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“A MEMORIAL AND A NAME”:
CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC MEMORY THROUGH CHRONOTOPIC ARRANGEMENT
OF ANTECEDENT GENRE AT YAD VASHEM

by

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B.A. Emory University, 2012

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Writing and Rhetoric
in the College of Arts and Humanities
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Summer Term
2015

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ABSTRACT

This spring marked the 70th anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis and the end of the Holocaust in Europe. Memory of this genocide has occupied a central place in Israeli identity since the establishment of the state. This thesis explores the history of Holocaust memory in Israel and examines how public memory is constructed in the present, as the era of the survivor draws to a close and commemorative efforts linked to survivors take on a sense of urgency.

The contemporary memorial places examined in this study are part of Yad Vashem, Israel's premier institution for Holocaust commemoration. The thesis focuses on the museum's Hall of Names and its analogous web space, the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names. Specifically, I draw on two concepts from Rhetorical Genre Studies—the chronotope (Bakhtin) and antecedent genre (Jamieson)—to examine the relationship between genre and the making of public memory.

The findings of this analysis point to the importance of the antecedent genre of Holocaust testimony in the construction of public memory at Yad Vashem. Through a chronotopic analysis of the Hall of Names and the Central Database, I found that the genre of testimony changed across these spaces to ideologically construct memory in different ways. It is in the Hall of Names and Central Database's repurposing of the testimonial genre, and the expression of this genre through chronotopic arrangement in each of these locations, that a legacy of social concerns coalesces into the memorial expression of the contemporary moment.

This study contributes to scholarship on the rhetorical construction of public memory and Rhetorical Genre Studies. First, it suggests the importance of genre and genre change in considerations of the rhetorical construction of public memory. Second, it suggests additional

considerations in determining how context affects genre and vice versa when features of time and space are especially salient for meaning-making. Specifically, these findings suggest additional complexity in the relationship between genre and the chronotope: genre change across contexts may result from a genre's integration into places with different space/time arrangements.

To my grandfather, Paul J. Brennan, Jr.: an engineer, the patriarch of a number-loving family,
and my staunchest supporter when I decided that I loved words instead.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the guidance of the faculty in the Department of Writing and Rhetoric at the University of Central Florida. My sincerest gratitude goes to my advisor, Dr. Angela Rounsaville, who was tirelessly supportive of this project from its first days on the drawing board through its many rounds of revision. I could not have asked for a better teacher, mentor, and collaborator. To my committee members, Dr. Blake Scott and Dr. Douglas Walls: I have benefited greatly from your insights and your open office doors. Thank you for your willingness to help me learn through conversation. I owe thanks to Dr. Mark Hall for guiding me through directed reading early in this project; in your individual work with students, you truly practice what you preach as the director of the University Writing Center. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Steffen Guenzel and Dr. Stacey Pigg for their enthusiasm regarding this project and for their support in so many of my endeavors during my time at UCF.

I owe much to my fellow graduate students, who were the real-world enactment of classroom ideas about writing as a social activity. In particular, this project would not have reached completion without Megan Lambert, Lissa Pompos Mansfield, Yumani Davis, Renae Ingram, John Chrisman, Craig Bell, Brandy Dieterle, and Landon Berry.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my family—my parents, Robert and Wendy Brennan, and my sister, Allison Brennan—first, for making my graduate studies possible, and second, for believing whole-heartedly in this and every other academic project I have undertaken. I am a life-long learner because of you. And to my fiancé, Kevin Moran: your partnership enriches both my mind and my spirit, and my work is immeasurably better because of it.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

To them I will give within my temple and its walls a memorial and a name—a yad vashem—better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that will endure forever. –Isaiah 56:5 (NIV)

“To forget the dead would be akin to killing them a second time.” –Elie Wiesel, Night

This spring marked the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Nazi concentration camps across Europe and the end of the Holocaust. According to the Foundation for the Benefit of Holocaust Victims in Israel, 35 Holocaust survivors die in Israel each day. The math is sobering: this means that on average, Israel loses a Holocaust survivor every 41 minutes. A year ago, *The Wall Street Journal* reported the number of survivors remaining from some of the Nazis’ worst killing centers (Bendavid, 2013). In December 2013, only two people remained alive from Treblinka. Four survivors from Sobibor were living. Chelmno and Belzec had no living witnesses. This means that at the time of publication, six survivors remained that could provide links to the deaths of approximately 1,765,000 Holocaust victims. In the year and a half that has passed, that number has likely grown smaller still. According to the Israeli foundation’s 2014 annual report, the average age of an Israeli Holocaust survivor is 85.

Survivors are the key to the six million. The dead, resting en masse across Europe, are given faces by those who were their contemporaries. This memorialization of Jewish victims of the Holocaust as individuals—as people with names and stories—is of great importance to Israel’s central institution for the commemoration of the Holocaust, Yad Vashem. The museum’s Hebrew name invokes a verse from the prophetic book of Isaiah (56:5) and promises for the Jewish victims of the Holocaust a “memorial and a name.” As our living link to the six million,

to those who remember the names of the dead, begins to fade, Israel's memorialization efforts have adopted a sense of urgency.

While the rhetorical construction of Holocaust memory has been treated in scholarship over the last decades, this site for inquiry becomes perhaps even more pressing as we begin to contend with a future without survivors. The Holocaust has come to be seen as one of the major narratives of modernity (Reading 2003; Goldberg 2012); we are frequently asked to orient ourselves to the event both as a past occurrence, a "never forget" moment; as contemporary in new instances of genocide or oppression (with varying degrees of comparative appropriateness); and as a warning for the future. After 70 years, the Holocaust remains ubiquitous in Western consciousness, drawing an historical event into the present, engaging the past through socially constructed meanings to pair "never forget" with "never again."

The current sense of urgency that surrounds documenting survivors' stories while they are still living is a sobering reminder that equally significant to how we write the present is how we recall and re-inscribe the past. Studies of Holocaust museums and memorials have yielded rhetorical analyses that make claims about how meaning is constructed in these physical spaces (Young, 1993; Sarfatti Larson, 1997; Cole, 2004; Goldberg, 2012; Costello, 2013). Past studies have taken up museum design and content, focusing on issues such as national context, architecture, visitors' agency in navigating the physical space of the exhibits, and the rhetorical framing of this historical event. In today's digital age, construction of memory occupies both the memorial lawn and the digital landscape. Institutions dedicated to Holocaust commemoration rely on both physical as well as digital spaces for the curation of memory (Reading, 2003).

The intent of this thesis is to extend previously undertaken studies of Holocaust museum spaces by performing an analysis of the rhetorical construction of memory in Yad Vashem's

physical museum space and digital memorial space. Two locations in particular have been chosen for this study because they are at the forefront of Israeli efforts to commemorate in the twilight of the survivor era. These spaces, the Hall of Names, a room in Yad Vashem's Jerusalem complex, and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names, the physical hall's analogous digital space, are central in the museum's quest to provide a resting place for the names of Holocaust victims. That these material and digital spaces are analogous but, obviously, rely on different media to construct memory make them interesting locations to undertake an artifact analysis that employs theory from and seeks to contribute to Rhetorical Genre Studies.

Genre and Holocaust Memory in Layered, Changing Rhetorical Situations

A central question drives this study: What does a rhetorical analysis of Yad Vashem's Hall of Names and Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names suggest about the role and scope of genre in this institution's construction of memory? To that end, my research will first take up several smaller questions:

- How can we locate Yad Vashem's construction of public memory in terms of a 70-year legacy of Israeli Holocaust commemoration?
- What rhetorical moves do this material space and this digital space make?

When we think and talk about genre, we are typically thinking about responses to repeating rhetorical situations (Miller, 1984). Lloyd Bitzer's 1968 "The Rhetorical Situation," today a seminal—and still controversial—piece in rhetorical theory, defines the rhetorical situation "as a natural context of persons, events, objects, relations, and an exigence which strongly invites utterance; this invited utterance participates naturally in the situation, is in many instances necessary to the completion of situational activity, and by means of its participation with situation obtains its meaning and its rhetorical character" (p. 5). While this definition has

been contested—most famously by Richard Vatz in 1973—the idea of discourse being utilized to alleviate needs continues to offer a starting point for consideration of rhetorical genres.

Carolyn Miller's (1984) "Genre as Social Action" describes genres as typified responses to recurring rhetorical situations, defining genre not based solely on its formal characteristics but based on its rhetorical function—on the rhetorical action it undertakes. Following Miller, other scholars have further theorized the relationship between genre and rhetorical situations (notably, Devitt, 1993; Bawarshi, 2001).

Mary Garret and Xiaosui Xiao's (1993) "The Rhetorical Situation Revisited" examines the relationship between discourse and situation through a broader lens—a lens that incorporates but also goes beyond genre. Garret and Xiao posit cultural discourse traditions as important rhetorical constraints when it comes to the alleviation of rhetorical exigencies. These discourse traditions are comprised of culturally sanctioned ways for approaching particular topics. Genres are one instantiation of the discourse tradition—typified, culturally understood means for meeting recurring social needs. Both the discourse tradition and its more specific communicative site, the rhetorical genre, will serve as foundational concepts in this study.

Inspired by Garret and Xiao's study of the discourse surrounding China's Opium Wars, this project explores the re-inscription of the past through the discourse tradition that has been established in Israel around Holocaust memory. Questions of public memory, its continued place in Israeli society, and how best to project the past into the present in meaningful ways inhabit a series of ongoing rhetorical situations. These situations are defined by the exigencies of different cultural moments; this legacy of rhetorical exigencies can be seen in Israel's history of Holocaust commemoration. One purpose of this project is to examine how genres, as socially constructed

and communally enacted responses to recurring exigencies, have been able to organize and express Israeli orientations to memory.

In Israel, the urgency of the current moment, with its dying survivors and pressing cultural need to capture their memories, is one of the exigencies that characterizes the contemporary situation. This situation is rhetorical in that its exigence, its urgency, invites and requires new discourse, new genres—or a dynamic repurposing of old genres—of memory. Survivors continue to testify; Yad Vashem continues to write down names; museum spaces curate these responses into rhetorical depictions of a collective, public memory. The six million are remembered as names are gathered, and in this gathering, the names become something more.

This thesis seeks to identify that “something more.” It begins with the assumption that the ways in which Yad Vashem curates memory are intentional and have meaning. It posits genre and the discourse tradition as representative of cultural concerns and values; these memorial artifacts therefore have a story to tell. Most of all, this thesis begins with the assumption that memory is powerfully rhetorical (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010).

In the next chapter, I will construct my theoretical lens, using Blair, Dickinson, and Ott’s (2010) analogous relationship that posits memory to time and place to space to build a framework that incorporates both Bakhtin’s (1981) chronotope and Jamieson’s (1975) antecedent genre. Following the construction of this lens, I focus on the methodology for this project.

The next three chapters constitute the project’s analysis. Chapter three is a reading of Israeli Holocaust historiography and memory. The aim of this chapter is to provide a generalized understanding of the memorial eras that have shaped the Israeli discourse tradition surrounding the Holocaust over the past seven decades and to determine the genres that expressed each era’s

attending concerns. Ultimately, this historical context provides a foundation for understanding the antecedent concerns present in Yad Vashem's commemorative spaces. This chapter notes the development of a popular, almost ubiquitous genre of Holocaust memory: the testimony.

Chapter four focuses on space, treating the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names as a case study to trace the ways that memorial spaces can take up cultural values—in this case, the urgency that characterizes the current commemorative moment. This chapter bounds a particular historical moment—the contemporary memorial era—and examines the way meaning is enacted chronotopically. This chapter argues that ideological orientations to space/time, projected onto and taken up by commemorative spaces, have rhetorical consequences that aid in transforming these spaces into memory places.

Chapter five brings this case study into dialogue with the historical genre analysis of chapter three to examine the re-purposing of the genre of testimony in the Hall and the Database. This chapter combines the analytic frames of the chronotope and antecedent genre, analyzing the rhetorical construction of the Hall of Names and the Central Database into “memory places” with distinct, contextual identities. I identify traces of the Holocaust testimonial in the Hall and the Database and explore the ways in which this genre has been remediated. In this chapter, I argue that the rhetorical moves and the chronotopic concerns identified in chapter four are in dynamic relationship to this antecedent genre.

Finally, in my conclusion, I argue that the re-purposing of the testimonial genre seen in the Hall and the Database suggests a more complicated relationship between genre and the chronotope than Bakhtin (1981) theorized. While Bakhtin defines the chronotope as expressing a genre's orientation to time and space, my analysis also saw the two as working in the opposite direction. In the Hall of Names and the Central Database, I witnessed the chronotopic elements

of each space containing and repurposing genre. From this observation, I pose a contribution to Rhetorical Genre Studies, arguing for an extension of Bawarshi's (2001) language of genre ecology to include and account for the dynamic adaptation of genre across space. This thesis also furthers Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's (2010) merging of rhetorical theory with memory studies, suggesting that Rhetorical Genre Studies, and the chronotope in particular, constitutes a particularly fitting orientation to the analysis of memory places.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY AND METHOD

In their introduction to *Places of Public Memory*, Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) make a definitional move, “collaps[ing] under the sign of ‘public memory’ those studies taking the stance that beliefs about the past are shared among members of a group, whether a local community or the citizens of a nation-state” (2010, p. 6). From this perspective, Yad Vashem’s constructions of memory can be considered “public memory” because this institute acts as an official, state-sanctioned site for commemoration. While other competing sites for memory certainly exist, in Israel and internationally, Yad Vashem is an official arbiter of Holocaust memory not only in its native context but also cross-culturally. To this end, the museum has positioned itself as an authoritative institute of memory—as the “world center for documentation, research, education, and commemoration of the Holocaust” (“About Yad Vashem”).

This chapter explores the intersection of public memory and genre, suggesting that the framework of Rhetorical Genre Studies is a particularly fitting lens for analyzing the social work undertaken by memorials. It continues by examining the theoretical work done by Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) in their rhetorical concept of the “memory place.” I connect this concept to Bakhtin’s (1981) chronotope. If, as Blair, Dickinson, and Ott argue, memory is a rhetorical construction of time and place is a rhetorical construction of space, then, I argue, the chronotopic orientation to space/time within a genre is a fitting lens for my analysis of the Hall of Names and Central Database. Because memory is refracted through past orientations to an historical event, I also weave Jamieson’s (1975) antecedent genre into my theoretical lens.

Following this discussion of the theoretical foundation of my analysis, I present a brief overview of my methodology. After explaining my personal relationship to Yad Vashem, I

describe my approach to Holocaust memory in general as well as the structure of my rhetorical analysis of the Hall and Database. The construction of the main body of this thesis is a result of closely linked theoretical and methodological concerns.

Situating the Study: Collective Memory as Social Action

Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) emphasize the important link between public or collective memory and place. To illustrate the importance of memory and this attending feature of place in Western rhetoric, they begin their book with the oft-repeated story of Simonides of Ceos, the poet who was able to identify the bodies of banquet-goers after the banquet hall's roof collapsed because he memorized the room's layout while he was performing a recitation for the guests. The authors focus on the "intersecting concepts" of rhetoric, memory, and place in this "founding legend of the rhetorical art of memory" (2010, p. 1).

As Blair, Dickinson, and Ott note, the idea of public memory "increasingly preoccupies" contemporary scholars in social-scientific and humanities fields (2010, p. 1). The intersection of memory and place is one analytical location occupied by such scholars. An influential piece on public memory by Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz (1991) focuses on the social aspect of memorial construction in a discussion of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial located on the Washington Mall. Following the nation's engagement in the Vietnam War, the United States government was faced with a difficult and unprecedented task of national significance: How do we commemorate what has become, in public opinion, a morally polarizing conflict that we did not win? How do we, as a society, remember this event? What is its place in our national narrative? And how do we represent this memorialization? The rhetorical nature of memorial building, and the negotiation of meaning that accompanies this task, were rendered particularly visible in light of these struggles.

The challenges inherent in U.S. memorialization of Vietnam are echoed and amplified by the sheer magnitude and multifaceted horror of the Holocaust, an event that exists “at the limits of representation” (Friedlander, 1992). As James Young argues, “of all of the dilemmas facing post-Holocaust writers and artists, perhaps none is more difficult, or more paralyzing, than the potential for redemption in any representation of the Holocaust” (2000, p. 6). This problem of art and literature extends beyond individual attempts at representation to memorial building. How, then, has public memory of the Holocaust been negotiated, and how is this memory both creating and inhabiting new rhetorical spaces?

Much work has been done on Holocaust memorialization efforts in various Western contexts. Young (2000) explores memorialization in American and German contexts enacted by artists temporally removed from the Second World War. Cole (2004) provides a “comparative landscape study,” describing Yad Vashem, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Imperial War Museum in London as three examples of the Holocaust portrayed and nativized through three national contexts. Cole’s description of the exhibits focuses on both the physical locations of the memorials as well as their content to examine ways that the Holocaust is presented, particularly as it is filtered through national context. Goldberg (2012) discusses Yad Vashem as both a local (Israeli) and global memorial, parsing both the “Jewish narrative” of the museum as well as its particular importance in contemporary narratives of modernity and postmodernity. Costello (2013) explores performative memory in the Jewish Museum Berlin, examining the dialogic aspects of audience interaction and choice within this memorial space.

In order to further study the meaning and character of Holocaust memorials, including Yad Vashem and its material and digital spaces, it is necessary to account for more specific trends in scholarship related to public memory. This turn to the theoretical begins to build a

foundation for a contemporary study of places of memory. Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) address the negotiation of public memory in a discussion that accounts for six key positions in current work on memory:

(1) memory is activated by present concerns, issues, or anxieties; (2) memory narrates shared identities, constructing senses of communal belonging; (3) memory is animated by affect; (4) memory is partial, partisan, and thus often contested; (5) memory relies on material and/or symbolic supports; (6) memory has a history. (p. 6)

In addition to these six positions, Blair, Dickinson and Ott (2010) illustrate the rhetorical nature of public memory. They ask: “What would be the value, and what would be forfeited, if memory studies were to add an additional assumption to its inventory—that public memory is rhetorical—and to rethink its other assumptions accordingly?” (p. 22). Their answer to the forfeiture is *simplicity*: memory studies would be forced to deal with more complexity if the rhetorical nature of public memory is assumed.

