and restorations and the idea to transform this village into an educational district (Kirya Hinuhith) were never realized. In 1982, a shift in attitude was taken. The area was declared as part of the natural districts of Israel. It was called Mey Naftoach, National Center for Nature, Landscape and Human Heritage in the Land of Israel. The plan started and ended in 1982 with the restoration of Lifta's water pool. And yet, 1982 marked a turning point in adopting the village of Lifta into the landscape of Palestine rather than regarding it as a potential suburban space. This approach re-underscores the no-ending, politically-driven discourse on the urban and the rural in the Israel and the major Zionist wish to integrate the Palestinian village into rural and the semi-natural landscape of Palestine/Israel, treating the Palestinian village as a botanical or zoological space divorced from human culture.

Yet another turning point was set in 2006. A master plan for Lifta was accepted by the municipality of Jerusalem. Lifta was planned to be integrated into the urban structure of Jerusalem. The site was designed to answer the needs of the rich Jewish community members of Jerusalem and its surroundings. It consists of 268 expensive luxury residential units, a big hotel and a commercial zone. But this project was strongly rejected by Israelis and Palestinians alike and was suspended.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the reasons for rejection were varied. Many Israelis saw in this project the capitalist desire of urbanizing nature for answering the needs of wealthiest and the rich Israelis. In this sense, Israelis kept looking at Lifta through a nostalgic lens. Other voices, mainly those concerning human rights, added to the Palestinian cry, asked to reject this project for reasons involving unsettled patrimony issues.

In July 2008, the Israel antiquities authority provided a survey of this space.¹⁹ The survey ran by archaeologists and architects came up with several suggestions concerning careful preservations and plans for the future. The main suggestion for this space was the creation of a museum-like preserved Palestinian village. They argued that the «abandoned» village of Lifta is, relatively speaking, the most intact and uninhabited Palestinian village in Israel and that one can learn from it at best the history of rural Palestine. But of course, this project aims at freezing Lifta again in time and avoiding telling the history of this place around 1948. Therefore, this project can be regarded as another one that aims at taking Lifta out of the discourse about the «Right of Return». Moreover, this approach seems to consider the vacant houses of the village of Lifta like objects of museal display, similarly to common exhibition methods by which looted objects are put on display to tell the cultural past histories of the same places that were violated by the present possessors of these objects. The act of taking out these objects from the large discourse of patrimonial rights by making out of them monuments of universal cultural heritage recalls the Israelis wish of either incorporating Lifta into a natural park, which tells histories

of nature, landscape and to some extent histories of human heritage or preserving Lifta as the archetype of the Palestinian village, which tells the rural history of Palestine. At any case, in both cases the right of return is annulled.

Today, Lifta is located at the very western entrance to the city of Jerusalem, along the road that linked Jerusalem to Tel Aviv and Jaffa. This main western gate, so to speak, welcomes its visitors with the modern, sculptural cords bridge of Calatrava inaugurated in 2008. In fact, a diagonal line can be drawn from the very entrance to Jerusalem and this modern monumental bridge to the old pool of Lifta, located at the bottom of Lifta's valley. This diagonal axis marks the long tension between old and modern Palestine as reflected in the story of Lifta and Jerusalem. Lifta remains a space that cannot be defined as rural or urban. And the experience of moving between these spaces, the modern and the frozen bygone past, became a metaphor of the divided worlds in our modern condition and the one that divides Palestinian and Israelis too. Whereas most of the Israeli projects aim at either forgetting Lifta or keeping it frozen within a nostalgic past, the Palestinians, driven by the right of return, aspire to bring life back to this space, while keeping Lifta's past image moving into the future; a move that is similarly taken by Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem today, who aim to enliven Lifta by re-enacting biblical feel into this space. Turning back to my first issue concerning the silence of Lifta, the specific confused and indefinite plans for this space from 1948 until today have caused this village to remain unpopulated for more than 75 years. The houses remained empty and silent. And yet, the silence is not the silence presiding in hospitals. Lifta's silence is not about recovery. Lifta's houses slowly deteriorate, each day, and each year. The muteness of Lifta's ruins has a captivating power on us.²⁰ And, like any corpus delicti in a scene of crime, in which victim and witness are prevented from recounting the horrible act, Lifta ruins appears as if forced into silence too, into a *Stilleben* (still life), haunted by the past. It is the silence, which invites reflections.

Notes

1 Michael C. Heller: Between Silence and Pain. Loudness and Affective Encounter, in: *Sound Studies*, Vol. 1, 2015, No. 1, p. 40–58, see especially p. 41–42. On the history of measuring sounds see mainly p. 43–44.

2 R. L. Wegel: The Physical Examination of Hearing and Binaural Aids for the Deaf, in: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, Vol. 8, 1922, No. 7, p. 155–160, here p. 156.

3 Wegel 1992 (as Note 2), p. 157; Heller 2015 (as Note 1), p. 42.

4 On the embodiment of silence in space see Steven L. Bindeman: Merleau-Ponty's Embodied Silence, in: Steven L. Bindemann (eds): *Silence in philosophy, Literature, and Art*, Leiden 2017, p. 57–72.

