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E D I T O R A S

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C O M P I L A D O R E S

CRÉDITOS

Reimagining heritage conservation 'after modernity' as constellations and cosmologies of care and protection

Beverley Butler
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

POINT OF DEPARTURE - MEXICAN MEMORY-WORK

It is now time to ask what heritage conservation might look like after modernity

D. Byrne , "Chartering heritage in the postmodern world"

I am my own muse. I am the subject I know best. The subject I want to better

Frida Kahlo

I BEGIN THE CRITICAL QUEST of my paper by reflecting on how the International Congress on Conservation Theories and Histories held in Mexico City in 2018 (see editorial in this volume) afforded a particular depth of vision vis-à-vis the urgent project of re-imagining heritage conservation 'after modernity'. Held at the National Museum of Anthropology, the event coincided with the anniversary of the 2017 earthquake of 19 September that both materially and emotionally wrought such devastating effects/affects, tragically including human casualties. Not only did selected congress papers and related discussions address this event, but attendees also participated in a city-wide evacuation drill. Viewed as a ritual performance, the drill had a dual role acting both as memorial and as a mean to establish rituals of care and protection in the form of preventative safety measures in the event of future recurrence. In the context of on-going impacts concerning experiences of loss and recovery, it also acted as a locus of memory-work that afforded a deep salience within critical heritage conservation.

One vignette particularly resonated with me concerning the 2017 earthquake, this was an account of popular local responses on the ground, which saw local people in the moment of crisis both adopt and adapt the role of heritage conservation (Medina-González, 2018 personal communication). Amid chaos, crisis, and deep concern for both people's safety and threats to built-structures—including homes and churches—the preoccupation

in the particular setting conveyed in the vignette was the need to look after the local saints. Locals thus risked suffering harm themselves in order to prevent their saints from being damaged (Medina-González, 2018 personal communication). Perhaps more movingly still were accounts of people giving up their beds to lay the saints therein, on the basis that the saints themselves were "ill and needed to recover" (Medina-González, 2018 personal communication). In the face of profound loss, the popular local response was thus motivated to redeem and recover that which has greatest value, meaning, and significance to them. A certain reciprocity and sacrificial economy emerged as well, based on the premise that: you care for and protect that which ultimately cares for and protects you.

Frida Kahlo's dictum 'be your own muse' finds resonance here too. As one of Mexico's heritage icons, Kahlo is herself subject to on-going, intense sacralisation and mythologization: her persona oft-dramatised within her struggles with loss, illness, and extremis and likewise in celebration of her artistic skills, creativity, and resilience. To extend Kahlo's maxim further, people are indeed their own muses (sources of inspiration/creativity) and similarly are active and creative agents—protectors, preservers, carers—and conservators of their own world(s) (see Butler, 2011). Yet again it is experiences and feelings of loss and the promise of recovery that continue to resonate and to underpin and motivate ritual acts and efficacies (Butler, 2016). Further echoing Kahlo, people as 'self/selfgroups' are active-agents in popular rites of world-making (creative acts of making/unmaking/re-making and of repair and resilience) and are indeed the 'subject' they 'know best' and are similarly motivated by diverse promises and pathways of 'betterment'.

Writ large the above vignette and Kahlo's dictum crystallise three nodal points that recur in this paper and underpin my overarching critical quest. First, in response to Byrne's (2004) challenge of reimaging heritage conservation 'after modernity', my journey is guided by the principle that sovereign elite 'western-global' actors—notably UNESCO/ICCROM—and other top down national/regional official agencies (as essentialised power-mechanisms defining both what modernity and heritage is and does) do not *give heritage* to groups and individuals nor do they possess a monopoly of skills and practices vis-à-vis loss, recovery, and rites of resilience. Rather, at a popular level, it needs to be acknowledged that people themselves *have heritage* and are active, creative *heritage conservators* of their own world(s). This shift from elite to popular worlds—from 'old' to 'new' discourses—is also a shift away from characterising heritage conservation solely in terms of what it *is* to that of grasping at what it *does:* its *efficacies* (Butler, 2016). Elite heritage conservation has developed its own efficacies, its precision technicisms and skills relating to material science. However, to be relevant and resonant to wider contexts and constituencies, such elite organisations need to undertake their own quest for 'betterment' and urgently need to recognise the enduring efficacies of popular heritage conservation rites.

Second, acknowledgement is needed that, despite the differences between elite and popular heritage conservation discourses, what unites them is the privileged posi-

tion they occupy in responding to *loss and recovery*. Moreover, whether expressed as an enduring promise of fulfilment located within elite redemptive memory, or within memory-work as popular care and protection, heritage conservation's own resilience is located here. It is therefore in its promise to encompass both physical acts and emotional desires vis-à-vis contexts and feelings of loss, mourning and illbeing and in projects to effect/affect recovery, care, cure, repair, protection, and preservation as continuity and change, that, in turn, secures a sense of belonging, permanence, wellbeing, and resilience and reciprocity operative at both elite and popular level.

Third, I argue that heritage conservation can therefore be best understood and grasped at, in relationships to possessional acts, efficacy, liminality, 'object' attachments, and in the promise of fulfilment that in turn crystallise as dynamic and diverse constellations and cosmologies that operate across different registers. These complex, dynamic schemas are bound up in potent, powerful, often paradoxical traits, and emerge in various quests to reflect on various experiences of what it is to be human, the right to a remembered presence, and to secure 'just/better' futures. Crucially, as the above vignette, Kahlo's thesis, and the case-studies that follow illustrate, 'being human' relates to various modes of sacralisation and as communion/communitas with the 'elsewhere' and 'otherwise'. This may involve, for example, a turn to—and the adoption and adaption of—symbolic, archetypal, divine, and magical lifeforms and afterlives that offer the promise of bringing wholeness in contexts of fragmentation. Conversely, they may also involve complex and contradictory strategies for possessing, dispossessing, and/or being possessed/dispossessed by such forces, in some cases unexpectedly.

