

Designing Urban National Memory

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Abstract

The study of memory, architecture, and urban space has been the interest of researchers from the diverse fields around the world due to, the significance of dealing with memories especially after the tragedy of the Second World War. Nations in Europe has chosen not to neglect their past, moreover, overcoming it by strengthening the national identity. An approach was clear in the literature, art, further in the way of rebuilding their cities; that mainly has reflected on the value of urban spaces and their role in narrating the country's national memory. Thanks to this approach, which has supported the post-war European nations to invite to an act of forgiveness rather than to forget.

On the contrary, memory, in relation to architecture is a form of knowledge has been neglected in Egypt, especially during the previous decades after the declaration of independence from the colonial power, and since 1952 revolution. Recently, a rising debate about Egypt national history and the need to renationalize the Egyptian historical consciousness has rapidly grown up, due to the political transformation has occurred because of the 25th uprising, 2011, which unveiled the power of public spaces in constituting the nation thoughts, especially *Tahrir* square. At the same time, this has unveiled the results of neglecting the past instead of overcoming it; unveiled a present carries the danger of conflict and repeating previous mistakes.

Researchers, historians, politicians, governmental organization, have worked in the purpose of revisiting the historical information, and have tried to document the current transformation of the 25th uprising. There was a public demand for redesigning *Tahrir square* to reflect the memory of the uprising as a symbol of the power of the public. However, after eight years, those memories have faded as if the 25th uprising has never happened.

Those circumstances are very relevant to the gap between urban design and the art of memory-work, in the scientific field. Few studies in Egypt conducted the concept of memory in relation to urban spaces, however, the matter requires more attention, to associate the need for renationalizing Egypt memory, with viewing urban space as a mean of narrating the country's national memory and reflecting the citizens' current thoughts, as a try of nearing the distances between competing narratives.

Therefore, the research aims at developing a methodological framework that should contribute to renationalizing memory through urban space. Further, benefiting from the German experience by investigating lessons to learn. *That is based on the hypothesis that*, although there is no fixed formula for all countries to renationalize the historical consciousness of memory through urban spaces, lessons to be learned from Germany experience could be a driving dimension when designing Egyptian urban spaces with a concept of memory as an essential factor.

To guide the validity of the study's hypothesis, a set of research questions are thus formulated: Starting from why memory is an essential factor when designing urban spaces? Regarding Egypt national memory, how it was constituted through history and how to read its representation on urban spaces? Also, the study quests the means of nationalizing memory through urban spaces? And What are the learned lessons from the German experience?

The study tries to answer those questions. Via an inductive analytical methodology which moves from the gap of knowledge and from a particular situation in Egypt, to study the German experience in renationalizing the concept of memory through urban spaces.

Within the scope of the study, exploring Egypt prevailing narratives and the inherited concepts which influenced the national memory is essential. Moreover, the research develops analytical political psychosocial model that could help reading memories in urban spaces, memory's actors, and memory influences. To validate this model, case studies are analysed in light of the concluded aspects. Consequently, the expected result is to infer broad general learned lessons for the Egyptian case.

Research findings and conclusions answer the research questions, interpret literature review, recommend some guide points to three target groups: first, practice field; to encourage designers to value the national and collective memories when designing urban spaces. Second, to ask policymakers to take the public participation into consideration, when taking decisions related to urban development. Third, the thesis recommends future researches of urban memory that connect theoretical information with the practice field.

Finally, enhancing the memory-work in relation to the national narrative, conveying a meaningful message, when designing urban spaces could encourage citizens to learn, to interact, and to dissolve boundaries between the competing narratives in post-conflict societies.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

PPS. : Political Psychosocial analytical Model.

Designing Urban National Memory



Part One: Initial Foundation

Chapter One: Introduction

Objective: *Developing methodological framework by determining the study scope, assuming hypothesis, identifying objectives, questions and determining the methodology.*

- 1.1. Statement of the Problem**
- 1.2. The State of Art**
- 1.3. Research Hypothesis**
- 1.4. Research Aim, Objectives and Questions**
- 1.5. Research Methodology**
- 1.6. Definitions**
- 1.7. Challenges and Dark Areas of the Research**
- 1.8. Expected Result**

1.1 Statement of the Problem

National and international events have indelibly imprinted human lives; events are unique and may happen once in a lifetime, but it can change people's lives entirely or leave a mark. The 25th January 2011 uprising in Egypt is one of the events that caused unprecedented outpour of public and private reflections on the correlation between the tangible urban spaces and the intelligible intangible memories.

Especially *Tahrir* square in the center of Cairo, in Egypt. It is considered a symbol of urban Egyptian spaces in many cities which played a significant role during the uprising. The square holds the national symbolic memory of the 25th January uprising; it is the place from which the modern revolutionary history has begun. Further, it also holds competing narratives, for some, it became a symbol that conveys the meaning of cooperation, sacrifice, and democracy, it is where Egyptians stood together against the ruling regime. However, for others, the square conveys the meaning of chaos, conflict, and Conspiracy theory.

Undoubtedly, the different competing narratives and the transforming from a regime to another new one unveiled the conflicted history between different society members. Also, unveiled the fact that a lot of historical information has not uncovered yet, information which constituted the Egyptians' national memory for decades. That raised the debate about Egypt national memory.

It also raised the need for renationalizing the historical consciousness, reviewing the Egyptian national memory with consideration of the competing narratives. It has been noticed that, in post-conflict Egypt, the process of coming to terms with the past and at the same time moving forward could be difficult; similar to situations of other countries when a despotic regime collapses or war comes to an end, or a revolution takes place.

The supporters of the new and old regimes must somehow find a way of living together to reconcile their different point of views and histories as peacefully as they can. That often happens at a price: not to talk about the past; it is merely repressed.¹ However, that carries the danger; maybe old wounds do not truly heal, which will lead probably to violent conflict in the future,² which is why it is essential to find out practical means of coming to terms with the past and renationalizing the country's memory.

¹ In Egypt, this happens in many situations such as "*Elgamal Battle*", and "*The dissolve of Rabaa square's sit-in*".

² Stefan Weidner, "Coming To Terms With The Past," *Fikrun wa Fann/Art&Thought*, issue 98 (accessed June 31, 2014): Editorial. <http://www.goethe.de/ges/phi/prj/ffs/the/a98/en10459954.htm>

Therefore, the study views that the Egyptian urban spaces could be a mean of narrating the national memory, overcoming the past, further, dissolving the boundaries between the different competing narratives.

In advance, that required specific attention to observe the prevailing narratives which constituted the national memory of Egypt through history especially over the few last decades since the 1952 revolution, to investigate the pattern of the inherited concepts which were and still influence the memory work: the remembering and forgetting processes through urban spaces.

With special focus to read *Tahrir* urban space's memories including the current metamorphose which have influenced by both the country's prevailing and competing narratives of people who live in as well. Noticeably, due to the current political, social, cultural change, the Egyptian urban spaces, the city patterns, and its detailed image are changing. Reading this change will help analyse its effect and influences in relation to the country national memory.

Therefore, the research aims at developing a methodological framework that should contribute in renationalizing the memory through urban space. Further, investigating a wide range of lessons to learn from other countries' experiences.

Finally, dealing with the past and the current change, raises the question of the need for a democratic atmosphere that encourages competing narratives to renationalize the country memory when designing urban spaces. As a hoping for a peaceful future for the coming generations, generations are aware and proud of their national identity and history.

1.2 The State of Art

Worldwide, the interrelation between memory, architecture, and urban space has been the special focus of many studies, for instance, Eleni Bastèa in her Book "Memory and Architecture," investigating perspectives from urbanism, history, psychology, and sociology. Bastèa's study presented different insights from various fields are given by many international researchers; however, a common discipline between those insights was not precise and needed more investigation and interpretation of other references of literature review. Therefore, the thesis in advance developed a common conceptualization; reached to be an analytical model which will help to analyze the memory of place. It tried to approach the urban space as a political, psychological, social-cultural tool which conveys memories and narratives, in addition to interacting with the citizens' thoughts.

As for Egypt, “memory and urban space” is a form of knowledge has been neglected for too long in architecture and urban design. Yet, within the Egyptian context, and via underlying the power of public spaces, especially *Al-Tahrir*, few studies has conducted the memory of the Egyptian urban spaces. For instance, one of them was introduced by *Dr. Mohamed Dessouki*, he argued the interrelation between collective memory and urban space, by using a methodology based on the actor- Network theory, a material-semiotic methodology to understand the memory-driven interactions in urban space.

On the other hand the political circumstances raised an international researchers' interest, for example *Dr. Judy Barsalou* published a scientific paper titled "Post-Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory, and Memorialization", addresses the question of how have protagonists in Egypt's transition used historical narratives and memorialization to promote their diverse agendas since the fall of Mubarak.

Many historians like *Khaled Fahmy*, politicians like *Amr Hamzay*, wrote about Egypt transition period and the need of renationalizing its history. However, none of them explained the means of doing that with a connection to urban spaces or tried to tackle the experience of another country to learn lessons.

Hence, the research tries to fill the gap of knowledge, and aims at developing a methodological framework that should contribute in renationalizing the memory through urban space. Further, investigating a wide range of lessons to learn from other countries' experiences.

When looking for a nation that can provide its successful experience to others, it will be Germany whose people acquired a reputation as having the best experts regarding coming to terms with the past. To nationalize their history, they have had to re-evaluate two very different histories under two different dictatorships: First, the Nazi era; culminating in the tragedies of the Second World War and the Holocaust. Second, the Communist dictatorship under the Socialist Unity Party in East Germany.

Even more, the Germans had to deal with the different remembrance culture between the East and West. For this reason, the dissertation will trace the memories in Dresden city center, and Cologne, to investigate the validity of the developed political psychosocial analytical model in reading the multi-layers of memory. Moreover to discover the official discourses of therapy in urban spaces; for instance, in his study of Dresden, *Jarzombek* argued that “*the new commercial center healing the trauma of a failed Socialist economy, the Frauenkirche healing*

the trauma of the war, the State healing the trauma of the Holocaust—is to overlook the complexity of the city's urban self-reflections.”³

Noteworthy, that every society has to find its way of dealing with the past; Formulae that have worked in Germany or South Africa may prove useless in Egypt or Syria. Nonetheless, societies which are currently in a state of upheaval can undoubtedly benefit from others' experiences, and particularly from their failures. Hence, some learned lessons are the expected result of the research.

Last but not least, the proposed research is an attempt to explore memory as a form of knowledge that has been neglected in architecture and urban design in Egypt. That was not possible without benefiting from the rich references of Germany National Memory, references such like, *Stefan Berger study, "Germany, The many mutations of a belated nation," Aleida Assmann, "Culture of Remembrance," Rudy Koshar, "Germany's Transient Pasts: preservation and National memory in the twentieth century," Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden',"* - just to name a few studies.

1.3 Research hypothesis

Although there is no fixed formula for all countries to renationalize the historical consciousness of memory through urban spaces, lessons to be learned from Germany experience could be a driving dimension when designing Egyptian urban spaces with a concept of memory as an essential factor.

1.4 Research Aim, Questions and Objectives

The study aims to review the role of memory in architecture and urban design, arguing for a reconsideration of national memory in the redesign of Egyptian urban spaces, further to benefit from the German experience after the Second World War, to generate the learned lessons. Those experiences are an ideal resource for reference, remembrance, discovery, and wondering how the past continues to affect the present and reveal how hopeful future can be opened by the time.

Questions and Objectives

The thesis mainly quests the necessity of developing a methodological framework for redesigning the Egyptian city urban spaces by considering the national memory, especially after the 25th uprising. Therefore, it proposes three sub-questions which are leading to a final one as follows:

³ Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden'," in *Memory and architecture*, ed. Eleni Bastéa, (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 49- 78.

The first is why memory is an essential factor when designing urban spaces?

Objectives: To capture the interrelation between memory and urban space, while defining them by reviewing the integrated theories and concepts from various literature perspectives, contemporary studies in order to reach developing a political psychosocial (PPS.) analytical model.

The second question is how the National Memory of Egypt was constituted through history, and how to trace its representations in urban space until the current situation?

Objectives: to review the prevailing narratives which unveiled the pattern of inherited concepts which was and still influence the national memory of Egypt. Further, tracing representations of memory in city urban fabric; reading the case study of *Tahrir Square*.

The Third, what are the means of nationalizing memory through urban space?

Objectives: To investigate the crucial political breaks which brought significant changes to the Germans' thought about their national memory and history. Further exploring relevant examples which clarify how urban space contributes to constituting the concept of National Memory in the German Case. That is reading urban spaces via political-psychosocial analysis model (PPS.) which developed as the conceptualization of the initial foundations in chapter two. Also, investigating the different remembrance culture between East and West Germany. That is to reach to the learned lessons for Egypt.

The Final question: What are the learned lessons from both the Egyptian past and the German experience in constituting their national memory through urban spaces?

Objectives: To introduce learned lessons from both; studying the Egyptian past of constituting its national memory until recent time. Also, learned lessons derived from the German experience. *The following figure 1 summarizes the abovementioned questions and objectives.*

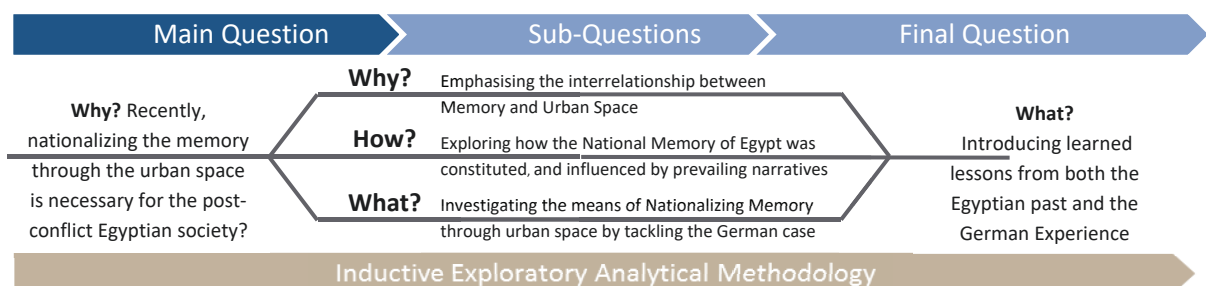


Figure 1: Research Questions and Objectives

1.5 Research Methodology (Methodological Framework)

The research methodology is based on a qualitative approach that involves examining and reflecting on the intangible aspect "memory of places" associated with meanings, values, attitudes, and various perceptions. Further as a whole, it applied inductive analytical methodology as it moves from a particular situation in Egypt to study and analyze the German experience, and finally to infer broad general learned lessons for the Egyptian case.

It has been concluded that the research type is an interdisciplinary, exploratory, and analytical research through the four parts of the study:

Part One: The Initial Foundation: argues that it is interdisciplinary research aims to emphasize the interrelation between national memory and urban space:

Chapter one: Introduction: It aims to develop the methodological Framework of the thesis, by identifying the study scope, its necessity, further to assume hypothesis, determine questions, main objectives and Methodology.

Since the very start phase of the research: The topic is planned to be discussed by "*semi-structured interviews*" and "*Group discussions*" methods, asking for their ideas and definition as professionals. Seek to quests the necessity of the research during the current rising debate about memory and historical consciousness of Egypt, the criteria of choosing the case studies, the challenges and the dark areas, Furthermore the expected result.

Twelve "*semi-structured interviews*" with professionals and three "*Group discussion*"⁴ are done at this phase. The Groups consisted of professors and postgraduate students of architecture and urban studies from Egypt and Germany.

From these semi-interviews, and group discussions, the thesis started to assemble the prevailing ideas and compare them with definitions gained from the literature review. The data collected and the result analyzed using *grounded theory methodology*,⁵ and it finally

⁴First group: Research Proposal discussed at a seminar during august 2013, at Faculty of Fine arts, architecture department, Alexandria University. Second group: The initial foundation presented at PhD Colloquium, Paper title Designing urban national memories, conference at Cottbus University, Germany, December 2013. Third group: Participated at Joint PhD-Colloquium for Urban Development and Architecture, Faculty of Fine Arts, Alexandria University, November 11th 2014 - Transformation Partnership for Urban Design and Architecture in Historic City Districts (Cooperation Project of the Alexandria University, Cairo University and the University of Technology Cottbus – Senftenberg.) 2014: 2016

⁵Grounded theory methodology: is an approach that emphasizes the generation of theory from data: Conceptualization or theory is generated from observations made, rather than being decided before the study. The aim of the grounded theory is then, to approach the research with no preconceived about what might be discovered or learned. According to Silverman (1993) the main features and stages of grounded theory: An attempt to develop categories which derive from the data -give as many examples in order to demonstrate their importance -Then developing these categories into an analytical frameworks (or theories) with relevance to other situations outside the research subject.

contributed to narrowing the study scope to tackle Egypt and Germany, to reach developing the methodological Framework of the thesis.

Chapter two: Perspectives from Urbanism, History, Psychology and Urban Sociology:

It requires literature review of various insights from urban design, history, psychology, and urban sociology, in order to capture the interrelation between national memory and urban space, to find out why memory is an essential factor when designing urban space.

The literature review based on *a meta-synthesis approach*⁶ which involves analyzing and synthesizing key themes in each perspective, to identify common core themes. That is with the aim of transforming the individual findings of each one into new conceptualizations. Hence, reaching to develop *a political-psychosocial analytical model* with it, the architects and the planners, can benefit from it when dealing with the memory of the place, to better read, analyze, and design. This model developed to analyze the memory of the place in the case studies which will be tackled in the rest of the study.

Part Two: Egypt National Memory: argues that it is exploratory analytical research that aims to capture how Egypt national memory was constituted through history:

Chapter three: Prevailing Narratives and Inherited concepts:

This chapter introduces the historical Preview, to capture how the recent Egyptian national memory was constituted through history, by exploring prevailed narratives; The chapter's hypothesis based on investigating two well-known narratives: Egypt as Pharaohs' country, and Modern Egypt "Egypt *Muhammed Ali*."

Collecting the data is based on *observation, inductive reasoning method* to interpret reviews from various related studies, examples will be introduced. The expected result is reaching to the *conceptualization* of the pattern of the inherited concepts; has influenced and still influence the production of memory (Remembering and forgetting) until recent times.⁷

Chapter Four: Reading Tahrir Square:

This chapter aims to trace the multiple layers of histories, which left their prints on the Egyptian urban fabric. That tracing requires *an explanatory historical case study*; the case study of *Tahrir* square in Cairo, Egypt.

⁶ Meta-synthesis defined by Patricia Cronin, Frances Ryan, Michael Coughlan. In their paper "*Undertaking a literature review: a step-by-step approach*" as a non-statistical technique usually used to integrate, evaluate and interpret findings of multiple qualitative studies.

⁷The three proposed inherited concepts are flexible to be argued and extended in the future studies.

According to the American sociologist *Charles C. Ragin* asserts, "Even single-case studies are multiple in most research efforts because ideas and evidence may be linked in many different ways."⁸ The metamorphosis of the square's morphology throughout the history of political, social, and urban transformation provide a chance for comparison between the different phases of the square.

The case study will be explained as follows:

First, the criteria of chosen: The case study of *Tahrir* Square will be tackled, because it is expected to capture the complexity of the Egyptian city. The choice based not only that it is complex, but it could be investigated in both historical and contemporary contexts.

Second, the historical background which depends on a constructed logic of interpretation, viewing the variables and qualities to be investigated, which based on "explicative" strategy.⁹ The challenge of the case of "*Tahrir* Square" is the "the change over time." It changes both on the short term (during the research process), on the long-term, its historical timeline, so this led to the characteristics of the methodology of a case study; the boundaries and the focus changed through the research process.

Third, with this respect, *Tahrir* square can be read as multiple layers of histories, data collection based on using the inductive reasoning analytical methodology¹⁰ which would include observation at the micro and macro scale and reviews of previous related studies. An analysis via the "PPS" model which was developed in the initial foundation combined with the conceptualization of the inherited concepts from the previous chapter to trace, read, analyze memories' representations.

Finally, the case study findings will be drawn in light of comparing the reading of the national memory representation, memory actors (agents of change), influences and reflection of the inherited concepts. Which influence the constituting of the national memory through Egyptian urban spaces.

⁸ B. Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It can Succeed Again*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 82.

⁹ According to Linda Groat and David Waag (2002) in their book, *Architectural Research Methods*, the strategies of both qualitative and the interpretive researches have in common a holistic approach to the subject but with a differing time perspectives. And that interpretive historical research is dependent on a constructed logic of interpretation. However the combination between history and case study require special attention because it has many variables and qualities to be investigated as Rolf Johansson has labeled this approach as an "explicative" Strategy in his paper "case study methodology."

¹⁰ Note: The abductive method is only used when comparing the case of the NDB in Cairo and Bundestag in Germany.

Part Three: Germany National Memory: the thesis continues as an exploratory analytical research, aims to find out how Germany nationalized memory through urban spaces.

Chapter Five: Nationalizing Memory through Urban Space:

It aims to review the crucial breaks which led to significant changes to the Germans' thought about their national history, to reach to the attempts have been done to develop the means of renationalizing the historical consciousness.

Renationalizing the historical consciousness reflected on the German concern of development the places of memory such as *the case of "The historical Buchenwald concentration camp memorial."* The chapter will tackle it as a remembrance case using the research methods of *the site visit, visual analysis, observation, and a general analysis considering the aspects of the (PPS) model.* The findings will be validated in order to reach to some lessons to learn.

Chapter Six: Germany, East, West, Remembrance Culture:

It aims to identify the different remembrance culture between ***East*** and ***West*** of Germany. The methodology based on *"Multicase studies"* which introduce a *comparative analysis* between two different cases of German cities; Dresden from East and Cologne from West.

Tackling those multi case-studies consisted of many phases: The criteria of selection, the historical background, Analysis the city center, and then the findings and generalization.

The research methods first depend on collecting data from the *inductive analytical method*; information concerning the subject of research is filed and connected. Second, the study based on *site visit, visual analysis, observation, site analysis on macro scale level*, further choosing and *analyzing in depth appropriate micro-scale examples to show the patterns and principles of each place design associated with memory.* Via using the (PPS), the model aims at unveiling the learned lessons from these German experiences.

Chapter Seven: Representation of Meanings:

The chapter considers a qualitative approach that involves examining and reflecting on the subjective aspect "memory of places" associated with meanings, values, and attitudes that by capturing some chosen memorials associated with essential humane values and conducted by *a general analysis considering the aspects of the (PPS) model.* The analysis views how the complexity of the memorial, with its different political, psychological, sociological aspects, plays a role in representing a multiplicity of memory (individual, collective, and national ones).

Part Four: Conclusions: the research is designed from the beginning as *an inductive reasoning research methodology* to infer growing up ideas: this part will discuss the thesis' key findings, the conclusions, the study's evaluation, and recommendations.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Recommendations

The chapter aims to tie the research parts briefly together, discusses key findings which summarize the thesis's main ideas, and methods. The discussion provides a conclusion that interprets the literature review, and answers the research's questions. Further, the chapter will introduce an evaluation of the study overall. Finally, it will suggest recommendations for the practice field, policy-makers, and future researches.

Figure 2 explains and summarizes the study methodological framework, methodology, hierarchy, and objectives.



Figure 2: Methodological Framework of the study of "Designing Urban National Memory."

1.6 Definitions

1.6.1 Memory Constitutes the Nation/ Nation Constitutes the Memory

On the one hand, memories constitute the nations, argued by the French philosopher and writer *Ernest Renan*,¹¹ who attempted to define the word "nation" in his essay "What is a Nation?" He explained that the past and present together constitute the nation; via the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories from past reflected on the present-day.¹² Memories, symbols, folk tales, histories, customs, and traditions are the basis for social cohesion, which transforms ethnohistory into nations. It also possible to say, memories transform history to form the nation.

On the other hand, nations constitute national memories, are based on socially organized mnemonics, institutions, and media. That is according to comparative literature and culture.¹³

1.6.2 National, Collective and Multiplicity Memory

In his study "*Collective memory and cultural history*," *Alon Confino* defined National memory that "*It is constituted by different, often opposing, memories that, despite their rivalries, construct common denominators that overcome on the symbolic level real social and political differences to create an imagined community.*"¹⁴

From the same perspective of *Confino*, the study will invite to a concept of national memory that helps overcome and dissolve boundaries between the different social groups, since, in the end, every social group has a collective memory which is unfolded within the country spatial framework. Even individual memory could only be understood within a social frame. With this regard, as well, the French sociologist *Maurice Halbwachs* (1877-1945), the father of collective memory studies, referred to the multiplicity of Memory, "*We can understand each memory as it occurs in individual thought only if we locate each within the thought of the corresponding group. We cannot properly understand their relative strength and how they combine within individual thought unless we connect the individual to the various*

¹¹ Ernest Renan was a French expert of Middle East ancient languages and civilizations, philosopher and writer devoted his native province of Brittany. He is well known for his influential historical works on early Christianity and his political theories especially concerning nationalism and national identity.

¹² Ernest Renan, "What is a nation?," in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff and Suny Eley, Ronald Grigor, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 41-55.

cited in Ernest Renan, "What is a nation?," The nationalism project, Accessed on January 5, 2016, www.nationalismproject.org/what/renan.htm

¹³ Marko Juvan, "Thematics and Intellectual content: The XVth Triennial Congress of the international Comparative Literature Association in Leiden," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, Vol.1, Issue 1, Article 4, (1999), <http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1003> or on [http:// docs.lib.purdue.edu/cleweb](http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/cleweb),

¹⁴ Alon Confino, "Collective memory and Cultural History: Problems in Methods," *American Historical Association*, Vol. 102, no. 5, (December 1997), 1400. (1386- 1414) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2171069?origin=JSTOR-pdf>

groups of which he is simultaneously a member."¹⁵ Therefore, whatever the level of Memory, it is a social product, even the individual memory is depending on the society. Hence, it is possible to say that theoretically there is an overlapping and intersections between the three levels of memories; individual, collective, and national memory.

1.6.3 Reading, and Designing Urban National Memory

Upon investigation, the study of "designing urban national memory" is a broad and diverse one, including many different fields such as urbanism, history and memory studies, psychology, and urban sociology to name just a few. It is a very critical and exciting area, as it is at the center of current research in the sciences and humanities.

Within the scope of the dissertation, the term "Urban National Memory" describes the interrelationship between national memory and urban space. Further, reading this interrelationship (reading urban national memory), could be possible by developing an analytical method in order to identify memory actors, and influences.

With this respect, in general, the term "Designing urban national Memory" describes the practice of architecture, planning, and urban design in which memory is the principal design Aspect.

1.6.4 Remembering, Forgetting, Remembrance Culture

The interacting processes of remembering or forgetting are describing the reaction to producing or erasing memories (as acts of memory) which influence or influenced by the design of the urban space. Consequently, it could also be described as "memory-work."

In addition to that, within the scope of the study, the "Different Remembrance culture" describes the different collective memories in the same country (the same nation) towards the country's national memory. That is due to the difference of the political psychosocial circumstances, which influenced the memory: for instance, the different remembrance culture between East and West Germany toward the National liberation date on the 8th of May 1945.

¹⁵ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 53.

1.7 Challenges and Dark Areas of the Research

The study concerns challenges on different urban design scales (Macro - Micro). The study aims at identifying not only the interaction between the national memory and the urban space but also at unveiling the connection between the city urban fabric and the memory's various actors and the different influences of memory. In order to do this, it is important to read the multilayers of memories which are reflecting on the urban spaces. That challenge is only possible by a well understanding of the historical information, including all political and social circumstances which produced those memories.

With this regard, in his study "Memory, Autobiography, History," *Psychologist John F. Kihlstrom* stated that "Memory is not like reading a book; it is more like writing a book from fragmentary notes."¹⁶ Inspired by that quotation, in the case of Egypt, the national memory is not like reading a book or an autobiography. It is more like writing history from fragmentary various citizens' narratives, and different perspectives with considering the essential common meaning and legend (prevailing narratives).

Dark Areas of Research: The study will help to encourage an open and fair re-examination of even the darkest corners of the changing periods in Egypt where the past threatens to take future hope. Furthermore, memory is a subjective dimension that often makes the architectural and urban design processes complex.

1.8 Expected Result

The developed methodological framework of the study aims at least to reach the learned lessons from both Egypt history and Germany experience. Consequently, that will provide the design's guidelines for place designers and planners. Those learned lessons might build a bridge between research and design practice. The study tries to draw the attention of architects, urban designers, and individuals to the value of urban spaces, particularly regarding holding memories and narratives.

It is looking forward to enhancing the art of memory in the design of urban spaces and creating environments that encourage people to learn to interact and recognize the reflection of their past on their presence in a democratic atmosphere. Hopefully, that will help to dissolve boundaries between different narratives in post-conflict societies.

¹⁶ John F. Kihlstrom, "Memory, Autobiography, History," *Proteus: A Journal of Ideas on the subject of Memory* 19, no. 2 (Fall: 2002), accessed May 2015. <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~kihlstrm/rmpa00.htm>
John F. Kihlstrom, "Exhumed Memory," in *Truth in Memory*, eds. S.J. Lynn & K.M. McConkey, (New York: Guilford Press, 1998), 3-31.

Chapter Two: Perspectives from Urbanism, History, Psychology, and Urban Sociology

Objective: *Introducing an overview of top topics explored to capture the interrelation between national memory and urban space, reaching to develop a political psychosocial analytical model.*

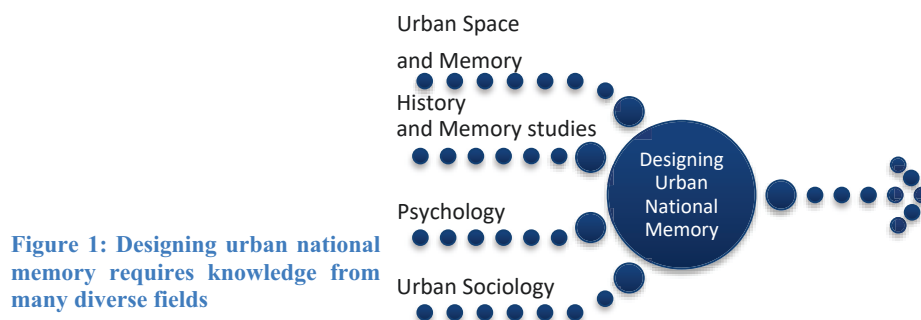
- 2.1. Introduction**
- 2.2. Urban Space and Memory**
- 2.3. Between Memory and History**
- 2.4. From Psychology**
- 2.5. Urban Sociology and Memory**
- 2.6. The Case of Nubian Villages' Displacement in Egypt**
- 2.7. The Developed "Political-Psychosocial" Analytical Model (PPS.)**
- 2.8. Summary**

2.1 Introduction

Urban national memory addresses the broad issues of national narratives, the individuals, and institutions that construct those remembrances. As it been clarified in the previous chapter that the definitions denote that national memory is more than a cultural memory; it conveys that society's self-image.

Urban space and memory studies introduce the power of urban space as a remembrance place that carries a specific message. The chapter views urban space that consists of tangible aspect, presented by its architectural patterns and intangible one which consists of events, people culture, interactions, experiences, thoughts, memories, and even their ambitions. Those aspects need background knowledge of history, psychology, sociology, and to be clarified.

This chapter aims to capture the interrelation between National memory and urban space, by exploring an overview of top topics from various insights. *See figure 1.* The generalization of those insights reflected on the case of Nubian villages' displacement as an example of multiplicity memory of the place.



Human beings and cities are all loaded with memories associated with various kinds of experiences. Memory is a subjective dimension that often makes the architectural and urban design processes complex. However, according to *Bachelard* “*Memories are motionless, and the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are.*”

With this regard, memory and architecture are in most projects closely intertwined. Therefore, designers should at least consider the value of the national and collective memories, to create places that suit and embrace the nation’s values, concepts, and understandings. Hence, the chapter bases on meta-synthesis¹ literature review, to reach developing an analytical model, which could help trace, analyze places which are loaded with memories. The model will be validated and applied in the next chapters.

¹ Meta-synthesis defined by Patricia Cronin, Frances Ryan, Michael Coughlan. In their Paper "*undertaking a literature review: a Step-by Step approach*" as a non-statistical technique usually used to integrate, evaluate and interpret findings of multiple qualitative studies.

2.2 Urban Space and Memory

According to *Eleni Bastéa* in her Book "Memory and Architecture," that *Adrienne Rich's* poetry collections "*The Dream of a Common Language*" are the aspiration of many writers and architects.²

As for designers and city planners, urban space can become the source for a larger narrative that respects the unique characteristics of the local and national stories, as well as acknowledges their common myths and begins to compare them. In this regard, *Bastéa* argued that histories of cities are bound in urban spaces, just as they are bound in time. "*While grounded in the precepts of the discipline of architecture and cultural history, this language of space is alive. It is to learn, to nurture, expand, and transmit. This common language of space is the legacy to the next generation.*"³

2.2.1 The Pattern Language of Urban Space

In her essay, "*DimitrisPikionis and SedadEldem: Parallel Reflection of Vernacular and National architecture*," *Bastéa* argued that the patterns of the immediate built environment which surrounded her in her childhood hometown "*Thessaloniki*" in Greece, provided her with her own "language of space." According to *Bastéa*, the future experience might slowly expand the language but not alter it, fundamentally, because it is intricately bound to her memory.⁴ From this perspective, the memories of the childhood experiences, affect the people's choices in the present and the future; choices of cities and houses they live in.

Regarding the urban space, it can be analyzed by many methods of seeking a better understanding. For instance, scientific evidence comes from the science of patterns as the human mind perceives the connections and interrelations between concepts and ideas, and then links them together, and the ability to create patterns is a consequence of human neural development in responding to the environment.

Derived from this idea, *Christopher Alexander*⁵ and his associates made an effort to define patterns in space by collecting architectural and urban solutions into the "Pattern Language." They defined the pattern language as a system which allows its users to create an infinite variety of three-dimensional combinations of space patterns which are often called

² Adrienne Rich, *The Dream of a common Language: Poems, 1974-1977*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978)

³ Eleni Bastéa, *Memory and architecture*, (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2004) 7.

⁴ Bastéa, "DimitrisPikionis and SedadEldem: Parallel Reflection of Vernacular and National architecture", in *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories*, ed. Keith S. Brown, Yannis Hamilakis, (United States of America: Lexington Books, 2003), 150.

⁵ **Christopher Alexander:** He is the winner of the first medal for research ever awarded by the American institute of Architects is a practicing architect and builder, Professor of Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley, and Director of the Center for Environmental Structure.

buildings, gardens, squares, cities, and towns. The most important is the specific meanings connect those urban areas or the architectural elements.

So Urban Space could be viewed by two aspects; tangible and intangible:

The tangible aspect of space is presented by architectural elements which *Alexander* called 'Patterns of space,' which are always changing through the continuous generations, associated with intangible cultural meanings, memories individuals' interaction 'Patterns of events.' Both tangible and intangible are generated within specific political, economic, and social contexts. Both should be analyzed to understand the city complexity and each place character. Hence, in any community, the way in which the urban space is perceived and used is determined mainly by its current social, economic or political climate.

2.2.2 The Urban Patterns of Events Interlocked with Patterns of Space

Alexander argued that every place is given its character by specific patterns of events *that* keep on happenings there.⁶ The *Alexander* "patterns of events" describes simply "what was or is still happening there" Urban space is governed, above all, by the individuals' thoughts, interactions, cultures, memories and their way of life which often consists of similar episodes, and these episodes give the character of the place.⁷

Undoubtedly, each urban space, each town, each neighborhood, each building has a particular set of patterns of events according to its prevailing culture. Since "People are the people of their culture," patterns of events are prevailing culture.⁸

Hence people live together through roles maintained by culture; life depends not merely on the physical environment, but on the cultural events which repeated there, and the evoked memories which people experience there. Thus, every city has a different character from others.

So, People know that what matters in a building or a town is not its outer shape or its physical geometry alone, but the events that take place there. Those events patterns are congruent with all these patterns in the space. It is the communicative memory in everyday interaction, the time horizon of many years strongly influenced by the contemporary remembered events.

With this respect, the research explores questions about memory embedded in the built environment. As Italian semiotician and novelist *Umberto Eco* argued, "*Memories are built as a city is built.*" The urban built environment provide rich sources of memory for both

⁶ Christopher Alexander, *The Timeless way of building*, (Berkeley, California: Oxford University Press, 1979), 186

⁷Ibid , 67.

⁸Ibid, 55:68

residents and visitors, telling them about the city's past, about shared meanings of its present, and about themselves.⁹

For instance, the names of the streets and places make people imagine and remember what once happened there, and that life not merely anchored in the space, but it is made up of the space itself — the complexity of the city's events based on many aspects: political, economic, technological, social-cultural, legal, and environmental. Those aspects are the influences of all happening.

Noticeably, people see how the physical essence of urban space supports the events in such a way that if the structure of space is changed, this change will generate some kinds of changes in the patterns of events and the way the people will remember them. For instance, in *Midan al-Manshiyya*, Alexandria, Egypt, the governorate demolished the Socialist Union Building and turned it into a parking lot, in the early 1980s, instead of restoring it. That affected both the morphological aspect of the square and also pushed gradually the public's memory of the conflict associated with this building into amnesia.¹⁰

On the other hand, the opposite is right as people are changing during their life cycle, their perception and the way they use the urban space also changes, which consequently affect the urban space. Therefore, it is just like an interrelationship between people and the urban space. Designers can predict those changes and can actually participate in the decision of whether to preserve the place or change it and taking into consideration the public participation. Moreover, architects and place designers bear a heavy responsibility when designing urban spaces. If the urban space is the primary medium to transform memories and narrative stories, so its unique language should be well-acknowledged, well-translated to be able to be read by citizens, and to work as a mirror of their cultures and identities as well.

2.2.3 Urban Space as a Remembrance Place

Urban space might be public space in the city urban fabric, whether it is a street, square, plaza, public building, open museum or even a piece of stone. All those are small components of the whole urban city image, each of them adds a feature to the city character, and narrate part of the country narrative. No matter the physical size or shape of public space is, it is the meaningful message which it conveys that truly matters. Messages and meaning of a story do not aim at denying a minority, but at creating a dominant national culture full of achievements to be proud of, learning from the past mistakes, helping in healing the past wounds, and communicating with human beings.

⁹ Jacobs A. J., "Symbolic Urban Spaces and the political Economy of Local Collective Memory: a comparison of Hiroshima and Nagoya, Japan," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 31, no. 2 (2003): 255.

¹⁰ For more details, see Mohammed Adel Dessouki. "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory," (PhD thesis, Faculty of Engineering, Cairo University, Giza, 2012), Chapter Six.

The reason that the study focusing on the national memories commemorated by urban spaces is that those spaces do not and should not belong to one's thought or one's idea, or to a specific party and denying the others. Also, it does not need dedicating time or spending money to access, it is 24 hours free-accessed, where citizens can connect their history or evoke national memory, directly through an urban walk in the city during their usual daily way to work. The city urban is vast enough to carry generations' footprints rather than any other commemorative method. Naturally, it is similar to the concept of why a small piece of paper should satisfy the imagination of a child if there is a wide wall to dream on.

"The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" has been argued by *Mohamed Adel Dessouki* who explained that the commemoration is memory-driven interaction with urban space. It has many types, like urban conservation, commemorative structures, urban iconoclasm and urbicide, place-specific commemorative rituals, naming and renaming of urban spaces, and, finally, collective nostalgia.¹¹ Further, *Dessouki* explained the current demolition of heritage and memory in Egypt.

On the other hand, it has been noticed that, over the course of the 20th and 21st centuries, the memorial has undergone a radical transformation in both idea and practice in both Europe and America. That is to reflect the happening political circumstances such as revolutions, as well as the first world war, the second world war, the Vietnam War, and the rise and the fall of communist regimes in the former Soviet Union.¹²

By comparing the abovementioned international transformation with the case of Egypt, it has been found that Egyptians are facing an Era of erasing and neglecting memory, except in very few situations. Recently, the practice and construction of memorials do not reflect the society, and the gap between public art and memory is widened every day. It lacks the integration between public memorials, collective memories, and the social and political events. For instance, the memorial of the high dam in Egypt does not narrate the story of the Nubian villages' displacement as a consequence of the dam construction. Hence, it has been found that in Egypt the memorials might reduce the historical understanding as much as they generate it. Very similarly, this idea was discussed by the German historian *Martin Broszat*, who stated that monuments in their references to history, may not remember events as much as bury them altogether beneath layers of national myths and explanations.¹³

¹¹ Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory," 43-99.

¹² James E. Young, "Memory and Counter-Memory," *Harvard Design Magazine*, last modified 2016, accessed January 21, 2016. <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/9/memory-and-counter-memory>

¹³ Martin Broszat, "Plea for a Historicization of National Socialism," in *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historians' Controversy*, ed. Peter Baldwin (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), 129.

2.3 Between Memory and History

Regarding the relation between memory and history, how far they are affected by each other: Recent work among philosophers, architects, historians, and anthropologists tried to set a connection between memory, history, and space. A prominent effort is the multivolume study of the French Republic History and collective memories *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1984-1992), by *Pierre Nora* and his colleagues. Their work emphasizes the memory and the '*lieux*' which embodies it, underscores the link to collective heritage and the country's shattered identities.

Nora described the relation between Memory and history: that Memory installs remembrance within the history, and always rereleases it. While, history is a critical discourse that is antithetical to spontaneous memory, and history's actual mission is to suppress and destroy it.

As for the collective memory, *Nora* viewed that the memory is blind to all but the group it binds. With this respect, *Alon Confino* argument agreed with *Nora*, that the past is constructed not as a fact but as a myth to serve the interest of a particular community. Further, he raised an essential question in his book 'Collective Memory and Cultural History,' How people view "nation" in a remarkably short time as an everyday intimate collective memory as the local, ethnic, and family past? ¹⁴

Also, noteworthy, it has been stated that *Nora's* work is emphasizing on the search of common cultural agents among the multiple competitive voices of the collective memories which offers a variable model for the study of national memories. ¹⁵

This regard could raise the question of how People can learn more about themselves and others, about their memories, and others' competitive memories, how to deal with this? Their city could help them, narrating their stories through its streets, squares, walls, improving the people's attachment to it, and the sense of belonging between citizens to each other regardless of the differences between them. The Italian writer *Italo Calvino* wrote that the city is containing the past like the lines of the hand, rather than telling it. ¹⁶ So, one can learn about this hidden past, by observing actions, tracing patterns of the urban memories embodied in the spaces.

Cited in Young, "Memory and Counter-Memory."

¹⁴Alon Confino, "Collective memory and Cultural History: Problems in Methods," *American Historical Association*, Vol. 102, no. 5, (December 1997), 1402.

¹⁵ Pierre Nora, "From Lieux de mémoire to Realms of Memory," in *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French Past*, vol. I, under the direction of Pierre Nora, Trans. Arthur Goldhammer, English-Language edition ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University press, 1996), xxiii – xxiv. Cited in Bastéa, *Memory and architecture*.

¹⁶Italo Calvino, *Invisible cities*, Trans. William Weaver (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 86-87. Cited in Bastéa, *Memory and architecture*.

The constituting of memory in urban space has been argued by historians, that it is mainly based on the political and social aspects of the society. For instance, the historian *John R. Gillis* pointed out in his introduction to 'Commemorations': The politics of National Identities that both identity and memory based on political and social constructions, and that Identity and memory are not notions we think about, but they are notions we think with them.¹⁷

From a similar perspective, the French philosopher *Michael Foucault* (1926-1984)¹⁸ argued that national memory was a political-economic construction engineered by the ruling class. Also, he stated that the "power elite" manipulated the masses' perception of the past by producing a "counter-memory."

Agreed with this, the sociologist *Anthony Giddens*¹⁹ who stated that memory and public space are tightly connected, and the ruling classes all over the world have utilized the mnemonic powers of architecture as a representation and reinforcement of their authority.²⁰

With this respect, the opposite might be possible; as the masses write their history in a strong will, by brave actions and revolutions which may bear fruit sooner or later. Evidence in Egypt is the Tahrir square, which witnessed both the state's control for decades, the public struggle, and lately the beginning of the modern revolutions' history (the 25th January revolution, the 30th June revolution, and many events).

However, Commemoration of its national memory, is still not clear on the urban fabric even after seven years, although the protesters demanded to redesign and redevelops of *Tahrir* square, to commemorate the revolution memory. This demand is still neglected and does not have enough appreciation.²¹

2.4 From Psychology: The Phenomenon of Memory

Memory is the continuation of learning over time by the storage and retrieval of information. It is fruitfully studied at the biological, psychological, and social-cultural levels 'See figure 2' This analytical concept is borrowed from the biopsychosocial approach²² which may serve the designers to understand the phenomenon of memory and its influences.

¹⁷John R.Gillis, "Introduction," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National identity*, ed. John R.Gillis, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 5.

¹⁸Foucault is a french philosopher, historian of ideas, social theorist, philologist and literary critic. His theories questioned how power and knowledge are used as a social control through the society's organizations. His critical thought influenced both academic and activist groups.

¹⁹Anthony Giddens: Baron Giddens (born 8 January 1938). He is a British sociologist known for his theory of structuration and holistic view of modern societies. He is considered a prominent modern sociologist.

²⁰Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1995).

²¹ More details will be discussed in chapter four.

²² David G. Myers, *Psychology Eighth edition*, (New York: Worth Publisher, 2007), 390.

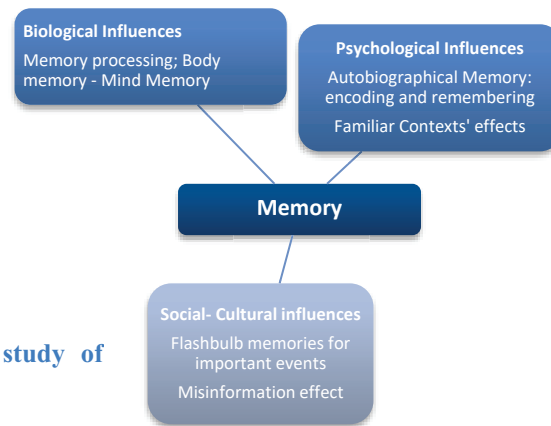


Figure 2: Levels of Analysis for the study of memory as psychological phenomena.

2.4.1 Biological Influence; Body memory, and Mind Memory

As automatic processing: There are two types of memory relying on the lived and learned experiences of space, they are body memory and mind memory.

According to *Schacter* and *Moscovitch* in their book "Infants, Amnesiacs, and dissociable memory Systems" memory of place depends on the people earlier experiences within it, their ability to adjust, edit, alter them, or erase them. They suggested that human might experience the place through the body, but remember it by the mind.²³

Further, *Schacter* explained in his book "*Searching for memory: The Brain, the mind and the past*" that body memory refers to memories of space derived from personal, lived experience. Like the layout of an old childhood home or the streets of hometown, they appear to be directly imprinted or encoded in people bodies. He explained that motor memory is a component of body memory that includes remembering how to ride a bicycle, swim without thinking or rehearsing. Biologically, people perceive and remember visual information and spaces with the right side of the brain. So it is believed that the right side sees.²⁴ See figure 3

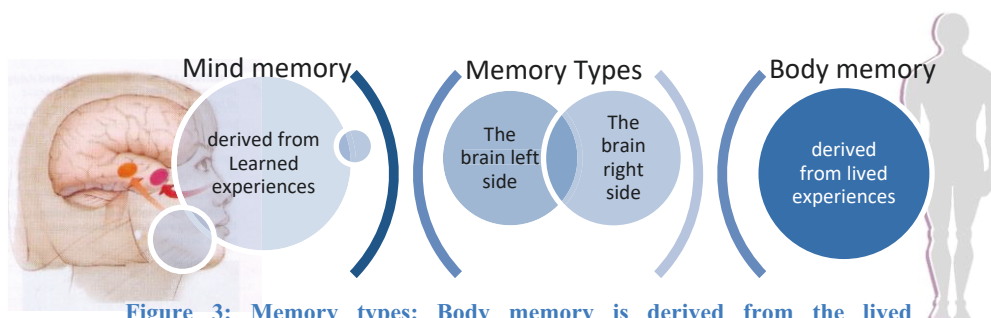


Figure 3: Memory types: Body memory is derived from the lived experiences, while mind memory is derived from the learned experiences, both of them influence the national memory.

On the other hand, *Bastéa* added that mind memory refers to long memories of space; narrated experiences that have been passed down through family generations, community, schooling, and so forth. They could be a relative's home that they have never seen,

²³Ibid,10.

²⁴Daniel Schacter, *Searching for memory: The Brain, The mind and the past*, (Basic Books, 1997), 231, 141.

architectural places they have studied but have not been visited, or the national borders of the country. The heard stories about places also become part of the autobiographical memory.²⁵ Biologically, People remember verbal information by the left side of the brain. So it is believed that the left side narrates.

In this connection, *Bastéa* discussed that the memory of "own home" is encoded through the right side of the brain. Since, it is based on personal, lived experience. On the other hand, the memory of "own nation" is encoded through the left side of our brain. It is a learned concept that has been transmitted and reinforced through education, socialization, media, state rhetoric, and so forth. There is a belief that people perceive the two entities independently and can negotiate between them and draw connections between them without, however, considering the home to be a subset of the nation.²⁶

Hence, the significance of the narrative in recalling memories is associated with the right and left brain activity; Perhaps a physical (right-brain) memory of place remains dormant in people mind until they can put its significance in words, until people can narrate the ideas that make it meaningful and memorable by employing the left brain, too. It blends into one continuous process, like the everyday experiences, the sensation and perception processes of the built environment around us.

In one form or another, the rulers and leaders realized that concept and were able to exploit it to control and manipulate people's memory. For instance, the well-known narrative of "Muhammad Ali Pasha, the founder of modern Egypt," this narrative is not believed due to the achievements of Muhammad Ali for Egypt only, but it mainly was promoted by the historians who were appointed by Muhammad himself to commemorate his memory and to empower his legacy of Egypt's rule to his extended family.²⁷

Regarding designers, it could be useful for them to know that the creation and designing of national memories reflect necessity to represent the national memory in the urban city. A left-brain activity is primarily. That means that it influenced by learned experience and that citizens renationalize their memory and their historical consciousness by learning through literature, education, media, the internet, the social media and all other processes of socialization, to picture the past in precise terms. For that exact reason, the authentication of those information sources is critical, and free access for the information which renationalizes the historical consciousness.

²⁵Bastéa, *Memory and architecture*, 9,10

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷ Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt*, (Cairo: The American University Press, 2010), Introduction.

The integration between the memories derived by the lived and the learned experiences, is vital knowledge for planners and the place designers who are seeking a better understanding of citizen's needs, especially when designing or developing urban space for different cultures' dwellers, even more important, for post-conflict societies.

2.4.2 Psychological Influences of Memory

2.4.2.1 *The Autobiographical memory's work consists of two processes as follows:*

First, the encoding process which Schacter pointed out that *"We remember only what we have encoded, and what we encode depends on who we are."*²⁸ He also clarified that sometimes people are not aware of what they encoded as the "implicit memory," explaining why some past experiences happened without having the full awareness of remembering them.²⁹

Second, the remembering process which contains the retrieval of past experiences. Bastèa described it as a complicated process, conscious-altering and adjustment of the old experiences to fit the present circumstances. *"Images and events stored in memory are not etched in stone, as was previously believed, but are rather subject to a selective, continuous recasting that reflects the current experiences and preoccupations."*³⁰ It has also been stated that *"When we remember, we complete a pattern with the best match available in memory; we do not shine a spotlight on a stored picture."*³¹

2.4.2.2 *The effect of context on memory (Familiar context activates the memory)*

The context in which people initially experienced an event or encoded a thought can flood memories with retrieval cues, leading to the target memory. If they are in another context that is very similar to the original one, they may experience as many of these cues return into unconsciously retrieving the target memory.³² Hence, memories can be evoked and relived through the encouragement of sensual experiences. Depending on this, space designer may evoke the good memory and achieve the healing of bad memories. That could be a successful key in the design process. However, it is a critical memory. While some memories nourish people, others may lead to disabling past.³³

²⁸Schacter, *Searching for memory*, 52.

²⁹Ibid, 161

³⁰Bastèa, *Memory and architecture*, 10.

³¹D.L. Schacter and Morris moscovitch, "Infants, Amnesiacs, and dissociable memory Systems," in *infant memory*, ed. M.Moscovitch (New York: Plenum, 1984), 173-216. Cited in Schacter, *Searching for memory*, 174.

³²Myers, *Psychology Eighth Edition*, 375.

³³Umberto Eco, "Architecture and memory", trans. William Weaver, in *VIA, journal of the graduate schools of fine arts, University of Pennsylvania*, "Architecture and literature", Vol.8 , 1986: 94.

2.4.3 Social-cultural Influences of Memory

2.4.3.1 Flashbulb Memories

Flashbulb Memories, which are attached to emotionally significant moments or events, differs from most other memories in their striking clarity.³⁴ Investigating how flashbulb memories are different has been tackled by a nationwide project on memories of the terrorist attack on the building of World Trade Center in America.³⁵ The psychologist *William Hirst*³⁶ and other flashbulb memory researchers try to untangle why "*People are extremely confident in the accuracy of these not-necessarily-accurate memories*"³⁷ in *Hirst's* words. He finds out that while people feel very confident in their recall of the September 11 moment and think that their flashbulb memories are crystal-clear, the memories fade with time, just like our memories of the daily life.

Nevertheless, some findings suggest that flashbulb memories are different; as they decay over the very long term, and is slower for other memories, said *Olivier Luminet*, a psychologist at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium.³⁸

2.4.3.2 Misinformation distorts the national memory

Hirst joined another national memory project presented a survey on the September 11 terrorist attack in America.³⁹ He found out that "*Surprisingly, people tend to be particularly bad at remembering their emotions from the time of the attack, as it is hard to look back at an emotional event without coloring it with hindsight.*" However, he analyzed that people tend to feel that the way they are feeling about the attack now is the same way they felt about it in the past, he analyzed that, psychologically, their emotions have changed, so they make errors in their memory by putting their present into the past.⁴⁰

³⁴ Myers, *Psychology Eighth edition*, 351.

³⁵ "United States: El Paso International Airport Unveils 9/11 Artifact Display," *MENA Report, Albawaba* London, October, 2016, Ltd., n/a.

³⁶ William Hirst is a psychologist at the New School in New York City. His studies concern studying Americans' memories of 9/11.

³⁷ Stephanie Pappas, "Do You Really Remember Where You Were On 9/11?," *Live Science*, September 6, 2011, <https://www.livescience.com/15914-flashbulb-memory-september-11.html> (accessed August 01, 2018).

³⁸ Ibid. Further reading available at Robin Nixon, "10 Ways to Keep Your Mind Sharp", *live science*, February 18, 2011, <http://www.livescience.com/12915-10-ways-mind-sharp.html> (accessed February 20, 2015)

³⁹ The project involved a collaborative arrangement of memory researchers across the United States.in alphabetical order: Randy Buckner (Harvard University); Andrew Budson (Harvard Medical School); John Gabrieli (MIT); William Hirst (New School University); Marcia Johnson (Yale University); Cindy Lustig (University of Michigan); Mara Mather (University of California – Santa Cruz); Kevin Oschner (Columbia University); Elizabeth Phelps (New York University); Daniel Schacter (Harvard University); Jon Simons (University of Cambridge); and ChandanVaidya (Georgetown University). More information available at <http://911memory.nyu.edu/>

⁴⁰ Stephanie Pappas, "Do You Really Remember Where You Were on 9/11?."

It is possible that misinformation⁴¹ and imagination can distort the national memory of an event. It has been discussed that memories are not stored or retrieved as exact copies of the actual experiences. Instead, usually, people construct memories, using both stored and new information. As they are subtly exposed to misinformation after an event, they may incorporate the misleading details into their memory of what really happened. For this reason and the powerful influence of society on memory, it is best understood memory not only as cognitive and a biological phenomenon but also as a social-cultural phenomenon.⁴²

Even repeatedly imagining non-existent actions and events can create false memories, the injection of them becomes easier, especially when memory begins to fade with time,⁴³ Probably, when memory 'recovered' after an extended period of amnesia⁴⁴, mainly when extraordinary methods were used to close the recovery of memory, there is a high probability that the memories are false.⁴⁵ It has been found that happens in the countries which are in a transition period when the regime collapses, or revolution took place. Citizens might experience a silent period before allowed to free express themselves, and retrieve the memories and review facts.

In this regard, and as for the case of Egypt, the thesis recommends that it is important to encode events while they are fresh, before encountering possible misinformation. In other words, if citizens become an eyewitness of an important national event, they should record it in their urban spaces, before allowing others 'who are in power' for example, to suggest what may have occurred. From this insight, professor *Ali Abd Eleaaoof* wrote about the transformation which happened to the image of *Tahrir* Square after the 25th January uprising. (More details will be discussed in chapter four).

2.5 Urban sociology and Memory

Reviewing memory from the perspectives of urbanism, history, and psychology lead to the generalization that national memory associated with the political or social events those bring significant changes to the city urban fabric. At the same time, that causes new forms of human interaction with place including the processes of memory, whether remembering or forgetting.

⁴¹ Misinformation effect: incorporating misleading information into one's memory of an event.

⁴² Myers, *Psychology Eighth Edition*, 382: 389.

⁴³ G. R. Loftus, *Current Directions on Psychological Science*, 1, 121-123. 1992. Cited in Myers, *Psychology Eighth Edition*, 383.

⁴⁴ Amnesia: the loss of memory: attributing to the wrong source an event we have experienced, heard about, read about, or imagined. (Also called source misattribution) the misinformation effect, is the heart of many false memories.

⁴⁵ Myers, *Psychology Eighth Edition*.

Those processes of remembering or forgetting in metropolitan areas require a sociological knowledge⁴⁶ which seeks to study structures, processes, changes, and problems' solving of an urban area, to provide inputs for planning and developing strategies.

Developing strategies with consideration of cities' role in the development of society; reflect its aspects, its collective memories besides the effect of the awareness and the interaction of the society members on the development of the urban city.⁴⁷

Two Aspects are considered in this research, the change of the city urban space, and human interaction (remembering or forgetting), it is believed that both of them are affecting each other. Indeed, both place and group receive the imprint of each other. Meanwhile, the memory contributes to shaping urban space, a city inhabitants' memory is shaped at the same time by symbolic public spaces.⁴⁸

Generally, one of the essential features of humanity is the relationship with meaningful places; In the course of their lives, people create bonds and links with their built environment, and urban spaces converted into places endowed with meaning. The built environment, in its broad meaning, has long been accepted to “express,” “signify,” “symbolize,” “convey,” or “embody” meaning.

When the meanings⁴⁹ are associated with places, it stimulates emotional bonds between individuals and their environment. Further, constitute the core to which such bonds are attached. However, how to incorporate these meanings, how this communication works, and how it can be interpreted remains unclear as it could differ from person to another, Or from group to another, even it is believed that memory has multiple levels.⁵⁰

According to the "Multiplicity of memory" which introduced by the French sociologist *Halbwachs*,⁵¹ every recollection even the most personal and private sentiment thoughts, exists in relation to a social group, citizens' memories are localized within a social group, located within a spatial framework and that places are essential mnemonic witness that allow people to conserve and recall the recollections.⁵²

⁴⁶ Richard Schaefer & Robert Lamm in their book "Sociology" defined sociological study as the study of the influence of social relationships on individuals and human groups' behavior and how societies are established and changed. Richard T. Schaefer & Robert P. Lamm, *Sociology*, (United States of America: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 5.

⁴⁷ M. Crang, *Urbicide: The politics of urban destruction*, (Oxon: Routledge, 1998), 108

⁴⁸ Bridge, G., & Watson, S. (Eds.), *A Companion to the city*, (Maldon, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 13.

⁴⁹ The study of meaning in urban form as generated by signs, symbols, and their social connotations, in the field of urban semiotics; It regards the city as a language of sign and sign processes built on grammars of spatial structures and patterns (cited in Timothy J. Jachna, *Cyburban Semiotics Cosign* Computational Semiotics Conference Split, (Croatia: University of Split, 2004), 1.

⁵⁰ William Whyte, "How do building mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the history of Architecture," *History and Theory* 45, (May 2006): 154, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3874104>

⁵¹ Although *Halbwachs* had left the historical developments largely outside his analysis of collective memory, he focused on that group memory was so deeply entrenched in actual places and urban social experiences.

⁵² A. B. Jacobs, *Great Streets*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

2.6 The Case of Nubian Villages' Displacement

Halbwachs suggested that the city's residents may be more sensitive to a particular street being torn up, or a specific building or home being razed, than to the national, political, or religious events.

With this perception, he reasoned that great upheavals might severely shake society without altering the appearance of the city. Their effects are blunted as they filter down to those people who are closer to the stones than to men.⁵³

However, the Nubian villages' displacement in Egypt is a lived proof that both of *Halbwachs's* perception and its contrary is true; Nubian are very attached to their hometown, beside the Nile, living as families, and working in fishing. See *Figure 4*. On the other hand, the tremendous national event like building the High Dam "Elsd El-Aly" shakes the Nubian society severely and impact their way of life.

2.6.1 Historical Context

In Egypt, The Egyptians have always considered the High Dam as a great National project; which represents a 'national memory.' Although this may be true, the context is different of the view of Nubian villages; 'their collective memories' view the negative impact of the Dam construction, because they are who suffered a lot, and were displaced and lost their original lands because of that national project.

Two displacements had taken place; one was at the wartime against Israel, and the other at the time of construction of the High Dam.



Figure 4: The Nubian village has been always located beside the Nile; Artistic Nubian elevation of a house reflects Nubba culture.

Source: almogaz.com/news/politics/2013

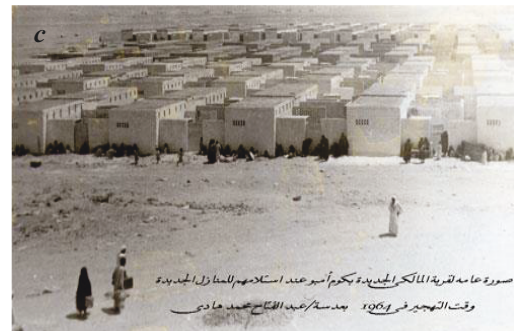


Figure 5: Flashbulb memories of displacement of Nubia:

- a- Displacement in 1964
- b- Arriving at komOmbo in 4/1964
- c- Nubians receiving their alternative new houses. 'Elmalky new Nubian village in komombo' in 1964

Photos taken by: Abdelfatah Mohamed Hady.
www.elwatannews.com

⁵³Maurice Halbwachs, "Space and the Collective Memory", in *The Collective Memory*, by Maurice Halbwachs, trans. Francis J. Ditter Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980), 131-132. Cited in Bastèa, *Memory and architecture*, Introduction.

Displacement of Nubia began 1897 and then between 1902 until 1964, through four stages:

With the construction of the Aswan Dam, the first displacement was in 1902 when the water level rose, and ten Nubian villages sank, people were displaced.

The second phase of the displacement was in 1912 when the water level flooded another eight villages.

The third was between 1929 – 1933, during the second construction, and rising of Aswan Reservoir, resulted that ten villages sank again.

The fourth stage of displacement of the people of the Nuba, and the largest concerning the number of displaced people began on 18th October 1963; it was the displacement of eighteen thousand families along 350 kilometers. Ancient Nubia has been transferred to Kom Ombo. It was done on 22 June 1964.⁵⁴ See figure 5

2.6.2 Findings' Validation

At the 'individual memory' level of the Nubian person, he suffered, lost his home, land, job, and his social life without a good arrangement or indemnity from the Egyptian government. It was only in 1933 when the government decided to compensate the Nubians who lost their lands those under 122-meter 'water level', but in fact, that compensation had been taken after waiting almost 30 years later in 1964.

Besides, the alternative new houses which were designed to them after a great effort did not suit their needs or reflect their culture and identity. Therefore, many of the inhabitants rebuilt and modified their homes by themselves as a trial to preserve their own culture and heritage. They also faced many economic, physical, health, environmental and social problems in the new society.

Hence, the example of Nubian villages' displacement represents the conflict between the individual, collective memory, and national memory; and is analyzed by the multiplicity concept which was introduced by the French sociologist *Maurice Halbwachs* in 1925. That will be summarized in the following table (Table 1).

⁵⁴ Hassan dfae Alah, *هجرة النوبيين قصة تهجير أهل اليفشا*, "hijrat alnuwbyiyn: qisat tahjir ahalaah hilfaan" [Nubian Immigration: The story of Helfa People displacement], trans. Abdullah Hamida (Sudan: "dar mashaf 'iifriqia" دار مصنفون يافيا: 2001).

Table 1: The conflict in the case of Nubian villages' displacement in Egypt analyzed by the multiplicity concept which was introduced by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in 1925 (based on ideas of Emile Durkheim⁵⁵).

Source: Researcher.

Key factor	Individual Memory	Collective Memory	National Memory
Scope	Personal, autobiographic (The own experience of person)	Social, cultural Incorporates information about the world beyond personal experience, even before being born.	Historical National events are at both personal and social level. It consists of often opposing, collective memories.
Memory makers (who decides what is valuable to remember)	The individual is the holder of memory.	Specific social group (family, class, religious community, and nation) But Individual also remains the real holder.	Rulers, authorities, sometimes citizens.
Constructed meaning	Social framework of remembering	Constitutes a kind of social framework	Construct common denominators that overcome the symbolic level of real social and political differences to create a wished community.
The conflict between the three levels of memories: individual, collective and national	<u>Personal memory</u> Nubian House: Nubian man lost his style of life and feeling homeless, lost his job as a farmer who always related to his land and the Nile.	<u>Social groups</u> Nubian villages have been lost and moved to Kom Ombo in a failed displacement process, and some refused to leave their land and stayed and faced the dangers and challenges.	<u>Society in general</u> The Egyptians, in general, the High Dam as a national memory in 1964.

