CHAPTER 11

FOLDING AND ENFOLDING WALLS
STATIST IMPERATIVES AND BUREAUCRATIC AESTHETICS IN DIVIDED JERUSALEM

Author's Note

Deleuze's proposition for inquiry in the epigraph to this chapter jump-started my thinking on how to make significant connections between the seemingly unlike, yet connections that would be dynamic rather than simply structural. In this chapter on the cityscape of today's Jerusalem I connect places that turn into spaces that relate to one another as a vector of force that contributes to shaping and controlling the cityscape through bureaucratic aesthetics of the Israeli State. I find the spaces of this vector through a post-mathematical topology which can only be dynamic in its movement, thereby jettisoning topography which can only be static, without movement, without dynamic.

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> You should not try to find whether an idea is just or correct. You should
> look for a completely different idea, elsewhere, in another area, so that
> something passes between the two which is neither in one nor the other . . .
> You don't have to be learned, to know or be familiar with a particular
> area, but to pick up this or that in areas which are very different.
> —Gilles Deleuze, *Dialogues II*

After the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the armistice line ran through Jerusalem on a roughly north-south axis. That line developed into a dilapidated no man's land, with ongoing back-and-forth sniper fire. The ancient Old City remained in Jordan, its

western Ottoman walls lying alongside the armistice line. After the 1967 June War, the Israeli government annexed an area that included Jordanian Jerusalem, together with a large area of the adjacent West Bank, all of which was made part of a single municipal territory. The Israeli state declared this new entity to be "United Jerusalem, the Eternal Capital of Israel" (Klein 2005: 55). Ever since, actualizing a single Jerusalem, united through conquest under Israeli rule (although quite divided in mundane life), has been a statist imperative. In this state project, architecture has a prominent role. According to Nitzan-Shiftan (2005: 231), architecture "as a technique of execution . . . is not transparent—it is neither devoid of ideology, nor is it readily accessible to political dictates, particularly not in sites saturated with national and religious symbolism. On the contrary, politicians are largely dependent on professionals who have privileged access to the spatial tools of architecture." Given the powerful presence of Jerusalem in the symbolism of each of the monotheisms and in the religious and secular cultures that emerged from these religions—and, no less, the prominence of Jerusalem in the Arab-Israeli conflict—the making and shaping of built forms there are often perceived through synecdoche, that is, the parts are seen as standing for the whole. Often changes in built form are a felt aesthetic presence that is immediately plumbed, analytically, common-sensically, for its significance in relation to the city-as-whole.

Since 1967, after seizing the heights surrounding the Palestinian city, Israel has been building a wide, dense arc of housing for Israeli Jews, without giving building permits to Palestinians. Residential building has been accompanied by a variety of physical barriers. The most recent, dubbed officially the "separation fence," is intended to wall off much of the Palestinian city from its hinterland in the occupied West Bank, territory that might be given to the Palestinian-state-in-the-making, should this ever be actualized. Israel controls the Palestinian city with a bureaucratic and militaristic iron hand, while minimally investing in infrastructure for its Palestinian inhabitants, even as Israeli governance insists that the entire city is a seamless unity (Benvenisti 1995).

It is in this Israel-controlled cityscape that I discuss one vector of statist-related physical forms that have qualities of walls. Although here I consider only official and quasi-official forming of space, my intention is to bring out the dynamic of folding and enfolding space through the shaping of walls as a transforming vector of control. The term "vector" comes from the Latin *vehere*, to carry. The vector as carrier refers to a line in space that has both the magnitude and direction of a quantity. Since I use the word "vector" in a loosely topological way, the line of space becomes one of connectivities that need not be linear and may well be recursive. In my usage, the vector carries value through space, value that is enhanced, augmented, made more powerful as it moves into and through the enfoldings I discuss. In traversing these enfoldings, value turns into force, that of the state and its imperatives.

The architectural forms I discuss are new, ostensibly without relation to one another, yet together they create this vector of force, as the cityscape shifts from west to

east. The first is a bridge pylon, while the others I refer to as walls, although only the last ordinarily would be understood as such. The first of these walls is a new historical museum of the Holocaust (the "museum-wall"). The second is a massive continuous stretch of new buildings (the "mall-wall") that crosses the former no man's land between Jewish West Jerusalem and the southwestern walls of the Old City. The third is the "separation barrier" between Palestinian East Jerusalem and its hinterland. Together, these four constructions are one topological vector shaping the cityscape. Using the idea of topology in a broad way enables all four constructions to be implicated together in how the city is being shaped and practiced in accordance with statist imperatives. Crucially, this vector is self-referential. Therefore, what I will call its "beginning" (the bridge pylon) and its "end" (the separation fence) fold into one another, transforming the force of directionality into the totalizing of recursive energy.

I return to topological thinking in relation to that which Gilles Deleuze referred to as "folding," a dynamic especially relevant to discussing the forming of form, in both social and material terms (Handelman 2005). By describing three of the constructions as walls, I imply that they partake of an aesthetics that I regard as bureaucratic, a topic that will be addressed in the concluding remarks.