Finally, a crucial remark to be made here concerns the dynamic of liminality that underpins these three nodal points. Liminality refers to a distinction between normal sociality and what Turner (1974) calls 'communitas'. It is a separate realm to which normal norms and even laws do not apply, it manifests as common experience of 'anti-structure' and, as such, is dubbed a 'lawless space' (Turner, 1974). Retrieved as a space for the realisation of the 'power of the weak', claims can be/are made to remake worlds and restructure ideals that have been lost or feared to be lost. It turns on the experience of the world being populated by the luminosity of the 'betwixt-and-between' as "ambiguous ideas, monstrous images, sacred symbols, ordeals, humiliations, esoteric and paradoxical instructions, the emergence of symbolic types" (Turner, 1990: 12). Moreover, heritage conservation as liminality creates extended 'objects'[1] relations and possessional encounters with the 'elsewhere' and 'otherwise' that reside in the fact that they are experienced as 'more real than real' (Eliade, 1987: 1991).

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[1] In this chapter, 'objects' refer to diverse engagements of heritage conservation as memory-work and as manifest forms and forces, e.g., as physical material culture but also as ideas, emotions, attachments that span the real and imaginary that are grasped at and materialised in ritual performance, possessional acts, behaviours, and skills, etc.

In the quest which follows we move between two very different contexts and constituencies to critically explore the accompanying cosmologies and constellations of heritage conservation: from Alexandria's Redemptive Memory synonymous with modernity's elite epic foundational odysseys and mythologisations to popular rites of memory-work, resilience, care, and protection synonymous with contemporary Palestinian refugee camps.

ALEXANDRIA'S REDEMPTIVE MEMORY AS CRITICAL HOMECOMING

'Alexandria, which is our birthplace, has mapped out this circle for all Western language: to write was to return, to come back to the beginning to grasp again the first instance; it is to witness anew the dawn'.

M. Foucault (1964)

To suffer from a sickness... Is to burn with a passion. It is never to rest, interminably, from searching from the archive right where it slips away. It is to have a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement.

J. Derrida, *Archive fever: a Freudian impression*

Our journey to Alexandria (figure 14.1) is enacted as a critical homecoming for heritage conservation and a means to uncover what is at stake in modernity's 'old' elite 'western-globalising' discourse. By following in the footsteps of Alexander the Great, it is possible to retrace and problematise the course by which elite modern 'actors' emplot their origins and ancestry within Alexander's own journey-quest and ancient Alexandria's potent 'spirit of place'. Modernity's own project of walking in ancient footsteps is, therefore, a quest to adopt and adapt Alexandria's 'Redemptive Memory': more specifically still, to possess or perhaps be possessed by the ancient Alexandrina-archive as the ultimate paradigm of loss and recovery (Butler, 2007).

This elite 'westernatisation' of ancient city's myth and memory thus offers a resource by which modernity creates, curates, and conserves its own constellations and cosmologies— notably those of care and protection—across diverse registers. What interests me is a core point of paradox/contradiction that sees heritage conservation as a modern rational material scientism whilst locating its own birth within symbolic and potent worldings of mythscapes, archetypes, legends, divinity, dream-work, prophecy, and epic-poetic dramas, etc. Moreover, modernity's own modes of sacralisation and communion/communitas with the 'elsewhere' and 'otherwise' are played out in posses-

FIGURA 14.1. Alexandria and its myth: Statute of Alexander the Great, Alexandria, Egypt. *Image source: Butler, 2016.*

sional acts, promises of fulfilment, and efficacies synonymous with the 'afterlife' or 'lifeworlds' of the Greek classical past. Perhaps most crucially still, these cosmologies and constellations and the accompanying desire to legitimate and establish modernity's elite actors as authentic sovereign power, gatekeepers, and guardian-protectors of heritage conservation persist within UNESCO/ICCROM's own underpinning efficacies.

DREAM-WORK, EPIC ODYSSEY

The desire of heritage conservation to dramatise their own foundational moments within Alexandria's myth and memory begins with the adoption and adaptation of the iconic persona/archetype and 'hero-figure' of Alexander the Great. Alexander's own journey begins with the city of Alexandria being revealed to him in a dream where his mentor, the philosopher Aristotle, appeared before him, inspiring Alexander to found a new city in his own name. Homer's *Odyssey* is activated as a map/guidebook as Aristotle gestures to certain lines from this epic poem to direct Alexander to the isle of Pharos as foundational loci (Butler, 2007: 15-16; see also Butler, 2011). As a famous ancient epic account of a heroic homecoming, the *Odyssey* is subsequently positioned as the city's founding text affording Homer the accolade of the city's 'architect' in the epic visionary sense. Accompanying this epic drama of the city's foundation were prophetic ritual acts including Alexander's pilgrimage to Siwa Oasis and his consultation with the Oracle of Zeus-Ammon who sanctifies him with 'divine origin' thus endorsing his project of 'world conquest' (Butler, 2007; Polignac, 2000a: 33).

ARCHETYPAL PERSONAS, SELF-OBJECTS

This force of 'westernisation' takes possession of Alexandria's iconic/potent heritage 'objects': not least the potent monumental heritage synonymous with this iconic, marble city and likewise its associated set of personas and values. The Pharos Lighthouse (one of the Wonders of the ancient World), the Ptolemies' royal palaces site (synonymous with the seductions and personas of Cleopatra, Mark Anthony, and Caesar), the Serapeum (the famous temple complex), and Alexander's Tomb, feature within this vision. The scope, however, extends further to encompass Alexandria's privileged position as guardian-protector of 'Greek heritage'. Alexandria's potent characterisation as the 'New Athens' and as the 'meeting point of East and West' are appropriated further, thus serving as an entry point to lay claim to the city's foundational values: as the 'birthplace' of cosmopolitanism, universalism, the scene of intellectual, humanistic philosophical inquiry, and inheritor of democracy and imperial ambition (Klibansky, 2000; Polignac, 2000b). These in turn become essentialised as the 'west's' exclusive 'selfobjects' (Kohut, 1978 in Butler, 2007: 16).