⁵⁵The multiplicity concept previously explained in chapter one (the introduction).

David Émile Durkheim (1858-1917): is a French sociologist, social psychologist and philosopher. He formally established the academic discipline and, with Karl Marx and Max Weber, is commonly cited as the principal architect of modern social science and father of sociology.

From the Bio-psychological approach: The flashbulb memory of displacement is still causing sadness and stress for the Nubian ethnic, who are suffered from the loss of home, losing their way of living and missing hometowns (the lived and learned experiences), those they are attached to it for generations. Hence, the characteristics of the new generation of the Nubian has been differed due to the different style of life. However, the feeling of "the loss of home" was engraphed in the culture, especially after evoked by multiple stages of displacement. *See figure 6*

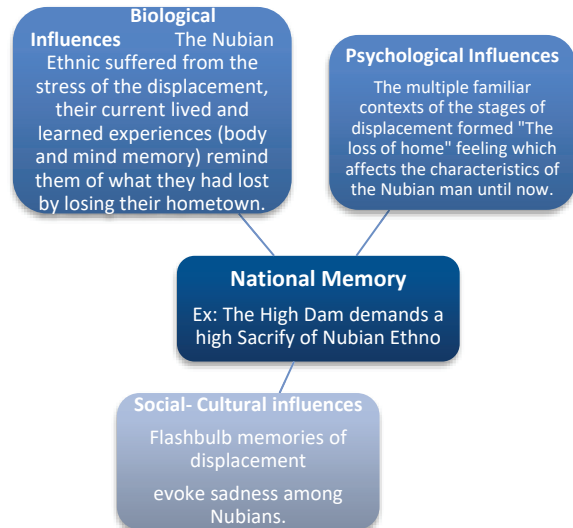


Figure 6: National memory influences, borrowed from the Bio-Psychosocial approach, with adding the national meaning and tackling the case of the Nubian villages' displacement.

Near the Aswan High Dam, the "*Lotus Blossom*" memorial is located, in southern Egypt, designed by the Russian designer *Ernst Neizvestny*. In an interview with *Alahram Journal*, he mentioned that the design inspired by the lotus flower symbolizes the renaissance of modern Egypt.

He also described an imaginary scene during the Dam construction process that Egyptian workers were like the beehive that congregate in huge numbers to suck nectar and honey out of the flower. Furthermore, the Egyptian workers well managed their effort to build the dam; as to take away the sweetest nectar and to reap the fruits for Egyptians over the centuries.⁵⁶ Ironically, despite the fact that the design philosophy was interested in the Egyptian workers, the inscription on the panel of the memorial only acknowledge the cooperation and friendship between Egypt and Soviet Union, and nothing was mentioned about the Nubians who suffered or the workers to whom Egyptians owe a lot in the first place! *See figure 7*



Figure 7: The Aswan High Dam Memorial: a- "Lotus Blossom" memorial located near of the Aswan High Dam. Source: offerseit.blogspot.com b- The memorial top view. Source: Ibid. c- The inscriptions on the memorial [The years of the cooperative work have established a monument of Soviet-Arab Friendship never least than the value and the symbol of the High Dam] translated by researcher. Source: gratsiatours.com

⁵⁶Hesham Zaky:, بعبين لولبأسوان من ذ40 عامات چي دشباب.. رمز لسداقة!

"baed binayih bi'aswan mundh40 eama :tajdid shababa.. ramz alsdaq!" [After building in Aswan 40 years ago: Rejuvenation .. the symbol of friendship!], *Ahram News*, November 27, 2007

Included an Interview with the Russian designer *Ernst Neizvestny*,

<http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2007/11/27/INVE4.HTM> (accessed August 2017)

2.6.3 Conceptualization

The case of Nubian's displacement represents the conflict between National memory and collective memory. In most cases in Egypt, National memory is established by the official narrative of the state, this cause conflict with individuals' collective memories. The question imposes itself here regarding the decision from the side of the designer is: To what memories and narratives should the architect adhere? The official ones or those which are derived from the people who are the real owner of the memory?

2.7 The Developed "Political-Psychosocial" Analytical Model (PPS.)

Memory is an essential factor when designing urban spaces. As the previous studies viewed memory and urban space with various insights:

For instance, historians mostly viewed memory as a political and social construction, while psychologists analyzed memory by a biopsychosocial approach, on the other side sociologists, were more concern about the relationship between the people and the city, and place even the personal memory existed within the social frame. Further, how the Flash memories of political or social events are facing fading or misinformation. Those generalizations reflected and been used when analyzed the case of Nubian villages' displacement. Hence, a concluded conceptualization reached, to develop an analytical model based on Political Psychosocial approach (PPS.). That could be used in the rest of the study, to analyze cases associated with memory on three levels of analysis: First political influence; to investigate how far the political events bring significant changes to the urban space, its memory, and the interaction of its dwellers. In turn, it generates psychological and social-cultural influences, which are needed to be analyzed and acknowledged. On the other hand, psychologically designing memory could influence the remembrance process, whether to be evoked or erased. Also, analysis of social influence could explain the people's memory's driven interaction within urban space. *See figure 8.*

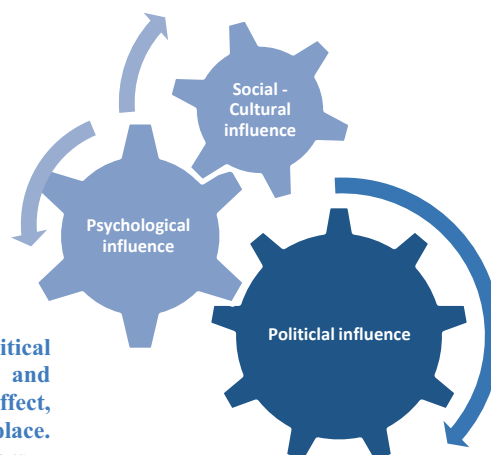


Figure 8: The illustration shows that political influences could generate psychological and social-cultural influence, in turn, all affect, affected by the memory of the place. Theoretically, Similar to the action of the gears.

2.8 Summary

The chapter aimed to capture the interrelation between memory and urban space, by *meta-synthesis literature review*, reaching to develop a political-psychosocial analytical model.

It started with exploring the relations between urban space and memory with the importance of understanding the 'pattern language of urban space' which consists of two types: 'patterns of space' represent the tangible aspect and 'patterns of events' represent the intangible aspect, both of them are interlocked together to give the place its character and its most memorable features. Somehow, the events in the past and the present are linked to the urban space patterns. As for the structure of the urban space, it is made up of certain architectural elements, and every element is associated with some particular memories.

Today-events are the seeds of future memories. For that reason, those recent events should be well recorded and well learned. Knowledge of "Pattern Language" is essential for place designers; to make them be able to understand and read the urban space history, and memories. Since any change in urban space generates some changes in events and the way citizens remember it. On the other hand, people affect the urban space while they are changing during their life cycle.

Countries' change like in Europe, reflected a radical transformation of the memorials ideas' during the 20th and the 21st century. However, for the case of Egypt, there is a recent gap between public art and memory as it is believed that memorials reduce the historical consciousness as much as they generate it.

With this respect, the relationship between memory and history, in general, is argued by Nora, historians, and anthropologists who attempted to establish a connection between memory, history, and space — concluding that through history, national memory was a political, social construction affected by and generates different influences.

Three influences: biological, psychological, and social-cultural: introduce three levels of analysis are defined from the psychology perspective:

Biologically, human in their life cycle develops two types of memories: first, body memory; which is derived from practical experiences, like the childhood hometown. Second, mind memory; which is derived from learned experiences, suggesting that the concept of national memory is probably based on both, however, more on the learned experiences.

Psychologically, the human autobiographical memory influences the remembering and forgetting processes of places, and it has been found that the familiar contexts evoke

memories, impact the people emotions and that people tend to put their present into the past. Notably, in the case of the flashbulb memories, which might be a social or political event shocked the society.

Socially, there is the fact that the flashbulb memories are clear memories of an emotionally significant moment or event.⁵⁷ However, they fade by time, but slower than the memories of daily life. Further, they might face distortion because of misinformation. Anciently, this phenomenon even used by some rulers to distort national memory of their successors to serve their own goals and to reinforce their power. That will be more clarified in the next two chapters.

Similarly, the memory from the perspective of urban Sociology: viewed the City as the highest cultural product of the human being according to *Günay*, 2009.⁵⁸ It is crucial that different perception be also real; humans are the highest cultural products of their cities. Both citizens and the city receive the imprint of each other.

Thus, the public cultural unawareness and the isolated political decision regarding the built environment from the state's side can cause severe problems and even crimes towards both the heritage architecture and the citizens.

Hence, two aspects are considered in this research, the change of the city urban space, and human interaction (remembering or forgetting), it is believed that both of them are affecting each other. Meanwhile, the memory contributes to shaping urban space, a city inhabitants' memory is shaped at the same time by symbolic public spaces.

In the course of their lives, people create emotional bonds with urban spaces converted into places endowed with meaning. The meaningful message of urban space could redefine, reshape, or dissolve boundaries between the competing narratives to reach a sense of national memory.

As a reflection of those various insights and perspectives, the chapter introduced an example of the politics of memory and urban space at the national level. A relevant example "The displacement of Nubian villages, in Egypt" has been tackled, where the conflict between the national memory of the High Dam, and the Nubian' collective memory still in a debate after almost 60 years.

The chapter reached the necessity of developing an analytical model based on political psychosocial-cultural approach, which might help to trace and analyze the memory

⁵⁷ Myers, *Psychology Eighth Edition*.

⁵⁸ B. Günay, "Conservation of Urban Space as an Ontological Problem," *METU Journal of faculty of architecture*, 26 (1), 123-156, 2009.

of the place. It even could help the place designers to predict the changes of the place memory. The Political-psychosocial model (PPS.) will be validated in chapter four; analyzing the case study of *Tahrir* square.

Finally as a conclusion, although national memory does not often represent the whole truth, it could serve the progress of nations and coexistence with their differences. It is one of the means of learning the cultural diversity that should be taken into consideration in the context of urban spaces. Theoretically, roads and squares are like the mind which has many ideas that affect it, but the mind probably does not stack with only one idea, rather than connects different meanings.

Designing Urban National Memory



Part Two: Egypt National Memory

Chapter Three: Prevailing Narratives and Inherited Concepts

Objective: *Introducing historical Preview explored to capture how the recent Egyptian national memory was constituted through history, explaining the prevailing narratives, reaching to the pattern of the inherited concepts; those influence remembering and forgetting processes in the urban space.*

- 3.1. Introduction -The Prevailing Narratives of Egypt-**
- 3.2. Egypt as Pharaohs' Country**
- 3.3. Modern Egypt "Egypt Muhammed Ali"**
- 3.4. The Pattern of Inherited Concepts and Current Reflection**
- 3.5. Summary**

3.1 Introduction - The Prevailing Narratives of Egypt –

The national memory of Egypt is a cumulative of Pharaonic, Greek, Roman and Islamic as well. To find out how it is? Exploring the familiar narratives of the country is essential. Through history, Egyptian society has some prevailing narratives, and others are competitive ones. This chapter will introduce an overview of both of them which will be explained to give a more authentic image of the key factors which influenced Egypt national memory until present days.

Egypt national memory is constituted through the multilayers of history since the primitive age until the modern era. The national consciousness usually appears in public conversations and their stories about their ancestors. As time goes on, Egyptians notice that there are similar stories and other contradictions. The same or familiar stories constitute what ultimately can be called national memory. On the other hand at the level of the various groups, the different competitive stories of each group who shared the same beliefs and ideas constitute the collective memories. Both national and collective memories influence the construction and planning of the cities they live in.

The most prevailing national narratives about Egypt; are happened during two historical periods, they are: "Egypt as Pharaohs' Country," and Modern Egypt; or Egypt Mohamed Ali (1805-1952), those followed by the currently Republic of Egypt (1952- until now). Although those historical periods are separated in their frame time, they share an important common feature which is "Seeking to the independence of Egypt" Perhaps this made those Eras specifically the focus of interest of historians and researchers.

Seeking to the "independence of Egypt" is a common feature: Egypt, in the era of the Pharaohs' empire, generally was living its independence as an Empire. While at the start of the era of Muhammad Ali, under the rule of the Ottomans, the country lived for the dream to be an independent state and to install the seeds of social awareness and freedom in choosing her ruler. Finally, nowadays during "the Arab Republic of Egypt" the society seeks independence, independence from the pressures of the super-powered countries.

The chapter overview those two historical periods which associated with the two abovementioned prevailing narratives, in order to explore the key concepts, which influenced them by continuous processes of producing memory. Whether confirmed it, erased or even neglected. The chapter methodology is based on observation, inductive reasoning method to interpret reviews from various related studies.

3.2 Egypt as Pharaohs' Country

Until today the Ancient Egyptian civilization remains a witness to the advancement of the ancient Egyptian in various fields. Egypt Pharaonic history consists of two phases: the pre-dynastic phase and the dynasty phase (which started c. 3100 BCE), which included thirty dynasties.

Historically during the last age of the pre-dynastic Era (the *Gerzean* phase) (3500-3100 BCE) villages were populated to become towns. Therefore the production of pottery and stones was expanded to pave the way for the dynastic Era.¹ Somehow, even after more than 2000 years since the last Pharaonic dynasty which had ruled Egypt, "Egypt is still the country of Pharaohs." How far the memory of the pharaohs influence Egyptian society? How come that Egyptians are always feeling proud to call themselves "The pharaohs' children." What are the ancient concepts from the Pharaohs' narrative that still influence the Egyptian society? That will be more explored in the following sections.

3.2.1 The Sparkle of Remembering

The first interaction between the man and the wall had happened a long time ago and introduced for the present the sparkle of memory. That was during the pre-dynastic age, which extended from the 21st millennium BCE to the 17th millennium BCE, which historically is divisible into two parts; first part was the primitive age until the 18th millennium BCE. Then came the discovery of the fire and paved the way to the second part of this age begins with the 17th millennium BCE and lasts until around 3100 BCE.²



Figure 1: Inscriptions inside a prehistoric cave "Wadi Sura II" located in Gilf Kebir plateau. <http://wadisura.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/7264.html?&L=1>

The most significant characteristics of the pre-dynastic age had been acknowledged to Egyptians because of the inscriptions in caves made by the primitive man. Even before writing was invented, the primitive man concerned to engrave scenes of fishing and hunting. Those inscriptions eventually helped to record the memory of their way of life and transfer their voices many thousands of years later, to be compared to the similar present life of the Egyptians farmers, and fishermen.

¹ "ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES," *Antiquities Museum, Bibliotheque alexandrine*, <http://antiquities.bibalex.org/Collection/index.aspx?collection=38&lang=en#> (accessed April 23, 2017)

² Ibid.

For instance, in Egypt, close to the borders of Libya, located the Gilf Kebir plateau, which contains many pre-historical caves, for instance, "Wadi Sura II" or "Cave of Beasts" which was discovered in 2002 by an Egyptian-Italian tourist party, headed by *Massimo Foggini and Ahmed Mistikaoui*.³

According to the team of "*Wadi Sura Project*"⁴ which documented the cave: the cave located at the southwestern base of the Gilf Kebir plateau. It is considered the second large cave, with huge spectacular rock shelter which is painted with thousands of figures (about 6,000 to 8,000 painting), a variety of painted topics; the human figures and their gestures as well as the composition of scenes.

There are countless groups of humans, dancing, interacting in domestic scenes and involved in enigmatic behavior or rituals; hunters with bow and arrow; combats between archers and finally hundreds of hand stencils. Most remarkable are more than 30 examples of a mysterious, obviously headless beast that now also provides an interpretation for a similar enigmatic figure in the old "Cave of Swimmers."⁵ See *Figure 1*

3.2.2 The Memory of the Daily Life of Ancient Egypt

Currently, Egyptians could easily realize how far their life is similar to their grandfathers in Ancient Egypt during the Pharaohs Age. Relics found in archaeological digs as well as paintings on pyramid and tomb murals depict images of life in ancient Egypt, show virtually every aspect of daily life, religion, family, medicine, food, sports, art, even fashion that was, in some regards, not that much different than living in Egypt today. Further, they described the characteristics of their civilization such as the knowledge of agriculture, animal breeding, benefit from the environment, toil the land of the Nile valley.⁶

That type of commemoration developed the funerary Art; since it is possible to say that the ancient belief of afterlife produced the funerary art which commemorates the person by

³ In Egypt the cave sometimes known with Mistikaoui name reference to the Egyptian participated in the discovery. With regard to some problems that arose from the appellation of this site by personal names (regardless of national and geographical regulations that normally should define the name of a place), The cologne project team decided to use a more neutral term and to list the site archaeologically as "Wadi Sura II" and for a better general understanding with regard to the most striking feature among the paintings "Cave of Beasts".

⁴ The cave is documented by "the Wadi Sura Project" which was started at the beginning of 2009 as a joint archaeological mission of the Cologne University of Applied Sciences, and the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, and financed by the German Research Council (DFG).

⁵ "About Wadi Sura," Wadi Sura-Projekt, *University of Cologne, Faculty of Arts and Humanities*, <http://wadisura.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/7264.html?&L=1> (accessed April 23, 32017)

⁶ ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES," *Antiquities Museum, Bibliotheque alexandrine*.

providing magical replicas of the buried person's wants and possessions. It decorated the tombs prodigiously.⁷

Besides, many customs inherited from the Pharaonic civilization such as Sham al-Naseem which is a social custom celebrated on the 21st of April every year (the beginning of spring in Egypt). The Egyptians eat the fishes (salted fish). Also, in Luxor, the birth of Abi Hajjaj (an Egyptian Sufi attributed to our master, Husayn ibn Ali) is celebrated by a Pharaonic way to carry the boat on their own and transfer it out of fear of envy, and when dragging sailboats to the beach and say (hella / Leash), they are Pharaonic words.

Upon investigation, the Egyptians' attachment with the Pharaonic era is not only manifested by their pride in the Pharaonic monuments or through inherited social customs and traditions, but also by the manner of choosing the system of government in the country and the manner of dealing with the ruler. That will be discussed in the following sections, which based on the assumption of the inherited concepts that influence the memory production.

3.2.3 The Ancient Centralization Concept

Egypt civilization was found C.3100 at that time it was united as the first nation in history. In his study *"Egypt; Pharaohs, kings, and presidents,"* Hussein Bassir⁸ argued that it could be possible to say in political terms that the ancient Egypt unification was the actual beginning of the age of centralization which introduced the disciplines and standards those still govern the State of Egypt until the present day.⁹



Figure 2: Map of Ancient Egypt. C. 1450 BC
The map shows both Upper and Lower Egypt. Further Memphis, Thebes, and Amarna (The centralized capitals on the Nile)

Source:

<https://apworld2012.wikispaces.com/file/view/map-ancient-egypt-1.jpeg/364998586/495x781/map-ancient-egypt-1.jpeg>

⁷ For more details see the Egyptian book of the dead: It is believed that the book was optimistic about death; it described that ancient Egyptians were motivated by the belief of conserving the corpse and supplied its material needs inside their tombs. So the corpse could continue to function normally and that the most important body to be preserved was the god-king. Cited in Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture; Settings and Rituals*, revisions by Greg Castillo, (New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 70.

⁸ Hussein Bassir: is an Egyptian archaeologist, novelist and writer based in Cairo. He studied Egyptology in Cairo, Oxford, and received PhD from Hopkins University, Baltimore in 2009. He was the archaeologist director at the national museum of Egyptian Civilization and currently the director of the International Organizations administration at the Supreme Council of antiquities (SCA).

⁹ Hussein Bassir, "Egypt, Pharaohs, Kings, and Presidents," In *Histories of Nations*, ed. Peter Furtado (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2012), 20.

3.2.3.1 Geographical reason for centralization

In Ancient history, the geography of the Nile Valley played a significant role in determining the characteristics of Egyptian civilization. The most prominent feature is the Nile River, which draws water from eastern and central Africa and flows from the south (Upper Egypt) through a sandstone desert towards the Delta (Lower Egypt) and then to the Mediterranean Sea in the north. *See Figure 2.*

The Nile River floods every year, irrigates the floodplain and deposit fresh silt along its banks. Ancient Egyptians navigated through the Nile. They drift from south to north with the current and return with the steady wind from the north to south with sails. The government used cataracts as political boundaries to tax trade and prevent invaded armies.¹⁰

3.2.3.2 Other reasons for Memphis's centralized foundation

Consequently, the geographical centralization reflected on the urban settlement of Memphis (the capital of the old kingdom): The earliest archaeological about *Memphis* indicates that its settlement dates back to the first dynasty. *Marcelo Campagno* argues the reasons behind choosing that specific urban center to be *Memphis* in "*Another Reason for the Foundation of Memphis*" in the book of "*Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century.*"

The three proposed arguments were explained as follows:¹¹

First reasons are linked to the Military, political nature;¹² to incorporate Lower Egypt to the emerged state of Upper Egypt to reinsure the unification process. Further, establish the capital near the Delta to allow more effective control of the northern territories. In order to emphasize the state ambit by aggregation of the population at Delta. Besides annexations linked to the war discourage any attempts of fission by the elites of the regions. That served as state policy to create urban centers extend along the Nile with the aim of centering and controlling the local populations.¹³

Second reasons associated with the economic strategies; Memphis was an important trade center. So it settled Memphis closer to the routes which led to Asia, to eliminate

¹⁰ Jim Jones, "Background to: the Egyptians by Herodotus," *West Chester University of Pennsylvania*, 2013, courses.wcupa.edu/jones/his101/web/02egypt.htm. (accessed February 18, 2017)

¹¹ Marcelo Campagno, "Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century," in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo 2002*, ed. Zahi Hawass, Lyla Pinch Brock. Volume 2, (Cairo New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2003) https://books.google.com.eg/books?id=pJ48YP14qZQC&printsec=frontcover&redir_esc=y&hl=en#v=onepage&q&f=false

¹² Hérodote, *Histories*, II (Paris 1936); D. Jefferys et al., "Memphis," *JEA* 83, 1997, 2-4. Cited in Campagno, "Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century."

¹³ I.E.S Edwards, *CAH, I* (Cambridge, 1971), 16; T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London, 1999), 359.

competition of northern centers. Further, to provide the rapid supply of manufactured products and the provision of goods for the state elite. In the end, it was more secure provisioning for the establishment of the royal court at Memphis according many references such as *Malek* in “*the Shadow of the Pyramids*”.¹⁴

Third reasons consider the ideological character based on the unification between the Lower Egypt (Delta) and Upper Egypt (Nile Valley). According to that, the site was decided on the connecting point of both Delta and Valley. It was suitable space for the residence of the god-king (who was the guarantor of cosmic balance as it was believed.) There in the ancient city which was also referred to "the half of the two lands" As such it was perceived by the specific way Egyptians conceived their society.¹⁵

3.2.3.3 *Memory of the first united nation in history*

King *Narmer* also was known as King *Mene*, unified Upper Egypt (the south) and Lower Egypt (the Delta) and established a centralized State.¹⁶ That ancient period lasted for about 3000 years during which flourished the various aspects of arts and science.¹⁷ At the start of recorded history: King *Narmer* realized the importance of recording his memory and pride, so he registered his name inside a "*serekh*" it is a rectangular frame. This triumph is engraved on the famous *Narmer* Palette.

The famous *Narmer* Palette presently located at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. It was made of siltstone. It is about c. 64 cm x 42 cm, so the size reveals it was a ceremonial palette. It was created 31st century BC (circa) and was discovered in 1897-1898. It was found in the ancient city of *Hierakonpolis*. It contains scenes of king *Narmer* shown wearing both the Red and White crowns of Egypt, so he is considered to be the king who unified Egypt.

The Egyptologist *Leena Pekkalainen* described the famous *Narmer* Palette that the scene at the front is representing the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. On the other side, the king victorious again - smiting the enemy.¹⁸ See *Figure 3* According to *Spiro Kostof*, The Unification of Egypt made a deep impression on the Collective memory of the Egyptians, and it became the pivot of political, social, architectural symbolism.¹⁹

¹⁴ J. Malek, *the shadow of the Pyramids*, (Cairo, 1986), 34; K. Bard, "The Geography of Excavated Pre-dynastic Sites and the Rise of Complex Society," *JARCE* 24 (1987), 81-93 ; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 359-360.

¹⁵ H. Frankfort, *Kingship and Gods*, (Chicago: 1948), 22-23. Cited in Campagno, "Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century."

¹⁶ Williams, C, *The Destruction of Black Civilization*, (Chicago: Third World Press, 1987), 80.

¹⁷ Kostof, *A History of Architecture; Settings and Rituals*, 67.

¹⁸ Leena Pekkalainen, "Pharaoh Narmer," *Ancientegypt101*, 2014-2019, <http://www.ancientegypt101.com/pharaoh-narmer-facts.html> (accessed April 22, 2017)

¹⁹ Kostof, *A History of Architecture; Settings and Rituals*, 67.

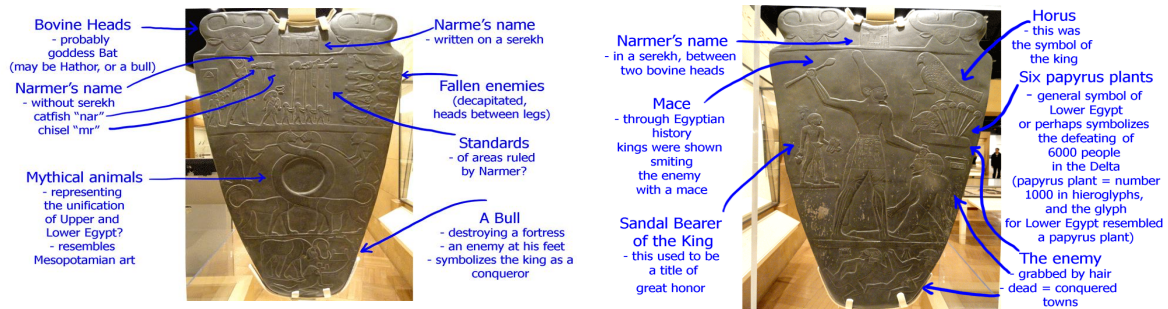


Figure 3: Analysis of Both sides of the King *Narmer* Palette. Analysed by *Leena Pekkalainen*:

The scene at the front is representing the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. The lion-headed creatures have an exciting resemblance to Mesopotamian art. The king is shown triumphantly in front of fallen enemies. He wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt.

On the other side, the king victorious again - smiting the enemy. *Narmer* may have prompted to unify the local power centers under one rule - a unified country stood stronger against the outside invaders who are coming from Deseret. He wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt.

Source: <http://www.ancientegypt101.com/pharaoh-narmer-facts.html>

3.2.3.4 Great pyramids as evidence of centralization

Egypt unification paved the way to the beginning of the dynasties age lasted from c.3100 BCE until it ended 332 BCE, i.e., with the beginning of the Hellenistic era in Egypt at the hands of Alexander the great.

Through the Pharaoh's age, Egypt witnessed three periods of kingdoms;²⁰ the Old Kingdom (ca. 2686-2160 BCE)- the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2055-1650 BCE) - The New Kingdom (ca. 1550- lasted until 1069 BCE).²¹ Three Kingdoms had strongly left their prints to be alive until today as a witness to the ancient pride. During them; Pharaohs were much concerned to strengthen their control and emphasize their power by building temples, pyramids, and tombs. They built with durable construction materials such as stones to last long and to commemorate the Pharaohs' memory.²²

Historians concluded that the centralized power of the Pharaohs comes from the significant archaeological finds of this period; the Great Pyramids of Giza (which was constructed in the Old Kingdom during the 4th dynasty) are argued to be evidence of the centralized rule. They were located at Memphis currently in Giza governorate on the west

²⁰ The three Pharaohs kingdoms' capitals are always located and centralized on the Nile:

Memphis was the capital of Egypt during the Old Kingdom built at the Delta of the Nile. Thebes was the capital of Egypt during the Middle and New Kingdoms and the location of the religious centers of Luxor and Karnak. The Theban Necropolis includes a series of mortuary temples and the Valleys of the Kings and Queens.

Akhetaten (Amarna) was the capital of Egypt during the reign of Akhenaten. Pi-Ramesses The capital of Egypt built by Ramesses II in the far north that held 300,000 people and covered 6.9 square miles. After the Nile branch it was on silted up and the Nile formed a new branch, the people abandoned this city.

<http://www.ancient-egypt-online.com/cities-and-regions.html> mentioned also that the capital cities included Memphis (2950 B.C.-2180 B.C.); Thebes (2135 B.C. off and on until 1279 B.C.); Alexandria (332 B.C. to 641 A.D.) and Amarna (during the reign of Akhenaten, around 1332 B.C.).

²¹ Bassir, "Egypt, Pharaohs, Kings, and Presidents" In *Histories of Nations*.

²² Kostof, *A History of Architecture; Settings and Rituals*.

bank of the Nile River. Three pyramids, namely *Cheops, Chefren and Mykerinos* on the plateau overlooking the valley, at the edge of the desert.²³

The ancient government had been based on religion. The pyramid served as a tomb for the Pharaoh which should be done before his death. That based on the afterlife belief that with it the Pharaoh will be able to join the gods who keep the balance of life in Egypt. Hence, the construction of pyramids was believed is a necessity to maintain the balance for the whole of Egyptian society.²⁴

A pyramid is a huge structure, constructed from lasting blocks of stones (which in contrast with the houses which were built of nondurable material such as clay and palm fronds). Each block of stone is weighing about 2: 2.5 tons. Blocks were cut hundreds of meters near the valley. It has been stated that it required about 1200 high skilled crafted men. Then transformed and dragged by about 20 men for each stone and about 300 blocks per day. In the age of no machines for cutting or lifting heavy loads all had to be done by human muscles power using very primitive tools, which were made of wood and copper. Those facts based on the construction's scenes have been described on ancient walls.

All of this leads historians to conclude that the pharaohs and priests of the old kingdom possessed great powered means to control and motivate a large number of people. Further, to provide housing, food, water, and healthcare for the force work. A city southwest of the pyramid had been discovered in 1988, a city which believed that it housed thousands of workers.

In the past, there was a debate among historians that viewing the pyramids as the repressive fruit of slave labor. However recently historians concluded that pyramid did not build by slaves, but by free men who were collected from all Egyptian towns to work in the pyramid, however, it was a way at that time to pay the required taxes to the government.²⁵

Besides the fact that the Great Pyramids embody the ancient centralization rule, their presence as part of Cairo urban fabric and skyline still affect Egyptians' daily life and remind them of their nation's roots. They are commemorative places of the capital of the Old Kingdom "Memphis" which unveil a lot of the Pharaohs' memories, beliefs, and way of life. On the other hand, they still hold secrets of the ancients even after c. 5000 years.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *البنيتاىق بن اء هرم فضلكبر الأهرامات* [Building of Cheops Pyramid's documentary movie], *National Geographic channel*.

²⁵ Jones, "Background to: the Egyptians by Herodotus."

3.2.4 The First Social Uprising in Egypt History

Historically, at the end of the Old Kingdom, Egypt witnessed a period of "Lack of centralization." It called the first intermediate period about (2200-2000 BCE). Many reasons of the change from centralization to Decentralization were discussed: The most common are two: the first reason associated with the existence of a climate disaster which prevents nobles to collect taxes from their peasants to deliver to the pharaoh — the second reason based on the assumption of resistance to the taxation to build public works such as pyramids, which motivated nobles to revolt against central authority.²⁶

Some literary texts such as the Papyrus of *Hakim Ayubur* have revealed one of the most mysterious phases of Egypt's pharaonic history. A phase which is known as the first social revolution: Egyptian society witnessed a social uprising in the Pharaohs Age.

In his book "Pharaonic Egypt" in 2012, the historian *Dr. Ahmed Fakhry* mentioned that the date of the outbreak of the revolution was within the late era of the old kingdom specifically in the end of the sixth dynasty rule.²⁷

Very similar, *Dr. Samir Adib* in his book "*The History and Civilization of Ancient Egypt*" considered that the social revolution belongs to the stage of the beginning of "The Age of First Decadence" (that coincided with the end of the sixth dynasty rule and the beginning of the seventh dynasty rule.) It was believed that the uprising lasted until the end of the tenth dynasty rule and the transition from the period of the "The Age of First Decadence" to the middle kingdom with the establishment of the eleventh and twelve dynasties which are considered one of the brightest Egyptian dynasties.²⁸

Therefore, the researchers concluded that it is not possible to determine a precise date for the outbreak of the social revolution in ancient Egypt. Further, it did not end at a specific time but was extinguished by the change of the ruling dynasties, but most likely it was not the direct cause of any change in governance.

Hence, some researchers opposed the term "social revolution" to that uprising and considered it to be no more than a riot, as it did not lead to a direct change of governance. And others called it a "revolution" because it had an impact on the Egyptian people's awareness of dealing with political and religious authority. That was manifested in the

²⁶ Jones, "Background to the Egyptians by Herodotus."

²⁷ Ahmed Fakhry, "*Pharaonic Egypt*", (Cairo: the Egyptian General Book Organization, 2012).

²⁸ Samir Adib, "*The History and Civilization of Ancient Egypt*". Cited in Amer, Al- Abod, "The first social revolution in Pharaohic Egypt.", essay in online Journal "Babong", p 5, 2017. <https://www.babonej.com/first-social-revolution-in-ancient-egypt-2442.html>

literary texts such as the text of *Ayubur*, *Neferty's Papyrus*, the song of the guitarist, and the story of the "*Al-Falah Al-Faisih*" which describe this period.

Although there is no explicit text describing "revolution" in the modern concept, the literary texts that refer to that stage were characterized by realism and recorded events and described colossal chaos changed the conditions of the country and how long the sanctity of the ruler and gods had been impacted.

Despite the boom in the age of the fourth family and the construction of the great pyramids during that period, the state began a period of weakness in the age of the sixth family during the reign of King *Bibi II*, who ruled ninety years, deficiency in the economic, political and social levels. The reasons for the revolution have been suggested:

Economically: *Dr. Adib* explained that the construction of pyramids and temples and the enormous donations allocated to it. Further, the bad foreign trade caused the Egyptian state a tremendous financial burden, which led to the suffering of the Egyptian people financially. That caused the uprising and may be interpreted as a curse, the rebels on the graves and their destruction and theft.²⁹

Politically: the weakness of the central state led to the greed of the rulers of the provinces in the throne of the Kingdom and fragmented the rule of central unity of Egypt, cannot be confirmed on the previous popular uprising or right.

Socially: *Dr. Fakhry* explained that the text of the revolution described the revolution as a class revolution announced by the poor against the rich. Moreover, the public began to underestimate the religious beliefs related to the graves and death and lost their faith in holiness, which at the end led to the misery of the rich and happiness of the poor who changed their case and took advantage after the theft.³⁰

One of the most important manuscripts documenting the events of the popular uprising in ancient Egypt: the letter of *Ayubur*;³¹ it is a political, literary text written at the end of the sixth dynasty's rule, perhaps during the reign of *King Bibi II* or one of his successors. *Ayubur* described the manner in which religious rituals and beliefs became the subject of doubt among the people. *Al-Hakim Ayubur* blamed the ruler for his inability to run the affairs of the country and warned him against the corruption of his associates.

²⁹ Ibid. Cited in Al- Abod, "The first social revolution in Pharaohic Egypt."

³⁰ Fakhry, "Pharaohic Egypt". Cited in Al- Abod, "The first social revolution in Pharaohic Egypt."

³¹ The letter attests to the literary development of this period and is preserved in the Leiden Museum in the Netherlands (a copy of the twentieth family of the original written in the era of the sixth family).

The first social uprising of the Egyptian people³² produced an initial conception of democracy. Democracy is not in modern terms but what can be called "religious democracy" Which was the exclusive domain of kings and priests.³³

Finally, at the end of the tenth family rule, Egypt entered a new phase in its history. The rulers of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties resorted a dark phase in the history of Egypt. They returned to the country and united it. They also restored the government's strength and revived its economy. It can be said that it was the first brick on which the Egyptians' subsequent consciousness was based.

The reign was unified once again about 2000 BCE. The restoration of centralized authority paved the way to the Middle Kingdom (2055-1650 BCE) with "Thebes" as new capital at south Egypt. It considered the second golden age as it was an age of Egyptian classical literature. Historians believe that the new dynasty of pharaohs obtained support from artisans to equip their armies for the fight against armies led by local nobles in order to establish their authority.

During the Middle Kingdom, a more "democratic" approach to religion that allowed ordinary people to participate. That was by offering them the possibility and key to gaining access to of an afterlife only by living an ethical life which based on provided religion rules for ethical behavior and religious rituals, and offering had to be held. Thus, religious buildings were constructed as temples like Karnak with new auditorium forms rather than as pyramids.

The middle kingdom followed by the decentralized authority which historians refer to as the "Second Intermediate Period" (1786-1560 BCE). Through it was the occupation by the Hyksos meaning the 'rulers of foreign lands' (the Asian tribes). They weakened the Egyptian state as they crept over the country's eastern borders and controlled large parts of the lands. After a long struggle the southern Egyptian king Ahmose I (1550-1525 BCE), drive them out from Egypt and restored the centralized authority.³⁴

The middle kingdom arrived at the stage when the third centralized government and final 'golden age' the New Kingdom was established. The New Kingdom (1550-1069 BCE) based on new foreign policy, and conquests in Asia and African which was founded by Thutmose III. That was the beginning of the age which was known as "Pharaonic Egypt's age

³² (Uprising is the term that some prefer to call it since ancient Egyptians did not have demands or goals as the concept of our modern era).

³³ Amer Al- Abod, "الثورة الاجتماعية التي فجرها الفراعنة" [The first social revolution in Pharaohic Egypt], *Babong*, September 14, 2017. <https://www.babonej.com/first-social-revolution-in-ancient-egypt-2442.html> (accessed January 4, 2017)

³⁴ Bassir, "Egypt, Pharaohs, Kings, and Presidents." In *Histories of Nations*, 20.

of Empire." It includes many famous Pharaohs like Hatshepsut, Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III.

After the Empire periods, Egypt witnessed the Third Intermediate Period (1069- 664 BCE). The most features of this period are tension and a lack of centralization followed by the late period (664 – 332 BCE) when various Egyptian dynasties ruled, further some periods of Persian occupation took place. A new Era had begun when Egypt conquered by Alexander the great in (332 BCE). Egypt was transformed into the Graeco-Ptolemaic Kingdom. Then Egypt as Roman Province with Alexandria as the capital.³⁵

In this regard, *Hemdan* argued in his book "Egypt Personality" that the history of Egypt consists of a general feature of two different stages: from the stage of Egypt as the first empire in history to its degradation to the most extended colony known in history.³⁶

3.2.5 The Ancient Belief of "Divine Pharaoh"

How far the complex system of Ancient Egyptian religion, beliefs, and rituals influenced and integrated to the ancient Egyptian society is a question imposes itself. According to Ancients, this cosmos was inhabited by three sentient beings:

The First category was the gods. Who is represented by the divinities.³⁷The second was the soul of deceased humans, who existed in the divine realm and possessed many abilities of the gods. Third are the Living humans the most important among them was the pharaoh, who bridged the human and divine realms. He associated with many specific deities.³⁸

That belief was dominant as the gods become pharaohs and the first rulers of Egypt; however, they participate in everyday happening. The degree to which the pharaoh "the king of Egypt" was considered a god had been long debated by Egyptologists. It seems most likely that the Ancient Egyptians viewed royal authority itself as a divine force. Although the Egyptians recognized that the pharaoh was subject to human weakness, he was born, suffer, and die; they viewed him as a god because the divine power of kingship was embodied in him. Therefore, the pharaoh acted as the intermediary between the public and the gods.³⁹

³⁵ Ibid, 21.

³⁶ Gamal Hemdan, "منامبر اطوري ءال هيس ب عمرة" chapter four, from Empire to colony], in "للشخصية مصر" [*Egypt Personality*], (Cairo: Dar El helal, 2016), 117: 158.

³⁷ Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 60: 63. The ancients' divinities: Horus represented the kingship itself. Ra ruled and regulated nature. "Amun" is the supreme force in the cosmos. Osiris is the god of death and rebirth and the mythological father of "Horus."

³⁸ James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 31. The Pharaoh was identified directly with Horus, was seen as the son of Ra. The Pharaoh became fully deified after his death. In this case, he was directly identified with Ra and associated with Osiris.

³⁹ Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 54 – 56.

An ancient belief such as the belief of "Divine Pharaohs" had two influences on Egyptian society: First the importance of religion which was manifested that the government was based on religion. Second the construction of temples to reinforce the Pharaohs' power and for commemorative purposes. Hence, the state dedicated enormous resources to the performance of the official rituals and festivals which carried out in the temples. That perhaps played an essential role and was a mean to control and manipulate the public perception.

For ancient Egyptians, the principal purpose of religion was to ensure the balance "*maat*," and those Egyptian deities controlled the natural balance. Thus, contact with the metaphysical world was essential to make sure that the deities will maintain the Nile's annual flood regularly proceeded so they would have enough water and new soil to supply food for the subsequent year. Pharaoh was key to upholding "*maat*," both by maintaining justice and order in human society and by sustaining the gods with temples, rituals, and offerings so that they could maintain balance in the universe.

It has been stated that "the divinities and the pharaohs are keys to understanding Egyptian civilization; the gods with their myths and legends, with the events of the spirit and with their symbols, is for a comprehensive understanding of the divine. The pharaohs with their human doings, their military exploits, and their monuments in stone are to understand the society."⁴⁰

However, how far were those believes changed during the pharaohs age, how far they were applied are argued; In the Old Kingdom has been noticed that only pharaohs can reach the divine realm and the afterlife after death. Therefore deceased pharaohs were entombed in pyramids, along with food, and supplies needed to make a long journey.

Starting from the Middle Kingdom, Egyptian religion offered the possibility of an afterlife⁴¹ to the public. Religious rituals were held in large temples, of which the temple of Karnak is the most famous. That happened probably after the first social uprising.

⁴⁰ Giovanna Magi, *Gods and pharaohs of ancient Egypt- Mysteries Tales Legends*, (Florence, Italy: Casa Editrice Bonechi, 2006) 3

⁴¹ The afterlife belief where a deceased person entered the metaphysical world and became united with the supreme deity Osiris.

3.2.5.1 *El Karnak; representation the concept of "Divine Pharaoh"*

Karnak temple in Luxor, in south Egypt, represented the belief of "Divine Pharaoh." Further the continuous active memory processes of both producing remembering and forgetting, with a particular focus on the persecution of Akhenaten's Memory and the mystery of Erasing Hatshepsut's Memory.

Karnack Temple's site has been hallowed since the old kingdom. However, it embodies the memory of both the middle and new kingdom Pharaohs explicitly. It views how far the religion was necessary during the pharaonic rule. Each king of successive kings was trying to make his temple the most wonderful to distinguish him from his predecessor, so Karnak temples turned into a complete guide and a variety showing the stages of the development of ancient Egyptian art and Pharaonic architecture.

It consists of many construction phases; many fingerprints of the old, middle and new kingdoms kings:

In the reign of Thutmose I (1525- ca. 1512 B.C.) the festival hall was constructed, a perimeter wall enclosed the temple, an entrance court which surrounded by columns, statues of Osiris and proceeded by a pylon (V). Moreover, a hypostyle hall with cedar columns and another pylon (IV) marked externally by two Hatshepsut's obelisks. Behind the festival hall, her husband Thutmose II provided a small temple Amon-Re-Herakhty with an eastern gate facing the Theban sunrise.

By Thutmose III, The Hebsed Jubilee complex and festival hall was constructed. Rameses III built the temple of the Theban moon god Khonsu - son of Amun and Mut. He is often represented as a human-headed figure wearing a crescent and disk. The avenue of ram-headed sphinxes leading to the first pylon which was built by the Ethiopian kings (656 BC).⁴²

See Figure 4

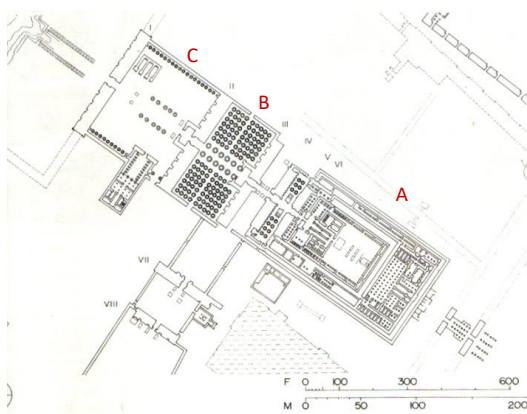


Figure 4: Karnack Temple (Temple of Amon) final plan after many developments; representation the concept of "Divine Pharaoh":

- A-** The complex at the time of Thutmose I (1525- ca. 1512 B.C.).
- B-** The additions of the festival and the small temple to Amon Re-Herakhty at the time of Thutmose III (1504 - 1450 B.C.)
- C-** The new hypostyle hall for the temple of Amon is the additions hundred years later. Also the completion of the sub-sidiary temple groups of Montu (to the north-East) and Mut (to the southwest).

Source: *Ibid.* p.85

⁴² Kostof, *A History of Architecture*, 86:87.

During the New Kingdom (Pharaonic Egypt's age of Empire 1479-1425 BCE), the victorious kings continued to build funerary settings for them on the west bank and to enlarge the layout of the original Middle Kingdom temples of *Amon* at Karnak and Luxor on the east bank. Despite that, both government and religion faced some challenges and changed dramatically in the New Kingdom.

For instance, a queen named Hatshepsut ruled as a pharaoh (man) for 20 years from 1486 to 1468 BCE. Additionally, pharaoh named Akhenaton (1375-1362 BCE) attempted to introduce a religion based on the worship of a single deity named *Aten* (the god of the sun), perhaps to undermine the power of the Egyptian priesthood found in Thebes.⁴³

3.2.5.2 *The mystery of erasing Hatshepsut's memory*

Hatshepsut was a female queen. (1479 to 1458 B.C.) She was the daughter of Thutmose I, the wife of Thutmose II (her brother). She took the crown as a woman after her husband died, in cooperation with her nephew and her husband son Thutmose III. Then she wanted to take the power of the rule of all Egypt as a Pharaoh (king). She considered herself the daughter of *Amon*, and under her rule, the country witnessed commercial enrichment. She built many Architectural sites in order to commemorate her rule. The most famous is the Hatshepsut Temple or Deir al-Bahari⁴⁴, located in the West Bank of the Nile opposite the city of Luxor in Egypt.

Although the fact that the temple was built to memorize her, unfortunately, Thutmose III (her husband son) erased her name, face, and statues after her death. Perhaps he did it to emphasize his power in ruling after her. Her achievements were denied, her legacy was destroyed, her statues were smashed, and her mummy vanished. What did this queen do, to be erased not only in *Deir al-Bahari*, or Karnack, but it is all around Egypt? What happened to her? Where is her mummy? Was it replaced by priests of the 21 and the 22 dynasties who hide it to protect? It never revealed to anyone. *See figure 5*

According to the documentary video "*Hatshepsut: Secrets of Egypt's Lost Queen*"⁴⁵: The memory of Hatshepsut confused the Egyptologists a lot until they concluded some answers which are based on some texts as evidence and her mummy was in archaeological finds (C.V. 20). The concluded result is based on the logical motivations which led to erasing her memory: the first motive that her stepson Thutmose III hated her for taking the crown after

⁴³ Jones, Background to the Egyptians by Herodotus.

⁴⁴ The name of the monastery 'El Deir al-Bahari' is a modern Arab name was given to this area in the seventh century after the Copts used this temple as their monastery.

⁴⁵ "Hatshepsut: Secrets of Egypt's Lost Queen", Youtube video, 1:41: 26, posted by *Ancient World*, April 5, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_SgUiJUNv7E

his father died, so he wanted to revenge and erase her achievement after her death. Further, to memorize himself and that all achievements belong to him.

Second, the truth that she was a successful female has not been accepted, as that could change the custom of the Pharaoh's succession (could make difficulty to crown the son of Thutmose III). Further, that might threaten the male power, especially that one hieroglyphic wall in Karnack shows *Hatshepsut* with her only daughter *Neferure* as if her daughter will follow her mother destiny as a king.

Third, the assumption of that there was a mysterious relation between Hatshepsut and architect *Senenmut*: Although most of the images were removed, some mysterious images were survived and been found. They view the intimate relationship between Hatshepsut and *Senenmut* which raise many questions about the type of their relationship whether they were lovers or not, as it was not allowed to Pharaoh like Hatshepsut to marry someone from the public. However, there is no quit clear evidence has been found related to this issue.

The fourth Argument that it was not Thutmose III who erased her memory, it was his son Amenhotep II. As a traditional action towards his success as a pharaoh in order to save building temples for his own,⁴⁶ moreover, that he was the one motivating these erasing actions in an attempt to assure his uncertain right to succession.

Whatever was the real reason behind erasing the memory of *Hatshepsut*, those actions at the end could not erase the reality that Hatshepsut was one of the greatest Pharaohs who ruled for about twenty-two years. Moreover, she succeeded to divine herself as the daughter of Amon, like a Pharaoh although she was a woman. Furthermore, in her Era, the country witnessed enrichments and development.

Figure 5: Many images portraying Hatshepsut were destroyed or vandalized after her death:

a-The image of Hatshepsut has been deliberately chipped away - Ancient Egyptian wing of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Source:<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:QueenHatshepsut-ExpeditionToPunt-PlasterCast-ROM.png>

b- These two statues once resembled each other, however, the symbols of her pharaonic power: the Uraeus, Double Crown, and traditional false beard have been stripped from the left image. Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hatshepsut.jpeg>



⁴⁶ Kara Cooney, *Woman Who Would be King*, (One world Publications, 2015).

3.2.5.3 Erasing memory of Akhetaten; The persecution of Akhenaten's memory

Another act of erasing memory has been done during the New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, *Akhetaten* was the capital of Egypt during the reign of *Akhenaten "Amenhotep IV"* (c. 1334 - 1350 BC). *Akhetaten* means sun disk horizon. It is an ancient city now called *Tel Amarna* in *Menia*, Egypt.⁴⁷ It lies east of the Nile. See *Figure 2: Map of Ancient Egypt*.

It was built by the orders of king Akhenaten who known as the hieratic pharaoh who ruled during the New Kingdom for less than 20 years. He tried to change the center of the rule by transferring the capital to "*tall El Amarna*," instead of "*Tyba*" in the south. He built *Amarna* to be the center for the worship of a single deity *Aten*.⁴⁸ He abanded the worship of the old gods of Egypt.

The conflict which happened at this time actually showed how much religion was necessary for the society and the government; In the process of this religious revolution, the dramatic change in religion was intertwined with change in the ancient Egyptian administration affect the high priests, nobles, and officials who were central to the administration of Ancient Egypt.

However, these changes were short-lived as the administration was restored after the death of Akhenaton. The new capital was abandoned after his death (c. 1332 BCE), demolished and looted its palaces.⁴⁹ The reason behind that, the high priests of the God *Amon* made efforts to restore the worship of *Amon* and Erase the memory of God Aton, King Akhenaton, and the capital "*Akhetaten*." Hence, the later king *Tutankhamun* was moved to the capital "*Tiba*" to revive the faith of *Amun*. See *figure 6*.

Besides that remains of the old capital "*Akhetaten*" still exist, the king Akhenaten has identified his city with 14 paintings known as "border paintings." Later in 1887, the letters of *Tal al-Amarna* were found in the city.⁵⁰ It has been stated that *Akhenaten* gave the artist full

⁴⁷ In the Middle Ages, after that area was destroyed, the Amarna tribe came and lived there for an extended period of centuries. They were abandoned and returned to their areas; the area was named after the hill of Amarna. It is a ruin, but a city hill has become habitable.

⁴⁸ Aten is the god of the sun: which symbolized by the disk of the sun from which rays come out with human hands to give life to the universe.

⁴⁹ B. G. Trigger, *Understanding Early Civilizations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed, (Oxford: Routledge, 2006); J. Van Dijk, "The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352-1069 BC)," in *the Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. I. Shaw, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 265:307. Cited in DHWTY, "The ancient system of government in the land of the pharaohs," *Ancient Origins; the reconstructing the story of humanity's past*, <http://www.ancient-origins.net/ancient-places-africa/ancient-system-government-land-pharaohs-001512> April 2014. (accessed April 2017)

⁵⁰ Several operations to uncover the capital of Akhenaton and its religious call center have been forgotten: Starting at 1714, French Jesuit priest Claude Sicard 'Claude Secard' described the border paintings. The most important excavations was later in 1887, an Egyptian farmer woman was discovered 337 small platter of dried clay, with inscriptions of the cuneiform line (the Akkadian dialect) – currently called 'Amarna letters', which are

freedom to express himself and his surroundings, making it the first real-world art school in *Amarna*.⁵¹

This section of the study concluded that the memory process whether 'confirming or erasing,' is highly influenced by the ancient centralization concept (embodied by the great pyramids as evidence), an influence associated with the divine concept; manifested by the importance of religion and its reflection on the built environment. Also, those concepts transformed into a new version due to the social uprising during the end of the old kingdom, which caused a decentralization and change in the public's belief toward the Pharaoh. That beliefs' change reflected on the style of temples' building and zones notably it offered more public participation.

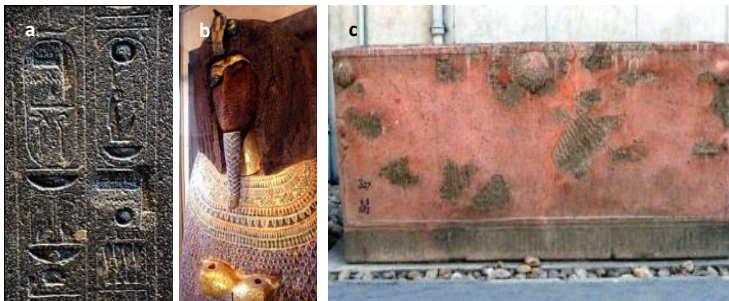


Figure 6: Erasing Akhenaten's Memory:

a- Hieroglyphs on the backpillar of Amenhotep III's statue. There are two places where Akhenaten's agents erased the name Amun, later restored on a deeper surface. The British Museum, London

b-The desecrated royal coffin of Akhenaten found in Tomb KV55.

Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akhenaten>.

c- Akhenaten's sarcophagus reconstituted from pieces discovered in his original tomb in *Amarna*, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Sarcophage_Akh%C3%A9naton.JPG

3.3 Modern Egypt (Egypt Mohamed Ali)

The second prevailing narratives of Egypt is Modern Egypt or “Egypt Mohamed Ali”: the story started when Egypt became one of the states of the Islamic Caliphate when the Muslims Arabs took control in 641 CE until the early 19th century precisely in 1805 when an Albanian soldier named *Muhammed Ali Pasha* (1769-1849) transformed Egypt to a superpower of its time instead of the position of an inactive province of the Ottoman Empire.

Ali founded the modern state of Egypt. His family ruled until came to an end because of the 23 July 1952 revolution which carried by a group of the army known as "the free officers'

representing international diplomatic relations (foreign policy) Between Egypt and the princes of Upper Syria, Palestine, Babylon and other loyalists of Egypt, during the reigns of 'Amenhotep III' and his son 'Amenhotep IV' (Akhenaten). The discovery drew attention to that forgotten city. Since 1977, the excavations of the "Egypt Exploration Society" (EES) 'The Egyptian Archeological Society' headed by Barry J. Kemp 'Barry J. Kemp, and its work continues so far.

⁵¹ Bassem Samir El Sharkawy, *Minya Governorate: Archaeological sites and religious shrines*, contributed to the preparation d. Hoda Abdel Maksoud Nassar and archeology Maryam Kamel Botros, Soad Abdel-Aal, Presented by: Zahi Hawass, (Cairo: Press of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2008).

movement" during the reign of Ali's great-grandson Farouk I, King of Egypt and Sudan (1936-1952).⁵²

Ali is well known by "the founder of Modern Egypt"; since from the start, his goal was the independence of Egypt away from the Ottoman Empire and is ruled by his hereditary dynasty.⁵³ To do that, he had to streamline the economy, train a professional bureaucracy, and build a modern military.⁵⁴ In his reign, the country witnessed transformation and enrichment on many levels, internal and external commercial, agricultural, industrial, and military level.

With regard of the three concepts which had influence in Pharaoh's era, reviewing the historical background of Modern Egypt, it has been found that the patterns of the three concepts, power of public, centralization, divine the ruler still have influenced the Egyptian society and reflected on the country urban spaces, the memory could be traced until nowadays.

3.3.1 The Power of Public: The Social Movement Led by Elshekh Umar Makram

However, in this time the concepts' pattern historically started with the power of public: Transferring the Egyptians life's facts in the age of modern Egypt have been done by the public's power led by the society leader *Umar Makram* who established religious resistance. That social movement had been written in history as a key factor which brought to power the man (Muhammed Ali) and his dynasty who would dominate Egypt for generations until the mid-20th century.

Umar bin Husayn Makram (1755-1800) was born in Asyut in Upper Egypt; he became Naqib al Ashraf⁵⁵ in 1793. As a leading religious figure, he played an activist role and led resistance to high taxation even before the French arrived; then he was a center of resistance to Napoleon's French invasion in 1798-1800. With the French departure, Makram has prestige as an activist who could mobilize the religious establishment and the public.

Between 1801 and 1805, after the French withdrawal, Ottoman forces had a conflict with the Mamluks. At that time of conflict, *Muhammed Ali* used his loyal Albanian troops to work with both sides, gaining prestige for himself.⁵⁶ On the other hand, he recognized the importance of acting carefully to gain the support of the public.

⁵² Bassir, "Egypt, Pharaohs, Kings, and Presidents, 21.

⁵³ William L Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009), 62.

⁵⁴ Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt*, (Cairo: The American University Press, 2010).

⁵⁵ Naqib al Ashraf: a post in Othaman administrative system that had religious and civil functions.

⁵⁶ Tom Little, *Egypt*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), 57.

In 1805, a group of Egyptians led by the Grand Imam and the Egyptian leader *Umar Makram* demanded the replacement of Wali (viceroy) *Ahmed Khurshid Pasha* by Mohammed Ali, and the Othmans yielded.

Historians like *Fahmy, Asem Eldesoqy, Latifa Salem* and others like advisor thinker *Tareq Elbeshry, and dr. Emad Abu Ghazi, dr. Ahmed Okasha* were considered this the first social movement which established the free right to choose the ruler⁵⁷

Noteworthy, that historically, after four years that *Ali* had consolidated his power, in 1809, while he was fighting *Mamluks* in Upper Egypt, *Makram* organized resistance in Cairo against Ali. (when a British expedition took Alexandria in 1807). *Makram* became one of Ali's Opponents, and he objected to Ali's new policy of collecting the taxes.

For this reason, *Makram* was exiled by Ali to Damietta then move to Tanta where he died in 1822. That was Ali's first move towards centralization. According to *Abdul Rahman Al-Jabrati*⁵⁸ that *Makram* finally had discovered Ali's intentions to seize and centralize power for himself and not considering his opinion or public opinion anymore.⁵⁹

The neglected memory of Umar Makram: Nevertheless, the remembering of *Umar Makram* as an Egyptian public figure is still controversial, since the only memorial place of the leader is his mosque named for him which was built about a century later after his death (1822). Next to the *Tahrir* complex, in the south border of *Tahrir* square, in the entrance of *Garden city*. The mosque replaced the former mosque "*Elabeet*." It designed by the Italian architect *Mario Roci* in 1958. See figure 7-a

In 2003, upon the continuous effort and request of reviving *Makram's* memory from the side of his family, the president *Muhamed Hosney Moubark* ordered to erect a statue of *Umar Makram* in front of the mosque in *Tahrir* square to commemorate the Egyptian Leader *Umar Makram*. See figure 7-b

During the 25th uprising 2011 in Egypt, the mosque has functioned as prayer center and a field hospital for the demonstrators. *Umar Makram* name has always been associated with freedom and as a symbol of the power of the public.

⁵⁷ Documentary film "*Mohammed Ali Pasha Egypt's Wāli*" "وثنائى قى محمد علي باشا ولي مصر" Al Jazeera Documentary Channel, Published on April 7, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DoZJbT1LcY4>

⁵⁸ Al-Jabrati: Abdul Rahman bin Hassan Burhan al-Din al-Jabrati (born in Cairo in 1753 - died in Cairo in 1825). He is an Egyptian historian who chronicled the French campaign against Egypt. He described this period in detail in his book, "The Wonders of Antiquities in Translations and News", known as "the history of al-Jabrati", which is a basic reference to this important period of the French campaign.

⁵⁹ Georges Douin, ed., *Une Mission militaire francaise aupres de Mohamed Aly*, correspondance des Generaux Belliard et Boyer (Cairo: Société Royale de Geographie d'Egypte, 1923)

However, according to an interview by "*Elwafd*" Journal with *Makram's* granddaughter *Ragya*,⁶⁰ She stated that unfortunately no celebrations of the memory of *Makram* were carried out in Egypt. Instead, it was recently celebrated in an exhibition about his life at the Louvre in Paris, France where she has been invited to attend.

On the other hand, the family is making efforts to revive his memory, through the publishing of his biography. Further, they request the Egyptian government to set up a museum in one of the heritage villas which owned by the family, in order to record the memory of his achievement and to display the documentation and possessions which he left as a legacy.⁶¹

Unfortunately, the government is neglecting to make an actual response. There is no apparent reason for neglecting to commemorate *Umar Makram* as a national value, perhaps that commemorative action is inconsistent with their political and economic agenda.



Figure 7: The remained memory of Umar Makram:

- a- Umar Makram Mosque constructed in 1948 in the entrance of Garden Siti, in Tahrir square. Source: <http://mideasti.blogspot.com.eg/2012/01/makram-patron-saint-of-tahrir-square.html>
- b- Umar Makram's Statue erected in 2003. Source: Ibid
- c- Portrait of Elshekh Umar Makram. Source: https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%85%D9%84%D9%81:Omar_makram.jpg

3.3.2 The Wāli's Centralization

While *Bassir* argued that Pharaoh's age was the actual beginning of the age of centralization which introduced the disciplines and standards those still govern the State of Egypt until the present day.⁶²

Professor *Khaled Fahmy*⁶³ argued that Egypt might be the first centralized country in the world, but the modern Egyptian state has nothing to do with the pharaohs or the

⁶⁰ Nadia Sobhy, "كترّمه أعداؤه وحبسه أهل بلد فدى «والكب لاجازات فجيده» عمر مكرم «تروى لمرار أول زعيم عبي»",

[His enemies honored him and his people held him captive in the funeral processions:

Granddaughter of Omar Makram tells the secrets of the first populist leader], *Elwafd News*, December 8, 2016, <https://alwafd.news/article/1422206> (accessed March 8, 2017)

⁶¹ "In interview with Makram's Grandson, the general Mohamed Saleh Mohamed Bayoumy Makram. "*Besra7a*" TV- program, posted by "شركة أضل قناة لتجديد" [Tahrir Channel], Published on Feb 18, 2015, 28:15, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1aBp2hJF8kY> (accessed March 8, 2017)

⁶² Bassir, "Egypt, Pharaohs, Kings, and Presidents", 20.

Ptolemies. He believed that the modern Egyptian state is no more than two hundred years old. Moreover, that there are two particular events during the rule of Muhammad Ali, they are the foundations of this modern state and can be dated to its birth.

The first is the massacre of the Mamluks in 1811, in which Muhammad Ali spent the reign of the aristocracy, which controlled the country. Thus that led to a single center of the country "Muhammad Ali and his family."

Fahmy explained that the second event was the formation of a modern army based on recruitment. After failing to bring slaves from Sudan to have a loyal army to him, Muhammad Ali took a decision in February 1822 that changed the nature of Egypt and the Egyptian society forever. In this month, he ordered the rulers of Upper Egypt to collect four thousand peasants from Upper Egypt and train them in new military training. It was only a few months until the recruitment was applied in the delta.⁶⁴

3.3.2.1 Reflection: Cairo Citadel embodies the memory of the Massacre of the Mamluks

Although the citadel was built (between 1176 and 1183 CE), in the reign of Salah Eldin,⁶⁵ Egyptians currently refer to the Citadel as Mohamed Ali Citadel (Arabic: Qala'at Muḥammad 'Alī), probably because it contains the Mosque of Muhammad Ali, which was built by Muhammad Ali Pasha between 1828 and 1848, located on the summit of the citadel. The mosque is the feature of the Citadel with its massive dome, and overtly Ottoman-influenced architecture looms over the Citadel to this day.⁶⁶

⁶³ Khaled Fahmy: Khalid Fahmy Professor of the Chair of His Majesty Sultan Qaboos bin Said for Modern Arabic Studies at the University of Cambridge. His interests include the social and cultural history of the modern Middle East, focusing on the history of law, medicine, army and police in Egypt throughout the nineteenth century.

⁶⁴ Khaled Fahmy, *كبرياء الدولة* [Prestige of the state], *Reflections on Egypt, the Middle East, and history*, <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/2013/08/23/>, (accessed April 7, 2018); available also on shorouknews, August 23, 2013. <http://www.shorouknews.com/columns/view.aspx?cdate=23082013&id=e1bcec83-b1ef-44f5-abe8-a4a85988a834> (accessed April 7, 2018).