In terms of their aesthetic form, cityscapes are usually analyzed by social scientists in terms of topography—the ways in which forms are situated on surfaces and through the lines on these surfaces that connect the forms. Topography relates more to material and social positioning in four-dimensional space. It is less concerned with the dynamics that actively shape forms and relations among forms through different scales and intensities, through vectors that come into being as forms are being formed, and that give direction and impetus to these vectorial thrusts. Topography is passive in that it can be presented as a given of things, natural or human-made. This sense of passivity easily enables social scientists to use features of topography as containers of representations of social and historical formations. Representation reflects, presents, reflects—but does nothing through itself. Topographies are representations; they, too, do nothing through themselves. They reflect forces (political, economic, ideological, architectural) that originate elsewhere. Thus, sites in the cityscape may be perceived as dense mappings of meaning, yet these are passive receptacles whose significance is to be deciphered.[1] As Deleuze (1994: 67) comments, "Representation has only a single centre, a unique and receding perspective, and in consequence a false depth. It mediates everything, but mobilises and moves nothing."[2]

The dominant use of aesthetics continues to link this to representation. For the pre-Socratic Greeks, *aisthesis*, or sense perception, was not separated from *logos*, and "physical sensory perception was trusted as knowledge" (Kane 2007: 83). The metaphysical project of the Age of Reason was to separate *aisthesis* from *logos* and to tie aesthetics to representation. I use aesthetics in a somewhat combined way as "sensuous knowledge" (Goldman 2001: 255), as knowledge that is trusted but largely tacit and taken for granted. My usage of the aesthetic refers to something more like the "feel" that one has for what one is doing or seeing or moving through kinesthetically

(or perceiving through other of the senses)—the feel for the "rightness" of how one is doing what one is doing, or how this is done in concert, the feel of the senses forming form through practice. The aesthetic in mundane living is related to Bergson's notion of "habit memory," of attending kinesthetically to one's own body, monitoring what one is doing; but, I add, attending kinesthetically no less to the surround, including of course the built environment. In this regard, movement itself is a sense, as the body continuously changes position, revising the information it takes in from the environment, as do other of the senses in their own ways. Therefore, this is also a haptic aesthetics of practicing formed and forming space, of "memory etched in movement," of the body, of the surround.[3]

These mundane aesthetics are an indwelling of largely tacit knowledge that always seems to include more than we can tell, were we able to relate this knowingly (Polanyi 1962: 314; idem 1966: 17–23). Tacit knowing is the feeling of disattending to ourselves, which moves us beyond ourselves, enabling the exterior world of practice and the interior world of experience to be unified as the exterior world of experience and the interior world of practice (see Dufrenne 1973: 446; Katz 1999: 314). Indeed, the aesthetics of practice lead us to "an appreciation of the essential place of aesthetics in all behaviors, however mundane or esoteric" (Katz 1999: 314). No less, the aesthetics of practice lead us to all surrounds and, I emphasize, to vectors of force that connect through these surrounds in and during multiple dimensions.

In trying to consider how an aesthetics of statist practice forms the constructions to be addressed in this chapter, I will perhaps escape to a degree from the passive receptacles of representational symbolism, away from topographical thinking and more toward the topological, toward a dynamic of the relational among forms. Each of the four new constructions is, in its own right, a separate venue of statist imperatives for Jerusalem. Nonetheless, each is a variation of the dynamic of folding, and the vector of these variations intensifies its wall-ish qualities as it thrusts from west to east.

The Beginning—the Calatrava Pylon-Parabola

Driving up to Jerusalem (to a height of some 800 meters) from the coast in the west, the highway enters the lip of the city at a busy intersection and continues into the west-east axis that begins the major thoroughfare, Jaffa Road, which runs through the city all the way to the Ottoman-period walls of the Old City, the border of the Palestinian city. Traversing the intersection, roughly from north to south, is a cable-stayed bridge, some 360 meters in length, designed by Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava (see Fig. 11.1). When it became fully operational in 2011, the bridge was also adjusted to carry light-rail lines above the intersection. Part of the support system of the bridge is a slender steel pylon, some 118 meters in height, inclining toward the east. From either side of the pylon, steel cables in the shape of a parabola hold the bridge in place.[4] The parabolic imparts a sense of three-dimensionality to the pylon and its steel cables. Inaugurated in June 2008, the pylon is considered by Israeli authorities

Figure 11.1. The Calatrava pylon-parabola at the western entrance to Jerusalem. Photograph by the author.

to be the major visual landmark at the entry to the Jewish city. The pylon-parabola quickly acquired a biblical referent, the harp of King David (the mythical founder of the Israelite city) and is referred to as the Chords Bridge or the Bridge of (musical) Strings—a giant harp embedded in the city's western entrance.

Since the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 with Jerusalem as the capital, the Jewish city has welcomed Jews to its precincts from the westerly direction with its dense concentration of finance, business, and industry on the coastal plain. The most striking feature of this pylon positioned at the edge of the mountain is its openness in multiple dimensions. It is quite transparent, concealing nothing, as it were, yet with quite extensive presence, visible from numerous points on the ridges around the city. The pylon leans into the city, opening the way, beginning an enfoldment. It soars into the heaven from different perspectives, sometimes shaping a great bird with outstretched wings, sometimes a feathery embracing cloak, sometimes the mythical harp of the love poetry and psalms of the ancient David.