ANCESTOR-INSTITUTION, REBIRTH

Significantly, it is the city's ancient Alexandrina-archive that, as previously stated, emerges at the locus point of the city and its mythologisation (Polignac, 2000a) and for heritage conservation's own possessional acts and cosmologies and constellations. Built in the third century BCE, little is known about the ancient Alexandrina, but it is best understood as a composite of a Temple of the Muses, a 'universal' library, a philosophical

academy, and a planetarium. As an ancestor institution the Alexandrina-archive is an attempt to fuse 'Greek' heritage with aspirations of acquiring 'universal' knowledge (El-Abbadi, 1990: 15). Writ larger still, mythologisations of the city merge powerfully to cast the city and archive as axis mundi 'centre-point', as 'microcosm of the world', and as 'memory of the world' (Polignac, 2000a: 42). As we shall see too, the acquisition of 'deep memory' and/as 'truth value' is inextricably linked to acts of possessing and sacralising the Alexandrina-archive as idealised, archetypal ancient ancestor. The city and archive are thus bound up in what Foucault (1964) dubs as 'western' modernity's 'myth of return and redemption': a vision of return as a promise of wholeness, renewal, and rebirth (Butler, 2007).

LOST OBJECT, TRAUMA OF ORIGIN

Paradoxically however, what secures heritage conservation's own efficacies and underpins its resilience is the destruction and loss of the ancient-ancestor. Thus, with much paradox and great effectiveness, the Alexandrina's on-going efficacy as 'redemptive formula' and its resiliences as on-going promise of fulfilment take hold in a moment of catastrophic collapse. The event is read by the 'west' as the traumatic loss of an ancient ancestor and embeds the institution, like the city itself, in an entropic poetics of melancholy, nostalgia, and loss. It is also the mechanism that gives birth to modernity's redemptive urge, its liminality, and the repetitive desire to build Alexandria 'on the ruins' (Butler, 2007: 16; see also Butler, 2011; Butler, 2019a).

FEVERS, PASSION, SICKNESS

However, a very different vision of the Alexandrina is revealed in Derrida's diagnosis of 'archive fever' (1996). In his "Freudian impression" of the archive, he refocuses upon the more "poisonous" ancestry and repetitious pharmakonic forces of sickness, repression, "archio-violence" (Derrida, 1996: 7), and trauma that coexist and testify to the fault lines that underpin the archival quest for fulfilment, wholeness, and renewal. Derrida specifically names the ancient Alexandrina as *the* "paradigmatic" example of "west's" desire to return to origins that sees passion and nostalgia transform into dysfunction, homesickness, fever, and illbeing (Rapaport, 2003: 76-77). The archive is recast as the scene of epic Oedipal violences in which the destructive forces of the "death-drive" manifest as evil and malice (Derrida, 1996: 70). Derrida (1996: 70) warns that the overarching "promise" of the archive to "cure" and "redeem" is destabilized by the revelation (messianic prophecy) of archival "destiny": its self-destructive capacity; that is for Derrida its inherent 'flammability' (Butler, 2007; 2019a).

PHOENIX, MESSIANIC DESTINY

Yet again the paradox emerges that it is the *destruction* of the ancient Alexandrina (its flammability/vulnerability) that ultimately secures its status as a phoenix-like institution and gives heritage conservation its own 'redemptive formula'. Here, too, the 'westernisation-secularization' of the "redemptive-messianic" aspect of archival quests offers a means to be possessed by the archive in terms of securing not only a 'remembered presence', but also as a "promise of a future" (Derrida, 1996: 36). The colonial-possessional force is similarly endowed with prophetic visions and sovereignty over articulations of "duty" and "destiny". Ironically too, it is in its own sacralisation of the Alexandrina that more depth is given to the intellectual-ontological-metaphysical odyssey which invests the archive/heritage and heritage conservation as the 'west's' secularizing humanist force and privileged medium for reflecting upon the human condition. Thus, defining as the core quest/question: What is it to be human? (Butler, 2007: 52).

NEW GREEKS, CHILDHOOD EXILE

Here again the efficacies of heritage conservation can be seen in its capacity to operate across different registers: for example, within grounded acts as well as metaphysical-metaphorical and psychological-ontological experiences and feelings of loss and recovery. The ancient 'birth' of heritage conservation is thus essentialised further as occurring at the liminal moment between the twilight of myth and the dawn of history and emerging as a key moment in 'mankind's' wider epic odyssey: its separation from the Gods, from the homeland, and from childhood and the 'primitive' state (Bazin, 1967). The Alexandrina provides for the "Greeks" in "diaspora" the promise of "refuge" in archival form: the "rehousing" of "memory-in-exile." The archive is thus situated as a response to originary traumatic displacement and dislocation (Butler, 2011: 359-60).

SEPARATION, INDIVIDUATION

Within this 'old' ancient coding emerges an 'acting out' of a wider 'universal' drama of 'individuation' in which the 'west's' traumatic act of separation from the 'Greek' childhood/homeland (personified in the figure of Alexander the Great who as ancestor-hero charts out this odyssey) sees ancient Alexandrina (as ancestor-archive) positioned as a 'refuge' both for the ancient 'Greek' exiles and their modern claimants (Bazin, 1967: 6 in Butler, 2011: 359-60). As such, the 'west' possesses Alexandria and its potent 'icons-objects', its 'personas-dramas' and its paradigm of trauma and redemption as forms of 'object-relations and attachments' that function as objects of 'self/selfgroup' and as potential 'transitional objects'.