⁶⁵ Harry Ades, *A Traveller's History of Egypt*, (Arris Publishing Ltd, 2007), 226.

⁶⁶ Hasan Abd al-Wahhab, "al-'imara fi 'asr Muhammad 'Ali Basha," *Majallat al-'Imara*, 1941, 3-4, 57: 70 ; Mohammad Al-Asad, "The Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 9, 1992, 39:55 ; Doris, Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill: 1989). Cited in "The Mosque of Muhammad Ali (history)", *Archnet, digital library*, Archived from the original on February 7, 2006, https://web.archive.org/web/20060207144945/http://archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.tcl?site_id=2080

After the French withdrawal and the recognition of *Muhammed Ali* as the ruler of Egypt the *Mamluks* power had been weakened, but they still posed the greatest threat to the power of *Muhammed Ali*. Their powers extend along the River Nile to Upper Egypt in the north as they controlled the country for more than 600 years. *Muhammed Ali* recognized that *Mamluks* are a danger to his centralized power and his dream of an extended family rule. Therefore he planned with his deputy, *Mohammed Lazoghly* to finally get rid of them.

Salahdin Cairo Citadel holds the memory of the massacre of the *Mamluks*: It is well-known as “*the Massacre of Citadel*”, which is engraved in the mind of Egyptians. On Friday, March 1, 1811, *Ali* invited the *Mamluks* leaders to Cairo citadel in honor of his son, *Tusun* Pasha who will lead a military expedition into Arabia. During the gathering there, they were surrounded by his troops and killed. After that, *Ali* sent his army to route the remainder of *Mamluks* forces. In his essay "Coffee with the Pasha" historian *Amr Talaat*, described in details the Massacre, he analyzed the motivations of *Ali*.⁶⁷ See Figures 8

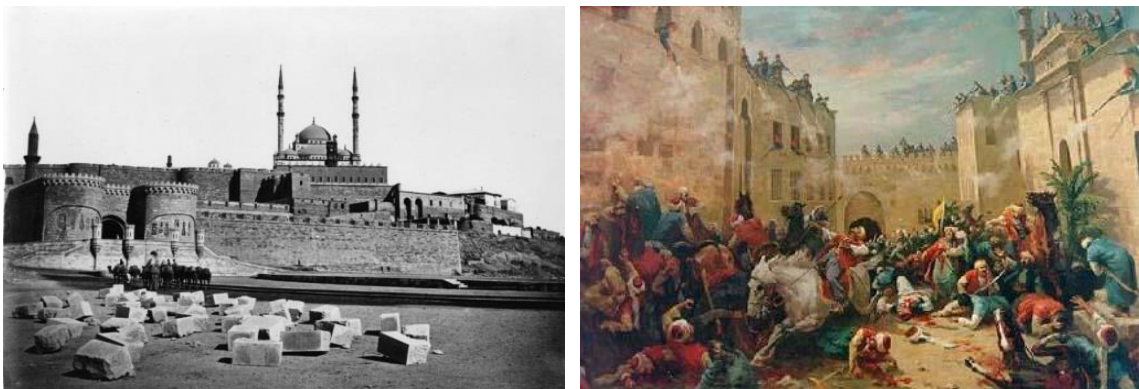


Figure 8: a- The Citadel of Salah al-Din at the end of the nineteenth century, with a view of Bab al-Azab, between the two towers where the massacre took place.

Source: <http://rawi-magazine.com/articles/mamlukmassacre/>

b- The imaginary scene of the massacre of Mamluks in the citadel which was paint by a French painter Horace Vernet (1789–1863) to commemorate that massacre. Source: Domain public

According to *Fahmy* that *Ali* ignored the massacre or did not like to speak or remember it and that is clear in the writings of historians whom he ordered to write commemoration of his achievements during his reign. It is worth mentioning that the *Mamluks* massacre had a negative psychological influence on *Ali's* family: on the relationship between him and his wife who did not know neither knew his sons about the planning of the massacre. His wife separated from him because of this killing accident.⁶⁸

In the process of destroying the *Mamluks*, the *Wali* had to fill the administrative roles which were previously filled by *Mamluks*. For *Muhammad Ali* establishing an efficient

⁶⁷ Amr S. Talaat, "Coffee with the Pasha: The story of Egypt's most famous Massacre," *Rawi magazine*, first published in print in RAWI's ISSUE 1, 2010, <http://rawi-magazine.com/articles/mamlukmassacre/> (accessed April 8, 2017)

⁶⁸ Khaled Fahmy, Documentary film "*Mohammed Ali Pasha Egypt's Wali*" "أولياء مصر" Al Jazeera Documentary Channel, Published on April 7, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DoZJbTILcY4>

central bureaucracy was an essential prerequisite for the success of his planned reforms, So *Ali* kept all central authority for himself. He partitioned Egypt into ten provinces responsible for collecting the taxes and maintaining order. He positioned his sons in most key positions. However, his government offered opportunities beyond agriculture and industry to Egyptians.⁶⁹

Ali's centralization reflected on the Citadel Urban spaces: When Ali took power, he altered many of the additions to the citadel which presented the memory of Cairo's previous leaders. *Ali* changed the uses of the Citadel's spaces: for instance the enclosures; the southern enclosure was the residential area during the *Mamluk* period, had been opened to the public.

On the other hand, he used the northern enclosure as the royal residence when he took power in order to position himself as the new leader.⁷⁰

Further, the Egyptian government centralized in the *Salahdin* Cairo Citadel until the 19th century. In the 1860s, Khedive Ismail (The grandson of Ali) moved the seat of the government to *Abdin* Palace in Ismailia district (which built by Khedive Ismail and named after his name).⁷¹

Generally, the centralization in modern Egypt had appeared and reflected on many society's aspects: The Official Language, it was Turkish instead of Arabic (although the Egyptian native is the Arabic language), the Agriculture control; Ali's first step was to secure a revenue stream for Egypt. To accomplish this, he 'nationalized' the whole land of Egypt, thus, officially he owned the production of the land. He raised taxes on the farmers who had owned the land throughout Egypt. Since the new taxes were intentionally high, many times farmers could not extract the demanded payments from the peasants, So *Muhammad Ali* confiscated their properties.⁷²

Centralization continued during the rule of *Ali's* family; the centralization reflected on the Urban: redevelopment of Cairo which inspired from Paris; for instance, in the reign of Khedive Ismail (the Grandson of Mohammed Ali) planning of Ismailia square (currently *Tahrir* square) originally inspired from the *Etoile* Square in Paris. The new cities' named after Khedive Ismail such as Ismailia and Port-Said after Khedive Saeed to name just a few examples of the reflection of centralization on the urban fabric of the Egyptian city. Besides, feudalists built their houses with European architectural designs, and not on models that trace the identity of their hometown.

⁶⁹ Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 69.

⁷⁰ Jimmy Dunn, "*The Citadel in Cairo*," Touregypt.net. Published on April 7, 2006, accessed March 28, 2017.

⁷¹ Andre Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. by Willard Wood. (Harvard University Press: 2001), 85–132.

⁷² Panayiotis J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 63.

The memory of the *Mamluks'* massacre was pushed into amnesia. Meanwhile, the memory of the mastermind of the massacre was emphasized: by naming a square after *Mohammed Lazoghly* Pasha, (the assistant of Muhammed Ali Pasha) and who is believed the mastermind who planned for the Massacre of *Mamluks* in Mohammed Ali Citadel. The square lies at the intersection of *Magles El-Ommah* Street, *Dawawin* Street and *Khairat* Street in the middle of Cairo.⁷³

Although Lazoghly Pasha had a high position for a long time during Mohammed Ali's era, he did not care about glorifying his name or his achievements. However, Mohammed Ali Pasha decided to erect statues of Egypt's most famous dignitaries as a commemoration of their contribution to the country including *Lazoghly* Pasha, as part of Ali's plan to emphasizing his memory. In the middle of *Lazoghly* Square in Cairo stands a colossal statue which was made by the French sculpture *Jack Mar*. See Figure 9

Figure 9: Lazoghly square in Cairo, Muhammed Lazoghly Pasha Statue in the middle of the square was made by the French sculpture Jack Mar.

Source:

<http://www.cairo.gov.eg/CairoPortal/Culture%20and%20Arts/Lists/cairo%20squares/DispForm.aspx?ID=20>



3.3.2.2 The memory of the formation of a modern army

Whereas, the prevailing narrative and the national historical memory is that “Muhammed Ali is the founder of modern Egypt,” there is a question impose itself, how come that “*Farmers and soldiers suffered under the rule of Mohamed Ali Pasha*”? In an interview with *Ebtissam Saeed* in the “*Alaraby Elgdeed*” Journal, *Fahmy* explained that while he was researching for obtaining his Ph.D. degree, he found out archival documents in “*El sham*” (which where was the camp of the Egyptian army was settled for about 10 years starting from 1831).

He says that he finds himself can tell what happens inside the army from the soldiers' point of view, moreover, that the most important files were the military trials and their records, their internal conditions and how they write about them, where they had to document the soldiers' complaints. These were people who had been recruited for ten or fifteen years.

At that exact point, he began to realize that the society was in a state of war for twenty years from 1820 to 1840. That means that all the resources of Egypt and its villages were

⁷³ “Lazoghly Square”, *cairo squares*, available at

<http://www.cairo.gov.eg/CairoPortal/Culture%20and%20Arts/Lists/cairo%20squares/DispForm.aspx?ID=20> (accessed August 13, 2018)

engaged in military action. Further the soldiers' attempts to escape from the oppression of their leaders and not to adapt them to their Turkish officers, who are different from them linguistically, ethnically and geographically. The soldiers were fighting in an army that was not their army. (He means they did not feel belonging to it) Right, they recruited him, and they won overwhelming victories, but in the end, this is not their army, and these are not their issues or their wars.

Because of those findings which Fahmy have seen, he raised fundamental questions to the contrary; this is an army of whom exactly? Who paid the price? Moreover, who reap the fruits of these sacrifices? ⁷⁴ Those forgotten soldiers are the real heroes behind the foundation of the "Modern Egypt" legacy could be commemorated by the Unknown Soldier memorial which is a traditional international memorial to commemorate the victims of the war around the world.

Noteworthy, that *Fahmy's* studies and writing about the history of Modern Egypt viewed a different perspective of its founder Muhammed Ali Pasha, A different from the domain perspective which is always viewing the bright side of his rule and neglect many dark sides.

According to *Fahmy* in his book "All the Pasha's Men" which tackled many theoretical debates about the development of the Modern Nation State, he viewed Mohamed Ali as an ambitious Ottoman reformer in the Ottoman context who offered a new interpretation of the rise of Egyptian nationalism under his rule. Further that his development of Economy and building up the army was mainly to fulfill his ambitions for hereditary rule over the province and it was not for the Egyptian independence of Ottoman Empire.

Fahmy aimed to damask the intended process of the commemoration of his memory of greatness and on the other hand neglecting and erasing the memory of Egyptian suffering under his rule. *Fahmy* based his work on the neglected archival materials.

3.3.3 Divine the Wali

The concept of "Divine the Wali [Pasha]" which appeared in modern Egypt is the extension of the ancient concept "Divine the Pharaoh; it introduces how important religion is for the governmental system to control the Egyptian society that was clear by many insights:

In 1805, before recognition of *Muhammed Ali*, he was intelligent enough to recognize the influence of the religion on the Egyptian society. He succeeded to gain the trust of Egypt's

⁷⁴ Khaled Fahmy, [الثورة المصرية في بيئتها ولي سرفي آخره] [The Egyptian revolution is in its start and not in the end], *Reflections on Egypt, the Middle East, and history*, published on April 4, 2016, <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/2016/04/04/الثورة-المصرية-في-بيئتها-ولي-سرفي-آخره> (accessed April 5, 2017).

Grand Imam of *Alazhar* and the Egyptian Leader *Umar Makram* who was a key figure in winning religious support for the recognition of *Muhammed Ali*. So at that exact point in history, Ali became the first ruler of Egypt who was chosen by the public to rise to power.⁷⁵

The reinstatement of Muhammad Ali and the Ottoman Empire over the *Hijaz* and the Two Holy Mosques helped to increase his religious power and authority over the Muslim world.

As a defiant declaration of de facto Egyptian independence in this period: in order to serve the authority of Ali; mosques were built influenced by the Ottoman architecture style, which consisted of specific features such like the presence of two minarets and multiple half-domes surrounding the central dome. The most known mosque which represents the reign of Muhammad Ali and his efforts to erase the symbol of the Mamluks dynasty that he replaced them is "Muhammed Ali Mosque" on the summit of the citadel.

Representation of memory; Muhammed Ali Mosque:

It was built in memory of Muhammad Ali's second son "Tusun Pasha," who died in 1816. On the other hand, in order to establish the importance of himself as a new leader, and to erase the memory of the old rulers, between 1830 and 1848⁷⁶ *Ali* built a mosque influenced by the Ottoman architecture on the site of where Mamluks palaces had once reigned. The mosque was erected on the ground which was built with debris from the earlier buildings of the Citadel. Further, the new mosque became the official state mosque instead of al-Nasir Mosque.⁷⁷

It is noticeable that Muhammad Ali chose to build his state mosque entirely in the Ottomans architectural style, the style of his former overlords, unlike the *Mamluks* who, despite their political submission to the Ottoman Caliphate, they kept the architectural styles of their previous *Mamluk* dynasties.

Muhammed Ali Mosque was the largest to be built in the first half of the 19th century. Hence, the mosque could be seen from many directions in Cairo. It is still considered as the most visible mosque for Cairo's skyline with its animated silhouette and twin minarets. It is along with the citadel, is one of the landmarks and tourist attractions. *See figure 10.*

⁷⁵ Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt: From Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*, 51.

⁷⁶ Although not completed until the reign of Said Pasha in 1857. The architect was Yusuf Bushnak from Istanbul and its model was the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. But the condition of the mosque became so dangerous that a complete scheme of restoration was ordered by King Fuad in 1931 and was finally completed under King Farouk in 1939. Muhammad Ali Pasha was buried in a tomb carved from Carrara marble, in the courtyard of the mosque. His body was transferred from Hawsh al-Basha in 1857.

⁷⁷ "The Mosque of Muhammad Ali (history)", *Archnet, digital library*, Archived from the original on February 7, 2006, https://web.archive.org/web/20060207144945/http://archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.tcl?site_id=2080



Figure 10: Muhammad Ali built his state mosque entirely in the Ottomans architectural style, the style of his former overlords. The Ottoman mosque has a central dome surrounded by four small and four semi-circular domes. It constructed in a square plan. Two elegant Turkish cylindrical minarets, two balconies, and conical caps are on the western side of the mosque which rises to 82 meters. The external facades are severe, angular and rise about four stories until the level of the lead-covered domes. Source: https://ar.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%85%D9%84%D9%81:M.Ali_Mosque2.JPG

3.4 The Pattern of Inherited Concepts and Current Reflection

The Three followed inherited concepts since the era of the Pharaohs provide the reasoning influence of the Egyptian Society, and continue to affect the Egyptians' choices in the present:

The power of public concept started by the "*Ibor revolution*" probably the first "social movement" in history that took place during the pharaohs Era. Afterward, and after a long period of colonization and invasions, happened another social movement led by *Umar Makram* to present the right of the people to choose their ruler. That ruler was *Muhammed Ali* who established the "Modern Egypt" however his rule was another version of centralization, and his dynasty's rule came to an end by the 1952 revolution which was led by the "free officer" to start a new Era "The Republic of Egypt" which witnessed the 25th January and the 30 of July uprisings recently. See Figure 11.



Figure 11: Images of Modern Revolutions' History in Egypt: a-The 25th uprising 2011 in Tahrir square, Cairo, Egypt. <https://www.cairo360.com/article/music/music-from-tahrir-eight-songs-of-the-january-25th-revolution/> b- The 30 June 2013 uprising against the rule of "The Muslims brotherhood", the president Muhammed Morsi after one year in rule. Source: <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/95192?lang=en-us>

Regarding the centralization concept: Egypt mostly was a centralized country through all Eras. In this regard, *Historian Hemdan* categorized the centralization: geographical centralism, central bureaucracy, and civilizational centrality of the capital, Cairo.

Besides, *Abu Zayed Rageh*, the former chairman of the urban Planning authority in Egypt, explained that the concept of centralization has begun in the pharaohs Era that was because of Egypt Geographical location. The civilization of Egypt has been based on the river and agriculture with fixed annual cycles. That requires a central government that regulates the distribution of water, the organization of irrigation, and the construction and maintenance of bridges. Moreover, the geographical nature of Egypt and the shape of the Egyptian globe in the valley and the delta – besides the desert and the sea as borders – are factors which helped to ensure the centrality in the management of the state.⁷⁸

On the other hand, historian *Khaled Fahmy* connected some facts which happened during the Era of *Muhammed Ali* with a similar one in recent times: for example, the *Massacre of Mamluks* in 1811 and the Egyptians' mass killing in their 1824 revolution, against the conscription's policy. (Facts were considered cornerstones to help Ali control and centralize the authority to himself.) *Fahmy* argued that those memories are associated, and similar to the "dispersing the *Rabaa El-Adawiya* sit-in" that took place in August 2013 in Egypt by the armed forces, which is described by the Human Rights report as the worst mass unlawful killings in Egypt's modern history.

In his essay, "the threat to Egypt's mighty state", *Fahmy* explained that by this move the armed forces get rid of its biggest opponents "the Muslims Brotherhood." Hence, it considered an essential step towards powerfully centralized rule. Further, he raised some questions about the responsibility of the whole society to oversee the legitimate institution (the army and police) while it performs its cardinal duty.⁷⁹

As for the third concept, the divine concept of the ruler and the importance of religion throughout history. It has been introduced and analyzed by many historians such as *Hemdan* to result how much that concept impact the management of the country.

Hemdan explained in his book "Personality of Egypt"⁸⁰ that both in Pharaohs Era and even in the era of Muhammad Ali, the same social features emerge in one way or another and history repeats itself. He stated that it was absolute autocracy: Just as the pharaohs put the irrigation system in the hands of the peasants, Muhammad Ali built a permanent irrigation system that harnessed millions over the years to divide, clean and deepen the canals, build bridges, face high floods and reclaim land.

⁷⁸ Abu Zayed Rageh, "إدارة مصر بين المركزية التقليدية واللامركزية المعاصرة" [Managing Egypt between traditional centralism and contemporary decentralization], *ميدان مصر* [Midan Masr], <http://www.midanmasr.com/article.aspx?articleID=228> (accessed August 3, 2018)

⁷⁹ Khaled Fahmy, "The threat to Egypt's mighty state", *Ahram Online*, August 25, 2013. <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/4/79835/Opinion/The-threat-to-Egypt-s-mighty-state.aspx> ; or <https://khaledfahmy.org/en/2013/08/25/the-threat-to-egypts-mighty-state/> (accessed August 10, 2018)

⁸⁰ Hemdan, "From empire to colony between location and position," 62: 64, 74.

As Pharaoh was the owner of the land, Muhammad declared himself the sole owner and confiscated the ownership of the farmer, leaving him the usufruct. The Pharaonic Empire was transformed into the monarchy, and the monopolist turned into an image of the state capitalist who became a tyrannical tyrant in favor of Mohammed Ali's family in the first place and secondly his friends.

The system is class autocratic and political tyranny based on two: massive feudal bureaucracy as a repetition of the structure of pharaonic construction, and the emerging capitalist bureaucracy (finance and industry) rather than the theocracy of the temples and priests.

According to *Hemdan* the history of Egypt consists of a general feature of two different stages: from the stage of Egypt as the first empire in history to its degradation to the most extended colony known history, and that Egypt transformed from the Pharaonic Empire to feudalism to Socialist, then to capitalism.

Despite the fact of the various transformation happened to Egypt through history, the significant influence of religion on the governmental system and the Egyptian society is still clear until the recent age.

Starting from the current Egyptian constitution based on the principles of Islamic law and the continuation of the religious discourse directed at the people to obey the ruler in addition to develop the concept of the ruler divine to the modern description of the concept that the ruler father. For example, children receive education in schools for thirty years confirms the parentally of both the former president, "Mohamed Hosni Mubarak," and his wife. They call him "Papa Mubarak" and his wife, "Mama Suzan."

Perhaps one of the most important scenes that confirmed the importance of the influence of religion on the Egyptian people is the scene of the 30 June 2013 Statement of the Military Council which is followed by the isolation of the former president Mohamed *Morsi*. Both the Sheikh of Al-Azhar Al-Sharif and the high priest of the Church and a group of politicians stood next to Marshal Abdul Fattah Al-Sisi. This scene is the most extensive evidence of the influence of both the governmental system on the religious institutions in the Egyptian state and the impact of the support of the state's religious institutions for the government. *See Figure 12.*



Figure 12: Statement of the Military Council on 30 June 2013: Both the Sheikh of Al-Azhar Al-Sharif and the high priest of the Church and a group of politicians stood next to Marshal Abdul Fattah Al-Sisi, which shows the significance of the religion to influence the Egyptian society. Source: https://25-janaer.blogspot.com/2017/06/30_23.html

Finally, the basic inherited concepts are believed that they have continued to influence the country of Egypt, during all Eras Pharaonic, Greek, Roman, Islamic, and currently still influence the Republic of Egypt. They configure a typical pattern of what happened and what is still happening. They explain why and how specific memories have been commemorated, why others have been erased, or became mysteries.

3.5 Summary and Conclusion

Through the reading of the history of two prevailing narratives: "Egypt as Pharaohs' country," and " Modern Egypt, Muhammed Ali Egypt" It has been found that there is a pattern of inherited concepts. They explain the changes brought into Egyptian society on many levels of political, social awareness, and urban change as well. They could be summarized as follows: The first concept is "The power of the public." Second is the concept of centralization. The third is the divine concept of the ruler.

Within this typical pattern of the three concepts, this chapter explained their influence on the production processes of remembering and forgetting which reflected on the urban environment within the historical contexts of the two mentioned prevailing narratives.

That is considered as a first step to explore how the national memory of Egypt was constituted through history. A memory which could be traced on the Egyptian urban spaces. Further, reading the reflection of the pattern of the inherited concepts which will help analyze and explain the responsible reason for a particular representation of memory in the Egyptian urban spaces (For example, case Study of *Tahrir* square will be tackled in next chapter).

Chapter Four: Reading Tahrir Square

Objective: *Tracing the multiple layers of histories which left their prints on the Egyptian urban fabric: De-masking the historical and active processes of remembering and forgetting in the Egyptian urban space and identify the memory's influences, actors and the reflection of the inherited concepts.*

- 4.1. Introduction**
- 4.2. Criteria of Selection**
- 4.3. The Historical Background**
- 4.4. Analysis via Political Psychosocial Model (PPS.)**
- 4.5. Case Study Findings**
- 4.6. Summary and Conclusion**

4.1 Introduction

Public urban spaces in Cairo have always been in a continuous process of change since its modern rebirth in the 19th century. This chapter's main objective is to focus on the case of *Tahrir* square¹ aiming at understanding the complexity of the urban memory of the Egyptian society. That seems to be quite influenced by many political psychosocial influences.

Analyzing the case of Tahrir square provides an opportunity to validate the (PPS.) model which developed in chapter two, which provides historical analysis and explanation of the memory associated with one of Egypt largest and most notable public urban space, that is through:

Reading the reflection of the narratives which took place in the square at each historical phase on the urban fabric, in order to trace and understand the influences of those urban space memories. Besides, by reading the memories of *Tahrir* Square, it is quite clear at this point of research the impact of the three inherited concepts as introduced in the previous chapter on the formation of those memories, either directly or indirectly.

Finally, Findings are then drawn in light of summarizing the reading of the Egyptian National and Collective Memories in *Tahrir* square. The conclusion is driven by comparing the influences of urban memory in its different historical phases.

4.2 Criteria of Selection

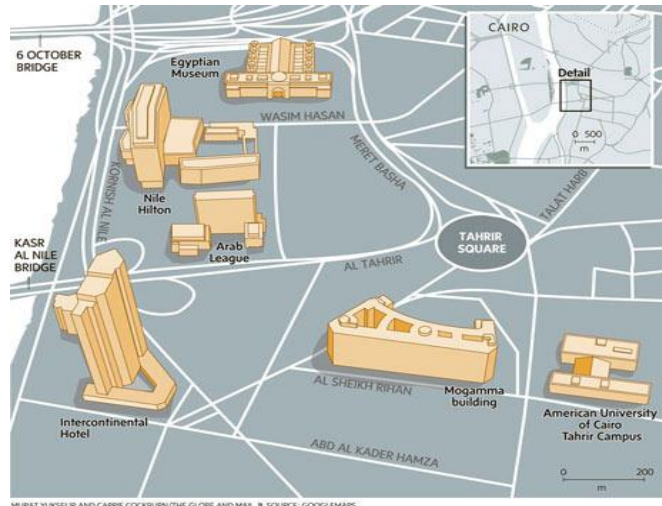
The criteria of chosen the case of El *Tahrir* square is based on its central location. Noteworthy, *Tahrir* represents the Egyptian city complexity which consists of many aspects. As it represents the memories of multiple layers of history, which could be traced and explored:

El *Tahrir* Square is located in the heart of the Egyptian capital "Cairo." It is the southern entrance to the city center. It is one of Cairo's most important squares since about 150 years old. It lies as a part of the Nile River's bank. Further, it is a central connection point in Greater Cairo; as it connects the "Khedive Cairo" in the east with the Nile, Giza, and the newer areas in the west.²

¹ The *Tahrir* square is the recent (current) square name; hence it is the name which is used throughout the chapter regardless the other pervious names.

² Ahdaf suif "أهداف سويف", *alqahr.. mdynta wathawratana* (2), "Cairo .. المدينة الجديدة عوشتيوننا (٢) [my city and our revolution(2)], *Elshorouknews*, January 22, 2015, <http://www.shorouknews.com/columns/view.aspx?cdate=22012015&id=3098d2a9-4b0a-41fa-b3b6-a55baf19093b> (Accessed January 23, 2016).

Figure 1: *Tahrir Square Location*: It is in the cultural center of Cairo, includes many cultural and intellectual buildings, for instance, the Egyptian museum, the American University, the Arab League, and in the past, it included the central building of the former National Democratic Party (NDP) which burned, and currently demolished. Source: Google maps



The Square lies in the cultural center of the city which is including many cultural and official buildings, like the Egyptian Museum, the American University, the headquarters of the League of Arab States, the Evangelical *Dobara* Church and the Egyptian Foreign Ministry. The square was located adjacent to the central building of the National Democratic Party (NDP), which is recently demolished on May 31, 2015. See figure 1.

The square consists of principal axes intersect in its center; *Meret Basha* street, *Talaat Harb* Street, *El-Tahrir* Street, *Alkasr Al Aini* street. Further, it intersects with many other roads, such as *Albustan*, *Kasr Al Nile*, *Champollion*, *Mohammed Mahmoud*, and *Al Falky* Streets. Noteworthy, that the square's northern borders determined by the Egyptian museum and “*the Sixth of October Bridge*” which was opened in 1871.³ Further, it includes essential transportation node; *Sadat* Station, which is one of the largest metro stations in Cairo. All those streets' names reflect the memories of the various layers of history and key events; some since monarchy, others during the Republic of Egypt.

Tahrir urban spaces embody the memories of the prevailing narratives since the Khedive's Cairo. Memories could be traced on the long-term through history, and on short-term starting from the modern revolutionary history in 2011 until the current situation. So, Besides *Tahrir's* important location in the heart of Cairo, it is expected to capture the complexity of the city in light of many influences levels political, psychosocial-cultural.

³ Suif, (2012). [Cairo .. my city and our revolution(2)].

4.3 Historical Background

It has been stated that *Tahrir* square is a product of various layers of histories:

In the Pharaohs' era, *Tahrir* Square was a patch of the desert. Then, in the tenth century AD, in the Fatimid's era, the area became a swamp, covered by water during the seasons of the floods of the Nile River. By the end of the eighteenth century, while Napoleon occupied Cairo, the land had dried so that the French established their camps there. Noteworthy that the stability of the banks of the Nile in Cairo had been only in the era of Mohammed Ali when he built dams to control the river flood.⁴

Socially, the square was a composition of the 19th-century working class neighborhood, and then it became one of the most luxuriant gardens in Cairo during the Era of the Sultanate of *Al-Nasser Mohamed Ibn Qalàwùn*. A few decades later the area deteriorated, leaving a mosaic of gardens and wetlands.⁵

Tahrir square as a case study provides an account of the development of Egypt's Cairo urban morphology throughout the past 150 years when *Tahrir* square previously named Ismailia square in the reign of Khedive Ismail. It is essential to identify the historical roots of the present day image and analyze the evolution of *Tahrir* Square. In order to understand how urban national memory was constituted.

Tahrir square historical roots date back to 1865, so it could be considered as a historical case study that is suitable for in-depth longitudinal examination of the concept of national memory, influenced by the political events which generate psychological, social-cultural aspects of the Egyptian society.

4.4 Analysis via Political Psychosocial Model (PPS.)

To point out the influences behind the Egyptian national memory, both the (*PPS.*) political psychosocial analytical model⁶ and the reflection of the pattern of the inherited concepts⁷ are applied to three political phases of the history of *Tahrir* Square: First during Monarchy Era, Second Republic era, and the third is the modern revolutions' history (post-Mubarak regime).

⁴ Nezar Elsayyed, "A History of Tahrir Square," *Harvard University Press, Blog*, April 1, 2011, https://harvardpress.typepad.com/hup_publicity/2011/04/a-history-of-tahrir-square.html (Accessed in December 2017) Nezar ElSaiyyad is a Cairo-born professor of Architecture, Planning and Urban History and the chair of Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of California at Berkeley. He's also a lucid thinker and the author of the forthcoming book *Cairo: Histories of a City* from Harvard University Press.

⁵Nezar Kafafy, "The Dynamic Influence of Symbolism and Meaning in Urban Design, the case of El Tahrir Square, Cairo, Egypt," *48th ISOCARP Congress*, 2012. www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/2207.pdf (Accessed in December 2017)

⁶PPs.: The political psychosocial analytical model which was developed in chapter two.

⁷The reflection of the three inherited concepts those introduced in the previous chapter: Concepts of centralization, power of public, and the ruler divine presented by the importance of religion in the Egyptian society.

This categorization is due to the importance of the role played by the rulers in shaping the urban national memory, especially that every political systems' changes, usually that imply the adoption of new memory projects, and eventually result in transformation for the square.

4.4.1 *Tahrir Square between 1865 until 1952, during Monarchy Era*

Tahrir Square was founded in the era of Khedive *Ismail* (1863-1879), he is the grandson of *Mohammed Ali*, who was known as the founder of modern Cairo. Khedive wanted to make Cairo the Egyptian version of the French capital Paris which was constructed by the French Baron *Hausmann* in that time.⁸ Hence, a modern urban plan for Cairo has been proposed to make it a "piece of Europe.":

One of the most important areas that have been subjected to urban planning is *Azbekiya* district and south *Azbekiya*. Then designing the vast street named after his grandfather, Mohammed Ali Street. In addition to that, planning the neighborhoods of *Tawfikia* (named after khedive *Tawfiq*), *Abidin* and *Ismailia*. And in the last neighbourhood, planning a large square called *Ismailia square* or the square of Khedive *Ismail* (Currently *Tahrir*) in front of the Khedive *Ismail's Bridge* (currently *Kasr El-Nile* bridge). The Square was an open area of 500 acres, with cultivated fields, gardens, and many royal palaces.⁹

With this respect, the architect *Ali Pasha Mubarak*, who oversaw the implementation of the modernization project in Cairo, said in his book, "*Reconciliation Plans for the Reconstruction and Surrounding of Tahrir Square*." : There were dunes, dust, ponds, ashes, and swamps in this area. When Khedive *Ismail* removed dunes, fill the ponds, paved all the land, planned to the streets, squares, established the sidewalks on each side, and passed through all the water pipes watering their orchards, provide drinking water, and erected lanterns to enlighten streets and houses. He entrusted to one of the British companies to work sewage drainage project. Hence, became the *Ismailia* area of delight Cairo, it attracted princes and dignitaries to live in.¹⁰

4.4.1.1 *The square construction as an act of memory*

So psychologically, it is possible to say that the square's construction itself was an act of memory, as it has been inspired by the design of the planning of Paris squares. The design of the square was meant to remind its dwellers in general of the European architecture

⁸Nezar Elsayyed, "A History of Tahrir Square."

⁹"midan altahrir maealim shahirat w 'ahdath tarikhiatan," تايخ مصر مدينتي يرمع المشهيرة و احداث تاريخية [Tahrir Square: famous landmarks and historical events], *مدى*, *تايخ مصر من اجليست إعادة تالفة الامة*, *History of Egypt in order to restore the memory of the nation*, April 25, 2011, Accessed January 22, 2017, <http://egypthistory.net/2011/>

¹⁰ Ibid.

style since khedive planned the *Tahrir Square* (*Ismailia Square* at that time) following the European architectural style in Paris. As a try to create the familiar context in Cairo (Paris of the Middle East) which might evoke the memories of his youth, where he spent a period in Paris.

Likewise, *Timothy Mitchell* stated that initially, the center had been built as a high-class residential neighborhood constructed in the European style resembling the modern capital dreamed of Khedive Ismail Pasha and formed a new local elite ¹¹

With this respect, *Elshahed* described the developments as a global face of new Cairo represent a continued cosmopolitan area due to the European style's influence of its architecture. Then the area witnessed the transformation in the early part of the twentieth century into the elite residential center combined with commercial and financial zones.¹² Afterward, the *Ismailia* district became the center of modern Cairo and redesigned to facilitate modern traffic vehicles in Cairo, and thus setting up a round square in the southern part.

4.4.1.2 *The Egyptian museum/Memory of the cosmopolitan Cairo*

The cosmopolitan nature of the area left its fingerprint on the square's buildings until today. Such as the Egyptian Museum which represents the most cultural feature in the square layout, with its neoclassic façade on the north of the square.

The neoclassical museum design proposed by the French architect *Marcel Dourgnon* who is a Beaux-Arts graduate¹³. *Dourgnon* had a different understanding of the museum building based on the concept of the Vitruvian character.¹⁴ For this reason, according to *Khaled Asfour*, *Dourgnon* won the competition, among the 80 applicants.¹⁵ That his proposal jointly met the requirements outlined in the competition programme. His architectural design

¹¹ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1991), 4, 17.

¹² Mohamed ElShahed, "Facades of Modernity: Image, Performance, and Transformation in the Egyptian Metropolis" (MA Thesis, MIT, 2007), 33-34.

¹³ Marie-Laure Crosnier Leconte, "La participation française," [The French participation], In *Concours pour le musée des Antiquités égyptiennes du Cairo 1895*, eds. Ezio Godoli & Mercedes Volait (Paris: CNRS 2010), 63-98 Cited in Khaled Asfour, "Vitruvian Character: The Case of the Egyptian Museum," *International Journal of Architectural Research. Archnet-IJAR* 8, no.3 (November 2014): 109.

¹⁴ Vitruvian character defined by Khaled Asfour that: In Vitruvius' treatise, what makes good architecture is its ability to communicate to the public particular messages that reflects the program of the building with spaces and components arranged in an orderly way. According to Vitruvius these messages when acknowledged by the public the building possess strong character.

¹⁵ About 80 architects mostly from Europe participated in the competition. More than 40 proposals presented Ancient Egyptian character, however, the jury, composed of different nationalities, not only Egyptians, all believed that none of those proposals should win the first prize (Lenconte, 2010, pp. 66, 242). The curator of the museum at the time, Gaston Maspero, explained that the character on the facades was enormously enhanced in terms of scale and solid mass. As by copying the proportions of Egyptian temples their proposals ironically became out of proportions and hence precluded their use as viable museums.

of the Egyptian Museum was simple, reminiscent of the neo-classical style, combined with Greek and Roman decorative ornaments on the façade.¹⁶ See Figures 2, 3.



Figure 2: The Egyptian Museum sketches, designed by the architect Marcel Dourgnon. The museum design based on European architectural models which provide a marvelous backdrop for Pharaonic antiquities. Source: <https://journals.openedition.org/inha/7007>

Revivalism¹⁷ in the neoclassical architecture of the Egyptian museum: was one of the powerful memory commemorate the Pharaoh's era, at the same time influenced by the western architectural styles due to the cosmopolitan nature of the district at its construction's time. It is possible to say that its façade reflects the royalty concept of Khedive Ismail's dream of the European style melded with the Ancient Egyptian civilization.

Two columns flank its main entrance in Ionic order, and two female sculptures in Greek style are personifying the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt. At the same time, ancient Egyptian figure at the top as its portal is decorated with the head of the Pharaonic mother goddess Hathor. Further, an inscription above it commemorates the opening of the Egyptian Museum by Egypt's ruler Abbas Hilmi II.¹⁸

Generally the original design of museum according to *Asfour*, is an achievement and reflection of the Vitruvian concept as it came closer to the understanding of character as a product of spatial experience about building's program and not just building's skin.¹⁹

The museum was built and opened on November 15, 1902, under the reign of *Khedive Abbas Helmi* (1894-1914). It was explicitly constructed to preserve the Egyptian antiquities. A large number of princes, ministers, and consuls of foreign countries attended the opening.



Figure 3: Egyptian museum in Tahrir Square: A colorful modern photo, to show the merging between Ancient Egyptian architectural style and the European style in its main façade. Photos source: Common domain

¹⁶ Cairoobserver, <http://cairoobserver.com/> (accessed December 03, 2018).

¹⁷ Revivalism: is the use of visual styles that consciously echo the style of a previous architectural era.

¹⁸ Mohamed Elshahed, "Egyptian Museum turns 115," *شأن حدائق* مرة, *cairoobserver*, posted November 16, 2017, Accessed January 5, 2018, <http://cairoobserver.com/post/167555825819/egyptian-museum-turns-115>

¹⁹ Khaled Asfour, "Vitruvian Character: The Case of the Egyptian Museum," *Archnet-IJAR* 8, no. 3 (November 2014): 105-116, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/297959471_Vitruvian_Character_The_Case_of_the_Egyptian_Museum

4.4.1.3 Remembering Mariette Pasha

The Egyptian museum history has always been associated with the name of *Mariette Pasha*²⁰; who was entrusted by Said Pasha, Ismail Pasha, after them Abbas Pasha to took care of recording ancient Egyptian antiquities, preserving a valuable collection of monuments in the *Bulaq* Museum, which was established in 1863. Hence, he is credited with assembling the ancient Egyptian Pharaonic artifacts and storing them in the *Bulaq* Museum. In 1891, the monuments were moved to a former royal palace, in the Giza, Cairo. Then in 1902, they were moved, to the current museum in Tahrir Square.²¹

Although he is a Frenchman, he was the first to care for the preservation of the Egyptian antiquities and protecting them from theft. He made great efforts to convince the rulers of Egypt not to give the valuable Egyptian antiquities to the consuls of foreign countries.²²

Therefore, the street opposite the museum which leads to the square of *Abdel Moneim Riad*, named after his name *Mariette Pasha Street* in commemoration of his tireless efforts to preserve the Egypt monuments.²³ See figure and figure Also, Adjacent to the museum, a memorial to the famous Egyptologists of the world is located in the garden to remember *Auguste Mariette*, surrounded by 23 busts of the famous Egyptologists. See figure 4

The Egyptian Museum and *Mariette Pasha Street*, as a northern border of *Tahrir Square*, are cultural symbols that have preserved their sanctity throughout the political conflict and events that took place in the period after its construction.



Figure 4: A memorial of *Auguste Mariette*, surrounded by 23 busts of the famous Egyptologists in the garden adjacent to the building of the museum. Source: <http://egyptophile.blogspot.com/2017/02/dans-la-cour-du-musee-du-caire-le.html>

²⁰François Auguste Ferdinand Mariette (11 February 1821 – 18 January 1881) was a French scholar, archaeologist and Egyptologist, and founder of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities (later Supreme Council of Antiquities).

²¹ "تأريخ مصر رميداللتحريمعالشهيرة و احداثتاريخيية" [Tahrir Square: famous landmarks and historical events] ,
 "تأريخ مصر من اجلللتعادةذالكرة الامة" [History of Egypt in order to restore the memory of the nation].

²² Egypt's Dar al-Adiyat (Antiquities) has become full of beautiful monuments that have traveled in exhibitions outside Egypt, including Paris. The Europeans admired it so much that the Empress Eugenie asked Ismael Pasha to leave the monuments in Paris, and Ismail would almost have accepted them if Mariette Pasha had not intervened and insisted that Ismael Pasha not accept her request, thereby saving Egypt from the loss.

²³ "تأريخ مصر رميداللتحريمعالشهيرة و احداثتاريخيية" [Tahrir Square: famous landmarks and historical events] ,
 "تأريخ مصر من اجلللتعادةذالكرة الامة" [History of Egypt in order to restore the memory of the nation].

4.4.1.4 *The square represented the Centralization*

Apart from the cosmopolitan symbolism, *Tahrir* Square witnessed some crucial political influences which generated psychosocial influences, and brought significant changes to the Egyptian society that reflected on the urban city:

At the beginning of the square's construction, and as a reflection of centralization in the rule, the square included the Egyptian army barracks, the Ministry of defense in the square. Then through history, the district included and connected with most of the sensitive and active competitive buildings; the Ministry of Interior, the Palace of *Abidin* (the Royal Headquarters) as well as the headquarters of the British High Commissioner. On the other hand, the district included the House of the Nation which represented the public's resistance at that time.

For this reason, the square specifically gained its political significance and witnessed the transformation since Cairo has been a modern capital.

Early in the period between 1879 – 1882, the political situation generated social movements which represented the power of the public: most well known the *Urabi* revolution led by the officer *Ahmed Urabi* against Khedive *Tawfiq* and the foreign intervention in Egypt.²⁴ The square carries the memory of demonstrations and Marches towards *Abdin* Palace in 1881. The leader *Ahmed Urabi* negotiated the Khedive *Tawfiq's* rejection of the public's demands. He said his famous words; we have been born free men.

4.4.1.5 *Remembering "Kasr Elnile Barracks"*

In the middle of the 19th century, Said Pasha built barracks (known as "*Kasr Elnile*" Barracks) for the army on the east bank of the Nile (where the Nile Hotel and the League of Arab States located now). Along behind these barracks, a large plaza for training the army which currently forms the area from the Egyptian Museum in the north to the governmental complex "*Mogamae Eltahrir*" in the south of the square.²⁵

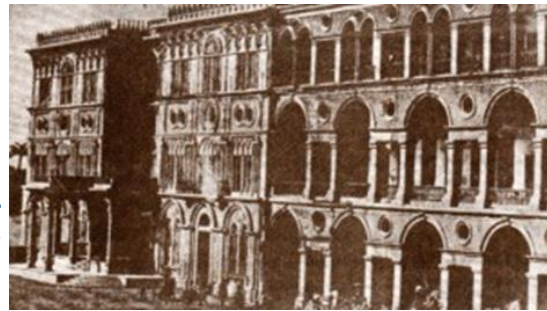
So it is possible to say that centralization of the rule in *Tahrir* makes it an address to control the whole country. Soon, *Tahrir* square witnessed the most critical political breaks in the reign of Khedive *Tawfiq*, which is the beginning of the occupation of the British army of Egypt in September 1882. It lasted about 74 years. It was one of the consequences of the weak years of the nineteenth century.

²⁴ Juan Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's 'urabi Movement*, (Cairo: American University Press, 1999).

²⁵ Khaled Fahmy, "ميدان التحرير", *Midan ElTahrir [Tahrir Square]*, <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/?s=ميدانالتحرير>, September 11, 2011.

The British had established their forces west of the *Ismailia* square. They took the barracks of the Egyptian army overlooking the Nile and the square, where they will later enjoy the eastern magic of the Egyptian museum.²⁶ Since then, the barracks and the training ground become a point of conflict between Egyptians and the British. According to historian *Khaled Fahmy*: After the opening of the Egyptian Museum in 1902, the status of the military barracks adjacent to the museum has become an insult to many. There was a rising demand in the press to the British barracks' removal.²⁷

Figure 5: The barracks of Nile's Palace: The barracks of the Egyptian army was the headquarters of the Egyptian military before the British occupation in 1882, Egyptians called it the Barracks of Nile's Palace, and then they called it the British barracks after the British invasion. They were one of the critical landmarks once existed in the square but now has been demolished. Source: <http://egyphistory.net>



Moreover, a proposal was planned by *Musa Qatawi Pasha* in 1904. Its purpose was to remove the barracks building and transform it into a residential district on both sides of wide road parallel to the Nile. However, this plan has never been done. The British barracks remained in the same site for almost another 40 years until it has been liberated in 1947, in the reign of King *Farouq*.²⁸

The occupation authorities took the barracks as a symbol of the military power they imposed on the palace and on the elected parliament. They occupied the ministry headquarters in the north of the "Nile palace bridge" entrance.

Also, the British Embassy occupied "*Dobara palace*" in the south of the square. One of the essential features of the place was its closeness to the seat of the British High Commissioner (That is almost the place of *Simon Bolivar* Square currently in Garden City) and at the same time close to *Abidine* Palace, the seat of government in Egypt at that time.²⁹

The Egyptians used to call the barracks: the barracks of Nile's Palace, after the occupation they called it the "*British Barracks*." See figures 5,6

²⁶ Suif, (2) [Cairo .. my city and our revolution (2)].

²⁷ Fahmy, " ميدان التحرير " Midan Eltahrir [Tahrir Square]. <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/?s=ميدانالتحرير>

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ [Tahrir Square: famous landmarks and historical events] ,
 [History of Egypt in order to restore the memory of the nation].



Figure 6: An Ariel view of Tahrir Square in 1930s:

1- The "Kasr El Nile" bridge.

2- The old Semiramis Hotel

3- The British Barracks

4- The plaza for training the army

5- The Egyptian Museum

Source: Fahmy, Tahrir square.

Analysed by researcher.

4.4.1.6 Remembering the 1919 revolution/ Saad Zaghloul/ the Nationalism

The British existence in *Tahrir Square* "Ismailia Square at that time" was the main reason for the 1919 revolution that demanded the independence under the leadership of *Saad Zaghloul*.³⁰ **The 1919 revolution** had brought political, social and cultural changes. Due to its political pressures, the nationalism rose to prominence. Appeared in 1924, when *Zaghloul* became the first nationalist prime minister in the reign of King Fuaad.³¹

Zaghloul's national memory as a leader of the 1919 revolution and the struggle against the British invention in Egypt, is strongly reflected in many urban spaces. After his death in 1927, *Zaghloul's* mausoleum was planned to be erected in his honor. Its construction finished a few years later in 1931. Architect *Moustapha Fahmy* designed it. It is a pharaonic style built of granite, with Arabic calligraphic engraving, and entrance flanked by two great lotus pillars, the mausoleum located across the street from *Zaghloul's* house in *Al Falki* street, which is known as "House of the Nation" (In Arabic Beit el-Umma).³² Nowadays, it is used as a museum commemorates *Zaghloul's* memory.

Even after eight years of *Zaghloul's* death, he continues as a national hero remembered by the public's collective memory; in 1935, the square witnessed the students' demonstrations demanding the return of the 1923 constitution. The demonstrations came out of Fuad I University (Cairo University), then crossed the English bridge (currently Elgalaa Bridge), the Kasr El-Nile Bridge to reach to the *Zaghloul* mausoleum of *Qasr Aini* Street but the police and the army confronted it at the end of the *Qasr al-Nil* bridge before it reached the square of

³⁰ Saad Zaghloul (1859-1927) a national leader who tried to end the British occupation of Egypt and Sudan, which had begun in 1882. He became a national spokesman for Egyptian and Sudanese self-rule, and held the post of Prime Minister in 1924. Highly respected, even by the foreign governors he opposed.

³¹ With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, nationalist struggles began to rise to prominence. In 1922, King Fuaad became the first modern king of Egypt.

³² Beit Al-Umma [The House of the Nation] is a symbol of Egypt's political identity.

Khedive *Ismail (Tahrir)*. The demonstrations lasted for two weeks and ended with the re-establishment of the 1923 constitution.³³

In this social context, the rise of a strong nationalist current between 1930 and 1952, brought changes which acquire a growing nationalist character to urban spaces especially the buildings around *Tahrir Square* which caused change in the area's identity, towards a more commercial zones, which was different from the former residential and leisure identity of the neighbourhood.³⁴

In addition to that, a memorial located on the ax of "*Kasr El Nile Bridge*." It is a statue which was established during the reign of King *Farouq*, in 1938. Justice Minister *Ahmed Khashaba* Pasha unveiled the statue with a crowd.

Although 11 years have passed since *Zaghloul's* death, many citizens had not forgotten the man who had bravely opposed against the occupation. Still fresh in public's mind how *Zaghloul* had instigated to a general strike in 1919 which brought the nation to set off Egypt's long struggle for independence.³⁵

Figure 7: a-Saad Zaghloul Statue in Kasr El Nile Square.

Source:

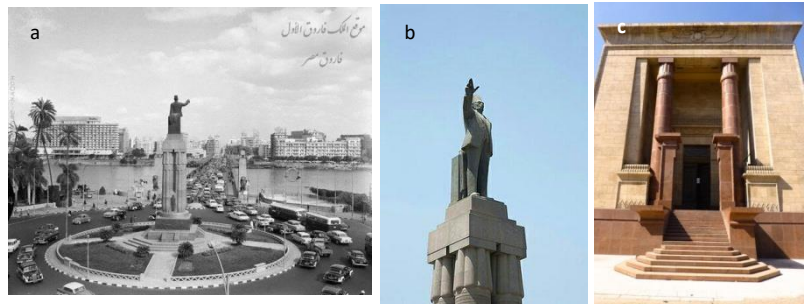
https://www.faroukmisr.net/farouk_misr.htm

b- Egypt's nationalist leader *Saad Zaghloul* Pasha Statue by the sculptor *Mahmoud Mokhtar* (1891-1934)

Source: <https://www.pinterest.com>

c- The mausoleum of *Saad Zaghloul* .

Source:<http://english.ahram.org>



Perhaps, the statue stands on an island which had still considered a virtual British enclave at that time. More importantly, it faced the British barracks (*Kasr el Nil* barracks) across the Nile where *Zaghloul* had once been a prisoner. Despite the efforts of *Zaghloul* and his successors, the British were still maintained military bases in Egypt. Here again was a chance to send a political message to the colonial powers.³⁶ See figure 7

*Saad Zaghloul's*³⁷ Legacy extended to be part of the cultural importance of *El Tahrir*. Since he contributed to the foundation stone for the establishment of the Egyptian University in the former Palace of *Khawaja Ganakles*) with *Mohamed Abdo*, *Mohamed Farid*, and

³³ [Tahrir Square: famous landmarks and historical events] ,
 لتأريخ مصر رميدي اللاتج يدمع الة شهر هيرة و احداث اري عية " *History of Egypt in order to restore the memory of the nation*].

³⁴ Aya Nassar, "The Symbolism Of *Tahrir Square*," *Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies*, Doha, (May 2011), Accessed October 8, 2018, https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/PoliticalStudies/Pages/The_Symbolism_of_Tahrir_Square.aspx

³⁵ Samir Raafat, " Saad Zaghloul Pasha," *Cairo Times*, June 21, 2001, <http://egy.com/zamalek/01-06-21.php>

³⁶ Ibid. Noteworthy that the statue had done by the Egyptian sculptor *Mahmoud Mokhtar*. An Italian contractor, *signor A. Vecchia*, was responsible for the statue's base by using beautiful *Aswan granite* stone.

³⁷ He was able to hold several important positions at that time. He was appointed as a judge at the Court of Appeal in the late 19th century. He was appointed Minister of Knowledge in 1906. He was able to put a clear mark on the educational process in Egypt.

Qasim Amin.³⁸ The University was founded by the Egyptian National movement, by subscribing in the year 1908. Later, the building was used as the American University (currently the old Building of the AUC) in the south of the square. Both of the American University building with its Islamic style and the surrounded universal commercial area could be described that they will be later the best matching of the President Sadat's open economic minded ideas with the preservation of the national identity in the Republic era.

4.4.1.7 The civic vision of the square

When successive governments failed to force the British to withdraw, the political struggle returned on 21 February 1946. It is known as the "Day of Evacuation" to force the British to evacuate the Nile Valley completely. It has been stated that the demonstrations started from *Shubra El-Kheima* and then passed through Giza. It was natural to end up in front of the barracks where the occupation forces met with extreme brutality. The army vehicles left the barracks and trampled on the demonstrators. In a similar scene to the events of the events on 9 October 2011, many were wounded.³⁹

After the British vacated the barracks in March 1947, in the reign of King Farouk, there was a growing debate about the need of demolishing it and re-plan the square to represent a symbol of cultural-social, political, and official life. Derived from this idea, schematic design for redeveloping the square was presented by *Mahmoud Zulfikar Bey*: A new parliament building will replace the barracks. Moreover, the Prime Minister's Office and the Cairo Municipality will be relocated to the new square on the ax of Qasr Elnile Bridge. Other museums such as Arab Antiquities Museum to be built next to the Egyptian museum. Two statues: for *Khedive Ismail*, and *king Foaad*. (See figure 8) However, this civic vision of the square has been neglected; another plan has been done after the 52's revolution.⁴⁰

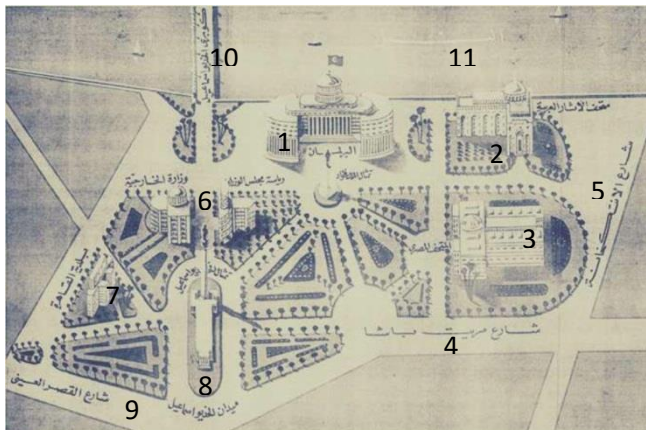


Figure 8: The proposal of redeveloping Tahrir square in 1947, designed by Mahmoud Zulfikar Bey. It includes:

- 1- A new parliament building replaced the Barracks, the statue of King Foaad in front of it.
- 2- Arab Antiquities Museum.
- 3- The Egyptian Museum.
- 4- Mariette Pasha street.
- 5- Alaintikkhana Street
- 6- The Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 7- Cairo Municipality
- 8- Khedive Ismail square, with a statue for him in the middle.
- 9- El Qasr Elaini Street
- 10- Khedive Ismail Bridge.
- 11- The Nile. Source: The design published in April 4, 1947, *Al-Musawwar*, issue 1173, p3.

³⁸ Sarah Hosam El Din, " في ذكرى رحيلزعيم الأممعزغزلول فحلل وزعيم " [In the memory of the Nation Leader: Saad Zaghloul is a fighter and leader], *Al wafd*, August 21, 2014, <https://alwafd.news>

³⁹ Fahmy, " ميدانالتحرير " Midan Eltahrir [Tahrir Square]. <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/?s=ميدانالتحرير>

⁴⁰ Ibid.

The following table (table 1) provides reading of memory's representation, its actor (agent of change) and analysis of the (PPS.) influences that took place in Monarchy Era 1865: 1952. interpreted with the reflection of the inherited concepts; Rulers' centralization and power of public.

Table 1: Reading Tahrir Square in Monarchy Era: Tracing the Memory influenced by Political psychosocial cultural key-events and the reflection of the inherited concepts

Historical phases (Political turns)	Representation of Memory	The memory actor (agent of change)	The memory influences: Political psychosocial cultural key-events	Reflection of the inherited concepts: Centralization/ power of public
Monarchy Era 1865 : 1952	The square construction itself	Khedive Ismail	Psychologically, it was an act of memory to commemorate the planning of Paris squares (where Khedive Ismail spent the time of his youth there) That turned social life out; from the 19th-century working class into forming a new local elite community.	Centralization in Rule
	The Egyptian Museum facade	The power elites	Manipulated the design of the Egyptian museum facade styles, that probably supported by the existence of the powerful European figures. The facade commemorates the Pharaoh's era, at the same time influenced by the western architectural styles due to the cosmopolitan nature of the district at its construction's time.	To strength the power of European elites as part of the Egyptian society.
	Mariette Pasha Street – his memorial	The power elites	To commemorate the French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette and his efforts to preserve the Egypt monuments. The street and the memorial still the same until current day, despite the fact that most streets in the area have been changed after the monarchy Era.	The appreciation of the public to the effort of Auguste Mariette until now despite he was a foreigner.
	"Thaknat Qasr Elnile" – governmental buildings	Khedive Said (The successor of Khedive Ismail)	Emphasized the square political significance: as politically since then controlling Tahrir square meant controlling the country.	Centralization in rule:
	The house of the nation – Saad Zaghloul mausoleum – Zaghloul Statue	Saad Zaghloul Family and Followers	Commemorate the national leader of the 1919 revolution "Saad Zaghloul" – the nationalist current that brought changes which acquire a growing nationalist character to urban spaces especially the buildings around Tahrir Square.	the rise of a strong nationalist current between 1930 and 1952
	The Egyptian University (the former Palace of Khawaja Ganakles)	the Egyptian National movement	Represent the memory of the university as cultural feature in south of Tahrir square in 1908.	The growing public culture
	Places hold Ismail Pasha's name (currently all renamed)	The successors of khedive Ismail	The traces of his memory pointed out that Ismail pasha's Name was all over the modern Cairo, for instance: Ismailia square, The Khedive Ismail Bridge, and Ismail Palace. Hence, the years before 1952 witnessed increase anger towards buildings associated with Ismail Pasha's name.	Centralization rejected by Public

4.4.2 *Tahrir Square between 1952 until 2011, during the Republic of Egypt*

The years prior to the 1952 revolution, the political struggle returned on November 14, 1951, following the abolition of the Treaty of Egyptian-British friendship known as the Treaty of 1936. The national forces were united in calling for millionaire demonstrations that came out, which declares the return of the armed struggle against the British presence in the Canal area. *See figure 9.*

The demonstrators gathered in the Khedive Ismail Square, then moved to *Sulaiman Pasha Street* (currently *Talaat Harb*) and *Fouad Street* (currently *26 July*) until they reached *Abdin Square* where the king's palace.



Figure 9: *Al-Ahram Newspaper*, [Millions' demonstrations in 1951; men, women, religion men, political parties, and society's authorities demonstrate against the British and are walking towards the King's Palace].

Source: <http://egypthistory.net>

Finally, what paved the way to the end of the monarchy era is the main political event of the Cairo fire: It happened in the downtown area, targeting the architectural symbols of the colonial regime, following the killing of Egyptian police officers by British troops on January 25, 1952.⁴¹ It has been argued that the 1952 fire of Cairo was a prelude to the military coup led by *Gamal Abdel Nasser* on July 23.

Mohammad al-Shahed pointed out that the Cairo fire was the end of the monarchy's era and was the sparkle of the revolution in 1952 against the colonial architecture. Psychologically and socially, the colonial architecture was seen as a symbol of distraction from the nationalist feelings.⁴²

Similarly, *Aya Nassar* stated that the revolution was linked to resentment against the Ismailia neighborhood, where the revolutionaries burned down the occupation's symbols. However, there is no accurate information about who began the Cairo fire of 1952.⁴³ The same like, there is no accurate information about who started the fire at the headquarters building of the National Democratic Party, during the 25 January 2011 revolution.

⁴¹ Khaled Adham, "Cairo's Urban Déjà vu: Globalization and Urban Fantasies", in *Planning Middle Eastern Cities: An Urban Kaleidoscope in a Globalizing World*, ed. Yasser El Sheshtawy, (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 163. Cited in Nassar, "The Symbolism Of Tahrir Square."

⁴² Mohamed ElShahed, "Facades of Modernity: Image, Performance, and Transformation in the Egyptian Metropolis" (MA Thesis, MIT, 2007), 41.

⁴³ Nassar, "The Symbolism Of Tahrir Square."

The years before 1952 saw increase anger towards buildings associated with Ismail Pasha's name. Despite the fact, that the construction of the square completed by the British mandate since he was exiled, the traces of his memory he had left on the square was quite clear. As pointed out by *Samir Raafat*, that *Ismail pasha's* Name was all over the modern Cairo, for instance: *Ismailia* square, *The Khedive Ismail* Bridge, and *Ismail* Palace.⁴⁴

The rule of the family of Muhamed Ali Pasha came to an end with the revolution of 23 July 1952, which established the Republic of Egypt, under the reign of president *Muhammad Naguib* (1952-1954), then *Gamal Abdel Nasser* (1954-until his death 1970), *Muhammad Anwar Al-Sadat* (1970- until his Assassination 1981), *Muhammad Hosni Mubarak* (1981- until his resignation in 2011), *Mohamed Morsi* (2012- until his deposed in July 2013), *Mohamed Abd El Fattah El Sisi* (2013- until now)⁴⁵

4.4.2.1 *The empty base in the middle of the square: Remembering the lost Monarchy*

The targeted memory of the Egyptians was an important actor in Farouk's political power network. Noteworthy that Khedive Ismail (1863-1879) is the one who first thought of public sculptures as a means to maintain political power like in the west (Paris 1867). He decided to commission an equestrian statue of his grandfather, Mohammad Ali Pasha,⁴⁶ to target the memory of the Egyptians by reminding the community for his dynastic greatness and his grandfather as the founder of Modern Egypt. A bronze statue was erected in the middle of *Manshiyya* Square in Alexandria in 1871. Since the statue was a first of its kind in an Islamic country, it needed a special Fatwa (a religious opinion issued by a chief Islamic scholar) to be erected.⁴⁷

Generally in Psychological terms, during the monarchy, the constructions of memory were such as an act of centralization to manipulate the masses memory and emphasize the extended pride of *Muhammed Ali* Pasha family. For instance, regardless the public increase anger at the end of the monarchy, King *Farouk* ordered the construction of a statue of *Khedive Ismail* as an act of commemorating his great-grandfather, to be placed on the base in the middle of the square.

In the middle of *Tahrir* square remained the empty base which embodied the memory of the lost monarchy, (*See figure 10*) since in a paradoxical irony, the statue of the Khedive

⁴⁴ Samir Raafat, "Midan Al-Tahrir," *Cairo Times*, December 10, 1998, <http://www.egy.com/landmarks/98-12-10.php>.

⁴⁵ Hussein Bassir, "Egypt, Pharaohs, Kings, Presidents," *Histories of Nations*, ed. Peter Furado, (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2012), 21.

⁴⁶ K., Kreiser, "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt," *Muqarna: annual of the visual culture of Islamic world*, XIV, (1997): 106 Bibliography pp(103-117)

⁴⁷ Mohamed Adel Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban space and Collective memory" (PhD thesis: Cairo University, Giza, 2012), 160.

Ismail - King Farouk's grandfather - arrived in Egypt a few weeks after the 1952 revolution and it was never erected on its base. The empty base symbol -the trace of the lost monarchy in Egypt - was a landmark left by *Nasser* regime without touching it until the era of President *Anwar Sadat*, establishing the first metro station in Cairo, which was named after *Sadat* during the Mubarak era. The southern area of the square was also called *Sadat*. However, Cairo's residents never refer to the square by *Sadat* name; they used it only on the metro station.⁴⁸

Figure 10: *Tahrir Square* in the early 1960s; left, the Cairo Tower, in front of it located the main center of the Arab League, which is next to the former Hilton Hotel, that currently being renovated by its new name the Ritz-Carlton. Right, Arab Socialist Union building which later became the headquarters of the National Democratic Party (Hosni Mubarak Party NDP). Then at the right; the Egyptian Museum. The square has a base with no statue, in the middle of a green field as a symbol of the vanished monarchy. Source:<http://www.midanmasr.com/printerfriendly.aspx?ArticleID=146>



4.4.2.2 *The 52' regime military celebration/emphasizes power/Manipulate the public perception*

The transformation of 1952 has been officially known as a "52 revolution". On the other hand, some researchers considered it as a military coup as historian *Khaled Fahmy*, Historian *Nezar Elsayed*, who stated that the military coup led by an army officer *Gamal Abdel Nasser* on July 23 transformed Egypt from a kingdom into a republic.⁴⁹

In the beginning, after the 1952 Revolution, the square was chosen to be the center of the new regime in Cairo. As a commemoration of the 52 revolution, military parades have taken place in *Ismailia Square*, in October 1952.

Then six months later in January 1953, a "festival of Revolution" held in celebration of what the "52 revolution's" supporters refer to as "the blessed movement". The celebration was in the plaza which once was for training the army — a military parade held to announce the new governmental approach of canceling the political parties and forming the "*Tahrir board*" [liberation board] organization, a statement issued by *Mohammed Najib*.⁵⁰

Fahmy stated that the military could not control the human masses and the police forces had to protect *Mohammed Najib* until he was safely out of the square. Therefore, the military decided to transfer their celebrations the following year to *Abdeen Square* (currently the *Gomhoria square* [Square of the Republic]. From then on, the political authorities favored the

⁴⁸ Elsayed, "History of Tahrir Square".