The parabolic form of the pylon imparts a complexity to the open air, to open space through which it moves. In his discussion of Leibniz and the Baroque, Deleuze takes in the fold, the folding of space-time that is the opening of a different forming, a forming of difference that had not existed before in that space and time. Folding may be conceptualized as the forming of a pocket (of space, of time, of social action, and of their intersections)—a folding in of structures, of movements of living, articulating persons within these curving self-enclosures in certain ways and not in others. As

it curves, the fold or pocket opens the depths of space-time where/when no opening had existed a moment before. The opening itself is a curving of space-time, since the movement of living is neither stopped nor blocked, but shifted into itself, enfolded, reorganized, and thereby made different, minimally, partially, utterly, from the movements in whose courses the opening is but a moment (Handelman 2005: 14). The fold or pocket inflects and involutes (Deleuze 1993: 14–26), entailing variable degrees of the emergence of autopoietic propensities for self-organization that follow from the self-closing that is the curve. The fold curves recursively because its forming in itself is anti-lineal, anti-Cartesian, turning over, upending. Of especial interest here is that Deleuze (ibid.: 16) cites Paul Klee as calling a point—the (pure) event that is a point of inflection—"'a site of cosmogenesis' . . . 'between dimensions.'"[5]

Consider the parabolic pylon. It begins a curve, soaring as its curve leans and swerves into the city. This curvature has an axis, the pylon, yet it does not have a center that is centering itself, since its movement is upward, outward, reaching beyond the physical extension of the cables themselves. It is a folding dynamic, but one just beginning, the folding reaching toward, into the city even as it soars into the heavens, gently, openly, enfolding both together. The point of inflection, the beginning, is the point of cosmogenesis for the vector (continuously emerging into being, here, elsewhere) that I am beginning to discuss—a point of cosmogenesis whose parabolic extension seems to modulate space harmonically (resonating with the metaphor of David's harp), imparting a rhythm to the ether.[6] Looked at this way, the pylon-parabola begins to take on the forming of a net, one that is in movement, leaning transparently, benignly, into its catchment area.

A net, not yet a wall. I problematize this beginning by shifting to the new Holocaust History Museum at the national Holocaust memorial, Yad Vashem (which means "A Place and a Name"). As I noted at the outset, the relationality of spaces that I am connecting is more topological, less topographical. So, although Yad Vashem is not quite on the west-east trajectory that begins here with the pylon-parabola, it is undoubtedly on that trajectory once temporality is added to the vector.

The Museum-Wall—Folding History into the State

Today the Israeli state is sieved through the Holocaust. During the state's early years, its representatives rarely raised the likelihood that its foundation emerged from the Holocaust or that the United Nations vote in 1947 in favor of this founding was a response to genocide. Israel's political leadership presented the establishment of the state as its own accomplishment. Nonetheless, statist imperative demanded commemoration of the Holocaust. Yet the end of European Jewry and the beginning of the new Jews of Palestine and then Israel were presented as two separate narrative trajectories—one buried into near extinction as the other was rising into prominence. In these narratives the fate of European Jewry was the inevitable dead-ended outcome of Diaspora living. Only as an independent nation-state could Jews have a future in a world of states.

In the present-day political realities of Israel, which have powerfully revived the presence of the religious Judaic as the cultural grounds for the existence of the Jewish people inside and outside the state, these two historical narratives have merged to the point that the state is now the direct consequence of the Holocaust. This causal relationship must be honored and sanctified continuously with respect and vigilance, since the conditions of the Holocaust are everywhere anew.[7] Most immediately, the Israeli people and state are threatened by the enmity of Palestinians and, more generally, of Muslims (perceived independently of Israeli occupation and settlement of the territories). It is in these senses that the trajectory of beginning (the open, although directional, folding of the pylon-parabola) has on its existential horizon the historical museum of Yad Vashem, through which it must pass.

The old Holocaust museum was located in a squarish, nondescript building, one of the cluster that makes up the core of the Yad Vashem memorial complex (see Fig. 11.2, the building in the left background). All of the buildings in this complex offer a blank exterior visage, the horrific realities of the genocide being hidden from external view (Handelman and Shamgar-Handelman 1997). Despite being concealed deep inside and far away, those horrors are immediately here and now. The exhibition in the old museum, which had been in place for about thirty years, was designed by historians and resembled a musty illustrated book of Holocaust history. Over the years since it opened, the Israeli political leadership had begun to emphasize Israel's role as the natural leader in Holocaust commemoration. The new Holocaust History Museum is a response to the tremendous rise in Holocaust commemoration among world Jewry, especially in the United States, culminating in the political success of placing the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on the National Mall

Figure 11.2. The Yad Vashem memorial complex with the old Holocaust museum in the background and the new Holocaust museum in the foreground. Photograph by the author.

in Washington, DC, in the heart of American national symbolism. The new commemorative sites use innovative designs and aesthetics that had left Yad Vashem in their wake. The new Holocaust museum is intended to rectify this—or so its leaders imagine.

My focus here is only on the exterior of this building and its positioning within the national Holocaust memorial. The Yad Vashem complex is built along the top of a ridge, with most of the buildings fronting along its southern exposure. The outermost walkway along the circumference of the ridge is named the Avenue of the Righteous Among the Nations. On either side of the long walkway are carob trees dedicated to particular Gentiles who, at risk to their own lives, saved Jews during the Holocaust (see Fig. 11.3). These trees, these dedications, are an outer bulwark, protective of the memories of elsewhen, elsewhere that are lodged within the complex. The three largest free-standing monuments of the complex are dedicated to the resistance and heroism of Jews during World War II. Open to the elements, they thrust abruptly upward from the land, dominating the perspective. The symmetric triangulation of these three monuments corresponds to the shape of the ridge and forms another bulwark within that of the Avenue of the Righteous. Within these two bulwarks are the major memorial buildings, protected by righteous Gentiles and by Jewish resistance and heroism (see Handelman and Shamgar-Handelman 1997: 101–10).