RE-SURFACING, IDEAL-REAL

'Mankind's' desire for a cyclical, repetitive ritualism synonymous with an earlier 'primitive' state of being is kept alive within the transcendental-supernatural qualities of 'old' elite discourse that in turn afford heritage conservation an 'other-worldliness' and a liminality 'outside time' (Bazin, 1967: 6 in Butler, 2007: 35). Moreover, by holding in tension the projects of literary/metaphorical/metaphysical retrievalism—as Foucault makes explicit 'to write was to return' (quoted in Errera, 1997: 138)—with acts of material objectification such efficacies thus transcend and go 'beyond text' (Butler, 2007: 39). It has been seen that the Alexandrina-archive, as the casualty of what is understood as an originary act of iconoclasm, is canonised as the icon from which the traditional heritage paradigm of loss and preservation establishes its roots (Lowenthal, 1985: 109). It has provided the idealised 'template' or 'blueprint' for the resurfacing of the archival-heritage-conservation-museological project within the "nodal points" of "western" tradition: the Renaissance, Enlightenment, the Romantic Movement, and further into Modernity (Butler 2007, 2011, 2019a). In the process, Alexandria's wider foundational values—its cosmopolitanism, its universalism, and its humanism—have been essentialised as core heritage values and the motivations behind modernity's ongoing 'heritage crusades' (Lowenthal, 1996): again, including that of UNESCO/ICCROM.

UNESCO, LAW-GIVERS AND MAKERS

The on-going 'legacy' of this foundational 'Greco-European memory' is uncovered in another of Derrida's quests that this time sees him cast UNESCO as archive and as 'philosopheme' that emerges as the core technology of memory 'on the ruins' of the second world war (Butler, 2007). He argues that the fixing of UNESCO's foundational identity within a 'Greek origin' and 'Greek memory' has 'displaced', 'amongst others' 'Egyptian, Jewish, Arabic' memory', and 'Chinese and Japanese philosophical traditions' (Derrida, 2002: 40; Butler, 2007: 60-1). This is particularly notable in the 'western' bias of the 'magic' 'world heritage list' (Askew, 2010). Moreover, UNESCO as 'archon' and elite sovereign guardian not only holds the power to select and sacralise—for example, world heritage sites for listing/delisting—but the 'power to interpret'. Crucially UN/UNESCO—and by way of extension ICCROM—operates out of UN legal script that as a 'sacred drama' positions them as guardians of 'the law'. As Derrida has it: 'Entrusted to such archons, these documents in effect state the law: they recall the law and call on or impose the law' (Derrida, 1996: 3; Butler, 2019a: 2).

NEW ALEXANDRIA, NEW SACRED DRAMAS

In a final endnote, at the turn of the millennium, a significant intervention occurred in terms of a contemporary 'return to Alexandria', which saw UNESCO and the Egyptian government join forces to rebuild a New Alexandrina 'on the ruins' in the modern city of

Alexandria. Elsewhere I have documented this oft-contested and conflictual odyssey of homecoming in terms of new elite 'sacred dramas' in an on-going struggle with the democratising forces of the local 'critical chorus' (Butler, 2007). The sense of how these latter forces succeeded—against the odds—to embed themselves within the popular local context came during the violence and chaos of the Egyptian Revolution of 2011: it was young Alexandrian citizens who at popular level took up the role of carers and protectors by forming a human chain around the New Alexandrina in order to prevent a repeat of ancient destruction and *iconoclash*.

PROMISES UNFULFILLED - PALESTINIAN REFUGEE RITES OF RESILIENCE, CARE AND PROTECTION

... Jerusalem its own (literally) schizophrenic mental disorder the Jerusalem Syndrome, sufferers believe themselves to be characters from the Bible–Jesus is the favourite, but others include Moses, King David, John the Baptist & the Virgin Mary. You might see them wandering dressed in the robes of their adopted persona.

D. Jacobs, *Rough Guide to Jerusalem*

Exiles feel, therefore, an urgent need to reconstitute their broken lives, usually by choosing to see themselves as part of a triumphant ideology or restored people. The crucial thing is that a state of exile free from this triumphant ideology–designed to reassemble an exile's broken history into a new whole–is virtually unbearable, and virtually impossible in today's world.

E. W. Said, *Reflections on exile and other literary and cultural essays*

Palestinian archive fever ... spreading among Palestinians everywhere. Whether in Ramallah or London, Haifa or San Francisco, Beirut or Riyadh... the full dimensions can hardly be imagined.

B. Doumani, "Archiving Palestine and the Palestinians: the patrimony of Ihsan Nimr"

REFUGEE JOURNEYS, STRIPPING, ENCAMPMENT

Our critical quest continues and sees us shift our focus to follow in the footsteps of the 'figure of the refugee' (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016b) and emplot ourselves within popular Palestinian refugee rites of heritage conservation. As the antithesis of the elite Alexandrian 'return to origin', this experience of enforced displacement(s) is a movement marked by violence, dispossession, and encampment. Thus, contra to elite odysseys of homecoming enacted in order to engage with the redemptive 'spirit of place' this

literal experience of exile, loss, exodus is met by the further de-centring of refugees from home/homeland within the 'non-spaces' of refugee camps. Encampment itself is authored by elite sovereign regimes of humanitarian care and protection and within UN/UN-HCR/UNWRA biopolitics rites of passage (Chatty, 2010). Here the displaced find themselves subjected to 'rehabilitation' within 'a new lifestyle and persona' (Peteet, 2005 in Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016b: 29-30). It is thus in a stripping down to 'bare life' that collective identities and communitarian aspects are lost to enforced individuation within the new identity of 'refugee'; an identity maintained and embedded in law and convention in order to define status as separate rather than as an object of assimilation.

Writ large it is a difference between sovereign actors *choosing* to engage in their quest to possess Alexandria's efficacies and that of *enforced* and inflicted movement and disinterment that leaves the refugee profoundly 'out of place'. This in turn oft-effects further exile from wider memory and history and 'uproots' 'self/selfgroup' from known ways of coping with loss and recovery synonymous with 'being in place'.

