

# Memory as haunting<sup>1</sup>

ZUZANNA DZIUBAN

## ABSTRACT

Drawing upon recent scholarly studies on the figure of the ghost in the broad and interdisciplinary field of memory research, this article explores the potential of haunting metaphors to address past instances of violence that affect present cultural realities. Examining social, political and cultural contexts in which ghosts are produced and encountered, summoned and exorcised, the paper also provides a detailed reading of a specific spatio-temporality of the presence of the ghost: the Muranów district in Warsaw, haunted by the specters of its forgotten Jewish inhabitants.

## Introduction

The figure of the ghost—both as a non-figurative entity and as a productive metaphor—has attracted academic attention across disciplines in recent years, so that scholars have pointed to the advent of a new cultural turn in the humanities: the “spectral turn.” Widespread contemporary interest in ghosts, phantoms and specters, drawing on traditional folklore studies and literary research on Gothic and Victorian writing, leads to the propagation of new “sciences of ghosts,” or hauntologies. The present-day rehabilitation of the heretofore marginal figure of the ghost as a subject of critical study can thus be seen primarily as an attempt to reinvest the ghost with new interpretive potential. Therefore, though polyvocal and dispersed, the vocabularies of haunting reinstated into the field of social and human sciences have at least one thing in common: demarginalization of the figure of the ghost in theoretical reflection goes hand in hand with an effort to critically elaborate on existing discursive practices

and classical scientific approaches both to ghosts and to social and cultural realities. “Ghostly knowledge,” as Avery Gordon claims in *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, stands for “alternative stories we ought to and can write about the relationship among power, knowledge and experience” (2008:23). Thus, based on recognition of the close connection between ghosts, power, exclusion and violence, the language of haunting provides scholars with new tools to conceptualize hegemonic repression and practice critical demarginalization.

Originally envisaged as a survey of the recent studies on the figure of the ghost in the field of social and human sciences, this paper focuses more closely on the concept of haunting as related to the realm of history and memory, and on the question of the heuristic potential of haunting metaphors in the broad and interdisciplinary field of memory research. Through exploration of the conceptualizations of haunting in the works of such scholars as Avery Gordon, Alexander Etkind, Kathleen Brogan and Renee Bergland, the paper investigates the meaning of the figure of the ghost as a medium of marginalized or erased memories and the role of haunting as a metaphor to describe processes of cultural transmission of problematic pasts. Examining the social, political and cultural contexts in which ghosts are produced and encountered, summoned and exorcised, the paper also provides a detailed reading of a specific spatio-temporality of the presence of the ghost: the Muranów district in Warsaw, haunted by the specters of its forgotten Jewish inhabitants.

### **The “spectral turn”: Demarginalizing ghosts**

“It seems that ghosts are everywhere these days.” This observation, made by Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (2010:ix), editors of a collection of essays entitled *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture*, is easily substantiated.

The proliferation of ghosts in contemporary fiction, popular literature, cinematic productions, TV series, magazines and quasi-documentaries, as well as in scholarly research on the esthetic, political and even economic realms, is both undeniable and hard to miss. The language of haunting influences scientific imagination, artistic practices, literary work and the practices of everyday life. As a result, the presence of ghosts can be detected in the most disparate fields of cultural production: from Jacques Derrida’s works to Alejandro Amenabar’s movies, from post-colonial studies to HBO. The wide variety of encounters with phantoms and specters in both academic writing and popular culture, explored and interpreted in Peeren and del Pilar Blanco’s book, has led to recognition of the growing importance of the figure of the ghost, as well as the advent of a new “spectral turn.”

I must admit that I am not a particular fan of the rhetoric of “turns”—that is, of weak paradigmatic coups in humanistic reflection, which are aimed at destabilizing

previous theoretical, interdisciplinary, weak “master narratives” and which have heretofore been organized around the concepts of language, text, image, performance or space. However, the proclamation of a new cultural spectral turn in the humanities caught my attention and captured my imagination. The discovery that the language of haunting not only freely crosses boundaries between scientific disciplines but also, even if rather paradoxically, bridges the gap between imageries of popular/everyday and academic cultures is definitely an important one. Thus, what the phrase “spectral turn” seems to suggest is the need to concentrate on new cultural dictionaries and, as a consequence, new ways of conceptualizing a cultural field. Even if it has not and will not radically transform the field of social and human sciences, “haunting” certainly can be recognized as an influential and interdisciplinary concept, in the sense Mieke Bal (2002) attributed to the term. In particular, it is worth noting the recognized interdisciplinary and transcultural character of the concept of haunting. Its polyvocality and ability to travel between a variety of disciplinary fields, as well as cultural and social realms, is, according to del Pilar Blanco and Peeren (2010), one of the features that distinguishes the contemporary spectral turn from its predecessors.