Blair, Dickinson and Ott then go on to briefly summarize their application of a rhetorical lens to the six characteristics listed above, producing a list of “revised assumptions” that “are thoroughly rhetorical, having to do with rhetoric’s (and memory’s) meaningfulness, legibility, partisanship, consequentiality, and publicity as they are manifested in discourses, events, objects, and practices about the past in the present” (p. 22):

Yes, public memory bears relationships to the present, but those relationships are highly variable and dependent upon contexts, available rhetorical resources, representational choices, framings by various *techné*, and so forth. Yes, public memory narrates—arguably constructs—shared identities. But it does more even than that. It constructs identities that are embraced, that attract adherents (as well as dissidents). That necessarily

presupposes an affective inflection of a memory's contents *for particular audiences in particular situations*... Yes, memory is partial, because of what Irwin-Zarecka labels its symbolic/material "infrastructure," itself a dense set of layered characteristics of discourses, events, objects, and practices. Yes, memory has "a" history; it no doubt has *many* histories, depending upon cultural resources, mnemonic contents, infrastructural capacities, affective deployments, and so forth. (p. 22, emphasis the authors').

These new assumptions from the intersection of rhetoric and public memory constitute a set of theoretical "givens," warrants on which my analysis rests. In turn, my analysis will contribute to ideas about the situatedness, dynamism, and materiality of memory as rhetorically constructed.

Places dedicated to public memory, which include such culturally familiar locations as museums or memorials, exist at the integration of such social facts as present concerns, shared identities, and the material aspects of commemoration. For Blair, Dickinson and Ott, these "memory places" are spaces where the past is socially constructed and communally enacted. Perhaps most important for my examination of memory creation at Yad Vashem is Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's first idea, that memory exists in relationship to the present in ways that are "dependent upon contexts, available rhetorical resources," and so forth.

Cultural negotiation of Holocaust memory, with consideration for Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's contexts and available rhetorical resources, can be further examined via the lens of Garret and Xiao's (1993) discourse tradition and its important place in the rhetorical situation. The discourse tradition serves as a powerful constraint in the authors' "revisited" rhetorical situation. The discourse tradition is one "available rhetorical resource" that participates in continued re-imagination of the Holocaust as time—and the resulting character of the "present"—shifts. As Garret and Xiao argue, "the discourse tradition is both a source and a limiting horizon for the

rhetor and for the audience of the rhetorical situation” (1993, p. 38). They also contend that “it might not be going too far to say that, by creating or regenerating needs and promoting interests in an audience, a discourse tradition produces conditions for its own continuity, recirculation, and reproduction” (p. 39). Therefore, according to these authors, discourse traditions suggest and constrain possible responses to rhetorical exigencies, and the discourse tradition can further be seen as creating rhetorical exigencies in its own right—exigencies that are then met using the rhetorical tools provided by the discourse tradition.

Garret and Xiao’s language in describing these exigencies closely mirrors Blair, Dickinson, and Ott’s initial articulation of the first commonly held characteristic of memory—that is, that “memory is activated by present concerns, issues, or anxieties” (2010, p. 6). Garret and Xiao put it this way: “...rhetorical exigencies are expressions of the situational audience’s unsolved questions, concerns, anxieties, frustrations, and confusions, which need modification by discourse” (p. 39). The relationship between these exigencies, or what for Blair, Dickinson, and Ott are the present concerns expressed by and perhaps alleviated by memory, and the discourse tradition—one set of “available rhetorical resources”—will be an important one in considering Yad Vashem’s creation of public memory.

This analysis will take up, in particular, two instantiations of the discourse tradition that are particularly salient for a study of public memory: rhetorical genres and commonplaces.

As memory is socially constructed and communally enacted, it becomes genred (Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz, 1991; Costello, 2013). Within the tradition of Rhetorical Genre Studies, socially negotiated genres serve both as normalizing constructs and as normalized spaces for cultural meaning-making. That is, genres enact social ordering functions, creating a collective frame through which to filter the social; in turn, genres become the social places from which

shared understanding is created. Rhetorical Genre Studies therefore offers a way to view memorials as socially negotiated spaces for meaning. Miller's (1984) socio-rhetorical discussion of genre constitutes a foundational work for rhetorical studies. She describes genres as "large-scale typification of rhetorical action" (p. 163), advocating for a study of genre that prizes function over form and defining that function as *meeting a recurring social need*. For Miller, genre is classified as "social action"; in this case, that social action is the negotiated expression of collective memory.

Genres in this context comprise what Campbell and Jamieson call "cultural agreements" (1986, p. 297) and what Bazerman describes as "the familiar places we go to create intelligible communicative action" (1997). In these "familiar places," rhetor and audience bring mutual understanding to the "dialogic" construction of collective memory, to adapt Bakhtin's language describing literary genres (2000). This dialogue is shaped both by its participants and by its particular "cultural moment" (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). Just as other studies of the social construction of "memory places" have explicitly taken up genre (Wagner-Pacifici & Schwartz, 1991; Costello, 2013), my analysis also considers the role of genre in Yad Vashem's curation of meaning across media.

While genres are one useful frame for identifying cultural concerns, they are not the only instantiations of a discourse tradition, and they do not tell the whole story of Israel's relationship to the Holocaust. Garret and Xiao identify *topoi* as another location where ideologies contained in the discourse tradition find voice—"lines of reasoning" that are "instantiated in culture-specific terms, as commonplaces" (1993, p. 38). In the case of Holocaust memory, these commonplaces would be frames through which different social groups have traditionally viewed the genocide. These commonplaces constitute the available sites of rhetorical meaning that

audiences can access as they encounter new memorials that require interpretation or performance of memory. Two commonplaces associated with the Holocaust in Israel, in particular, find expression via materiality in the Hall of Names and via multimodal means in the Central Database.

Theoretical Frame: “Memory Places,” Bakhtin’s Chronotope, and Antecedent Genres

Blair, Dickinson, and Ott construct the notion of “memory places” by beginning with the concepts of space and time. Their succinct summary of current scholarship on the issues of space and place calls *place* “bordered, specified and locatable” while *space* is “open, undifferentiated, undesigned”; “place as structured, bordered, or built locale depends in part for its character upon how it employs space” (2010, p. 23). A definition for *memory* arises from an analogy: *place is to space as memory is to time*. “If places are differentiated, named ‘locales,’ deployed in and deploying space,” they argue, “we might suggest that memories are differentiated, named ‘events’ marked for recognition from amid an undifferentiated temporal succession of occurrences” (p. 24). Their next point is key: this analogy posits both place and memory as rhetorical constructions drawn from space and time. “Memory places” are spaces and events that have been imbued with significance; “[t]hey are rendered recognizable by symbolic, often material, intervention” (p. 24). They are constructed sites for remembering.

Identifying Yad Vashem as a “memory place” suggests that in order to analyze the rhetorical construction of this memorial, it makes sense to work backwards from the ideas of *memory* and *place* and focus on the ways in which *time* and *space* have been engaged in the museum’s material and digital constructions of memory. The concepts of time and space inhabit Bakhtinian (1981) notions of genre in what he calls the “chronotope”; as Schryer (1999) aptly states, for Bakhtin, “every genre expresses a particular relation to space and time” (p. 83).

Further, genres use space and time in a normalizing, what Schryer calls “axiological” way: “every genre expresses space/time relations that reflect current social beliefs regarding the placement of human individuals in space and time and the kind of action permitted within that space/time” (1999, p. 83). The chronotope’s orientation to space and time is therefore two-fold: through genres, it presents a particular understanding of space and time. This presentation, in turn, is deeply contextual; a genre’s chronotopic orientation to space and time is both taken up by and affected by the space and time that constitute its social milieu.

Where genres of memory are concerned, a third orientation to space and time is layered with the two-fold time-space orientation of the chronotope. What is at issue in “memory places” is a society’s orientation towards a particular time and space—towards a past moment in time. Memorial genres are therefore situated contextually, in a spatiotemporal milieu; they reflect chronotopic concerns dictated by this milieu; and they are oriented toward remembering a particular historical time and space. Memory places engage the chronotope when contemporary conceptions of space and time are employed to rhetorically construct those historical moments.

This study will extend traditional considerations of genre scholars and the chronotope to talk about the creation of social meaning in the memory places of the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names. While these spaces take up genres in their curation of memory, I do not argue that they are genred spaces. They do, however, inhabit similar ideological meaning-making territory, allowing the Hall and the Database to be read through a chronotopic lens.

Naturally, as a community’s context shifts, driven by both internal and external factors, the rhetorical construction of memory will take up different conceptions of time and space and different generic forms to match the community’s changing concerns and “shared identities.”

Similarly, and more broadly, different parts of the discourse tradition—different commonplaces, for example—may be enacted to meet new and changing rhetorical situations. Jordynn Jack argues that where the construction of genre is concerned, “[c]hronotopes compete to shape rhetorical situations and arguments in powerful ways, often by supporting ideological interest” (2006, p. 67). Jack also argues that chronotopic expression often overlaps; while one orientation to space and time may dominate a genre, other spatiotemporal expressions often continue to exist within a genre.

Likewise, just as chronotopic expressions often overlap, genres themselves are often repurposed and translated between memorial contexts. Genres are “stabilized for now” social constructions (Schryer, 1993); in that stabilized form, they become *kairotic* ways to understand a particular “cultural moment” (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). As a cultural milieu shifts, past generic expressions become an element of history—separate from the historical moment at the center of a memory place, but inextricably linked to this moment. This past collective understanding of the historical moment becomes a layer of memory that informs later filters through which the central event is viewed. Past orientations to an historical moment, expressed via genre, do not simply disappear when new concerns gain centrality; just as the historical moment is brought into the present, so, too, are past orientations to that moment.

Kathleen Jamieson (1975) articulates the idea that “the past may abide as a living presence” (p. 406) in her concept of antecedent genre. Jamieson argues that antecedent genres, or genres that have been used to address past rhetorical situations, constitute important rhetorical constraints when it comes to making generic choices in answering new rhetorical situations. She contends that “it is sometimes rhetorical genres and not rhetorical situations that are decisively formative” (p. 406). As she put it in an earlier (1973) article, “[t]he chromosomal imprint of

ancestral genres is evident at the conception of a new genre”; “genres are not *sui generis*” (163). Garret and Xiao (1993) make a similar point in their assertion that the discourse tradition is a constraint when it comes to meeting the needs of new rhetorical situations; rhetors and their audiences will continue to draw upon familiar elements of the discourse tradition, be they tropes, commonplaces, or, as in Jamieson’s (1975) argument, genres, even as they address novel exigencies.

As an historical event is thickened by the addition of attempts at meaning-making and expressions of collective memory, past genred constructions linger between the historical moment and current understanding. These orientations constitute antecedent elements to new genred expression. Past representations of memory have refracted the historical moment, and this refraction is then taken up in new times and places with new social concerns. The refractions build, so that what we understand of an historical moment is really a layered amalgamation of understandings past, genred via new and different chronotopic concerns.

These joint theoretical assumptions—first, that memory and place are rhetorical constructions of time and space; second, that the elements of time and space that inhabit genres reflect social values; and third, that past generic expressions of memorial ideals constitute antecedents that continue to inform genred expression even when new concerns dominate—will scaffold an analysis of the rhetorical features of the physical museum and its website. If memory is both “activated by present concerns, issues, or anxieties” and also “narrates shared identities, constructing senses of communal belonging” (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 6), then its axiological elements constitute the exigence for both the development of and subsequent reception of memorial genres and particular memory places. But an analysis of these memorial

genres must take into account the layering of antecedents that inform our present understanding of an historical moment.

Methodology

Analysis of this physical and digital space is timely, occupying an intersection of cultural and scholarly exigencies. As the world considers the shape that memory will take in a future that no longer includes the active voices of survivors, new media has become home to global sites of memory. In the absence of eyewitness, survivor testimony, international memorialization will likely depend even more heavily on Yad Vashem. But the museum's location in Israel limits its physical accessibility to those who are able to visit the Middle East. Therefore, Yad Vashem's digital spaces stand to gain even more in rhetorical importance in coming years. At issue, then, is how historical orientations to Holocaust memory inform the contemporary portrayal of the event in Yad Vashem's brick-and-mortar and electronic spaces, as well as how memory is re-inscribed from other media to the digital space of a website.

My reasons for selecting Yad Vashem as an analytical space go beyond an academic interest in public memory and the social exigence of Holocaust commemoration in a new memorial era. Woven into the academic fabric of this thesis project is a personal connection to Israel and its national memory of the Holocaust. As an undergraduate student, I spent nearly six months in 2011 studying in Israel at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, during which time I made several trips to Yad Vashem and also discussed the museum in both architecture and Holocaust history courses at the university. It was Yad Vashem that first made me acutely aware of the rhetorical power of memorials. Visitors exit the Holocaust History Museum onto a deck that overlooks the city of Jerusalem (Yad Vashem is located on one of Jerusalem's *harim*, or "mounts"). The horror of the camps, the sheer enormity of the atrocity, the darkness felt as the

museum pushes visitors along through a tragic narrative, ends with a stunning open-air vista.

When I was a student in Israel, one of my professors hinted at the power of this space: It is on the deck outside of the History Museum that some guides talk to Jewish college students on Birthright trips about “making *aliyah*,” or exercising the Right of Return and claiming Israeli citizenship. The power of this space, the meaning with which it is imbued, could not be ignored, even for a twenty-one year old American Catholic.

This project includes both an historical reading of memorial concerns and genre construction related to Israeli Holocaust commemoration as well as an in-depth analysis of two sites of contemporary memory (the Hall of Names and Central Database). Theory and method are closely knit here. In his “The Method Section as Conceptual Epicenter,” Smagorinsky (2008) argues for the importance of alignment between theoretical framework, methodology, and study results. The theoretical idea of time and space as constructing memory places guides the organization of the following analytical chapters. In the next chapter, I analyze genres across time; in the fourth chapter, I take up the idea of memory expressed through the chronotope in material and digital space; and in the fifth chapter, I combine the two to analyze the ways in which antecedent genres are translated across commemorative exigencies and social contexts to reside in rhetorically constructed memory places.

Chapter three’s historical analysis of memory across time involved research into both Holocaust historiography and the history of Holocaust memory in Israel. This chapter focuses on the development of a discourse tradition around the Holocaust. To understand salient discourse traditions within Holocaust memory from the end of the Second World War until the beginning of the 21st century (approximately a 70 year period), I collected and analyzed more than 20 Holocaust historiographies, texts on the history of memory, and texts on genres of Holocaust

memory. These texts revealed that Holocaust memory in Israel can and has been divided into several distinct memorial eras; I relied on the guidance of other authors in order to label the eras, focusing primarily on pre- and post-Eichmann Israel because many scholars identify Eichmann's Jerusalem trial as a major turning point in the construction of Holocaust memory. Through the historiographical texts I read, I was able to identify two commonplaces that have largely shaped Israel's Holocaust discourse tradition and that have in turn propelled the state's legacy of Holocaust memory: six million victims versus the individual, named victim or survivor. I was able to trace these commonplaces through the eras of memory, noting when one or the other was dominant in its shaping of memory and places of tension between the two.

I then returned to each memorial era and focused specifically on the memorial genres that expressed the concerns of and instantiated the discourse tradition in each period. The genres I have identified come both from the literature on Israeli Holocaust commemoration as well as from my own analysis of the recurring texts or discourses that other authors identified as characterizing each memorial era. The genre of testimony emerged as a salient part of the discourse tradition across memorial eras, leading me to undertake more research on this genre in particular.

My analysis in chapters four and five draws information about Yad Vashem's Jerusalem museum space both from my own recollections of several visits to Yad Vashem as well as online photographs and factual descriptions of the space. Analysis of Yad Vashem's website stems from direct interaction with this space during November 2014- March 2015. These chapters constitute a case study—an artifact analysis of a material space and a digital space. This interpretive analysis combines textual analysis (Huckin, 2004; Barton, 2004) with elements of multimodal analysis (Blythe, 2007) and Gallagher's (1995, 1999) analysis of material memorial spaces. It

also keeps activity—the negotiated meaning-making processes that the museum and web space invite for their visitors—as a central unit for analysis.

In chapter four, I adapted parts of Victoria Gallagher’s analytical focus from her treatment of the Civil Rights Institute in Birmingham (1999) and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial in Atlanta (1995). Gallagher posits content and consequence as “critical issues” in her examination of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (p. 304). In her earlier article on the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial, she also outlines the importance of context and location in analyzing memorial spaces. Together, these three rhetorical topics—content, context (location), and consequence—served as interpretive starting points in my examination of the rhetorical construction of time and space in the Hall of Names and the Central Database.

I examined the content and local context of each space for the “rhetorical move[s]” of the chronotope (Blythe 2007, p. 210). The editor and translator of Bakhtin’s *The Dialogic Imagination*, Michael Holquist, argues that the chronotope is “[a] unit of analysis for studying texts according to the ratio and nature of the temporal and spatial categories represented” (1981, p. 425). The space/time categories that make up a chronotopic unit might (and in this case, do) cover different scales. Complementarily, a lens that focuses on rhetorical moves allows for consideration of both the part and the whole. While individual elements are important in crafting meaning in a particular space, the ways in which meaning is woven through chronotopically also transcend these individual elements. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts; meaning exists in the gestalt (Hull & Nelson, 2005; Ranker 2008).

After I analyzed the chronotopic units of the two spaces, I returned in chapter five to the idea of the genre of testimony and traced the presence of this genre through the Hall and the Database. In this tracing, I identified what I believe to be central to the different uptakes of this

genre in the Hall and the Database: arrangement. I then analyzed the integration of the chronotope and the antecedent genre by focusing on arrangement as the key to explaining how genre interacts with the chronotopic expressions already identified in the two spaces. Out of this analysis, I used the ideas of genre and the chronotope—intersecting in the way that a legacy of social concerns coalesces into digital/material memorial expression in a stabilized moment—to construct and define the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names as Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's (2010) "memory places."