The positioning of the new museum reverses this patterning. The shape of the building is a long triangle, some 200 meters in length, positioned to intersect at a right angle with the Avenue of the Righteous. There are two openings set into the sloping wall of the building, facing outward toward the beginning of the complex.

Figure 11.3. The Avenue of the Righteous passing through the new Holocaust museum. Photograph by the author.

One is the entrance to the museum. The other opening is a larger rectangle the width of the Avenue of the Righteous, continuing this walkway through the wall of the museum into the larger territory of the complex beyond. There are no windows or other apertures in the sloping side of the museum. But where the two sloping walls meet at their apex, there is a triangular skylight, a prism that runs the length of the building. On the northerly side of the Avenue, the museum triangle plunges into the mountain ridge of the complex, with the skylight above ground. At its northerly end the museum triangle emerges from the ridge, its sloping sides folding back and cantilevered to open into the space of large windows that frame an expansive view of the city below.

The exhibits of the museum's interior roughly correspond to the tripartition of the exterior walls. The first section of the exterior walls, including the entrance, corresponds to the first portion of the standard Israeli narrative of the Holocaust—the prologue, the rise to power of the Nazis, the setting of the trap, the condition of no exit. The second section of the exterior walls, buried in the earth of the ridge, corresponds to the second portion of the narrative—the extermination of European Jewry in concentration and death camps. Often these deaths are understood in religious terms as self-sacrifice, as dying in the name of God (*al Kiddush HaShem*). The third section of the exterior walls, emerging ("exploding," in the words of the architect [Safdie 2006: 94]) from their burial, opening into the light toward the vista of the living city below, corresponds to the narrative's third part—the liberation from the camps and emigration to the Israeli state-in-the-making, the pinnacle of freedom achieved through war and sacrifice (Handelman 2004: 171–99). Along the entire length of the museum its triangular skylight prism remains above ground, a honed, cutting-edge slicing-open of the earth that exposes the sacrifices of the Holocaust beneath the ground to the redemption that illuminates this history with the light of the heavens over the State of Israel. One perceptive interpreter comments that "the architect's act of violence in slitting open the ground is felt viscerally, expressing itself as an archeological scar symbolically healed by the landscape itself" (Ockman 2006a: 21; see also Bennett 2005: 35).

The vector that begins with the ethereal innocence of the pylon-parabola breaks (explodes) out of the historical museum as a *topos* of enfolded force that has been transformed through sacrifice into the violence and redemption of war and destruction.[8] The motto "never forget" is no less that of "always remember," and nowadays the force of national remembering drives primarily eastward, striving to incorporate whatever it penetrates.

Astride the Avenue of the Righteous, the new historical museum becomes an integral part of the protective bulwarks around the other buildings and sites of the memorial complex. As noted previously, the old museum, huddled amid and deep within the configuration of Holocaust remembrance buildings, was enfolded by the protective bulwarks around it. The new museum comes forth, directly confronting the visitor, in his or her face, as it were. Its forming is a wall, severe in its absolutism

of controlling passage. The building's exterior walls repel the climbing gaze, except through the permitted apertures. The architect of the new museum writes: "I was determined to cast the entire museum monolithically, jointless, unadorned—without any exterior waterproofing or cladding . . . I wanted just the basic structure" (Safdie 2006: 98). Elsewhere he says, "I wanted something so primeval and archeological that you don't think about the architecture" (Dean 2005: 113). Yet the new museum is no less a fold. All buildings of course are folded materials and spaces that are enclosed and closed to varying degrees. Used banally in relation to material constructions, this could reduce Deleuzian folding to a *non sequitur*. Nonetheless, the Deleuzian fold is always a dynamic, constituted through other dynamics—the ways in which folding is done, the interactivity of exteriors and interiors, how folds are lived, the degrees of self-organizing within the fold, the contents that are shaped and shape. All these enable distinguishing among many varieties of folds and folds within folds (Deleuze 1999: 97). Moreover, from this perspective even folds in solids may become more textured rather than given as is, once and for all.

This site is a museum engulfed by a wall, a museum within a wall, a museum embedded in a wall, a museum-wall, a front-line enfolding of horrific history folded into itself, unlike the old museum, where the horrific was enfolded away anonymously, its vulnerability protected amid a cluster of memorial buildings. The new museum enfolds horrific memory on its very front line, thrusting it in the face of mundane life. This folding itself is powerful, since the fold in its forming regenerates the historical narrative of that which it enfolds. Thus, the standard Holocaust narrative of Israel is now on the front line (facing eastward toward the most immediate enemy) as it buttresses Holocaust memorialism. Simultaneously interiorizing/introverting and exteriorizing/extroverting, the museum-wall practices itself into existence from its outside and its inside—the self-fortifying wall of memory that unfolds history and memory within itself, even as it zealously guards yet opens the way to the parceling out of this history and memory through other buildings and sites in the memorial complex. No less, the museum-wall is dedicated to consumption—the consuming of history and memory.