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Fahmy, "ميدان التحرير" Midan Eltahrir [Tahrir Square]. <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/?s=ميدانالتحرير>

use of *Abdeen* Square as a place for the masses of Egyptians. From there Nasser addressed millions on many occasions, and from there Sadat also appeared to his followers in 1977.⁵¹

Politically, Egypt has operated under several constitutions; first as a monarchy then after 1952 transition to a republic, faced challenges: Where the liberal 1923 constitution⁵² was permanently abolished after the revolution in 1952. The new ruling led by *Abd ElNasser* abolished all political parties, which had operated during the monarchy rule with relative freedom. *Abd Elnasser* government declared the Republic of Egypt in 1953, and a new constitution was introduced in 1956 in which women were granted the franchise, perhaps as a gaining the women community support for the new regime.⁵³

Furthermore, *Abd Elnasser* regime formed the National Union in 1957 to replace the abolished political parties. From 1962 the Arab Socialist Union (*ASU*)—which dominated political life in Egypt for the next 15 years. An interim constitution was promulgated in 1964.⁵⁴

4.4.2.3 *Renaming the square: Ismailia square turned to Tahrir [Liberation] square*

Nasser's regime manipulated the public national memory for emphasizing his power. A new national narrative was adapted by media, the curricula of the education to direct the public perception to gradual amnesia of the monarchy era with all its symbols including the last king of Egypt and Sudan "King Farouk." It has been stated that Farouk's images were even censored from the pre-revolution movie scenes.⁵⁵

The policy has reflected on the urban city and *Tahrir* Square: The revolution of 1952 put its fingerprint on the square, by changing its name to "*Tahrir*"; which means in English 'liberation' after getting rid of the Royalty Era and evacuation of the British occupation.⁵⁶

Even before the "52 Revolution" which transformed Egypt from a constitutional monarchy into an autocratic republic, the square was well known as *Tahrir* since the 20s, after the revolution of 1919. However, officially it was only renamed in 1955 by a presidential decree issued by *Abdel Nasser* to commemorate the independence of Egypt and the departure of the British.⁵⁷ After signing the evacuation treaty in 1954.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² During the monarchy era, the liberal 1923 constitution was promulgated which laid the groundwork of political and cultural society for modern Egypt, declaring it an independent sovereign Islamic state with Arabic as its language

⁵³ Raymond William Baker, Donald P. Little and others, "Egypt - Government and Society," Encyclopædia Britannica, last modified November 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Egypt/Government-and-society> (accessed January 05, 2018).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban space and Collective memory", 170.

⁵⁶ Raafat, "Midan Al-Tahrir."

⁵⁷ Panayiotis J. Vatikiotis, *The Middle East: From the End of Empire to the End of the Cold War*, (New York: Routledge, 1997), 194.

It is believed that the changing of *Ismailia* Square name to "*Tahrir*" which means liberation in English was officially announced that it became the symbol of justice, liberation and the power of the public.

On the other hand, the renaming of the streets and squares was another act of President *Abdel Nasser* regime as the only ruler of Egypt and to emphasize his power, that appeared by his priorities in the demolishment of his ancestors' memory, according to *Elshahed* about fifteen streets and squares were renamed in 1954.⁵⁸

4.4.2.4 "*British Barracks*" between remembering and forgetting

The civic vision of the King *Farouk* reign for the square has been neglected, after the 52 revolution. Although the Barracks was demolished in 1953, *Abd ElNasser* government ignored the idea of transferring the parliament building to consolidate democratic practice or build museums to educate the citizens.

Likewise to the ancients' acts of centralization; they were demolishing and erasing the national memory of their ancestors, in 1952, the demolishing of British barracks were a priority of *Abdel Nasser's* regime. During the early 1960s, it was replaced by an international hotel to attract the tourists (Nile Hilton Hotel) and construction of the main headquarters of the League of the Arab States building which was designed by the Egyptian Architect *Mahmoud Riad*.

It has been stated that the Arab League was established in 1945 under the authority of *Mahmoud Fahmi Al-Naqrashi*. It originally was located in the *Al Bustan* Palace in *Yousif Al-Jindi* Street near the square. It moved to the new building in *Tahrir* Square in March 1960. The new building considered as a new landmark of the skyline of *Tahrir* Square. See Figure 10

However, the Arab League building has not replaced the memory of the British Barracks (which it was built on its ruins). Despite this act of erasing the memory of British occupation by demolishment of the "British Barracks," "*The Barracks*" still engraved in the collective memory of the Egyptian society as it occupied the place for about a century. Although there is no physical reminder, it is remembered especially by the generation who witnessed this period.

⁵⁸ ElShahed, "Facades of Modernity: Image, Performance, and Transformation in the Egyptian Metropolis", 43. Cited in Nassar, "The Symbolism Of Tahrir Square."

4.4.2.5 Remembering the Arab Socialist Union building/centralization

Further, *Abdel Nasser* completed the development of the city center roads and squares, including *El Tahrir*. Next to the Hilton hotel, he established a building that supposed to be the local council of Cairo, but it became the headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union of *Abdel Nasser* (the only party that ruled most of Egypt at that time) which was subsequently inherited by the National Democratic Party (NDP).⁵⁹

For almost thirty years, until 2011 the National Democratic Party (NDP), which formed by President. *Anwar el-Sādāt* in 1978, continued in the reign of *Mubarak*, served as the official government party and held almost all the seats in the People's Assembly until *Mubārak's* resignation in 2011, following that, the NDP was dissolved. Various political groups, including those who had previously been banned, began to organize political parties and seek official recognition.⁶⁰

4.4.2.6 The Tahrir Complex (*Mogamae Eltahrir*)/Centralization

Abd elNasser's centralization in the rule influenced the management of the country, further reflected on the Urbanism: All government administration was highly centralized until the 1960s, then a system of decentralizing administration was established to promote more citizen participation at the local level. Although that establishing local councils' purpose was to exercise broad legislative powers, the central government highly controlled them.⁶¹

That Political and governmental centralization reflected on the social life and the Tahrir square:

Throughout history, the square has always represented the power of public space. It has been stated that the word "square" itself or in Arabic "ميدان" (*Meedan*) carries many meanings of civil, public and the convergence of the daily work and struggle. The best evidence is the *Tahrir Complex (Mogamae Eltahrir)* which is considered the second most important landmark of the Square after the Egyptian museum. It is located south of *Tahrir* square, is a substantial architectural building built by the Egyptian government in 1952 to localize the governmental authorities in it.

Noteworthy that the government began its construction in 1951 and was completed in 1952. When the government decided to focus all government departments that deal directly

⁵⁹ Baker, Donald P. Little and others, "Egypt - Government and Society," Encyclopædia Britannica.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Abu Zeid Rajeh, "iidarat masr bayn almarkaziat altaqliidiat wallamrkzyt almueasira," إدارة مصر بين المركزية والتقليدية والعالم المعاصرة [Egypt's management between traditional centralism and contemporary decentralization], *Midan Masr*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2017, <http://www.midanmasr.com/article.aspx?articleID=228>
Note: Rajeh is a former head of the Urban Planning Commission in Egypt.

with the citizen in one administrative building. At its construction time, is considered a contemporary architecture icon. It was the most significant administrative building. It is 4500 square meters and 55 meters high. It has 1350 rooms on 14 floors. It was called the Government Complex and changed its name after the 52nd revolution to the Liberation Complex.⁶² See figure 11.

Probably, “*El Mogamea*” the *Tahrir* administrative office complex in Cairo reflects *Abd Elnasser's* ideas about centralism and the one substantial executive place for the whole country. That central thought still affects the Egyptians until now. Even the farthest residents in other Egyptian cities have to go to this building when they need to issue any official documents in different situations in their lives.

4.4.2.7 *Omar Makram's Mosque; the religion influence /power of the public*

Next to the complex, *Omar Makram's* mosque is located in the south border of *Tahrir* square. The mosque replaced the former mosque “*Elabeet*”. It designed by the Italian architect *Mario Roci* in 1958. The Mosque’s external plaza was turned to a car parking or delegations of mourners, as the mosque has become the most popular for consolation between society's symbol, such as the funerals of politicians *Ahmad Lutfi ElSayed Pasha* 1963, *Mustafa al-Nahas* 1965, and the singer *Umm Kulthum* 1975. See figure 11

As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, *Sheikh Omar Makram* was the most popular Commander against *Napoleon's* campaign in Egypt in 1798, against Fraser campaign in Egypt in 1807, as well as against *Muhammad Ali Pasha* who imposed high taxes. *Omar Makram* died in the exile, but his statue in the plaza, in front of the mosque, was part of the 25th revolution as a convergence point to the protestors. The *Sheikh* became a source of inspiration, and though he died 200 years ago, still his legacy is alive.



Figure 11: Images of Mogamea Eltahrir and Umar Makram's Mosque and Statue a-*El Mogamea* in *Tahrir* square during the 1960s, in front of it the empty base in the middle of the square, as a symbol of the lost Monarchy. <http://forum.arabictrader.com>
Omar Makram mosque next to *El Mogamea* in the south border of *Tahrir* square during the 2000s. <http://capl.washjeff.edu/6/1/385.jpg>
 b- *Omar Makram* statue in front of the mosque. It was a convergence point to the protestors during the 25th revolution of 2011. Photos source: www.wikipedia.org

⁶² [Tahrir Square: famous landmarks and historical events] ,
 [تأريخ مصر رميداللتج يرمخالش هيرة و احداثاري غية"⁶² ،
 [History of Egypt in order to restore the memory of the nation].
 من اجل بيت عاده ذاكرة المة

4.4.2.8 *The lost public green garden/ represents the Egyptians' struggle against the governmental authorities*

Regarding the social influences, gradually, since the 1952 revolution, downtown lost its cosmopolitan population, after the confiscation of property of the foreign residents. Consequently, wealthy Egyptian families began their mass departure from the neighborhood, moving to other luxurious areas. When the development of the district was started, downtown became like today's characteristics as a densely populated area by a lower middle class, with congested traffic and varied commercial activities. In the late 1970s, the square became a vast traffic circle around which the government buildings were located.⁶³

According to *Kafafy*, in the past, there was a large garden used for the public as a recreational area next to the museum. In the mid-1980s, the garden was transformed into a large parking lot to serve the touristic buses visiting the Museum. Hence, that has removed the essential public green space in the district. *See figure 12*

At this point of the republic, *Tahrir* is a central symbol of power and was also the symbol of a government's carelessness of the citizens' quality of life. As it is well known, the Republic policy (especially during the Mubarak regime) is the garden's closure to the public because it is thought to discourage public gatherings.⁶⁴ On the other hand, it has been claimed that the garden's closure to keep the cleanness of the public spaces.

With this respect, historian *Fahmy* argued that the history of *Tahrir* Square is a history of a place where the Egyptians struggle with the authorities that govern them. Over many stages, the Egyptians succeeded in imposing their control over this place. They forced the British occupation forces to evacuate it. They thwarted the attempt of the post 52 regime to seize him. They went down to the square to express their will by many demonstrations. The authorities responded by gradually reducing the places where people could gather, erecting buffer islands that restrict human movement and turning the center of the square into a car park.⁶⁵

Despite all of the continuous actions of providing a feeling of not belonging to the square. As emphasized by the writer *Ahdaf Sweif* that in that exact space grew the Egyptians' most hopeful demand, precisely over the past four decades, since 1972. Over the years, *El Tahrir* was the focal site for many demonstrations; the Egyptian Bread Riots in 1977, and the March 2003 protest against the War in Iraq. *Tahrir* became the nation's destination to deliver

⁶³ Kafafy, "The Dynamic Influence of Symbolism and Meaning in Urban Design," 3.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Fahmy, "ميدان التحرير" Midan Eltahrir [Tahrir Square]. <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/?s=ميدانالتحرير>

their protesting voices. Once again, the square became a symbol for the 21-century Egyptian democracy demonstrations.⁶⁶

Figure 12: Egyptian Museum, in Tahrir Square in circa the 1940s. It is worth mentioning that there was a large garden used for the public as a recreational area in front of the museum. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



4.4.2.9 Renaming places and streets; tracing the memory of the major political events

By omitting the names related to Mohamed Ali's dynasty, and the Monarchy era, its memory is disrupted, while the new names maintain the July regime's narrative, linking itself to meanings as "Liberation" and to national historical figures, and critical events.

The major political events, for instance, according to historian *Hussein Bassir*, the defeat of 1967 (at the hands of Israel on 5 June 1967) was the result of the poor management of *Abdel Nasser* Regime. Psychologically, he explained that the defeat caused a deep fissure in the Egyptian and Arab personality. And that severe depression engulfed the whole country. The defeat was the beginning of the end of Nasser's reign who died a few years later in 1970.

It has been argued that the victory of 6 October 1973 was unprecedented, and washed away the shame of the defeat, restored the territory that has been lost (The land of Sinai). The victory was in the reign of President Sadat, who described the victory as "one of the greatest days in history." Sadat is considered the hero of this achievement, and well known as Egypt's Pharaoh.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, in the 8th anniversary of the 73 victory in 1981, Sadat was assassinated because of his visit to Israel, and his subsequent signing of "Peace Agreement," which caused anger for many Egyptians.⁶⁸

At this point, a question imposes itself, Do the 73 victory really erased the memory of the 67 defeat, which not to be represented by any physical reminder in the whole country urban spaces? Is it a suitable mean to overcome the past by merely ignoring the defeat?

The reading of the area surrounding Tahrir Square is not without the memory of the major political events witnessed in the Republic of Egypt. Such as the 26 July the nationalism of Suez Canal, and the victory of 1973 which reflected on the built environment. Where

⁶⁶ Suif, (قراة .. هويتى وشيونا (2)].

⁶⁷ Bassir, "Egypt, Pharaohs, Kings, Presidents," *Histories of Nations*, 22, 23.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

according to Dr. Barsalou, that besides all the abundant remains of Coptic, Pharaonic, Hellenic and Islamic cultures as well, the Egypt history is inescapable and that tourists are reminded of the contemporary past. When heading downtown from the Cairo airport, they pass the triumphant of the October 1973 War Panorama, further the numerous place names which refer to president Sadat, and national dates such as 26th of July Street, the 6th of October Bridge which is in the north border of Tahrir square. Further, the commemoration of persons like Talaat Harb Square, and events raised to iconic status by ruling regimes during the Republic.⁶⁹

However, the memory of the 67 defeat has been totally ignored within the city urban fabric. It is believed that the historical memory associated with the 1967 defeat has not unveiled yet, according to the historian professor *Fahmy* that specifically the documents dated post the 1952-revolution is problematic and not clear, it has based on undocumented account competing against another one according to historian Yoav Di-Capua.⁷⁰

4.4.2.10 *Simon Bolivar Statue: remembering convergence of revolutionary ideas*

Despite of the unclear historical memory, and that the Egyptian state controlled the access to information, and abolished all political parties since the 1952 revolution, it has been stated that in the 1960s and 1970s, propaganda of freedom ideas have highly theoretically raised and that there was an apparent convergence of revolutionary ideas between Egypt and South American countries.

As in the 1970s, a statue for the Latin American Liberator Simon Bolivar⁷¹ was erected in a location between the two streets of Britain embassy and the American embassy in the south of the square, in front of the embassies and through the Nationalizing movement, the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was resettled in the Princess *Niamat* Kamal Palace. This statue was placed in a belief and respect for those revolutionary ideas. It is believed that, the location of Bolivar Statue conveyed a political message.

According to the archaeologist *Mohammed Osman*: The original name of the square and street of Simon Bolivar is "*Prince Ibrahim Elhami Ibn Khedive Abbas I son of Toson bin Mohammed Ali Pasha Grand.*" *Osman* pointed out that the *Simon Bolivar Statue* is a gift

⁶⁹ Judy Barsalou, "Post-Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization," *Middle East Policy Council*, XIX, no. 2, (last modified 2017), accessed December 1, 2017, <http://www.mepec.org/post-mubarak-egypt-history-collective-memory-and-memorialization>

⁷⁰Yoav Di-Capua, *Gatekeepers of the Arab Past: Historians and History Writing in 20th Century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 327. Yoav Di-Capua, "Egypt's Fight for Historical Memory," *Al Jazeera*, February 21, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/02/2011218142638785949.ht> Cited in Barsalou, Post- Mubarak Egypt, 5.

⁷¹ Simon Bolivar is a revolutionary and political leader born in Caracas, Venezuela, and Latin American republics owe him independence from Spanish rule. He liberated Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

from the Venezuelan government which pointing to the bonds of friendship between Egypt and Venezuela by retaining Venezuela's most significant national hero in the heart of Cairo, that it opened during the reign of President *Sadat* on 11 February 1979.⁷²

4.4.2.11 *The shades of narratives*

So far, more than 60 years have passed after the 52 revolution; there are many shades of narratives based on different opinions: some Egyptians have nostalgia to the bright side of the monarchic era. They are proud of it in many aspects; powerful economy, and cultural openness, regardless of the tide freedom of the political life at this time because of the intervention of the British.

Others are supporting the 52 revolution, considering it a beginning of the history; it has been stated that some are tending to worship Nasser, in a very similar perspective of the inherited concept of "Divine the Pharaoh." However, there was always a disagreement between the Nasser's followers and the supporters of *Sadat*, because *Sadat* had discarded the model of the single-party socialist state, and because of his political openness and liberalization approach of the economy. A third group viewed that both of El Nasser and *Sadat* supporters are kept silent about the injustice by the revolutionaries who have taken the properties of many rich people. They demand the public to abandon the political and constitutional rights in exchange for granting some economic and social rights.

Ironically and although all revolutionary ideas during the Republic, it might not be possible to say that Egyptians lived in a democratic Republic. Since only in 2005, Egypt held its first presidential election (it was a theoretical election) in which candidates vied and which was conducted by popular vote. Prior and to that time, a single candidate (President *Mubarak*) had been chosen by the legislature and then confirmed by national referendum.⁷³ So *Mubarak* has ruled Egypt for nearly thirty years (1981-2011). A rumor has been spread that he intends to hand over the ruling to his son *Gamal Mubarak*, which has caused resentment among many members of Egyptian society, this was one of the reasons for the January 25 revolution.

The following table (table 2) provides reading of memory's representation, its actor (agent of change) and analysis of the (PPS.) influences that took place in *Tahrir* Square in Republic Era 1952: 2011 interpreted with the reflection of the inherited concepts; Rulers' centralization and power of public.

⁷² "simun bulifar ... 'ayqunt alhuriyat bialeasimat almisria," أيقون بوليفار ... The icon of freedom in the Egyptian capital], *Arab* 48, last modified: June 14, 2016, accessed March 14, 2018, <https://www.arab48.com>

⁷³ Raymond William Baker, Donald P. Little and others, "Egypt - Government and Society."

Table 2: Reading *Tahrir* Square in Republic of Egypt: Tracing the Memory influenced by Political psychosocial cultural key-events and the reflection of the inherited concepts

Historical phases (Political turns)	Representation of Memory	Memory Actor (agent of change)	The memory influences: Political psychosocial cultural key-events	Reflection of the inherited concepts: Centralization/ power of public
Republic Era 1952 : 2011	The empty base symbol		Left a landmark the empty base symbol in the middle of the square reflects the trace of the lost monarchy in Egypt- the statue of the Khedive Ismail arrived in Egypt a few weeks after the 1952 revolution - was never erected on its base.	announced himself as the only power in Egypt
	Renaming Ismailia Square		The official changing of Ismailia Square name to Tahrir Square in 1955 (which means liberation in English) - To commemorate the independence of Egypt and the departure of the British.	Elnasser regime's national narrative linked itself to meanings as "Liberation"
	The British barracks	Abd Elnasser regime	Demolishing the British Barracks were a priority- ignored the idea of transferring the parliament building to consolidate democratic practice or build museums to educate the citizens- The plaza of training the army used in a military celebration. That is all led to a transformation of the morphological, and intangible aspect of the square.	Centralization targeted the Egyptian's memory to emphasize the new regime power. A political message to the former rulers.
	The National Union building in 1957		Permanently abolished the liberal 1923 constitution and all political parties after the revolution in 1952 - replaced the Barracks by building the national union building, was later the headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) in 1962.	linked itself to the new narrative of the "Arab Union"
	Mogamea Eltahrir		All government administration was highly centralized -a huge administrative building- 4500 square meters and 55 meters high- 1350 rooms on 14 floors - It was called the Government Complex and changed its name after the 52nd revolution to Mogamea Eltahrir [Liberation Complex] .	Political and governmental centralization reflected on social life -Tahrir square
	Omar Makram's mosque	Makram's Family	Represents the relation between the religion and the society's symbols; it has become the most popular for consolation between people in business and politicians.	Power of Public – the importance of religion
	The square as a vast traffic circle	The July regime (Nasser, and Post-Nasser Regimes)	Caused the mass departure of wealthy due to the confiscation of property of the foreign residents - downtown lost its cosmopolitan population - became like today's characteristics as a densely populated area by a lower middle class, with congested traffic and varied commercial activities.	Centralization, merged with new liberalization - economic openness approach presented by Sadat
	The public green space		The garden was transformed into a large parking lot for tourist buses visiting the Museum- the garden's closure to the public to discourage public gatherings	The struggle between the public and Republic policy
	The renaming of streets and urban spaces		The demolition of ancestors' memory, according to Elshahed about fifteen streets and squares were renamed in 1954. Later, Post Nasser regimes Built the triumphant of the October 1973 War Panorama, 26th of July Street, 6th of October Bridge. Commemorate major political events such as the 1973 Victory. By omitting the names related to Mohamed Ali's dynasty, and the Monarchy era, its memory is disrupted.	The new names maintain the July regime's narrative, linking itself to national figures, and critical events.
	The Statue of Simon Bolivar	Sadat Regime	Erected it in a location between the two streets of Britain embassy and the American embassy in the south of the square. This statue of the Latin American Liberator was placed in a belief and respect for the revolutionary ideas-	Its location conveyed a political message.

4.4.3 Post Mubarak Regime, the Modern Revolutionary History

The modern revolution history started with The 25th January 2011 revolution. *Tahrir* square was a symbol of it. According to historian *Fahmy*, the January 25 revolution came to shake off the persistent military and police efforts to control the people, and try to assert the citizens' entitlement in the square and the whole country.

"Why millions of Egyptians are spontaneously drawn to this square specifically to express themselves?" queried by *Fahmy*. He argued that through history the revolution of 25 January was not the first time that masses of Egyptians flocked to it in protest against the government's policies. In 2003, the masses took to the streets in protest against the American aggression on Iraq. Many years earlier, in 1972, the students first occupied the stone cake in protest against Sadat's policies that they saw as inconclusive in the face of the Israeli as an enemy. This question has also drawn the argument whether the 25th January revolution against Mubarak regime or against the whole 52 July regime.⁷⁴

4.4.3.1 The 25th Revolution is "Tahrir Square"

The memory of the January 2011 revolution (also referred to as uprising) is engraved in Egyptians mind by specific political and social scenes as follows:

Prior to the 25th 2011 events: many social movements and events paved the way for the revolution; such as the protests because of the death of Khaled Said, "Kolna Khaled Said," the April 6 movement, and Movement of change (Kifaya). Besides accident of the explosion of the Saints' Church in Alexandria and when there were doubts about the complicity of the Ministry of the Interior in this terrorist operation. Further, the accident in front of the People's Assembly building in Tahrir Square when civilians who set fire to themselves, in the wake of Tunisia's revolution,⁷⁵ all that led to protests around the whole country and in many Egyptian cities.

Although the continuous denying of the Egyptian television (controlled by the Mubarak regime), and the many tries to repress the revolution by the police security, the revolution reached a stage of **a sit-in for 18 days**, starting from the 25th January (which is the national day of the police) until the 11 February.

⁷⁴ Khaled Fahmy, "لماذا نحن ننتصر: الثورة مستمرة" (limadha snntsr: althawrat mustamrat) [Why do we win: the revolution continues], *shorouknews*, January 26, 2015. <https://khaledfahmy.org/ar/2015/01/26/لماذانحننتصرالثورةمستمرة/> or <http://www.shorouknews.com/columns/view.aspx?cdate=26012015&id=c62319b0-6d99-4418-865a-f460a6991399>

⁷⁵ "A Second citizen Sets Himself on Fire in front of Parliament, and a Third is Caught before Doing the Same," *ad-Dustour*, January 18, 2011, <http://dostor.org/politics/egypt/11/january/18/35245>. Cited in Nassar, The Symbolism Of *Tahrir* Square.

During those days, the sense of belonging was one of the most influential factors which helped the people to sit in the square in the coldest days of January. The sense of belonging had appeared in two main situations: The first situation is how the protestors succeeded in organizing themselves and also in organizing the square to comply with their basic needs. They turned the public space into a home. That also explains the second situation, when they clean up the area after the resignation of Mubarak.⁷⁶ See Figure 14

Figure 13: *Tahrir Square during the 25th Revolution (uprising) 2011: Analysis of how the protestors succeeded in organizing themselves and also in organizing the square to comply with their basic needs.*
Source:
<http://www.bbc.co.uk>



It has been described by *Samia Mehrez* in her collection of essays *Translating Egypt's Revolution: the language of Tahrir square*, that *Tahrir square* is similar to the *mawlid*⁷⁷, it represents a moment of utopian freedom, where barriers of social classes and genders are disappeared to create a re-signified society. She refers to it as "the Independent Republic of Tahrir." However, the revolution was as a moment; eventually, it turned in on and against itself throughout the followed two years.⁷⁸

Cutting the communication and the Egyptian Camel Battle: The tries of repressing the revolution continued as on the 28th of January, the state cut out the communication in the whole country. A few days later reached to a bloody stage; the "Camel Battle" day, which is an attack by camels, mules, and horses similar to the battles of the Middle Ages on February 2, 2011. The square witnessed the fight between the regime (after the police withdrew) and the protestors to force them to evacuate the square.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Riham Elrasoul, "Egypt Urban Spaces: The Conflict between Collective and National Memory," *Proceedings of Socio Cri'15: Society and Critical perspectives Conference* (Istanbul, Turkey: Socio Cri'15, 2015).

⁷⁷ The Mawlid is a folk festival celebrating the birth of the Prophet or other important religious or cultural figures. Cited in Atef Shahat Said, "The Tahrir Effect: History, Space, and Protest in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011" (PhD thesis: The University of Michigan 2014), 1., accessed on March, 2018, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/73942096.pdf>

⁷⁸ Samia Mehrez and Sahar Keraitim, "Mulid al-Tahrir: Semiotics of a Revolution," in *Translating Egypt's Revolution: the Language of Tahrir* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2012) 44. Cited in Levi Thompson, *Symbol and Tahrir Square: The Struggle for Revolutionary Legitimacy*, 1.

⁷⁹ "18 Days that shook the world, from the first protest to Mubarak's fall," the Egyptian revolution in photos, Time, February 11, 2011, <http://content.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,2044357,00.html>

Many people were wounded, some dead. Clashes erupted again on the following day (February 3rd) between thugs and unarmed demonstrators, leading to the deaths of many protestors and hundreds of wounded. As an opposite psychological reaction, the demonstrators gained the sympathy of many Egyptians after the camel's battle, and many came down to support the demands, as well as participate in the sit-in which in turn strengthens the revolution situation and pushed Mubarak to step later down. The initial reports of the fact-finding commission accused the ruling regime of wanting to take control of *Tahrir* Square and force its protestors to leave. However, on October 10, 2012, the court acquitted all the defendants.⁸⁰ See figure 14.



Figure 14: Egyptian 'Battle of the Camels' on February 2, 2011: which is an attack by camels, mules, and horses similar to the battles of the Middle Ages. The square witnessed the fight between the regime (after the police withdrew) and the protestors to force them to evacuate the square. Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19905435>

Post-Mubarak Egypt after a rule continued almost thirty years, it was new, and a strange for many generations, both youth, and elders. Finally, the sit-in resulted in the Mubarak step-down on the 11 of February.

Politically just after the revolution, the 1971 constitution was suspended in February 2011. An interim constitutional declaration was issued on March 30, 2011, by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (Egypt's interim military government which controlled the country at that time). It incorporated provisions from the 1971 constitution as well as new measures, approved by referendum in March 2011, to make elections more open, impose presidential term limits, and restrict the use of emergency laws. The constitutional declaration also included provisions for legislative and presidential elections and the drafting of a new permanent constitution.⁸¹

So at that exact moment, the 25th January became the popular revolution "*Tahrir* revolution model" that forced the resignation of Pres. Ḥosnī Mubārak. After the revolution, the square hosted many celebrations and visits from foreign dignitaries and became a symbol

or http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/11/the_18_days_that_shook_the_world?page=0%2C0
Cited in Nassar "The Symbolism of *Tahrir* Square". Also see Video "After the Battle", trailer Cannes Film Festival 2012 directed by Yousry Nasrallah.

⁸⁰ "Egyptian 'Battle of the Camels' officials acquitted," BBC NEWS, Middle East, published on 10 October 2012, accessed on October 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19905435>

⁸¹ "Egypt - Government and Society | Britannica.com, accessed October 07, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Egypt/Government-and-society>

of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. The square was added to the tourist attraction sites map, not only for Cairo but Egypt as a whole.⁸²

4.4.3.2 *A new layer of Egyptian history*

It is a new layer of historical memory has been added by the 25th January revolution; After the removal of Mubarak on February 2011, there was a growing debate on the necessity of revision and rewrite the Egyptian history over the past 60 years. The fight between the competing narratives become wide and continues until now.

First at the beginning during the early two years after the revolution, there were civil-society initiatives according to dr. Barsalou in her essay "Post- Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization" argued that in the transition period, the different agents (she also referred to like the actors or the protagonists) tried to promote their different agendas by using historical narratives and memorization. Actors include the state that controlled the access to archival materials.⁸³

Since the public perception is typically influenced by both the written history and the collective memory, so the rewriting of the history over the past 60 years (in the education, and especially the period after 1952) is matter. Besides the competitive collective memories of the various social groups (who are organizing demonstrations, marches, graphite), both constituted the daily battle in Egypt's transition period in the street.

In post-conflict societies, Preservation of historical memory by revision the national history or commemoration by any means usually takes less attention than the truth commissions, lustration and the criminal prosecutions (the trials of Mubarak and the symbols of his regime). However, it plays an essential contribution of national narratives about perceiving the past in the present context; also influence the future's perception.⁸⁴

In post-conflict societies or transitional societies, Memorization took many forms such as the construction of Memorials - Renationalize historical memory: by establishing archives - The construction of documentation centers, and museums – Anniversaries - Place renaming – Art street as one of the civil society initiatives.

4.4.3.3 *The construction of memorial: remembering the Martyrs*

Seven years have passed since the 25th Revolution of *Tahrir* Square, and it is still neglected even after all the suggestions and proposals to redesign to memorize the revolution,

⁸² Kafafy, "The Dynamic Influence of Symbolism and Meaning in Urban Design, the case of El *Tahrir* Square, Cairo, Egypt".

⁸³ Barsalou, "Post-Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization."

⁸⁴ Ibid.

and after the attempts failed to change. For instance, the “Martyrs’ Memorial” which was established by the government in *Tahrir* to memorize the 25th and 30th and Mohamed Mahmoud street victims at the first memory of Mohamed Mahmoud events, but, unfortunately, the memorial has been destroyed by protestors one day before the supposed opening on 19 November 2013.⁸⁵ See figure 15.

This very situation reflects the continuous conflict in Egypt between collective memory and official memory (proposed the national memory) which was constructed by the government. The government intended to heal the pain of the family's victim by this action. Psychologically, the refusal from the family victims and the protestors’ side is a normal reaction, since the first protestors’ demand was to achieve injustice and to take revenge from the martyrs killers, which did not happen and at the same time they refused a designed memorial which was established by the government without any public participation. Hence, the continuous, isolated decisions taken by governors apart from the real participation of the civil society leads eventually to the citizens' rejection.⁸⁶



Figure 15: a- Martyrs' memorial in *Tahrir* Square. Source: <http://aswatmasriya.com> and Al Jazeera b- The destruction of the monument in *Tahrir* Square 18 November 2013, Source: Reuters. c- *Tahrir* square's: Current situation a traffic circle with new (defensive) landscaping, and a flagpole erected in the middle. Source: <http://citybreaths.com>

4.4.3.4 Renationalizing historical memory: Establishing archives

The incomplete project of National Archive (NA): According to historian *Khaled Fahmy*, the project of "documenting the January 25th revolution" which he been mandated to lead and deposit the material in Egypt's National Archives, has been stalled because of many reasons: state security officials refused to delete the security clearance requirement. Further, they prevent Egyptians who are invited to give oral testimonies and materials from entering the building. Also, the capacity of the NA's website was too limited to support open access.⁸⁷

It has been stated that the most crucial lesson in this period after the revolution was that the violence against protesters continued in order to repress the freedom of expression. So Egyptians had feared from participating freely in the project without any legal protection for

⁸⁵ "إعداد قباء حجر الأساس لنصب بليت تكريمي في ميدان التحرير" ('ieadat bina' hajar al'asas lilnasb altidhkarii fi midan altahrir) [Reconstruction of the foundation stone of the Tahrir Square monument], Aswat Masriya, accessed March 2015, <http://aswatmasriya.com/news/view.aspx?id=58d6da16-9cba-401a-9e90-30695bce5f19>

⁸⁶ Elrasoul, "Egypt Urban Spaces: The Conflict between Collective and National Memory."

⁸⁷ Khaled Fahmy, lecture at the American University in Cairo, November 23, 2011.

them to guarantee that their testimonies and materials they provided could not be used to incriminate them.⁸⁸ For all those reasons and the nature of the incomplete transition period of Egypt, the project stopped.

Besides that, the post-revolution period witnessed the loss of heritage information; rare manuscripts dating back to the Napoleon invasion because of the fire which destroyed the *Institute d' Egypte* on December 17, 2011, during the demonstrations outside the prime minister's office.⁸⁹

Even the try to archive the official documents which were found in the state security offices on March 5 and 6, 2011 has not been done. Some Egyptians from the civil society thought of asking the assistance from German experts experienced in handling the East German Stasi (secret police) files to help Egyptians reconstruct shredded documents.⁹⁰

Afterward, in weeks the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) sent SMS messages via mobile phones to the public, threatening punishment of anyone who made captured documents public.⁹¹ Hence, the try of restoring those documents has been failed, and the destiny of the founding documents is not known. However, it has been stated that there were rumors of vans loading up remaining materials held at security offices and relocating them to more secure army facilities.⁹²

On the other hand and according to dr. Barsalou that there were four different processes through which memory is created manipulated and conveyed by ordinary people through documentation of material by technology- demonstrations and marches- renaming of public spaces - Art Street or artistic activism.⁹³

Although it was always believed that winners write history, now, thanks to social media, everyone can contribute to writing history. Ordinary people, besides Journalists, researchers, artists established virtual historical records- millions of photos, videos, songs, documents, tweets, Facebook posts which preserve the memory of the 25th revolution with a particular focus on remembering the martyrs and the injured victims of the political transformations.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹Khaled Fahmy, " The real tragedy behind the fire of Institut d'Egypte," *Reflections on Egypt, the Middle East, and history*, published January 3, 2012, accessed December 3, 2018. <http://khaledfahmy.org/en/tag/institut-degypte/>

⁹⁰Barsalou, "Post-Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization."

⁹¹ Liam Stack and Neil MacFarquhar, "Egyptians Get View of Extent of Spying," *New York Times*, March 10, 2011. Cited in Barsalou, Post- Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization.

⁹² Now suspended, the site was originally located at <http://25leaks.com>. Cited in Barsalou, Post- Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization.

⁹³ Barsalou, Post- Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization.

4.4.3.5 *The construction of documentation centers, and museums: the choice of remembering OR forgetting?*

In post-conflict societies many practices are used by different actors to promote their diverse agendas, practices such like commemorating, to draw attention to the past.

Both of remembering and forgetting processes are considered: for instance; the choice of construct or demolish buildings – construct the memory by assembling remembrance places such like documentation centers, by turning the prisons and concentration camps into an experience of reconciliation, healing of the survivors and the victim's family, eventually as a means to overcome the past.

On the other hand, OR forgetting by erasing the memory of previous regime's symbol by demolishing their memorials and buildings, might low the desire of revenge, by producing forgetting, however, there is no guarantee.

Until a few years ago the famous National Democratic Party “NDP” building,⁹⁴ which was burned during the 25th revolution by the protesters, was part of *El Tahrir* square image and skyline.

Burning the NDP for the protestors meant removing a cornerstone in Mubarak's regime power. Later, in President El Sisi reign, on May 31, 2015, the building was demolished, instead of being restored, because it was no more a part of the new regime's power. It even has been claimed that this step intentional, in order to erase the memory of Mubarak's influence of the new regime.

The buildings represented the sovereignty of the Mubarak regime and, at the same time, the power of the public. It has been discussed that if the NDP building had been conserved and restored to be a museum to commemorate the 25th Revolution National Memory, it would have made a difference.

In conserving the NDP building is preservation for the national memory, and the "power of public" as well. That power of public that faced the dictatorship that lasted 60 years was a step forward transparency and democracy, in an attempt of building a connection and a dialogue between the people and the government. That would merely mean mutual respect between both sides.

Unfortunately, that new conception had been erased with the demolishing of the NDP building, which is supposed to be replaced with a hotel. The Government probably decides that it is the best way to end about 60 years of conflicted history.⁹⁵

⁹⁴It was previously the Arabic Socialist Union building before turning to the presidential headquarters of Mohamed Hosni Mubarak Party ‘National Democratic Party’ in the center of the country.

As an intangible aspect of memory, the square lost part of its importance as an actor in the networks of power in Egypt by demolishing the NDP. As a morphological aspect, the skyline of the square lost a key element of its spatial identity when this building was demolished.

Comparing the "NDP" case in Cairo, Egypt to the German parliament building "Bundestag" in Berlin, Germany, it will be worthy noted that the later had been restored many times to hold its value and national memories. "Bundestag" stands as a witness to the long history of political instability which Germany experienced. *See figure 16.*

The building survived during the emergence of the first nation-state and the absence of democracy in the Nazi era, and now it is blessed with a time of transparency and the rule of democracy. Architecturally, the democracy concept represented by the transparent dome which designed by architect Norman Forster.

Germans are proud of their parliamentary democracy which is based on transparency and openness. Such transparency would not make the parliament building only reserved for the politicians, but it is also opened to the German citizens and tourists who come to visit Berlin from different nationalities and origins.⁹⁶ Such democratic context in any country allows genuinely respecting and appreciating the importance of the national memory and the power of the public.



Figure 16: Comparison of the case of NDP, Egypt with the case of "Bundestag", Germany:

a- Burning NDP during the 25th revolution.

b- NDP is located beside the Egyptian museum. (Currently demolished)

c- The "Bundestag" German parliament building in Berlin, with its glass Dome of Parliament as a transparency symbol. Source: Public domain.

4.4.3.6 *Commemoration the key events' anniversaries*

Producing remembering might be represented by the anniversaries of key events. Also, the opposite is true like deleting commemoration of specific dates or ignoring them probably to produce forgetting.

For the January 25th Revolution, recently referred to as the "Police and Revolution Day," perhaps as a kind of confirmation of reconciliation between the people and the police

⁹⁵ Elrasoul, "Egypt Urban Spaces: The Conflict between Collective and National Memory."

⁹⁶ Deutscher Bundestag, accessed April 3, 2015 <https://www.bundestag.de/en/>

who were originally part of the old regime, the revolution was basically against its fascist practices.⁹⁷ On the other hand, the 30th June 2013 anniversary of the uprising is being celebrated, and the opening of important national projects is being held in this memory.

4.4.3.7 *Place renaming*

There were many examples of efforts to rename civic spaces. Days after *Mubarak's* resignation, Prime Minister *Ahmed Shafiq* ordered streets to be renamed after "martyrs." On April 21, 2011, an Egyptian court issued a verdict requiring the removal of Mubarak's family names from all public places. That included the Mubarak metro stop, which was renamed al Shuhadaa (the Martyrs). However, this verdict was soon challenged and suspended by another court on June 5. An Appeals Court then announced it would issue a final decision no later than July 18.⁹⁸

Meanwhile, a counter memory action has taken place, on the Facebook page *Ana Asif Ya Rayas* (I am Sorry, Mr. President), while pro-Mubarak sentiment was expressed. Its members took credit for using graffiti to restore Mubarak's name on the metro stop in August after it had been renamed The Martyrs in April.⁹⁹

In general, in this respect, there has been little discussion in the American University in Cairo, about the benefits of keeping old place names and memorials that provide opportunities for "teachable moments" to reflect upon and educate about the past.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, probably that perspective is an announcement of erasing the memory of the 25th revolution against the regime as if the revolution never took place.

Although renaming places is one of the means to both produce a new memory and erase an old one, usually, the public's collective memory preserves the original name rather than the new official one. That probably presents the conflict between the collective memories of the different groups.

4.4.3.8 *Graphite; between remembering and forgetting the Revolutionary Street Art*

"Graffiti is the one tangible thing we have gained from the revolution," said by a street artist. After the 25 January uprising many writers and directors documented the graphite as controversial street art, it is initiative of the individuals and the groups from civil society, in

⁹⁷ Note: That prior the 2011 revolution, the 25th January was "the national police day", then post revolution it became "The police and revolution national day".

⁹⁸ This decree appears to be largely unimplemented. For example, a street in Cairo named after the former parliamentary speaker, Fathy Sourour, remains intact. Campaign to Rename Cairo's "Hosni Mubarak" Metro Station to "Khaled Saeed" Facebook page, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Campaign-to-Rename-Cairos-Hosni-Mubarak-M....> Cited in Barsalou, Post- Mubarak Egypt.

⁹⁹ Sarah Carr, "Mubarak Loyalists Bring Old State-Run Media Ethos to the Web," *Al Masry Al Youm*, August 10, 2011. Cited in Barsalou, Post- Mubarak Egypt.

¹⁰⁰ Barsalou, Post- Mubarak Egypt.

order to remember the revolution. However, it rarely lasts on the walls, especially if it touches on the army or the government.¹⁰¹

In her Article "بيني وبين التغيير والتغيير نafidhat ealaa fin aljirafiatii fi almudun alarabii) [Between expression and change... A window on the art of graphite in the Arab cities] The writer *Mai Khalef* stated that, with the beginning of the revolutions of the Arab Spring in 2011 and the collapse of the previous regimes, especially in Tunisia and Egypt, there was a space of freedom. That allowed graphic artists to work freely increased, and the media focused on graphic art in the Arab countries as part of the revolutionary situation and ways to express the demands of young people and their aspirations.¹⁰²

Graphite, between the new generation and the former, it enhances the depth of its identity, an extension of the past and traditions in the midst of modernity, Khalef explained that the graphite plays a role to reshape the cultural space of the country by drawing artistic personalities, poets, and writers, or even writing poetry.¹⁰³

Graphite; an art spreads in Egyptian cities, displayed in Egyptian streets, on the public walls of Cairo, Alexandria, Assiut and many other Egyptian cities. Writer Soraya Morayef wrote "..... *The city's walls have become complex documents, authored, and re-authored like ramshackle Wikipedia pages*" Most of the graffiti has been documented are intrinsically connected to the flow of political currents in Egypt. Further, that passer-by can read the country recent history through graffiti, tracing back the chronology of protests, triumphs and failures, deaths and celebrations like reading a book on everything these walls have witnessed as she described.¹⁰⁴

It seems that the city walls have become white pages open to the world where the Egyptians write their messages. In an interview with the Guardian, the Graphite artist *Alaa Awad* says "*I decided to translate the sound of the people to the wall.*"¹⁰⁵

Regarding the Artists' identities, writer *Ahmed Naji*, in his article "Art of Graphite in Egypt: Long live the evanescent (short-lived) art explained Graphite as it is usually made by unknown young artists; do not put a signature next to their work. Sometimes put only

¹⁰¹Soraya Morayef, "Cairo's walls of graffiti trace history of a colourful revolution," *The National*, August 18, 2012, accessed August 13, 2017, <https://www.thenational.ae/cairo-s-walls-of-graffiti-trace-history-of-a-colourful-revolution-1.379991>.

¹⁰²Mai Khalef, "بيني وبين التغيير والتغيير نafidhat ealaa fin aljirafiatii fi almudun alarabii) [Between expression and change... A window on the art of graphite in the Arab cities] *alkhaleej online magazine*, March 27, 2016, accessed March 13, 2017, <http://alkhaleejonline.net/نقطة-بين-التغيير-والتغيير-نafidhat-ealaa-fin-aljirafiatii-fi-almudun-alarabii/>

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Morayef, "Cairo's walls of graffiti trace history of a colourful revolution."

¹⁰⁵Mia Jankowicz, "'Erase and I will draw again': the struggle behind Cairo's revolutionary graffiti wall," *the guardian*, March 23, 2016, accessed September 20, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/23/struggle-cairo-egypt-revolutionary-graffiti>

nicknames such like *Genzer, Mova, Dragon, Miss Azarita* names have emerged in previous years. They are young artists believe in the city as a large open gallery, and believe in communicating directly with the public; the man of the street who passes by. So their works will not be found in the exhibition halls, they will be displayed in the city.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the rejection of the regime to graphite in Egypt has made graffiti a hard task. So most of the artists in that period prefer to be anonymous as a way to protect themselves.

Graphite; The commemorative walls, international attention: Graffiti often carries political messages opposing the regime, or exposing the contradiction within established societal traditions and values. The artists considered Graphite as an art that is available to all to the public participation in it so that the wall becomes the arena of dialogue between all those who wish a technical dialogue of different ideas and directions leads to a complete artistic work that reflects the spirit of the population of the city.

So Graphite is an action which produces memory, it uncovers the various collective memories, resonates different views of social or political events. About the memory of January 25, the artist Ammar Abo Bakr remembered “*Back then, I just did simple things, like anyone would make – spraying messages on the wall,*” he says. “*I liked how the walls were like a newspaper; people wrote things like, ‘don't go down this street, there are baltageya [plainclothes thugs] down here’.*”¹⁰⁷

While it is still perceived by many Egyptians to be "pointless scribbling" on the walls, Egyptian graffiti has gained international attention, said by *Morayef*. Especially as a memorialization act of the 25th revolution, and the martyrs. To name prominent two examples, the *Auc* Wall in Mohamed Mahmoud Street, and the seven walls project.

Especially near *Tahrir* Square - the heartbeat of all protests since the January 25 uprising: The *Mohamed Mahmoud* mural is an example of how history being recorded through street art and the efforts of civic society. It shows how far graffiti is an art form which reflects reality and record history - and in real time as well. It can reshape the space, reconstruct reality and provide an alternative to the sobering reality people live in. Eventually transformed the whole of Mohamed Mahmoud Street into a living museum where passers-by

¹⁰⁶Ahmed Naji, "فن الجرافيت في مصر بين الفن والزنازل" (fin aljrafyta fi msr: yahya alfan alzzayil) [Art of Graphite in Egypt: Long live the fleeting art], *Literature News*, June 2011. The topic was awarded the Dubai Journalism Award as the best cultural theme in 2011. Cited also on <http://www.qadita.net/featured/بي بي سي الفن والزنازل-أحمد نجاجي>. See more on: Writer Ahmed Naji, Artists Aya Tareq and others, were interviewed by Journalist Yousry Fouda in his TV program "آخر كلم" [the last talk].

¹⁰⁷Jankowicz, "'Erase and I will draw again': the struggle behind Cairo's revolutionary graffiti wall."

would regularly stop to have their photos taken in front of the mural and read the names of the martyrs depicted.¹⁰⁸

Mohamed Mahmoud Street's mural, took artists more than 50 days to finish, Morayef described that it *"has since branched out into pharaonic murals, collages of paint and newspapers showing impoverished Egyptians wrestling with gas cylinders on their backs, and a long serpent carrying the heads of the Scaf."*¹⁰⁹ See figure

Graffiti served as a visual reminder and an emotional stimulus of the uprising, the downfall, the unity and the coming apart, in addition to the various actors of the political battle, and the traumatic history of the incarcerated activists, the names and the faces of martyrs. And it was continuing to enlighten, protest and educate passersby with art.¹¹⁰

After the 30 June transformation in 2013,¹¹¹ the former armed forces Chief Abdel Fattah El-Sisi (currently the president) forced through an anti-demonstration law that has allowed for the arrests of peaceful protesters. Many graffiti artists have been arrested; some of them opted to leave the country. That year has already seen repeated assaults on freedom of expression.¹¹²

4.4.3.9 Downtown Cairo makeover/ forgetting the 25th revolution

Government repainted building facades and have installed a triumphant new monument in *Tahrir* Square, watched over by multiple CCTV cameras. The city's revolutionary graffiti art, however, was not welcomed during the regeneration. The memorial Graphite walls of Cairo were erased, including the mural of Mohamed Mahmoud Street (one of the External wall of the American University in *Tahrir*), was demolished by the (Auc) isolated decision which is poorly involved no consultation, despite its cultural importance for both of the University and the Egyptian Society. That caused the angry of various groups of activists, and raised the question of is it really an attempt to clean up the city like has been claimed by the government, or is it to erase the memory of the revolution?¹¹³

With this regard, *Morayef* argued: *"This wall is the last standing evidence that a revolution took place..... In terms of our national memory and our recent history, they are*

¹⁰⁸Morayef, "Cairo's walls of graffiti trace history of a colourful revolution." Soraya Morayef is a journalist and writer based in Cairo. Her graffiti blog suzeeinthecity.wordpress.com has captured hundreds of graffiti images around Cairo since May 2011. She is currently working on her first book about street art in Cairo

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Note: July 2013, when Morsy was deposed by the military and a massive crackdown against the Muslim Brotherhood was undertaken. Constitutional amendments that were passed in early 2014 restored a pre-2011 ban on political parties based on religion. Cited in "Egypt". Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online.

¹¹²Jankowicz, "'Erase and I will draw again': the struggle behind Cairo's revolutionary graffiti wall."

¹¹³ Ibid.

damaging something that we thought would remain one of the tangible icons. If you go to Tahrir now, it's as if nothing ever happened."¹¹⁴

As a continuous struggle between artists and the government, the state's military tried to control tide *Tahrir* square by building seven concrete walls to close off all side streets around *Tahrir* square. The seven walls project is a collective initiative memory where artists tackled, transforming the walls into artistic images of rainbows, playgrounds and quiet streets, extending the reality of confined space into a surreal openness. As an attempt to visually liberated the neighborhood of the military's-imposed walls and gave the residents perspective on what life after the walls would look like.¹¹⁵ See figure 17



Figure 17: One of the seven walls Project: which is a collective initiative memory where artists tackled, transforming the walls into an artistic image of extending the reality of confined space into a surreal openness. As an attempt to visually liberate the neighbourhood of the military's imposed walls and gave the residents perspective on what life after the walls would look like. Photo source: <http://almogaz.com>

The most influential concept of the January 25th revolution was the power of ordinary people represented by forms of commemorations – graphite, street art, flags, and many artifacts – which all reflected on Egyptian urban fabric.

On the other hand, on considering the quality of the ill-implemented "beautification" works that took place in the square and all over Cairo downtown, it was a quick upgrading of the external appearance, in order to erase the memory of the 25th revolution, by removing Graphite, and any kind of physical reminder, further to re-control the square.

4.4.3.10 Misinformation distorts the national memory of "Tahrir revolution"¹¹⁶

Psychologically, how misleading information could distort the national memory of "Tahrir revolution" best could be concluded by the discussion of *Ali Abdul Raouf*, in his article: From the sacred to the profane: transformation in the intellectual and visual image of *Tahrir* square.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ For more details, this psychological influence of memory was presented in Chapter two.

¹¹⁷ Ali Abdul Raouf, "مدال مقدس إلى مذبذب ولا تفتي الصور قال ذهني قول الصور يقدمي دلالت حري", (min almuqadas 'iilaa almdnd: tahawulat fi alsuwrat aldhhnyt walbasariat limidan altahrir) [From the sacred to the profane: transformation in the intellectual and visual image of Tahrir square], *Midan Masr*, @2011/2012, accessed January 2, 2018, <http://www.midanmasr.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=248>

Dr. Abdel-Raouf, the professor of architecture and theories of urbanism, described the transformation of *Tahrir* Square from the sacred image to the profane image in the minds of the public. This description is based on the assumption that this transformation was deliberate in order to disperse the revolutionary force and to defeat the revolution of 25 January. Starting from the sacred image how it was safe, organized and an example of cooperation between youth, despite the thousands of angry masses that rallied in the square.

The distortion of *Tahrir* image happened gradually as follows:

The satisfaction of the revolutionaries and their departure after Mubarak resignation and abdication his power to the military junta; As described by *Atef* as " This time, the army (represented by the military junta to run the affairs of the country) controlled the country and the square, especially after the army promoted in the square and state media the saying "the army and the people are one hand."¹¹⁸

The army broke the will to use the square as a venue for the Eid prayer after the military council took power directly. The army prevented worshipers from praying in the heart of the square, leaving the rest of the square (in the view of *Dr. Abdul Raouf*) as a kind of declaration to break the will of the people, although that situation did not notice by public much at this time.

As another kind of distortion of the image of *Tahrir*: the media promoted the public image of the square as a shelter for addicts and displaced persons, thus justify the power of beatings and violence against the revolutionaries and to prevent any attempt to sit in the square.

What *Dr. Abdel-Raouf* described as a distortion of the image of *Tahrir* and turning it into a rhythm and entrenching it in the consciousness of the Egyptians from the holy situation of the revolution to the image as a shelter for the thieves and displaced persons, thugs and drug dealers.

In the case of *Tahrir* Square in Egypt, the system used the systematic methodology and as a kind of psychological influence to restore political power and control over the country, in order to destruct the holy memory of the *Tahrir* revolution in the minds of Egyptians.

Until the square became empty and been abandoned in the darkest confrontations and fragmented the revolutionary power to go to other urban spaces as the "*Eletahdya*" palace headquarters of the president, the directorates of security.

¹¹⁸ Said, "The Tahrir Effect: History, Space, and Protest in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011."

At the same time, the satellite channels of the Egyptian system promoted the fullness of the square, as a kind to push the confrontations back to the virtual space; Facebook and the social media instead of the real physical space.

The revolutionaries and the elite forgot that what actually caused a difference in the footsteps of the revolution and the reaction of the regime, is the sit-in of the square and not the Social Media, which sparked the revolution.

In his vision of *Tahrir Square*, *Dr. Abdel Raouf* disagreed with many writers such as writer *Sayed Yassin*, *Saad Eddin Ibrahim* and others who emphasized their view of the futility of continuing to sit in the field.

Abdul Raouf wrote about Tahrir Square Competition: *Dr. Samir Gharib*, the head of the Urban Coordination Authority at the Egyptian Ministry of Culture, formed the 2011 committee to hold the competition to develop Tahrir Square and reformulate it as a square of revolution and the Egyptians.

However, the reality of the matter did not exceed the stage of theoretical speech and did not happen any mechanism of implementation, and all that was done in the square is the construction of a multi-story garage and a courtyard surrounded by iron fence as has usually been done by the former regime to control public places by fences to prevent any gatherings. In addition to that, the flag of Egypt has been erected as a symbol in the middle, nothing to commemorate the revolution, nothing to commemorate the martyrs.

The following table (table 3) provides reading of memory's representation, its actor (agent of change) and analysis of the (PPS.) influences that took place in *Tahrir Square* in Modern revolution history (Post- Mubarak Regime) interpreted with the reflection of the inherited concepts; Rulers' centralization and power of public.

Table 3: Reading Tahrir Square in Modern revolutions history (Post-Mubarak Egypt): Tracing the Memory influenced by Political psychosocial cultural key-events and the reflection of the inherited concepts.

Historical phases (Political turns)	Representation of Memory	The memory actor (agent of change)	The memory influences: (whether as a force or as a target) Political psychosocial cultural key-events	Reflection of the inherited concepts: Centralization/power of public
Modern Revolution History (Post Mubarak Regime)	The "Martyrs' Memorial" in <i>Tahrir Square</i>	The government	Constructed the memorial to memorize the 25th and 30th and Mohamed Mahmoud street victims.	An anger public message against the government
		The protestors	Rejected and destroyed the memorial, one day before the supposed opening on 19 November 2013.	
	National Democratic Party "NDP"	The protesters	Burned the buildings during the 25 th revolution, as it represented the sovereignty of Mubarak regime. However, they demanded to restore it to be a museum to commemorate the 25th Revolution National Memory.	The power of public
		The government	Demolished the building in President El Sisi reign, on May 31, 2015, because it was no more a part of the new regime's power. This step intentional, to erase the memory of Mubarak's influence of the new regime. As an intangible aspect of memory, the square lost part of its importance as an actor in the networks of power in Egypt by demolishing the NDP. As a morphological aspect, the skyline of the square lost a key element of its spatial identity.	The isolated decision from the side of the government (centralization) /without public participation
	Place renaming: the Mubarak metro stop	The government	Renamed the metro station to the Martyrs in April 21, 2011, due to an Egyptian court issued a verdict requiring the removal of Mubarak's family names from all public places.	The conflict between the supporters of the old regime and the new one (the protestors)
		Mubarak's supporters	A counter memory action has took place, on the Facebook page Ana Asif Ya Rayas [I am Sorry, Mr. President], pro-Mubaraks used graffiti to restore Mubarak's name on the metro stop in August.	
	Graphite; the Commemorative walls	The Artists	Example. The Muhammad Mahmoud mural served as a visual reminder and an emotional stimulus of the 25th uprising- the downfall- the unity and the coming apart- the various actors of the political battle- the traumatic history of the incarcerated activists- the names and the faces of martyrs.	Power of public: artists was continuing to enlighten, protest and educate passersby with art
		The American University (AUC)	Erased the Muhammad Mahmoud mural (one of the External wall of the AUC in Tahrir) despite its cultural importance for both of the University and the Egyptian Society, that isolated decision which is poorly involved no consultation caused the angry of the activists, and raised the question of is that to erase the memory of the revolution?	The influence of the centralized government on the "AUC"
	Graphite: as revolutionary street art "The seven walls project "	The State's military	The state's military tried to control tide Tahrir square by building seven concrete walls to close off all side streets around Tahrir square.	The struggle between the youth (artists) and the military to control the square
		The Artists	Transformed the walls into artistic images of rainbows and playgrounds and quiet streets-extending the reality of confined space into a surreal openness- to visually liberated the neighborhood of the military's imposed walls.	
Downtown Cairo Makeover	Government	Repainted building facades and have erected a flag in the middle of Tahrir Square, The city's revolutionary memorial Graphite walls of Cairo were erased.		

4.5 Case Study Findings

Since its creation, the square was the subject of frequent actions British occupation, development, reconstruction, commemoration, and witness for many political transformations. Despite the fact that, rulers at this very time up till now view that controlling *Tahrir* square means controlling the country, history always proves that the public power is in a continuous struggle to be greater than those in power.

Since then and until nowadays, *Tahrir* is the spirit of cosmopolitan Egypt as described by *Suif*: it is one of the most significant central nodes of urban live and intensive public space in Cairo. It connects the cosmopolitan memory represented by "*Khedive Ismail's Cairo*" in the east with the newer areas in the west.¹¹⁹

Throughout years, the square turned out to be Cairo's agora. It witnessed the country celebrations, funerals, and uprisings. How far *Tahrir* Square reflects the national memory of Egypt, which was formed due to the influence of political and social events throughout history, is concluded in the following points:

In the era of the monarchy: *Tahrir* with its building have remained symbols of cosmopolitan and centralization which is inherited to this day. However, by the turn of the 19th century and after the rise of national current during the monarchy era, a reflection of national sense has appeared in the district. Then the dramatic political transformations of the 52 revolution, resulted that *Tahrir* Square had diminished under the Republic rule into a traffic node in which most traces of his ancestors' memory had been erased.

During the republic, Tahrir square between 1952 – 2011: it has been noted that every political regime left his fingerprint on this urban space; the regimes of the presidents *Gamal Abd Elnaser, El Sadat, then Mubarak*.

Nevertheless, the *Nasserist* regime influenced by a different completely narrative, which stresses the national nature of Egypt as a part of the whole "Arab World", that reflected mainly on the architecture, for instance, the construction of the National Union Building.

Further, this phase witnessed the loss of the cosmopolitan nature of the *Tahrir* district, renaming streets, metro stations, hospitals, and schools into Egyptian Arabic names those emphases on *Abd Elnasser* regime's power: Ismailia square became *Tahrir* square, *Khedive Ismail* bridge became "*Kasr Elnile*" bridge and so forth. This national narrative was supported by all types of state-controlled media and educational curricula which were all

¹¹⁹ Suif, "[Cairo .. my city and our revolution(2)]." (2012).

used to support the 1952 revolution (or military coup as believed by many historians) and to control, manipulate the masses' perception.

Post- Nasser regime, space/ memory narrative gradually neglected, when the ruling regimes renounced the role of heritage or urban design as an aspect of power except the renaming of some places and the public gardens' closure to control the people gathering. It has been believed that both *Sadat* and *Mubarak* had no specific ideology to impose on the built environment throughout Egypt. However, the republic urban and architecture developments decisions were mainly based on political perspectives, and they have an impact on the lives of the Egyptians.

Meanwhile, the built environment itself suffered under demographic pressure and lost much of its urban memory concerning. The people's attach with their urban spaces gradually vanished, and they became increasingly indifferent about their built heritage and memorable places.

Unfortunately, in the light of the absence of the political parties, there is no consideration of the public participation, which is the real owner of this urban space. The question that imposes itself is, "Is it fair that one regime's man's point of view could change millions of generations' lives without a clear national vision?"

In the post-Mubarak regime: finally came the 25th January 2011 to start a series of metamorphoses and to put the country on turning points on all aspects, a continuous struggle between public and the government to control the square, however, it reached to a stage after seven years, that the traces of the 25th January revolution once happened had been vanished.

Regarding Tahrir, the question imposes itself that if such square was redeveloped and redesigned with the axes around which represents the public power in order to commemorate the modern revolution memory, might that positively reshape people's behaviour?! To overcome their differences, and as a start to renationalize the historical memory by adding a new layer of national memory to the country map.

Ironically, that the current situation of national memory in post conflict Egypt is a new present Era of erasing memory. That could be added to Nora's three categories of periods which (were argued in his study of the French history)¹²⁰, as in the recent time, instead of the

¹²⁰Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24 According to Nora, "There are lieux de mémoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milieux de mémoire, real environments of memory", he also argued that there are three periods of the French history of memory: **Firstly**, the pre-modern period, where there were natural relation between people and their past, milieu de mémoire 'environments of memory' that sustain traditions and rituals; **Secondly**, the modern period (19th c.) , where the old traditions lost their meaning, reconstruction of tradition by elites, production of sites of memory in language, monument, and archives to secure the future of the nation state; and **thirdly**, the post-modern period, where the second reconstruction took place after the collapse of the ideology of the nation state.

supposed re-construction after the collapse of Mubarak regime. Apart of the reasons behind this as it is not the focus of the research. There is an action which could be called “Erasing memory and history”, that left only few sites of memory.

Although thinkers and many history admirers are in a daily fighting to save the urban and architectural history, but every day others come up and erase a memory or inject misleading memories. It is not clear yet how deep that will affect the city and the nation identity in that transition period.

4.6 Summary and Conclusion

To understand a complex issue like how national memory of Egypt is constituted through urban spaces, in-depth case study research was essential since case studies serve as links between theoretical knowledge and reality in such qualitative research.

This chapter used the (Tahrir square) case study approach as a method of validating the (PPS) analytical model formulated in chapter two. The results of this study showed that the discussed hypothesis of the pattern of inherited concepts (which was explained in chapter three) has a clear cause/ effect relationship of the formulation of Egypt prevailing narratives. Hence, the formulation of urban national memory.

Further, it has been found out that there are agents of change (Memory’s actors) behind those constructed or erased memories: Narratives as historical accounts can be official (state-sponsored) or vernacular (public power, authorities, cultural, religious, etc.), or a combination of both.

In *Tahrir* Square and throughout the three phases, the development of the square was always based on an official narrative that was formed by the power elite. Started with the emerging cosmopolitan, modern capital that attracted immigrants and investments, which led to its rapid development.

The study investigated the different influences of memory on the three level of analysis; Political, Psychological, Social-Cultural, those took place in *Tahrir* Square are analyzed and interpreted from the perspective of the patterns of inherited concepts, to investigate the interrelationship between different urban memory's influences.

Political Psychosocial influences are intertwined to form the current reflected national memory in the urban space. It has been found that some memories are strongly left their fingerprints (producing remembering). Other memories were intently erased (producing forgetting). Further, there are other memories faced with distortion and perhaps misleading information. All have been explored, when national memory was either the force or the target

of those influences. Probably there is no dichotomy between the three influences, as political influence generates kind of psychosocial impact. On the other hand, society's psychosocial influence encourages and motivates political transformation.

Reading *Tahrir* throughout the three political, historical phases of the square's interaction and transformation; allowed the tracing of many variables of the complex phenomenon of urban national memory.

“National memory” is shaped by collective memories, memorials, ceremonies, museums, symbols, and even public holidays. However, it is a political construction as well which reflect the diverse power in the society; power of public, power of rulers, authorities and its dynamics.

The competing narratives need a democratic climate to find a way to meet in thought, to overcome the past and to coexist in spite of differences. Therefore, the Egyptian society needs to consider the experiences of other countries, for example, Germany, to draw learned lessons:

How to re-nationalize memory and history, through designing urban spaces. How to confront the past with the aim of not repeating it, such as turning prisons and buildings that are symbols of despotism into areas of remembrance. Also, calling for tolerance when forgetfulness is impossible. Further, how to deal with the different remembrance cultures in the same country as in Germany; the difference between East and West, moreover, assessing the real and moral loss of society because of the losing of the essential human values.