The emphasis placed by the authors of *Popular Ghosts* on the need to differentiate between contemporary and previous spectral turns, while at the same time tracing the roots of the current trend, is also worth examining. On the one hand, it reflects a respect for the long history of the figure of ghost: its waxes and wanes, inventions and reinventions. It shows an awareness of changing attitudes towards the ghost and its changing streams of influence (Davies, 2007; Finucane, 1996). On the other hand, “the imperative to place ghosts in history” (Peeren, 2007:85) seems to be based on metatheoretical reflection. After all, according to historian Joan Scott, the historicization of the concepts one employs is a crucial element of the self-reflexive study of culture (Scott, 1992). Thus, work with and on “traveling concepts,” undertaken with an awareness of their always cultural, historical and non-universal character, has to be preluded and complemented by reflection on the theoretical contexts in which they are operationalized, as well as on their cultural provenance. What is highlighted here is the need to pay attention not only to the more or less broad semantic field in which these concepts exist, but also to the contexts in which the category of haunting is made to operate, its actual functions in the process of knowledge production and cultural self-understanding. From this perspective, haunting is always a historically specific cultural experience and as such has to be culturally and historically located. As Jacques Derrida authoritatively states in *Specters of Marx*: “Every period has its ghosts (and we have ours), its own experience, its own medium and its proper hauntological media” (Derrida, 1994:241). Moreover, one might add, the presence of ghosts in different historical periods serves different purposes and performs different kinds of cultural work.

Among the most important features of the contemporary “spectral turn” listed by the authors of the essays collected in *Popular Ghosts* is its global, popular and, at the same time, political character. Reintroduction “of the language of haunting into everyday life” (del Pilar Blanco and Peeren, 2010:ix), closely intertwined with the productive force of the contemporary and, as Derrida would say, fantasmatic character of global media, points to an important transformation in the figuration of the relation between ghosts and the everyday. The mutual exclusivity of ghosts and the everyday, and the separation between these two realms, suspended or interrupted—always only temporarily—by the event of haunting, is nowadays problematized. The “normalization” of ghosts, their ubiquity in the realm of popular culture—taking on various forms and evading limitation to one literary or cinematic genre (such as the Gothic or horror)—serves as a proof of their radical demarginalization. This democratization and, at the same time, commercialization of ghosts is reflected, for instance, in the growing popularity of ghost-related entertainment and haunting tourism (D’Harlingue, 2010) and in an increased belief in ghosts, detected by social historians and ethnographers (according to surveys, more than 50% of the US population believes in the existence of ghosts) (Davies, 2007:242). Thus, ghosts, “rather than being confined to the cultural margins and fringe genres, ...now appear as a part of the mainstream, invading the everyday realm and, in doing so, providing a cultural commentary to its increasingly spectral construction” (del Pilar Blanco and Peeren, 2010:xiii). Here, as del Pilar Blanco and Peeren assume, the figure of the ghost testifies to the increasing mediatization and, as a consequence, spectralization of the reality of everyday experience, which at the same time can be interpreted in terms of the re-enchantment of the world.

Moreover, and more importantly for this paper, the above-mentioned demarginalization of the ghost in the realm of popular culture seems to be reflected, though of course with crucial differences, in the shift of the position of ghost in theoretical reflection. The shifting of the problem of haunting from the margins to the center of theoretical reflection, associated most frequently with the debate triggered by Derrida’s *Specters of Marx*, entails a radical reconceptualization of the ghost as a philosophical problem. Critical approaches towards popular belief in ghosts, along with the constant effort to question and mock their existence, has been a common denominator of various philosophical and theological projects: Protestantism, the project of Enlightenment and Freudian psychoanalysis, to mention just a few. The increasing secularization or Weberian disenchantment of the world moved Western civilization away from pre-modern ways of seeing things and, in the process, deprived everything spectral and supernatural that cohabited the human world (magic, ghosts, anthropomorphized forces of nature) of its naturalness and obviousness. Ghosts, along with the belief in the supernatural, were either relegated to act merely as a subject of

art or interpreted in terms of a projection of a troubled psyche or individual mind. As Colin Davis states: “The history of Europe [and European philosophy] can be understood as the failed attempt to rid itself of its ghosts” (2007:8).