The museum-wall is a fold in time-space of the topological variety that scientists refer to as "rubber sheet geometry" (Asad 1999: 41)—a fold through which any point in time-space may touch any other. The folding of the pylon-parabola touches the museum-wall—the embryonic openness of the parabola folding closes itself into the unyielding history of Holocaust that today enfolds and interiorizes so much memory work in Jewish Israel. In present-day Jewish Jerusalem, many journeys that meander eastward will touch Holocaust time, will pass into Holocaust time, into the time of the great sacrifice, becoming locked into the self-fortification of memory that the Holocaust has become, thereby emerging transformed, more self-protective, more defensive, more aggressive, more warlike. Today, this front line moves eastward. In the culture of the Jewish nation-state, in which memory and history are always on the way and always in the way, there is little choice but to go through memory and

history and take them on the way, take them along, as our vector develops, involutes, expands, armoring itself with walls that are no less spears as it gathers force. This vector acquires the pointed desire to spear consumption as it moves eastward.

The Mall-Wall—Vector Becomes Vortex

Jaffa Road, with the pylon-parabola at its western end, runs eastward until it meets the Ottoman walls of the Old City and then runs alongside these in a southwesterly direction, along the 1949 armistice lines. After the 1967 war, much thought and argument went into planning how to relate architectonically to captured East Jerusalem and just what to build in this former no man's land between the Israeli and the Palestinian cities (Nitzan-Shiftan 2005).[9] It was unthinkable for the Jewish-Israeli politicians, the army, and the general Jewish public to leave this as a (memory) scar running through the middle of the now joined city. Forty-three years later, the most dominant presence in this interstitial zone is almost complete, ramming across the former no man's land to the Old City. This project (designed by the architect who also did the new Holocaust history museum) stretches for about a quarter of a kilometer (likely longer) along the length of the slope of a hill, meeting Jaffa Road and the Old City walls at the Jaffa Gate, the only entry point into the Old City along the entirety of its southwesterly walls.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this project is that its entire length is uninterrupted, building abutting building, one after another (indeed reminiscent of the new Holocaust history museum). No less striking, the entire length of this built presence is bisected by a broad walkway with shops and restaurants on both sides,[10] intended for solidly upscale shoppers. Many stores are chain outlets, selling trendy brand-name clothes and shoes that fill shopping malls. Others sell jewelry a cut above the average, and one is a pipe and tobacco shop, a rarity in a country in which the imagery of the pipe harks back to a time perceived as more thoughtful, more intellectual. This mall, encased all the way to the Jaffa Gate, is almost entirely without perspectives to the outside environment.

At its Jewish city western end, this project is bulkier, with apartment buildings and a hotel reaching eight stories on both sides of the walkway. Farther east, the buildings are lower but still utterly obscure any view from the walkway of the nearby Old City walls (see Fig. 11.4), unless one climbs out of the walkway on its northerly side onto an open promenade that runs alongside the walls.[11] Yet there is only one set of stairs on that side along the walkway's entire length. Along the other, southerly side of the walkway, there are nine flights of stairs that go downslope to the street below (called Valley [*HaEmek*] Road), where the entrances to the parking garages are located. At this lower level, these entrances run almost the full length of the project. Walking the mall toward the Jaffa Gate, the horizon of ancient city walls is constricted to a single image, that of the Tower of David next to the Jaffa Gate, since the nineteenth century a popular icon of Jerusalem for Jews. The rest of the vista is completely effaced. So,
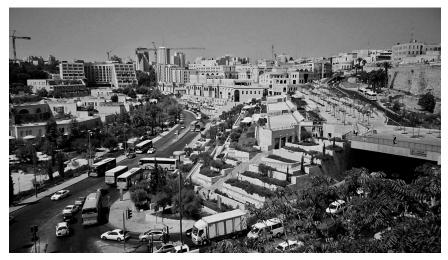
Figure 11.4. The mall-wall from the Old City wall, looking toward West Jerusalem. Photograph by the author.

too, as one approaches the end of this shopping street, the elegant presence of the Jaffa Gate itself is blocked from view until one climbs the steep thirty or so steps to surface above the mall's encasing.

From the western end of the project, looking down Valley Road toward the Old City walls, the entrance to this street itself looks like a huge gateway. To one's left there are the buildings of the mall, and to one's right is a bulky, relatively new hotel, David's Citadel. With massive pillars supporting its entranceway (an example of what I call "Third Temple" architecture), it is a near parody of the modest symmetric proportions of the Ottoman period Jaffa Gate all the way at the far Old City end. When walking on Valley Road along the base of the mall-wall toward the Jaffa Gate, to one's left the Old City's southwesterly walls are completely obscured from view by the massive wall of continuous construction, with the linearity and instrumentality of its buying deeply embedded within.[12]

What does the mall-wall signify in terms of this discussion? This Jewish wall, a massive presence, blocks from view a section of the uninterrupted perspective of the Old City walls, which are integral to the grand presence of this ancient city and its history. Indeed, the mall-wall substitutes itself, a modern Jewish wall, one devoted to consumption, for a portion of the Old City Ottoman wall. Today, this is the only length of the Old City walls whose vista is obscured. Moreover, this meeting of the Jewish mall-wall and the largely Palestinian Old City is now the only location along the walls where the Jewish city threatens to penetrate the latter. Thus, I see the mall-wall driving toward the Old City, a bulwark of Jewish West Jerusalem that is no less a spear, or, more aptly, a battering ram, aimed at the Arab Jaffa Gate.