PROMISES OF FULFILMENT, SYNDROMES AND FEVERS

It is worth pausing to take in the powerful efficacies that characterise "Palestine" and its various potent monikers. Whether imagined as the Promised Land, the Land of Milk and Honey, the Holy Land/Bible Lands, Zion, Eretz Israel, Greater Palestine and/or Filastin, etc… This "small sliver of land in the Mediterranean" (Said, 2003) exerts a particularly powerful "spirit of place". As with the Alexandrina paradigm, the narrative of a return to and of fulfilment within the Promised Land, is a quest, as Said (2003) has it, a 'triumphant ideology'. A means to 'reconstitute broken lives into a whole' that 'without which', Said (2001 [1984]: 183) adds, an exile's life 'is virtually unbearable', and is 'virtually impossible in today's world'.

More particularly still these various quests-journey-pilgrimages oft-collect around Jerusalem as symbolic centre-point. Indeed Jerusalem's 'redemptive memory' and efficacies as 'axis mundi' have seemingly outstripped Alexandria's mythologisations to the extent that the city has been diagnosed with its own 'psychiatric condition': Jerusalem Syndrome (JS). Indeed, the *British Journal of Psychiatry* (Bar-el et al., 2000) demonstrates how increasing numbers of first-time visitors to the city feel emotionally overwhelmed and compelled to perform 'uncharacteristic', spontaneous, ritual behaviours. These compulsive dramas typically see 'sufferers' adopt an archetypal messianic/biblical persona and possessed by the urge to deliver a redemptive message by which the world will undergo transformation, cure, and wholeness through the articulation of a vision of a 'just' future (Butler, 2016; 2019b).

Explained within medical terms, the JS is regarded as an experience of collapse/ breakdown and of de-personalisation as an emotional consequence of 'idealistic collective

subconscious image of Jerusalem' coming into conflict with the reality of modern city' Bar-el et al., 2000). Well-being and sanity thus depend on the capacity to bridge 'real' and 'imagined' Jerusalems by means of JS rituals. Interestingly, JS has been argued to be better understood within religious emotional extremes than as a psychiatric concern, which like the earthquake vignette connects us to heritage as encounters with the divine. As Byrne's (2004: 19) argues, heritage conservation 'after modernity' needs to be 'amenable to' and 'in dialogue' with 'the divine' on the basis that this form of communion/communitas underpins most global encounters with heritage at popular level. In addition to these efficacies of heritage (Butler, 2016), a particular strain of 'Palestinian archive fever' (Doumani, 2009) has been diagnosed, again as underpinned by the heritage conservation paradigm of loss and recovery, and by underpinning pharmakonic forces (Butler, 2011). In these latter contexts emphasis is placed upon new creative drives 'imbued' with new possibilities of acting 'against loss and trauma' and as a means to escape from sovereign structures (Khaldi quoted in Abboud, 2018: 4).

ETHNOGRAPHIC JOURNEYS

In what follows, I focus heritage ethnographies[1] undertaken in selected Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan to critically explore how heritage conservation manifests in such contexts. Participants were encouraged to bring in "heritage objects", to prompt discussion, and to reflect on diverse heritage forms (such as place, memory, performance, skill, etc.) and their significance and value. Again, the paradox and the contradiction emerge that *despite* and/or *because* of this experience of profound uprooting and loss, alternative modes of creative memory-work are activated in extremis as efficacious rites of care and protection (Butler, 2016). Again, what interests me is the creation of complex constellations and cosmologies and the diverse registers upon which they operate. Crucial here too is how Palestinian forms of popular resilience are articulated within the tradition concept of 'Sumud',[2] which in turn is *the* privileged loci-resource for addressing the experiences and feelings of loss and enacting diverse quests for recovery and redemption and, more specifically, Palestinian 'steadfastness' and 'solidarity'.

[1] This is on-going longterm research undertaken with Dr Fatima Al-Nammari, Petra University, Jordan.
[2] See Rijke & van Teeffelen, 2014.

DREAM OF RETURN, POETRY OF EXILE

Where should birds fly after the last sky?

M. Darwish, "The Earth is Closing On Us"

The starting point of our ethnographies[3]—the Women's Heritage Centre at Talbieh Camp[4] on the outskirts of Amman—has stencilled on the outside wall a flock of birds in flight (figure 14.2). This evocative image—one that finds repetition elsewhere within this and other camps—also finds salience within a Palestinian poetry of exile. While Alexandria's foundations are mythologised within Alexander's dream-work and within Homer's epic *Odyssey*, it is a very different and difficult dream of return and poetry of exile that emerges in refugee narratives. On the one hand, the bird-image captures the aspiration of freedom of movement and flight and thus encapsulates desires to either imaginatively or literally transcend/escape the camp and return home; on the other, it iterates the harsh realities of exile and encampment.

FIGURE 14.2. Women's Heritage Centre at Talbieh Camp. *Image: Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016.*

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3 These ethnographies are cited as Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a.

4 Our research subsequently expanded to include a further four Palestinian camps in Jordan: Baqa'a, Husun, Jerash, and Wihdat/New camp. See http://www.unrwa.org/wherewe-work/Jordan.

SUMUD, STEADFASTNESS

There are echoes too of the Palestinian poet refugee Mahmoud Darwish's words (above) taken from his poem "The Earth is Closing on Us" that powerfully express the profound placelessness of the Palestinian refugee. Indeed, the power of poetry emerges in popular rituals of care and protection. The public recitation of poetry was a crucially important loci of Palestinian refugee collective memory-work. Poetry is valued as important in expressing a gamut of feelings: from mourning, melancholy, nostalgia, illbeing, loss, suffering, but also joy, care, solidarity, and 'Sumud'. One participant argued that Darwish's poem "Identity card" (1964) (one of his most famous poems) was "particularly powerful" in expressing feelings of Palestinian resilience and/as steadfastness in the face of identity being reduced to this single item of documentation.