Designing Urban National Memory



Part Three: Germany National Memory

Chapter Five: Nationalizing Memory through Urban Space

Objective: *Reviewing the crucial breaks which led to significant changes to the Germans' thought about their national history, then to reach to the attempts have been done to develop the means of renationalizing the historical consciousness.*

- 5.1. Introduction**
- 5.2. Germany: Re-nationalizing the Historical Consciousness**
- 5.3. Shadow of the Past, Forgetfulness and Remembrance Culture**
- 5.4. The Isolated Societies: Collective Memories and National Memory**
- 5.5. Walkthrough Buchenwald Memorial Site**
- 5.6. Summary and Conclusion**

5.1 Introduction

After viewing the Egyptian context, and via underlying the power of public spaces, especially *Al-Tahrir* square, while, the political circumstances raised an international researchers' interest such as *Dr. Judy Barsalou*, and many Egyptians historians like *Khaled Fahmy*, politicians like *Amr Hamzay*, wrote about Egypt transition period and the need of renationalizing its history.

However, the means of doing that with a connection to urban spaces are not taking enough attention, in the middle of the daily battle between different competitive narratives of the various actors.

This chapter aims to tackle the experience of another country to learn lessons. When looking for a nation that can provide its successful experience to others, Germans acquired a reputation as having the best experts regarding coming to terms with the past. First, to nationalize their history, they have had to re-evaluate two very different histories under two different dictatorships: the Nazi era; culminating in the tragedies of the Second World War and the Holocaust, and the Communist dictatorship under the Socialist Unity Party in East Germany.

However, nationalizing memory through urban space is a complicated target that needs much effort on many levels. Hence, the chapter first reviews the essential breaks which brought significant changes to the Germans' thoughts about their national memory and history. It concludes Germany different phases to renationalize its historical consciousness and approach a more positive self-perception which may eventually lead to inspiring Egyptians today, who still seek a democratic atmosphere which dissolves boundaries between the different actors and gives them hope and a motive to take the responsibility in order to near distances between the competing narratives.

In the shadow of the past, the chapter presents the phases of Germany's long journey; to reach the point of the invite to remembrance culture instead of forgetfulness which was invited to direct after the end of the Second World War.

When studying the national memory of Germany and how it was formed, recalling the memories of those who lived throughout that period, especially those who were subdued and were victims to the dictatorial regime's rule, it is something that cannot be ignored. Though they have survived, they could not forget imprisonment and torture places that became part of their physical and intellectual formation. In a trial and an invitation to forgive, the state established many memorials on some historical concentration camps, offering experience and

learned lessons for the new generations. The chapter presents a quick urban walk through one of those isolated societies; the case of the historical *Buchenwald* memorial.

With this regard, the thesis uses the term "isolated societies" to describe the camps system, which preceded the beginning of the Second World War by several years and was gradually developed.

Finally, "some lessons to learn" is the expected conclusion; those lessons might help in future, renationalizing the Egyptians historical consciousness and create places of remembrance to fix the concept of National Memory in Egypt.

5.2 Germany Re-nationalizing the Historical Consciousness

Probably it took German identity decades until it was forced to come in terms with the past. Many writers indicated Germany's difficulties with its national history. With this regard, Professor *Stefan Berger*¹ wrote that Germany does not possess a single and continuous narrative. He further added that while nations' histories around the whole world have been contested, the degree to which Germans held complicated views about their national past is striking due to very different stories in different times about themselves and their country's past.²

5.2.1 The Most Important Political Events

To better understanding the way Germans thought of their national history and how that thought transformed, it is important to review the most critical breaks which brought significant changes to that thought. According to *Berger*; the political events that marked the history of modern Germany and which exacerbated the plurality of national narratives are: the Holy Roman Empire dissolution of the German Nation in 1806, which had existed since the 15th century, the formation of a loose confederation of largely autonomous states, then the German association (*Deutscher Bund*) in 1815, the 1848 revolution, the forming of the first modern German nation in 1871, afterwards, the first German republic in 1919, the National Socialism Victory in 1933, which followed by the collapse of the German Nation-State in 1945, hence, the division of Germany in 1949 into two separate nation-states, and the most important event is the unification after the fall of Berlin wall in 1989.³ *See figure 1*

¹ Stefan Berger: is Professor of social history. His research includes modern European history, especially that of Germany and Britain, nationalism and national identity studies and historical theory. He is chair of the European Science Foundation Programme 'Representations of the Past: the Writing of National Histories in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe' and an editor of its book series "Writing the Nation".

² Stefan Berger, "Germany, The many mutations of a belated nation," In *Histories of Nations*, ed. Peter Furtado (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2012), 283.

³ *Ibid*, 283.

5.2.2 The Complexity of Possessing a Common Narrative

Undoubtedly, after all, Germany held the blame for the two World Wars, the destruction, and suffering in Europe.

However, in the post-war years, the national speech in Germany attempted to recover positive national identity by attributing the success of National Socialism to forces and events outside Germany's national History. Hence, the public discourse about the immediate past was characterized by self-pity for the suffering of German during the war and German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union. This approach of thinking probably has helped Germans soon to build a new army without question.

Only during the 1960s, German sources for the National Socialism in power and the Holocaust were widely more acknowledged. A raised debate reached to the narrative that National Socialism, particularly the Holocaust, forms the most critical anchor of German historical consciousness, where the Nazi era has affected the historical image of Germany across the world.

5.2.3 The Attempts toward Positive Self-perception

For Germans, there were phases in order to reach more positive self-perception and renationalize the historical consciousness. It almost took them decades of silence until they were able to discuss clearly their own suffering, in addition to the National Socialism crimes in the Second World War:

That overcoming happened gradually, according to *Berger*, the historians' attempts of more positive self-perception of German national history started in the mid-1980s; the most famous attempt is "the historians' controversy", followed by several other historians attempts, like *Michael Stürmer*, *Ernst Nolte*, *Andreas Hillgruber*, and left-liberal historians led by the philosopher *Jürgen Habermas* who spoke of a conservative cabal. In addition to that, there was also comparison held by *Hillgruber* on "the destruction of the German East" in 1945 with Holocaust.

Those attempts mainly aimed at re-nationalizing the historical consciousness of Germany, arguing for more long-term history consciousness to help German remember the previous centuries' achievements and to diminish German responsibilities of the Holocaust.

The second installment of historians' controversy took place in 1989-1990 (continued during the first half of the 1990s) after about four years of debate, group of young neo-nationalist historians continue the same old school of thoughts. Finally, by 1995, they failed

and lost the majority support because of their diminishing of national socialist crimes. See *figure 1*

5.2.4 The Result

At this point, many interviews with German survivors of the Second World War began with the acceptance that European and German suffering was Germany's responsibility at the first place. That acceptance finally led to discussing those important, difficult topics in contemporary public debate only in the late 1990s, which revealed the deep ordeal memory that they hope to recover from, such as the allied air raids on German cities, and unveiling the suffering of Germany citizens.

"We will survive at all costs": words that describe the German women suffering, specifically in the East, where Soviet soldiers raped women in the Second World War. That was first revealed by the book *"Eine Frau in Berlin" [A woman in Berlin]*,⁴ was first published in the 1950s by an Anonymous 34-year-old German journalist, later discovered to be *Marta Hillers* and was initially published by Harcourt Brace in 1954.⁵ The book was a diary recording events from April 20th to June 22nd, 1945 when the Red Army took control of Berlin. It unveils the dark things, like rape and hunger.

The result of those debates and attempts was a continuous confirmation that the National Socialism and the Holocaust is the center anchor in German historical consciousness. Therefore, Germans had to face and overcome that past by emerging a new narrative by Heinrich August Winkler who wrote 'The Long Way West,' was first published in 2000, it argued that the 1990 reunification of Germany brought an end to all German 'special paths.' It allowed German to develop what *Berger* described as 'normal' Western forms of national identity that included a sense of pride in German achievements.

Winkler's invitation for a 'post-classical national identity' found general German's support. Hence, it started to reflect in the revival of popular nationalism, which according to *Berger* was most visible in the flag-waving during the football World cup of 2006.⁶

⁴"A Woman in Berlin - Eine Frau in Berlin," Youtube video, 2:06:13, Beta Film GmbH & Constantin Media kraft, 2008, posted by "Shah Jahan," Feb 11, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKJqCYLoMq8>

⁵ Marta Hillers, "A Woman in Berlin: Eight Weeks in the Conquered City: A Diary," Trans. Philip Boehm, ed. Hans Magnus Enzensberger (Picador July 11, 2006).

⁶ *Ibid*, 287.

5.2.5 Lesson to Learn

Regarding Egypt's circumstances when analyzed and placed on its timeline for “nationalizing historical consciousness,” where Egyptians stood and thought of their national history, probably the expected result is:

That it is possible to develop a primary concept of national memory with consideration of the plurality of nationalism regarding narratives, particularly with the many perceiving of the political events of Egypt national history.

So Egyptians should not confuse in that transition, while probably no one is sure about what or when it is possible to reach a solid thought of national history, or even how long it will take to confess past mistakes, will it take decades like what happened in Germany and many other countries? However, no matter how long the road is or how far the target is, what matters is to have the power to start.

The following figure (figure 1) introduces two integrated timelines to clarify Germany National Memory: The first is referred to as “Timeline A”; summarizes Germany political events which brought significant changes according to Stefan Berger. The second is “Timeline B”; is zooming in to explain the attempts of a more positive self-perception and how nationalizing the historical consciousness of Germans after two world wars.

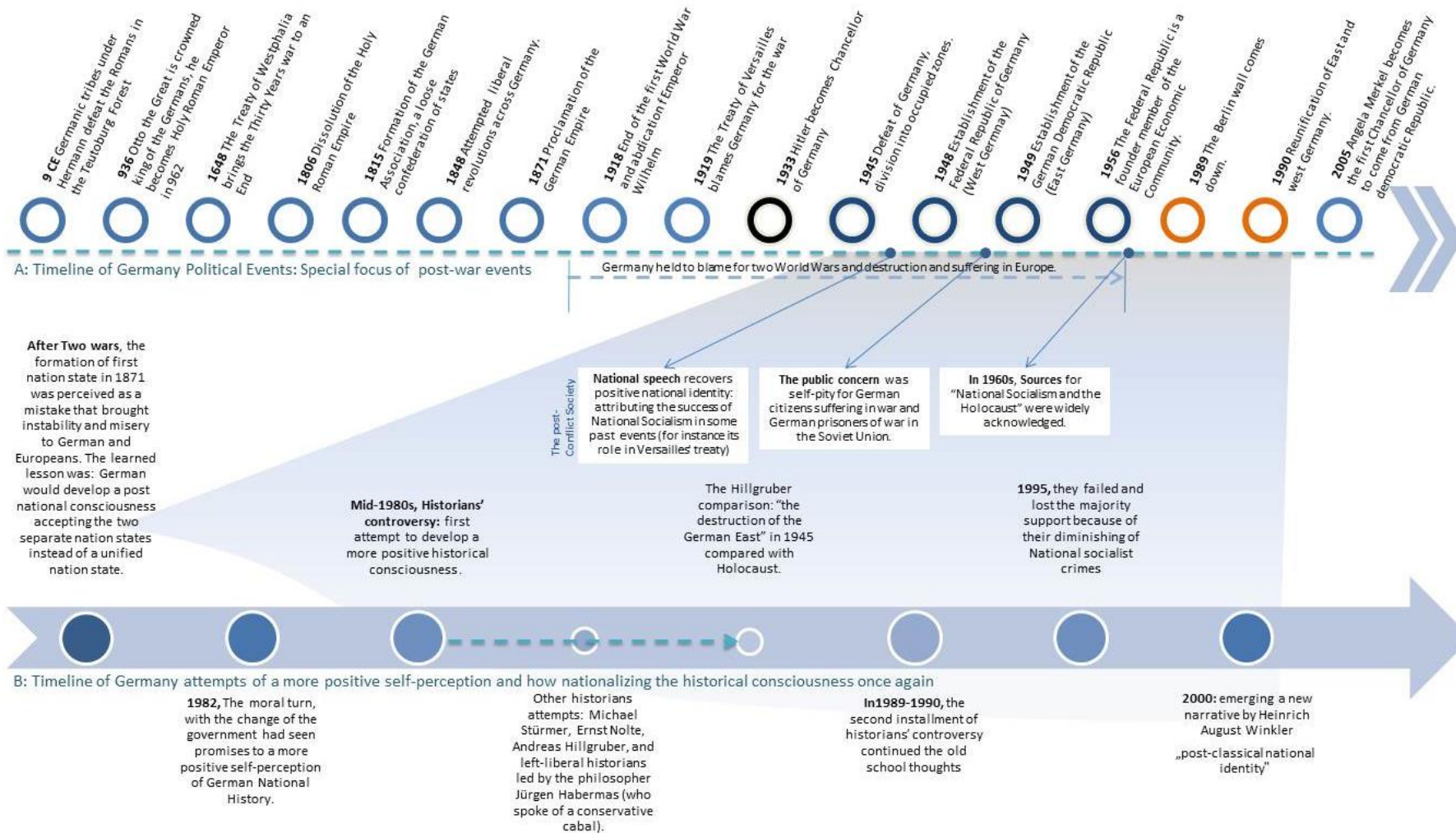


Figure 1: Two integrated timelines to clarify Germany National Memory:
Timeline A; Germany political events which brought significant changes according to Stefan Berger.
Timeline B; The attempts of a more positive self-perception and how nationalizing the historical consciousness. Source: Researcher

5.3 Shadow of the Past "Forgetfulness & Remembrance Culture"

Nowadays, the main principle of the remembrance culture in contemporary Germany implies overcoming the past and gaining new direction of reviewing the past mistakes. Germany has reached that principle after a long history of struggle; it took many phases which started by invitation to forget.

5.3.1 The Invitation to Forgetfulness

The first phase was an invitation to forget. Immediately in post-war years, Churchill believed that Europeans must forget the past and put all energy into the new European project: the vision of a shared future was to bring nations to-gether again instead of the past divides and separates. From his opinion and from many opinions such like the view of *Aleida Assmann* that it was a pragmatic decision with a successful outcome which allowed the victors to reach to an arrangement despite their differences and it was not a case of ignoring history. However, it had a high price, since for a long time Jewish and other victims of the Nazi terror were ignored.⁷

It is undeniable that the victims of the Third Reich were really forgotten, or rather, were denied during a silent period, not only by both German states sides but even in the one family scope, no questions were asked; politics and suffering were not subjects to discuss.

The question that imposes itself: Was it possible to forget? In order to perceive and recognize that shadow of the past, it is essential to review 1933 when the national socialists took power and heralded the state persecution of the regime's opponents, Jews, Sinti, and Romany, and classified them as gypsies. *See figure 2.*

That racism concept is similar to what is happening in many countries today which run high centralized regimes with racism thoughts. The persecution process was mainly characterized by the interplay between state regulation, violence from regime's supporters and the press propaganda.

The current image of the increased numbers of concentrations camps and prisons in many conflict areas around world (which were built explicitly for the regime opponents) are reminding that in 1939, at the outbreaks of the Second World War, when Germany controlled many areas of Europe, many multi-tiered systems of camps and extermination sites were established, particularly in Eastern Europe. It was estimated that up to six million Jews were murdered, among which around 165,000 German Jews and about seven million Germans lost

⁷Aleida Assmann, "Culture of Remembrance," *DE MAGAZIN DEUTSCHLAND* 1. March 2, 2015. 12-17, accessed August 15, 2015. <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/politics/germany-europe/culture-of-remembrance>.

their lives in the war. It was only possible to recognize that loss in the early months of 1945 when the Allies liberated the concentration camps. It has been stated that *"the crimes against humanity committed by the Nazi state were plainly obvious for the world to see."*⁸



Figure 2: An official chart from 1935 showing the exact definition of a Jew as set out by the Nuremberg Laws, which attempted to define genetically who was a Jew or a half-Jew and marginalized Jews in a variety of ways. The Nuremberg Laws signified an important step in the successive exclusion of Jews from the German body politic. Source: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. Cited in Berger, "Germany, The many mutations of a belated nation," 286.

A considerable number of concentrations camps were built around Europe, but the most famous one is *Auschwitz*. So when studying the German cities in the past, no one can ignore the existence of those isolated societies, which were inside and outside the city boundaries. Camps are like a small society in an isolated area; a society that has its own laws, customs, traditions, and means of survival. For this reason, the chapter will refer to those concentration camps as "The isolated societies."

Regarding the case of Egypt, it is possible to say that democracy is the dream of many Human Rights Associations in post-conflict societies, starting from freedom of expression. Hopefully, one day the prisons and concentration camps, where mainly the regime opponents are there, will be turned into memorial places like in Germany case.

Thanks to social media, which despite the repressive policy, it helps people to express freely, exchange opinions, and find their own voices. As an example, the researcher has quoted post on Facebook: *[If I have more years to live, I will do my best to see Egypt prisons turn into a "Museum of Conscience and Memory": a museum that tells the history of human dignity in our country, a vast creative yard that would make the new generations learn the value of freedom and dignity. In order not to forget the pain, blood, contempt for people,*

⁸Ibid.

deception, distortion, injustice, and exploitation, which caused by authoritarianism, telling what and how all had happened. Also, keep that memory alive always to hand over freedom and dignity issues, and never write addresses of the oppression, torture, and humiliation in the book of history. Assigning a part of the prison as a museum would display the oppression machine, in the middle of it, a garden without walls where people can feel free, and another part can be designed to be a global arts Center and University. Forgetfulness is a major sin for people like us.]⁹

As for architects and designers, the impressive challenge is how could turn that vast urban area of the camp -which represents suffering and discrimination- into a learning experience for the next generations. How the proper decision could be taken whether to invite for forgiving and to preserve reality in order not to repeat those crimes in the future, rather than to demolish and invite for forgetting.

5.3.2 Lesson to Learn

Hence, the learned lesson is when forgetting is impossible, the best solution to overcome painful past is the victims' appreciation, admitting the crimes, and hoping for a long term future forgiveness. Regarding the places which were associated with that past, it is better to keep as memorials rather than demolish, in order to heal the wounds, create a learning experience for new generations. The decision is better to be taken after public participation.

5.4 The Isolated Societies: Collective Memories and National Memory

Isolated societies are the concentration camps that lived and survived under political oppression, enslavement, and fear. They were originated and spread in Germany under Nazi rule. Then spread quickly across Europe, especially with the beginning of the Second World War. They varied in types with different integrated goals, but in general, all are designed for the persecution of system opposition and the elimination of specific categories of society, such as Jews, Sinti, Romany, and so forth, who were enslaved as part of the war efforts, often being starved, tortured or killed. Generally, the planned economic advancement and the hopeful victory in the war were depended mainly on persecution and enslavement.¹⁰

New Nazi concentration camps for those "undesirables" spread throughout Europe. According to the German Ministry of Justice statistics, about 1,200 camps and subcamps located in countries occupied by Nazi Germany, while the Jewish Virtual

⁹Bermalion El-Begmawy, facebook account, December 10, 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/Ywamreb?fref=ts> translated by researcher.

¹⁰Persecution and enslavement which are overseen by Nazi paramilitaries and political police.

Library estimates that the number of Nazi camps was nearly 15,000 in all of occupied Europe.¹¹

Historians have divided the Nazi concentration camps into several major categories based on the purpose, the administrative structure, as well as the inmate population profile.¹² The types of German extermination camps are as follows: Wild camps¹³ - State camps guarded by the SA¹⁴ - Hostage camps (police prison camps)¹⁵ - Labor camps - "POW camp" Main Camps for Enlisted Prisoners of War - Camps for the so-called "rehabilitation and re-education of Poles" "Work Instruction Camps" ("re-educated" according to Nazi values as slaves) - Collection and Transit camps - Extermination camps.

Many camps classified as a mixture of several types, it has been stated that most camps included some elements of an extermination camp. However, Extermination camps differed from the rest, since, systematic extermination of new-arrivals occurred in distinct camps –the "Aktion Reinhard" camps. The well-known *Auschwitz* and *Majdanek* were combined concentration and extermination camps. In addition to minor extermination camps like *Maly Trostenets*.¹⁶

Post-war use: Despite the destruction of many Nazi concentration and extermination camps after the war, some were turned into remembrance sites. On the other hand in Communist Poland, the Soviet *NKVD* kept some camps, such as *Majdanek*, *Jaworzno*, *Potulice* and *Zgoda*, to hold the war's German prisoners, who are suspected or confirmed Nazis or Nazi collaborators, other political prisoners such as anti-Communists, as well as civilian members of the German, Silesian and Ukrainian ethnic minorities.

Currently, there are memorial sites to both Nazi and communist camps at *Potulice*; those places have enabled a German-Polish discussion on historical perceptions of the Second World War. For similar purposes in East Germany, the *Buchenwald* and *Sachsenhausen*

¹¹"Concentration Camps: Full Listing of Camps," Jewish Virtual Library, last modified 2016, accessed May 10, 2015. <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/Holocaust/cclist.html>

Van Eck, *Ludo Le livre des Camps*, (Belgium: Editions Kritak). Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust*, (New York: William Morrow, 1993).

¹² Eric Lichtblau, "The Holocaust Just Got More Shocking," *The New York Times*, March 1, 2013, accessed June 27, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/03/sunday-review/the-holocaust-just-got-more-shocking.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1

Moshe Lifshitz, *Zionism*, (ציונות), 304

William L. Shirer, *The Rise and fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*, (New York: Rosetta Books LLC, 2011).

¹³Nikolaus Wachsmann, *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps*, (New York: Farrar, Straus Giroux, 2015), 38-45.

¹⁴ Ibid, 88.

¹⁵ Federal Archives, "Police Prison Camps and Police Prisons in the Occupied Territories", 2010. Cited in www.bjs.gov, accessed September 14, 2015

¹⁶ Shirer, *The Rise and fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany*.

concentration camps were used. *Also*, the *Dachau* concentration camp was reused for the arrested Nazis.¹⁷

Those concentration camps hold different collective memories of survivors and inmates families, even for the Nazi officers. As for inmates, undoubtedly the images and experiences of those camps, where the Nazis imprisoned them, are ingrained in their memory as deep as the concentration camp number (A188991) tattooed on their left forearm. For Nazis, the camp is an experience of their turning role to be war prisoners (under the rule of Soviet). Those collective memories help in drawing the recent concept of national memory. Those remembrance camps have helped to view many historical perceptions about the war and the suffering.

5.5 Walkthrough Buchenwald Memorial Site

In East Germany, through an ancient forest road led northward over the mountain's highest point and past the Bismarck Tower, for generations, the "*Grosse Eltersberg*" was a popular recreation spot for the citizens of Weimar in Thüringen (Weimar; the city of German Classicism). In the summer of 1937, this route was blocked off. In a wooded area north-west of the summit which is known as the "*Ratzecke*," the SS had begun the construction of a concentration camp. It became later one of the largest concentration camps.

5.5.1 The Past Context

Buchenwald consisted of three parts: First is "the large camp," which housed seniority prisoners, The second is "the small camp," prisoners were kept in quarantine, and the third is "the tent camp," was for Polish prisoners who were sent there after the German invasion of Poland in 1939. Besides these three parts, there was the administration compound, the SS barracks, and the camp factories.¹⁸

5.5.2 Historical Evolution

The camp history has changed through many phases. First, it served as Buchenwald concentration camp (1937-1945) during National Socialism era. Later, it served as Soviet Special camp No. 2 (1945-1950). After the liberation, there was no specific model for the remembrance of National Socialism crimes, but the trials that unveil those crimes have begun. Currently, Buchenwald memorial consists of more than 25 remembrance sites that

¹⁷"Projects/One Place, Different Memories," Geschichtswerkstatt Europa, last modified 2010, accessed July 26, 2012. <http://www.geschichtswerkstatt-europa.org/expired-project-details/items/potulice.html>

¹⁸"Buchenwald Concentration Camp," Holocaust Education & Archive Research Team, Copyright CW & Carmelo Lisciotto H.E.A.R.T 2007, last modified 2012, accessed January 15, 2016. <http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/othercamps/buchenwald.html>

visitors from the entire world can visit, and experience the feeling of those who once prisoned, killed, or even those worked there. See figure 3

5.5.3 Visual Memories: Reading and Analysing Buchenwald Memorial Site

Analysis of Buchenwald as a historical memorial is based on the observation research method; after reading the autobiography of survivors such as *Elie Wiesel*¹⁹ and associating it with the place during a tour in the memorial site. Also, the analysis is based on the three influence of the (PPS.) analytical model, which is considering the political circumstances of memories which generated the psychosocial influences.

A number of visual memories are offering a brief explanation of the living conditions and various aspects: Political, Psychological, and social as well. Those visual memories are inviting visitors to delve more deeply into the history of Buchenwald.

5.5.3.1 The Blood Road

The visit to Buchenwald started with the collective memories and autobiographies of survivors in mind, which evoked feelings through the present peaceful road, that surrounded by nature and the forest trees adorning both sides. No matter where the visitor comes from, still many thoughts accompanied by confused emotions arouse cross the mind while imagining the memory of who was driven into their ordeal catastrophic destiny in the past.

The access road to Buchenwald camp which connecting from the state of Weimar-Ramsla route; in the past it was just unpaved road through the forest, the inmates called it

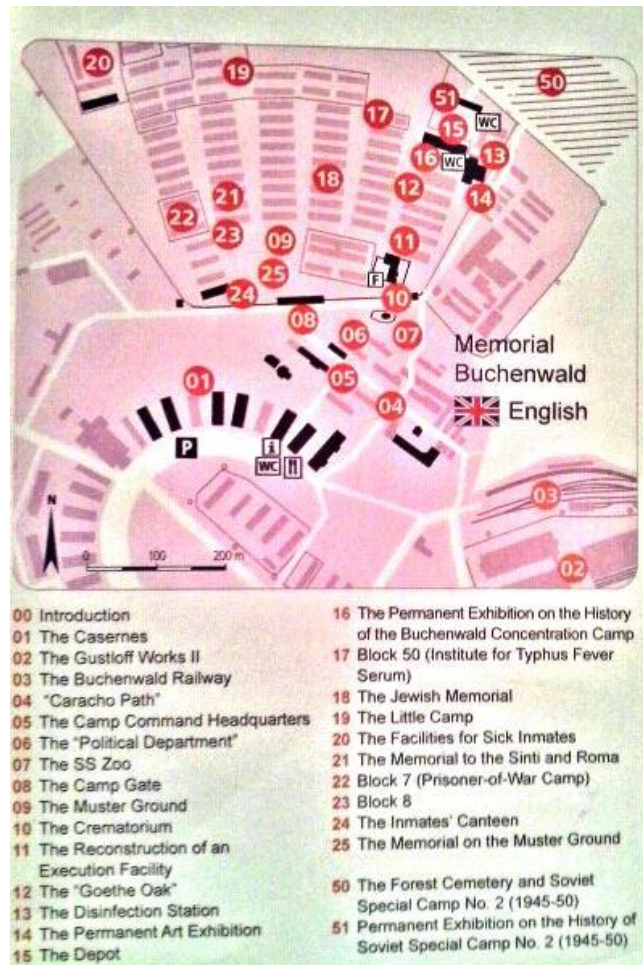


Figure 3: The key plan of Memorial Buchenwald 2015.
Source: Visitor Information Center, *Memorial Buchenwald*, 2015.

¹⁹ *Elie Wiesel* has been awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the United States of America Congressional Gold Medal, the rank of Grand-Croix in the French Legion of Honour, and in 1986, the Nobel Peace Prize. He is the writer of "The Night Trilogy", which includes "Night" it is considered one of the masterpieces of holocaust literature. First published in 1958, it is autobiographical account of the battle of survival.

"Blood Road," since they were compelled to construct it as a five-kilometer- long road from mid-1938 to late autumn 1939. Currently, an only section of the original concrete road has been preserved.²⁰

5.5.3.2 *Buchenwald Railway Station & the "Karakho" Path*

Parallel to the "Blood Road," ran the railway station line, constructed by inmates in 1943, in a period of only four months, which resulted in the fall of many victims. The line originally was served to supply the armament factories adjacent to the camp. However, it soon the Buchenwald railway station became a place of transit for people from all over Europe, to work as prisoners in the factories.²¹

With this regard, *Jean Amery* who born in Vienne 1912, was an inmate of *Auschwitz* and *Buchenwald* in 1944 and 1945, wrote ".....*Since, during the decisive years, we lived secretly under German occupation abroad and working in factories or held captive in jails and camps in Germany itself, right in the midst of the German people.*"²²

On the other hand, the prisoners who succeeded to arrive at their destination to work in the factories are considered the survivors among those died because of the suffering of freezing, hunger, thirst, illness during their trip. With this respect, *Wiesel* described his experience when he was just 15 years old teenager, the moments of his arriving in *Buchenwald*, as follows "...*That same night, we reached our destination. It was late. The guards came to unload us. The dead were left in the wagons. Only those who could stand could leave. Meir Katz remained on the train (he refers to a friend of his father, whom he has just talked to him). The last day had been the most lethal. We had been hundreds or so in this wagon. Twelve of us left it, among them, my father and myself. We had arrived in Buchenwald.*"²³

Today, The "Commemorative Buchenwald Railway Path" (2007) follows the former railway line. Since 2009, commemorative stones for the children and teenagers (about 2000) deported to the concentration camp have been laid out along the path, volunteers from all over the world realize the project.²⁴

²⁰ Philipp Neumann-Thein and Sandra Siegmund, eds. *A Visitors' Guide to Buchenwald Memorial*, (Weimar: Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora, Memorials Foundation, 2014), for more details see www.weimar-im-ns.de

²¹ Sabine, Harry Stein, *Buchenwald: A tour of the Memorial site*, (Weimar: Weimar-Buchenwald, 1993), 20.

²² Jean Améry, born in Vienne 1912, inmate of *Auschwitz* and *Buchenwald* in 1944 and 1945. Cited in the "*Buchenwald Concentration Camp from 1937 to 1945*," Explanatory Booklet for the Historical Exhibition (Weimar: Weimar-Buchenwald, 1995)

²³ Elie Wiesel, *The Night Trilogy: Night; Dawn; Day*, translated by Marion Wiesel and two novels, (NEW YORK: HILL AND WANG, A division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), 121.

²⁴ Stiftung Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Mittelbau-Dora, *Gedenksteine buchenwaldbahn*, 2017, accessed on March 3, 2018, www.gedenksteine-buchenwaldbahn.de.

In addition to that, "*Karakho*" path is the access road to the camp (which connects the station and the camp gate), where the camp administration was located; where the SS used to force the new arrivals of the prisoners to run to the camp gate. For this reason, this road was called "*Karakho*" path, which derived from the Spanish insult "*carajo*."²⁵

5.5.3.3 *SS Barracks*

When arriving at the site, the schematic design of the Buchenwald memorial site consists of four paths which are marked on the map by four colors (red, blue, green, and yellow), in order to help the visitors plan their tour according to their schedule. The tour embodies the collective memories of the inmates from various nations and narrates the story of extermination in a five-kilometer-tour which takes about three hours at least: *See figure 6*

The first path is the way into the prisoners' camp (red route) which started at the SS Barracks, Railway station, and SS headquarters. As for the Barracks, four buildings called "*Hundertschaftgebäude*" [*Hundred buildings*] and the larger SS Barrack have been preserved among the 18 houses of Barracks and a dining hall which originally built between 1937-1939. They all arranged in a semi-circle. The present context is an information center and a car/bus park.²⁶ The first path also includes the Camp gate, Crematorium, and the Storehouse.

5.5.3.4 *Camp gate, Muster Ground and Crematorium*

As for the Camp gate with central watchtower, it was built by prisoners in 1937. The building included the SS Command's offices, and the wings of the building carry the memories of the inmates who were tortured or murdered by the SS jailors. Interment into the camp involved passing through this gate. The inscription "*Jedem das Seine*" [*To each his own*], on the gate, formed the boundary between the SS area and the inmates' camp.²⁷

The inscription could be read from the inside only. The memories of the former prisoners of tortures they lived in their first days always started with the shock of arriving at this place. The gate even was part of the inmates' sketches when drawing the daily routine of going to work in groups went through the gate in long lines. *See figure 4*

On the other hand, the gate carries the memory of liberations moments, when it was controlled by political prisoners, who belonged to the international resistance organization on the 11th April 1945; they arrested SS men and raised the white flag. Meanwhile, the 3rd US

²⁵ Thein and Siegmund, eds. *A Visitors' Guide to Buchenwald Memorial*, 21.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 9.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 12.

Army occupied *Ettersberg* Hill having arrived from the North West. The tower clock records the time of their liberation.²⁸

The Muster Ground "*Appelplatz*" is ground between the gate and the prisoners' barracks (Blocks). It was asphalted in 1938. It is the site where standing for hours, cruel punishments, and for daily role to count the inmates twice a day forming them into blocks and ordered them to do routine tasks, that in order to destroy each personality, and finally the human being himself. Currently, the places of the various blocks during the roll call are marked by a rectangular stone. Further, many memorials established for the special camps in 1938 and also for the special camps 1939-1940.²⁹

Regarding the crematorium when the death's numbers increased so quickly in the period of the existence of the special camps, from 1939 to 1940, the crematory ovens stationed in the camp and it started operation in the middle of 1940. The ashes of the dead were first put into urns, then later be dumped into nature below mansion road. Currently, it is preserved as the grave of Ashes.³⁰

For the prisoners, the chimney of the Crematorium could be seen at the entrance of the camp, from the "*Appelplatz*" [*Muster Ground*]: The Crematorium with its chimney was the most terrible place according to the writings of many former inmates. However, after the suffering and the transition between various extermination camps, among them *Auschwitz*, *Wiesel* described it in his writing by no longer impress them; he stated that while he was standing in ranks in the *Appelplatz* just after they had arrived Buchenwald, "*I tightened my grip on my father's hand. The old familiar fear not to lose him. Very close to us stood the tall chimney of the crematorium's furnace. It no longer impressed us. It barely drew our attention.*"³¹

5.5.3.5 *The Exhibition: Voices from the past*

Generally, the first path (red route) includes 14 stations, in addition to the museum and the permanent exhibitions. This route designed to give the visitors the choice to cut the tour and provide shorter return distances. However, it needs at least one and a half an hour for about two kilometers long.

²⁸ Stein, Buchenwald A tour of the memorial site, 24-25.

²⁹ Ibid, 27.

³⁰ Ibid, 30-31.

³¹ Elie Wiesel is the writer of "Night", 122.



Figure 4: Scenes from the permanent art exhibition: a, b- present works using the inmates' clothes and staffs, the art done by former inmates as well as contemporary artists. Source (a- b) Photos taken by Researcher 2015. c- "Returning from work," ink drawing made by the polish prisoner Karol Konieczny. d- "Professor *Maurice Halbwachs* (1877-1945) (Collège de France) waiting to his bandages changed". Drawing by the French prisoner Boris Taslitzky. Source: (c-d) Stein, *Buchenwald A tour of the memorial site*, 24.

The permanent exhibition of the history of Buchenwald replaced the former store building (Depot 1939) of the prisoners' clothing and personal staffs. Moreover, the permanent art exhibition was the former disinfection station (1942), in which the inmates had to turn in their civilian clothing, heads shaven, having a disinfection bath.³²

One of the most impressive issues about Buchenwald is that it does commemorate not only the difficult living conditions but also the means of survival. Resistance appears inside the camp, despite the oppression life; a different kind of resistance, resistance that continued to transfer the voices of those victims through visual memories, such as art sketches of some artists' former prisoners, the writings or poems of writers. Those means of survival, testimony, artwork, artists' biography are displayed in the permanent art exhibition section (which was the former disinfection station). Hence, art may be a mean of resistance and relieves the fear and pain. *See Figure 4.*

5.5.3.6 "Goethe" Oak Tree; a Reminiscence of the Freedom

The second path is the remains of the camp Barracks (blue route) which leads the visitors across Prisoners' Blocks, the small camp, Prisoners' infirmary, Typhus Research Station, Special camp for Soviet Prisoners of War, special Jewish camp, Prisoners' canteen. It includes 12 stations over a distance of about 1.3 kilometers that takes about an hour. Both sections of paths 1 and 2 cover about 3 kilometers, including the shorter return and it takes about 2 hours and a half.

The prisoners' blocks were full of many of the knowledge's entrepreneurs. Ironically, that the French sociologist professor *Maurice Halbwachs* (1877-1945) who was well known as the father of the "collective memory,"³³ he himself as a former prisoner in the small camp became part of the collective memories of the Buchenwald (died in block 55 on 15th March

³² Thein and Siegmund, eds. *A Visitors' Guide to Buchenwald Memorial*, 13-14.

³³ His theory about the "multiplicity of memory" was discussed in the initial foundation: chapter two of the study.

1945). Further, a part of the current national memory of Germany. His picture was sketched by another French prisoner *Boris Taslitzky*.³⁴ See figure 4-d

Within suffering and hard work and difficult living conditions and isolation from the outside world stood an old Oak tree, on the east side of the camp (the easternmost row of the prisoners' barracks), between the inmates' kitchen and the laundry, to embody the connection point between them and life in the real world beyond the camp walls. *"The inmates claimed that Goethe had met Charlotte von Stein here. For them, the tree was a legend, a bit of unharmed nature, a reminiscence of the world outside the camp."*³⁵

Ironically, that tree reveals the hidden side of the character of the Nazi officer and his interest in the preservation of nature instead of maintaining the human souls. The "Thick Oak" was registered as a natural wonder. When the area was deforested for the building of the camp, the SS left the tree standing, presumably out of traditional respect for the symbolism of the Oak, and as an act of nature conservation. A stray firebomb hit the tree during the allied bomb attack on the Arms factory in August 1944. Shortly after that, it was felled. See figure 5

Figure 5: Goethe Oak:
a- Laundry Building and "Goethe's Oak" in 1944.
 Source: National Archives, Washington D.C., cited in Stein, *Buchenwald: A tour of the Memorial Site*, 32.
b- The preserved "Goethe Oak" tree after felled in 1944, by the Allies.
 Source: Photo taken by researcher 2015



5.5.3.7 *The Other: Glimpses from the lives of Nazi military commanders*

It is worth mentioning that the site not only describes the suffering of prisoners but also gives some glimpses from the lives of Nazi military commanders. For instance, the existence of *SS zoological* garden (1938) located between the "political department" and the camp fence, according to a commander's order issued by *Karl Koch*. This is a clear indication of how important it was for him to place illusory idyll of the Zoo; a symbol of a normal everyday life, right up against the barbed-wire fence, like a military bridgehead.

It is a recreation area alongside the inmates' camp, built for the usage of the SS and their families; the bear pit (excavated in 1994) and structures of the facility have survived. While the prisoners were suffering behind the walls of the prison, the animals which entertain Nazi

³⁴ Stein, *Buchenwald A tour of the memorial site*, 42

³⁵ Station 12, *The Goethe Oak*, text quoted from an audio of multimedia guides (ipod nano or ipod touch), Visitor Information Center, 2015.

devices which are familiar to every doctor's room. Perhaps that was done by this way to prevent any kind of resistance.³⁷ See figure 6-b.

5.5.3.9 *Street of Nations*

Finally, the fourth path of the layout is the way to the tombs of special camp No.2 (yellow route). It is approximately 1.5 kilometers. There, the monument on the southern slope of *Ettersberg* Hill can be reached on foot. It is the graveyard of more than 3000 people.

During the liberation ceremony which was held in 1946, it was the survivors' concern to build a memorial for the victims. In 1949, a memorial "*Ehrenhain*" [*Field of Honour*] was located on the southern slope of *Ettersberg* on the site of the mass grave, by the *Thuringian* State.

This memorial for many followed years held the survivors' commemoration events. Meanwhile, the site of the former concentration camp was demolished after the dissolution of Special Camp 2 (1949-1950).

In 1950, the feasibility of constructing a monument by the German Democratic Republic was highly considered the construction started in 1945 to replace the memorial "Field of Honour." It took about four years until 1958.

The monument remained a mourning place for many survivors who come to lay flowers in the tower on the anniversary of the liberation. In the same time, the political powers used it as a symbol to justify their actions and their viewpoints. Their intentions expressed in the architectural design of the place.

The place included the "Row of Tombs" for those who died immediately after the liberation. They were buried below the "Bismarck Tower" (demolished in 1949) More than 400 graves include different corpses of various nations; Germans, Jews, Poles, Slovaks, and Greeks. In addition to 1246 ashes' urns which were found in the basement of the Bismarck Tower. They were buried in the rows of tombs.

On the other hand, the place includes the "Ring Tombs" of about 2900 SS men were buried in March and April 1945. Three funnels shaped tombs included in the design of the memorial. Ironically, in the end, graves of both the prisoners and the SS men became part of the country's national memorial.

The 18 nations³⁸ who lost victims in Buchenwald were represented by Brick pillars along what is called "*The Road of Nations*" which connects the "Ring Tombs."

³⁷ Ibid, 56-57.

The site also included a symbol of the prisoners' resistance a group of statues sculptured by the sculptor *Fritz Cremer*, moreover, as a monumental symbol stands the "Bell Tower" at the end of the tour. Inside the tower under a bronze plaque put the soil from many national socialists' camps. During the German Democratic Republic, there were mass meetings, and flag hoisting was often held on the square in front of the tower.³⁹ See figure 7



Figure 7: a-Street of Nations honors victims from 18 different. b- Aerial view of the Buchenwald Monument. c- Sculpture by Fritz Cremer shows Buchenwald resistance fighters in the middle of the square. Source: "Memorials to the Dead at Buchenwald," Buchenwald Concentration Camp, last modified June 1, 2009, accessed January 15, 2015. <http://www.scrapbookpages.com/Buchenwald/Monuments.html>

The following map clarifies the four paths, the visual analysis (photos) describe some important scenes which represent the visual memory of the place.

³⁸ The 18 nations based on the idea which determines nation according to the states' existence.

³⁹Sabine, Harry Stein, *Buchenwald: A tour of the Memorial site*, (Weimar: Weimar-Buchenwald, 1993), 70.



Figure 9: Urban Walk through the historical site; some scenes represent the visual memory of the place:

- a- Map of the memorial site with the four coloured routes. Source: Sabine, Harry Stein, *Buchenwald: A tour of the Memorial site*, (Weimar: Weimar-Buchenwald, 1993).
- b- The Muster Ground: Site of the roll calls carried out every morning and evening, as well as of punitive measures and executions.
- c- The information center (former SS Barracks).
- d- The Camp Gate with main watch tower.
- e- The inscription "To each his own" (*Jedem das Seine*), on the gate formed the boundary between the SS area and the inmates' camp.
- f- Stake and Cart. Means of punishment and work (reconstruction).
- g- The crematorium "Exterior", built 1940-1942.
- h- The crematorium "Interior".
- i- Heaps of corpses in the court yard of crematorium. A photo taken by Sergeant Sutler, April 23, 1945. Source of "b,i": Photos taken by researcher during a tour in the memorial.
- j- Reminder of the camp railway station exposed since 1993 (end of the commemorative Buchenwald railway Path). Source: Philipp Neumann-Thein and Sandra Siegmund, eds. *A Visitors' Guide to Buchenwald Memorial*, (Weimar: Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora, Memorials Foundation, 2014), 18.
- k- Buchenwald Railway Station in 1943. Source: Stein, *Buchenwald: A tour of the Memorial site*, 20.

5.5.4 Case Study Findings: Lessons to Learn

Since revival does not happen overnight, it is essential to set clear agendas and design a new roadmap that fosters a sense of community when designing memorial sites. It has been stated that there is no fixed model for commemoration of history crimes, especially those crimes which are beyond imagination, and any rendered forms of remembrance may seem ineffective. However, the architect should invite the hidden voices to speak. Besides, concerned professionals should include all agents to give the most accurate image that can be achieved by some necessary actions :

Listening to the survivors' stories; which help in documenting the events. For survivors, Buchenwald is a place of "dead-testimony-sites of martyrdom and graveyards."

Preserving the life conditions of the context sites: with the help of the people who lived there, in order to enable visitors to grasp the reality of it.

Collecting the visual memory; which commemorates both suffering and the resistance, provides "Artwork- Writing" in order to transfer the voices of the victims, even those who passed away.

Making an analysis based on the political psychosocial approach: to reveal the hidden part of both the victims and the commanders' life, their personality, and, most important, their fears which pushed them into that awful unbalanced way. As for Nazi officers, they tried to find a normal life in the middle of the persecution camp, besides the killing machine. For instance, the construction of riding hall, which was a part of the status symbols the camp Commandant Karl Koch surrounded himself with, who was known for his lordly way of life.

Encouraging Public awareness; by organizing citizens tours and visits: "some 1000 citizens of Weimar were made to tour the camp on orders of General Patton. All over Germany, the allies organised campaigns to enlighten the public about the concentration camps."⁴⁰

Letting the world to see and witness: Like what happened in Buchenwald which was the first large concentration camp to be discovered by U.S. American troops. Immediately after the liberation, the camp was opened to allied Journalists, news photographers, and filmmakers to document the site as incontestable evidence of the criminal character of the NS (National Socialist) regime.

⁴⁰The History of Buchenwald Memorial, Visitors' Comprehensive Guide to the Permanent Exhibition., Weimar-Buchenwald 2000, P 6

Creating a Committee consists of all concerned agents: to declare and announce the will of building a new world of peace and liberty as a stepping stone on the way to democracy.

Putting a strategy with time plan: to take the appropriate decision whether to keep and commemorate, take public participation (questionnaire) into consideration.

5.6 Summary and Conclusion

It took German Nation decades until was forced to come in terms with the past. After all, Germany held the blame for two world wars, destruction, and suffering in Europe:

After many failing historians' attempts toward positive self-perception, it was only in the late 1990s the reaching to the acceptance of that European and German suffering was Germany's responsibility at the first place which led finally to discuss the difficult topics in public debate, such as the allied raids on German cities, the citizens suffering, and the National Socialism crimes.

The result of the debate confirmed that National Socialism particularly the Holocaust forms the most crucial anchor of German historical consciousness.

In the 2000s the new narrative of "Post-classical national identity" invited by Heinrich August Winkler, found spread wide German support due to its sense of the pride of German achievement, besides, its acceptance of the responsibility of past mistakes.

"Vergeben muss man, aber Vergessen ist unmöglich..." [You have to forgive, but forgetting is impossible] stated by *Hermann Neudorf*, those few words conclude the phases of Germany's coming to term with past; as first immediately in post-war years, there was an invitation to forget to be able to support the new European project: to bring nations together again. Although that was useful for victors, it had a high price for victims who were ignored for a long time.

Hence, the study has found that when forgetting was impossible; it is better to overcome the past: starting of victims' appreciation and admitting the past mistakes. Regarding the places which were associated with the past like the concentration camps in the case of Germany, they probably could be kept as memorial sites which provide the experience of healing, in addition to a learning experience for new generations in order not to repeat the past.

The chapter tackled the case study of the Buchenwald concentration camp, which is analyzed via the (PPS.) model. The analysis included visual memories associated with the parts of the place, those visual memories provide rich information about the political

circumstances at that time, further reveal the psychosocial influences of both of the inmates and the officers.

The case findings' provide the designer with guidelines such as: the necessity of listening to survivors, preserving the living conditions, and collecting the visual memory in addition to doing an analysis based on political psychosocial approach. Further, encouraging public awareness: by organizing citizens' tours and visits, to let the world see and witness by opening the site to be documented by journalists, news photographers, and filmmakers. Besides, constituting a committee consists of all concerned agents to put a strategy with a time plan and take public participation (questionnaire) into consideration.

Finally, critical historical breaks (such as uprising, revolutions, regime collapse, war comes to an end) is the exact chance to brought significant changes to people's thought of their national history. However, nationalizing the historical consciousness requires efforts from the whole society members; historians, philosophers, socialists, psychologists, politicians, and place designers.

Chapter Six: Germany, East, West Remembrance Culture

Objective: *Investigating Germany national memory by reading the different remembrance culture between East and West Germany. Two case studies have been concerned; Dresden and Cologne.*

- 6.1. Introduction**
- 6.2. East, West, and the Different Remembrance Cultures**
- 6.3. Dresden “Historical Glimpse”**
- 6.4. Reading Dresden City Center**
- 6.5. Cologne "Köln" “Historical Glimpse”**
- 6.6. Reading Cologne City Center**
- 6.7. Summary and Conclusion**

6.1 Introduction

Post-conflict of the Second World War, along catastrophic history in Germany, took place, until lately, it was able to build a new remembrance culture and thinking of the past; accompanied by a feeling of pain and pride merged together, a feeling based on heroically national sense with a self-criticism as it has been introduced in the previous chapter.

After the Second World War, and the end of the Nazi dictatorship, Germany was divided into the West Federal Republic of Germany and the East German Democratic Republic. The division resulted that the German family (the nucleus of the society), was also divided and dispersed in many cases. Consequently, the East and the West Postwar generations vary greatly in their thoughts, beliefs, cultures, quality of life, and education and even in their memories. At the end of that division, the unification took place and broke the wall in 1989, influenced the country future, the European Union and influenced the other nations as well.

However, Germany has two different remembrance cultures between the West and the East. Somehow that positioned Germany to be the perfect evidence and the crystal clear close-comparative case study on how the political, social division reflects on the city urban fabric.

On a Macro scale, for more explanation, city centers of two German cities have been generally analyzed: Dresden and Cologne. The reason of choosing Dresden particularly from East and Cologne from the west is to explore the remembrance culture in Germany, as somehow those two cities represent the extremes means of remembrance cultures between West and East; on how dictatorship destroys the nation, and how democracy builds the nations civilization.

On Microscale, memorial sites in those German cities hold the various representations of memories which have been initiated by different memory actors (Government, authorities, or individuals) and influenced by different political, social periods in German's history. The criteria of the chosen case studies were based on their evidence and existence through the city urban fabric, considering people interaction, sometimes individual means in particular.

Finally, the chapter sums up with "Lessons to learn" from every section. Those learned lessons investigate how studying those German experiences in creating national sites may influence the way of dealing with Egypt challenges of the incomplete transition hopefully they could be benefited from, at some point in the near future.

Egyptians will need to renationalize their historical consciousness and create places of remembrance to help in dissolving the boundaries between different political, social divisions and narratives of National Memory in Egypt.

6.2 East, West, and the Different Remembrance Cultures

6.2.1 The Post-Conflict German Society

In 1945, the conflict between the political forces was whether to swiftly punish those responsible or forget the past and continue forward rapidly to build the country future. With this respect, the invitation to forget has stated to save Europe and rebuild it and to stick to the belief that the European family want to forget the past crimes and mistakes, as Winston Churchill said in 1946; that to save Europe, the European family must have a faith and an act of forgetfulness against the painful past.

After 1945, when Germany came under the Allied occupation, two republics were founded in 1949: German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the East, and Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the West. They had very different cultures of remembrance. There was no solid land between the two divided German states to allow developing a Remembrance Culture and building a national memory. They had very different attitudes which were argued by *Aleida Assmann*, in her article "Culture of Remembrance" as follows:

In the *East*, the communist resistance during the war was the main legend and the only dominant memory which considered by the state which profiled itself as an "anti-fascist." That presented by that the former concentration camps at *Buchenwald*, *Ravensbrueck*, and *Sachsenhausen* became National Memorials (as it has been discussed in the previous chapter). Therefore, for the society, the choice at that time was not to change the way of thinking, but rather to change only the direction, as a trial to adapt with the new political regime, and that was the war generation desire.

Meanwhile, the *West*, a continuous silent had been spread and neglected responsibility of Nazi crimes. Except for the trials of the War crimes, and few groups tried to remember the Nazi persecution; however, there was no public discussion of involvement in crimes. Therefore, it was not favored to develop a remembrance culture. For the society, the dominant memory was the Allied bombing raids' victims who were expelled from their homes in the Third Reich.¹

6.2.2 Transformation in Values

According to *Assmann*, in the *West*, the inner transformation and change in values only took place in the 1960s, which, simultaneously, laid the foundation for a new culture of remembrance. In 1968, a new generation (post-war generation) made a deep change in the principle, including admitting the responsibility of Nazi crimes. The Federal President *Richard von Weizsäcker* stated that the day of liberation the 8th of May was considered as a

¹Aleida Assmann, "Culture of Remembrance," *DE MAGAZIN DEUTSCHLAND* 1, March 2, 2015, 13, accessed August 15, 2015, url: <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/politics/germany-europe/culture-ofremembrance>

historical turning point in the state values and principles and provided a foundation stone for creating a new Remembrance Culture.²

In the mid-1960s, many factors led to a growing debate and birth of developing a concept of “National Memorial Site.” First, the statute of limitations for murder was lifted, secondly, the establishment of many memorial sites at former concentration camps (1965: *Dachau and Neuengamme*) and the opening of German Resistance Memorial center in 1968 in West Berlin.³

Later, in the 1970s, many other factors combined to encourage that. Those factors included the television broadcast of the American series *HOLOCAUST* and the trial of *Kurt Lischka* - an SS *Obersturmbannfuehrer*, (lieutenant-colonel) who was the head of the Cologne Gestapo. Besides, the increasing popular pressure addressed country history under National Socialism. However, it was only during the 1980s when the landscape of memory was developed as a result of local initiatives (often small-scale).

With this regard, the West generated Feeling of pride based on the successful rebuilding of Economy-Welfare state creation- Construction of a functioning parliamentary democracy.

However, the situation is different for the *East*, the 8th of May has a very different remembrance in the countries of Eastern Europe which had to wait until their national liberation 1989-1990. The identity of those states (except the GDR) is defined by their experience of oppression and their historical museums that preserve a national memory of victimhood and collective suffering⁴.

The self-critical remembrance in East Germany, which was also compatible with European remembrance, continued until the date of the collapse of the GDR. Because post the Second World War, those eastern European states, in general, were at a new era of occupation and dictatorship instead of being among the liberated states. Hence, Germans’ feeling of shame and isolation based on Suffering at the end of the SWW, and the isolated Economic due to divisions between the West and East-dictatorship of GDR.

There were stronger fears of the revival of German nationalism in Eastern Europe due to citizens suffering, but the concept of common “national memorial site” was developed following the German unification in 1990, and there was a major review of German sites of memory. Whereas, Germans reached the desire of communicating with Europe and creating a European Union, after the wall falling, the end of the GDR. Hence, Germany unification.

² The Famous Speech of Federal President *Richard von Weizsäcker* in February 1985, about the day of 8th May 1985 "The day of liberation which considered as historic milestone of remembrance culture" cited in Ibid.

³ “Europe, Germany, History,” Information Portal to European sites of Remembrance, accessed June 5, 2015. <http://www.memorialmuseums.org/laender/detail/5/Germany>

⁴ Assmann, "Culture of Remembrance," 14.

Summary of the key points of the different cultures of remembrance between West and East are introduced in the following table (Table 1)

Table 1: Comparing the different cultures of remembrance between East and West Germany. Source: the researcher.

	East (GDR)	West (FRG)
The general attitude of developing remembrance culture	Profiled itself as an “anti-fascist” state.	Refusal to mention the personal ties with the Nazi regime for a long time, so it was not favored to develop a culture of remembrance.
The dominant memory	The communist resistance as the main legend. An establishing of National Memorials such as the former concentration camp at Buchenwald.	The Allied bombing raids’ victims who were expelled from their homes in the Third Reich. Neglected responsibility of Nazi crimes.
New remembrance culture	It was realized only after the Fall of The Wall in 1989.	Values’ change was realized with the generational change of the 1968 generation. (post-war generation)
The generated feeling of Germans	Feeling of shame and isolation based on Suffering at the end of the SWW- Isolated breakable Economic due to divisions between West and East- totalitarian dictatorship of GDR.	A feeling of pride based on The successful rebuilding of Economy-Welfare state creation- Construction of a functioning parliamentary democracy.
The 8th of May as a day of liberation (national memory)	The self-critical remembrance in East Germany, had to wait until the date of the collapse of the GDR. Because at the end of the war, the east started a new version of occupation and dictatorship instead of being among the liberated states.	It is generally recognized as a historic milestone.

From the previous table, notably that the culture of remembrance was very different between the two republics; as it is almost twenty-year-difference and isolation between West and East. The fall of the wall (*See Figure 1*) was the first step towards the unification of East and West Germany, which was formally concluded in 1990.

6.2.3 Lesson to Learn

The ‘Nations suffering’ was and still the expected result of any dictatorship policy, even if that regime is powerful and successful in other aspects. Power without respect of humanity finally leads to a deep crisis of the national paradigm.

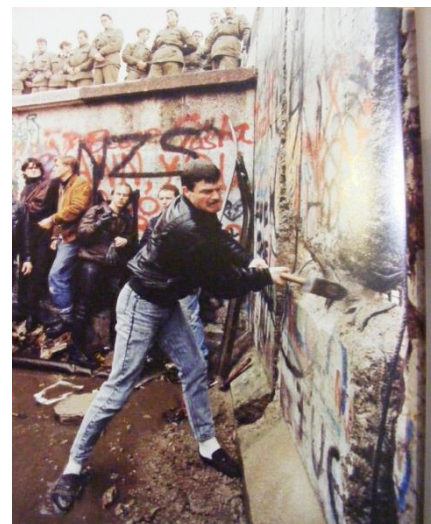


Figure 1: Young East Germans demolish the wall in November 1989, as soldiers standing on the top of the wall watching. Source: Berger, Germany, 282.

6.3 Dresden “Historical Glimpse”

At that point of the research, studying Dresden in the East is essential, since "Dresden" explores different models of the German city's rebuilding process (as a post-conflict society). In the beginning, it is necessary to overview its historical background.

6.3.1 The Early History of Dresden

The city had been settled in the Neolithic era by Linear Pottery culture tribes ca. 7500 BC.⁵ Dresden is located on the Elbe. (See figures 2, 3). It consists of *two cities*, one on each side of the Elbe; north and south.

According to *Fritz Löffler*, in his book “*Das Alte Dresden*” that at the end of the 12th century, Dresden name back to a Slavic settlement known as *Drežd’any* had located on both the northern and the southern banks. Dresden became the capital of the *Margraviate* in 1270. By 1350, the city was known as *Antiqua Dresdin* and later as *Altendresden*, literally "old Dresden."⁶

Its name etymologically is derived from Old Sorbian *Drežd’any*; which means "people of the forest." Dresden became the Saxony dukes' seat in 1485. Then in 1547, it was the seat of electors as well.

During the Saxony rule, Dresden became a leading European city for technology and art. Important historical building, such as the *Zwinger* Royal Palace, the *Hofkirche* and the *Frauenkirche* were built. In 1729, the first Polish Military Academy was founded in Dresden.

The old medieval township which had burned in a massive conflagration in 1685 on the north side, laid over its ruins in 1732 the *Dresden-Neustadt* (Dresden the new city). Later, Dresden suffered massive destruction in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and a failed Prussian siege in 1760.⁷



Figure 2: Germany Map; Dresden in east of Germany. Source: www.bing.com



Figure 3: Dresden located on the Elbe. Source: *Ibid.*

⁵Rengert Elburg, "Man-animal relationships in the Early Neolithic of Dresden(Saxony, Germany)", in *Elephants have a snorkel! Papers in honour of Paul Y. Sondaar*, eds. R e u m e r, J.W. F. & De Vos, J. (United states: American Museum of Natural History, 1999), accessed on March 20, 2016,

https://www.academia.edu/1160390/Man-animal_relationships_in_the_Early_Neolithic_of_Dresden_Saxony_Germany_

⁶ Fritz Löffler, *Das alte Dresden*, (Leipzig: VEB E.A. Seemann Verlag, 1982), 20

⁷ " REGIONS /REGIONS AND CITIES / DRESDEN" Saxony. State of the Arts., accessed April 5, 2016. <http://www.sachsen-tourismus.de/pl/regiony/regiony-i-miasta/drezno/>

6.3.2 Dresden in the 19th Century

Between 1806 and 1918, Dresden was the capital of the Saxony Kingdom, (as a part of the 1871 foundation of the German Empire). It witnessed the Dresden Battle on August 27, 1813, during the Napoleon Wars. Then, the 1848 German Revolutions. Regardless of the political circumstances, the city became a major center of the economy during the 19th century.

6.3.3 Dresden during the 20th Century

In 1918 – 1934, it was the capital of the first Free State of Saxony, and a core of modern art in Europe until the Rise of Nazi to power in 1933. At the outbreaks of the First World War, a large military facility called *Albertstadt* was built in Dresden and was reactivated in preparation for the Second World War in 1934.⁸

During the Nazi Era, it has been stated that over 1,300 people were executed at the *MünchnerPlatz*; a courthouse in Dresden, including labor leaders, undesirables, resistance fighters, and anyone caught listening to foreign radio broadcasts.⁹

6.3.4 The Bombing of Dresden

For decades, the bombing of Dresden remains controversial: Dresden in the 20th century was a significant communications hub which helped the Nazi party to spread the propaganda of the ideas of the party and reached for every home in Germany. Further, it was a manufacturing center and a strong point of the German defense, to prevent the Soviet advance.

For those reasons, it was an important target to be destroyed during the war. Between 13 and 15 February 1945, the inner city of Dresden was largely destroyed by the Air Forces of both the Royal (RAF) and the United States Army (USAAF).¹⁰ The operation was described by the Allies as the legitimate bombing of a military and industrial target, even the railway marshaling yard *Dresden-Friedrichstadt* was considered a military target.¹¹ (*See figures 4*).

Ironically, the Dresden-Neustadt of 1732 (Dresden the new city) currently became the oldest part of the city, since parts of it have remained after the 1945 bombing raids. On the

⁸ Nern Rüdiger, Erich Sachße, Bert Wawrzinek. *Die Dresdner Albertstadt*. Dresden, 1994; *Albertstadt – sämtliche Militärbauten in Dresden*. (Dresden, 1880.)

Götz Bergander, *Dresden im Luftkrieg: Vorgeschichte-Zerstörung-Folgen*, (Flehsig Verlag, 1998.)

⁹ "VICTIMS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST JUDICIARY AT MÜNCHNER PLATZ," Gedenkstätte Münchner Platz Dresden | Stiftung Sächsische Gedenkstätten, accessed July 20, 2015.

<https://en.stsg.de/cms/node/775>

¹⁰ "BBC On This Day | 14 February | 1945: Thousands of bombs destroy Dresden," BBC News. 14 February 1945, accessed May 5, 2011.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/14/newsid_3549000/3549905.stm

"Archibald Henry Macdonald Sinclair 1st Viscount Thurso." Hall of Holography: World War I. Accessed March 11, 2016. <http://museum.lmunet.edu/exhibit/vex5/F27A6482-464C-4F4F-969A-585313687950.htm> ¹¹

contrary, the section of Dresden that located south of the Elbe and was destroyed in the war has been rebuilt by the Socialists in a Marxist modernist manner.

In their book *"Firestorm: The Bombing of Dresden, 1945"*, Paul Addison and Jeremy A. Crang have argued that the result of the February attacks have been considered disproportionate whereas, mostly women and children died.¹² It has been stated that when the RAF chief of the Bomber Command *Sir Arthur Harris* interviewed by BBC after the war in 1977, he insisted on the decision to carry out the raids. Further, he reconfirmed that it has reduced the German military's ability to wage war regardless of the human cost.¹³



Figure 4: Dresden Bombing and Destruction images
Source: www.saveyourheritage.com, www.artandseek.net
www.object.com

Dresden is a cultural center of the historical memory, due to its bombing in the Second World War. In remembrance of the victims, each year on 13 February, peace demonstrations take place. The marches used to be more political, during the cold war. After Germany reunification, the ceremony became more neutral and pacifist tone, however, according to Deutsche Welle, a massive Protest against Neo-Nazi marches emerged in 2009.¹⁴

6.4 Reading Dresden City Center

Post the Second World War, "Rebuilding Dresden" became one of the largest urban preservation projects in all Europe. One of the pioneer studies of Dresden is *"Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden'"* by Jarzombek. In that section of the thesis, Jarzombek's some important arguments will be discussed, in addition to other researchers, agree/disagree with Jarzombek.

Reading the rebuilding of Dresden's city center is analyzed via the (PPS.) model, in order to identify the political psychosocial influences which brought significant changes, reflected on the urban fabric and constituted part of the country's national memory. The model is applied to two political phases of the history of Dresden: First, during the Socialists

¹² Paul Addison and Jeremy A. Crang, (eds.). *Firestorm: The Bombing of Dresden, 1945*. (Pimlico, 2006), 194.

¹³ Suzannah Hills, "'I would have destroyed Dresden again': Bomber Harris was unrepentant over German city raids 30 years after the end of World War Two." mail Online, News, (February 11, 2013) accessed February 12, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2276944/I-destroyed-Dresden-Bomber-Harris-unrepentant-German-city-raids-30-years-end-World-War-Two.html>

¹⁴"On Dresden Anniversary, Massive Protest Against Neo-Nazi March | Germany | Deutsche Welle | February 14, 2009", accessed May 10, 2012. <http://dw.com/p/GuOH>
"Geh Denken – Startseite". Geh-denken.de, accessed May 10 2012.

Role (1945-1989). Second, post-reunification of Germany in 1989. (*Summarized in Tables 2, and 3*)

6.4.1 Socialist Dresden; between 1945 - 1989

Postwar years, there were many to be rebuilt: the Soviet and East German authorities in the 1950s and 1960s razed some of the bombed-out ruins of churches, royal buildings - such as the Gothic *Sophienkirche*, the *Albert* theater, and the *Wackerbarth-Palais* - instead of being repaired. Further, the religion's symbolic in the city, the *Frauenkirche* [church] (famed eighteenth-century baroque masterpiece) was totally abandoned.