CHAPTER THREE: GENRES ACROSS TIME: HOLOCAUST MEMORY IN ISRAEL, 1945-PRESENT

James Young begins his chapter on Israeli commemoration of the Holocaust in *The Texture of Memory* (1993) with the following line: “Memory of historical events and the narratives delivering this memory have always been central to Jewish faith, tradition, and identity” (p. 209). He later goes on to describe the particular centrality of collective memory to Israeli nationhood, saying:

[L]ike any state, Israel also remembers the past according to its national myths and ideals, its current political needs. Unlike that of other states, however, Israel’s overarching national ideology and religion—perhaps its greatest ‘natural resource’—may be memory itself: memory preserved, restored, and codified. In cultivating a ritually unified remembrance of the past, the state creates a common relationship to it. The past remembered, recounted, and interpreted collectively becomes, if only vicariously, a shared experience. Having defined themselves as a people through commemorative recitations of their past, the Jews now depend on memory for their very existence as a nation. (p. 210-211)

Israel, then, is a nation built upon collective, participatory memory (cf. Yerushalmi, 1996; Stier, 2003).

Stier quotes Yerushalmi’s assertion that “[o]nly in Israel and nowhere else is the injunction to remember felt as a religious imperative to an entire people” (2003, p. 14). Jewish religiosity invites participation in a collective, biblical past. The establishment of the modern state of Israel in the ancient Jewish homeland, too, imbues a contemporary people, gathered

together out of the Diaspora, with a common history—one that centers on the Temple in Jerusalem and that is acted out at the Western Wall and thousands-years-old holy sites.

While cultural memory of the Promised Land brought the first Zionists back to Palestine, collective memory of the Holocaust served and continues to serve a defining role in Israeli nation building. As Tom Segev writes regarding the impact of the Holocaust on Israel's identity formation, "it formed the collective identity of this new country—not just for the survivors who came after the war but for all Israelis, then and now" (1993, p. 11). Segev calls those Israelis who engaged in nation building in the post-Holocaust years "the seventh million," linking the character and history of the new Jewish state with the six million Jews murdered by the Nazis.

Speaking on Holocaust historiography trends at Oxford University in 2012, noted Holocaust scholar Saul Friedlander suggested that the Holocaust occupies a "fuzzy twilight zone of intertwined history and memory." Tracing the Israeli narrative of the Shoah through the 20th and 21st centuries requires joint concern with historiography and the six socio-cultural elements of memory described by Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010).

These concerns have overlapped to dictate the place and role of the Holocaust in Israeli life from the 1940s onward. As Aleida Assmann notes in "History, Memory, and the Genre of Testimony" (2006), history and memory have become closely linked, beginning in the 1980s; now, "[t]he first question for historians to ask is still what has happened?" Assmann contends.

[B]ut it is no longer the only one. Other questions are now being asked by historians, such as: How is an event, and especially a traumatic event, experienced and remembered? What kind of shadow does the past cast over the present? What are more or less adequate modes of representing the past events? How can the memory of a historic event be preserved in public commemoration and personal memories? (2006, p. 263)

Assmann continues by describing the centrality of memory as an experiential and materially mediated aspect of our engagement with a past event: “Such additional questions concern less the events themselves than the experience and aftermath of the events in the lives of those who experienced them and those who decide to remember them, together with the problem of how to represent them” (p. 263).

An analysis of Israel’s reception history of the Holocaust depicts a society contending with basic memorial questions, including “What should be remembered?” and, more specifically and perhaps more central to Israel’s engagement with the Holocaust, “On what scale should we approach the murder and suffering of the Jews?”. This chapter argues that as Israelis have contended with Holocaust memory over the past 70 years, a discourse tradition has developed that posits two commonplaces as answers to this question of scale: remembrance of “the six million” and remembrance of the individual, named Holocaust victim. In different cultural moments, larger societal concerns have directed collective orientations to the fate of Europe’s Jewry and have led to one or the other of these commonplaces serving as locations for the creation of meaning. The rhetoric of these culturally dominant commonplaces—the meaning that is created through these sites for invention—is expressed in genres of memory. These genres are the discourse tradition’s typified responses to situations that invoke either the six million or the individual.

Memorial concerns can take tangible form in their typified, genred expressions; these generic expressions have, in turn, mediated memory throughout Israel’s history. Genres serve as cultural indices, preserving the social concerns and memorial imperatives of a particular cultural moment. More specifically, genres serve as snapshots of the dynamic appropriation of the discourse tradition as it meets those rhetorical situations that call upon Holocaust memory. In

this way, memorial history can be reconstructed through an examination of genre artifacts. Similarly, social histories can be illustrated and made tangible through examples of genred expression.

In this chapter, I will outline several loosely bounded eras of Holocaust memory in Israel. Each of these eras contributed to and was shaped by an increasingly complex discourse tradition, with its focus on one hand on commemoration en masse and on the other on the pain of individual survivors and the loss of individual dead. As I discuss each cultural moment, I will provide an example of the generic expression that gave voice to the era's most prominent memorial commonplace. These memorial genres, as central mediators of Israeli commemorative efforts, will represent part of the repertoire of antecedent genres now available for use in contemporary memory.

This chapter will further explore the centrality of the genre most closely linked to the commonplace of the individual, named Holocaust victim: the testimonial. Because memory is layered and refracted through past cultural orientations to the Holocaust, the pervasiveness of the testimony in the Israeli discourse tradition will provide contextual grounding for a later analysis of the Hall of Names and Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names.

The larger purpose of this chapter is to explore the idea of time, one of the rhetorical starting places in Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's (2010) place : space :: memory : time analogy (p. 24). More specifically, it traces genred expression of Holocaust memory across a 70-year period in Israel. This piece of the equation is key to understanding Yad Vashem's contemporary engagement with memory in the Hall of Names and the Central Database, which is the focus of my next chapter. The contemporary exigence that drives this project—that of commemoration in a survivorless future—arises out of a history of memory that, as my analysis will show, has taken

as central not only homage to Holocaust victims but also the active voices of survivors. The idea of time in this chapter refers not to the time of the Holocaust itself, but rather to time as a changing (increasing) variable that serves to shape memory in each of its iterations. Time's effects, as I have argued, are cumulative. Ultimately, this chapter will serve as a foundation for discussion of the testimony as central to the enactment of memory in the Hall and the Database.

Addressing Palestinian Absence in Israeli Holocaust Memory

Young's argument that key pieces of Israeli national identity are contained within "national myths and ideals," and that Israel's particular myths and ideals are specifically expressed via "memory preserved, restored, and codified" (1993, p. 210-211), can be placed into dialogue with two of the common positions on memory identified by Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010). First, that "memory narrates shared identities, constructing senses of communal belonging," and second, that "memory is animated by affect" (p. 6). The authors' rhetorical versions of these ideas about memory are as follows: "[P]ublic memory narrates—arguably constructs—shared identities. But it does even more than that. It constructs identities that are embraced, that attract adherents (as well as dissidents). That necessarily presupposes an affective inflection of a memory's contents *for particular audiences in particular situations*" (p. 22, emphasis the authors').

These latter thoughts stress the particularity of memory as building identities and "animating" affect "*for particular audiences in particular situations*"—a point important enough that Blair, Dickinson, and Ott emphasize it using italics. Segev notes that the Holocaust and its memory are so foundational that "the seventh million" were responsible for the construction of the Israeli state. As the following analysis shows, the Holocaust remains a pervasive presence in Israeli national identity.

But this memory is formative *for particular audiences in particular situations*; there are those who do not participate in this Israeli national identity. Most notably among these non-participants (non-invitees) are Palestinians.

Despite its conspicuous absence from Holocaust-centered rhetorics of nation building, Palestinian memory and identity has, in some ways, run parallel to Israeli memory and identity. In “‘If I forget thee, O Jerusalem’: The Poetry of Forgetful Memory in Palestine,” the third chapter of *Forgetful Memory: Representations and Remembrance in the Wake of the Holocaust* (2009), Michael Bernard-Donals uses poets Mahmoud Darwish (a Palestinian) and Yehuda Amichai (an Israeli) to explore intersections of memory and the “abyss” of forgetfulness in Israeli and Palestinian culture. Bernard-Donals argues:

If forgetfulness is what David Krell has called memory’s abyss or ‘verge,’ then one could argue that for those living in contemporary Palestine—the nation of Israel and its current and former Arab residents living both in and around the nation—the abyss’s correlative historical events are the destruction of the European Jews during the Shoah and its displacement of the survivors; and the founding of the state of Israel and the dispersal of its Arab residents. This relation between memory and forgetfulness is akin to the connection—particularly in the context of Palestine and Israel—between exile and disaster. (p. 41)

Bernard-Donals further describes the way in which the Jewish search for stability and for a place after the end of the Holocaust—the way in which the Jewish displacement that resulted from the Nazi atrocity—resulted in Palestinian displacement following the war “and the invention—sometimes out of whole cloth—of an Israeli history and culture that is both part of and wholly disparate from the diaspora culture it seeks to replace” (p. 50-51).

This diaspora culture extends beyond the Jewish Diaspora, the destroyed culture of the Jews of Europe. It is also a created diaspora culture—a diaspora culture of Palestinians, a displaced people who do not fit the national myth and the collective memory of an ancient Jewish homeland. In the dichotomous founding narrative of the Israeli state—the evil of the Nazis and their collaborators set in opposition to their victims, a stateless people in need of a place of their own, complete with national borders—there is no place for the Palestinians. They are neither persecutors nor fellow victims of the Holocaust.

The historical record shows what became of Palestinian villages in the quest for Israeli statehood. But this destruction, the *nakba* or “catastrophe,” as it is called by Palestinians, does not find a place in Israeli public memory next to memory of the Holocaust. As Bernard-Donals (2009) asserts, “earlier generations—those who came of age after the Holocaust and the declaration of the state, and those who came of age between the 1967 and 1973 wars—have forgotten. They have forgotten both because they were actively creating the historical reality that would be transformed into myth for the current generation, and because that creation rested on the decimation—the active forgetting—of the cultural memory of Palestine” (p. 52-53).

Bernard-Donals characterizes the Israeli relation to the displacement of Palestinians as a state of forgetting. While the relationship of memory and forgetfulness is a complex one, for the purposes of this chapter, that relationship helps to characterize the ways in which Holocaust memory serves to construct shared identities and cultural affect, and for whom. One might argue that the Holocaust as national myth knit together a people out of the Jewish Diaspora and provided the basis for a cultural narrative strong enough to allow erasure—Bernard-Donals’s “active forgetting” (p. 53)—of a co-present and later displaced Palestinian narrative.

This displacing of the Palestinian narrative was not followed by an integration of the Palestinian people into the Israeli narrative of statehood. Rather, following Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010), Holocaust memory is one element of a shared identity, powerfully affective and available *for particular audiences in particular situations*—for those citizens of Israel who share in the unifying characteristic of the six million: their Judaism. The following analysis focuses on the historical legacy of Israeli Holocaust memory, exploring its place in the national narrative and the development of an attending discourse tradition upon which Israelis continue to draw when they need to frame the genocide. In order to maintain this focus, reference to larger historical moments, many of which deal with Israel’s relationship to Palestinians or to other of its Arab neighbors, is made only tangentially as it directly relates to the dynamic curation of Holocaust memory across relatively broad swatches of time.

Memory and the Emergence of a State: 1945-1961

The Holocaust is so pervasive in Israeli consciousness that it is both the foundational narrative of the state and the state’s continued political justification for its often-tenuous relationship with its Middle Eastern neighbors (Shapira, 1998). David Ben-Gurion, Israel’s first Prime Minister, and other Zionist leaders in the 1940s argued that the Holocaust was the culmination of the perilous Jewish Diaspora: “look what happens to a people with no country of its own!” (Shapira, 1998, p. 47). The Jews lost in the Holocaust belonged to the state of Israel; if Israel had existed prior to the War, those murdered would have been saved. Israel took in many from the surviving remnant of the European Jews. In 1949, nearly a third of Israelis were Holocaust survivors (Segev, 1993).

Despite its centrality in Israel’s national consciousness from the very foundation of the state, Holocaust memory in the 1940s and 1950s reflected a people struggling to come to terms

with the recent atrocities that had befallen their European brothers and sisters. Israel's initial memorialization of the Holocaust took place as World War II ended and the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlers of Palestine) turned its sights to statehood, and the memories granted primacy reflect the values of the Israeli pioneers in their quest for autonomy. The first book published in Israel on the Holocaust was Ruzka Korczak's *Lehavot Ba-efer* (*Flames Amidst the Ashes*) in 1946; this book describes the heroism of the ghetto fighters in Vilna and "stirred emotions of pride and excitement" among the *Yishuv* (Kenan, 2003, p. 11). As Israel fought for statehood and later established itself amongst its Arab neighbors, there existed a difference in Israeli commemoration between memory of the ghetto fighters and Jewish "heroes" of the war and those seemingly passive victims who went, in Abba Kovner's immortal words, "like sheep to the slaughter" (Segev, 1993; Kenan, 2003; Michman, 2003; Friedlander, 2012; Zandberg, 2006; Gutwein, 2009).

While fighters were celebrated, "ordinary" survivors were expected to assimilate into Israeli society, to turn to the task of establishing the Jewish nation, and to remain silent about the past. Segev calls the 1950s Israeli orientation to the Holocaust the "great silence" (1993, p. 513). As Shapira asserts, "survivors did their best to integrate into Israeli society as quickly as possible. Memories from 'there' seemed more of a hurdle than a bridge to Israeliness. Those memories were not something to boast about: they projected weakness and helplessness, they called for pity" (1998, p. 51). This does not mean that survivors did not speak of their memories; on the contrary, Shapira calls their initial reaction a "fountain of suffering," followed by this "big silence."

Record of this "fountain of suffering" exists today in testimonies gathered at the end of the war. Kenan (2003), Friedlander (2012), and Jockusch (2013) detail the existence of

commissions set up to gather stories from survivors in European displaced persons camps at the end of the war. These “survivor historians,” as Friedlander calls them in his talk, had collected 18,000 testimonies and 8,000 survivor questionnaires by the end of the 1950s; some of this material was published by the Central Historical Commission in Munich in an historical journal of eye witness testimony between 1946 and 1948, and those testimonies collected by a group in Munich were sent to Yad Vashem in 1949 (Jockusch, 2013). Eventually, according to Friedlander, these recollections produced the *Yizkor*, or “memory,” books that intimately detailed the life and destruction of countless Eastern European Jewish communities.

Friedlander (2012) calls the post-Nuremburg era one of “silence... on the public scene.” Shapira agrees that Israeli historiography has come to define the 1940s and 1950s as an era of marginalization and repression vis-à-vis Holocaust memory. Shapira argues that this view must be nuanced, however, and through her analysis of the first generation of Israeli Holocaust history and memory, tension begins to emerge between what she calls “*private memory*” and “*public memory*” (1998, p. 50, emphasis the author’s). Shapira argues that during the 1940s and 1950s, the Holocaust was central to the “foundation myth” of Israel, could be seen in the establishment of Yad Vashem, and was already the subject of books and poetry. But, she argues, “most of the cultural activity surrounding the Holocaust at the time was the fruit of public (as opposed to personal) initiative” (1998, p. 46). In the early days of Israeli statehood, “the memory of the Holocaust as a key event in Jewish history was raised over and over again,” but this memory was constructed in a particular way: “[the Holocaust] was always related in massive terms: six million Jews; Auschwitz, Maidanek; Treblinka” (Shapira, 1998, p. 50).

In the 1940s and 1950s, then, the collective memory of the Holocaust focused on the six million. This was the first politically and socially important commonplace within an emerging

Holocaust-related discourse tradition in Israel. Segev argues that “the Holocaust imposed a posthumous collective identity on its six million victims” (1993, p. 11). The Hebrew word *Shoah*, used to describe the murder of Europe’s Jews since before the end of the War, means “destruction” (“The Holocaust: The Holocaust Resource Center”) and alludes to a rationalizing of the murder on a grand rather than intimate scale—as the end of entire communities and an interruption of a people rather than a tragedy befalling individuals. In the first decades after WWII, Shapira (1998) argues, the Holocaust was not ignored; rather, it was defined in terms of the broader catastrophe and the sheer magnitude of the loss of European Jewry.

Generic Expression of Memory during the Emergence of the State

Typified expression of Holocaust memory in Israel’s early days invoked the rhetoric of statehood. Tomasz Cebulski (2007) points to the “Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel” as outlining the emerging nation’s social concern with the Holocaust in 1948. Cebulski cites three paragraphs within the Declaration that reference the Holocaust:

The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people - the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe - was another clear demonstration of the urgency of solving the problem of its homelessness by re-establishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State, which would open the gates of the homeland wide to every Jew and confer upon the Jewish people the status of a fully privileged member of the comity of nations.

Survivors of the Nazi holocaust in Europe, as well as Jews from other parts of the world, continued to migrate to Eretz-Israel, undaunted by difficulties, restrictions and dangers, and never ceased to assert their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in their national homeland.

In the Second World War, the Jewish community of this country contributed its full share to the struggle of the freedom- and peace-loving nations against the forces of Nazi wickedness and, by the blood of its soldiers and its war effort, gained the right to be reckoned among the peoples who founded the United Nations. (2007, p. 3)

The first paragraph, in particular, shows the establishment of a political discourse tradition that appropriates Holocaust memory. This discourse tradition, in turn, represents early genre-making in progress. The Holocaust is referred to as a “catastrophe” that has “bef[allen] the Jewish people” and defined as “the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe.” The political purpose of Holocaust memory, in this document, is as part of the state’s foundational narrative.

Israel’s Public Confrontation of the Holocaust: The Eichmann Trial, 1961

Although the process of integrating memory and experience of the Holocaust more fully into Israeli consciousness was affected by a number of events and military confrontations during the 1960s and 1970s, many scholars see Eichmann’s 1961 trial in Jerusalem as an important turning point in Israeli public memory (Segev, 1993; Shapira, 1998; Michman, 2003; Stier, 2003; Zandberg, 2006; Gutwein, 2009). Gutwein contends that the Eichmann trial initiated a period of “nationalized memory” with regards to Israeli identification with the Holocaust and its victims.