The mall-wall as a line of mass, as a projectile of the might of the Jewish state, propels itself at the ancient, deeply textured Old City walls and beyond.[13] No less, this projectile is the accelerating mass of consumer consumption and Israeli economic domination; indeed, the entirety of this line of force is justified in terms of, and is dedicated to, consumption. The mall-wall enfolds the capacity to consume—the long line of stores on either side, their windows full of separate items, the passers-by caught in the seductive gaze of objects-for-sale, one by one, all available to the desires of the buyer. The eye passes from item to item, from shop window to shop window, each of which has the potential to offer shoppers whatever they wish in order to stimulate their fantasies. These exchanges are embedded within the wall-mall, enclosed into itself without external perspectives—a closed single-purpose vessel with tunnel vision *en route* to the Old City. Within itself the mall-wall turns the vector into a vortical funnel, a vortex generated by and for desires of consumption, funnelled through the recursive self-enclosure. Within this, the desire to acquire, to own, to consume, is reified, accentuated, expanded, whirling through itself, augmenting itself as it is aimed at the Old City, which the state acquires, owns, and desires to consume over and over, altering its particular goals and strategies from time to time, yet never altering its need to make it its own. In this vector, the violence of sacrifice is whirled into another variety of absolutist violence—that of the commodity fetishism of ownership, certainly a prominent form of nationalist consumption.

The Impenetrable Block—the End Folding Back, into the Beginning

Beyond the Old City, on the eastern edges of Jerusalem, is the yet unfinished security barrier that Israel calls the separation fence, but which is intended to practice absolute division, domination, and sovereignty (Ben-Eliezer and Feinstein 2008). Planned during the Second Intifada, the entire length of the separation barrier, if completed, will span some 800 kilometers. Constituted in the main by networks of fences and trenches, with watchtowers, roadblocks, and gates distributed along its length, the barrier is legitimized in the name of "security needs" (see Sorkin 2005; Weizman 2007: 161–82).[14] In the Jerusalem area, the barrier (see Fig. 11.5) snakes up and down its ridges for some 170 kilometers, cutting off much of East Jerusalem from its Palestinian hinterlands. In neighborhoods of densely built housing, the fences become a wall of concrete slabs some 8 meters in height, splitting streets, chopping apart houses and social relations, separating farmers from their agricultural lands. The path of the fence/wall is quite arbitrary, based on army evaluations of security, but no less routed by the military, bureaucratic, and political establishments to include much additional land for settlements that will then be on the Israeli side of the barrier.[15]

Tens of thousands of Palestinians, official residents of "united" Jerusalem, now find themselves on the other side of the barrier, unable to enter the city by any direct route, their neighborhoods receiving no municipal services (health, education,

Figure 11.5. The security wall chopping through Palestinian Abu Dis. Photograph by the author.

welfare, garbage collection, ambulance service, repairs to the water and electricity systems, etc.). The effect of the security barrier will be to destroy Palestinian metropolitan Jerusalem "and control it without annexing it" (Klein 2005: 71). In the words of Ehud Barak, a former Israeli prime minister and the current minister of defense, "They are over there, and we are over here." Stark concrete of brute force, slicing and slamming Zionist statist imperatives through Palestine, the wall is utterly without adornment, without subtlety, containing nothing but its own impetus to do the violence of absolute difference. This is a Jewish wall reserved for Palestinians; for that matter, it is hardly intended for civilian Jewish eyes. At a distance from the Jewish city, the wall even appears abstract and pastoral as it meanders and curves up and down ridges. Up close, it is a row of huge blunt teeth sunk into the earth, their bite savage and unyielding. Horizons of living are blocked, perspective severely foreshortened. One cannot look over, under, or around. For many Israeli Jews, the civilized world ends here. Were we speaking of a cartography of Israeli Jewish consciousness, the eastern side of the security wall might well be inscribed by the Israeli state with the warning "terra incognita" or "here there be monsters."

The security barrier may seem the termination of the vector I have laid out, but it is not. As it blocks movement, the barrier enfolds movement that may have been. By blocking movement, the barrier becomes different from the very block that it is. Put differently, in blocking movement the barrier does not repeat itself as just that which it was: it becomes different *in* itself even as it is identical *to* itself. Deleuze (1994: 57) argues provocatively, "It is always differences which resemble one another, which are analogous, opposed or identical: difference is behind everything, but behind difference there is nothing. Each difference passes through all the others; it must

'will' itself or find itself through all the others." As the barrier blocks movement, it is itself movement, a variation of itself. Sameness is a function of difference; without difference there is no sameness. Thus, sameness emerges through the *circulation* of difference—this is its repetition, its repetition through itself, its "willing" of itself that enables it to be that which it is and therefore other than it is. To wit, Deleuze (ibid.) quotes the American poet Benjamin Paul Blood: "[T]he same returns not, save to bring the different. The slow round of the engraver's lathe gains but the breadth of a hair, but the difference is distributed back over the whole curve, never an instant true—ever not quite."[16]