5 Michael Poizat: *The Angle's Cry: Beyond the Pleasure Principle in Opera*, ed. by Arthur Denner, Ithaca 1992, p. 52.

6 Henri Lefebvre: *Critique of Everyday Life*, ed. by J. Moore, London 1991; Henri Lefebvre: *The*

Production of Space, ed. by D. Nicholson-Smith, Oxford 1991, p. 169–228; Michel de Certeau: *Walking in the City. The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley/London 2011, p. 91–110; John Allen: *On Georg Simmel. Proximity, Distance and Movement*, in: *Thinking Space*, ed. by Mike Crang/Nigel Thrift, London 2000, p. 54–70.

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

8 Tel Aviv – the White City – has its uncanny space too. This is the adjacent borough of Jaffa – namely the «Black City». In contrast to making of the image of Tel Aviv as a new white modern city on the shore of the Mediterranean, the city of Jaffa remains a «black city», a pre-modern harbor city of the Mediterranean, which seemingly was not able to move into the age of modernity. See Sharon Rotbart: *White City Black City. Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*, London 2015.

9 Much has been written on the Nakba and the politics of memorizing it in both Palestinian and Zionist/Israeli spheres. For Nakba and Memory, see mainly Ahmad H. Sa'di/Lila Abu-lughod (eds.): *Nakba. Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*, New York 2007, p. 1–24; Salman Abu-Sitta: *The Palestinian Nakba 1948. The Register of Depopulated Localities in Palestine*, London 2000; for Lifta see: Eitan Bronstein: *Studying the Nakba and Reconstructing Space in the Palestinian Village of Lifta*, in: *Working Papers of the European University Institute*, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole 2005, No. 35, https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/3858/2005_35%20Bronstein.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, last accessed on 26.07.2023; Malkit Shoshan/Eitan Bronstein: *Reinventing Lifta (2/2)*, in: *Electronic Intifada*, 06.02.2023, <https://electronicintifada.net/content/reinventing-lifta-2/5865>, last accessed on 26.07.2023; Lifta and Battir: *Parallel Cases of Ongoing Nakba*, in: *Mondoweiss*, ed by Badil Resources Center, 04.10.2013, <https://mondoweiss.net/2013/10/battir-parallel-ongoing/>, last accessed on 26.07.2023; Malkit Shoshan/Eitan Bronstein: *Reinventing Lifta*, in: *Monu: Magazine on Urbanism*, 2006, https://www.academia.edu/2525207/Reinventing_Lifta, last accessed on 18.08.2023.

10 Daphna Golan/Zvika Orr/Sami Ershied: *Lifta and the Regime of Forgetting. Memory Work and Conservation*, in: *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 54, 2013, p. 69–81, here p. 70.

11 Golan/Orr/Ershied 2013 (as Note 10), p. 70.

12 The German term ‘*verwüestet*’, in the sense of turning it into a desert, seems to be more appropriate to describe the state of this village right after the 1948 War.

13 On Modernization in Ottoman Imperial architecture, see mainly the publications of Zeynep

Çelik: *Empire, Architecture, and the City. French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830–1914*, Seattle 2008; Zeynep Çelik/Edhem Eldem: *Camera Ottomana. Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1914*, Istanbul 2015.

14 On the Romema Colony and its relationship to Lifta in the pre-1948 see Golan/Orr/Ershied 2013 (as Note 10), p. 78.

15 See Alona Nitzan-Shifan: *Modernism in Conflict. Architecture and Cultural Politics in Post-1967 Jerusalem*, in: Sandy Isenstadt/Kishwar Rizvi (eds.): *Modernism and the Middle East. Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, Seattle 2008, p. 161–185.

16 On the creation of ‘Sense of Place’ in the Israeli society as related to East Jerusalem, see Alona Nitzan-Shifan: *The Israeli ‘Place’ in East Jerusalem*, in: Phillip Misselwitz/Tim Rieniets (eds.): *City of Collision. Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism*, Basel 2006, p. 336–346.

17 On the aspirations involved in the reconstruction of the Old City of Jerusalem and its Jewish quarter see mainly: Alona Nitzan-Shifan: *Seizing Jerusalem. The Architectures of Unilateral Unification*, Minneapolis 2017, p. 231–277; Eyal Weizman: *Hollow Land: Israel’s Architecture of Occupation*, London/New York 2007, p. 25–52.

18 For the different plans for Lifta from the late 1950s and on, see Golan/Orr/Ershied 2013 (as Note 10), p. 72–73; See also the historical review in Avi Mashiach: *Lifta. A Preliminary Documentation. The Antiquities Authority*, 2008. My sincere thanks to Yehotal Shapira, who introduced me to this report.

19 Mashiach 2008 (as Note 18).

20 Dylan Trigg: *The Place of Trauma. Memory, Hauntings, and the Temporality of Ruins*, in: *Memory Studies* 2, 2009, No. 1, p. 87–101.

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- 1 Photo: Avinoam Shalem.
- 2 Photo: Avinoam Shalem.
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- 4 Photo: Willem van de Poll, 1960. Public Domain
- 5 Drawing by Shemuel Katz, before 1970.