On the other hand, many reconstructions sites were chosen to serve the ideology of the Socialist city, as the officials of the city directed to rebuild sectors of the city in a "socialist modern" style, partly for economic reasons, and also to break away from the city's past as a stronghold of the German bourgeoisie.

In his argument about rebuilding of Dresden, *Jazombek* disagreed about the claim of some contemporary Dresdeners, for example, historian *Jürgen Paul*, who has claimed that Socialists failed to rebuild the city, their attempt was like "Second destruction," from *Paul's* perspective, the Socialists transformed Dresden into a "Chaos of disconnected fragments".¹⁵ *Jazombek* argued that the Rebuilding of Dresden needs to be reassessed. He based his opinion that the extent of Dresden demolition was vast; the best evidence was the image of the flat landscape of the former city center ca. 1967.

6.4.1.1 Street naming: Remembering Ernst Thälmann

Starting from the full East-West *Ernst Thälmann* Street which ran parallel to the Elbe, and intersects what once was the old city center. The street name itself was an act of memory: symbolize the "*Thälmann*": who born in 1886, he was the first president of the German Communist Party. He participated in the 1933 national election against Hitler. After the success of Hitler, he was arrested by the Gestapo, and eventually died in Buchenwald. Further, socially, as part of the party propaganda, and a mean to fix the Socialists' rule ideas; A film called *Ernst Thälmann -Sohn seiner Klasse* [*Ernst Thälmann -Son of the Working Class*] directed by *Kurt Maetzig* was shown throughout East Germany's schools.

6.4.1.2 Kulturpalast as a reminder of the Aristocracy's oppression

In the middle of *Thälmann* Street, a constructed *Kulturpalast*, designed by the firm *Wolfgang Haensch, Herbert Loeschau, Heinz Zimmermann*, a simple glass facades' building (similar to the modernism of the West at that time), but featured with five bronze doors with the official narrative of the Socialist Dresden (following Marxist theories), reminding of the

¹⁵ Juergen Paul, "Dresden: Suche nach der verlorenen Mitte," in *Neue Staedte aus Ruinen* (Munich: Prestel, 1992), 333.

citizens' oppression in the city's past, and the bourgeoisie which has emerged from the feudal aristocracy. Further, the psychological influence represented by visual sight of the sidewalk of the *Kulturpalast* which was marked by red ground was meant to emphasize the loyalty of *Dresden to Moscow*, and the victory over the bourgeois era which became only ruins.

6.4.1.3 *Johanneum adaptation*

On the other hand, there was a sort of the historical city revival, whereas some historical building was rebuilt and adapted to Socialist narrative: For instance, the rebuilding of the Renaissance era palace known as the *Johanneum*,¹⁶ which lies between the *Kulturpalast* and the *Frauenkirche*, which survived the bombardment with most of its walls standing. It shows the socialist power and technology, as it became a Museum of Transportation. It exhibited the latest in socialist tractors and railway engines.

Perhaps that was an ideology to compete for the memory of the Nazi rule which was the first in Germany, that constructed massive infrastructure and transportation network to connect German cities, as it was one of the effective propaganda for the Nazi, and it was one of the means to gain the trust and voices of Germans.

6.4.1.4 *Zwinger palace*

According to *Jarzombek*, during the Socialist Dresden, the city cultural heritage was not totally overlooked, for instance, restoring of the *Zwinger*, (One of Germany's most famous baroque buildings), despite the fact that it needed a heavy handed dose of ideology. The reconstruction's expense was partially justified by the claim that the building, designed by *Daniel Poppelmann*, a merchant's son, it demonstrated the emergence of the *Bourgeoisie* from the feudal aristocracy's oppression. Even though there was a type of modernity in the Socialist regime's reconstruction plan to develop the Elbe skyline, included the Semper's Opera House which was also slowly rebuilt, the *Schloss*, its stables, as were parts of the famous *Brühlsche Terrasse* that overlooked the Elbe.

6.4.1.5 *"Readjustment" of Dresden's urban consciousness*

Even in 1970s, the Psychosocial influence of the historical "readjustment" of Dresden's urban consciousness, continued by pattern of events considered important to the working class history, for example, setting up "Museum für Geschichte der Dresdner Arbeiterbewegung" A new Museum [for the History of Dresden's Worker's Movement], in addition to other means statues, rituals, and exhibitions.¹⁷

¹⁶ The museum got the name in the nineteenth century when King Johann, who ruled from 1854 to 1873, made it into a historical museum.

¹⁷Beginn eines neuen Lebens; eine Auswahl von Erinnerungen an den Beginn des Neuaufbaus in Dresden im Mai 1945, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Dresdener Arbeiterbewegung 7 (1960). The publications began in 1958. Cited in Jarzombek, *"Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden'."*

Table 2: Reading Socialist Dresden: 1945-1989. Source: Researcher

Historical phases (Political turns)	Representation of Memory	The memory actor (agent of change)	The memory influences: Political psychosocial, cultural key-events	Reflection of the inherited concepts: Centralization/ power
Post-War Socialist Dresden 1945-1989	Abandoning the <i>Frauenkirche</i> ; The heap of blackened stones	Socialists And East German authorities	Ruins have been left as a reminder for citizens' suffering in East German, in particular, the neglecting of rebuilding the church was influenced by the Socialists ideology of "non- religion era."	Reflect the centralization of the Socialists who followed the Marxist way.
	Naming <i>Ernst Thälmann</i> Straße [Street]		The street's name itself served as a symbolic, revealing the memory of " <i>Thälmann</i> " the first president of the German Communist Party. He participated in the 1933 national election against Hitler. The success of Hitler caused the Gestapo arrested him, and eventually died in Buchenwald.	Commemorate a public figure; his memory embodies the Nazi persecutions' means and dictatorship.
	The film of [<i>Ernst Thälmann</i> -Son of the Working Class]		The film was shown throughout the East Germany schools, as a social mean to influence the national memory of the new generations; as part of the Socialists propaganda. Psychologically, both the street name and the film, reflect the national memory concept influenced by both learned and lived experiences as well.	Reflect the socialists' attempts to obtain a public attached and trust.
	Five bronze doors of the constructed buildings Kulturpalast in <i>Thälmann</i> street		The bronze doors of the glass façade building, narrate the official narrative of the Socialist Dresden (influenced by the political and social Marxist theories).	A reminding of the citizens' oppression in the city's past, due to the bourgeoisie and aristocracy.
	A red pavement marked the sidewalk around the <i>Kulturpalast</i>		This red "ground" was meant to triumph over the memories of the bourgeois world that lay in ruins — erecting evidence of the arrival of the new age; by emphasizing the psychological influence of the red color associated with the Soviet.	Reflect Centralization and emphasizing Dresden's allegiance to Moscow.
	The rebuilding of the <i>Johanneum</i> palace		A sort of the historical city revival: Renaissance era, however, it adopted as Museum of Transportation, it exhibited the latest in socialist tractors and railway engines.	Show the socialist power and technology, to compete for the memory of the Nazi effective propaganda about the enhancement of Transportation infrastructure.
	Restoring of the Zwinger		Restoration of One of Germany's most famous baroque buildings: was influenced by a heavy-handed political ideology. Further, the expense was partially justified by that the building, designed by Daniel Poppelmann, a merchant's son.	The "emergence of the bourgeoisie" from the oppression of the aristocracy, as a necessary in-between step in the Marxist topos.

6.4.2 New Dresden: Post-Reunification

Dresden played an essential role in 1989 towards reunification. In order to demand the removal of the nondemocratic government of the German Democratic Republic, local activists (residents in Dresden) joined the growing civil disobedience movement spreading across the East. They joined the trains which carried the refugees of East German from Prague; those ran through Dresden on the way to the West (Federal Republic of Germany).

Currently, the city built environment and urban fabric that became the Locus of memory to register unexpected events; the locus of a memory to which were once not expected events, like Mark Jarzombek has stated: "*Who, in the 1930s, could have believed that something like the Holocaust would take place? Who, even in the early 1940s, could ever have thought that Dresden would be totally destroyed in the war? Who could ever have thought that Dresden would be bulldozed down to the ground? And who, even in the 1980s, would ever have thought that the city would be part of a united Germany and that it would be rebuilt in the blink of an eye?*"¹⁸

On the other contrary, the preservation attempted to narrate the past context of Dresden before the bombing as if someone paused the history on the exact moment before the bombing. The project concept based on restoring the buildings to their original form and appearance when the Nazi were in power.

The Saxon government applied principle Strategy which influenced by the New thoughts of the West in order to undo the "utopian" message of the Socialist planners.¹⁹ Hence, they divided the city into two zones; Historical and Commercial. The challenge was how applying the West German legal system onto the older systems that were partially grandfathered in, some even dating back to pre-war days.

The "pre-modern" architectural style targets a psychosocial influence; to revive the "Civic Identity" was equated almost exclusively with the "pre-modern," to connect citizens with their roots (pre-war times), except the synagogue, which was built in modern design.

Further, they applied the "*Verdichtung*" [Densification planned Approach] by inserting buildings into the Socialist fabric to simulate a psychosocial sense of a more compact nineteenth-century urban grid, especially in the commercial zone.

From then until now, the two zones of Dresden city center is in the process of reconstruction. In order to replace the civic center of the socialists, the area surrounding the

¹⁸Mark Jarzombek, "*Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden',*" in *Memory and architecture*, edited by Eleni Bastéa, (New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 72.

¹⁹Assembled a team of urban design professionals to come up with studies and make suggestions to the local planning boards. The team was headed up by Professor Zech, from Munich, where he was the head of the City Building Department and emeritus professor at the Technische Universität of Munich.

train station is becoming a post-modern-styled commercial center, in addition to, the reconstituted historic quarter along the Elbe, including the castle, ministry buildings, and museums, as well as the *Frauenkirche*. The only notable exception from those historical revival processes was the rebuilding of the nineteenth-century synagogue that once had been designed by *Gottfried Semper*; it was rebuilt in a different modern form.

Dresden city center: via observation, the new commercial center replaced the old Socialist era "civic center," which currently extends from Dresden main station (with its restored central hall) to the city's old town, *Alte Dresden* with its landmark the *Frauenkirche*. Notably that many areas are still under construction; however the route is vibrant with the modern commercial and surrounding social areas, which include hypermarkets, brands' stores, restaurants, modern sculptures, and families having fun with their children who are playing in the fountains and running after pigeons.

The route intersects with Ernst *Thälmann* Street which was renamed to *Wilsdruffer* after a village located north of the city. The street separates the preservation district from the new commercial center. As for *KulturPalast* it redesigned from the outside and transformed into a philharmonic. Eventually, it is possible to say that the route towards the city center "*Alt Stadt*" carries the sense of moving gradually back in time to the 1950s and 1960s buildings, to appear finally the *Frauenkirche* arousing in the middle of a historical zone to evoke the life of the 1930s, before the trauma of the war. Hence, both zones: commercial and historical introduce a comprehensive image by putting the past into the present moment. (See figure 5).



Figure 5: Visual analysis: Images of the route from Dresden main station to the City center (old city):
 a, b The restored central hall in Dresden main station. c: g Commercial zone. h- Panorama view of the reconstructed old city center; the *Frauenkirche* in the middle of the new rebuilt historical zone. Source: Researcher, 2015.

6.4.2.1 Dresden Skyline/ reflection of Germanic city

The city of Dresden has a distinctive silhouette, captured in famous paintings by *Bernardo Bellotto* and by Norwegian painter *Johan Christian Dahl*. It displays the typical historical city, which was the restorers' hope in the first place. They tried to recapture the once famous Dresden's skyline silhouette again, as seen from Dresden- *Neustadt*. (figure 6)

It has been stated that somehow the contemporary Dresden skyline still carries the imprint of the Nazi-era vision of the city. That was embodied by the Loggia which was designed by *Hans Nadler* in 1935, located along the Elbe bridge's foundations (that links *Neustadt* to Dresden), at the very point from where Dresden's famous skyline can best be seen.

Nadler Loggia includes panels which present specific theme, showing a confident ruler looking down at broad-shouldered workers, which in turn reminds that the Nazis contributed more than just "memories" to the urban landscape of Dresden. They perceived Dresden as a perfect Germanic city except for the nineteenth-century *synagogue* (the old Synagogue) which is located in a noticeable spot close to the Elbe, which formed the east anchor of the Dresden's skyline silhouette, on the other hand, the Dresden Opera House, formed the western anchor.

In 1939, on the *Kristallnacht*, the synagogue was firebombed. So it became in forgetfulness during the Nazi, then in Socialists' rule, until a new synagogue has been constructed in the same site after Germany reunification. However, its modern design with a lower height than the former building caused that it became no more part of the contemporary Dresden reconstructed skyline, which is in this sense, has been argued that the skyline still carries the imprints of the Nazi Era vision of the city.²⁰ Nevertheless, it is important to mention that the reconstruction of the new synagogue in that new modern form did not face disapproval by the Jews Community.



Figure 6: The contemporary Dresden reconstructed skyline was the restorers' hope to reflect the city as a perfect Germanic city:
a- Dresden Skyline silhouette.

Source: www.wandspruch.de
b- Dresden Skyline. Source: www.germanyonyourmind.com
c- Hans Nadler Loggia. Source: www.das-neue-dresden.de

²⁰Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden'," 51.

6.4.2.2 *Rebuilding Frauenkirche*

After the Second World War, for four decades of Socialist rule (the era of non-religion), the *Frauenkirche* had been abandoned, the ruins were left, and the heap of blackened stones has designated a memorial to citizens' suffering in East Germany. There was no certain decision that Dresden's *Frauenkirche* would be rebuilt. The *Frauenkirche* had to wait until the German unification. Only in the Early 1990s, the decision was finally made to rebuild the church. The announcement of its intended reconstruction reawakened Dresden's civic spirit and evoked the repressed memories about the church and the whole city destruction. As *Jarzombek* described that *"Overnight, the Frauenkirche became the symbol of the city's past, its survival, and its rebirth."*²¹

The reconstruction was rapidly begun because of many social and political influences: Some insights saw that rebuilding the church is a chance to atoning for the damage done by the Allies in the War. Moreover, a missionary of the return of religion after decades of socialists' rule (god-less). The initiative was framed by politicians speeches and dignitaries visits. *Henry Kissinger* has weighed in on the matter: *"The rebuilding of Dresden's Frauenkirche demonstrates an international commitment to overcome the cruelties of war and to build bridges among nations."*²²

The official narrative of the building's destruction, subsequent neglect, and the final reconstruction with the German reunification are not enough to tell the whole story about the building's architectural history. Whereas the reconstruction itself was an extraordinary process, it is done with the help of an advanced French computer modelling system known as CATIA, originally had been developed for the design of military aircraft. The same technology was also used for the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, that museum has a very similar context as it is located in an area, central to a narrative characterized by political imagery, national identity, and international touristic aspect.

Psychologically, the familiar context of using the "aviation technology" evoked the memory that it played a role in bombing the city in the past. Then, ironically, eventually was contributed to rebuilding it.



Figure 7: *Frauenkirche* Ariel view.
Source: www.n24.de

²¹ Ibid, 55.

²²Posted on "Friends of Dresden Deutschland E.v."Organization founded by molecular cell biologist Günter Blobel, New York, 1994. <http://www.friendsofdresden-deutschland.com>

Jarzombek referred to a growing debate in the German press about what to do with the heap of old stones? What is the proper decision? Should it be discarded or be preserved?

In psychological terms, the decision was probably taken due to the subjective belief that people need to connect with their roots, and with their city's history which can be read on the stone. As for the restorers, it was not just a stone; instead, it was the whole narrative. So they treated the stones as pieces of a vast, DNA-like research puzzle. The stones were categorized and then placed into the fabric of the new church's walls at the supposed spot where they once belonged.²³

Although the preservationists attempted hardly to reconstruct the building with the essence of "embedded memory" and tried to figure out where every stone belongs to, in the end, they realized that it was an aesthetic work governed by their positivistic conceits. The restoration was called as "critical restoration," which depends on technology and science.

On the other hand, the placement of most of the old stones was entirely random. Some of the rocks were parts of capitals and moldings, but many were generic blocks that could be put anywhere. Therefore, they were spread around to make the façade looks like its original appearance and the stones are in their original place, that no one can be certain about it.

It has been argued the restoration of Dresden buildings to its origin, might cause deleting essential layers of history: the city bombing, then the socialists rule, however, the lost stones which left random voids throughout the facade of the church, probably work as a reminder of the embedded memory.

Finally, the completion of the reconstructed Dresden *Frauenkirche* in 2005 is considered as a stepping stone in the reconstruction of the surrounded areas, which have been divided into 8 "Quarters," and rebuilt as a separate project, most of the buildings restored to their original form or at least with a similar façade to the original one. (See figure 7)

The Following is a timeline of *Frauenkirche* (figure 8) shows the context of the past and present, of the building: Since the building was a baroque icon during the 18th and the 19th centuries, then its demolition because of Dresden bombing at the end of the Second World War. The phase of neglecting the reconstruction of the church in the Socialist Rule (God-less) until the reunification in 1989; the ruins were left as a memorial of citizens' suffering. Eventually, the process of rebuilding was started in the 1990s until the 2005 current completed image of the building.

²³ Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden', 56.



Figure 8: Timeline of Frauenkirche displays the contexts of past and present: starting from the 18th, and the 19th century when the building was a baroque icon, then its destruction at the end of the second world war, neglecting in the Socialists Era (God-less) until the reunification in 1989; the ruins were left as a memorial of citizens' suffering. Eventually, The process of rebuilding in the 1990s until the 2005 current completed image of the building. Source: the researcher. Photos sources: a-The Yorck Project: 10.000 Meisterwerke der Malerei. DVD-ROM, 2002. b-<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c09077c>- German Federal Archive (Bild 183-60015-0002) d- wordpress.com e-Greg O'Beirne wikipedia f-Webster, en.wikipedia g- ProhibitOnions, en.wikipedia h- www.wordpress.com i-www.farm8.staticflickr.com

6.4.2.3 *The New Synagogue*

The Old Synagogue was built in 1840. It formed the eastern anchor of Dresden's great Elbe silhouette. The presence of the old synagogue mainly was a social attempt to integrate the Jews in the German culture and politically to represent the Jews of 1848.²⁴ Due to its social and historical significance, the building was burnt in *Kristallnacht* in 1938. Moreover, the Nazi used it to make a military training film, showing how to "scientifically" demolish buildings.²⁵

The renaming of places associated with the history and collective memories was one of the Nazis priorities, such as renaming the *Rathenu Platz* which was fronted the Synagogue, to become *Schlageterplatz*, after the name of *Leo Schlageter*, one of the earliest members of the Nazi party.²⁶

In the beginning, the Socialists erected an elegant memorial on the site; there were about only sixty Jews, most of them newcomers from Russia, were living in Dresden. Then the decision of building a new synagogue was taken with the German reunification. Due to the argument that synagogue is an important element of the city's picture and its construction viewed as a symbol of justice and restitution.²⁷ However, the synagogue could not be reconstituted to its previous appearance due to the changing of its site, because of the construction of a Socialist-era bridge embankment.²⁸

The new building, completed in 2002, was designed by the architectural firm *Wandel, Hoefler, Lorch*, from *Saarbrücken*. Notably, the memory of the site represented by the footprint of the old synagogue was delineated into the design, in the open courtyard between the two facing cubes of the new synagogue. One of the cubes is twisted as it rises, apparently so that the orientation of its top faces Jerusalem.²⁹

²⁴ Ibid, 59.

²⁵Hartmut Ellrich, *Dresden 1933-1945, Der historische Reiseführer*, (Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag-LinksDruck GmbH, 2008.), 4-7.

The film, which has since been recovered, was shown as part of the kick-off campaign for the rebuilding of the synagogue. Of the deported Jews, few survived Theresienstadt, where most were sent.

²⁶Leo Schlageter was an artillery officer during World War I. He had joined the Nazi Party, which was founded in 1920, at an early stage. He was among the first "martyrs" for the Nazi cause, having been arrested and shot in 1923 by the French for dynamiting a bridge in protest of the French occupation of the Alsace. His deed resonated triumphantly over the ruins of the devastated synagogue.

²⁷Kurt Biedenkopf, "Construction of the Dresden Synagogue," in a speech delivered in 1997 at the first meeting of the Association of Sponsors. Here quoted from a 1996 brochure, "My House shall be called a House of Prayer for all Peoples," advertising the new synagogue. Cited in Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden', 75.

²⁸Henry Landsberger, who was born in Dresden, and whose grandfather was the rabbi, has been instrumental in organizing the campaign for the new synagogue. Cited in Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden', 75.

²⁹ By coincidence, the design of the modern building faced some problems. For example, it has been stated that the designers got Judaism confused with Islam; where mosques have to face Mecca, as it is not mandated by Jewish law or custom that a synagogue face Jerusalem. It should, if possible, face east.

The memory also represented by two elements: Old Memorial stones in addition to, the Star of David decoration from the Semper's Synagogue, on display at the New Synagogue. See figure 9.

Although the fact that the rebuilding of Synagogue provides Jews with the chance to grow new roots in Dresden, there is a thought that its modern design will always remind and point to the problematic "otherness" of Jewish. Of controversial irony, the Synagogue's urban context involves the three groups: First, the Jews; embodied by the Synagogue modern building. Second, the Nazis; presented by neighboring the Synagogue, the former *Reichsbank* designed by Heinrich Wolf in 1928. (Wolf was to become an important Nazi-era architect). Moreover, the cornice of the synagogue lines up with the *Reichsbank's* imposing façade. Third, the Socialists; were proved by the housing blocks opposite the Synagogue to the south.

Nevertheless, the enforced visual of that set of three buildings constitutes a perhaps inadvertent, telling a lot about the layers of Dresden history, a concept that contrasts with the new historic district.³⁰



Figure 9: New Synagogue in Dresden:
 a-Dresden New Synagogue location: near of the Rathenauplatz, consists of two facing cubes into an open court yard, with the memory of the foot print of the old synagogue. Source: www.floornature.com,
 b-Memorial old stones. www.borisj.posterous.com
 c-The Star of David finial from the Semper Synagogue, on display at the New Synagogue. Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/ben-unleashed/11028943194/>

With this respect, *Jarzombek* argued that the modern design of the building caused that it does not belong and will never belong to the picture of the reconstituted historical center (It is unlike the rebuilt churches and palaces of the city center, which regained visually their "age-value.")³¹ However, perhaps that contrast in design provides a strong point to its architectural shape, to emphasize its new revival.

The following timeline (*Figure 10*) of the Dresden's synagogue introduces the past context of the 1839-1840 old synagogue, then its destruction in the *Kristallnacht* [The night of the broken glass], in 1938 during the Nazi rule. The post-war, neglecting of rebuilding, during the Socialists' rule. It was only after almost more than fifty years, during the post-reunification, the synagogue revival has taken into consideration; with a modern designed ended to the current image.

³⁰ Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden', 59- 62.

³¹ Ibid.

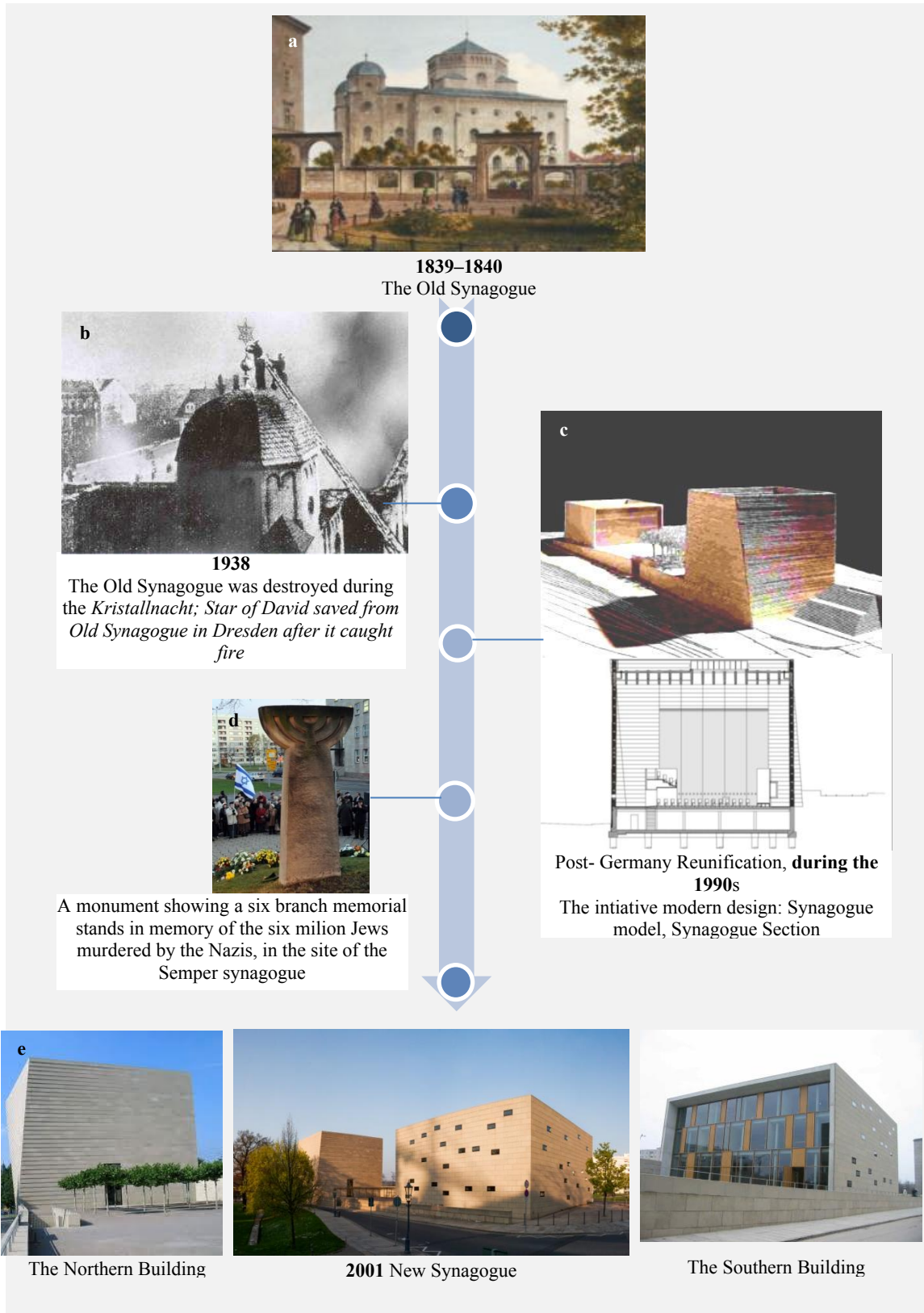


Figure 10: Timeline of Synagogue in Dresden displays the contexts of past and present: starting from the 19th century “Old Synagogue” then its destruction in the Kristallnacht [The night of the broken glass], in 1938 during the Nazi rule. The post-war, neglecting of rebuilding, during the Socialists’ rule. It was only after almost more than fifty years, during the post-reunification, the synagogue revival has taken into consideration; with a modern designed ended to the current image. Source: Researcher. Photos Sources: a-en.wikipedia.org b-www.dresden.de, www.arqa.com, d-EPA/BGNES ,e-www.articlesweb.org, www.rnw.nl, www.bet-tfila.org, www.faculty.umf.maine.edu

6.4.2.4 Art unveils memory and counter-memory

The problematic of interweaving, overlapping and competing narratives about Dresden past and future, has been presented very well in the movie "*Das Alte Dresden, in den 30-er Jahren*" [The old Dresden, in the 1930s] which has been shown to tourists at the Transportation Museum which is located in the heart of Dresden's newly created heritage district. See figure 11.

The film showed tourists on sightseeing buses very similar scene to the current busses which parked near. **The film evokes a sense of continuity with the 1930s**, to provide a more accurate picture of what everyday life was like in Dresden during the 1930s.

The film discussed several vital topics concern the city's destruction, and criticize the negative Socialist attitude towards the *Frauenkirche* and letting it abandoned for almost four decades. Hence, the watcher of the movie when exits and looks at the ruins of *Frauenkirche* across the street could immediately realize the significance of the city rebuilding, for this reason, *Jarzombek* considered it as a promotional film for the rebuilding.³²

Using the cinema to evoke the memory of the past, then linked it to present, is a very similar ideology when Socialists promote their ideas, by producing the film of "*Ernst Thälmann - Sohn seine Klasse*" [*Ernst Thälmann -Son of the Working Class*], in the *Kulturpalast* which is located in the *Thälmann* Street. In both cases, the cinema played the role to evoke the memory, and to transfer expression into a meaning, associated with political implications.

6.4.2.5 Trauender Mann

The idea that citizens need somewhere or something to mourn their dead or to reflect the painful events of the past. Such an idea is usually essential in societies which think more by materialistic level rather than believe in the spiritual one. In Dresden, next to the castle, in the crowded *Sophienstraße* Street, "*Trauender Mann*" (Mourning man) Statue was erected in 1985 by *Wieland Förster*.³³



Figure 11: "*Das alte Dresden in den 30-er Jahren*" [The old Dresden, in the 1930s]: Movie links past with the present and a hope for future city's rebuilding. Source: www.pommerscher-buchdienst.de



Figure 12: *Trauender Mann* [Mourning Man] in *Georg-Treu-Platz*. Source: www.neumarkt-dresden.de, www.denkmalprojekt.org

³² Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden', 54.

³³ Wieland Förster was born in 1930 in Dresden. He studied sculpture in Dresden from 1953-1958. He now lives in Berlin.

In the description of the sculpture: The sculpture embodied a man who lows his head and pulled up his knees to cover his face, It is believed that the *Trauender Mann* expresses and evokes both the shame and grief of the tragedy.³⁴ See figure 12.

This statue represents a vivid example of how the political system controls the freedom of expression and public art. Whereas, the Socialist regime initially rejected the statue, as probably they saw it as too ambiguous and self-indulgent. Only during the 1980s, its display's permission was granted. According to *Peter H. Feist*, in his study "*Denkmalplastik in der DDR von 1945 bis 1990*", he argued that *Trauender Mann* Sculpture had been survived from the cleaning's action of the Socialists' sculptures after the reunification because it was never considered Socialists' ideological.³⁵ However, it has been argued that the statue evokes the memory of a Socialist optic, moreover, states the human tragedy of war.

The sculpture witnessed several transitional stages, which represent the importance of its location as a memorial to convey a specific message and represents several meanings. The statue's sitting was critical: Originally, the sculpture was placed in the *Georg-Treu-Platz*, only a few steps from the *Frauenkirche*. Due to the construction work in the district, it was moved nearby the more isolated *Sophienstraße*. However, the statue will be returned to the *Georg-Treu-Platz*. As, it has been argued that as a memorial to all human suffering that has happened in Dresden and to expand its message to include also the Jewish victims, it should be located somewhere between the *Frauenkirche* and the synagogue.³⁶ See Figure 13.

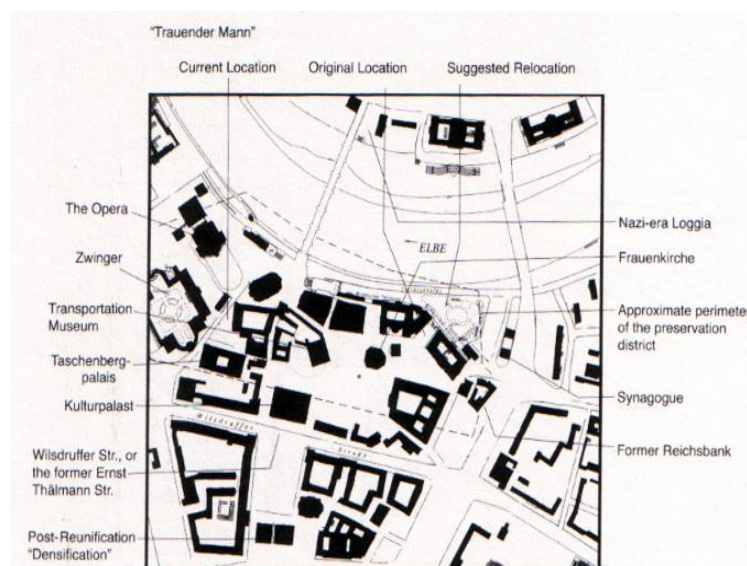


Figure 13: "Plan of Dresden" drawn by Mark Jarzombek
Source: Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden'"

³⁴ Ibid, 57.

³⁵ Peter H. Feist, "*Denkmalplastik in der DDR von 1945 bis 1990*," in *Denkmale und kulturelles Gedächtnis nach dem Ende der Ost-West-Konfrontation* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1999), 194. Cited in Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden'", 57.

³⁶ Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden'", 58.

Table 3: Reading New Dresden after reunification in 1989. Source: Researcher

Historical phases (Political turns)	Representation of Memory	The memory actor (agent of change)	The memory influences: Political psychosocial, cultural key-events	Reflection of the inherited concepts: Centralization/ power
"New Dresden" After Reunification in 1989	Principle Strategy of dividing the city into Two Zones: Historical and Commercial	The Saxon government /The New thoughts of the West	Influenced by the New thoughts of the West. Applying the West German legal system onto the older systems in the east that some even was dating back to pre-war days.	Reflected the power of the government to undo the "utopian" message of the Socialist planners.
	The "Verdichtung" Densification planned Approach		The inserting of buildings into the Socialist fabric to simulate a psychosocial sense of a more compact, nineteenth-century urban grid, especially in the commercial zone.	Reflect a vibrant commercial center to replace the former Socialists era "Civic center"
	Renaming Ernst Thaelmann Street		It renamed <i>Wilsdruffer</i> after a village north of the city. It separates the preservation district from the new commercial center.	Erase the unwanted symbolic memory of the former regime "the Socialists," Erase the traces of its ideology which reflected on the city spaces.
	The <i>Kulturpalast</i>		Integrating it into the urban rebuilding by being redesigned from the outside, and transformed into a philharmonic might be considered as an advantage.	
	Destruction of the city's ground		That influenced by the desire of exploring Dresden ruins beneath the streets.	
	Restoring Dresden Skyline/ including Loggia of Hans Nadler/excluding the new Synagogue		Influenced by the memory of Dresden as the typical Germanic historic city, with its "pre-war" architectural style, generating a psychosocial influence: "Civic Identity" was equated almost exclusively with the "pre-modern," except the synagogue, which was built in modern design, hence due to its lower height, it became no part of contemporary Dresden skyline. Meanwhile, it still carries the Nazi imprint which embodied by Nadler Loggia.	Emphasizing the "Civic identity" connected with the city pre-war times. - the Nazi imprint by Nadler Loggia – The problematic "otherness of Jews" presented by excluding the Synagogue.
	Rebuilding <i>Frauenkirche</i>		Politically, it influenced by the thoughts that it is a chance to atoning for the damage done by the Allies, in the war. Socially, it was mean to announce the return of religion after the Socialists rule.	Symbolize the city's past, its survival, and then its rebirth (as a symbol of religion revival)
	Rebuilding <i>Synagogue</i>		Political and social influences provided Jews a chance to grow new roots in Dresden. However, its modern design comparing with the restored historic district will always remind the problematic otherness of Jewish.	Symbolize an attempt to the Justice and restitution
	The movie "Das alte Dresden, in den 30-er" [Dresden]		The film evoked a sense of continuity with the 1930s; at the same time it pointed out the negative attitude of the Socialists towards the Frauenkirche.	Present overlapping competing Narratives about Dresden history
The Sculpture of Trauender Mann	After survived from the cleaning action of socialists sculptures (cause it considered not ideological). Its location as a memorial to convey a meaningful message became problematic; a memorial to all human suffering in Dresden and to include the Jewish victims, it should be located somewhere between the Frauenkirche and the synagogue.	Its design evokes both the shame and grief of the war tragedy. Reflection of both memory and counter memory.		

6.4.3 Lessons to Learn

Some lessons to learn from reading the case of Dresden, during its modern history starting from post-war in 1945 until now, lessons on two levels of urbanism: macro and micro scales.

6.4.3.1 On macro scale

Historical cities need a lot of attention when planning an urban renewal or reconstruction process; as they often consist of multiple layers of conflicting histories reflected on the city urban fabric, not just a single linear history as in the case of Dresden.

With this regard, *William A. Davis* queried: whether Dresden preservation and reconstruction honestly narrates the city's actual history or it provides only a homogeneous, "historical Dresden"?³⁷ Such a question is considered the dominant question that must be answered and be a priority from the side of city authorities, designers, planners and citizens in the first place, during preservation or rebuilding projects of a historical city.

Further, the reconstruction of historical cities requires an intellectual level of construct which reflects the geography of time and its memories. Since reducing the history of a city to a linear formation, for any reason, might lead to a serious problem; as it puts the city in an ambiguous location in its representational history.

Taking into consideration that, acknowledging and preserving the city architectural heritage is influenced by various architectural styles through history, will help citizens to be aware of the past of their city by reading and tracing their deep roots on the city urban fabric.

For instance, Dresden is well known as a Baroque city. It is influenced by many architectural styles, like the Renaissance Era as well as the contemporary styles of Modernism and Postmodernism. It has been stated that Dresden has some 13.000 listed cultural monuments and eight districts under general preservation orders. That heritage images enrich the city culture and tourism at many aspects: social, cultural and economic.

Dresden could be perceived from the inside out, as well as from the outside in; for it is still in the transformation process that needs a lot of effort to complete the city common narrative. A common narrative features the reality without denying any part, as it is the best way to overcome a painful past. In psychological terms, to overcome the past, it is important

³⁷ William A. Davis, "Dresden Builds a Future German City Reconstructs its Demolished Past," *Boston Sunday Globe*, travel sec., March 5, 2000, M13.

Mark Jarzombek, "*Urban Heterology: Dresden and the Dialectics of Post-Traumatic History*," volume 2, 1-92 in *the Studies in Theoretical and Applied Aesthetics series*, eds. Lars-Henrik Ståhl and Gunnar Sandin, (Lund: Lund University, Spring 2001).

Mark Jarzombek, "Bellotto's Dresden: Framing the Dialectics of Porcelain," *Thresholds* 25 (fall 2002), 38-42, accessed April 10, 2016. https://archive.org/stream/thresholds252002mass/thresholds252002mass_djvu.txt

first to admit the trauma rather than deny it. Admitting should be combined with acts to create peaceful memories.

The recovery of "memory" is only possible if one acknowledges the competitive urban narratives which are regulated by political phases and history-producing visions. They can be brought to light and challenged only by looking to the public consciousness. Further, the city revival is possible only by the loyalty of its citizens and their maximum efforts in a democratic atmosphere.

6.4.3.2 On micro scale

It is possible to conclude that building can be considered a trustful witness to memory, like in the case of *Frauenkirche* which witnessed the trauma of the bombing of the Second World War. On the other hand, its rebuilding introduces the manifestation of healing, as *Jarzombek* described it, and that history and memory are all placed in its pre-war style, and as a result its rebuilding put a milestone to rebuild the commercial zone and enriched tourism. Further, *Jarzombek* stated that the Old Synagogue is a witness of the Holocaust, and perhaps rebuilding it in a new modern form is a manifestation of trauma, creating once again the illusion that modernity and tradition are two separate entities.

The representation of meanings is usually embodied in the small details. It could appear in specific element which holds a moral value: The *Trauender Mann* and the film "*Das alte Dresden*" are both elements of the city's urban fabric. They are part of the city's urban patterns, which in turn interlock with specific events and evoke memories and feeling. They are part of the whole city's national memory.

6.5 Cologne "Köln" "Historical Glimpse"

Cologne "**Köln**" is Germany's fourth-largest city after *Berlin*, *Hamburg*, and *Munich*. It is considered the largest city both in the German Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia and within the *Rhine-Ruhr*.³⁸ In order to tackle Cologne case, it is essential to overview its historical background.

6.5.1 The Early History of Cologne

Cologne is one of the oldest German cities. The Romans founded it circa the year 38 BC. Moreover, in AD 50, it was granted the status of a Roman "city." It became a city known back as *Colonia Claudia AraAgrippinensium (CCAA)* named after the place of birth of the Emperor Claudius's wife *Agrippina*– Then Colonia became Köln in German.³⁹ Hence, it is possible to say that the city's name itself was an act of memory in first place. In AD 258, it

³⁸Ruhr: a region of coal mining and heavy industry in North Rhine–Westphalia, in western Germany. It is named after the Ruhr River, which flows through it and meets the Rhine River near Duisburg. The Ruhr was occupied by French troops 1923–24, after Germany defaulted on war reparation payments.

³⁹ "From Ubii village to metropolis". City of Cologne, accessed 16 April 2014.

became the capital of a splinter Empire ruled by *Postumus* and comprising Gaul, Britain, and Spain. In the fourth century about "AD 310", Emperor Constantine the Great built a castle and a permanent bridge to it across the Rhine.⁴⁰

In AD 456 conquered by the Franks. Hence, it became the residence of kings of Ripuarian as part of the Frankish Kingdom. During the middle ages, Cologne became a major religious center where more than 150 churches were built. The most famous is the Gothic Dom that took 600 years to be completed. At that time, Cologne had become a pilgrimage center.⁴¹

Since the 10th century, Cologne has been developed rapidly as a trade and commercial center, and then it became one of the leading members of the Hanseatic League and one of the largest cities, north of the Alps in both of medieval and Renaissance times.

The city witnessed many political events and phases, for instance, in 1288, the Battle of Worringen when the archbishop was finally defeated. Then, in 1396, the Bloodless revolution, so new municipal construction was established. Later in 1475, Cologne became a Free Imperial City officially. It witnessed the most crucial break of the thirty year's war between (1618-1648).⁴²



Figure 14: a- Cologne located in West Germany. Source: <http://www.britannica.com/place/Cologne-Germany/images-videos/Cologne/138969>
b- Main trading routes of the Hanseatic League in northern Europe. Source: Flo Beck, 2006 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Haupthandelsroute_Hanse.png.

Moreover, due to that Cologne lies on both banks of Rhine River, so its commercial importance grew out of its location at an intersected point of the most important major trade routes between east and west in Europe. *See figure 14.*

6.5.2 Cologne during the 19th Century

Post-occupation period by the French (1794-1814), in 1815 Cologne passed to Prussia, and began to prosper; Industry flourished, further, a chamber of commerce was established (the oldest one in Germany). Cologne's geographic location made it an ideal railway center. In 1881, during the rule of the Prussian government, the city walls were demolished to extend

⁴⁰J.C. Russell, "Late Ancient and Medieval Population," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 48, no. 3, 1958.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Harry de Quetteville. "History of Cologne", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 28 November 2009.

the city for the first time since the Medieval Ages. Consequently, a new town “*Neustadt*” and the ring road were developed.⁴³

Originally, the Inner City was determined by a defensive wall, 6 km long, that was finished in about 1200. The wall enclosed several formerly separate parishes. In the 1880s, a chain of ring roads called the “*Ringstraßen*” replaced the medieval fortifications.⁴⁴

6.5.3 Cologne during the 20th Century

According to Sennott in his book “*Encyclopedia of 20th- Century Architecture*”,⁴⁵ that the Pre-war years, witnessed various key factors brought significant changes in Cologne's architecture and Urban fabric :

At the beginning of the 20th century, between 1911-1913, the construction of the Deutzer Bridge united both sides of the Rhine. Also, the construction of Major stores such as Kaufhaus (the KaufhausTietz building which situated between Hohe Strasse and Guerzenich Strasse) supported the new trend toward architecture; with its symmetrical imposing forms and three glass covered courtyards. Also, in 1914, the glass palace constructed by Bruno Taut, which made up of diamond-shaped glass bricks represented a new architectural form.

With this regard, a band of six short rhymes by Paul Scheerbart celebrated the potential for architecture to improve society; focusing primarily on glass and light, these included “*Das bunte Glas lzerstoert den Hass*” [Colored glass destroys hate] and “*Das Glass bringt uns die neue Zeit/Backsteinkultur tut uns nur leid*” [Glass brings the new Era to us, Brick culture only pains us].

At the time of British occupation (1918-1926), *Konrad Adenauer* (Cologne's lord mayor) convinced the Allies to allow part of the fortresses to remain as historical documents, since city planners were free to push Cologne's borders out further again, onto land that had once been used for defense purposes. Hence, the need for increased work and recreation spaces, combined with expressionist influences and interwar local patriotism, brought about an explosion of new constructions in all sectors. Moreover, the development of Modern military changed the layout of the city, since suburbs dominated by factories began to crop up around the outskirts of the city.⁴⁶

The Parks of Dusseldorf city (1921-1924) inspired Adenauer to create the green belts or rings encircling Cologne. Those green belts envisioned a unity of living, working, relaxation,

⁴³ Cologne | Description, Economy, Culture, & History ..., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cologne-Germany> (accessed April 05, 2019).

⁴⁴ Cologne | Description, Economy, Culture, & History ..., <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cologne-Germany> (accessed April 05, 2019).

⁴⁵ R. Stephen Sennott, ed., *Encyclopedia of 20th- Century Architecture*, (New York-London: Fitzroy Dearborn), 2004, 267: 278.

⁴⁶Ibid, 276.

and transportation. New constructions, along with story towers, appeared such as *JacobKoerfer's* L-shaped *HansaHochhaus* (1924-1925) which considered the tallest building in Europe at that time.⁴⁷

Cologne "*NeuesBauern*" new building movement (1926-1928) evoked the concerns about the light and green spaces. For instance in the *Buchforst* district, the apartments of the *neighboring* estate, *Weisse Stadt*, built at a slap to provide optimum lighting, designed by *Riphah* and *Grod'sBlauer Hof* estate.

Between1928-1930, another trend Emphasizes the modern vertical constructions: For instance, the *Dishhaus* represented a more evident modern emphasis on smooth, vertical, flowing lines designed by Bruno Paul, destroyed in the Second World War, it has been rebuilt according to its original plan.

The concern of creating a social center, by building Churches (1929-1930) in the residential area, such as the Melanchthon church designed by *TheodorMerrill*, intentionally provided *Zollstock* with a social center, Partly damaged during the war and has been restored with some alterations. Also, the completion of the autobahn (1932) between Cologne and Bonn offered infrastructural transportation supported the commercial projects.

After the National Socialists rise in power in 1933, they brought about a cleansing of the *Martinsviertel* quarter. The Nazis chased "undesirables" out of the area and expropriated great numbers of building from Jews. With this regard, architects fused old and new buildings together creating a changed topography that evoked an idealistic image of a German inner city. Nazi planners envisioned the inner city as a visual reference to the party's claims of German heritage, whereas the surrounding modern city contributed to a sense of historical evolution.⁴⁸

6.5.4 The Bombing of Cologne

Cologne was heavily bombed in Germany during the Second World War. About 90% of the old town and 70% of the surrounding area were destroyed. Due to that destruction of almost the entire city, the city's population was decreased by 95%; from more than 800,000 at the beginning of the war to only 40,000 directly afterward.⁴⁹ See figure 15.



Figure 15: Images of Cologne's "*Köln*" destruction after the Second World War.

Sources:

a- <https://fronterasblog.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/koln.jpg>

b- <http://www.atelier-eifelart.de/site/Navigation/Koeln/8.php>

⁴⁷ Ibid, 277.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 278.

Ironically the image of Cologne after the war exactly met the words: “Give me five years, and you will not recognize Germany again, Adolf Hitler.” Those were written in German on a sign in the square in front of the Opera house, where the survived citizens gathered there after the end of the war.⁵⁰

It has been believed that the reason of bombing Cologne is because it was a highly industrial city with light and heavy engineering, it has railway networks centers, which were used to transport soldiers and weapons, and hence, it was the center of trade and political activity, with a high density of populations.

The first 1,000 bomber raid by the RAF⁵¹ in World War Two targeted the industrial and civilian areas like the city center near of the cathedral; where the “*Neumarket*” was in the center of the shopping area and the residential city, so the attack was in the heart of the city, not only on the factories.⁵²

6.6 Reading Cologne City Center

After the Second World War, Cologne was left in ruins. Unfortunately, the inner city was destroyed, with nearly 91 out of 150 churches were destroyed. As for Cologne's citizens when the war ended in March 1945, the population was decreased to 40,000. Then by December, it increased to 450,000, continued to rise rapidly while the work of clearance and reconstruction was undertaken.⁵³

Reading the rebuilding of Cologne’s city center via the (PPS.) analytical model, in order to identify the political psychosocial influences which brought significant changes, reflected on the urban fabric and constituted part of the country’s national memory. The model is applied to two political phases of the history of Cologne: First, between 1945 and 1970s (war generation). Second, since the 1970s until now (post-war generations). (*Summarized in table 4*)

6.6.1 Cologne City Center between 1945 and 1970s (War Generation)

According to dr. *Wolfram Hagspiel*⁵⁴ that the reconstruction was relatively done quickly, the reason behind that, even before 1945, during Hitler’s era: the town plan had already been planned for not down a large part of the city (virtually 25 percent), so quite a lot

⁵⁰ World War II: The Blitz on Cologne- Full Documentary, Archive Material, National Archive Washington (DC), minute: 6:42, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j6JJ5UQEBIE&list=PL_pRx-DYZK5-OrysRhVxM5QXd6WueIzqO&index=15

⁵¹It was an extraordinary feat of organization involving 1,048 bombers and 6,000 aircrew and 53 British airfields.

⁵² World War II: The Blitz on Cologne- Full Documentary, Archive Material, National Archive Washington.

⁵³ Sennott, ed., *Encyclopedia of the 20th- Century Architecture*.

⁵⁴ The city planner who was responsible of the restoration of the city’s 19th and 20th architecture, interviewed in World War II: The Blitz on Cologne- Full Documentary, Archive Material, National Archive Washington (DC).

of buildings had already not been down, and large area has been cleared ready for development.⁵⁵

He added that there was a planning team that so-called, planning society. When war broke out, the society continues the redevelopment program, the "*Bauform*." Noteworthy, that many of the plans including the massive main roads system, infrastructure, a new railway station were also planned during the Hitler period in the Third Reich.⁵⁶

Hagspiel clarified that the planning mainly was based on a separation in the town reflected on the larger municipal districts; the city was separated into three zones:

First, the cultural area; the dominant building is the Opera house which was designed by *Wilhelm Riphahn*. It was opened in 1957. Hence, it belongs back to the "Wiederaufbauzeit" [era of reconstruction]. Nowadays it regarded as one of the classics of modern architecture. However, the uncompromising style of the Cologne Opera house and other modern buildings has remained controversial.

Secondly, the residential area: The inner city became no longer a residential area. It has been moved to subzones. The center has been turned into a shopping area. On the other hand, preservation of the "Bürgerlich" [middle-class] houses, for instance, in the Alt-Market the two houses twenty and twenty-two preservation were debatable at that time according to *Rudy Koshar*.⁵⁷

Thirdly, is the recreational zone: A large area of Cologne consists of parkland, woods, lakes:⁵⁸two major parks follow roughly the patterns of the old fortifications around the Innenstadt: The first is just outside the *Ringstraßen* and includes (from north to south) *zoological* and *botanical* gardens, the *Stadtgarten*, and the *Volksgarten*. The second is external Greenbelt. It is a wood that stretches for miles around the western, southern edge of the city and it contains extensive recreation grounds and the *Müngersdorfer Stadium*.⁵⁹

6.6.1.1 "*The Adolf Hitler Mountain*" / a reminder of past

It has been stated that until 1955, the scene of the overwhelming pile of rubble which left by the destruction in the heart of the city, was as a reminder of the past mistakes, citizens referred to it as "The Adolf Hitler Mountain." It disappeared only slowly over the years.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ World War II: The Blitz on Cologne- Full Documentary, m: 45:48.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: preservation and National memory in the twentieth century* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), Introduction.

⁵⁸One of the Cologne urban features are the green areas account for over a quarter of Cologne which is approximately 75 m2 (807.29 sq. ft.) of public green space for every citizen of the city. Green rings surround the city and some green areas locate on the Rhine river bank. "CITY MAP,"Cologne.de, 2016.

<http://www.cologne.de>

⁵⁹ Cologne | Description, Economy, Culture, & History.

⁶⁰ Sennott, ed., *Encyclopedia of the 20th- Century Architecture*.

6.6.1.2 “Bürgerlich” [middle-class] houses

In the Rhenish city “Cologne,” at the eastern corner of the old market square stand two attached houses, numbers twenty and twenty-two. They have a long history of preservation.

In his book “*Germany’s Transient Pasts*”: *Preservation and National memory in the twentieth century*,” Rudy Koshar argued the narrative of the “Bürgerlich” [middle-class] houses Cologne is a history of being preserved, further Koshar viewed their preservation as part of the city “National Memory”:

The past Context:

According to the 1913 city activist *Keussen*; in the thirteenth century, a large house referred to “Pretzel on the Apple Market,” as a nickname. They were owned and divided by two families; one is the Patrician Family *Vetschulder*. The subsequent owners redesigned the houses which used for residential and commercial functions until 1580. Then the later guild representative in the city council Benedict von *Schwelm* built the attached houses. They remained until World War I.⁶¹

In 1913, Because of the unprecedented economic growth in Cologne, that threatened to destroy the old middle-class [*Bürgerlich*] architecture to be replaced by commercial zones. Further, that led to a social change aroused fears about the houses’ fate. However, because of political influence during the preceding two decades, many Germans started to re-visualize the townscapes of everyday life such like the two houses at the Cologne’s old market square as awareness of a long national heritage.⁶²

Although the apparent shift in the visual identity of the nation, the houses were slated to be demolished, that angered preservationists according to “*Die Denkmalpflege*,” the national journal for historic preservation founded in 1899. Despite the complexity and the high cost of renovation, the members of the “Elite Rhenish Association for the preservation of historic sites”: Cologne mayor *Max Wallraf* and city council representative *Carl Rehort*, agreed to renovate “*Zur Brezel*” and “*Zum Dorn*,” due to the attached houses' popularity.

Then the houses were sold to the Bakers’ Guild and were used for headquarters and apprentices lodgings. Meanwhile, the ground floor would be a restaurant. The front walls were insecure, so their old stones were demolished, numbered, then replaced in the same relation to one another, when reconstructed.



Figure 16: The houses “Zur Brezel” in the old market in Cologne.

Source: <https://www.koelnerwanderweg.de/05-gaffel-haus.php>

⁶¹ F.B. Ite, “*Erhaltung alter Buergerhaeuser am Alten Market in Koeln*,” DP 15, no.2 (5 February 1913): 13-14. Cited in Koshar, *Germany Transient Pasts*.

⁶² Rudy Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*.

In World War II, the Alter Market houses twenty and twenty-two were badly damaged after Cologne survived 262 air attacks and about 90 percent of the old city core was destroyed. Undoing the war destruction became a national political influence and a matter of local pride. The “*Zur Brezel*” interior was completely gutted by fire and that the city undertook limited preventative measures to see the house through bombing. This time the *Beredict von Schwelm*’s old house needed more preservation than the one in 1913. In 1949, the city commissioned builder *Ludwig Eltz* to reconstruct the house.⁶³

In 1951, the house was inherited by *Nellessen* who continue running the part of the restaurant in the house as before the war in order to carry on the family tradition.

On the other hand, *Willi Gerbeck* ran a small wine cellar in the building. With this regard, *Koshar* claimed that the language of *Gerbeck* while applying to the city carried visible reminders of the Nazi era. A language stressed “*the need to restore historic buildings such as Zur Brezel in order to avoid the ‘return of asocial conditions’ that appeared in this district before an urban renewal under Nazism.*” *Koshar* argued that intentionally or unintentionally that *Gerbeck* evoked the memory of the ‘sanitizing’ urban project and the national morality of the Nazi.⁶⁴

In 1955, the cost of maintaining the house was summed about 68000 marks, that was too much considering that the renovation of more valuable architectural buildings was stalled because of lacks of funds, for instance, the city hall. However, according to *Kosher*, the houses for centuries gave the market square a distinct accent with an altered form, so they were a particular case. In 1986, *Zur Brezel* underwent another renovation, scrubbed and painted. It has been described that because its long history of preservation, it is considered a monument of preservation as much as it is a monument to some publicly resonant version of a permanent German past. It is viewed as a sample of a post-war Germany which were protected at one time and demolished or not reconstructed in a later period.⁶⁵

See figure 16.

⁶³ For the post-1945 situation of the houses see Ludwig Eltz, to Oberstadtdirektor, Koeln, 13 March 1949; Arnold Nellessen to Stadtausschuss, Koeln, 5 May 1951.

⁶⁴ Rudy Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

6.6.1.3 *Cologne Skyline/ reflection of cumulative memories*

Cologne idyllic landscape and key location on a major waterway have supported the city's evolution as an important commercial and industrial center. Cities on water are often characterized by their skylines. Cologne Skyline consists of the two side banks along the Rhine River which are linked by several bridges span the river at Cologne, five of them were rebuilt after the Second World War.



Figure 17: Panoramic view of the old town of Cologne at night, taken from the other side of the River Rhine; from left to right: Deutz Bridge, Great St. Martin Church, Cologne Cathedral, and Hohenzollern Bridge. Source: Wikimedia Commons, This image was selected as picture of the day on the English Wikipedia January 26, 2012.

The city skyline reflects its semicircular layout (since the distance from West and East is about 27 km and from north and south about the same) which helps to capture the city various panorama views from different vision points. It has been noticed that the city center lies on the west bank of the river, and incorporates a cluster of suburbs on the right bank. On the right bank of the river is the Rhine Park, a large green area adjacent to the *KölnMesse*, a convention center with halls for fairs and exhibitions, also a covered multiuse arena offering space for sporting events and musical concerts.⁶⁶

The Hohenzollern bridge and the Cathedral are considered the eastern anchor of the western skyline of Cologne city center, in general insight, Cologne's skyline reflects important features; that the ancient buildings meshed with modern buildings, commercial zones, administrative and entertainments areas in the crowded inner city. Moreover, the church is a dominant social center. *See figure 17.*

6.6.1.4 *The Cologne Cathedral/ Overcoming the past*

Although the city center was destroyed during the war, the Dom somehow survived with relatively minor damage. It is considered the largest Gothic church in northern Europe, was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1996.

The Cologne Cathedral (which is the seat of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cologne) was restored in 1948 and celebrated the Cathedral's 700th anniversary as a trial to reclaiming Cologne's architectural past. Later its interior was restored and completed repairing in 1956 which brought back to the city its architectural icon, which allowed citizens

⁶⁶ Margaret Kohl, Hugo Stehkämper, Christopher Angus McIntosh, William H. Berentsen, "Cologne," *Encyclopædia Britannica Inc.* 2016, accessed March 16, 2016 <http://www.britannica.com/place/Cologne-Germany>

and visitors to interact with the building. By the end of the 20th century, the Cathedral district remains a reminder of Cologne cultural and commercial past.

The church as a dominant building/overcoming the past: Since the Middle Ages, citizens of Cologne relate their lives to the church as a dominant social building; Cologne included a large number of churches about 150 churches. Postwar there was an approach to maintain that holly Cologne, especially after the Nazi Era, when people desperately wanted to forget what has happened.

With this regard, *Hagspiel* argued that many of the cities' buildings had been restored to their original form. Moreover, restoring the dominant feature of creating a residential area around a church, a pre-war feature, which developed during the war more than before, during the post-war it played the same role as a community center, and that many families who have roots lived before war still living there.⁶⁷

Noticeably, between 1952-1954, continuing the elder's interwar construction program: in addition to building of new churches, using new materials such as concrete and circular styles that reflected changes in the function of church as the community life center, or facades with entirely glass, building such as *St. Maria Konigin* was designed by *DominikusBohm*.⁶⁸

Many notable Middle Ages churches in the inner city, mainly Romanesque style of which the best examples are "*Sankt Gereon, Sankt Severin, Sankt Ursula, Sankt Maria im Kapitol, Sankt Kunibert, Sankt Pantaleon, Sankt Aposteln, and Gross Sankt Martin.*" After sustaining severe wartime damage, these churches underwent a program of restoration, the completion of which was celebrated in 1985.⁶⁹

6.6.1.5 *Rebuilding the Hohenzollern Bridge*

Inspired from the Cologne skyline, the city introduces a perfect image of mixing between past heritage context, presented in the city's major landmark *Cologne Cathedral (KölnerDom)*, and the present reconstructed context, presented in the *Hohenzollern Bridge* (named after the House of *Hohenzollern*.) which crosses the River Rhine in Cologne. It is a rail and pedestrian bridge located and oriented on the central axis of the Cologne Cathedral

Originally in the past, the bridge was both a railway and street bridge. It was constructed between 1907 and 1911 after the old bridge; the Cathedral Bridge *Dombrücke* was demolished. The Bridge was one of the most important bridges in Germany during the War; it remained with minor damage despite the fact of consistent daily airstrikes on it. Until it was blown up by the German military on 6 March 1945, when Allied troops began their attack on Cologne. Impressively, three years later by 8 May 1948, it reconstructed again.

⁶⁷ World War II: The Blitz on Cologne- Full Documentary, Archive Material, National Archive Washington.

⁶⁸ Sennott, ed., *Encyclopedia of the 20th- Century Architecture*.

⁶⁹Ibid.

However, it was only accessible to rail and pedestrian traffic. It is the most heavily used railway bridge in Germany. It connects the Köln main station *Hauptbahnhof* and Köln *Messe/Deutz* station. It consists of concrete piers with a steel superstructure. After the road traffic decks were removed, the bridge consisted of six decks, built in the same old form. The remained portals and the towers of the bridge were demolished in 1958 instead of being restored. Eventually, in 1959, the bridge rebuilding was finished.⁷⁰

Another renovation of the bridge was during the 1980s; two new tracks, a small portion of the old road ramp on the *Deutz* side, and used as a pedestrian and bike path. People interacted with the pedestrian, as they placed love padlocks on the fence.⁷¹ It is worth mentioning that four statues of Prussian kings and German emperors of the Hohenzollern family flank each ramp. As if they were looking to Cologne's present.

Undoubtedly, both the cathedral and the bridge stand together as companions and witnesses to all the events of history and the evolution of the city. The bridge timeline (figure 18) describes Its evolution starting from the 19th century when it was *Die Schiffbruecke* [a ship's bridge] between Cologne and *Deutz*. Then in the 20th century became *Die Dombruecke* [the Cathedral Bridge], in 1915 it was referred to the *Hohenzollern* bridge. Its destruction, its post-war reconstruction, until its recent image overcoming the past, preserves to symbolize a connection point between east and west banks. Further an essential anchor of the skyline of Cologne city center.

⁷⁰Lothar Hammer, *Köln, die Hohenzollernbrücke : und die deutsche Brückenarchitektur der Kaiserzeit* (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1997). "Hohenzollern Bridge," Bridge-info.org, Last modified 2016.
<http://www.bridge-info.org/bridge/index.php?ID=70>

⁷¹SarahStolarz, "Cologne Gets a Lock on Love." Deutsche Welle. February 9, 2009, accessed April 1, 2016.
<http://www.dw.com/en/cologne-gets-a-lock-on-love/a-4008316-1>

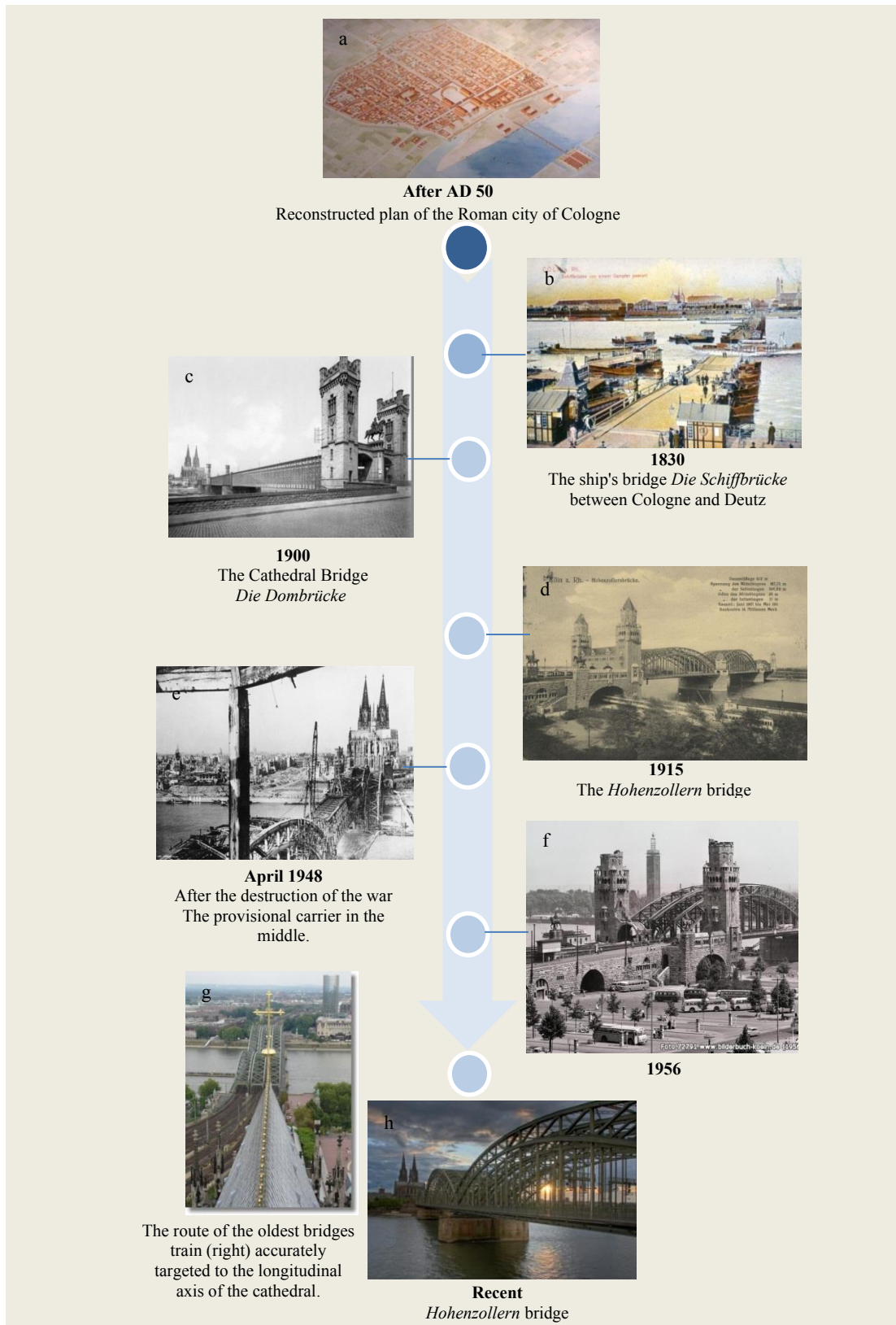


Figure 18: Timeline of Hohenzollern Bridge describes its evolution: past context and present context as overcoming the past; preserves to symbolize a connection point between east and west banks. Further, as an important anchor of the skyline of Cologne city center. Source: Researcher.