BRINGING "PALESTINE" TO THE CAMP

Here again feelings and experiences embedded within an economy of loss and recovery create the possibility of adopting and adapting popular heritage conservation within a wider series of relationships that collapse-blur-fuse-refuse and create 'object-worlds', 'personas-dramas', 'archetypes-sacralisations' with/and as 'old' and 'new' 'facts-on-the-ground'. These over-arching constellations and cosmologies as communion/communitas with the 'elsewhere' and the 'otherwise' crystallise as salient objects of attachment synonymous with 'self/selfgroup'. In fact, the whole camp can be read as counter archive: the antithesis, perhaps, of the ancient Alexandrina. Within the camp, as anti-structure, the motif of 'bringing "Palestine" to the camp' and thereby recovering what emerged as the ultimate lost 'object' was thus a core concern.

COSMIC CENTRE-POINT

Perhaps outdoing the elite attachment to Alexandrina and at points JS; an almost 'over-determined'—imagined/idealised/ sacralised—"Palestine" emerges as cosmic centre-point and as *the* 'inseparable object' (Abboud, 2018: 6). Writ large, within the public sphere this was achieved in part in creative acts that seek to transform camps into 'Little Palestines'. In some camps, street names refer to refugees' places of origin and are marked by 'heritage-icons', synonymous with remembering Palestine; for example, in domestic and public spaces, the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa Mosque are recurring themes, as is the Palestinian flag, the key, and the keffiyeh. Included as part of rites of affiliation and affirmation are Naji al-Ali's Hanzla cartoon images that act as important visual signs of resistance and resilience (figure 14.3). These creative acts are rarely given official approval; however, they have potency in terms of acting as salient metonyms.

FIGURE 14.3. Naji al-Ali's Hanzla cartoon images that act as important visual signs of resistance and resilience. *Image: Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a.*

CONSERVING, CURATING "PALESTINE"

Moreover, refugees as 'self/selfgroup' similarly adopt and adapt to roles as conservers, collectors, archivists, and interpreters of meaning, significance, and efficacy vis-à-vis "Palestine". Again, in the face of the lack of official networks, the recurring theme of being your 'own muse' and conservator of world(s) emerges as crucially important. As such, alternative networks of popular heritage conservation crossed-over and blurred private-public/personal-collective boundaries. These in turn act as a dispersed archival-museological-conservation spaces in which "certain people kept or collected certain items" that could be borrowed "on trust" to create temporary displays and exhibitions about Palestine (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

CLOTHING OF 'BARE-LIFE'

Some participants had created what were described as their *own museums* housed within the limited domestic spaces of the camp. In a sacrificial act that recalls locals during the Mexican earthquake giving up their bed for the local saint, we met one collector-conservator within the camp who had filled his home with huge piles of traditional Palestinian embroidered dresses/thobes (figure 14.4): these powerfully connect the displaced via particular designs that in turn map Palestinian villages while also offering a promise of fulfilment—that of amuletic protection—to the wearer. These dresses/thobes in turn

FIGURE 14.4. Palestinian embroidered dresses/'thobes. *Image: Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016.*

have undergone deep sacralisation as heritage objects and were described as the "unique fingerprint of Palestinian heritage and identity" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016b). Thus, heritage conservation itself acts as a form of ritual protection against the disintegration of self/selfgroup/world featured here and elsewhere and thus is essentialised as part of powerful coping strategies and as sources of comfort and care.

NOSTALGIA, LAND OF PALESTINE

What was clear was that *objects* selected by participants carried symbolic and metaphorical value. One participant chose some 'soil from Palestine' as his object which was again bestowed with sacred or relic-like status. This desire to possess—or perhaps be possessed by "Palestine" as *the* 'lost object'—was taken to extremes as he expressed the urge to "eat the soil of Palestine" and by another prepared to nurture "seeds brought from Palestine" sacrificially by "cutting" himself and "nourishing them" with his blood (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a). Other objects such as a hand held wooden farming implement connected the camp to the skills and the "agricultural heritage of Palestine". This prompted nostalgic, melancholic descriptions of family villages and longing for "the simple happy life" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

DEEP ROOTS, GROWTH

Associations made between Palestine and its natural heritage were further grounded in visions of a rural life. One male participant specifically brought in an olive branch as his chosen 'heritage object' in order to unpack more multi-layered meanings. First, he stressed the on-going potent bond between Palestine and the olive tree and, more specifically, with his home in Ramallah which he described with pride as "famous for olives". He then compared the "roots of olive tree deep in the earth" with his family's "deep roots in the [Ramallah] area" and by extension, he continued, "all Palestinians' deep roots in Palestine" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a). He powerfully blurred and fused object-person boundaries further by stressing the resilience and steadfastness of both humans and such symbolic 'objects'/ heritage, by adding "the leaves of the olive tree are always green in winter and summer. They are always ready for growth and giving plenty" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

FAITH, BELIEF, RELIGION

The same participant articulated a further salient theme when he argued that the olive—like Palestinian heritage, Palestinians, and Palestine itself—was imbued with "sacred and religious" value and meaning. He explained, "The olive itself has religious value and features in the Qu'ran", adding, "As Muslims heritage and faith are very much connected with religious value and our homeland connects us to our history and our faith" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a). This was a conviction voiced loudly by many participants. Keen that such religious heritage was not seen in sectarian terms he argued that within the Palestinian occupied territories, "Whatever the monument of civilization is and whether it is Muslim or not it is part of our achievement and it is positive" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

PEACE, UNITY

His final comments consolidated the significance of the olive branch as a "symbol of peace internationally". Another male participant who identified himself as a Syrian was keen at this point to voice his attachment to Palestine: "Even if I am not Palestinian as a Muslim I am outraged at the occupation [of Palestine]". Here the presence of 'others' (non-Palestinians) within the refugee camp is significant: including Iraqi and Syrian refugees and Egyptian and other migrant workers (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