The contemporary rehabilitation of the ghost as a subject of critical study goes beyond traditional philosophical trajectories: the ontological question of whether ghosts exist has, crucially, been set aside in today’s discourse. According to Frederic Jameson, “spectrality does not involve the conviction that the ghosts exist” (2008:39). Rather, a ghost or specter has to be conceived as a deconstructive figure aimed at destabilizing established dichotomies, binary distinctions and ontological certainties—a figure of radical otherness and an agent of alterity (Davis, 2007; Derrida, 1994). The ghost as a transitional figure, located between radically separate realms (life/death, present/absent, existent/non-existent, visible/invisible, real/imagined, present/past), becomes both a tool for and an instance of their problematization. Therefore, the ghost, described by Avery Gordon as a “specific instance of the merging of the visible and invisible, the dead and the living, the past and the present” (2008:24), disrupts the binary distinctions that constitute the basis of metaphysical philosophy, as well as the various forms of “politics of description.” This term, borrowed from Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo (Vattimo and Zabala, 2011:2), refers to the politics of truth, understood as a guiding logic of any supposedly universal and, as a consequence, oppressive philosophy. From this perspective, the potentially critical function of the figure of a specter is much more important than the problem of the ghost’s objectivity.

It is precisely this critical function of the figure of ghost, the fact that it seeks to destabilize existent orders of power and knowledge and (exclusive) epistemologies, that has guaranteed its interdisciplinary popularity. The employment of the figure of the ghost in the quest for justice and democracy—that is, focusing on the political dimension of haunting—is one of the most important features of the contemporary “spectral turn.” The possibility of tying the concept of haunting to that of hegemony, already introduced in Derrida’s (1994:47) text—sheds new light on the figure of the ghost and allows the practice of producing ghosts to be linked to the operations of power or hegemony.<sup>2</sup> Thus, figurative and non-figurative ghosts have come to represent both individuals and marginalized and excluded communities without access to the social and political realm. The figure of a ghost designates ghosted citizens—marginal populations, social outcasts, social groups located outside the frames of cultural, social and national communities—and those who are rendered invisible and dehumanized. It is inscribed in the concepts of civic or social death employed to present the condition of penitentiary inmates or prisoners of war. It is applied to describe the problematic position of homeless people or illegal immigrants, as well as “missing persons” (*desaparecidos*), whose fate cannot be explained. Thus, the language of haunting has found its way into new theoretical approaches

towards social exclusion, economic exploitation and political and symbolic violence. As a concept, it serves as a tool for in-depth critique of past and present essentialist discourses on identity and “epistemologies of blindness” (Gordon, 2008:xix), closely tied to various instances of injustice and economic inequality. That is why, according to Julian Wolfreys, haunting is a politically charged, subversive force with the potential to “destabilize discourses of power and knowledge and, with that, supposedly stable subject positions” (2002:11). What is haunted, then, are all social, cultural and political instances of stability, sameness, homogeneity and the self-same.

Let me now turn to the figure of the ghost as it relates to the realm of history and memory. My intervention here can be seen as a simultaneous attempt to narrow the semantic field of the concept of haunting and to focus on more specific spatio-temporalities of the presence of ghosts. I employ the term spatio-temporality deliberately: my argument will lead towards reflection on space and spatial imagery as a medium of haunting memory.

### **Haunting memory**

The importance of the political dimension of the concept of haunting is acknowledged by representatives of memory studies, whose use of the term is more and more frequent. Yet, while locating the problem of haunting within the broad context of social and political violence—both physical and symbolic—memory researchers focus mainly on past instances of violence that affect present cultural realities in disturbing ways. In other words, the specters to be encountered in the field of memory studies are the ghosts of those who have perished or disappeared—*revenants*, the undead or ghosts of the past. Here, too, the ghost functions as a transitional figure, yet the realms or realities between which it moves and that it reconnects are, above all, those of the past and the present, death and life. In this theoretical perspective, the contexts in which “the master metaphor of ghost as go-between” (Brogan, 1998:9) is operationalized return to the figure of the ghost its inherent and definitional historicity.

As “a theoretical figuration...of the way history is constructed and impacts on the present” (Peeren, 2007:85), the figure of the ghost designates the moment of the past’s sudden and uncanny interruption or disruption of the present, which is often experienced as threatening. The disfiguration of the present brought about by the ghost’s appearance signals the return of the forgotten or repressed past. Aleida Assmann’s distinction between spirits and ghosts helps to illuminate the dynamics of this disruptive modality of haunting memory: while spirits, conjured up and intentionally addressed, symbolize conscious recall or desired memory, ghosts stand for involuntary or counter-voluntary memory.

Ghosts...represent something that returns from the past or the realm of the dead on its own will. This return is the symptom of a deep crisis; it is felt as a violent and threatening interruption of the present. Something that had been deemed overcome and gone reappears to announce some unfinished business that needs to be addressed (Assmann, 2011:1).

The ghost is thus an interruption or disruption that paradoxically testifies to “continuity with the past over which one has little control” (Brogan, 1998:9). The emphasis placed on the problem of warped temporality associated with the apparition of ghosts signals the need to question and revise the constructions of memory which cause the repression in the first place. Since the past cannot be simply forgotten and rejected, it is the present that has to be problematized or transformed. It is precisely this unsettling property of the ghost, directed against the stability of the present, that allows it to be identified not only, as Derrida would say, as a figure of anachrony (that is, warped temporality), but also as a figure of displacement (Peeren, 2007; Wolfreys, 2002). Haunting, as the Freudian metaphor of the haunted house (Freud, 2003) teaches us, always brings with it a disruption of space in which the haunted feels safe and at home.