Photos Sources: a- Nicolas von Kospoth,2006

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_Cologne_reconstruction.JPG).

b-© Stadtkonservator Köln. c-The US Library of Congress ,

d- https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:K%C3%B6ln,_Hohenzollernbr%C3%BCcke.jpg

e- © Deutsches Bundesarchiv. F- <http://www.bilderbuch-koeln.de/Themen/Zerst%C3%B6rung%20-%20nach%20dem%20Krieg> g-© Wilfried Thamm. h-© Stefan Steiner.

6.6.2 Cologne City Center, Transformation since the 1970s (Post-War generation)

Beside Cologne relatively quick recovery after the war as a leading industrial city in Germany, as an economic and media center of northwestern Germany. It is also considered a major cultural center which makes the city brilliant with diverse art scenes. It has over 30 museums, hundreds of galleries, exhibitions range from local ancient Roman archaeological sites to contemporary arts.

However, it was only in 1978 when the architectural competition for the *Wallrat Richartz* Museum opened discussions about a new trend of surrounding architectural projects in Cologne and Germany.⁷²

Additionally, as it has been discussed at the beginning of the chapter, regarding the west that the war generation's remembrance culture, was directed to avoid talking about the Nazis crimes. The inner transformation in values only took place in the 1960s, which laid the foundation for a new culture of remembrance.

6.6.2.1 The "EL-DE Haus"

Past Context:

During the Nazi rule, in 1934, The building was a house for Cologne-based businessman Leopold Dahmen. For this reason, the name of the "El-DE Haus" is considered as an act of memory for its original establishment as a house named after his owner.

The "El-DE HAUS" was one of the most famous samples for the past terror in Cologne as the site was chosen carefully by the secret police, close to the city center with a view to full control over citizens. Officials at the center were in direct contact with the main detention camps and prisons in areas that were subject to the influence of the Nazis.⁷³ The site is about 500 meters and five minutes' walk from Cologne central station.

This center occupied great importance to the Nazi regime for several reasons; some of which are his presence in Cologne, which has historical and economic significance and strategy in Germany, in addition to the high of the city population in that area.

The building was designed to shield them air strikes. That was confirmed by Stanislaw *Strasburger*, counselor at the center, during an interview with *Deutsche Welle*, he said that "the idea of war was present during construction, although the building was after the end of World War I, before Hitler took power in Germany, while the basement was designed to be used as cells of prison."⁷⁴ That might also explain the reason that the *EL-DE-Haus* was one of

⁷² Sennott, ed., Encyclopedia of the 20th- Century Architecture.

⁷³ Mohamed Elsray, "المركز توثيق جرائم النازي في هيندلهولوثي يفضي السباح والطلاب" [The Center for Documentation of Nazi Crimes in Cologne raises the curiosity of tourists and students], DW(Deutsche Welle), May 10, 2015. Last modified 2016. Accessed July 7, 2015.

<http://dw.com/p/NKIA>

⁷⁴ Ibid.

the fewest buildings in Cologne which survived the war. It was a sheer chance that the site survived to tell the narrative to the next generations.

In 1935, the El-DE Haus became the Gestapo's headquarters in Cologne. They set up administrative offices on the upper floors, meanwhile installed a prison in the basement. The state secret police perpetrated the bureaucratic and physical terror. The Gestapo persecuted social democrats, besides the Jews, Sinti and Roma and so-called a Socials who were also under scrutiny.

In the beginning, between 1947 and 1949, the El-DE-Haus was one of the most famous samples for the past terror in Cologne. Nevertheless, when was survived the war, it was only functioned as a local administration building, with adding a floor and an extension on both sides.

Present Context:

In 1968, a new generation (post-war generation) made a profound change in the principles, including admitting the responsibility of Nazi crimes. That eventually led in the 1970s to the growing debate to address the Cologne's history under National Socialism rule. Hence, a call to establish a memorial in the former Gestapo building, which required a vote and decision of the city council in 1979.

In 1989, the former Gestapo prison was opened to the public as a small-scale memorial. Later, in 1997 the historic part of the building contained a permanent exhibition "Cologne under National Socialism." Eventually, the memorial in the former Gestapo prison was redesigned in 2009.

The El-DE Haus is a unique memorial site and research institute that commemorates a specific aspect of the Nazi rule. Additionally, It is a sample of how present familiar contexts could evoke memories (past contexts).

According to *Simone Falk*, the prison in the basement consisted of an air-raid bunker, a washroom, ten cells, one windowless cell, and rooms used by the guards. It has a door led into the inner courtyard of the complex, where executions were carried out. It has been stated that more than 400 people died there in the final stages of the war.⁷⁵

The place restored to its original context to evoke memories. Also, to allow or invite the visitors to experience the place: At the entrance of the cellar in the detention center, each one perhaps could experience too many conflict feelings; fear, sorrow, depression, shame, and even some feeling of denying, especially in front of the prison cells' doors. A scene which is fraught with painful memories of most anonymous prisoners since there were only a few names of thousands of inmates who were held there by the Gestapo until the end of the Nazi

⁷⁵Simone Falk, "Stumbling over Memory," *Art & thought* 98, June, 2013, 11. www.goethe.de/fikrun

regime in 1945. The feeling is hard, especially for the visitor who comes from someplace in the world where there are still those repressive regimes. The feeling of the continuous suffering in the present context associates with the painful memories from over 60 years in the Germany past.

Curiously, the inhumane conditions and the small size of cells which were designed to accommodate only two people, the Nazis threw at least 15 people in each cell.

Surprisingly, the windows overlooking the street are without any insulator, that the passers-by could watch the prisoners during the process of torture! Perhaps that was one of the secret police state strategies to terrify and control the rest of the citizens. *See figure 19.*

With this regard, during an interview with Strass burger by DW, he stated that the Nazis left the windows directly overlooking the street, for two purposes: First to make the prisoners an example to others, second, to more torture the prisoners by the winter cold.⁷⁶

However, wherever the torture and psychological war had been found, the resistance appears with the help of some German citizen were referred to them as "Silent Heroes." They are few people who had dared to resist that psychological war; many stories were documented in movies which narrates this German era.

The building does not evoke only the inhumane conditions; it evokes the memory of prisoners' resistance and transfers their alive, lost voices from past:

*Greetings to you, my wife, from far away / your husband writes. / Far away on the other side of the Wall, with the Gestapo / He tortures himself by looking out of the window. / But freedom and his beloved little daughter are far from him now. / In vain he stains the walls / Writing letters to his beloved wife (...)*⁷⁷

The cells' walls include many inscriptions which written by chalk, lipstick, a pencil, scratched with screws, or even fingernails, in various languages; German, Polish, Russian, French. And symbols that describe the suffering that was experienced by the prisoners from various nations, describe their thoughts which were filled with fears and hopes, or prisoners' last messages to relatives –some writings show the number of days they spent in prison. Unfortunately, those messages were concealed for decades under a layer of paint. The decision of 1979 to expose, painstakingly restore and deciphered was an essential step to reveal and restore the messages of the former prisoners.⁷⁸ *See figure 19.*

⁷⁶ Elsray, "مركز زنتفيق لجرم النازي في مدينه كلوونبريغ فضول ساليح وال الب" DW (Deutsche Welle).

⁷⁷ Simone Falk, *Stumpling over Memory*, 11.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Today, in the countries which are still under dictatorship regimes, the resistance of the political detainees is different. It is a new Era where technology and social media play an essential role in connecting voices of detainees through sending messages, with the help of relatives, directed to the public, as a try of "media pressure" on the tyrants who are practicing oppression and violence.

In the "EL DE HAUS," it has been stated that no one knows how many prisoners were there because the officers were able to destroy all records before they escaped just before the fall of the city on the hands of the Allies, so the fewest sources of information remained confidential. Also, citizens did not help in giving information in order to arrest the officers, although most of the officers and guards were residents of Cologne.⁷⁹

The question which imposes itself here is "Was the citizens' attitude due to the continuing repression and fear, even after the fall of the regime, or sadly they got used to obey repressive policy of Hitler?"

Generally, since Cologne was the regional capital during the national socialist period, it was important to establish that permanent exhibition which narrates the imprint of that era. The exhibition entitled "Cologne under National Socialism" is considered the historic part of the building, which has been established since 1997.

Finally, the whole design of the site provides the visitor with flexible multiple choices whether to distance and reduction himself or confrontation and proximity, depending on what he needs and what he looks for:

The building includes the top two floors which were the bureaucratic center of the Gestapo operations for people's terrorization in the past context. Their effect is vivid, as they reflect the history of the building by many intensive photos, information panels and thirty-one (31) media stations (audio and visual material) including numerous interviews with a

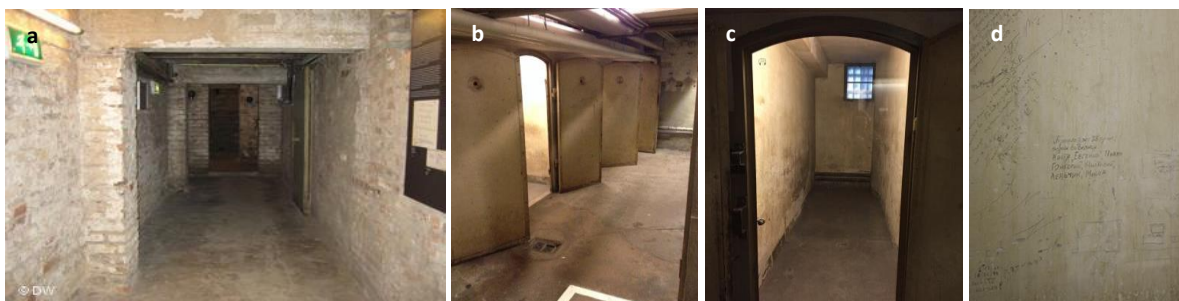


Figure 19: El-DE Haus Prison: a- Entrance to the cellar at the detention center. A cell appears at its end. Source: DW

b- prison's cells. Source: Traveler: Kupunn A: Techano, June 2015

c- Cell with a window to street. Source: Traveler, Cathya G., July 2015.

d- Inscription on a cell wall in the EL-DE- Haus in Cologne, by a former Nazi prison. Source: Stefan Weidner, Art and Thought magazine 98, a Goethe-Institut publication.

⁷⁹Stanislaw Strasburger, Interviewed by DW.

Cited in Elsray, "مرکز وثائق جہاں ملالیزیہ فیمیدیوں کو لہجہ کی وضوح لایا اور وال الب."

contemporary witness from different victims groups. They differ from the atmosphere of the entrance, the basement, and prison cells with its stone floor, lighting, walls, where the visitor can sense the physical dimension of the suffering, which accommodates a very similar atmosphere of the thirties.

The building timeline (figure 20) describes the transformation process into a commemorative place and that many influences motivated the change. In addition to that, the timeline clarifies how long it takes to transform society's values in turn leading to renationalizing memory.

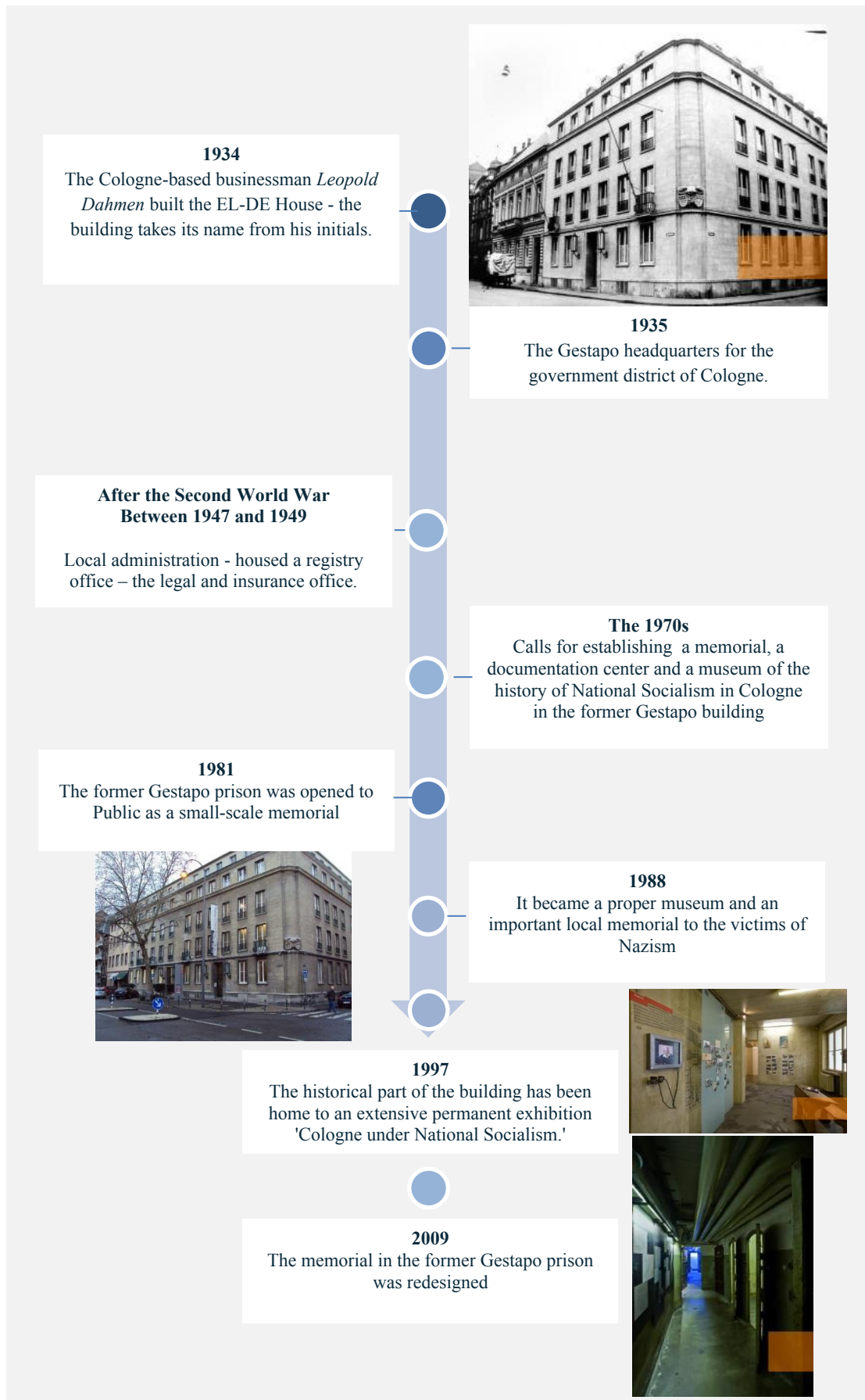


Figure 20: Timeline of the “EL-DE Haus”: starting from the Nazi Era, then post-war function, a few decades later, witnessed the transformation of German values to overcome the past (post-war generation). Finally, it became a reminder and National Socialism documentation center. Source: Researcher. Photos source: Information portal to European sites of remembrance, and NS-documentation in Köln.

6.6.2.2 Art into a memory "*Stolpersteine*" *Stumbling over memory*

Past Context:

From Cologne came an influential simple idea to commemorate those who were deported and killed by the National Socialist regime. It is a personalized small 10*10 cm "stumbling stones." In the 1990s, the idea was initiated and hammered by the Cologne sculptor *Gunter Demnig* who researches the victims' personal histories and their last freely chosen place of residence.

At the beginning in 1993, *Demnig* worked on the "stumbling blocks" idea as a mean to commemorate the murdered Sinti and Roma gypsies in Cologne. Then in 1994, he exhibited photos and the first *Stolpersteine* in a church; a year later the stones eventually experimented in the sidewalk. For instance, he put 55 stones in Berlin sidewalks, while he was a participant in the project "Artists Research Auschwitz."⁸⁰

Present idea to evoke the memory:

As for Cologne, it was only in 2000, when he was allowed to lay 600 stones in the pavements, after getting permission. Later the real breakthrough happened when *Kreuzberg* and *Berlin* authorized another 2000 stones. Also in 2002, the *Freiburg* municipal council approved the laying of *Stolpersteine*. Although the project has been widespread through the German cities, some municipalities did not approve it. For instance, the city council of Munich, Leipzig and (Freiburg at the beginning), as they did not want memorial stones on their pavements and in *Leipzig*, it was rejected until 2006. Further, according to the Neue OZ online, the project required about 6000 Euro funding, which supported by the committee of cultural affairs in *Osnabrück* in 2007.⁸¹

Those opposed the idea, based their opposition on the disapproval of the board of the Jewish Cultural Center of Munich and Upper Bavaria who unaccepted the fact that people would walk over the victims' names.⁸² Moreover, some property owners also objected the memorials, arguing that the stones encroach on their ownership's rights and cause difficulty of selling the property. Other Shopkeepers in *Brühl* near Cologne considered the plaques are bad for business.⁸³

In front of the building which was once home to victims, each concrete cube was embedded in the pavement. Each cube is surmounted by brass plaque engraved with the words '*Hierwohnte....*' [Here lived.....], followed by the person name, what is known of what

⁸⁰ Ingrid Scheffer, "Deutschland und Israel-Visual Arts," Goethe-Institute. October 2007, Updated August 2008. Last modified 2015, accessed July 5, 2015. <http://www.goethe.de/ins/il/lp/kul/mag/bku/en78940.htm>

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Kyle James, "Munich Decides Against 'Stumbling Stone' Holocaust Memorials," DW (Deutsche Welle), June 18, 2014, Last modified 2016, accessed July 3, 2015. <http://dw.com/p/5Cck>

⁸³ Scheffer, "Deutschland und Israel-Visual Arts."

became of them, the date of deporting, their death date, in some cases, the name of the place they were deported to, if known. Many of the plaques end with the word '*Auschwitz*.'⁸⁴⁸⁵

The project seems like a connection point between past and present contexts since the main idea was that they would make people who came across pause from everyday lives and remember that an individual killed by Nazis once lived at that address. That is the reason for its name "stumbling stones."⁸⁶

The most impressive about that form of remembrance is that citizens simply pass by in their daily life as it has meshed in the city urban fabric and townscape. It takes place outside the walls of a museum or a memorial site where people might decide to go there to commemorate.

Those commemorative stones are touching, because they bring back to the present, the context of people who once lived in the neighborhood. Even in the own individual building in the past context, as in many cases, the horror began in the apartments and buildings. Hence, those stones are sufficient; because they lay their focus on individual interaction. That might be harder to achieve with large monuments or memorials. Although it is a small stone "*every personal stone symbolizes all victims*," Demnig said.⁸⁷

The following Timeline (figure 21) of the "stumbling stones" shows the phases of the Stumbling over memory project; Starting of the initial idea until installation widespread and the challenge of rejection.

⁸⁴ 'Auschwitz': concentration camp (German: Konzentrationslager Auschwitz, also KZ Auschwitz) was a network of German Nazi concentration camps and extermination camps built and operated by the Third Reich in Polish areas annexed by Nazi Germany during World War II.

⁸⁵ Scheffer, "Deutschland und Israel-Visual Arts."

⁸⁶ James, "Munich Decides Against 'Stumbling Stone' Holocaust Memorials."

⁸⁷ Scheffer, "Deutschland und Israel-Visual Arts".

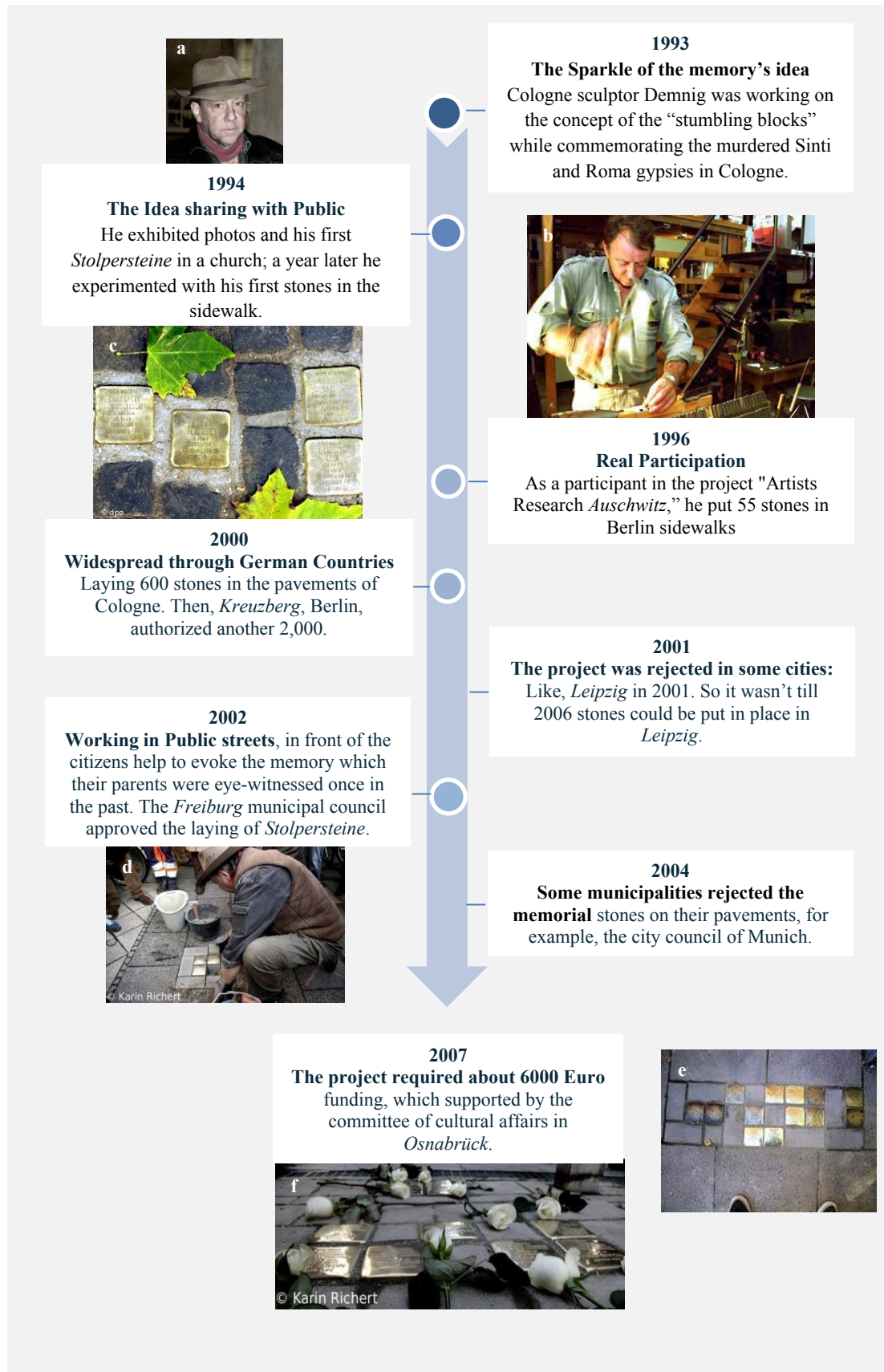


Figure 21: Timeline of the "stumbling stones" shows the phases of the Stumbling over memory project Starting of the initial idea until installation widespread and the challenge of rejection. Source: Researcher. Photos Sources: a, d, f © Karin Richert. b, c ©dpa.

Table 4: Reading Cologne's city center. Source: Researcher.

Historical phases (Political turns)	Representation of Memory	The memory actor (agent of change)	The memory influences: Political psychosocial, cultural key-events	Reflection of the inherited concepts: Centralization/ power
Cologne after the war in 1945	Separation in Town Zones	The Society redevelopment program "Bauform" (war-generation)	It is a "memory-work" as the layout followed the ring roads called the "Ringstrassen" which were founded in the 1880s as they replaced the medieval fortifications.	Respect of the history of the Rhenish city.
	"The Adolf Hitler Mountain"		It is a term used by citizens, to refer to the scene of overwhelming rubble in the city, even until 1955. It evokes the flashbulb memory of the war.	The suffering and the difficulty of forgetting/ the destruction resulted from the Hitler policy.
	Re-preservation of Bürgerlich houses 20-22		Undoing the war destruction because of national political influences. Also, awake social pride. However, Psychologically the houses narrative associated with visible reminders of the Nazi era, because of the claims that <i>Koshar</i> argued about the language of Gerbeck "Evoked Language of Sanitizing"	German revisualize the townscape as awareness of a long national heritage.
	Cologne Skyline		Mixing of past heritage context and present reconstruction.	Reflection of the cumulative memories of the various layers of history.
Cologne Transformation since the 1970s	Cologne Cathedral	Post-war generation	The political division of the war and suffering require a dominant feature "church as a community center" in order to overcome the past.	Maintaining the holly Cologne
	Reconstruction of Hohenzollern Bridge		It symbolizes the eastern anchor of the Cologne skyline. Its axe in front of the cathedral reflects the memory influence of mixing between past heritage and the present contexts.	The enrichment memory of Cologne as a modern west rheinch city.
	El-De Haus	Post-war generation	The name itself is considered an act of memory for his first owner. On the other hand, it evokes the past political and social terror in Cologne during Nazism. The restoration of the prison to its original context evokes memories and conflict feelings- inhumane conditions and prisoners' last messages.	Unveil how far the Gestapo's centralization and full control over citizens.
	Stumbling stones "Stolpersteine"		Influenced by the memory of the victims of santicim in Nazism. Target the people who came across pause from everyday lives and remember that an individual killed once lived in the neighbourhood. "every personal stone symbolizes all victims."	The power of an initiated small artistic idea The power of public participation- individuals interaction.

6.6.3 Some Lessons Learned

Cologne, the post-war rebuilding has resulted in a very mixed and unique cityscape. The style of the 1950s influenced the reconstruction process while taking into consideration the old layout and the naming of the streets. Thus, the city today is characterized by modest post-war buildings with some interspersed pre-war buildings, which are considered rich heritage, in present-day Cologne. They were reconstructed due to their historical importance.

Some lessons to learn from reading the case of Cologne, during its modern history starting from post-war in 1945 until now, lessons on two levels of urbanism: macro and micro scale.

6.6.3.1 *On macro scale*

The rapid recovery of Cologne happened only on the hands of its citizens and its open-minded government in the middle of democratic atmosphere, which was created gradually after the war, to revive the city with the help of modern thoughts which are adapted to the new era, coping with the pre-war heritage and putting strategic plan to reconstruct the city. In general, Cologne introduced a city consisted of integrated cumulative memories.

6.6.3.2 *On micro scale*

Memorials like The El DE Haus can be preserved by several means; First of all, the importance of moving speed to save the files before destruction on the hands of tyrants. In addition, if the site is to be restored, it is important to remove the paint by experts to detect messages that represent the prisoners' suffering and resistance. Also psychologically, when preserving a place to evoke a memory from the past, it should be preserved by accommodating a very similar atmosphere of that past.

Those commemorative places can provide many contributions for the future, and that is the most effective influence of those sites; they are an experience to learn more than just being memorial sites. El DE Haus provides a research and documentation center where many positive missions take place; many lessons learned as follows:

1. Evaluation of the **witness interviews**, photographs, documentation, and researching, all by a hard-working team consists of historian and many employees.
2. **Publication in purpose** for both a scientific field and interact with the public.
3. **Organizing** more than 100 **events** annually including readings, discussion groups, lectures, workshops, and cultural events, in addition to four special exhibitions, each examining a different aspect of the period in detail.
4. **Concerning education and learning**, the training of teachers to assist them in conveying and simplifying the complexity and often the problematic topic of National Socialism.

5. **Organizing free workshops in schools, clubs, and workplaces** which aim at informing people especially youth about the violence, the right-wing extremism. Besides having a preventative effect by the IBS, a separate facility of the EL-DE Haus.
6. **Providing an online database** in order to provide students and interested researchers with a tool to access the EL-DE-Haus library.⁸⁸
7. **Publishing 'Book of Remembrance' database** that contains the details of numerous Jews from Cologne who suffered as victims of the Gestapo.
8. **Establishing "Experiencing History" project** that includes more than a hundred video interviews with contemporary witnesses from Cologne. It is 'a kind of collective memory in the form of a video archive, which provides researchers and historians with a valuable resource, specifically the glimpse of the survivors' emotional experiences of the Nazism in Cologne.'⁸⁹
9. **Supporting and funding of urban projects** such as the 'Stolpersteine' "Stumbling Stones" project which originated in Cologne.⁹⁰

"Stolpersteine" Stumbling over Memory is a project to raise the awareness and gained public participation: contributed to the future. Similar to the concern of educating the new generations and school children about their national history, many have started up initiatives to lay stumbling stones, school classes, associations, research personal data, and sponsors for funding, knowing that anyone can be a sponsor. The municipalities do not incur any expense, but each municipal or town council decides whether or not stones may be laid. Sometimes they are even put on private premises if the owners' consent.

6.7 Summary and Conclusion

The different remembrance culture between the West and East is the expected result of the wide gap between dictator and democratic regimes and their impacts on the societies' development:

East Germany, at the end of the Second World War, was at a new era of dictatorship, had to wait until the collapse of the GDR and the national liberation in 1989-1990, to be able to develop a concept of a common "National Memorial Site", and review the German sites of memory.

On the other hand, the west witnessed a sooner transformation in values and change in the 1960s (post-war generation) included admitting the responsibility of Nazis crimes, that led to developing a concept of "national memory site".

⁸⁸ "NSDOK," NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln, accessed July 10, 2015. <http://www.museenkoeln.de/ns-dokumentationszentrum/pages/default.aspx>

⁸⁹ "Erlebte Geschichte," accessed July 12, 2015. <http://www.eg.nsdok.de>

⁹⁰ "Stolpersteine," accessed June 10, 2015. <http://www.stolpersteine.eu/http://www.stolpersteine.com/>

Dresden from the east (well known as Baroque city), Dresden urban fabric experienced dramatic changes since its early history, and the developing of the city was interrupted by many wars. Those dramatic changes are influenced by many events, sometimes political, social-cultural, or a combination of various forces. From that exact point comes the need for reading the representations of memory and its reflection on the city built environment, the analytical model "PPS." used as a tool to read the urban competing memories.

It has been found that Dresden urban fabric holds the imprints of many historical phases which associated with political turns: Nazism - Socialists – Rebuilding Dresden after the reunification of Germany.

Even after the reunification of Germany, the city still bears many wounds from the bombing raids of 1945.

Nowadays, Dresden is considered as one of the largest preservation projects in Europe. It restored many historical buildings to their original appearance before the war.

Although the preservation attempted to narrate the city history, a rising debate about whether the rebuilding narrates the actual history or miss some historical layers:

The criticism toward the reconstructions, perceived them as they pause the time prior to the city's destruction, even before the Nazi Dresden, as if those events have never happened.

On the other hand, researchers like Henning Prinz stated that partly the reason behind that is because Nazis adapted the buildings to their purposes instead of adding new major buildings to the city such as The *Taschenbergpalais*, located behind the castle, which was used as the Nazi army command headquarters.⁹¹ Hence, in the case of Dresden, single building carried several layers of histories, could represent multiple competing memories and narratives regardless of its construction Era.

That concluded to that: it is possible to say that in Dresden, the Jewish space (represented by the *Synagogue*), the Socialist space (for example, represented by the *Kulturpalace*), and the Nazi space (for instance, the *Nadler Loggia*), all integrated into the framework of the rebuilding. However, the city history that is being much recorded through the rebuilding process is a history that dated back to the city's medieval layer in order to erase the rupture of historic Germanic city, which was made by the Socialists.

That historical rupture was taking place by submitting the argument that the reconstruction is going back to the city's origins, and is supported with political implications. So *Jarzombek* argued that the result is another historiographical puzzle, and that might

⁹¹ Henning Prinz, ed., *Das Taschenbergpalais zu Dresden: Geschichte und Wiederaufbau der Sächsischen Thronfolgerresidenz* (Dresden: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1998), 41.

disadvantage the memory and history of the city. Dresden is considered an ideal case of memory and counter memory.

For this reason, reading urban spaces which hold competing memories or even a memory of the trauma itself is a mean to overcome the painful past, probably leads to the healing process, instead of denying and erasing the memory as if it has never happened.

As for Cologne from West: the situation is different, the past layers of histories are still reflected in the city urban fabric. Whereas, the development society project started immediately after the war, to continue the development which was already planned during the Nazi era. There was an intention of restoring as many historic buildings as possible. The result is a very mixed and unique cityscape that includes pre-war heritage building interspersed with the post-war city buildings. That situation makes Cologne as an ideal example of how the German city's architectural development in the 20th century joins the two strands of artistic enchantment and dynamic economy. And, how Cologne is an ideal case of cumulative memories of historical layers.

Eventually, the reading of the case studies leads the research to a point which quests the meaningful message "human value" which the memorial site can unveil in order to dissolve boundaries between competitive narratives of different remembrance cultures. More details will be discussed on "a micro scale" urban level in the next chapter "representations of meanings."

Chapter Seven: Representation of Meanings

Objective: *Examining and reflecting on the subjective aspect "memory of places" associated with meanings, humane values, to view how the memorial's complexity, plays a role in representing a multiplicity of memory.*

- 7.1. Introduction**
- 7.2. Berlin: The Capital of National Memory**
- 7.3. Kassel: Aschrott-Brunnen "Fountain"**
- 7.4. Summary and Conclusion**

7.1 Introduction

At this point of research, as a qualitative approach, it is necessary to examine on the subjective aspect "memory of places" associated with meanings, values, and attitudes, by analyzing some memorials associated with humane values by the (PPS) model, which in turn could develop the means of constituting the national memory in the urban spaces. On the other hand, the analytical model (PPS.) views how the complexity of the memorial, with its different political influences, associated with psychosocial-cultural meanings, plays a role in representing a multiplicity of memory (individual, collective, and national ones).

The German city streets, bridges, plazas, public spaces, buildings are all carried with collective memories of many past events. Therefore, the study finds it is essential to unveil some of those memories which in turn send essential messages and humane meanings. Some scenes from Berlin, the capital of Germany, are being captured to explain how Berlin became the capital of national memory.

Within the contexts of meanings, *James E. Young* has argued about the metamorphoses of the memorial design from the heroic, self-aggrandizing symbolic icons of the 19th century (celebrated national ideals and triumphs) to the antiheroic, often ironic installations that mark the national ambivalence in the 20th-century postmodernism. Whereas designers who are responsible for reflecting the socio-historical context in their artwork, are influenced by cubism, expressionism, socialist realism, minimalism, or conceptual art.¹

With this regard, the chapter also presents how architectural design could reflect an extraordinary commemorative expression by tackling the case of "*Aschrott-Brunnen*" Fountain, in *Kassel*, which is a negative-form memorial to commemorate a former fountain that had been destroyed by Nazis in 1938 called "Jews' Fountain." The new design is an example of how the artists' thoughts and approaches can affect the traditional image of the memorial.

Collecting the data and choosing the examples was mainly based on the archival resources method, as one of the main information sources is the Information Portal to European Sites of Remembrance "*Gedenkstättenportal zu Orten der Erinnerung in Europe*."² It provides an insight into the diversity of European memorial culture; not only by focusing on the victims

¹James E. Young, "Memory and Counter-Memory," *Harvard Design Magazine*, last modified 2016, accessed January 21, 2016. <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/9/memory-and-counter-memory>

²It is a project of the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. It is part of the exhibition of the Information Centre under the field of *Stelea* of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. The portal is also available on the internet since the summer of 2011.

of the Holocaust but also on memorials to other victims of National Socialist crimes and the millions of victims of the Second World War.³

Studying the representation of meanings of the various memorials: could develop the understanding of how memory contributes to shaping urban space; meanwhile, a citizens' memory is shaped by symbolic public spaces. Whereas citizens create emotional bonds with urban spaces converted into places endowed with meaning. Hence, the meaningful message of urban space could redefine, reshape, or dissolve boundaries between the competing narratives to reach a sense of national memory.

Finally, the expected result of this chapter is a number of learned lessons regarding the design of the memorial to acknowledge a humane value.

7.2 Berlin: The Capital of National Memory

Many names have described Berlin: Potsdam; City of Emperors, Third Reich Berlin; The Nazi Capital, The Red Berlin; the Communist Capital, and the New Berlin which could also be described as the capital of National Memory: as the state has begun to constitute something akin to a “national form” in the center of Berlin (the country’s reunited capital). Also, **represent meanings** to refine the concept of memory and counter-memory in Germany.

Berlin as Potsdam; City of Emperors: it is the city of German Kaisers who having housed their most famous palaces as well as their army. Such as, *Sanssouci palace and park, Frederick the Great*, those places which are referred to as parts of "Stuck city" has only become accessible for the public in the last nineteen years. Those sites of remembrance support the German narrative of more positive self-perception towards their national history, by commemorating their pride in the past German achievements, this point was discussed in the previous chapter.

On the other hand, Berlin was described by names associated with its conflict history, for instance, the Third Reich Berlin, Hitler's rise to power after the fall of Weimar as the Capital of Germany, then the Nazi-ruled for twelve years. Nazi capital, a name which still reflected on Berlin urban spaces: by the existence of Former SS and Gestapo headquarters, *Goebbels Propaganda Ministry, Site of Hitler's Chancellery & bunkers*. All those sites became part of the country National Memory accompanied by the counter memory which presented by sites such as the new Synagogue & *Kristallnacht*. Unforgettable, the *Sachsenhausen "Berlin's concentration camp memorial"*: The model camp that set the standard for all those to follow.

Moreover, Berlin has been described as the Red Berlin; while East Berlin was the capital city of the German Democratic Republic from 1949 to 1990. The recent image that east of

³"Home/ Europe," Information Portal to European sites of Remembrance, accessed May 5, 2015. <http://www.memorialmuseums.org/pages/home>

Berlin reflects the former Soviet station and reveal the secret of the Cold War fought its battle in the shadows of Berlin, when East Berliner experienced the life behind the iron curtain, which still represented by the Berlin Wall Memorial and Death Strip, *Stalinallee*, Ghost stations. In addition, the East Side Gallery-longest remaining segment of the Berlin Wall, and Former Stasi Interrogation Center.

As for West Berlin, it had cult status differs from East Berlin. West scene consists of a gritty, grungy underground of the city. In addition to, underground envy of other European Capitals. Furthermore, Street Arts; Graffiti, Back Streets, Abandoned ruins, also Corporate Expansion vs. Counter-culture, and Urban conflict zones. However, when the fall comes down in 1989 that scene simple moved east. Noteworthy, that Berlin's inner city first hand and unfettered, is considered remarkable due to large parts of the old and new architecture was built by the river, while large parts of the Spree river bank are not lined up by streets.

Undoubtedly, that contemporary image of Berlin carries the fingerprint of many political phases in multiple layers of history. Nevertheless, this chapter focuses mainly on the humane values which were lost during the conflict and post-conflict decades; those values were configured only in the 1990s, it configured by memorials meshed in Berlin's urban spaces, initiated by various actors (agents of change).

At this point of research, addressing the various representations of the meaning of the city memories is essential. Studying examples are just to unveil humane values in Berlin as follows: Repress Freedom of speech "*Memorial for Murdered Members of Reichstag*" - The culture loss "*Book Burning Memorial*" - Family Value loss "*Trains to Life – Trains to Death*" - Mercy loss "*Memorial for the victims of the National Socialists enforced sterilizations and «euthanasia» killings in Berlin Buch*" - Childhood loss "*Auerbach Orphanage*" - Residence rights loss "*Gleis 17 Memorial-Berlin Grunewald*" - Racism "*Deportation memorial on Putlitzbrücke*" - Resistance respect "*Rosenstraße Memorial*". Finally, some lessons to learn are the expected result.

7.2.1 Repress Freedom of Speech "*Memorial for Murdered Members of Reichstag*"

A few steps near of Berlin main station "*Hauptbahnhof*," in front of the Reichstag building, a memorial⁴ honors the 96 members of parliament who fell victims and were murdered between 1933 and 1945 under the National Socialist regime. Their names, dates of birth and death, as well as places of death, are engraved on the edges of cast iron plates. So, it consists of 96 plates, which have been lined up upright, to give the flexibility of extension to include new names of murdered members of parliament who come to light. *See Figure 1*

⁴The memorial was designed by Dieter Appelt, Klaus W. Eisenlohr, Justus Müller and Christian Zwirner.

The Nazi Era had ended in 1945. However, the memorial was only initiated at the end of the 1980s, by the «Perspektive Berlin» association. Then, it was erected in September 1992.

Politically, although the National Socialists never succeeded in proving in court that there had been a communist conspiracy behind the Reichstag's fire in 1933⁵; it was a chance or even a plan to repress freedom of speech, association and the right to assemble. In reaction to the claims that the *Reichstag* fire was a communist conspiracy, Reich government led by *Adolf Hitler* jointly with Reich President Paul von Hindenburg issued the law "*Order of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State.*"



Figure 1: Repress Freedom of speech "Memorial for Murdered Members of Reichstag":
 a- Berlin, March 6, 1933, Communists being arrested by the SA one day after the elections to the Reichstag.
 Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 102-02920A, k.A.
 b- Berlin, 2008, Memorial to the Murdered Members of the Reichstag, Reichstag building in the background.
 Source: Stiftung Denkmal, Anne Bobzin.
 c- Berlin, 2008, Detailed view of the memorial. Source: Ibid.

That law damaged the democratic constitution of the Weimar Republic. At this very point, the persecution against the political opponents could thus be carried out in the guise of legality. Since that law provided the legal base to invalidate the communists' mandates in the new Reichstag within a few days of the elections. A few months later, political opponents of the National Socialist regime were persecuted by the SS and the Gestapo. Communists, social democrats, and leftist intellectuals were deliberately murdered or died of the abuse.⁶

A similar situation happened in Egypt after the "Protest Law" act 107, has been issued on 24 November 2013 by former president Adly Mansour, many political opponents were arrested.⁷

⁵ The Reichstag building was set on fire on the night of February 27/28, 1933, a few days before elections to the Reichstag. Dutch leftist anarchist *Marinus van der Lubbe* was arrested at the crime scene and he confessed the arson attack. A few hours later, the National Socialists announced that the arson attack had been a communist conspiracy.

⁶ "Memorial to the Murdered Members of the Reichstag," Information Portal to European sites of Remembrance, accessed May 15, 2015 <http://www.memorialmuseums.org/denkmaeler/view/1421/Memorial-to-the-Murdered-Members-of-the-Reichstag>

⁷ For more details: See the full text of the law on: Virtual Library, Egypt: Law No.107 for 2013 For organizing the right to peaceful public meetings, processions and protests, Constitutionnet, 2016, <http://constitutionnet.org/vl/item/egypt-law-no107-2013-organizing-right-peaceful-public-meetings-processions-and-protests>. Reviews of the law on: Amr Hamzawy, Egypt's Anti Protest Law: Legalising Authoritarianism, Carnegie endowment for international peace, November 24, 2016, <https://carnegieendowment.org/2016/11/24/egypt-s-anti-protest-law-legalising-authoritarianism-pub-66274> Asma Alsharif, Egypt protest law amendment offers little change, lawyers say, Reuters, December 7, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-protests-law-idUSKBN13W1QX>

7.2.2 The Culture Loss "Book Burning Memorial"

One of the most common actions in dictatorship regimes is the destroying of the revolutionary references in the society which lead to culture loss, sometimes without return. In Berlin's middle district, which is accessible at all times, lies the Book burning memorial.⁸ A two-by-two meter large space below the ground level viewed through glass top, the culture loss symbolized by today white empty shelves.

It is located in *Bebelplatz*, between the State Opera, St. *Hedwig's* Cathedral and the *Humboldt* University buildings. Its location helps in transforming wisdom to new generations. Moreover, being underground and not above as memorials have usually been made, is an extraordinary expression which reminiscent of a search for wealth heritage.

The book burning of May 10, 1933, was organized by the German Student Association (*Deutsche Studentenschaft Dst*), mainly National socialist students. Simultaneously took place in twenty-two German universities. It was the high point and finale of the "action against the Un-German spirit" which began on April 12. Students called for removing German writing⁹ of the "Jewish subversive spirit" as well as (cleanse) universities libraries of the pilloried literature. Most of the books were prohibited until the collapse of National Socialism regime.

Many poets and authors left the country following the burning of their books and who did not emigrate were persecuted by the SS and the Gestapo. They even assassinated, for instance, The Works of the Philosopher and revolutionary socialist *Karl Marx* (1818-1883), and Publicist and Nobel Peace Prize winner *Carl von Ossietzky* who died in a hospital in Berlin in 1938 after spending several years at the *Esterwegen* concentration camp.¹⁰

See Figure 2.

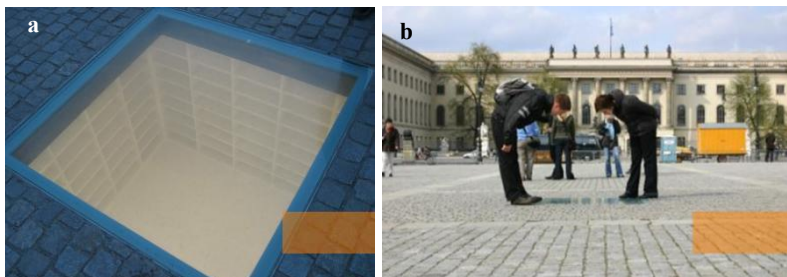


Figure 2: The culture loss "Book Burning Memorial":
 a- Berlin, 2006, Book Burning Memorial.
 b- It is underground memorial; an extraordinary expression which reminiscent of a search for wealth heritage.

⁸Book burning memorial was designed by Israeli artist *Micha Ullman*, and was dedicated in 1995 after the German reunification.

⁹The works of Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Heinrich Mann, Erich Maria Remarque, Kurt Tucholsky, Anna Seghers, Alfred Döblin, Heinrich Heine and many other authors were burned. The stock exchange gazette of the German bookselling trade later published a list of a total of 131 authors whose books had to be removed from book stores and libraries.

¹⁰Ibid. <http://www.memorialmuseums.org/denkmaeler/view/1417/Book-Burning-Memorial>

7.2.3 Family Value Loss "Trains to Life – Trains to Death"

Today in the heart of Berlin beside bicycles parking, youth or any passerby can observe the bronze sculpture¹¹ "*Züge ins Leben - Züge in den Tod*" [Trains to life –Trains to Death] which was erected in November 2008 in the forecourt of the *Friedrichstrasse* station. It commemorates ten thousand Jewish children and youths who could flee from German Reich to Great Britain between November 1938 and September 1939 with the help of Refugee children's Movement (*Kindertransporte*).

Those children were excluded from attending state-run schools due to the national socialists excluding Jews from society. It is also that Gestapo arrested thousands of Jewish men and held them captive at the *Dachau* concentration camp.

Although it was supposed that parents were to follow later to immigrate with their children to other countries, at the start of the Second World War it became almost impossible for the children to contact their parents in Germany. "*About nine of ten children never saw their parents again. For many, their life-saving escape became a traumatic experience of isolation and separation.*"¹²

It is inspiring how memories may be represented by Texture. In the sculpture description; "The bronze sculpture is composed of seven figures of children. Two children, made of bright shiny bronze, are walking towards the safety of exile. Turned away on the eastern side of the memorial, five children made of dark tarnished bronze are waiting for the deportation train. On their coats, they wear yellow stars."¹³ See Figure 3.



Figure 3: Family Value loss "Trains to Life – Trains to Death":

a- London, 1938, Children of a Kindertransport have arrived in England. Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-S65226

b-Berlin, 2012, Stylised tracks are placed beside the base of the memorial, the memorial beside bicycles parking . Source: Stiftung Denkmal.

c- Berlin, 2012, Detailed view of the memorial: Jewish children being deported. Source: Ibid.

¹¹It was designed by Israeli artist Frank Meisler, who fled Danzig on a Kinder transport himself. Meisler erected similar memorials along the route of the Kindertransporte: In his hometown Gdańsk, in the Hook of Holland harbour and at the Liverpool Street Station in London.

¹²Ibid. <http://www.memorialmuseums.org/denkmaeler/view/1484/Trains-to-Life-%E2%80%93-Trains-to-Death#>

¹³Ibid.

7.2.4 Mercy Loss "Memorial to the Victims of Sterilizations and »Euthanasia« Killings in Berlin *Buch*"

When the political ruling system lacks logic and compassion in thinking, it will be reflected in the political decisions and laws. It even exceeds the moral limit and humanitarian. At the early of the 20th century, on the premises of the *Buch* mental hospital, existed innovative treatments were considered commendable.

With the National Socialists rose to power in 1933, the *Buch* Mental Hospital became the central site of their "euthanasia" campaign¹⁴ crimes in the Berlin region. Further, about 800 patients from the *Buch* mental hospital were forcibly sterilized according to the law of "The prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring" which established in 1933.

During the »Action T4«¹⁵ about 2800 patients were murdered by carbon monoxide after were moved to the killing centers of *Brandenburg an der Havel* and *Bernburg*. Further patients were murdered in *Buch* until the end of the war. The exact number is not known. However, the estimated figure of patients' killing in Germany and the occupied European territories is 300000.¹⁶

The Nazi crimes for a long time was forgotten. In West Germany, "the Federal Republic" as well as in the east "GDR" the "euthanasia" killings campaign were kept secret for a long time and the memory of victims of forced sterilizations was practically excluded for decades, only since the 1980s first memorials were erected in the former killing centers. Finally, in November 2013, a memorial was erected on the premises of the former *Buch* mental hospital, which currently a private hospital center.

In the description of the memorial, it is an oversized sculptured white pillow, with first names were inscribed on its surface, sits on a lawn.¹⁷ The memorial idea is simple and symbolizes comfort and caring that any patient deserves. *See Figure 4.*



Figure 4: Mercy loss "Memorial to the victims of the National Socialists enforced sterilizations and »euthanasia« killings in Berlin Buch":

a-Berlin-Buch, 2013, Memorial to the victims of »euthanasia« crimes. Source: Galerie Pankow, Gerhard Zwickert. b- Names on the

¹⁴The »Euthanasia« campaign was developed by a subdivision of the »Kanzlei des Führers« (Hitler's Chancellery) with approximately 100 staff.

¹⁵This action by »Zentraldienststelle T4« (Central Office T4), named after its address in *Tiergartenstraße 4*

¹⁶Information Portal to European sites of Remembrance.

<http://www.memorialmuseums.org/denkmaeler/view/1529/Memorial-to-the-victims-of-the-National-Socialists-enforced-sterilizations-and-%C2%BBeuthanasia%C2%AB-killings-in-Berlin-Buch>

¹⁷It was designed by the Argentinian-born Berlin artist Patricia Pisani. The initiative for the construction of the memorial by the borough of Pankow and the city of Berlin was started in 2009.

7.2.5 Childhood Loss "Auerbach Orphanage"

It is remarkable how only a survived wall can be like an open window in the history tunnel. It is even more impressive how one child's mind finally tell an engraved painful memory after more than seventy years. "Auerbach Orphanage" was founded in 1833 by Baruch Auerbach (1793-1864) for Jewish children in *Rosenstraße*, Berlin. With a moral thought, he emphasized the importance of providing an artistic education. And create a family home for orphans. In 1897, about 80 children were moved to a new building in *Shoenhauser Allee*.

When National Socialists rose to power in 1933, the orphanage became "An island in the sea of brown" as it has been described by one of the last surviving Auerbach children "Walter Frankenstein." About 100 children aging between 10 months and 16 years old, and their caretakers were deported and murdered in the "Auerbach Orphanage" sanctuary which was dissolved by force in 1942 and was confiscated and used by Hitler youths.

Now, the names of the murdered are engraved in the only survived wall of the building after it was destroyed in an air raid of the Allies in 1943. The initiative for the new memorial¹⁸ came from survivor *Walter Frankenstein* (*1924). That project is clear proof about how individual personal memory help to evoke collective memory and join National memory. See *Figure 5*.



Figure 5: Childhood loss "Auerbach Orphanage":
 a-Berlin, around 1920, Frontal view of the *Auerbach Orphanag*. Source: *Stadtbibliothek Berlin*.
 b- Berlin, 2014, The names of the victims on the original brick wall. Source: *Stiftung Denkmal*.
 c- Berlin, 2014, Memorial sing »Ich war hier« (I was here). Source: *Ibid*.

7.2.6 Residence Rights Loss "Gleis 17 Memorial-Berlin Grunewald"

The deportation began from autumn 1941 during the National Socialist period. *Deutsche ReichBahn* played the main role in those deportations. On October 18, 1941, the first deportation transport from *Grunewald S-Bahn* station which located on the western outskirts of Berlin, departed trains carried Berlin Jews to ghettos and extermination camps in the east. At first, the trains consisted of old passenger cars, since 1942, cattle cars were used for deportation. There are many established memorials to narrate the tragedy. For instance, "Gleis

¹⁸It was realized by the Berlin Senate and Information portal to European sites of remembrance.

17 Memorial-Berlin Grunewald¹⁹, "Levetzowstrasse," and "Putlizbruecke" Deportation memorials...just to name a few.

In *Grunewald* train station, one was unveiled in 1991, an 18-meter-concrete block with embedded silhouettes of deportees.²⁰ Another central one: The Track "Gleis" 17 memorial²¹, 186 cast steel objects, referring to several transports, dates, deportees numbers, and routes. About 160 meters of the loading bay have been constructed. The length of the memorial is a very simple expression about the deportations quantities. It is not a plaque that holds names and dates where visitors stand in front of it, it, rather, needs movement along it to read.

The impressive thing about that memorial is not just its simplicity in design and thought which narrate the reality, but that it was not initiated by the victims, but it was initiated by one of the social authorities "*Deutsche Bahn*" whose ancestors undertook the deportation.

That situation clarifies how the political regime misuses, manipulates or even makes good use the society authorities, how those authorities' main role, which is to serve the public, is affected. See *Figure 6*.



Figure 6: Residence rights loss "Gleis 17 Memorial-Berlin Grunewald":
a-Berlin-Grunewald, 2006, one of the 186 inscriptions on the memorial along track 17.
b-Berlin-Grunewald, 2006, Gleis 17 Memorial.
c- Berlin-Grunewald, 2006, the 1991 monument by Karol Broniatowski: an 18-metre-concrete block with embedded silhouettes of deportees. Source: Ibid.

7.2.7 Racism "Deportation Memorial on *Putlitzbruecke*"

Nobody imagined in 1930 what would happen in the few following years. No Jew ever thought that a star would sign him, his name in a long deportation list, be placed in a collection camp, and be chased and beaten by the police and SS from the camp in Synagogue in *Levetzowstrasse*, along two kilometers to the ramp at the *Moabit* train station, and finally forced to board the special trains of the German state railway. "*Many of the transports went to the ghettos of Theresienstadt, Minsk, Riga, Kaunas (Russian: Kovno) and Łódź. From July 1942*

¹⁹ Memorial was initiated by the German national railway company "*Deutsche Bahn*" at the end of the 1980s, to commemorate deportations undertaken by its predecessor, the *Deutsche Reichsbahn*.

²⁰ The memorial was designed by Karol Broniatowski, a Polish artist, as a winner of the competition which initiated by the state of Berlin, for a concept of a monument to the deportations which left from the *Grunewald* train station.

²¹ It was the board of the *Deutsche Bahn* decision to erect a central memorial. The memorial designed by the «*Hirsch, Lorch und Wandel*» team of architects as a winner of the competition for the memorial's design. The *Gleis 17* Memorial has commemorated the deportations conducted by the *Deutsche Reichsbahn* between 1941 and 1945 since 1998.

on, many of the transports from Berlin went directly to Auschwitz-Birkenau and other extermination camps."²²

That persecution and racism scene is best seen from above *Putlitz* bridge "*Putlitzbruecke*" which connects the districts of *Moabit* and *Wedding*. It was the best location to commemorate the 30000 Berlin Jews who were deported from nearby *Moabit* freight depot. "*The Putlitzbrücke was chosen for the location due to the fact that the premises of the former freight depot can be overlooked from there. Parts of platform 69 can still be seen – it is from here and two other platforms that the deportation trains departed.*"²³

"Steps which are no longer steps – Stairs which are no longer stairs – Symbol of a journey which was no longer a journey [...]" Those words are inscribed on the plaque of the memorial. The memorial was dedicated in 1987, consists of two parts, the front one resembles a gravestone, and the second one is a 2.5-meter-large sculpture by Volkmar Haase that extends upwards like a staircase. See figure 7.

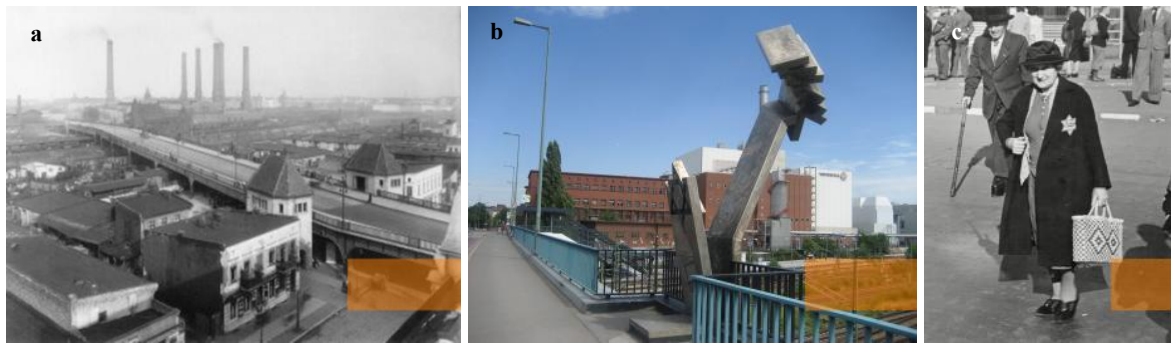


Figure 7: Racism "Deportation memorial on Putlitzbruecke":

- a- Berlin, 1912, The Putlitzbrücke with the Moabit freight depot on the left and Westhafen. Source: Hermann Rückwardt.
- b- Berlin, 2010, Deportation Memorial on Putlitzbrücke. Source: Stiftung Denkmal.
- c- Berlin, 1941, Wearing the yellow star became obligatory from September 1941. Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-B04490A, N/A

7.2.8 Resistance Respect "Rosenstraße Memorial"

Resistance deserves the most respect. Two memorials in Berlin's *Rosenstraße* serve as reminders of the unique, non-violent protest against "*Fabrikaktion*" the deportation of Jews from Berlin in March 1943. When some Jews were still living in Berlin because they had "mixed marriages," or they were classified as "half-Jews," or they were either deemed "crucial to the war efforts."

An extraordinary situation happened in the Third Reich: The prisoners were shown support in the course of the week, non-Jewish wives, family members, and friends gathered through a protest in front of the building of the Jewish community in *Rosenstraße*, demanding

²²Information Portal to European sites of Remembrance.

<http://www.memorialmuseums.org/denkmaeler/view/1402/Deportation-Memorial-on-Putlitzbr%C3%BCcke>

²³Ibid.

the release of the imprisoned men. They kept going back again and again, regardless of the Gestapo threats, until finally few hundred were released, but over 8500 Jewish men were deported following the "*fabrikaktion*" [fabrication]. Further, those who were released were mostly deployed in dangerous and physically exhausting forced labor.²⁴

Near of the *Marienkirche* church, an advertisement column "*Litfass* column" is located on the same site of the historic one in 1943 stood in *Rosenstraße*, Berlin, to provide information and photographs about the events which took place in February and March 1943. The memorial was initiated by a project team that was founded after inspired from Nathan *Stolzfuss* report in the weekly newspaper "*Die Zeit*" about the 1943 protest, which only was published in 1989 after 46 years. See figure 22- a, b.

The second memorial, only erected in 1995 and could not be constructed in the GDR, is the "Block of Women" memorial²⁵ which is located on the site of the former Jewish administrative building in which Gestapo held the men. See figure 8.



Figure 8: Resistance respect "Rosenstraße Memorial":
 a- Berlin, 2011, Historical photo on the Litfass column on Rosenstraße. Source: Stiftung Denkmal
 b- Berlin, 2011, Litfass column on Rosenstraße. Source: Ibid.
 c- Berlin, 2008, Monument by Ingeborg Hunzinger. Source: Stiftung Denkmal, Anne Bobzin.

7.3 Kassel: *Aschrott-Brunnen* "Fountain"

At this point in the study, adding the case of "Kassel, *Aschrott-Brunnen* Fountain" as another example differs from the previous in Berlin, because it affords the memory and counter-memory as well. Besides the fountain's history consists of many exchanged phases of remembering, forgetting and then remembering again.

7.3.1 Historical Background

The *Aschrott Brunnen* "Fountain" had originally been a twelve-meter-high, neo-Gothic pyramidal fountain, surrounded by a reflecting pool that is placed in the main town square, in



Figure 9: The *Aschrott-Brunnen* "Original Fountain" in 1908
 Source: <http://forgetyousawthis.blogspot.com/2013/02/the-aschrott-brunnen-monument.html>

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Designed by artist *Ingeborg Hunzinger* in 1980s, but only erected in 1995 after was enabled by the Berlin Senate.

front of City Hall in German city Kassel. It was constructed in 1908 and designed by the City Hall architect, *Karl Roth*, and funded by *Sigmund Aschrott*, who is a successful Jewish businessman.

Since it was a gift from a Jew, it has been stated that the Nazis demolished the *Aschrott-Brunnen* Fountain during the night of April 8 of 1939, leaving only the sandstone base. See *figure 9*. Within three years later, about 3463 Kassel Jews had been departed from the *Hauptbahnhof* to Riga, all were murdered. In 1943, the city filled in the fountain's basin with soil and planted flowers in it; local burghers then dubbed it "*Aschrott's Grave*."²⁶ The city turned *Aschrott's Grave* back into a fountain only during the growing prosperity of the 1960s, but without the pyramid.²⁷

The actual fountain history became a fading memory, as by then, just a few of the old city's generation could recall that its name had ever been *Aschrott's*. When they had been asked what had happened to the original fountain, they replied that to their best recollection, and the common assumption was that it had been destroyed by Allied bombing during the Second World War.

7.3.2 The Initiative

In response to the fading memory of the fountain, the "Society for the Rescue of Historical Monuments" the Society for the Rescue of Historical Monuments initiated an effort to restore some types of fountains on the site that would memorialize the founders and benefactors of the town, especially *Sigmund Aschrott*. The new project was awarded to a local artist, *Horst Hoheisel* who wrestled with the history of the original fountain and the role that a new monument would play in the community.²⁸

7.3.3 The Design

The artist's most fear is that a reconstructed fountain would only encourage the public to forget what had happened to the original one. As if nothing had happened at all. Therefore, he proposed a negative-form memorial to commemorate a former fountain had been destroyed by Nazis in 1983 as "Jews' fountain." He described the idea and concept of his design as a mirror image of the old one, sunk beneath it, to rescue the place history as a wound. He believed that

²⁶Jörn Rüsen, ed., *Meaning and Representation in History*, (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006), 245; The Counter-monument - [doc Document], <https://vdocuments.site/the-counter-monument.html> (accessed April 17, 2018).

²⁷ Harvard Design Magazine: Memory And Counter-memory, <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/9/memory-and-counter-memory> (accessed April 17, 2018).

²⁸"The Aschrott-Brunnen Monument," *Forget to Remember*, February 3, 2013, accessed February 5, 2016. <http://forgetyousawthis.blogspot.com/2013/02/the-aschrott-brunnen-monument.html>

would penetrate the consciousness of the Kassel citizens, hence that past mistakes never happen again.²⁹ See figure 10.

The artist's philosophy meant to tap this very history of the *Aschrott Fountain*, continues not over but under the city. By sinking the inverted pyramid into the depths. By this mean, an attempt to bring the history of the Aschrott Fountain back up to the surface from the depth of the place. Over the ground, only a bronze plaque has been erected to describe the actual history of the original fountain with its image.

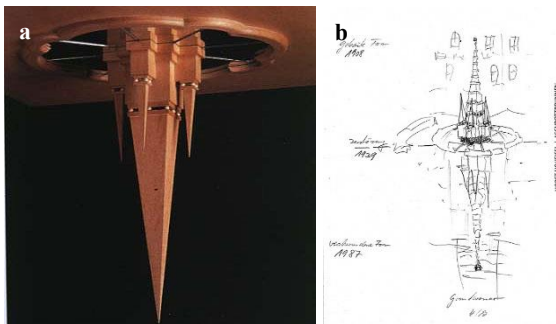


Figure 10: The Aschrott-Brunnen fountain design: a-The concept.

b-Drawing by the artist indicating the concept of use of negative space - inversion of the monument. The notes on the left indicate, from top to bottom, the size and date of the original monument (1908), the destruction (1939) and the beginning of the memorialization process(1987).