Adolf Eichmann was a high-ranking Nazi official, dubbed by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as “one of the most pivotal actors in the deportation of European Jewry during the Holocaust”; Eichmann and his men organized the deportations of more than 1.5 million Jews from Slovakia, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Greece, Northern Italy, and Hungary to killing sites or death camps in Poland and the Soviet Union (“Adolf Eichmann”). With the tide of the war against them, Germany occupied its former ally, Hungary, in 1944. Between April and July of 1944, Eichmann was directly involved in the deportation process that

brought over 400,000 Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz (according to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, this was the only country where Eichmann took direct involvement in deportations).

The primary trials for Nazi war criminals occurred at Nuremburg during the latter half of the 1940s, but Eichmann fled Europe before he could be brought to trial and spent the last years of the 1940s and the 1950s living under assumed names in Argentina. Israeli intelligence learned of his whereabouts, and Mossad agents abducted him and smuggled him out of the country to stand trial in Israel in 1960.

The rhetoric surrounding Eichmann's capture and his impending trial in Jerusalem called again upon the collective loss of the Jewish people—on the memory of the six million and the large scale of the Holocaust. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's announcement of Eichmann's capture before the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) described the now-war criminal as complicit in “the extermination of six million of Europe's Jews” (Segev, 1993, p. 326). In a response to a *Washington Post* editorial that questioned Israel's right to try Eichmann, Ben-Gurion argued that “[t]he Jewish state (which is called Israel) is the heir of the six million who were murdered, the only heir; for these millions...regarded themselves as sons of the Jewish people and only as sons of the Jewish people” (Segev, 1993, p. 330). During the trial itself, the first words of Israeli Attorney General Gideon Hausner's eight-hour opening speech invoked the six million:

As I stand before you, judges of Israel, to lead the prosecution of Adolf Eichmann, I am not standing alone. With me are six million accusers. But they cannot rise to their feet to point an accusing finger toward the glass booth and cry out at the man sitting there, ‘I accuse.’ For their ashes are piled up on the hills of Auschwitz and the fields of Treblinka, washed by the rivers of Poland, and their graves are scattered the length and breadth of Europe. Their blood cries out, but their voices cannot be heard. I, therefore, will be their

spokesman and will pronounce, in their names, this awesome indictment. (quoted in Segev, 1993, p. 347)

After Eichmann's trial, when twenty Israelis—mostly members of academia, including the philosophers Martin Buber and Shmuel Hugo Bergmann—asked for the commutation of Eichmann's death sentence to imprisonment, the Israeli newspaper *Maariv* responded, “No! Six million times no!” (Segev, 1993, p. 365).

Notably, in addition to these displays of national orientation toward the six million, it was also during Eichmann's trial that Holocaust memory in Israel transcended the rhetoric of the many and began to account for the individual victim. From a rhetorical point of view, the Eichmann trial introduced a new commonplace—the commonplace of the individual, of the named survivor or named victim—into an emerging discourse tradition.

While Eichmann could have been indicted based on damning official documents alone, Ben-Gurion and Hausner sought a more emotional, symbolic public experience. This emotion was provided by the testimonies of over 100 witnesses—many of whom detailed experiences that were only tangential, if at all related, to Eichmann himself. Young describes the trial as a time for “the public ‘coming out’ of Holocaust survivors” (1993, p. 213). As Segev notes, “[o]nce the witnesses were on the stand, it was almost impossible to stop them or demand that they be brief. For it was not the mass murder policy that was at the center of their stories, not the general organization or the timetables of the trains for which Eichmann was responsible, but the terrors of death itself. The witnesses told their own stories...” (1993, p. 350-351).

Israelis attended the trial and listened on the radio. The foreign press recorded the event. Hearing the stories of individuals “served as a sort of national group therapy” (Segev, 1993, p. 351); as Shapira argues, “[i]t was through private memories of the Holocaust that the Holocaust

ceased to be huge, anonymous, and, as a result, inconceivable” (1998, p. 50). Kenan (2003) describes the impact of the Eichmann Trial on Israeli consciousness as follows: “The appearance of a great number of witnesses, the physical collapse of survivors, and the large amount of recorded testimony directed attention to the survivors and contributed to a process of individuation...” (p. 78).

Generic Expression of Memory during the Eichmann Trial

The Eichmann trial was a turning point in Israeli memory of the Holocaust largely because it constituted a national rhetorical situation that was radically different from the situations that called upon Holocaust memory in the preceding decade. The Eichmann trial was an opportunity for Israel to conduct a war crimes trial as a sovereign entity that represented the Nazis’ primary victims; it was an opportunity for living victims of the Holocaust to remember those they lost as well as to have some small part in bringing justice to one of the men behind the genocide. The incorporation of individual testimony, particularly as an emotional, symbolic tool utilized by the prosecutors, began a shift in the way that the Holocaust was remembered in Israel. The resultant commonplace of the individual, named survivor or victim continues to dominate Israeli Holocaust discourse to this day.

The witness testimony at the trial characterizes and expresses the “process of individuation” that Kenan cites. In *The Era of the Witness*, Wieviorka (2006) describes the trial as the “advent of the witness” (p. 57); Eichmann’s arrival in Jerusalem “created a social demand for testimonies” (p. 87). Indeed, according to Wieviorka, witness testimony was the “essence of the Eichmann trial” (p. 85). Wieviorka explains the role of the survivor in the expression of Holocaust memory during and following the trial as follows:

The Eichmann trial changed matters. At the heart of this newly recognized identity of the survivor was a new function: to be the bearer of history. And the advent of the witness profoundly transformed the very conditions for writing the history of the genocide. With the Eichmann trial, the witness became an embodiment of memory...attesting to the past and to the continuing presence of the past. Concurrently, the genocide came to be defined as a succession of individual experiences with which the public was supposed to identify. (p. 88)

The survivors providing testimony were, for Wieviorka, an embodiment of the new genre of memory taking hold in Israel.

Several features characterize the testimonies provided at the Eichmann trial, defining the dominant genre of expression during this memorial moment. First, Wieviorka notes, there was a sense of veracity lent to the trial testimonies by the fact that Hausner selected those whose stories were already recorded by Yad Vashem as well as those survivors that had written down their memories elsewhere in the years following the war. This genre of memory was also shaped by its presence in a courtroom; Wieviorka notes that the testimonies gained “political and social significance no book could confer” (2006, p. 84) by virtue of the fact that they were requested by the state and backed by the force of the legal system.

As noted previously, these testimonies did not center on Eichmann’s role in the war, and, according to Wieviorka, the court cared little. “[T]he television audiences of the world wanted only the moments when the surviving witnesses testified”; Eichmann’s very “presence had been eclipsed” (p. 83). “The witnesses told their own stories and that is what gave weight to their words” (p. 84).

Wieviorka details several particularly profound examples of testimony from Eichmann's trial, each noted for its emotional impact. Ada Lichtman was the first witness from Poland and the first to testify about atrocities committed during the Nazi regime's Final Solution. She spoke in Yiddish—the language of annihilated Jewish communities in Eastern Europe—adding further weight to the horrors she recounted. Leon Wells-Wieliczker was a member of Death Brigade 1005 as a prisoner during the war, forced to extract bodies from mass graves, burn them, and crush up remaining bones. He testified for two days. Georges Wellers recalled a transport of children from France that had been separated from their mothers and arrived in Drancy by themselves in “infinite distress” (Wieviorka, 2006, p. 79). They were subsequently deported on. Wieviorka finishes with the example of Yehiel Dinor, or Ka-tzetnik (a moniker for a prisoner of the KZ, or concentration camp). Ka-tzetnik was already famous for his war memoir, *House of Dolls*, and spoke of the “planet called Auschwitz” (p. 80). In what has become an incredibly famous moment from the trial, he fainted on the stand.

These moments, it seems, are definitive of the genre of testimony that was shaped by—and shaped—the social context of the Eichmann trial. This new addition to Israel's Holocaust discourse tradition spurred the beginning of an era that, Wieviorka notes, defined the genocide “as a succession of individual experiences” (p. 88). Wieviorka argues that the functions of this genred testimony “persist to this day” (p. 89).

The Holocaust in Post-Eichmann Israel: 1970s-1980s

Haim Bresheeth (1997) notes that the changes induced by the Eichmann Trial were not immediate. Following the Eichmann trial, Shapira (1998) and Zandberg (2006) describe the Six Day War (1967) and the Yom Kippur War (1973), among other local political factors, as further influencing the acceptance of private, personalized Holocaust memory within Israeli culture.

One of the first places that saw its orientation to the Holocaust change after the Eichmann trial was Israeli education. In the wake of the Six Day War, Israeli schools had children engage in a project of “adopting” European Jewish communities to study—communities that had been destroyed in the Holocaust (Segev, 1993). Like the litany of survivor witnesses at the Eichmann trial, this personal engagement with individual communities again provided a face to the faceless “six million.”

The 1980s signaled a cultural shift in Israel that led to the particular prominence of privatized memory (Bresheeth, 1997; Zandberg, 2006; Gutwein, 2009). Gutwein describes this privatization as concurrent with Israel’s post-Zionist “privatization revolution.” “Privatized memory turned the Holocaust into a personal experience that is concerned with the fate of Jews as individuals: victims, displaced persons (DPs), survivors, and the ‘second generation’” (Gutwein, 2009, p. 37).

Emblematic of the privatized memory of the 80s, according to Gutwein, is the poem “Unto Every Person There is a Name” by the Israeli poet Zelda. “Unto every person there is a name/ Bestowed on him by God/ And given to him by his parents,” it begins. The opening line repeats eight more times, with each stanza describing the way an individual achieves his name. The poem closes, “Unto every person there is a name/ Which he receives from the sea/ And is given to him by his death” (B’Nai B’rith International translation). This poem has become entrenched within the discourse tradition that shapes memory in Israel; its language is attached to the commonplace of the individual, named victim.

In 1989, Yad Vashem began an annual memorial on Yom Hashoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day) based around and named for “Unto Every Person There is a Name.” An April 2014 letter from the International Committee for the memorial describes the event as a

“unique project designed to perpetuate the memory of the Six Million—among them one-and-a-half million Jewish children—murdered while the world remained silent.” The Committee continues, “The project allows participants the space and time to memorialize them not only as a collective, but as individuals—one at a time—through the public recitation of their names on Yom Hashoah—Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Day—and thus help to restore their identity and dignity.” The Committee juxtaposes the six million with the individual: “The most fundamental feature of the Shoah is the systematic murder of six million innocent Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators for the sole reason that they were born Jewish. Each of their deaths was a separate, distinct tragedy that together has caused inedible trauma to the Jewish people.” Later in the letter, the International Committee describes name-reciting ceremonies as emphasizing “the millions of individuals—men, women, and children—who were lost to the Jewish people, and not solely [emphasizing] the cold intangibility embodied in the term ‘The Six Million’.”

Yad Vashem’s use of the poem serves as a testament to the rhetorical power of the commonplaces that shape a discourse tradition. Although the poem refers to the individual person and his name, the International Committee sees the six million, too, between the lines. He brings the commonplaces into dialogue with one another: it is because of the grand scale of the tragedy—“the most fundamental feature of the Shoah,” the death of the six million—that it is so important that we remember individual victims of the Nazis. In this remembering, we “help to restore their identity and dignity,” identity that is lost in the sheer, overwhelming power of a number like six million.

Beyond “Unto Every Person There is a Name,” the 1980s privatization of Holocaust memory and the commonplace of the named individual take expression in the beginning of an

effort to collect video-recorded testimonial interviews at Yad Vashem and Beit Hatefutsoth (the Diaspora Museum) as well as at various sites in the United States and Europe (Michman, 2003). It was also during this decade, Michman asserts, that a “virtual flood” of survivor memoirs was published (p. 344).

Segev (1993) describes an event from 1987 that bespeaks the tensions inherent in shifting focus from the six million to individual Holocaust victims. This year marked the establishment of Yad Vashem’s Children’s Memorial, designed to commemorate the 1.5 million Jewish children murdered during the Holocaust. The donors for the memorial, Abraham and Edita Spiegel, wanted the structure named for their son, Uziel, who was killed in Auschwitz. Segev’s conversation with Yitzhak Arad (then director of Yad Vashem, 1972-1993) revealed that of concern was “the question of whether Spiegel’s millions were enough to justify giving the memory of Uziel precedence over the memories of the other million and half children killed”; Arad “refused absolutely” to name the building after Uziel but allowed donor signs memorializing the Spiegels’ son on the site’s doors and a sculpture of Uziel to be displayed beyond the entrance to the memorial (1993, p. 443-444). The memorial displays reflected candles in a dark room, candles reflected by mirrors into infinity—a representation of the many Jewish children lost. But at the same time, the memorial focuses on individuals, with recorded names and ages of murdered children read in a constant litany.

Generic Expression of Memory in Post-Eichmann Israel

The privatization and individuation of memory, begun during the Eichmann trial and carried through the following decades, is again given genred expression through testimony. In the era following the trial, this testimony took on different forms, as noted above. Rather than finding as its appropriate social location the witness stand in the courtroom, testimony instead

began occupying digital screens and the pages of memoirs. During this era, video testimonies became a particularly salient, typified way to capture current memorial concerns.

Assmann (2006) describes the Yale Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies as having “played a major role in establishing [the video testimony] as a separate genre and defining its specific format and purpose” (p. 264). Assmann describes this genre as one that, like the testimonies of the Eichmann trial, is characterized by its embodied nature. Comparing the video testimony to a written autobiography, Assmann notes, “[i]nstead of arbitrary signs... on paper, there is the (indexical) tone of an individual human voice, changing in its pace, pitch, and timbre; and instead of the square and standard page, there is the screen with a face that is expressive and concrete, individual and memorable, as the voice that is speaking” (p. 265). Additionally, video testimonies as a genre “shatter the biographical frame” by focusing not on the autobiographical narrative of a survivor but instead on the event of the Holocaust itself; “[i]t registers events and experiences that are cruelly meaningless and thwart any attempt at meaningful coherence” (p. 264). These testimonies are “memorials of individual human suffering and surviving” (p. 267).

Assmann also defines the genre of the video testimony, borne and nurtured in an era that concerned itself with remembering the individual as well as individual memory, as one which requires audience participation—just as the testimony takes place in a dialogic space and is already witnessed by the interviewer and those filming, the listener “must be willing to share the testimony and become a co-witness or secondary witness of the memory that he or she helps to extend in time and space” (p. 265). The long-term participatory potential for video testimonies is inherent in the genre itself; as Assmann notes, “the purpose of preserving and storing a narrative is inscribed into the very genre. From the start, its function is to transform the ephemeral

constellation of an individual voice and an individual face into storable information and to ensure its communicative potential for further use in an indefinite future” (p. 270).

In discussing engagement with video testimonies, Assmann clearly identifies a memorial concern met by this genre: these embodied, recorded testimonies are meant to immortalize the survivors that have provided them. Video testimony as a genre is meant to keep memory contemporary, to ensure that “the rights of memory can be restored in a future era of history and the experience of the Holocaust can maintain its status as ‘contemporary history,’ supported by living memories” (Assmann, 2006, p. 271).

The Chamber Quintet and Memorializing Memory: Reflections on Memory, 1990-present

The 1990s was an era of new frontiers both in world Holocaust documentation and in Israeli memorialization. On the international stage, historians began gaining access to archives and documentation in Eastern European countries following the Cold War—places like Serbia, Belarus, Galicia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Transnistria (Stone, 2010; Michman 2003). The 1990s also saw the expansion of the video interview projects of the 1980s by Steven Spielberg’s U.S.-based Shoah Foundation, which collected video testimony from 1994-2000; the Foundation’s collection of almost 52,000 testimonies is currently housed at Yad Vashem. The Holocaust as depicted in popular media became an area for research, led by interest in Spielberg’s 1993 *Schindler’s List* (Zandberg, 2006). Boaz Cohen (2011) also notes that the “last years of the twentieth century were characterized by a return of the Jews and their history in writings about the Holocaust” (p. 108) after years of scholarly focus on Germany and Nazism.

In Israel, the 1990s was the era of a popular satirical sketch television program called *The Chamber Quintet*. Zandberg (2006) describes the show as dealing with the Holocaust—among a variety of other socially relevant topics—and providing cultural commentary on Israel’s relation

to and use of the genocide as part of its national story. Zandberg notes that the show is a “cult phenomenon” and that reruns continue to air on special national holidays; the show, Zandberg argues, is therefore a ““social seismograph”” (2006, p. 562). In this way, the show both drew from and added to various discourse traditions, including the one that shaped Holocaust memory in Israel.

Among the issues pertaining to Holocaust memory that *The Chamber Quintet* portrayed was what Zandberg terms a “fundamental issue in Israeli Holocaust commemoration”: “the tension between the public and the private” (p. 570). In the episode Zandberg describes, a member of the “second generation” (a child of Holocaust survivors) recounts an interview in which a BBC crew asked him about his “art”—the means by which many second generation Israelis publicly dealt with Holocaust memory. This man is not an artist, but seeks an outlet of expression for the sake of the “nice people” who ““came all the way from England”” to film him (2006, p. 570). He fails to find a means of artistic expression and feels guilty about it. Zandberg analyzes the scene as follows: As opposed to its early representations, the Holocaust “is conceptualized now less as a national event with a defined collective implication than as an historical experience that happened to (and influenced many other) *individuals*” (p. 570, emphasis the author’s). Zandberg goes on: “However, this monologue amplified the tension between the conventional public image of the second generation and individual experience.... The episode epitomizes the dominance of collective memory—motivated by the media’s conventions—over actual private experience” (p. 570).

Zandberg’s analysis demonstrates that at the end of the twentieth century, Israeli popular culture was critically aware of tensions over how to memorialize, whom to memorialize, and on what scale memorialization of and identification with the Holocaust is appropriate.