Thus, the separation barrier enfolds whatever, whomever it blocks as it blocks. And as it blocks, the barrier curves back, enfolding, in the direction of the pylon-parabola from where we began and which I called the beginning of this vector. Reaching its apparent limits, its outside, the vector bends back, the outside becoming inside, the vector enfolding itself, its interaction with itself augmented, becoming more complex, its power emerging further, effecting itself. The vector is a great folding, an ongoing folding and re-folding, forming a spheroid of forces and sites that, enfolded, interact. At this juncture, I can say that the sites themselves are not crucial in these dynamics; it is the dynamics of their vectorization that are crucial, their *Zeitgeist* diffusing through the spaces they organize as they do. In more topological terms, "the most distant point becomes interior, by being converted into the nearest: life within the folds" (Deleuze 1999: 101). It is in this sense that the separation barrier is the transmogrification of the pylon-parabola. The bridge is inviting, poetic, soaring, graceful, opening into the Jewish city, encouraging horizons, a site of cosmogenesis, the beginning of an enfolding, while the barrier is forbidding, massive in its squatting, brutal in its starkness, an altar of sacrificial violence blocking the horizon from earth to sky, a site of cosmic closure, a folding back through itself to constrain, own, and sacrifice the Palestinian city in its containing.

Aesthetics, Fold, Vector

To appreciate the role of an aesthetics of power and control in urban form, it is insufficient to consider particular or singular forms or even their comparisons based primarily on symbolic and architectural criteria. The most powerful aesthetics are those that are lived mundanely. Without the aesthetic experiencing of power as practice, there is no feel that this is how doing is doing, how doing is done, how done continues as doing. But I also can invert this to say that this is how surrounds naturalize us into the practices of power. Aesthetics—the synesthetic, sensuous feel of things fitting together (and not fitting together)—enable us to proceed formatively, coherently, perspectively, and prospectively in the nowness of here. The aesthetics of practice are the persuasive grounds of practice, persuading that practice is in the process of being done as the kind of practice it is (and is becoming). In this sense, aesthetics may be more of a *gestalt*, a "coherent entity" (Polanyi 1966), or an entity whose coherence

is continuously coming into being, emerging, fitting itself together self-persuasively, even as that which it fits together erodes, ruptures, breaks. This is no less the aesthetics of the vector I have discussed. An aesthetics of power is distributed, circulated, transformed, and practiced throughout the vector rather than through connections between sites. In my terms, the aesthetics of control are those of an aesthetics continually practiced and augmented as a common-sense given.

More than five decades after the capture of Palestinian Jerusalem and the other Occupied Territories, despite two intifadas and numerous acts of resistance and protest, the conquest is fully naturalized in the most quotidian way for Israeli Jews. This is practiced into existence on a daily basis in ways far too numerous to enter into here—and likewise for the vector I have discussed. Beginning with the harmonic pylon-parabola as the entry to the historic and holy capital, gathering sacrificial empowerment through the museum-wall, its velocity becoming more directional, the vector accelerates through the mall-wall, gathering the power to own and fetishize, pinning Palestinians-as-objects against the security barrier with Holocaust history, squeezing, flattening, and sacrificing them with the power to consume against its unyielding, brute form. This form folds back toward the pylon-parabola, creating a multi-dimensional spheroid of forces to contain and imprison Palestinians' hopes and aspirations. Integral to this practice of power are the aesthetics that I call bureaucratic.

I argued at the outset that aesthetics enable the fitting together of people, things, places, worlds through practice. Aesthetics are crucial to all practice in mundane living. Historically, bureaucratic aesthetics are tied closely to the emergence of the modern state. This state-form (after Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 385), tree-like, is deeply rooted, centered stably around an *axis mundi* that opens in all directions and planes, vertical, tall, hierarchical, protective under the cover of its shading. Branching and reproducing clearly, exactly, this logic of forming expands by capture, by taking space, by reproducing its form in additional spaces, by making over these spaces into places. The state-form extends itself lineally, a design for quantitative growth of space and population (Patton 2000), giving especial regard to shaping and controlling its own interiority. Deleuze and Guattari (1988: 397) write: "The law of the State is . . . that of interior and exterior. The State is sovereignty. But sovereignty only reigns over what it is capable of internalizing, of appropriating locally." The aesthetics of doing this are in large measure the bureaucratic.

The bureaucratic aesthetics of what the state-form does are related to closing up space, dividing it into determinate intervals, establishing clear-cut breaks and absolutist boundaries. An integral component of this is monothetic classification (Bowker and Star 1999). This system demands that every classified item be put into a category with exact boundaries and explicit distinctions that set it apart from all other categories on the same level of classification, without fuzziness, overlap, confusion. This is the kind of classification that Foucault (1973) traced historically in Europe. This is how Western bureaucracy has desired to be practiced. This feels right aesthetically in the practice of bureaucracy, in its common-sensical self-persuasions. Everything is

in its proper place, with concomitant consequences in the actualization of power. In practicing the imperatives of the state-form, bureaucratic aesthetics shape and control the social and spatial surfaces of expanding space by capturing new territory for the deployment of power. The aesthetics of bureaucratic classification enable the creation of space that simultaneously is captured, contained, and accounted for. Moreover, new classifications create their own *raison d'être* for expansion and self-totalization. Bureaucratic aesthetics enable the bureaucratic state to expand through a kind of cellular division of difference yet sameness.