Source:

<http://forgetyousawthis.blogspot.com/2013/02/the-aschrott-brunnen-monument.html>,

<http://chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/hoheisel/fountain.html>

7.3.4 The Construction as a Reminder

During construction, and for the sake of reminding of the original fountain form "now-absent monument," *Hoheisel* built its concrete form following its old plans and displayed it for a few weeks as a resurrected shape at City Hall Square before sinking it, mirror-like, twelve meters deep into the groundwater. He also stated that: "*The pyramid will be turned into a funnel into whose darkness water runs down. From the "architektonischen Spielerei,"* with this regard, City Hall architect *Karl Roth* described the fountain, as "*a hole emerges which deep down in the water creates an image reflecting back the entire shape of the fountain.*"³⁰ See figure 11.



Figure 11: The fountain's construction as a reminder: a- Aschrottbrunnen Fountain Project. Removal of Original Base Used as a Flower Bed. b- Excavation for New Fountain Memorial c- Counter Monument Ready for Installation.d- Memorial Being Installed. e-Fountain Before Before Covered with Glass. Source: <http://chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/hoheisel/fountain.html>

²⁹ James E. Young, "Memory and Counter-Memory," *Harvard Design Magazine*, last modified 2016, accessed January 21, 2016. <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/9/memory-and-counter-memory>

³⁰ Horst Hoheisel, 'Rathaus-Platz-Wunde', in '*Aschrott-Brunnen - offene wunde der Stadtgeschichte*' (Kassel: 1989). Quotation trans. James E. Young, cited in *Ibid*.

7.3.5 The Affordance of Memory

As for the designer, the fountain is not the memorial; it is the only history turned into a pedestal, to invite passersby who stand upon it to think and search for the memorial. In order to realize that they are the memorial since they are the only standing figures in the flat square. With the scene and sound of the running water fills the narrow canals at their feet then rushing into a great underground hollow, which unveils the great depth, and becomes louder and louder when standing over the fountain, which is covered by an iron grate and glass window that allows and demands visitors' reflection. *Hoheisel* believed that when citizens' thoughts can be drawn into the depths of history, perhaps that will encounter feelings of loss, of a disturbing place, of the lost form.

On the other hand, the same square witnessed the memory of the neo-Nazis action that chose the *Aschrott Brunnen* Plaza to protest on the *Wehrmacht* exhibition in June 1998 and stood over the foundation stones which mark the perimeter of the original fountain.³¹ See *figure 12-c*.



Figure 12: Aschrott- Brunnen Fountain's affordance of Memory: a,b-The visitor is the memorial c- neo-Nazi groups for demonstrations: Despite the fact that Hoheisel's memorial project is a memorial to a destroyed fountain and hence the murdered Jews of Kassel, Germany, the site has nevertheless been used by neo-Nazi groups for demonstrations. Thus, memorial sites have become contested places of memory, as well as absence.

Source:<http://chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/hoheisel/fountain.html>

7.4 Summary and Conclusion

That chapter describes the interrelation between memory and urban space in Germany, introducing the power of public space as a remembrance place that carries a specific message, whether it is a street, square or a wall. As one of the essential features of remembrance places which are meshed in the city urban fabric, that they are almost accessible at all times.

Moreover, narrating the city past through its urban fabric, represents various meanings, improves the public attachment, and strengthens the bonds between them, acknowledge the competing narratives from a different perspective. **Besides, design memorials in the urban space integrate memory into the rhythms of everyday life.** Thus, they do not need the

³¹"The Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies," The University of Minnesota 2009, last Modified February 6, 2014, accessed February 6, 2016. <http://chgs.umn.edu/museum/memorials/hoheisel/fountain.html>

dedication of time and money to go and visit like in the case of the *Buchenwald* Memorial Site which was discussed in the previous chapter.

In the German city, citizens can enjoy the city rebuilding and even share in. As for the visitors, to experience and explore the impressive changes of the last years individually; is by choosing one of the many City tours into the city's trendy, historic and lively districts beyond the city center.

Many names have described Berlin: Potsdam; City of Emperors, Third Reich Berlin; The Nazi Capital, The Red Berlin; the Communist Capital, and the New Berlin which could also be described as the capital of National Memory as the state has begun to constitute something akin to a “national form” in the center of Berlin (the country’s reunited capital). And produce a **representation of meanings** to refine the concept of memory and counter-memory in Germany.

Berlin has multiple layers of histories which reflected on its urban spaces. On the micro scale level, Berlin streets narrate the memories of various groups as part of the country national memory; specifically the collective memories of the victims of the Nazi Era (as it considered the anchor of Germany modern history). With this respect, the chapter reviewed various examples associated with the meanings of human values. The research method based on archival resources and analytical model (PPS.) to unveil the political influences, and the psychosocial influences which reflected on the design concept. Hence, the study concludes lessons to learn associated with design's guidelines as follows:

For the public, some laws established to be broken at the end; those repress freedom of speech or justify crimes: Throughout history, wherever the dictatorship regimes are, they are always establishing laws which only serve their power; repress freedom of expression in the name of "state and public protection" and persecuted the political opponents. For these reasons, in particular, such laws should be broken before the persecution process begins. Thus, resistance is significant: acknowledging the experience of other countries like Germany which witnessed repressing freedom actions, could be mean to expect the result, in turn, increase the public awareness of the Egyptians.

Designing memorials to improve the people present attachment to place, review the collective memories, could be possible by introducing **the power of the comprehensive image includes present and past:** For instance, the two *Reichstag* memorials: The first is the building itself with its new transparent dome that embodies the modern democracy. The second one is the iron memorial in front of the building entrance, which commemorates the murdered members of the *Reichstag*, embodies the past dictatorship. That contrast between present and past; democracy and dictatorship; transparency and iron (The texture of memory), that contrast

in one camera shoot reminds Germany citizens of the freedom they gained, and gives the hope to other nations as well.

As for designers, taking the sensual experience (vision, hear, smell, touch, movement) and individual interactions into consideration when designing a memorial, psychologically is a thriving design key factor which improves the social interaction.

Nevertheless, some meanings need extraordinary design ideas to be acknowledged: When constructing a memorial, it is not necessary to apply the traditional way to build above the ground. Maybe it requires an extraordinary idea to transmit the meaning authentically. Maybe it requires building an underground memorial as a reminiscent of a search for wealth heritage, such as the culture loss meaning in "The book burning" memorial in Berlin. To see the memorial, a passer has to use his body muscles and bend over the memorial, thus the idea of the memorial embedded sensual experience, and that what usually makes the process of evoking memory successes.

Besides, the memorial Location means a lot, perhaps targets special groups: Targeting the youth of today in the heart of Berlin, in the forecourt of the *Friedrichstrasse* station, beside bicycles parking, where the youth or any passerby can observe. A bronze sculpture *Züge ins Leben - Züge in den Tod* [Trains to life –Trains to Death] was erected in November 2008. It holds an important message that reminds us of the current family blessing by narrating the painful past. That memorial also is another sample to how memories can be represented by texture and direction: only two children of the bright shiny bronze sculpture representing the safety of exile. The other five children made of dark tarnished bronze turned away on the eastern side of the memorial; those were wearing yellow stars and were waiting for the deportation train.

Although the impact of the tragedy is clear, for whom experience it (like in the case of Germany), some crimes need decades to be admitted, but at the end, the victims' suffering comes to light; especially those crimes which exceed the moral limit and humanitarian. Such as the "Memorial to the victims of the National Socialists enforced sterilize actions and «*euthanasia*» killings in Berlin *Buch*" which embodies mercy loss. Regarding the design of that memorial, its strength comes from its simplicity. Visually passer can see from a distance a lost pillow in Grass (embodies the lost comfort and medical caring rights), direct on the premises of the former *Buch* mental hospital, which currently a private hospital center.

On the other hand, giving the survivors the chance to calm their deep anger and may heal wounds: Survivors' mind is the best to evoke collective memory and join in forming national memory, for instance, the memorial wall of "*Auerbach Orphanage*" founded in 1833 by Baruch *Auerbach* (1793-1864) for Orphans Jewish children in *Rosenstraße*, Berlin. The

initiative for the memorial came from a former *Auerbach* child survivor *Walter Frankenstein*. **This case highlights how even a single stone or wall can commemorate the whole story**, like in the "*Auerbach Orphanage*" memorial wall.

Undoubtedly, the urban space components are the best tellers to narrate the history; whether they are streets, plazas, stations or even train track, such as the "*Gleis 17 Memorial-Berlin Grunewald*" which commemorates the deportations that had begun from autumn 1941 during the National Socialist period. The impressive thing about that memorial is not just its simplicity in design and thought which narrate the reality, but that it was not initiated by the victims, but it was initiated by one of the society authorities "*Deutsche Bahn*" whose ancestors undertook the deportation. That memorial also commemorates the loss of the residence right of many European citizens. The 160 meters length of the memorial is a straightforward expression about quantities of the deportations. It is not a plaque that holds names and dates where visitors stands in front of it; it rather needs movement along it to read.

Again, choosing the location of the memorial is crucial, **the best choice of a strong visual point to commemorate unforgettable scene is the highest middle point of the scene location:** The persecution and racism scene can be best seen from above *Putlitz Bridge* "*putlitzbrücke*" which connects the districts of *Moabit* and *Wedding*. It was the best location to commemorate the 30000 Berlin Jews who were deported from nearby *Moabit* freight depot after they had been chased, beaten by police and SS from the camp in Synagogue in *Levetzstraße*, along two kilometers to the ramp at the *Moabit* train station, and finally were forced to board the special trains of the German state railway.

Whereas the resistance never dies, so the appreciated respect is a reasonable demand, Memorial should also unveil hidden values, such as "Silent Heroes"; who resisted the injustice and helped the victims, who are known as "*Righteous among the nation*."

After viewing the various examples, it has been noticed that the initiation of the memorial idea can be carried by any of the society authorities or social organization or victims or artists, or an individual rather than the initiation that is only carried by the government.

Memorials places introduce a rich learning environment, especially to youth. It embodies history and answers many questions, like what memory should be acknowledged, whose memory, where? And how it could be commemorated?

Human identity can be strengthening in memorable places. As narrating the past of the city provide a chance for citizens to know more about the history of their town and themselves. Moreover, **designing the urban National memory gives the designers the opportunity to be creative**, belonging to their homeland, and integrating the Art with the city

development. Notably, "*Less is more*," the simplicity and durability of the design obtain its success.

Finally, the same public place history may consist of many exchanged phases of remembering, and forgetting processes. Moreover, it can afford different collective memories, sometimes even more conflicted, like in the case of Kassel *Aschrott Brunnen* Fountain, witnessed the neo-Nazis action which chose the *Aschrott Brunnen* Plaza (the Jew memorial) to protest on the *Wehrmacht* exhibition in June 1998, and stood over the original fountain's foundation stones (that Nazi had demolished it in 1939).

Designing Urban National Memory



Part Four: Conclusions

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Recommendations

Objective: *discussing the thesis' key findings, the conclusion's interpretation of the literature review and the answers of the research's questions. Furthermore, the study's evaluation and Recommendations.*

- 8.1. Introduction**
- 8.2. Brief of Key Findings**
- 8.3. Conclusions**
- 8.4. Evaluation of the Study**
- 8.5. Recommendations**

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses key findings which summarize the thesis's main ideas, and methods. The discussion provides a logical conclusion that is evident from the main body, interprets the literature review, and answers the research's questions. Further, the chapter introduces an evaluation of the study overall; critically assessment of the study's limitation. Finally, suggesting recommendations for the practice field, policy-makers, and future researches.

8.2 Brief of Key Findings

8.2.1 Part One: The Initial Foundation

The start argument based on an interdisciplinary approach which aimed to emphasize the interrelation between national memory and urban space:

Upon investigation, it has been found that, recently, after the 25th 2011 revolution in Egypt, there is an increasing need of renationalizing the historical consciousness of the Egyptians, and reconsider the national memory when designing Egyptian urban spaces (as a post-conflict society). It has been noticed that there is a lack of knowledge in the role of memory when designing Egyptian spaces. Why is memory important? What memory? How to renationalize? Or what are the means? What are the learned lessons? Questions need answers. Therefore, the study began with shedding light on the necessity of developing a methodological framework of the thesis; the data collected and the results analyzed using *grounded theory methodology*, and it finally concluded to narrowing the study scope to tackle the case of Egypt and the case of Germany.

In addition to that, the literature review based on a *meta-synthesis approach* emphasized the interrelation between national memory and urban space: The research indebted to the interdisciplinary discussions that have shaped studies of memory and perspectives from various fields; urbanism, history, psychology, urban sociology concluded to conceptualization that national memory could best be described as a political social-construction in first place, which generates and also influenced by psychological influences.

From that exact point, the research developed a "*PPS*" *Political-Psychosocial analytical model*; it is for reading the memory's layers in urban spaces and analyze its influences: The political influence; to investigate how extent the political events bring significant changes to the urban spaces, its memory and the interaction of its dweller. So, in turn, it generates psychosocial influences. On the other hand, psychologically, designing urban memory could influence the memory itself, whether to be evoked or erased. Further,

analysis of social influence could explain the citizens' memory's driven interaction within urban space.

8.2.2 Part Two: Egypt National Memory

The dissertation continued as exploratory analytical research that aimed to capture how Egypt national memory was constituted through history:

It reviewed two prevailing historical narratives "Egypt as Pharaohs' Country – Modern Egypt (Egypt Mohammed Ali)." Historically, those two narratives constituted the national memory of the Egyptians. The analysis was based on *observation, inductive reasoning method, and related examples*. Thus, it has been noticed that a pattern of inherited concepts has influenced and still influence the memory's production; remembering or forgetting processes reflected in urban spaces until recent times. Those three concepts are the centralization (geography– rule - urban), the power of the public, and the divine concept of the ruler.

The pattern of inherited concepts is considered the first step to explore how the national memory of Egypt was constituted through history. A Memory could be read in Egypt urban spaces.

Thus, the study traced the multiple histories, which left their prints on the Egyptian urban fabric. By tackling an explanatory historical case study; the case study of *Tahrir square* in Cairo, Egypt. As a method of validating the "*PPS*" analytical model, which helped to read the multilayers of memories, identify the memory's actors, and the political, psychosocial influences. Furthermore, the reflection of the inherited concepts on Egypt's urban spaces, which have a clear cause/effect relationship of formulating prevailing Egyptian narratives, hence, constituting the urban national memory of Egypt.

Regarding the memory's actors (agents of change) It has been found out that behind those constructed or erased memories, the narratives as historical accounts can be official (state-sponsored) or vernacular (public power, authorities, cultural, and religious,) or a combination of both.

The analysis revealed that throughout years, the square turned out to be Cairo's agora, which witnessed the country's events and upheavals. Moreover, the change of the square's morphology throughout the history of political, social, and urban transformation provide a chance for comparison between the different phases of the square:

During the monarchy, *Tahrir* has remained a symbol of cosmopolitan and centralization. Reminders (architectural elements) are still seen until recent times. Also, *Tahrir* reflects the rise of national sense in the 19th century. Then, *Tahrir* Square had diminished under the Republic rule into a traffic node in which most traces of his ancestors' memory had been erased.

During the republic, between 1952 – 2011: Every political regime of the presidents *Gamal Abd Elnaser, El Sadat, then Mubarak* left imprints on *Tahrir* urban space. However, the *Nasserist* regime influenced by a specific narrative stresses the national nature of Egypt as a part of the whole "Arab World," for instance, that reflected by the construction of the National Union Building. Further, in this phase, the cosmopolitan nature of the *Tahrir* district has been gradually lost; renaming streets, places into Egyptian Arabic names those emphases on *Abd Elnasser* regime's centralization (power), to control, and manipulate the perception of the public.

In Post-Nasser regime (*Sadat* and *Mubarak* regimes), it has been noticed that except the renaming of places and the public gardens' closure to control the people gathering, in general, space/ memory narrative gradually neglected. There was no specific ideology to impose on the built environment throughout Egypt, just that the urban developments' decisions were mainly based on political perspectives.

Whereas the built environment itself suffered under demographic pressure and lost much of its urban memory, the people's attach to their urban spaces gradually vanished, and they became increasingly indifferent about their built heritage and places of memory.

Moreover, in light of the absence of political parties, there is no consideration of public participation, which is the real owner of this urban space. The question that imposes itself is, "Is it fair that one regime's man's point of view could change millions of generations' lives without a clear national vision?"

In the post-Mubarak regime after the 25th January 2011 revolution: a series of metamorphoses happened in many aspects; the struggle between the public and the government to control the square. That reached to a stage after seven years that the traces of the 25th January revolution which once happened had vanished, despite the fact of many tries and actions to renationalize the historical memory, also the protestors' demand to redesign *Tahrir* square to commemorate the 25th revolution.

As in the recent time, the reconstruction after the collapse of the Mubarak regime does not much care about space/ memory narrative. The current situation of national memory in post-conflict Egypt could be described as a new Era of “erasing memory and history.”

The question imposes itself that if such square redeveloped to commemorate the modern revolution memory, perhaps that reshape people's behavior positively? To overcome their differences, and as a start to renationalize the historical memory by adding a new layer of national memory to the country map.

By analysis, it has been found that since its construction the square morphological change, affected by the production of memory whether “producing remembering” like in the case of preserving the Egyptian museum since monarchy. Alternatively, “producing forgetting” like the demolishing of the British Barracks, and street renaming in the Republic era (1952- 2011). Even more, the distortion of memories as the distortion of the 25th revolution’s memory in the post- Mubarak regime. Overall, that has been explained when national memory was the target or the force of the political psychosocial influences.

Another important finding that the political psychosocial influences are intertwined to form the current reflected national memory in urban spaces and that there is no dichotomy between the three influences; the analysis revealed that the political influence generates kind of psychosocial impact. On the other hand, psychosocial influence encourages and motivates society’s political transformation.

Furthermore, in Egypt, thinkers and historians are in a daily fight to save the urban and architectural history, on the other hand, others are competing by erasing a memory or inject misleading memories due to the political and social division. Hence, the study has concluded that it is not clear yet how deep that will affect the city and the national identity in that transition period. However, Egypt could benefit from other countries experiences; to draw learned lessons from the experience of Germany in renationalizing memory through designing urban spaces.

8.2.3 Part Three: Germany National Memory

The thesis continued as exploratory analytical research, aimed to find out how Germany nationalized memory through urban spaces:

First, the study aimed to review the crucial breaks, which led to significant changes to the Germans' thought about their national history. It has been found that Germany has been blamed for two world wars, destruction, and suffering in Europe, then, it took Germans decades to come in terms with the past; started with the immediate invitation to forget after

the war, that is to support the new European Project and to bring nations together again. That was useful for victors, on the other hand, victims suffered from ignorance for a long period, so it was a high price.

Hence, after many failing “historians’ attempts” toward positive self-perception, it was only in the late 1990s, the accepting that the European suffering (including Germans) was Germany’s responsibility, led to open debate and public discussions about many difficult topics such as the allied raids on German cities, the suffering of citizens, and the crimes of the National Socialism.

The result of the debate emphasized that National Socialism, particularly the Holocaust, have formed the most crucial anchor of German historical consciousness.

The new narrative “Post-classical national identity” invited by Heinrich August Winkler in the 2000s, found a spread broad Germans’ support. That is because of its pride sense of the German achievement in history before the war, besides, the acceptance of the responsibility of past mistakes.

With this respect, the attempts have been made eventually reached a necessary mean of renationalizing the historical consciousness. It was believed that when forgetting is impossible; it is better to overcome the past. For instance: the German concern of developing the places of memory such as the case of "The historical Buchenwald concentration camp memorial" presented a mean of overcoming the past. The study tackled it as a remembrance case using the research methods of the *site visit, visual analysis, and observation*.

Also, an analysis via the “PPS” model: That including visual memories of the place, which provide rich information about the political circumstances in the past context, further reveal the psychosocial influences of both the inmates and the officers. The findings’ validated and reached to some lessons to learn: which provide the designer with guidelines such as:

The necessity of collecting the visual memory, listening to survivors, preserving the living conditions, in addition to making an analysis based on political psychosocial approach. Further, encouraging public awareness: by organizing citizens' tours and visits. And, to let the world see and witness by opening the site to be documented by journalists, news photographers, and filmmakers. Besides, constituting a committee consists of all concerned agents would be *also helpful in putting a strategy with a time plan and take public participation (questionnaire) into consideration*.

With this regard, the dissertation concluded that in the shadow of the past: The flashbulb memories which mark the human lives are unforgettable. *Thus, any try to forget them is a waste of time. It is better to establish a remembrance culture which aims to overcome the failure, sadness, and learn from past mistakes, and at the same time to be proud of the present peace and success. From a psychological point of view, it is believed that new good memories can heal painful memories.*

Moreover, places which carry and are loaded with memories, even those shocking and painful ones, *should be preserved as a learning experience for the new generations and as a try to forgive, like in the case of the concentration camps. However, the preservation decision should be taken after the desire of the victims. The study recommends the Keeping of the memory alive for the next generations by focusing commemoration in order to reach the public, especially youth groups and school students, consequently creating a learning experience.*

The learned lessons from the German case provide a reasonable way of thinking of how to develop the concept of National memory *and to help any nation seeking to develop its historical conscious and create places of remembrance. At the same time, it is not a simple fixed formula for all situations and counties. Some lessons may be useful in some contexts and not useful in others.*

In general, it is possible to say that the critical historical breaks (such as revolutions, regime collapse, war comes to an end) provide a chance to the nations to rethink of the national historical consciousness. *Also, that the case of Germany unveils the fact that to change a nation thought after conflicted history, does not happen overnight, it probably requires much effort on many levels and from all society parts, historians, thinkers, and it even requires a long term plan which should be accompanied with patience.*

Second, the study investigated how Germans developed a concept of “National Memory” while facing the challenge of the different remembrance culture between East and West Germany which interprets the different perspectives to “National Memory” between the two sides. Since, the division of Germany after the Second World War and the Nazi dictatorship, sadly, divided many German families, too. Consequently, the West and the East postwar generations vary greatly in their thoughts, beliefs, cultures, quality of life, education, and even in their memories.

As for the east, post-war days were a new era of dictatorship until the collapse of the GDR and the national liberation 1989-1990. On the other side, post-war, the west witnessed a

sooner transformation in values derived by the post-war generation in the 1960s, including admitting the Nazi crimes, so that led to developing of National Memorial Sites.

So Germany's different remembrance cultures between the East and West positioned Germany to be the perfect evidence and the crystal precise close-comparative case study on how dictatorship destroys the nation, and how democracy builds the nations civilization.

The research investigated the different remembrance culture between East and West of Germany: by tackling "*Multicase studies*": Dresden from East and Cologne from West; That introduced a comparative analysis between the readings of each city's center:

The research methods first depended on collecting data by the inductive analytical method. Second, the study was based on a *site visit, visual analysis, observation, site analysis* on a macro scale level, further choosing and analyzing in depth appropriate micro-scale examples to show a timeline of the past and present contexts of each place design associated with memory.

Generally, the reading of cities' centers analyzed via the "PPS." Model, aimed at unveiling the learned lessons from these German experiences:

Dresden from the East is an ideal case of memory and counter-memory. Reading Dresden's city center provides some lessons to learn on two levels of Urbanism; Macro and Microscale:

On the Macro level, historical cities may consist of multiple layers of histories, each layer associated with a national memory, and might compete with other layers' memories. That conflict could be traced in the city's urban spaces. Hence the preservation of historical city should reflect the geography of time and its memory, not reducing its history to a linear form since that could lead to a severe problem of the representational history and impact the citizens' attachment to their city and the awareness toward their roots.

As was reviewed in the literature, citizens live together according to prevailing narratives. Those prevailing narratives reflect on the urban spaces play a crucial role in constituting citizens' national memory in order to overcome the divisions of the past. However, that only possible by acknowledging the competitive narratives in light of a democratic atmosphere.

On the micro level, two main learned lessons have been noted:

First, that single building might carry several layers of history, could be considered a witness of many memories and counter-memory such as the *Frauenkirche* bombing in the

war, then its neglecting in the Socialist era (no religion era), eventually its rebuilding manifested a milestone for the city healing and development after the fall of the wall. So, buildings are not dead bodies; they have an entire life in and outside them. They are the witnesses of the historical events, as they convey legacy to the next generations. *Thus, the preservation of them is a great ethic and essential need.*

Second, in urbanism, the small details could embody meanings of a moral value represent part of the whole country's national memory. For instance, the *Trauender Mann* sculpture is considered part of the city's urban patterns, which are tangled with specific events and evoke memories and feeling. ***So, the designers should treat the small details carefully; as they are part of the whole city's character.***

As for Cologne from the west, it introduced a city consisted of integrated cumulative memories. Reading Cologne's city center provides lessons to learn on two levels of urbanism, Macro, and Microscales:

On the Macro level, the recovery has gradually happened after the war, to revive the city with modern thoughts are adapted to the new era. The post-war rebuilding resulted in a mixed cityscape; post-war buildings interspersed pre-war buildings, the old layout, and the names of the streets.

On Micro Scale, preservation of a building which holds hidden memories like in the case of the "EL-DE Haus," requires many steps:

Speeding up to save the files before destruction is important – In case the site needs to be restored accommodate similar atmosphere of the past context to evoke the memories – Providing an experience to learn by establishing research and documentation center which in turn could support many actions such as: witness interviews (collective memories), publication, organizing events and workshops, teachers' training, providing an online database, and supporting the initiative of urban projects to raise awareness and public participation.

On the other hand, ***the adaptation to the citizen's present needs is an essential factor in restoration and reconstruction processes;*** the intimate connection between the visual and historical texture of the German city's buildings, the process of maintaining and restoring the memory, and the larger narrative of what citizens of a national community remembered and represented.

Furthermore, the city urban fabric and townscape is the most impressive form of remembrance which located outside the walls of a museum or a memorial site, where people simply pass by in their daily life. Like in the project of "Stumbling stones": Those commemorative stones are imposing, as they bring back the context of people who once lived in the neighborhood to the present, and even in the individual's own building in the past context, *Those stones are effective; for they lay their focus on the personal interaction. That might be harder to achieve with large monuments or memorials.*

Third, and finally, while investigating the means of how Germany renationalized memory through designing urban spaces, the study was approached qualitatively and introduced memory as a subjective dimension associated with meaning. It added the representation of meanings by capturing some memorials associated with essential humane values and analyzed via the "PPS" model Which viewed how the complexity of the memorial, with its different political, psychological, sociological aspects, plays a role in representing a multiplicity of memory (individual, collective, and national ones).

With this regard, another finding of the research is the crucial role of what can be named the "urban space specific narrative" in maintaining specific messages, values, the citizens' attachment to particular parts of their country's urban spaces.

As for the German city, streets, bridges, plazas, public spaces, and buildings are all saturated with collective memories of many past events. Therefore, the study found it is essential to unveil some of those memories, which, in turn, send critical messages and humane meanings. Human values and meaning is often a common discipline between nations.

Through introducing some insights from Berlin, the capital of Germany, which are captured to explain how Berlin became the capital of national memory. It has been noticed that narrating the city past through its urban fabric represents various meanings and increase the citizens' attachment to the city. Furthermore, enriches the tourism, which in turn improve the economy.

In general, the memorials of the German case presents the transformation of thought which featured the memorials of the 20th century in Europe, postmodernism conceptual art carried important national ambivalence messages, maybe sometimes even self-effacing different from the past heroic self-aggrandizing symbolic icons of the late 19th century which mainly celebrated national ideals and triumphs. *Comparing that by the case of Egypt, the*

transformation of thoughts will be only possible in a democratic atmosphere that gives the space to the youth, artists, and thinkers to initiate conceptual ideas.

As it has been found that the preservation of the memorial sites opens a channel of dialog between different actors about the role of the past in everyday life and definitions of National memory. That regarded as worthy of financial support as it is the moralistic basis of national identity. However, that transformation does not happen overnight. It requires ideas, institutions, and practices make it possible in the first place to regard such urban or building as memorials.

Besides learned lessons, the study raises a question; did the “national memory-design” of Germany symbolize a coherent national past on whose meanings everyone can agree? Or did they connote multiple transient pasts whose significance depended on the social-political context?

8.3 Conclusions

Main Conclusions of the study interpret the answers of the research’s main and sub-questions as follows.

The research quested mainly the necessity of nationalizing the memory through the urban space for the post-conflict Egyptian society:

Although there was an invitation, immediately after the 25th revolution, to renationalize the historical consciousness and redesign the city public urban spaces especially *Tahrir* square to unveil the memories of the place, after eight-year, no action has been done. Hence, the research emphasizes the necessity of taking action in order to fill the gap between the recent designing of Egyptian urban spaces and the art of memorization. So the research tried to answer three sub-questions as follows.

Sub-question one: why memory is an essential factor when designing urban spaces?

Memory is an essential factor when designing urban spaces, due to the interrelationship between both of them: since both citizens and urban space receive the imprints of each other, the change of urban space could confirm, erase, or even heal memories. On the other hand, people change in their life cycle; they generate new memories which convey their prevailing narratives. Hence, the citizens’ attachment to their city mainly depends on how extent their city express them, communicate with, and reflect their memories.

Sub-question two: How the National Memory of Egypt was constituted through history, and how to trace (read) its representations in urban space until the current situation?

Upon investigation of two prevailing narratives “Egypt as Pharaohs’ Country”-“Modern Egypt (Egypt Mohamed Ali),” the national memory of Egypt was constituted through history, mainly derived by a pattern of three key concepts:

First, the centralization of the rule which reflected on the country authorities, and urbanism. Second, since the beginning of history whether in the Pharaohs’ era or the era of Modern Egypt (Egypt Mohamed Ali), the power of public proved that it could bring significant changes on the society, hence, imprints its clear memory on the urban fabric. However, the divine concept (the third) of the ruler was always playing a key role to control the public perception by emphasizing the ruler’s power; by using the ancient beliefs and divinity has embodied by building temples in Pharaohs’ era. Also, using the religion and building Mosques (the Ottoman's architectural style, loyalty to the Ottoman Empire) in Modern Egypt.

Reading the representations of memories in the Egyptian urban spaces via the developed analytical model “PPS,” helped to unveil the various memories’ actors, memory political, psychosocial influences, also the reflection of the inherited concepts. It concluded that through history, the Egyptian National memory mostly was and still a political construction in the first place (always based on official narrative), manipulated by the rulers to emphasize their power. That conclusion agrees with and confirms what was stated by many historians and researchers reviewed in the literature chapter.

Sub-question three: What are the means of nationalizing memory through urban space?

The study tried to answer this question by tackling Germany, as it has been found that the German nation has the best experts, when coming to terms with the past, specifically in their modern history, started after the Second World War, (with considering the Nazi Era as a pivot anchor).

The concluded means:

First, Nation has to evaluate the past experience with ascending voice, in order to identify the points of pride, and more important to admit past mistakes. In this only case, the narrative of national memory could work as a mean of nearing the distances between competing narratives.

Second, the redesign of urban space with consideration of National memory could open a new channel allow public participation. However, that only possible in the shed of a democratic atmosphere.

Third, viewing the “memory of place” as a subjective aspect, associated with meaning; via highlighting the meaningful message which is held by urban space. Since one the study finding is the crucial role of what can be named the “urban space specific narrative” in maintaining specific messages, meanings, values and the citizens’ attachment to specific parts of their country’s urban space.

The final question: What are the learned lessons from both the Egyptian past and the German experience in constituting their national memory through urban spaces?

As for Egypt, the most learned lesson that is acknowledging the pattern of the concepts inherited from the Egyptian past which affected the prevailing narratives, which, in turn, formed the National Memory, is considered a first step to evaluate the past, and to renationalize the Egyptians’ historical consciousness.

Upon reading *Tahrir Square*, urban space has the power to narrate the city’s history , including all competing narratives, not only the official one (due to political agenda). Hence, the study of national memory in Egypt requires an understanding of the multiple voices of conflicted agents (memory actors). So, it is important to try to find common cultural disciplines.

Since a concept of “National memory” is the best to construct common denominators between the opposing memories, and to overcome the social and political differences even on a symbolic level. That confirms the definition of national memory, which was explained at the start of the study.

On the other hand, neglecting “the memories as a driving dimension” when redesigning *Tahrir square*, could lead to a conflict in the future, and impact the public attachment to the city’s public places negatively; widen the gap between them.

As throughout Egyptian history, ancients had always appreciated urban spaces; as those spaces were considered the most powerful elements to record history and preserve national identity. ***That ancient lesson should be taught and applied in the present time to be able to leave a legacy for the following generations.***

Learned lessons which are drawn from the study of the German case:

The German case unveiled the fact that citizens, designers, and governors will be only able to understand the present of the city and plan to the future ***if they trace its past and acknowledge it, search for remembrance places and return to the collective heritage and concentrate on the country's national identity.***

The study revealed that the political division which has happened post-World War Two (during the cold war) caused the suffering of the Germans. And, that the “Nation Suffering” is the expected result of dictatorship policies since power without respect of humanity finally leads to a profound crisis of the national paradigm. ***Thus, people must not support any dictator ruler; as they will reap what has been planted and will pay the price in the end. On the other hand, they should work on supporting the constitution that preserves their power and limits the rulers' authorities.***

Hence, political freedom could lead to real public participation, that reflects on the designing of the country's urban spaces with consideration of the national narrative. A national narrative which is not only based on the state-sponsored official narrative but considers the collective public memories.

Thus, designing urban spaces with consideration of national memory provides many contributions for the future; the most effective influence of those sites, that they are an experience to learn more than just being memorial sites.

8.4 Evaluation of the Study

This section introduces an assessment of the limitation of the work:

Regarding the study of Egypt case; exploring National Memory: Although the data from other studies were vibrant, it needed evidence from viewing national archival documents. Also, the study required narrative interviews, to investigate both prevailing and the competing narratives, and the patterns of inherited concepts. However, that was not possible, due to political and security reasons during this transition period, which started after the 25th revolution and continues until now. Hence, the study recommends doing that in the future, in the shed of democratic atmosphere in order to raise public awareness, participation, and to dissolve boundaries between competing voices.

As for the study of the German case: the chapter which investigated the different remembrance culture between East and West Germany, tackling the case studies of reading Dresden and Cologne city centers to conclude learned lessons from the experience which could be useful for Egypt case. After finishing that and taking a step back to review, it was clear that the study could be stronger if it tackled Berlin; reading the multilayers of memories throughout the various political turns and historical phases. Therefore, it is recommended to doing so in separate study quests the memories' imprints of the various eras in Berlin's urban spaces.

8.5 Recommendations

The study provides recommendations for three target groups: The practice field – Policymakers – Future Researches; Some of the recommendations particularly concern the case of Egypt; since it is the first motive of that research. In addition, they raise questions for future developments and suggestions for further researches.

8.5.1 Practice field

The research is not but an attempt to explore memory as a form of knowledge that has been neglected for too long in architecture and urban design in Egypt as a country which seeks to democracy and a peaceful future for the coming generations, to be aware and proud of their national identity and history. Thus, the thesis tried to approach the urban space as a political psychosocial tool which conveys memories and narratives, in addition to interacting with the population's current thoughts.

Therefore, the study recommends that designers should at least consider the value of the national and collective memories, in order to create places that suit and embrace the nation's values, concepts, and understandings.

That could be possible by considering some points when designing urban spaces:

Considering that urban space is the locus of memories and individuals' interaction. It consists of patterns of spaces interlocked with patterns of events and memories. ***Hence, The Knowledge of "Pattern Language" is essential for place designers; as they will be able to create, understand, and read the urban space elements, history, and memories.***

Reading the place narratives: designers and city planners should treat the urban space as the source for a larger narrative that respects the unique characteristics of the local and national stories, as well as acknowledges their common myths and begins to compare them.

Noteworthy, national memory is based on political and social contexts, so the analysis of those aspects in the society is required. ***The study recommends when designing a place, its past should be well acknowledged by carrying analysis on three levels of influences: political, psychological, and social.***

That analysis, could help understanding the possible conflict between national memories, collective and individual memories, ***the designer's mission comes to provide a solution and introduce an initiated design idea that may help in solving the conflict.***

Noticeably in Egypt after the 25th January uprising, the image of urban space in cities, streets, squares, and towns is different in every metamorphic phase. That change could raise

a question does the urban change reflect the people's demands?; Those demands which vary and keep changing due to many political and conflicting aspects depend on their own understanding of their past.

It has been noticed while conducting the research that as an individual do remember and forget so do the societies: thus, the recording and encoding of the social political changes is an essential factor when intend to design urban national memory.

The thesis recommends Egyptian designers to start with designing urban national memorial concern to flashbulb memories; those associated with a general humane tragedy apart of the political conflict zones, for instance the sinking of al-Salam ferry 98" that sank on 3 February 2006 in the Red Sea, or the falling of the Egyptian flight in 2016. ***That neutral start will probably near the distances and dissolve boundaries between the authorities and the public. Perhaps that will raise public awareness and construct a bridge between the competing narratives.***

More effective that, designers should adhere to strength the belonging national feeling to the city by the daily learned and lived experiences through urban spaces, for example, designing interacting memorial nodes in the traditional daily route, where workers pass by to their work. Those memorial nodes may embody significant national messages. In that way, it is possible, in the long run, to establish a national meaning by both means: learned and daily lived experiences.

Accordingly, familiar context activates memories, so ***designers should pick up and encourage the right sensual experiences which narrate a very similar context of the past so that they can evoke the target memory.***

One of the essential features of humanity is the relationship with meaningful places. In the course of their lives, people create bonds and links with their built environment, and urban spaces converted into places endowed with meaning. In Egypt, how these meanings are inscribed, how this communication works, and how it can be interpreted remains unclear. ***Designers should work on urban spaces to convert it into places endowed with meaning. That could help in constituting the concept of national memory and form the attachment bonds between people and their city.***

With this respect, extraordinary design ideas need to be generated, which will accordingly give the designers the chance to be creative. It will also integrate art with city development.

8.5.2 Policymakers

Policymakers in Egypt should take into consideration: the full access to historical information, the importance of public participation, the independence of the civil society's organizations, and finally a time plan for past re-evaluation and reconstruction processes must be handled together in order to succeed:

The access to historical information, especially regarding the last 70 years, will reveal how Egypt national memory needs developing a narrative covering the period from the start of the Republic of Egypt in 1952 until recent times probably reveal important changes in how a single country imagined itself in time.

It has been noticed that recently in Egypt, there is an absence of public nodes, where social life, sense of belonging, and acquaintance among different segments of society are fading. Moreover, there is an over control on social freedom and a lost sense of belonging to both the city itself and the public places as a whole; as those shared places are the locus of memories and a container of the citizens' social lives and the daily activities.

Thus, the government should change its policy, which is over controlling the urban city spaces on purpose to prevent gathering. Public spaces are essential in forming societies. They play a vital role in filling the gaps between individuals, as well as nearing the social distances during the daily interaction and under the shade of democracy climate. For this reason, architects and urban designers should take into consideration preserving public spaces in Egypt.

Unfortunately, most of the urban development decisions in Egypt are isolated individual decisions without allowing democratic public participation. The governors should seek to enable real public participation regarding any decision that will lead them to avoid many conflicts in the future. It will consider a serious milestone towards democracy.

Through history, the case of Egypt confirmed that national memory was a political-economic construction engineered by the ruling class, that the "power elite" manipulate the masses' perception of the past by producing a "counter-memory". However, the contrary is also true; as the masses write their own history in a strong will, brave actions and revolutions. Thus, citizens ought to defend their rights and overcome their differences in order to construct a common ground of National Memory.

Since, misinformation can distort the national memory of an event, as memory fades with time following an event, where the injection of misinformation becomes easier. *So, it is better to encode events while they are still fresh before encountering possible information.*

In other words, if citizens become an eyewitness of a prominent national event, they should initiate recording it through their urban spaces, narrate what may have occurred. However, that only could be possible in the shed of the independence of civil society's organizations.

Accordingly, memory is best understood as a social-cultural phenomenon. *Thus, the authenticity of national memory mainly depends on the democratic atmosphere which should be provided from the side of the government and the governors, in order to allow free expression of the political and social interest of each group.*

After the end of any regimes, or a suffering war, there is always a question that imposes itself: whether to swiftly punish those responsible of the crimes or to forget the past and continue forward rapidly to build the future. *Actually, doing the two actions: the swift punishment and the building of the future are important and integrated. However, instead of the usual conflict between the political forces about that, a questionnaire survey of the public could be part of the solution.*

Egypt in that transition period has a gap and a conflict among generations, even among the one-family members. *Though that conflict will take time to be solved, hence, society's organizations should encourage Egyptians to learn the culture of difference, try to listen to each other's, and accepting their differences.*

In general, the study recommends both designers and policymakers that the buildings' preservation is also a mean of constituting the national memory: when comparing the maintenance of the demolished building caused by the war in Germany with the deliberate destruction of the historical building in Egypt. This situation shed light on the unawareness problem of the Egyptians, the unawareness of how far the heritage value is important for civilization. It is time to raise that awareness by media and the society's organization.

Moreover, renationalizing historical consciousness and creating places of remembrance are needed in Egypt in order to develop the concept of National Memory. Some questions need answers: What memory? Whose memory? The political conflict and how far does cultural diversity make it challenging to have National history in Egypt with a dominant narrative view?

It is important when planning an urban renewal or reconstruction process to consider the historical cities which have multiple layers of conflicting histories are reflected on the city urban fabric, not just a single linear history.

Furthermore, acknowledging and preserving the city architectural heritage, which is influenced by many architectural styles through history, could help citizens to be aware of the past of their city by reading and tracing their deep roots on the city urban fabric. Consequently, heritage images enrich the city culture and tourism in many aspects: social, cultural, and economical.

8.5.3 Future researches

In process working on two main applications:

First, the study revealed the need for a practical application which could provide a set of criteria of "Designing Memory." That aims to build a bridge between research and design practice, Thanks to this approach, the research tries to draw the attention of architects, urban designer, and individuals to the value of urban spaces, particularly in terms of holding memories and narratives.

With this respect, the research is looking forward to enhancing the art of memorizing in the design of urban spaces, and creating environments that encourage people to learn, interact, and recognize their past in democratic atmosphere.

The suggested criteria will include growing up ideas through the research trip of knowledge. Then, it will introduce a "Designing memory" Toolbox, which consists of specific steps; every step should associate with suggested tools. How to use the toolbox could be clarified by introducing a partial proposed agenda. It is important to emphasize that the "Designing Memory" Toolbox will be a supplementary tool in the design process and not an alternative tool. Redevelopment processes of urban space, for example, requires a strategy that has a vision, a mission, and objectives. Further, it includes the visual analysis; SWOT analysis, the suggested solutions, and so on.

Second, in order to develop Egypt national memory and to revive the architectural heritage of the Egyptian city:

Producing a national *memoryscape* map is necessary. It should consist of multiple layers of histories with consideration of the various collective memories. That to be used in urban analysis and site surveys of any existing public space in a historical context. That

memoryscape map is to be considered as an additional layer among other maps/layers of urban space analysis.

Although national memory does not often represent the whole truth, it should serve the progress of nations and encourage coexistence with their differences. It is one of the means of learning the cultural diversity that should be paid more attention to urban spaces.

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Summary of the Thesis

The Statement of the Problem, Aim, Questions and Objectives

National and international events have indelibly imprinted human lives; events might be unique and may happen once in a lifetime, but it can change people's lives entirely or leave its mark. The 25th January 2011 uprising in Egypt is one of the events that caused unprecedented outpour of public and private reflections on the correlation between the tangible urban spaces and the intelligible intangible memories. Especially *Tahrir* square in the center of Cairo, in Egypt. It holds the national symbolic memory of the 25th January uprising; it is the place from which the modern revolutionary history has begun. Further, it also holds a competitive narratives, for some, it became a symbol that conveys the meaning of cooperation, and democracy. However, for others, the square conveys the meaning of chaos, conflict, and Conspiracy theory.

Undoubtedly, the different competing narratives and the transforming from a regime to another new one unveiled the conflicted history between different society members. Also, unveiled the fact that a lot of historical information has not uncovered yet, information which constituted the Egyptians' national memory for decades. This situation raised the need of renationalizing the historical consciousness, reviewing the Egyptian national memory with consideration of the competing narratives. It has been noticed that, in post-conflict Egypt, the process of coming to terms with the past and at the same time moving forward could be difficult; similar to situations of other countries when a despotic regime collapses or a war comes to an end, or a revolution takes place. The supporters of the new and old regimes must somehow find a way of living together to reconcile their different point of views and histories. That often happens at a price: not to talk about the past; it is merely repressed. However, that probably carries the danger of violent conflict in the future, which is why it is essential to find out practical means of coming to terms with the past, and renationalizing the country's memory. ***Therefore, the study viewed that the Egyptian urban spaces could be a mean of narrating the national memory, overcoming the past, further, dissolving the boundaries between the different competing narratives.***

In advance, that required specific attention to observe the prevailing narratives which constituted the national memory of Egypt through history especially over the past decades, to investigate the pattern of the inherited concepts which were and still influence the memory work: the remembering and forgetting processes through urban spaces. With special focus to

read *Tahrir* urban space's memories including the current metamorphose which have influenced by both the country's prevailing and competing narratives of people who live in as well. Noticeably, due to the current political, social, cultural change, the Egyptian urban spaces, the city patterns, and its detailed image are changing. Reading this change will help analyse its effect and influences in relation to the country national memory. ***Therefore, the study aimed to review the role of memory in architecture and urban design, and developing a methodological framework which is arguing for a reconsideration of national memory when designing Egyptian urban spaces, further to benefit from the German experience after the Second World War, to generate the learned lessons.***

The study based on the hypothesis that, there is no fixed formula for all countries to renationalize the historical consciousness of memory through urban spaces, however, lessons to be learned from Germany experience could be a driving dimension when designing Egyptian urban spaces with a concept of memory as an essential factor.

To guide the validity of hypothesis, a set of research questions and objectives are thus formulated: The thesis mainly quested the necessity of developing a methodological framework for redesigning the Egyptian city urban spaces by considering the national memory, especially after the 25th uprising. ***Therefore, it proposes three sub-questions which are leading to a final one as follows:***

1. Why memory is an essential factor when designing urban spaces?

Objectives: To capture the interrelation between memory and urban space, to reach developing a political psychosocial (PPS.) analytical model.

2. How the National Memory of Egypt was constituted through history, and how to read its representations in urban space until the current situation?

Objectives: to review the prevailing narratives which unveiled the pattern of inherited concepts which was and still influence the national memory of Egypt. Further, reading representations of memory in city urban fabric; reading the case study of *Tahrir* Square.

3. What are the means of nationalizing memory through urban space?

Objectives: To investigate the crucial political breaks which brought significant changes to the Germans' thought about their national memory and history. Further, exploring and reading of relevant examples which clarify how urban space contributes to constituting the concept of National Memory in the German Case. Also, investigating the different remembrance culture between East and West Germany.

The Final question: ***What are the learned lessons from both the Egyptian past and the German experience in constituting their national memory through urban spaces?***

Objectives: To introduce learned lessons from both; studying the Egyptian past of constituting its national memory until recent time. Also, learned lessons derived from the German experience.

The State of Art

Worldwide, the interrelation between memory, architecture, and urban space has been the special focus of many studies, for instance, *Eleni Bastéa in her Book "Memory and Architecture,"* investigating perspectives from urbanism, history, psychology, and sociology. *Bastéa's* study presented different insights from various fields are given by many international researchers; however, a common discipline between those insights was not precise and needed more investigation and interpretation of other references of literature review. ***Therefore, the thesis first developed a common conceptualization; reached to be an analytical model which will help to analyze the memory of place. It tried to approach the urban space as a political, psychological, social-cultural tool which conveys memories and narratives, in addition to interacting with the citizens' thoughts.***

As for Egypt, "memory and urban space" is a form of knowledge has been neglected for too long in architecture and urban design. Yet, within the Egyptian context after the 25th revolution and via underlying the power of public spaces especially *Tahrir* square few studies have tackled the memory of the Egyptian urban spaces; one was introduced by *Dr. Mohamed Dessouki*, he argued the interrelation between collective memory and urban space, by using a methodology based on the actor- Network theory, a material-semiotic methodology to understand the memory-driven interactions in urban space.

On the other hand, the political circumstances raised an international researchers' interest, for example *Dr. Judy Barsalou* published a scientific paper titled "Post-Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory, and Memorialization", addresses the question of how have protagonists in Egypt's transition used historical narratives and memorialization to promote their diverse agendas since the fall of Mubarak.

Historians like *Khaled Fahmy*, politicians like *Amr Hamzay*, wrote about Egypt transition period and the need of renationalizing its history. ***However, none of them explained the means of doing that with a connection to urban spaces or tried to tackle the experience of another country to learn lessons. Hence, the research aimed at developing a methodological framework that should contribute in renationalizing the memory through urban space.***

Further, investigating a wide range of lessons to learn from other countries' experiences: it has been found that the German nation has the best experts, when coming to terms with the past, specifically in their modern history, started after the Second World War, (with considering the Nazi Era as a pivot anchor). To nationalize their history, Germans have had to re-evaluate two very different histories under two different dictatorships: First, the Nazi era, Second, the Communist Era in East Germany. Even more, the Germans had to deal with the different remembrance culture between the East and West. For this reason, the dissertation will trace the memories in Dresden city center, and Cologne, to investigate the validity of the developed political psychosocial analytical model in reading the multi-layers of memory.

That was not possible without the abundant references of Germany National Memory, references such like, *Stefan Berger study, "Germany, The many mutations of a belated nation," Aleida Assmann, "Culture of Remembrance," Rudy Koshar, "Germany"s Transient Pasts: preservation and National memory in the twentieth century," Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities, Dresden/'Dresden',"* - just to name a few studies.

Noteworthy, that every society has to find its way of dealing with the past, renationalize the country's memory; Formulae that have worked in Germany may be useless in Egypt. Nonetheless, societies which are currently in a state of upheaval can undoubtedly benefit from others' experiences, and particularly from their failures. Hence, some learned lessons are the expected result of the research.

Methodology (Methodological Framework)

The study as a whole applied ***inductive analytical methodology*** as it moves from a particular situation in Egypt to study and analyze the German experience, and finally to infer broad general learned lessons for the Egyptian case. ***It consists of four parts:***

Part One: Initial Foundation: emphasized the interrelationship between memory and urban space:

Chapter One: Introduction: Identified the study scope, assumed hypothesis, determined questions, main objectives, *via Grounded theory methodology - semi-structured interviews - Group discussions* to develop the methodological Framework of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Perspectives from Urbanism, History, Psychology and Urban Sociology: Introduced an overview of top topics to capture the interrelation between memory and urban space, *via meta-synthesis literature review* reached to develop a political-psychosocial (PPS.) analytical model.

Part Two: Egypt National Memory: explored how Egypt national memory was constituted through history.

Chapter Three: Prevailing Narratives and Inherited Concepts: Introduced historical Preview of the prevailing narratives *via Inductive reasoning method* to generate the conceptualization of the pattern of inherited concepts which influence the remembering and forgetting processes in the urban space.

Chapter Four: Reading Tahrir Square: explained historical case study “Tahrir Square, Cairo” analyzed by the developed analytical model (PPS.) to de-mask the historical and active processes of remembering and forgetting in the Egyptian urban space. Further, to identify the memory’s influences, actors and the reflection of the “Inherited concepts”.

Part Three: Germany, National Memory: explored how Germany nationalized memory through urban spaces.

Chapter Five: Nationalizing Memory through Urban Space: reviewed the important breaks which led to significant changes to the Germans' thought about their national history, reached to the generalizations about the means of renationalizing memory in urban spaces. *Via inductive reasoning method –Case Study Buchenwald Concentration Camp, research methods includes site visit, visual analysis, observation, and a general analysis considering the aspects of the (PPS) model.*

Chapter Six: Germany, East, West Remembrance Culture: Investigated the different remembrance culture between East and West Germany. Two case studies have been tackled Dresden and Cologne. *Via Inductive reasoning method Multi-Case Studies, cities visit, visual analysis, observation, Macro and Micro scale examples- analysis by (PPS) model.*

Chapter Seven: Representation of Meanings: Examined the reflection of the subjective aspect "memory of places" associated with meanings, humane values, to view how the memorial’s complexity, plays a role in representing a multiplicity of memory. *Via Chosen memorials associated with essential humane values, and a general analysis considering the aspects the (PPS) model.*

Part Four: Conclusions: Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Recommendations: Discussed the thesis’ key findings, the conclusion’s interpretation of the literature review and the answers of the research’s questions. Furthermore, the study's evaluation, and Recommendations for practice field, policy makers, and future researches.

Conclusions

The necessity of nationalizing the memory through the urban space for the post-conflict Egyptian society: Although there was an invitation, immediately after the 25th

revolution, to renationalize the historical consciousness and redesign the city public urban spaces especially *Tahrir* square to unveil the memories of the place, after eight-year, no action has been done. Hence, the research emphasizes the necessity of taking action, in order to fill the gap between the recent designing of Egyptian urban spaces and the art of memorization. So the conclusions of the research answered three sub-questions as follows:

(A1) Memory is an essential factor when designing urban spaces, due to the interrelationship between both of them: since both citizens and urban space receive the imprints of each other, the change of urban space could confirm, erase, or even heal memories. On the other hand, people change in their life cycle; they generate new memories which convey their prevailing narratives. Hence, the citizens' attachment to their city mainly depends on how extent their city express them, communicate with and reflect their memories.

(A2) Upon investigation of two prevailing narratives "Egypt as Pharaohs' Country"- "Modern Egypt (Egypt Mohamed Ali)," the national memory of Egypt was constituted through history, mainly derived by a pattern of three key concepts:

First, the centralization of the rule which reflected on urbanism. Second, the power of public could bring significant changes on the society, and imprint its clear memory on the urban fabric. However, the divine concept (the third) of the ruler was always playing a key rule to control the public perception by emphasizing the ruler's power. *Reading the representations of memories in the Egyptian urban spaces via the developed analytical model "PPS,"* helped to unveil the various memories' actors, memory political, psychosocial influences, also the reflection of the inherited concepts. It concluded that through history, the Egyptian National memory mostly was and still a political construction in the first place (always based on official narrative), manipulated by the rulers to emphasize their power. That conclusion agrees with and confirms what was stated by many historians and researchers reviewed in the literature chapter.

(A3) Regarding, the means of nationalizing memory through urban space: by conducting the German case, It concluded to:

First, nation has to evaluate the past experience with ascending voice, in order to identify the points of pride, and admit past mistakes. In this only case, the narrative of national memory could work as a mean of nearing the distances between competing narratives.

Second, the redesign of urban space with consideration of National memory could open a new channel allow public participation. However, that only possible in the shed of a democratic atmosphere.

Third, viewing the “memory of place” as a subjective aspect, associated with meaning; via highlighting the meaningful message which is held by urban space.

Finally, As for Egypt, the most learned lessons is acknowledging the pattern of the concepts inherited from the Egyptian past which affected the prevailing narratives, which, in turn, formed the National Memory, *is considered a first step to evaluate the past, and to renationalize the Egyptians’ historical consciousness. Also, upon reading Tahrir Square, urban space has the power to narrate the city’s history including all competing narratives, not only the official one (due to political agenda). Hence, the study of national memory in Egypt requires an understanding of the multiple voices of conflicted agents (memory actors). So, it is important to try to find common denominators between the opposing memories, to overcome the social and political differences even on a symbolic level. That confirms the definition of national memory, which was explained at the start of the study. On the other hand, neglecting “the memories as a driving dimension” when redesigning Tahrir square, could lead to a conflict in the future, and impact negatively the public attachment to the city’s public places; widen the gap between them.*

Learned lessons which are drawn from the study of the German case: The German case unveiled the fact that citizens, designers, and governors will be only able to understand the present of the city and plan to the future *if they trace its past and acknowledge it, search for remembrance places and return to the collective heritage and concentrate on the country’s national identity.* The study revealed that the political division which has happened post-World War Two (during the cold war) caused the suffering of the Germans. And, that the “Nation Suffering” is the expected result of dictatorship policies since power without respect of humanity finally leads to a profound crisis of the national paradigm.

Thus, nations must not support any dictator ruler; as they will reap what has been planted and will pay the price in the end. On the other hand, they should work on supporting the constitution that preserves their power and limits the rulers’ authorities. The political freedom could lead to real public participation, that reflects on the designing of the country’s urban spaces with consideration of the national narrative. A national narrative which is not only based on the state-sponsored official narrative but considers the collective public memories.

Designing urban spaces with consideration of national memory provides many contributions for the future; provides an experience to learn more than just being memorial sites.

Recommendations for Future Researches

In process working on two main applications: *First*, the study revealed the need for a practical application which could provide a set of criteria of "Designing Memory". That aims to build a bridge between research and design practice.

Second, in order to develop Egypt national memory and to revive the architectural heritage of the Egyptian city: Producing a national *memoryscape* map is necessary. It should consist of multiple layers of histories with consideration of the various collective memories. That to be used in urban analysis and site surveys of any existing public space in a historical context.

That *memoryscape* map is to be considered as an additional layer among other maps/layers of urban space analysis. **Finally, although national memory does not often represent the whole truth, it should serve the progress of nations and encourage coexistence with their differences. It is one of the means of learning the cultural diversity that should be paid more attention to urban spaces.**

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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APPLYING FOR

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WORK EXPERIENCE

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Associate Lecturer

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Teaching under graduate students, organizing and running workshops, focusing on architecture and urbanism.

Contributing to the developing action plans of the educational process.

Founder of MORE design studio. Since 2007 until now

Department: Architecture

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Feb 2014

Ph.D. candidate at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, Germany

Dissertation's Topic: Designing Urban National Memory

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Jan 2012 – Dec 2012

Ph.D. studies

Architecture department, Faculty of Fine arts, Alexandria University

Studies in field of Development of Desert areas, Building Technology, Planning, Housing,

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Urban & Architecture Legislation, and Architecture & Sustainability. **CGPA: A –**

Jan 2012

Master Degree

Architecture department, Faculty of Fine arts, Alexandria University

The thesis Titled: Psychological Aspects of Architecture “visions of a new ERA”

Supervised by: Prof. Dr Mona El Masry. And Ass. Prof. Dr Hebaallah abou El Fadl.

Sep 2004 – Jun 2004 **Preparatory studies for master degree**

Researches: Principles and Methodologies of scientific research, The Urban Management, Urbanism and Visual relationships: Case Study: Ngaa El Qba, Aswan, Egypt - Statistics - The development of the Existed Urban Spaces: Case Study: The redevelopment of Abu Quir district, Alexndria, Egypt. 2004. Environment and the Urban Spaces.

Grade: Excellent

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Grade: Very good

1999 – JUN 2003 **Under graduate student**

Architecture department, Faculty of Fine arts, Alexandria University

PERSONAL SKILLS

MOTHER TONGUE(S)

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OTHER LANGUAGE(S)

	UNDERSTANDING		SPEAKING		WRITING
	LISTENING	READING	SPOKEN INTERACTION	SPOKEN PRODUCTION	
English	B 2	B 2	B 2	B 2	B 2
German	B1	B1	B1	B1	B1

Levels: A1/A2: Basic user - B1/B2: Independent user - C1/C2: Proficient user
Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

COMPUTER SKILLS

competent with most of Microsoft Office™ programs, Multimedia Graphic Programs, Architecture programs. Presentation programs.

Communication skills

Team work: I have worked in various types of research teams.

Whilst working as a demonstrator in Faculty of Fine Arts,

Organisational / managerial skills

I organized many seminars,

and workshops for under graduate students, also one of the organization team

And a participated designer in “La Biennale di Venezia”2004 Egypt Pavilion.

OTHER SKILLS

- Drawing and Oil Painting
- Hand Crafts
- Creating pieces of Art and visiting Modern Art galleries.
- Enjoy all sports particularly walking
- Cooking
- Fund of travelling and experience different cultures.

DRIVING LICENCE

- Private Licence

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

HONOURS AND AWARDS

- The applicant was honoured as the ideal assistant lecturer for the year 2013
- Honoured for the Achievement in Research field, The Master thesis: Psychological Aspects of Architecture, location: Bibliotheca Alexandrina 2013
- Honoured as Organizing Team membrane in Exhibitions and The 3th International Scientific conference "The Visual Arts between the Constants and Variable" April 2007
- Honoured for Represented Egypt pavilion "The 6th D" in the 9th Venice Biennale of Architecture metamorphoses, from February 2004 to September 2004 in Italy-Venice.
- Awarded second price on World, first prize on Africa, "celebration of cities" International competition organized by U.I.A 2004 (Second prize on World & first prize on Africa)
- Awarded in the "Voyagers of times" international competitions 2003
- Honoured as Organizer and participator in Environmental Design "2*2*2" workshop summer 2006
- Certificate obtained: in "The Cultural Superiority" sponsored by The Ministry of Education.

PUBLICATION, CONFERENCES
AND P.HD COLLOQUIM

- Presenter at Dissolving Boundaries Conference Exhibition. Bauhaus University 2018. Poster Title: Urban Spaces redefine, reshape or dissolve Boundaries among Cultures.
- Author at Conservation of Architectural Heritage, (CAH) conference, IEREK, Luxor and Aswan, November 2015. Paper Title: City Architectural Heritage Revival: The Need of a New Applied approach (Published)
- Presenter at SOCIO CRI '15: Sociology and Critical Perspectives Conference 2015, Paper title; *Egypt urban spaces: The conflict between collective and national memory*. (Published) Turkey, Istanbul / July 02-04 2015
- Author and Presenter at The 5th Annual International Conference on Urban Studies and Planning, paper title: *The need of an Egyptian 'agora'* – Athens , Greece / June 08-11 2015 (Published in Conference Proceedings)
- Presenter at Joint PhD-Colloquium for Urban Development and Architecture, Faculty of Fine Arts, Alexandria University, November 11th 2014 -*Transformation Partnership for Urban Design and Architecture in Historic City Districts* (Cooperation Project of the Alexandria University, Cairo University and the University of Technology Cottbus – Senftenberg.) 2014: 2016
- Presenter at PhD Colloquium, Paper title: *Designing urban national memories*, conference at Cottbus University, Germany, December 2013.
- "La Biennale di Venezia"2004 conference (attendance)
- Participated and presenter at "Voyagers of times" conference at the creation center sponsored by "The Ministry of culture" 2003
- Participated in "Small Dreams....Great Dreams...." Conference graduations projects sponsored by "El Jesuit cultural center" 2003

PRESENTATIONS,
WORKSHOPS AND
MEMBERSHIPS

- Lecturer and participator in workshop Post-Conflict Urban Regeneration Strategies for Middle Eastern Cities. (In Process work 2019)
- Sustainability in low cost house, workshop, IEREK, Alexandria, Egypt 2015.
- Public Spaces Strategies, workshop, IEREK, Alexandria, Egypt 2015
- Urban conservation in Historical Cities workshop, IEREK – International Experts for Research Enrichment and Knowledge Exchange., Alexandria, Egypt 2018.
- Participated in “Building Performance simulation” including Energy & Daylighting performance using Diva 4 Rhino- Energy Plus- Radiance Software Tools, By Tutor: Mohamed Aly, research and Teaching Assistant at AUC. July 2013
- Supervisor and Participator in “Creative structure system” workshop for under graduated students relied on the concept Of Recycling materials. 2012
- Membership of Multimedia Graphic programs, New Horizons, Computer Learning Center, at Alexandria, Egypt. 2009, 2010.
- Organizer and participator in Environmental Design “2*2*2” workshop summer 2006
- Organizer and participator in redevelop *Elmax area* workshop, sponsored by Faculty of fine arts, Alexandria, cooperation with Godran organization.
- Membership at Academia.Edu
- Membership at the Guardian
- Membership and editor at Athens

COMPETITIONS

- Participated in designing New commercial center competition, at Cairo-Ismailia Road organized by Adwya Company. Jan 2007
- Participated in the "XXIle`me Biennale d'Alexandrie des pays de la mediterranee" International workshop competition .2003
- Participated in "Mahmoud Said Museum" the department of Exhibitions- PHOTOGRAFIC COMPETITIONS.
- Participated in "l'Atelier d'Alexandrie" local competition. 2003
- Participated in "Elanfoshi culture palace" local competition .ARTS & GRAFICS & PHOTOGRAFICS EXHIBITIONS. 2003

PRACTICES

- Founder of MORE design studio. Since 2007 until now.
- Pre – graduation professional work "Re-urban design in Sporting club, Alexandria"
- Participated as Interior Designer for Mother here “Kids clothing shop”, Gamal Abd Elnaser, street, Alexandria. 2007
- Participated in Designing Coin shop “Men wear”, Down Town, Alexandria. 2008
- Landscape, Interior design for Villa Mr Ibrahim El Asal, Marina, Alexandria. 2008
- Landscape, for “La sciasta” Motel, Alexandria- Matro7 Road. 2008

Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die Dissertation selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel genutzt habe. Alle wörtlich oder inhaltlich übernommenen Stellen habe ich als solche gekennzeichnet. Weitere Personen waren an der inhaltlich-materiellen Erstellung der vorliegenden Arbeit nicht beteiligt. Insbesondere habe ich hierfür nicht die entgeltliche Hilfe von Vermittlungs- bzw. Beratungsdiensten in Anspruch genommen.

Ich versichere außerdem, dass diese Arbeit bisher weder im In- noch im Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form einer anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt wurde.

Ort, Datum: Weimar, 19.06.2019

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