The Chamber Quintet also dealt with another key issue that has come to characterize Israeli Holocaust memory in the 21st century: that of “blurring... history and its cultural representations” (Zandberg, 2006, p. 572). Zandberg writes: “In recent years Israel’s Holocaust discourse has shifted from focusing on the Holocaust as an historical event to Holocaust-memory as a cultural phenomenon. The commemoration issue is so dominant that it has replaced the Holocaust itself in the public agenda. Memory is no longer a connection to past events but stands, independently, in place of them” (p. 572). Stier (2003) makes a similar point: “Often it is the felt duty to remember—memory itself—which is remembered in contemporary Holocaust memorial culture” (p. 19).

In the show, two men walk together, depicting a scene from Claude Lanzmann’s *Shoah*. They look like Lanzmann and a Holocaust survivor, and their conversation begins as if the survivor is describing seeing Schindler arrive in the paradigmatic camp scene: “around there were barbed-wire, dogs, and all you could hear was shouting” (p. 573). But the scene quickly devolves, and it becomes clear that the “survivor” was an actor on the scene of *Schindler’s List* and the experience he describes (“It was horrible, absolutely horrible.”) was not set in a concentration camp; rather, he is griping about reshooting scenes on set. The topic is not the Holocaust itself but memorialization of the Holocaust via *Schindler’s List* and *Shoah*.

Generic Expression of Memory in Contemporary Israel

In “The ‘Never Again’ State of Israel,” Yechiel Klar, Noa Schori-Eyal, and Yonat Klar (2013) argue that “[t]he Holocaust is a predominant issue in all areas of Israeli social and cultural life, including literature (Feldman, 1992), film (Gertz, 2004), visual arts (Katz-Freiman, 2003), and even humor (Zandberg, 2006)” (p. 127). The sketches presented on *The Chamber Quintet*

constitute one genred expression of Israel's current cultural concern with memory itself, as Klar, Schori-Eyal, and Klar note in their citation of Zandberg.

That *The Chamber Quintet* does a sketch focusing on Lanzmann's *Shoah*, recreating and making satire out of the genre of the video testimonial, speaks to the ubiquity of this form of memorial expression into the contemporary era. Effective satire requires as its subject a phenomenon or person that is culturally familiar to its anticipated audience. The creators of the piece are counting on the fact that the visual and conversational cues in the clip immediately point to a well-known, genred instantiation of the culture's discourse tradition. That is, when Israelis see the two men walking together, speaking about things such as barbed-wire, dogs, and shouting, the writers assume that these viewers will recognize the conversation as belonging to the genre of testimony—and even more specifically, to Lanzmann's iconic work. With this situational awareness, the audience should understand the sketch's disruption of the traditional mores of the testimonial genre—first and foremost, speaking to an actual survivor about an actual camp experience.

Competing and Cooperating Memorial Concerns: The Discourse Tradition, the Six Million, and the Individual

Dan Stone defines memory as that which “makes the absent present” (2003, p. 131). In the case of the Holocaust, what is absent, most obviously, is the six million—six million Jewish men, women, and children; countless small communities from all over Europe; swaths of large, modern cities that simply disappeared. But the absent also includes individuals—individuals like Uziel Spiegel, the toddler who died in Auschwitz but whose parents went on to make him tangibly present in the form of a stone relief sculpture at the entrance to the Children's Memorial. Absent is Anne Frank, whose diary makes both the young teenager as well as her companions in hiding so vividly present that I was shocked, as a child, to learn that only one of

resident of the Secret Annex survived the concentration camps. While Uziel Spiegel's name may not be internationally recognizable, Anne Frank's is, and she is rendered present in her absence through our memorialization and engagement with her diary.

Shapira (1998) notes the six million as a cornerstone in the foundation of Israel; Segev (1993) goes so far as to call Israel's citizens "the seventh million." Shapira also notes that engaging on a smaller scale renders the Holocaust more accessible. This tension between the one and the many—between the six million lost lives and each individual murder—has characterized (it might not even be too strong to say *defined*) Israel's distinct eras of Holocaust memory. These opposing and at times interlocking conceptions of the genocide have become the commonplaces that characterize Israel's Holocaust discourse tradition.

Israel's earliest years of independence faced the Holocaust as a great loss of Diaspora populations—a loss that colored the creation of the Jewish State and became enmeshed in its national ethos. The Eichmann trial, the major turning point in the assimilation of Holocaust suffering (not just Holocaust heroism) into the Israeli national identity, epitomizes the coexistence of acknowledgement of the Jewish people's collective loss with acknowledgement of private suffering and individual loss. It was in these early years that the competing commonplaces saw their development. The decades following the Eichmann trial brought private memory to the fore, taking up and further refining the commonplace of the individual, named victim.

Today, although the end of the twentieth century commingled the precedence of private memory with the foregrounding of memory itself, in place of more explicit engagement with the Shoah, the six million maintain a pervasive presence in Israeli Holocaust symbolism. The symbolic representation of Yad Vashem, displayed as a material sculpture at the memorial and as

part of the website's logo, is a candelabrum with six arms to represent the six million (American Society for Yad Vashem). In 2011, the Associated Press reported that Israel was set to issue new identification cards to its citizens, and that the numbering system on these new cards would begin at 6,000,001, with the first six million numbers representing those Jews lost in the Holocaust. The popular Israeli hip-hop group, Hadag Nahash, reference the six million in their song "*Misparim*," or "Numbers." Assmann notes that the "great project" of the video testimony, a genre largely associated with individuated memory, is "to reconnect the enormous and abstract event of the Holocaust with the concrete voice and face of an individual" (2006, p. 272)—not to separate the two.

The coexistence of these memorial concerns suggests that in addition to identifying the historical tension within the discourse tradition, there is also space to search for more complexly genred, layered memory. This memory might display a dialogic relationship between antecedent orientations to the individual and the six million and the current cultural moment. In the next chapter, I will freeze time and focus on memory as it is constructed across space, focusing on the chronotopic elements that create meaning in the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names. In the final chapter of this analysis, I will return to the idea of past generic orientations to Holocaust victims as I examine the intersection of antecedent genre and the chronotope in the Hall and Database. Because of its historical pervasiveness in the Israeli discourse tradition, I will return in particular to the genre of the testimonial in chapter five as I undertake a case study of these two memorial spaces.

CHAPTER FOUR: MEMORY ACROSS SPACE: CHRONOTOPIC ANALYSIS OF THE HALL OF NAMES AND CENTRAL DATABASE OF SHOAH VICTIMS' NAMES

Just as time is a central consideration in the construction and continuous reimagination of memory, so too is space. This chapter deals with space as the other rhetorical starting point from Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's (2010) place : space :: memory : time analogy (p. 24). The spaces at the center of this analysis do not exist independent of time; rather, I am choosing to frame these spaces in their contemporary cultural moment, to view them as stabilized-for-now expressions of Israel's current memorial concerns. I am interested, in this chapter, in how these spaces take up time as a variable. But beyond that, I am also interested in how these two spaces order meaning, engage a particular discourse tradition, and lend themselves to certain rhetorical possibilities.

The current cultural moment—the rhetorical situation—that frames my analysis of these spaces is best defined by the institution itself as an ongoing “11th hour campaign” to collect the names of those who perished in the Holocaust. This self-described campaign speaks to the defining principle driving the current era of commemoration: that of urgency. Urgency to recognize and name the dead and urgency to inscribe the past while survivors remain to bear witness. As memory places constructed by Yad Vashem, the Hall of Names and the Central Database are participants in this current cultural moment. It would therefore stand to reason that these spaces might engage this memorial value of urgency.

What that engagement looks like, if it is indeed occurring, can be traced through a concept borrowed from genre theory: Bakhtin's (1981) chronotope, or “particular relation[s] to time and space” (Schryer, 1999, p. 83). It is through this ideological characteristic—in Bakhtin's case, of a genre; in this case, of the Hall and the Database—that an established memorial has potential room to take up current social concerns.

The chronotope orients time and space in three ways: first, the chronotope depicts particular orientations to space and time; second, these spatiotemporal orientations are in dialogue with social contexts, meaning that they arise from and are affected by the particular space and time that constitutes a culture's location; finally, within the context of memorials, these orientations to space and time are directed towards a particular historical moment that occurred in a particular physical setting. Chronotopic meaning exists in the interaction of these three space/time orientations: spatiotemporal, ambient meaning arising out of the concerns of a stabilized-for-now cultural moment and oriented toward a past event. Even when a designated memorial space exists, that space becomes re-imbued with the particular "character" (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 23) that allows space to construct place differently as memory morphs and develops with shifting cultural concerns, anxieties, and identities (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 6).

Therefore, to construct the character of the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names as contemporary memory places, enacting certain cultural values and memorial functions in 2015, it is critical to examine the ways in which space and time are ideologically employed and enacted contextually. The Hall and Database become rhetorically defined as memory places not simply based on their material and digital features but also on this changing chronotopic engagement.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will first provide descriptions of the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names. Then, following Victoria Gallagher (1995 & 1999), I will trace the ways that the chronotope is engaged through the material and digital contexts and content of these spaces. This analysis will also include the critical ways in which the chronotopic elements of the Hall and the Central Database engage visitors in an active,

experiential process of meaning-making. At the end of this chapter, I begin to examine the rhetorical consequences of this chronotopic engagement—namely, the defining characteristics of these spaces in their current cultural milieu. I undertake this analysis more fully in the next chapter as I work at the intersection of antecedent genre—genres across time—and meaning constructed across space—via the chronotope—to define the Hall and Database as “memory places.”

Envisioning the Hall of Names and the Central Database

The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Yad Vashem, was established in 1953 by an act of the Knesset, or Israeli Parliament. According to Yad Vashem's official website, the museum is “the Jewish people's living memorial to the Holocaust” and strives to “safeguard the memory of the past and impart its meaning for future generations.” The museum is “committed to four pillars of remembrance”: commemoration, documentation, research, and education. The Hebrew meaning of the Remembrance Authority, Yad Vashem, derives from a verse in the biblical book of Isaiah, displayed on Yad Vashem's website: “And to them I will give in my house and within my walls a memorial and a name (a ‘yad vashem’)...that shall not be cut off” (Isaiah 56:5; “About Yad Vashem”).

The memorial function of the museum as a whole is encapsulated in the Hall of Names, described as “the Jewish People's memorial to each and every Jew who perished in the Holocaust—a place where they may be commemorated for generations to come” (“The Museum Complex: Hall of Names”). This commemoration happens through documentation and has as its analogous digital space the Central Database; in these two spaces, Yad Vashem's goal is to collect biographical information about as many Jewish victims of the Holocaust as possible. The Central Database currently contains 3.1 million Jewish names; over two million of them are

physically displayed in the museum's Hall of Names. This memorial space, both physical and digital, is centrally important to the museum, particularly now as the number of living survivors steadily declines: "Yad Vashem is currently engaged in an urgent 11th hour campaign to recover the missing names and biographical information from the generation that witnessed the events" ("About Yad Vashem: Commemoration").

Within Yad Vashem's Jerusalem complex, the Hall of Names is located in the Holocaust History Museum, the Authority's central memorial space. Visitors enter the Hall by passing over a bridge and are left standing on a circular platform that surrounds a basin below. Above this platform is 10-meter high cone, with all 360 degrees covered by photographs of Holocaust victims and parts of the Pages of Testimony that the museum uses to document the biographical information of victims. According to the museum's website, there are 600 photographs and textual fragments in all, "represent[ing] a fraction of the six million men, women, and children from the diverse Jewish world" that fell victim to the Nazis ("The Museum Complex: Hall of Names"). The cone is reflected in water in the open space below the center of the platform. Outside of this tower of photographs, the room is covered from floor to ceiling with shelves that house uniform black binders containing Pages of Testimony. There are empty shelves waiting for binders containing the remaining six million names. Figures 1 and 2, below, show visitors engaging with the space of the Hall of Names.

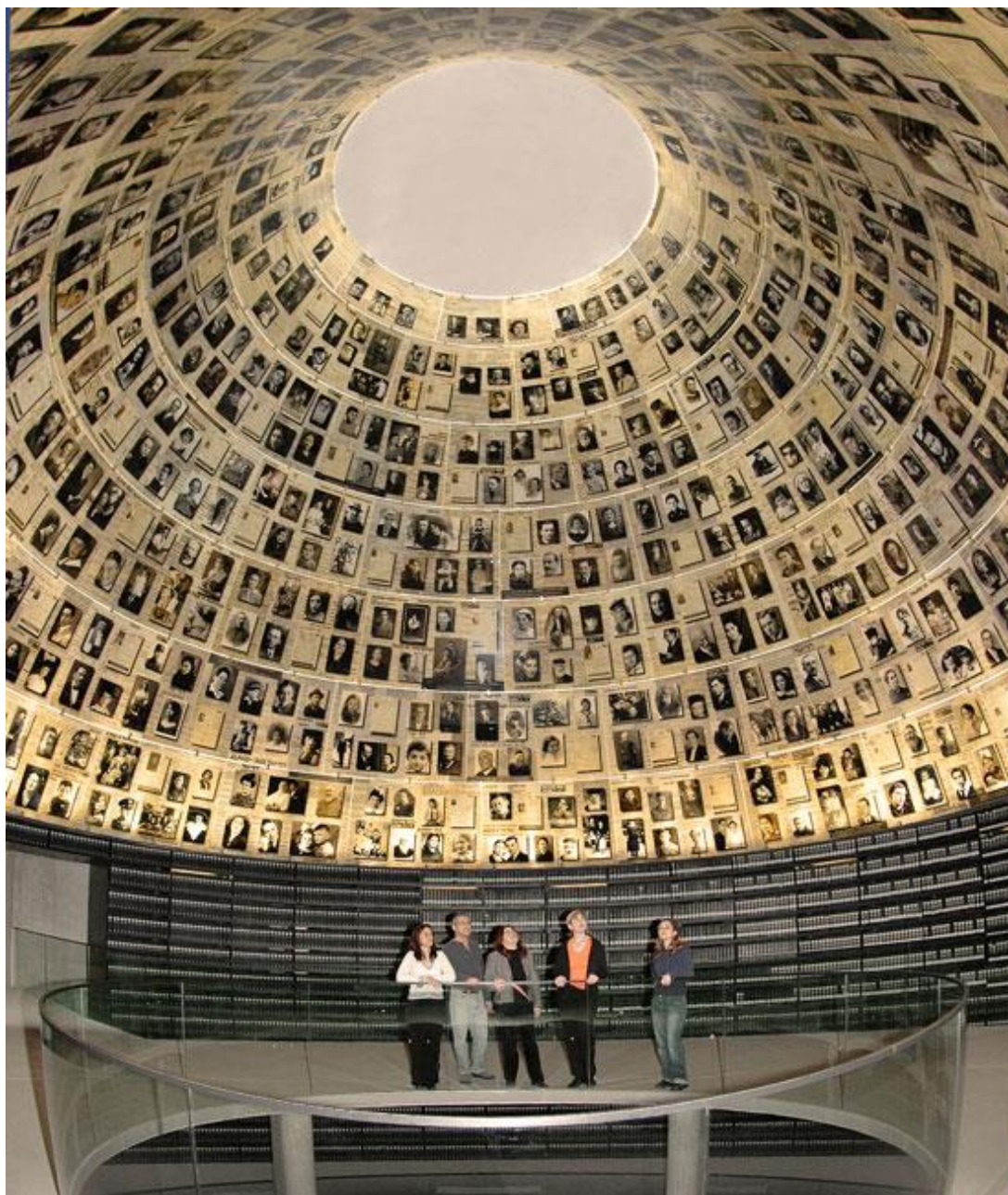


Figure 1: Photographs in the Hall of Names: 600 photographs and fragments of Pages of Testimony adorn a 10-meter-high cone above the circular platform that visitors occupy.

Yad Vashem. Retrieved from www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/museum/hall_of_names.asp



Figure 2: The Hall of Names: The cone is reflected in water in an open space below the center of the platform. Visitors are surrounded by shelves holding black binders with Pages of Testimony and by empty shelf space awaiting more binders.

Yad Vashem. Retrieved from www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/museum/hall_of_names.asp

The Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names contains four primary modular spaces colored light blue-gray, one modular space in a slightly darker gray, as well as two smaller modular spaces underneath the site's blue "Donate Now" ribbon and a "Stay Connected" module with icons for Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Blogspot, located on the right-hand side of the screen. A black and gray banner at the top of the page remains to carry digital visitors back to the site's main page or to other site areas. Headings and subheadings on the page are in blue; the largest, below the banner, includes the title of the page with subtext: "The Database includes data regarding Jews who were victims of persecution during the Holocaust period: those who were murdered as well as many others."

Discussing multimodality, Gunther Kress suggests that websites are constructed like Western texts, with the most important information located in the top left corner and less important information located further down the page (Bezemer, 2012). Moving from left to right, from top to bottom, the four primary modules on the page are as follows:

1. A quotation in italics which says, "I should like someone to remember that there once lived a person named David Berger—David in his last letter, Vilna 1941" with a clickable link that briefly tells David's story;
2. An interactive space called "Search for Victims' Names" that allows visitors to fill in fields for Last/Maiden Name, First Name, and Place of Residence or Birthplace to locate names (and, when available, digital copies of Pages of Testimony) contained in the database;
3. A multimodal space containing a slideshow of 42 clickable, black and white photos of individuals and families, labeled with names and linking to brief biographical backgrounds, together with a short statement about the imperative for collecting names

and an invitation to submit Pages of Testimony if you “know of Shoah Victims who were murdered”;

4. A space labeled “More Information” that contains eight links to various informational pages.

The final darker gray module contains one sentence of text: “The Names Database is a work in progress and may contain errors that will be corrected in the future.” The smaller modules on the right side of the page are pictorial links for submitting Pages of Testimony and to a Community Outreach Guide for the Shoah Victims’ Names Recovery Project.

The layout of this site can be seen in Figure 3, a screenshot taken of the Central Database page. Figure 3 depicts the information visible on a late-2012 MacBook Pro laptop screen; the information at the bottom of the page is only available when the user scrolls down.