CATASTROPHE, ON-GOING TRAUMA

As with the Alexandrina paradigm, underpinning these acts of heritage conservation was the motif of loss and recovery; however, in the case of Palestinian refugees, this revolves around the very real experiences of traumatic loss synonymous with the underpinning violences of the 1948 Nakba ('catastrophe') and the 1967 Naksa ('setback'). Here, heritage conservation took on a pharmakonic force (Butler, 2011). One participant expressed how Palestine had the capacity to be both a "source of pride and inspiration" in his life, but also a "heavy burden" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a). Thus, alongside raising the consciousness of caring for and keeping objects from Palestine as fragments relating to the restoration of a vision of wholeness, wellbeing, and joy was remembering these traumas/injustices and risking being retraumatised by these. As one male participant added vis-a-vis such memory-work, "this is important when many in the world are blind to what we have suffered and how it continues" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

TRANSMISSION, SACRED 'ELDERS'

Significantly, it was the camp 'elders' who underwent intense sacralisation as the 'authentic' loci of memory-work and its transmission. As actors within, and witnesses to, the above originary acts of displacement and encampment, their accounts are typically characterised by pain, anguish, and trauma. Loss was conveyed not only in the catastrophic loss of home and country, but harrowing stories of family members 'left behind' also emerged. One participant stated how the displacements of '67 and '48 led to two generations spending the "entirety of their lives preoccupied [with the] overwhelming power of the dream of returning home"; he concluded that "the dream, love and the level and depth of attachment to Palestine" [is] beyond everything" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

WISHFULFILMENT, AL-QUDS

Heritage conservation as dream-work, magical-thinking, and 'wishfulfilment' afford 'object' relations and attachments to ever more 'imagined' 'Palestines'. More specifically and significantly is the desire to ritually commune with Jerusalem/Al Quds ('the Holy') as a symbolic centre-point of return. As extremely powerful and deeply felt acts, one participant's chosen 'wished for' object was "a prayer in Jerusalem". Indeed, aspirations to "see Jerusalem", to "kiss the earth", and to "smell" and "eat the food" expressed the profound desire to commune with Jerusalem (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

SENSORIA, BRIDGING

Conversely, not being able to commune in this way with Al Quds/Palestine was again seen as a source of illbeing. Imaginatively reconstructing Al Quds/Palestine as sensoria thus helped to bridge the gap between the real and the imagined, camp and homeland. Thus, the concern to conserve Palestinian traditional cuisine as a part of wider sensory re-possessions again "brought 'Palestine' to the camp". However, this was amid complaints that only in Palestine itself could one obtain the correct ingredients (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

JUSTICE, MEMORIAL

Many 'objects' and bridging acts took on further moral-ethical resonances. One woman, for example, selected a set of weighing scales as her chosen object and was clear to point out that while playing a role in everyday traditional domestic life, they were also 'a reminder of justice'. Women's 'heritage objects' discussed in our ethnographic workshops tended to be personalised 'heirlooms' ('kept objects' such as jewellery, embroidery, and photographs) that had particularly heightened significance and emotional, memorial, and symbolic value if they were items originally from a family member living in Palestine and, as such, offered continuity in terms of being 'passed down' the family line. Such items offered deeply felt connectivities with lost homes, lost land, and lost family members, and thus, they were valued as a means to nurture, care for, and memorialise such connections (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

DE-PERSONALISATION, DE-REALISATION

One could, however, apprehend a certain illbeing present, not only eminating from the originary violences outlined above, but also in terms of the profound 'de-personalisation' and 'de-realisations' synonymous with the enforced adoption of 'refugee' identity as an anti-persona/unwished for 'archetype/stereotype'. Operating again across all registers, many spoke of the on-going suffering underpinning the particular 'Palestinian paradox' and of a life consigned to 'permanent impermanence' within the camp (Peteet, 2005: 3-4). Unfulfilled promises of return like all the above sentiments were also experienced as everyday unwanted facts on the ground. One female participant spoke of "further stress" synonymous with what she listed as the everyday "poverty", "cramped conditions", "unemployment", and the "enclosed nature" of the camp creating "psychological pain" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a). Other participants made it clear that the "injustice" of the situation brought "on-going suffering, anxiety, stress and concern" to young and old alike. In addition, the sense of "not being able to plan and control the future" led to a situation of feeling ever more marginalised and forgotten (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

LIMITS OF REPRESENTATION, CHOICE/ EXCLUSION

The externally imposed identities as exiles and refugees thus accentuated all feelings of fragmentation and dislocation (including metaphysical, existential, spiritual illbeing, etc). One participant argued that these factors made heritage and identity "difficult" if not "impossible to explain" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a). This continues to have massive impacts in terms of wellbeing and in acts of self/self-group 'representation' (whether cultural, psychological, or political), and in terms of defining 'just' futures. Here, new creative genres of heritage-work emerged in response to such 'gaps'; for example, the combination between traditional dabka-dance and rap. As another participant reiterated, "The idea of settling down to live is a very relative one—[there] is a difference between *choosing* to leave a place and *settle* in another [and being forced to leave a place]; we *didn't* choose to be here and therefore we *cannot settle* for many different reasons". At core, it was reiterated: "we wish to return and we are not in our own country" (Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

FEVERS, LAW

In our critical journey to, and engagement with, Alexandria we explored the ways in which post-war elite global discourse is underpinned by international UN law. This not only has implications for UNESCO/ICCROM but for UNHCR/UNWRA as 'archons' and/as messianic Moses figures bound by, and acting out, UN law as 'sacred script', 'sacred drama', and 'sacred duty' (Butler, 2007: 93). More specifically still, it has implications for Palestinians in terms of the UN-sanctioned Right of Return (Peteet, 2005: 3-4). The Right to Return may indeed be regarded as the core symptom—the fever—that needs resolution. Return is, thus, the over-arching promise of fulfilment and regarded as the ultimate act of healing, wholeness, and repair.