In the modern state, the bureaucratic aesthetics of capture, containment, and taxonomic division are given the formidable impetus and coercion of law. Analyzing the mutual exclusiveness in law of categories such as lawful/unlawful and legal/illegal, King (1993: 223) argues that, through such social codes, wherever absolute categorical distinctions are made, they will be regarded as part of the legal system—and I emphasize that they will be *felt* aesthetically as part of the legal system. In my terms, phenomenal forms created through or enabled by an aesthetic of monothetic classification will have embedded in them something of the feel and force of legal mandate that stems from inclusion and exclusion. Through bureaucratic aesthetics, truth is a singular, not a multiple.[17]

Bureaucratic aesthetics are those of the making of walls, the walls of capture and containment, of lawfulness, the walls of an absolutist classification that strives to banish overlap, fuzziness, fluctuation, uncertainty—the walls discussed in this work. The wall that folds and enfolds (unlike so many other potentialities of folding) resonates with the lawful feel of bureaucratic aesthetics. The wall that folds and enfolds encloses by constraining access, perspective, exit, by striving to totalize everything it contains to make all of this homogeneous—in this way, whatever is within is self-fortifying and protected within itself. This is the vector that I have discussed, itself one of bureaucratic aesthetics. A vector connecting walls otherwise distant in topographical space from one another, in part through connectivities that resonate with bureaucratic aesthetics. A vector within which these folding and enfolding walls give through themselves a push, a *phusis* (Castoriades 1997: 331), toward the completion of the self-fortification of the city that they (and numerous other vectors) have helped set in motion.

Notes

 1. A classic modern exposition that reflects this perspective on the meaning of buildings is that of Goodman (1985).
 2. Deleuze has influenced theorists of architecture in developing computer models of what they call "folding architecture," characterized by "a more fluid logic of connectivity" that integrates "unrelated elements within a new continuous mixture" (Greg Lynn, cited in Harris 2005: 37).
 3. The term "haptic," according to Alois Riegl, refers to a kind of vision distinct from the optical, one in which the eye behaves as does the sense of touch (Deleuze 2003: 189). The haptic gaze

is tactile, reaching out, touching, even shaping the textures of another surface and penetrating the contours of its depth (Handelman 2006: 66). See also Gandelman (1991: 5).

4. This is what we are told. In fact, the bridge stands on its own; the pylon and cables are decoration. Since the bridge is not weight-bearing, this vector begins with an illusion. My thanks to Allen Weiss for this observation.

5. This is in relation to Deleuze's arguments regarding singularity coming-into-being from virtuality; virtuality creating, but the creation not quite yet created.

6. In Deleuzian terms, this point of cosmogenesis, a singularity, can also be understood as a point of catastrophe, with the consequences of the oscillation of its waves yet to be known fully.

7. In addition to high school students sent in droves to visit Auschwitz-Birkenau and other extermination camps (see Feldman 2008), during the past few years the Israeli Army has developed its "Witnesses in Uniform" program, which sends thousands of officers and soldiers annually to visit death camps.

8. In *The Feast of the Sorcerer*, Kapferer (1997) explicates this logic of sacrifice.

9. According to Meron Benvenisti, deputy mayor of Jerusalem at that time, "these plans were de facto a political tool, equal to government policy, in the light of the scarcity of symbolic land" (Nitzan-Shiftan 2005: 231).

10. This walkway, Alrov Mamilla Avenue, is named after the company developing the project, Alrov Properties and Lodgings, which is owned by the Israeli billionaire Alfred Akirov.

11. A recent advertisement aimed at foreign tourists describes the "shopping avenue" as overlooking the Old City—a "stretch of beautiful architecture, which *connects* the old and new city" (*International Herald Tribune*, 20 November 2008; emphasis added).

12. There is one angled turn in the mall walkway, about halfway along. It is here that the only steps leading up to the promenade alongside the Old City walls are located.

13. If we enter the Old City through the Jaffa Gate and continue straight on, downslope through markets and neighborhoods, we reach the ancient Israelite wall, the Western Wall, the last remnant of the outer walls of the Second Temple, which was destroyed in 70 CE. This is part of the wall that surrounds the Haram al-Sharif mosque complex, enclosing the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque. After the 1967 war, the state religion officially turned the Western Wall, long a traditional place of Jewish worship, into the holiest place in Judaism, but also into the *ur*-wall, iconic of Israeli control of all of Jerusalem from its Judaic religious center.

14. The phrase "security needs" is stock-in-trade discourse for the military and security establishments and often should be understood as justification for undisguised statist and military interests. Apart from the Occupied Territories, Israel's military, defense, and security establishments have been estimated to control over half of the territory of the state (Oren 2008).

15. The original route of the barrier would have confiscated more than 20 percent of the occupied West Bank, but court-ordered alterations have reduced this to about 10 percent (Ben-Eliezer and Feinstein 2008: 178–79).

16. In this vein, Deleuze (1994: 57) argues: "The world is neither finite nor infinite as representation would have it: it is completed and unlimited. Eternal return is the unlimited of the finished itself . . . . Repetition is the formless being of all differences, the formless power of the ground which carries every object to that extreme 'form' in which its representation comes undone."

17. The above is discussed in Handelman (2004: 19–42) and elsewhere.

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