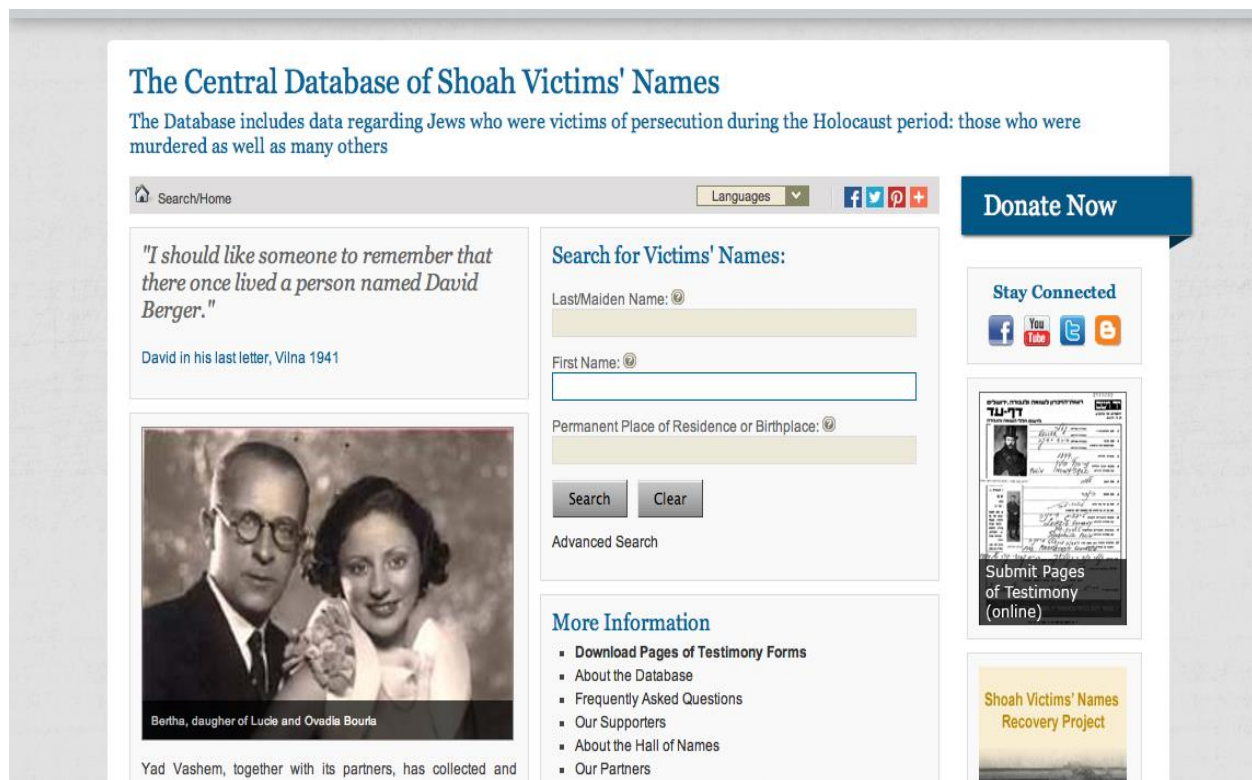


Figure 3: The Central Database of Shoah Victim’s Names (screenshot)

The Hall of Names: Context and Content Engage Time and Space

The Hall of Names must be situated in the local context of the museum to begin an examination of the rhetorical construction of meaning in this space. My chronotopic analysis begins by considering the particular place of the Hall of Names within Yad Vashem (and later, the Central Database within the museum's website) because local contexts naturally employ time and space as ordering elements. Physical context is inherently concerned with situatedness. It also creates the lens through which a particular artifact—or, in this case, features of particular material and digital spaces—may be viewed.

The Holocaust History Museum is set up to guide visitors through a chronological narrative of the Holocaust, winding in a diagonal pattern through exhibitions on either side of a central hall that does not allow passage through the middle of the museum. The Hall of Names is at the end of the exhibits, followed only by the museum's epilogue space and exit onto the deck that provides a redemptive view of Jerusalem (Goldberg, 2012). As visitors navigate the history museum, they are thrust into a chronological narrative beginning before the outbreak of World War II and continuing through European Jewish experience. The events, artifacts, and many photographs draw museum-goers back more than 70 years while multimedia displays discuss the past but serve to temporally locate this past as an item of interest in a contemporary context. The temporal narrative of the museum is enacted through spatial design features; furthermore, space is used to effectively limit visitors' agency in navigating the history of the Holocaust. The only way to "skip" an exhibit is to pass through it quickly. Visitors must travel the entire space of the museum, and in doing so, the entire timeline of the Holocaust.

It is at the end of this spatiotemporal journey that visitors to Yad Vashem are allowed entrance to the Hall of Names. Contextually, this means that individuals seeing this space have

already traveled the Holocaust narrative—they have seen life before the war, seen the ghettos and the camps, walked railroad tracks and passed through exhibits on death, destruction, and resistance. Visitors enter the Hall of Names after they have seen the history of the Holocaust, and just before they fully reenter the time of the present and the space of Jerusalem. In some senses, then, while it is still fully part of the Holocaust narrative—rendering the aftermath into the present through documentation and commemorative efforts—the Hall of Names is a liminal space within the Holocaust History Museum, poised between the time of the past, the space of 1940s Europe, and a vista of present-day Jerusalem.

The Hall of Names, with its spatiotemporal liminality, takes up both the past and the present in its content. The photographs that adorn this space are black and white and sepia toned, clearly old; the binders holding Pages of Testimony construct an archive that suggests contemporary engagement with the past. These photographs and binders are the primary constituents of the space. In this sense, the room combines archival features with the kind of visual, historical depiction of Holocaust victims that occurs elsewhere in the museum. It is this Hall's rhetorical arrangement of space and time that constructs significant memorial meaning for this content.

With its 600 photographs and textual fragments on display, extending above and reflected below the visitor platform, the Hall of Names constructs commemoration on a grand, transcendent scale. The affective sense of transcendence that characterizes the Hall is enacted spatially. While visitors are physically located inside of a room in a museum, this room is not spatially bounded in the way that traditional enclosed spaces are. Just as cathedrals make use of high ceilings to invoke the transcendent, the Hall of Names draws visitors into a narrative that extends both skyward and down below the earth. These opposing directional focuses make this

space into sacred space via ancient notions of spheres of existence that include earthly dwelling—where the visitor is standing—heaven, and an underworld. The Hall of Names draws visitors into all three spheres as photographs of murdered Holocaust victims extend above and below their vantage point; that the photos are displayed on a cone that narrows as it extends gives the illusion that it is even taller than its 10-meter height.

The sacred space invoked by the room's layout brings with it notions of sacred time—of the suspension of time. Within this suspended, liminal time, ensconced in this sacred space, visitors are met with Yad Vashem's commemorative efforts to provide a "place and a name" to victims of the Holocaust. The physical layout of the room, the fact that binders and shelves surround visitors on all sides as they stand on the platform, and the ubiquitous visual presence of Holocaust victims lend to the enormity of the room's purpose: to house six million names. The space engages a familiar commonplace from the discourse tradition, imbuing it with meaning through its chronotopic arrangement of sacred space and suspended time.

Also at work in the rhetorical construction of this space is *emptiness*. While there are too many black binders on the shelves to count, there is also a great deal of empty shelf space. There is a presence in the absence¹ that characterizes these shelves—there is space for six million names in this room. The room allows for several rhetorical readings of this empty space; for example: that this present absence is temporary, waiting to be filled by more names, and that this emptiness is not temporally definitive; that the open shelf space is sorrowful, that there are so

¹ This idea of absent presence is also echoed by Costello (2013) in her analysis of the Jewish Museum Berlin as a performative genre of memory.

many unknown names and unmarked deaths, that there is an increasing finality to this emptiness as years pass and those who remember the dead pass on themselves; that these spaces *are* memory, acknowledging that an individual lived and was murdered and now has a permanent “place” among these names, even if he has no name himself.

While the museum’s physical context helps to orient visitors towards particular valuations of time and space as they enter the Hall of Names, visitors also bring their own contextual identities to the Hall with them, projecting cultural anxieties and the current moment onto the empty space of the shelves. The Hall of Names constitutes genred space that reflects and expresses changing chronotopic values. Given Israel’s 11th hour push to gather names, this absent presence projects most strongly the current memorial imperative—an urgency, a demand to be filled with more black binders.

The Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names: Context and Content Engage Time and Space

As of mid-November 2014, the Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names was prominently placed on the homepage of Yad Vashem’s website, yadvashem.org. Links to the Central Database were located in four of the eight primary modules on the site’s homepage; the Database was featured as the “Special Focus,” was the subject of “Shoah Victims’ Names,” was one of the “Most Requested” pages, and was listed under “Search our Digital Collections.”

Contextually, this Database, whose primary aim is to host documentation of the biographical information of Holocaust victims, is posed as central to the digital memorialization of the Holocaust. The centrality of the Hall of Names—its location in the main museum building and its positioning as the Holocaust’s denouement and continuing presence through the collection and archiving of names—is echoed digitally in the ubiquity of the Central Database on Yad Vashem’s homepage.

The photo slideshow, together with David Berger's quotation entreating "someone to remember that there once lived a person named David Berger," encapsulate the mission of this space. The Central Database constructs memory on a small scale rather than a grand one, engaging the commonplace of the individual, named victim. Because the pictures scroll, the page presents only one at a time, compared to the overwhelming presence of photographic memory in the physical Hall of Names. As each photograph is presented, the only thing for viewers to do is look at the faces and the names of the individuals pictured—to truly see them. Visitors can also click on the photographs as they scroll, choosing to engage more fully with the faces on the screen.

In a space with 600 photos, the rhetorical construction of memory invokes a sense of the overwhelming number of people killed—individuated via pictures, but still part of a massive number. In a space with one quotation and 42 photos, presented one at a time, the scale of the tragedy is personalized. This personalization is caused, at least in part, by two features of digital, computerized space: first, the screen is a bounded interface where the 360 degree experience of the physical Hall of Names can never be replicated. Second, digital space affords this personalization of memory because it allows for private engagement with this memorial material (Reading, 2003). The individuals presented here are located both in their past contexts as well as depicted in real-time in the present, flashing across a digital interface. Digital space allows for rhetorical constructions like the juxtaposition of Berger's plea to be remembered with photographs of people that, when viewed, force memory. This digital space asks us to remember and then gives us individuals *to* remember.

In addition to Berger's quotation and the photos, the other prominent module on this page allows visitors to search the Database via three fields: first name, last name, or birthplace/place

of residence. Fields do not require exact information and not all fields must be utilized in order to perform a search. A visitor to the site could simply pick a first name, like “Anne,” and obtain a list of results that also includes variations on the original. Space is employed in a familiar way for digital natives: empty boxes and a button that says “Search” encourage visitor engagement. This space invites visitors into the past, into the biographical details of Holocaust victims, while also employing time as a variable resource that visitors must bring to the page. Sessions are not guided or temporally bounded; the database is constructed so that visitors can spend as much or as little time searching it as they wish.

Visitors to this digital space are invited to read, to see, and to interact with the victims of the Holocaust. As they reach the bottom of the page, bold text under the photo slideshow calls for the submission of Pages of Testimony. “Do you know of Shoah Victims who were murdered?” it asks. It invites participation, asking visitors to fill out the Pages of Testimony “so they will always be remembered.” The spatial arrangement of the page means that not all visitors will make it to this part of the page. But for those who do, memory is drawn temporally to the present and projected into the future: participation in this memorial exercise ensures that the dead “will always be remembered.” While the main focus of this page is on the current collection of the database and the individual memorializing evoked by Berger and the photographs, there is a subtle urgency lurking in the content of the page, existing on the edges of spatial arrangement.

Consequence: The Rhetorical Construction of Commemoration

In both the Hall of Names and the Central Database, time and space are rhetorically constructed to answer the question, *How do we remember?* Different locations for meaning-making—different commonplaces in the discourse tradition of Holocaust memory—are prominently engaged in these two spaces. That these commonplaces are expressed through the

ideological lens of the chronotope is not surprising. The discourse tradition that shapes Israeli Holocaust memory, according to Garret and Xiao (1993), provides available sites for meaning. These sites—the commonplaces—represent the ways in which Israelis, as a culture, have made sense of and engaged with the Holocaust. When new situations for meaning-making arise, Garret and Xiao argue, the discourse tradition and its commonplaces constitute a “limiting horizon for the rhetor,” and, more importantly in this case, “for the audience of the rhetorical situation” (1993, p. 38).

As Devitt (1993) would argue with regards to genre, the discourse tradition “not only responds to but also constructs recurring situations” (p. 577). As the Hall and the Database construct space/time within the ideological availabilities of the contemporary moment, the foundational commonplaces of Holocaust memory serve as rhetorical constraints, defining what can be seen. The six million and the individual, named victim are central to these spaces in part because they are frames available to those museum- or website-goers familiar with these commonplaces. As the last chapter showed, Israelis, in particular, share in a collective, public memory defined by these orientations to the Holocaust.

In the Hall of Names, the commonplace of the six million frames and imbues this material location. It is in turn provided with unique, affective significance. Value is constructed for visitors by orienting them to sacred space. Memory of the Holocaust’s victims is formed as an overwhelming narrative, stretching to the sky, down into the earth, and all around visitors. This is a space of remembrance—a totalizing space in which the dead are physically ubiquitous. This space incorporates both the past and the present and effectively transcends time—as the space surrounds visitors, it suspends time. This suspension is also enacted in the space’s contextual liminality. This hall is not linked to the chronological, historical narrative in the way

that other rooms in the Holocaust History Museum are. But visitors have not yet re-entered the present through exiting the museum. They have emerged from a narrative, and before they can return to the modern world are entreated by this sacred space to remember the victims of the atrocities they just bore witness to in the museum's artifacts.

The Hall of Names calls upon space and time to echo the sacred in a way that digital space cannot reproduce. Instead, memory is enacted practically and more intimately in this space. The Central Database engages the commonplace of the named, individual victim; again, as with the Hall of Names, this commonplace is given new significance in a chronotopic analysis of the space. Visitors are rooted in the present technologically even as they view remnants of the past in photographic and linguistic form. The Database orients visitors to a space of digital interaction, inviting them to engage in practical meaning-making as each digital visitor chooses their own search terms. The Database bounds memory on a screen, connecting it to a persistent technological present. The spatial design of the Database homepage is in some ways more personal and intimate than the sacred memory experienced in the Hall of Names. Photographs flash one by one; David Berger continues to ask us to remember him each time the eye travels to the left side of the screen. This intimacy intersects with the practical nature of the page as visitors perform their own searches, perhaps finding relatives among the list of Holocaust victims, perhaps searching for people from cities they have visited.

The gathering and displaying of names across media teaches us that memory is sacred, but it is also practical. It is overwhelming, but it is also intimate. These experiential aspects to commemoration of Holocaust victims are constructed as space becomes place and time becomes memory in the Hall and the Database. In both of these places, the experiential is key: meaning is negotiated through the interaction between visitors and the memory spaces.

The Hall of Names and the Central Database enact similar memorial functions: to name. To commemorate. To document. To provide a resting place. To gather the dead. Rhetorical Genre Studies provides helpful language that can be repurposed to talk about these spaces for memory. The Hall and Central Database perform the same social action: storing names. Beyond this basic social function, the spaces must be viewed in light of Israel's current relationship to the Holocaust. Genres are "stabilized-for-now" social constructions (Schryer, 1993); in that stabilized form, they become *kairotic* ways to understand our cultural moment (Miller & Shepherd, 2004). The dialogic relationship between the Hall of Names and Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names and the current milieu "stabilizes-for-now" the way that time and space rhetorically construct these memory places. While the chronotopes of these two spaces produce memory that engages different cultural values—the sacred and the pragmatic, the transcendent and the personal—both spaces should give visitors access to the current memorial moment through their enactment of chronotopic values.

The text on the Central Database website articulates today's commemorative imperative: "The names of many of those murdered remain unknown, and it is our collective duty to persist until all their names are recovered." In both of these spaces, the chronotope enacts and expresses this cultural context, continuously drawing upon contemporary values. In this case, the Hall of Names and Central Database take up and reflect, to different degrees, chronotopic urgency.

The different degree to which current memorial concerns are expressed through the chronotopic arrangements of these spaces deserves further discussion. That the Hall and Database exist as repositories for names means that these spaces are uniquely situated as central to the current 11th hour campaign to do just that—gather more names. It would seem that in both of these spaces, reflection of the urgent need to amass more names before time runs out should

be rhetorically significant. Notably, however, while Western tradition posits the primacy of linguistic communication, the cultural sense of urgency inherent in Israel's current memorial age is enacted more strongly through the chronotopic arrangement of the Hall of Names than it is through the written request for Pages of Testimony on the Central Database webpage. The writing on the Database is placed subtly; not every visitor will scroll down to see it. But the empty space in the Hall of Names is impossible to miss—it is an essential part of the arrangement and experience of this space.

It seems strange, that the digital space—a space that lends itself to constant revision—is less overt in its reflection of cultural concerns. The Database exists as an interface that can be easily modified to reflect the current moment, but to the extent that this revision has occurred, the memorial imperative on the page is hidden below other, more attention-grabbing digital data. What rhetorical features allow the Hall of Names to more strongly project the current cultural moment? The next chapter suggests an answer to this question.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE HALL AND DATABASE AS “MEMORY PLACES”: MEANING THROUGH ANTECEDENT GENRE AND THE CHRONOTOPE

Since the Eichmann trial in the early 1960s, survivor testimony has been a central element of the discourse tradition that is utilized in the making of Holocaust memory in Israel and internationally. This testimony has been genred in different ways, meeting different social functions—for example, courtroom testimony during the Jerusalem trial was structured and enacted in such a way that it served legal and nationalistic purposes, whereas the video testimonies that Assmann (2006) describes serve the purpose of embodying and extending Holocaust memory across generations. So pervasive is the testimonial genre that it has become a powerful shaper of memory even in spaces that extend beyond traditional print or audiovisual texts.