BECOMING MOSES

On one final note, it was particularly moving to see popular heritage rituals that channel desire as resilience in which individuals and family groups from camps often use their leisure-time to go to viewing points, such as Mount Nebo and Umm Qais, where views of Palestine can be seen. While it iterates Moses' own destiny of seeing, but never reaching the promised land, participants spoke of finding some comfort, consolation, and resilience in the vision of being in close proximity to their ancestors/homeland and to the enduring promise of fulfilment (Butler, 2016; Butler & Al-Nammari, 2016a).

BEYOND MODERNITY–RECONFIGURING PROMISE AND FULFILMENT

Art should comfort the disturbed and disturb the comfortable.
BANKSY

This wall may take care of the present but it has no future!
WRITTEN ON 'SEPARATION' WALL, PALESTINE

Our quest to re-imagine heritage 'after modernity', although not a redemptive journey has—I hope—opened-up points of potency, paradox, and possibility, not merely for further critical reflection, but for the active reconfiguration of heritage conservation as creative and dynamic engagements with popular needs, responses, and facts on the ground. The reality of elite 'western' heritage conservation as an enduring 'top down' operational practice/expert-culture and as symbolic sovereign power positioned within on-going global 'sacred dramas' of heritage conservation critically delimits other possibilities and characterisations gaining recognition. Just as modernity's own vision of its 'self/other' and/as global worlds cleanses away diverse popular visions of the 'otherwise' and 'elsewhere'.

Indeed, one can see the enduring appeal to both elite and popular constituencies alike that emerges in the turn to—adoption and adaption of—archetypes, symbolic, supernatural, efficacious frameworks, and forms. Whether grasped at as communion/communitas with the 'otherwise' and 'elsewhere' as highly sanitised images/objects of the Greek-Alexandrian ancient past and/or as oft-purified visions of fulfilment in the 'Promised Land', they crystallise as potent and ever-resilient paradigms of loss and recovery. As odyssey-journeys-homecomings from one perspective, they are manifest in the search for and possession of wholeness, continuity and as a pathway to 'betterment', however complex and difficult it may be to obtain. In this sense perhaps 'we' all still long for a New Alexandria and New Jerusalem to build heaven on earth, to glimpse at alternative visions capable of fusing immanent and transcendent forms and forces and/or be possessed by that which is 'otherworldly'.

Banksy, the UK artist, who like Frida Kalho has gained iconic status and increased global attention, has been active (although not without criticism) in using his creativity to articulate the painful realities of Palestinian experiences under occupation and a means to emplot new facts on the ground. His *Walled Off Hotel*, for example, is an attempt to make an otherwise largely invisible situation of extremis—in which the everyday and epic dramas collapse—take on a more global reach (see WHO, 2019). However, if we too position ourselves within this (ideal/idealised?) vision that a 'just' heritage conservation should 'comfort the disturbed and disturb the comfortable',

clearly a fundamental difficulty emerges as to who gets to decide and make claims both in terms of who is 'disturbed' and 'comfortable', particularly given these are not mutually exclusive conditionalities.

While my sincere conviction is that those who will claim heritage as 'the power of the weak' have greater empathy with the majority of people who claim the right to make the rules/norms/conditionalities instead of having them made for them, it is both important and more difficult to follow alternative routes in our project of re-imagining. The idea of heritage/heritage conservation is not a simple rite of passage of assimilation into 'just' worlds of wholeness, nor can it be grasped definitively in simple binaries of elite/popular, sovereign/bare-life, secular/supernatural, evil/blameless.

Thus, I argue what needs to be creatively conserved within critical heritage discourse are those aspects of communion/communitas that recast it as a space of re-alisation in which its liminality offers an escape and certain freedom to engage with and manipulate (master/mediate/sustain/subvert/overturn) the conditions of existence. While power is as attracted to this potential as much as the disempowered, heritage does hold the possibility and opportunity to open-up spaces that do indeed constantly 'disturb' the dominant sovereign structures. Popular belief of that which has "no priest-hood and no canon" (Warner, 2018: 67) is crucial here. To treat heritage as a simple rite of passage would be to limit its vision; instead, we need to relocate an always predicted state 'after modernity' in the already existing present, which, as our critical journey demonstrates, relates to constellations and cosmologies that testify to a re-imagined heritage not as alternatives, but rather as dynamic, creative, transformative anti-struc-ture within structure.

Thus, there is more than a dose of heritage communion/communitas making structure meaningful once again for those who live in it and actively transform it. There is something quite compelling in the ideal of heritage as 'limen' and as 'pharma-kon' that upsets structure, reinvigorates, and potentially occurs in a constant state of transformation (Butler, 2007: 2011). Utopians oft make the mistake of clinging to communitas and banishing structure, yet this subsequently returns to haunt them. Where I feel I have made an advance in this chapter is by exploring alternative forms of the dialectic to escape from heritage as endless structuration. In this re-envisioning, heritage introduces the performative rites of 'acting-back' as a constant self-reflexive movement 'betwixt and between' occurring at various time scales and various registers, such that they become hybridised.

Writ larger still, my conclusions see me embrace a cultural psychodynamics of heritage conservation within reworked global and hybridised 'object' relations as the point of liminality, collapse, fusion, and efficacy between imagined world(s) and 'facts on the ground'. 'Heritage conservation after modernity' thus has a potent, salient role in variously unfixing the 'west's' sovereign 'selfobjects', by particularising these as

'transitional objects' and by recontextualising them within the realities of wider global-local psychodynamics of care and protection. Here, 'heritage conservation after modernity' emerges as a byword for ambiguity, as entry into wider realms of 'betwixt and betweeness' and by these means is able to be responsive to quests for freedom as an endless possibility and as ultimately empowering in illuminating that which holds precision and rigour too: i.e., what it *does*—its efficacy.

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