In this way, the testimonial has become an antecedent genre. As Jamieson (1975) contends in “Antecedent Genre as Rhetorical Constraint,” “it is sometimes rhetorical genres and not rhetorical situations that are decisively formative” (p. 406). This means that even as rhetorical situations change, traces of past genred expression may be evident in responses to new sociocultural concerns. In other words, the discourse tradition and its genres shape responses to new rhetorical situations; the utility of a rhetorical genre extends beyond its initial rhetorical situation, and these antecedent genres are often repurposed and integrated into new spaces.

In the case of Israeli Holocaust commemoration, then, the pervasiveness of the testimony genre means that this form of memorial expression has achieved ubiquity. Even as the Hall of Names and Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names construct meaning that extends beyond the preservation of survivor stories, they are shaped by the genre of the testimony. This genre is taken up in different ways in these two spaces, and it is the ways in which these varying

adaptations of the testimonial genre participate in chronotopic expression of meaning in the Hall and the Database that contribute to the different ideological and rhetorical purposes achieved therein.

This chapter seeks to re-mediate time and space, as taken up in the two previous chapters, to examine the rhetorical construction of the Hall of Names and Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names as "memory places." The previous two chapters analyzed genred Holocaust memory across time in an Israeli context and the construction of memory in two particular spaces in a particular cultural moment. This chapter will bring together these two ideas, exploring the way that a 70-year legacy of genred memory contributes to the rhetorical making of the material and digital spaces of the Hall and Database in a contemporary context. To do so, I will first discuss the presence of the genre of Holocaust testimony in the Hall and Database. I will then suggest that it is the arrangement of genred elements that lends to the larger meaning of these two spaces; this arrangement is both closely related to and part of the chronotopic character of the Hall and Database.

Holocaust Testimony in the Hall of Names and the Central Database

Even during the war itself, those affected by the Nazi regime sought to record their experiences for posterity. Perhaps the most famous of these efforts was Emanuel Ringelblum's *Oneg Shabbat* archives, comprised of testimony from inside the Warsaw Ghetto that was commissioned from various residents and buried before the liquidation of the ghetto. Part of the archive survived the war; many of its authors, including Ringelblum himself, did not. Testimony has continued in varying forms since the end of the war, from the data gathered by commissions in displaced person camps to modern attempts to create interactive holograms that will outlive survivors and take their place as storytellers in museum spaces (Wilson, 2013).

In recent decades, these eyewitness accounts have been curated across media to perform a set of social actions in response to a broadly defined memorial exigence: to document, to witness, to remember. Wilson (2013) describes Elie Wiesel's grappling with the genre of testimony during a 1977 lecture at Northwestern University called "The Holocaust as Literary Inspiration." Wiesel problematized the existence of Holocaust literature, alluding to the representational difficulties that accompany writing about this atrocity. But he followed this exploration of dissonance with a statement about the prominent place of testimony in Holocaust memory: "[if] the Greeks invented tragedy, the Romans the epistle, and the Renaissance the sonnet, our generation invented a new literature, that of testimony" (qtd. in Wilson, 2013, p. 29).

The centrality of testimony in Holocaust memory during the latter years of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century—that survivor testimony has become the premiere genre for literary and screen-based commemoration—in fact drives part of the social exigence for this project. The importance of contending with a future without survivors is predicated upon the fact that we have expressed Holocaust memory largely via survivor testimony for several decades.

Traces of the testimonial genre reside within the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names. In her 2013 dissertation focusing on genres that have emerged from genocide, Wilson suggests one simple definition for testimony: "an eyewitness account of events" (p. 20). Traditional testimonials include the voices, faces, and stories of the living, captured in varying modes, and are focused on the individual narrative of survival. Recorded testimonies focus on the image of the survivor; written testimonies focus on their literary voice. The individual photographs that serve as emblems of remembrance and the physical and digital

location of Pages of Testimony within the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names suggests a dynamic reappropriation of the traditional testimonial genre.

Within these spaces, the genre of testimony is adapted; it morphs to fit a different but related set of social needs. The Hall and Central Database focus on the lives and stories of individuals, but the individuals who constitute this focus are not survivors. The memorial emphasis in the Hall and the Central Database shifts from the rememberer to the remembered. Unlike traditional Holocaust testimonies given by survivors, Pages of Testimony feature the dead. Those who perished during the Holocaust become the subjects of testimony in place of those who suffered but lived. In both the Hall and the Central Database, instead of voices and stories, images stand in as initial points of enactment for the traditional genre of testimony. And in their incorporation of testimonial elements into their larger schemes for meaning, the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names enact the antecedent genre differently.

The Central Database: Repurposing Traditional Testimonial Elements to Commemorate the Dead in a Digital Space

The Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names is characterized by interactivity, and this interactivity is characterized by a more overt take up of the testimonial genre than is initially visible. The site's main page foregrounds images of Holocaust victims and a lone quotation by David Berger along with its interactive space for searching the database. The images of Holocaust victims call to mind the embodied aspect of video testimonies or even the presence of survivors on the witness stand during the Eichmann trial. The quotation from David Berger, too, enacts a traditional element of testimonials: that of the voice of the survivor (or, in this case, the voice of a victim from beyond the grave). Within the database that is housed in this digital space, visitors find Pages of Testimony along with other available biographical information. This

database space contains the stories of the remembered and provides a brief picture of the lives—and deaths—of individuals who perished during the Holocaust.

David Berger's quotation and each of the 42 scrolling photographs extend the interactivity of this space beyond the expected navigable site of the database itself. Berger's last entreaty and the scrolling photographs also constitute clickable links. When selected, each of these sites yield a short paragraph of biographical data, linking the face or the disembodied voice with a story. This data appears in a white box, imposed over the page itself as a separate space. This box must be closed before the main page can be accessed again.

To learn more about David Berger, a visitor must click on the blue hyperlink under his quotation that reads "David in his last letter, Vilna 1941." The box that appears is labeled with a bold heading: The Story of David Berger. The text that follows is a narrative about David:

David Berger was born and grew up in the Polish town of Przemyśl. When the war broke out, in 1939, he fled from the invading German forces, ending up in Vilna (Vilnius).

While in Vilna he corresponded with his friend, Elsa, who had managed to leave Poland for British-controlled Palestine in 1938. In this postcard he bid Elsa farewell, assuming that he would not survive.

He was shot in Vilna in July 1941. He was 19 years old.

The letters were donated to the... Massuah Institute for the Study of the Holocaust Kibbutz Tel Itzhak.

These are the details attached to the memory of David Berger. We know where he was from, where he lived when he died, and that he knew his fate. We know that he had a friend named Elsa who escaped the Nazis, and that their friendship was strong enough to maintain an international correspondence. We also know how David died—that he was shot in Vilna in 1941

at age 19. These facts are few, and other testimonies to the dead in this space provide even less information about the wartime experiences of those commemorated.

For example, Figure 4 below is a screenshot showing the information that appears when visitors click on the photograph of Laura and Villiam Schwartz in the scrolling display. It provides the following narrative:

Laura Schwartz, daughter of Margit and Ede Hadinger, was married to Villiam Schwartz, and was a pharmacist by profession. The couple lived in Cluj, Romania.

Laura perished at the age of 28, probably in a concentration camp. Villiam's fate is unknown.

The photograph and Page of Testimony in her memory were submitted by her cousin Carol Rosenfield, who lives in Sweden.



Figure 4: Laura and Villiam Schwartz

From these short paragraphs, visitors can begin to piece together Laura's story—although, in contrast to David Berger's text, the "stories" attached to the photographs are not explicitly labeled as such. We know who her parents and husband were. We know what she did for a living, hints as to her professional identity. We know where she lived. We know how young she was when she died. But unlike traditional Holocaust testimonials given by survivors, we do not know much about her wartime experiences. She "perished," "probably in a concentration camp." We know even less about what happened to her husband Villiam; his "fate is unknown."

Visitors are given enough information to remember Laura Schwartz, to humanize her as a young, working woman. She looks happy with her husband in the photograph we see of the two of them. But the crux of traditional testimony is missing. As Assmann (2006) argues, "the genre of autobiography creates meaning and relevance through the construction of narrative" (p. 264). While a testimony is not an autobiography, we can note that the narrative is spotty, here. We know Laura Schwartz's basic details, but we do not know about her experiences during the Holocaust.

This lack of wartime information is key—Assmann contends that "the relevance of the video testimony solely lies in the impact of the historical trauma of the Holocaust. It registers events and experiences that are cruelly meaningless"; the structure of video testimonies "reflects the structure of the Holocaust itself in its murderous teleology" (p. 264-265). We do not know the events and experiences that shaped Laura's fate. Laura fulfills this "murderous teleology"; she was murdered by those whose purpose it was to murder. But this is viewing Laura in the perpetrators' terms. Unfortunately, the testimony provided in the Central Database is not fully representative of the genre—it is unable to document or witness to Laura's life and death under

the Nazis—but it serves to repurpose this more traditional genre to introduce visitors to those lost in the genocide. It gains perhaps more rhetorical power in the ways that it violates the traditional genre of testimony—in its lack of completeness, in the question of Villiam’s fate and the mere probability rather than certainty about Laura’s own place and means of death.

Despite the differences between typical testimonials and those stories that illuminate David Berger, the Schwartzes, and other photographed individuals, the presence of these brief narratives render more traditional elements of the testimonial central to one part of this page’s memorial function: that of an informative space. As a database, the function of this space is, essentially, to collate information. In this case, the database serves as a space where Pages of Testimony, names of the dead, and other information about Holocaust victims is aggregated into a searchable digital location. The 42 photographs and quotation from David Berger reproduce in narrative form information found in Pages of Testimony and the database.

The Hall of Names: Archiving of, and Access to, Testimonials in a Material Space

The Hall of Names takes up the antecedent genre of testimony less overtly than does the Central Database. Just as the scrolling photographs on the Central Database site allow visitors to engage with individual victims of the Holocaust, the Hall of Names also employs photographs as an initial point of contact with the individuals whose names reside in this space. Beyond this initial engagement with the dead through their photographs, the Hall of Names also incorporates the genre of the testimonial into its frames for meaning quite directly. That is, the practical purpose of the Hall is to store physical copies of Pages of Testimony—Yad Vashem’s genred way of documenting basic details about Holocaust victims.

The Hall of Names as a material space functions as an archive, which, like a database, aggregates information. But, unlike the search function that allows digital visitors to peruse the

Central Database page, visitors do not have access to the information physically housed within the Hall. Although the binders are on display and are visible from the platform at the center of the room, they are not reachable—not searchable. Images of Pages of Testimony—the contents of the black binders—are displayed visually on the circular cone alongside photographs of Holocaust victims. This arrangement places primacy on the existence of testimony rather than the testimonies themselves: visitors can see what a Page of Testimony looks like, and that many such things exist, if the images on the cone are to be believed, but most of the pages are not displayed in such a way as to make them legible to those below. Pages of Testimony are projected onto a screen at one end of the Hall, but this display is outside the bounds of the circular platform that constitutes the main space of the Hall. I would argue that viewing selected Pages of Testimony up close *exists outside of* the experience within the bounds of the Hall, with its binders and photographs, rather than constituting part of the Hall itself.

Incorporating Testimonials into Larger Frames for Meaning-Making

Both spaces house testimonials to the dead. In the case of the Database, accessing these testimonials requires moving beyond the initial page display. In the case of the Hall of Names, these testimonials are not physically available to visitors beyond photographs of the binders' contents displayed on the cone in the center of the Hall. In both spaces, photographs are the first overt link to the testimonial genre. While both the Hall and the Database house physical or digital testimonies about the dead, generic meaning-making—the incorporation of testimony into both spaces—is presented most overtly via visual traces.

In the Hall and the Database, images of individuals or families represent the social actions that testimonies fulfill: to document, to witness, to remember. But the needs are slightly different here. Rather than documenting the event, witnessing to its atrocities, and remembering

an individual's story, like traditional testimonies allow, these photographs are documenting, witnessing to, and remembering those who lost their lives (as individuals) during the Holocaust. In place of the importance of individual stories and personal memories are the faces of the dead, a poignant visual tool used to personalize the overwhelming number of Holocaust victims. In the Hall and the Database, testimony now becomes a genre that enables the living to memorialize the dead, to immortalize their absent presence, and to provide them with a place and a name.

Testimony has become *testimony to*.

These spaces also contain traces of the testimonial genre beyond the initial point of visual engagement. These traces begin to illuminate rhetorical constructions of meaning and purposes for the Hall and Database. The genred elements of these spaces raise questions about the social role that testimony enacts in the Hall and Database: What does it mean that the Central Database is designed as an interface that allows users to read the personal stories attached to the scrolling photographs—but only if they actively engage the space by clicking on an individual? What does it mean that the Hall of Names holds millions of Pages of Testimony that are stored in such a way that they cannot be seen? What does it mean that unlike traditional museum spaces, where artifacts are displayed under glass, the Pages in the Hall are present but only accessible as secondary images, overhead, interspersed within a field of photographs? And, perhaps most critically: How are these generic traces interacting with other rhetorical elements in these spaces?

This antecedent genre is only the beginning of the rhetorical construction of these spaces. The Hall and Database take up recognizable elements of memorial expression—representations of individuals that call to mind the content of traditional testimonials, as well as textual testimonials themselves—in their construction of more complex, contemporary meanings. These constructed meanings take as their starting point the most important antecedent concerns of the

testimonial—focus on the individual, their story, and their wartime experiences—and begin with these concerns and their recognizable expression in photographs and narratives.

But the Hall and the Central Database contain other visual, material, and digital elements that both exist separately from and function in conjunction with the photographs of murdered victims and the Pages of Testimony. These memory places are not simply reimagined spaces for testimony; rather, they transcend this generic element, incorporating it into larger schemes for meaning.

Constructing Memory Places

Answering that most critical question—how traces of testimony are interacting with other rhetorical elements in the Hall and the Central Database—requires a return to the contemporary rhetorical situation and the rhetorical analysis of the chronotope undertaken in the last chapter. In the third chapter of this thesis, I focused on the ways in which social histories are illustrated and made tangible through examples of genred expression. This expression illuminates normalized meanings and the ways in which genres, as instantiations of a particular discourse tradition, represent that normalization. Then, in the following chapter, I turned my focus from time to space, examining the rhetorical moves of the chronotope in the Hall and Central Database in a particular cultural moment. In the remainder of this chapter, I seek to bring together these analyses of time and space, completing Blair, Dickinson, and Ott's (2010) analogy and analyzing how these spaces have become "memory places." To this end, I will continue to examine the function of genre as cultural index, preserving the "stabilized for now" (Schryer, 1993) social concerns and memorial imperatives of a particular cultural moment, but I will attach this analysis of temporal meaning-making to a particular space.

The Arrangement and Chronotopic Enactment of Antecedent Genre

Both the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names enact the genre of testimony. Most simply, this enactment happens in the forms of database and archive. Traditionally, these are places of storage and ordering—places where names can be kept. The antecedent genre enables spaces that appear very different to fulfill similar memorial functions. The Hall of Names uses the testimonial genre to curate a material space dominated by 600 photographs that serves as a home for up to six million names and biographies. The Central Database takes up the testimonial genre through 42 scrolling photographs, David Berger's quotation, and user-summoned biographical sketches. Through the generic lineage of the testimonial, both become resting places for Holocaust victims.

But the Hall and Database lend this traditional memorial genre new rhetorical meaning through arrangement. It is how the elements of the testimony are organized and located in these spaces that facilitates their ultimate repurposing as smaller parts of a larger design, creating more complex rhetorical locations. It is how this genre is enacted spatially, then—how it interacts with and serves as an integral part of each space's chronotopic arrangement—that serves to define the rhetorical purpose of the genre for these two different memorial locations.

The arrangement of the testimonial on the Central Database's site showcases the page's function as both an informative space and as a space to engage with the Holocaust personally from the commonplace of the individual victim. The photographs and quotation that serve as initial traces of the testimony, and the searchable database space, invite interaction. These genred elements participate in the chronotopic enactment of the intimate, practical memory that characterizes the Central Database. Furthermore, the way that the site arranges and engages time and space lends weight to the social actions that accompany reception of the testimonial genre.

As Assmann (2006) notes in her article about the genre of video testimonials, much of the work of testimony is done through the secondary witnessing of those who receive and engage with the survivor's story. The same is true of the fragments of testimony in the Central Database; in this case, visitor engagement is ensured through the arrangement of the space. Even though visitors have the choice to actively participate through clicking on photos and David Berger's name, they do not have a choice in the presentation of photographs. David Berger entreats visitors to remember, and the next space on the screen contains faces to remember, moving so as to catch the eye. There is a paradox here: the space presents both choice and imperative. The testimonials are enacted in such a way that they create both possibilities.

This space uses digital design features to guide visitors through a discrete set of potential actions. There are links to be clicked, there is a database to be searched, and there is a slideshow of photographs to watch. Clicking on David Berger's name or on the photographs of Holocaust victims leads to more information about these individuals and their fates. Coupling memory with information gives the content of this space its rhetorical function: visitors are met with faces and stories, are given information about Holocaust victims to remember. Questions are answered, to the fullest extent possible. It is true that the page reminds us that there are more names to gather and that stories like the Schwartzes' remind us that there are holes in the testimonies we do have. But the photographs coupled with the potential to see the stories that belong to them likely provide the most complete available access to these murdered individuals. And this memory, derived from the faces and their stories, is central to this space. *Remember*, asks David Berger. The page then offers up the choice to enact that memory by clicking through the testimonials attached to the photographs and to David Berger's quotation. The individuals whose faces are displayed in the eye-catching motion of a revolving slideshow are remembered in textual form.

Because visitors must manipulate the digital space to view this text, the very act of reaching the stories is an act of witness, and it is through the aggregation of these acts that the memorial need of the page is fulfilled. The digitally bounded space of the Central Database enacts memory as practical, and this practicality is evidenced in the interfacing of the testimonial genre. Further in keeping with the intimacy and the commonplace of the individual, named victim enacted through the chronotope in this space, the testimonials retain their individual nature: there is a name for the faces and a story for the name.

Individual testimonials are also present in the Hall of Names, but the space is arranged in such a way that they are not available to visitors as overt content. Instead, what is most prominent in the arrangement and appropriation of the testimonial in this space is the arrangement itself. The photographs and visual depictions of Pages of Testimony enact the commonplace of the six million and evoke a sense of the transcendent, of an overwhelming presence of faces and victims. This overwhelming presence is matched by the sheer number of binders shelved from floor to ceiling, each containing testimonials to Holocaust victims.

In the testimonial genre's evocation of the transcendent, it is participating in the larger work of the ideological, chronotopic arrangement of the Hall. It is not the testimonial itself, but rather the way that it is arranged in this space—the way that the genre becomes part of the spatiotemporal character of the Hall—that allows it to become an actor in chronotopic meaning-making. Arrangement is powerful, here: it is partially in the ordering of the genred testimonial that the Hall is able to enact its chronotopic values, which means that it is partially through this antecedent genre that the contemporary moment, its values, and its orientation to space/time enter the changing identity of this place.

Through the room's enactment of space and time, its testimonials become no longer simply testimonials but elements of something else. The testimonial itself fades in the materiality of this space; it is changed into a memorial presence. And matching that presence is the key rhetorical element of absence. Together, overwhelming presence and absence gather testimony to engage the individual victim and, more overtly, the six million. The antecedent genre is transformed in this engagement. The social need of naming and witnessing to the individual is joined, in this space, by memorial concern for the unfathomable scale of the tragedy, represented in this space as individual faces extend to the sky and individual names physically encompass the memorial's visitors. Even as the material contents of the Hall evoke particular chronotopic values, perhaps the most affective element in this testimony to the six million is the space that sits bare. This absence—the empty space on the shelves where no binders yet reside—is the spatial element that allows the expression of current cultural values. It is in the emptiness that urgency is taken up and in turn reflected.

In the Hall of Names and the Central Database, the genre of the testimonial is repurposed to create two distinct spaces. The Central Database incorporates the informational aspects of the genre into its digital interface to create robust content for virtual visitors. Separating the visual and textual pieces of the genre allows for differential engagement with the genre—some visitors may not choose to click on the photographs, but the juxtaposition of David Berger's quotation with these images nevertheless creates a memorial imperative. This imperative can be further met by engaging fully in the space. The personalized, digitally intimate memory that characterizes this space is enacted chronotopically in the spatiotemporal arrangement of the site, and this memory is expressed in part through the arrangement of the antecedent genre.

The physical space of the Hall of Names transforms the antecedent genre because the space's materiality enables it to curate meaning through spatiotemporal ordering in a way the digital space cannot. The arrangement of this material space takes up a familiar genre to meet a different exigence—memory of the six million in addition to memory of the individual. The inherent flexibility and dynamism of genre as it crosses cultural moments, theorized in part by Jamieson (1975) in her discussion of the antecedent genre, allows for this repurposing. And in the Hall of Names, what stabilizes the genred memorial meaning of this space (“for now”) is its take-up of Israel's wider social concerns regarding Holocaust commemoration. This cultural take-up is given expression through the ideological aspect of chronotopic arrangement.

Genre and the “Memory Place”

The Hall of Names and the Central Database illustrate that while different cultural moments express their memorial concerns in a wide array of genres—from rhetorics of nationhood to comedic television sketches to official ceremonies of remembrance; from literary forms to multimodal digital spaces to brick-and-mortar monuments—genres are also dynamic modes of expression that can be taken up and reimagined to fulfill changing social needs. It is in the Hall of Names and Central Database's repurposing of the genre of testimonial, and the expression of this genre through chronotopic arrangement in each of these locations, that a legacy of social concerns coalesces into the memorial expression of the contemporary moment, occupying two particular spaces. And it is through genred meaning and the chronotope that these spaces become “memory places.” In other words: As space and time are rhetorically constructed to establish the character of these “memory places” (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010), they enact and repurpose the antecedent genre of Holocaust testimony, filtering this genre through chronotopic arrangement.

The Central Database is a place where the digital construction of memory reflects and mourns a litany of individual victims, rhetorically juxtaposing David Berger's commemorative imperative with places where visitors can choose their level of engagement. This memory place is simultaneously one of information and of personal engagement with 42 scrolling photographs; the practical and the affective both inhabit these testimonies.

The Hall of Names as a memory place enacts the testimonial genre in a liminal space that reflects spatiotemporal elements of the sacred and the transcendent. It is a resting place for the six million, characterized both by the presence of the dead and by the absence of the remaining names. That the urgency of the contemporary memorial moment is taken up more overtly in this memory place and is less obvious in the Central Database suggests that these opposing and complementary elements of presence and absence are central in constructing the rhetorical power of the Hall of Names.

These places reflect contemporary answers to the basic memorial questions framed early in my third chapter: *What should be remembered?* And *On what scale should we approach the murder and suffering of the Jews?* Both places illustrate the layered nature of memory, taking up a genre of commemoration that gained prominence during the Eichmann trial and further solidified its primacy in an age of privatized memory. Today, memorial focus has shifted, in part, to remembering itself. In this more specific time of urgency, the actionable element of this focus has become gathering names. This gathering of names, which reaches its ultimate expression in the Hall of Names and the Central Database, borrows from and repurposes the traditional genre of the testimony, witnessing to the lives and stories of the dead in place of survivor accounts.

At the same time, the dominant concerns of the day coexist with social anxieties past; the urgency that surrounds remembering so as not to forget must continue to grapple with the scale

of the Holocaust. The Hall and Database both participate in and, to differing degrees, find a point of stasis in the historical tension between memory of the individual and the six million, allowing the two commonplaces to coalesce in their arrangement of testimonies. While the individual is more dominant in the Database and the six million is evoked more strongly in the Hall, both spaces must be situated within the larger historical trajectory of Holocaust memory in Israel. Both spaces represent instantiations of the discourse tradition that both shaped and was given shape by this historical trajectory.

This analysis has pieced together the rhetorics of the Hall and the Database, arguing for a whole that is greater than its digital or material elements, its antecedent genres, its enactment of space and time. It has argued that understanding the rhetorical construction of these places must also include such considerations as uptake of social values and the intersection of genred meaning and the cultural moment. These considerations speak to the role and scope of genre within two commemorative spaces curated by Yad Vashem. And these considerations raise an important question about the malleability of genres. As the genre of Holocaust testimony is enacted differently in the Central Database and the Hall of Names, do its diverging arrangements still constitute the same genre? Of central importance to this question's answer, I believe, is a deeper theoretical consideration of the specific relationship between genre and the chronotope.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

I sit working on this project's concluding section on May 8, 2015: the 70th anniversary of Victory in Europe Day, when Nazi Germany signed an unconditional surrender. The months leading up to the completion of this project have been a continual reminder that memory is reflective of our contemporary cultural moments. Liberation anniversaries and remembrance days brought a fair amount of media coverage this winter and spring, given that this will likely be one of the last milestone anniversaries marked by remaining survivors. In the weeks leading up to various memorial days, articles like BBC's drone footage of Auschwitz as it looks today, 70 years after the war, made their rounds on the Internet (BBC News). And in an ABC article detailing the commemorative events held at Auschwitz this January, on the anniversary of liberation, there was mention of more current events: the terror attack at a kosher grocery store in Paris, connected to the Charlie Hebdo attacks earlier this year. Concern over rising anti-Semitism in Europe was juxtaposed with an account of the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. There were only approximately 300 survivors present at Auschwitz this January, the article notes. "They are old," Terry Moran and Michael S. James write. "And they are the last who can testify to us about what it was like..."

They are the last. This simple phrase illustrates a contemporary memorial concern in Israel, as Yad Vashem continues its "11th hour campaign" to collect the names of all six million Holocaust victims and give them a proper resting place in the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names. Yad Vashem's push to collect names and biographical data, and their commitment to digitizing that information, will likely shape the next memorial era in Israel—the first era where the primary source for memory is not survivors but the artifacts and testaments they have left behind.

My analysis of the contemporary cultural moment and its chronotopic expression in the Hall of Names, and, to a lesser extent, the Central Database, suggests the potential for other enactments of the chronotope when other rhetorical exigencies demand completion. Because the Hall, in particular, reflects contemporary cultural values in a fixed material space, the potential therefore exists for other cultural values to find reflection in this space over time. In this institutionally acknowledged 11th hour, the Hall and Database take up social urgency and the Hall of Names, in particular, projects that urgency through its chronotopic arrangement. “It is our collective duty to persist,” the Central Database tells us, even as a Holocaust survivor dies every 41 minutes. *Especially* as a Holocaust survivor dies every 41 minutes.

As Bakhtin (1981) argues, genres are characterized by certain social conceptions of space and time. The overarching social value driving Holocaust memory in the year of the 70th anniversary of liberation—that of urgency—produces the ideology that frames the rhetorical construction of memory in the Hall of Names and Central Database. Inevitably, the sense of urgency that characterizes the memorial imperative imbuing these spaces will fade. As a changing chronotope reveals different orientations to time and space, meaning in the Hall of Names and the Central Database will shift. The Hall and Database will take up other chronotopic conceptions in other cultural moments; perhaps other chronotopic values will be more strongly expressed in the Database than is the contemporary urgency.

Space and time are linked; as the world’s conception of the Holocaust’s placement in time shifts and the era of the survivor narrative ends, the spaces in question will ultimately take up new conceptions of time and new cultural values. The continued presence of empty shelves in the Hall of Names will evoke other rhetorical meanings as the social expectation for recovery of more names diminishes. Eventually, the invitations to submit Pages of Testimony to the Central

Database will likely be relegated to an even less prominent position on the site, given less space as the time of the survivors runs out.

As their chronotopic values shift, these genred spaces will shift in the cultural conversation about memorialization. As Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) point out, memory is both driven by current concerns and also constructs social identity. But for now, in a society that is quickly losing its living link to one of its most foundational events (and one of modernity's most pressing narratives), spaces of Holocaust memory take up a particular imperative: to call upon the living to ensure that the dead are given not only a place but also a name.

Theoretical Considerations

This project marries a contemporary social exigence—the problem of creating memory 70 years post-liberation—with a theoretical lens crafted from tenets of Rhetorical Genre Studies to examine the rhetorical construction of meaning in chosen commemorative spaces. The pieces to this rhetorical analysis are many. First, this project is grounded in Garret and Xiao's (1993) assertion that in order to understand rhetorical situations and their exigencies—both the articulation of those exigencies and their alleviation through discourse—we must understand culturally specific discourse traditions. Holocaust memory in Israel is an overtly rhetorical entity, incorporated into the myth of the state and its collective identities since the 1940s. Articulations of this memory, and culturally appropriate ways of talking about the Holocaust, constitute a powerful discourse tradition in Israeli society. The formation and enactment of this discourse tradition, as well as its generic instantiations, is examined in the third chapter of this project. This chapter is concerned with Israel's legacy of Holocaust memory—with time—in order to ground a specific analysis of the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names, two memorial spaces.

The cultural moment—the current rhetorical situation that calls for continued curation of Holocaust memory—is steeped in the history of past rhetorical exigencies and the genres and commonplaces that have been called upon to alleviate those exigencies. The current rhetorical exigence dealing with Holocaust memory in Israel is one of an urgency to commemorate the dead while there are still survivors available who remember the Holocaust. This need is being met by an 11th hour push to gather as many names of Nazi victims as possible. This exigence has imbued the contemporary rhetorical situation of Holocaust memory with a sense of urgency. My fourth chapter illustrates the ways in which this urgency is expressed chronotopically in two spaces associated with Yad Vashem and its name-gathering enterprise: the Hall of Names and the Central Database. The chronotope, as a genre's axiological expression of space and time (Schryer, 1999), is an apt site for analysis of cultural values in these material and digital spaces.

The 70-year legacy of memorial genres that inhabit Israel's discourse tradition intersects with the chronotopic values expressed in the Hall and the Database in the spatiotemporal arrangement of Holocaust testimony in these locations. The Hall and the Database become “memory places” as they engage this antecedent genre, arranged chronotopically to construct meaning that answers contemporary memorial exigencies.

Ultimately, this exploration of genre and the chronotope has theoretical implications for the study of genre, particularly the way in which we view the relationship between genre and space. Bakhtin's (1981) theory of the chronotope posits a relationship between genres and the chronotope; Schryer (1999) defines it as such: “every genre expresses a particular relation to space and time” (p. 83). In Bakhtin's initial theoretical work, chronotopes were seen as an ideological part of genres; they were definitional pieces to a particular genre and its relationship to time and space.

My analysis suggests a more complex relationship between genre and the chronotope. In the case of the Hall of Names and the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names, I witnessed the chronotope acting in a direction opposite to that posited by those who subscribe to the Bakhtinian notion of the concept. That is, I saw the spatiotemporal—chronotopic—character of these memory places as influencing the expression of genred meaning in these spaces. While Bakhtin theorizes the chronotope as a constituent of genres, I saw chronotopic arrangement in the Hall and the Central Database as largely defining the meaning of the testimonial genre present in these spaces. Rather than genre containing the chronotope, this was a case of the chronotopic elements of a space containing and repurposing genre. It was in the chronotopic arrangement of the testimony that meaning was rhetorically constructed.

My analysis of the antecedent genre in the Hall and the Database ended with a question of genre malleability. *As the genre of Holocaust testimony is enacted differently in the Central Database and the Hall of Names, do its diverging arrangements still constitute the same genre?* I asked. In light of the relationship between genre and the chronotope, this question might be better asked another way: How might we think differently about genres if we recognized them as social actions that are rhetorically re-purposable as they are enacted in spaces with different chronotopic orientations?

As scholars of Rhetorical Genre Studies, we participate in an ongoing conversation regarding the relationship of genre and rhetorical situation that gained prominence with Miller's (1984) reconceptualization of genre as social action. Miller posits genre as "based in large-scale typification of rhetorical action" that "acquires meaning from situation and from social context" (p. 164). Genres, for Miller, are typified responses to recurring rhetorical situations. Writing in 1993, the same year that Garret and Xiao published their piece on the role of the discourse

tradition as shaping rhetorical situation, Devitt adds to Miller's seminal definition of genre: because "genres already exist and hence already constrain responses to situations" (p. 576), the social nature of genre must be seen as twofold. That is, situations are best answered by genres, and generic conventions already in existence help writers to view new occurrences through lenses of existing, recurring situations. Devitt argues, "[g]enre not only responds to but also constructs recurring situation" (p. 577).

Devitt's extension of Miller's definition of genre is in sync with Garret and Xiao's revisited rhetorical situation. Garret and Xiao (1993) contend that "it might not be going too far to say that, by creating or regenerating needs and promoting interests in an audience, a discourse tradition produces conditions for its own continuity, recirculation, and reproduction" (p. 39). Cultural knowledge of genres, as instantiations of a discourse tradition, can shape rhetorical exigencies into particular kinds of situations—situations that can be met using familiar genres.

Bawarshi (2001) provides ecological language for the relationship between genre and the rhetorical situation in his theorizing of genre ecologies. Bawarshi calls genres "rhetorical ecosystems" that "help communicants recognize, act within, and reproduce recurring environments" (p. 70). He lends spatially-oriented, ecological language to the arguments made by Miller and Devitt, calling genres "environments within which familiar social actions are rhetorically enacted and reproduced" (p. 70). "Genres, in short, are the sites in which communicants rhetorically reproduce the very environments to which they in turn respond—the habits and the habitats for acting in language" (p. 71). Bawarshi's conceptualization posits genres as locations for meaning-making, ecosystems that sustain particular kinds of exigence and action, with those actions in turn maintaining the environment and recreating the exigencies.

This study moves from a conceptualization of genre as figurative space—as an ecosystem—to one that contends with genres as interacting with real spaces. This study suggests that genre change may result from the ways that chronotopes infuse memorial contexts. Rather than genres acting as Bawarshi's (2001) ecosystems that sustain and recreate themselves, the cases of the Hall of Names and the Central Database suggest that there are circumstances where it behooves us, as genre scholars, to theorize genres as participants in space rather than as creators of it. Inventional power, here, is passed from genres as self-sustaining ecosystems to chronotopic arrangement.

The social actions of genre become rhetorically re-purposable as they are enacted across spaces. Using Bawarshi's ecological language, this suggests that genres, as ecosystems, can be implanted into larger eco-rhetorical spaces. This rhetorical integration, following ecological integration, demands adaptation. As the chronotopic arrangement of a space begins to change a genre, the survival of the genre relies on its adaptation and integration into this new rhetorical ecosystem. When chronotopic values shift and a location is imbued with different conceptions of space and time, new rhetorical ideologies may lend still different social meanings to the already-adapted genre; as the ecosystem evolves rhetorically, so too will its constituent parts.

Extending Bawarshi's (2001) idea of genre ecologies, several rhetorical characteristics of genre can be described in terms of symbiotic relationships. First, genres both respond to rhetorical exigencies and shape our perceptions of rhetorical situations. Genres rely on rhetorical situations and rhetorical situations rely on genres. Second, as a genre moves through time and across space, it both adds complexity to and is complicated by the contexts that provide it with expression. Genres are complicated by social contexts and the social context is complicated by genres. This study adds another point of symbiosis: genres contain chronotopic orientations to

time and space, and the chronotopic arrangement of a place can repurpose genre. Genres express space/time, and genres achieve dynamic expression through the chronotope. Of the three, this final relationship is perhaps the greatest arbiter of genre change.

Ultimately, in addition to suggesting a more complex relationship between genre and the chronotope, I suggest that Bawarshi's language of genre ecology can be extended to account for the adaptation and re-purposing of traditional genres as they are arranged chronotopically in larger rhetorical spaces—including, as is often the case with memory studies, material spaces. This consideration of genre across spatial contexts, particularly as it speaks to the intersection of changing social concerns and the materiality of memory, adds to the work of Blair, Dickinson, and Ott (2010) in merging rhetorical theory with memory studies. From the perspective of Rhetorical Genre Studies, places of memory may be particularly salient locations to further theorize the relationship between genre, chronotope, and space because memory places are naturally imbued with conceptions of space and time, as Blair, Dickinson, and Ott posit in their place : space :: memory : time analogy.

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