The instances of haunting analyzed by scholars such as Avery Gordon, Alexander Etkind, Renee Bergland and Kathleen Brogan, who in different ways reintroduce the figure of the ghost into the field of studies on cultural memory,<sup>3</sup> allow the encounter with a ghost to be understood in terms of a collective or communitarian, rather than subjective, event (Bergland, 2000; Brogan, 1998; Etkind, 2009; Gordon, 2008). The ghost, still understood as a medium of troubled, repressed, silenced or forgotten past, is transferred here from the realm of individual memory to that of collective and shared constructions of the past. As Kathleen Brogan notes, in contemporary ghost stories, “the individual’s or family’s haunting clearly reflects the crises of a larger social group” (1998:2). Haunting, even if experienced in solitude, marks the moment of a confrontation with the cultural history of a group to which the haunted belongs (or sometimes does not). Thus, from this perspective, the ghost, linked to collective histories of various communities and groups, is to be understood as a social (Avery Gordon), communal (Kathleen Brogan), or public (Renee Bergland) figure. It is a symbol of the entanglement of an individual’s life in the sociopolitical structures by which it is created (and haunted) (Butler, 2006:27) and, at the same time, a passageway to problematic, marginalized, lost, erased or threatened constructions of the past. Providing a platform through which that marginalized, denied, lost or repressed history can be heard, regained and reappropriated is the first (descriptive or informative) function of a ghost or ghost story. To quote Brogan again: “To be haunted...is to know...how specific cultural memories that seem to have disappeared

in fact refuse to be buried and still shape the present, in desirable and in troubling ways” (1998:16).

The identification of various instances of social and political violence—such as the experience of colonization, life under military dictatorship or state terror, the condition of social and cultural exclusion, forced disappearance and violence inflicted upon indigenous peoples—as, to slightly paraphrase Alexander Etkind, “fertile grounds for ghost-making” (2009:186) closely links memory as haunting to “post-catastrophic memory” (Etkind, 2009:196). Yet, in my opinion, it is a mistake to attempt to equate the two types of memory. Violence that brings ghosts to life and produces the haunting effects of memory is, according to Avery Gordon, violence that has caused suffering which is unacknowledged, not recognized and, very often, denied. That condition is definitely not applicable to all forms of post-catastrophic memory. Therefore, ghost stories testify not only to the losses suffered by a community or minority group, but also to their marginalization or the inadequacy of existing practices of memory to give justice to their profoundness or scale. For that reason, the second critical function of a ghost is to voice resistance, to address the problem of misrepresentations and denial inscribed in official interpretations of the past and, by doing so, provide alternatives to official versions of history. Sasha Handley (2007) points out that this identification of the ghost story with alternative history—alternative to dominant, hegemonic, official constructions of memory—invests the ghost with emancipatory potential.

Renee Bergland, however, points out the possible limits to that emancipatory potential. In *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects*, where she analyzes the close connection between ghosts and constructions of national identity, Bergland (2000:3) draws our attention to the intrinsic ambivalence of the figure of the ghost. Another manifestation of the ubiquitous cultural rhetoric of haunting, Bergland explains, is deployment of the figure of a ghost for nationalist purposes, that is, the metaphorical spectralization of certain groups of citizens as a means of their exclusion from national community—here represented by the popularity of literary representation of native Americans as ghosts. According to Bergland, then, the ghost functions not only as a figure of resistance, but also as a symbol of defeat: the fact that the ghost returns as a ghost testifies to the success of conquest, hegemonic repression or marginalization. The dynamic relation between haunting as critical practice and ghosting or spectralization (understood in terms of exclusion or denial) clearly shows that counternationalist and emancipatory uses of ghosts can be easily absorbed and reused by nationalist stories. Yet, as Bergland notes: “The practice of representing Indians as ghosts works both to establish American nationhood and to call it into question” (2000:5). Thus, even when used for nationalist purposes, the presence of ghost stories always signals and directs attention to the fragility of constructions of exclusive cultural identity.

The third and most important transformative function of a ghost story is associated with its ability to bring about the revision of collective constructions of memory and, consequently, of group identity. However, the confrontation with and reintegration into the present of the specters of repressed or forgotten cultural legacies is not an easy task. According to Gordon and Brogan, ghost stories as vehicles of repressed memory themselves have the potential to be traumatizing. In ghost stories analyzed by both authors (for instance, Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, Luisa Valenzuela's *He who Searches*, or Louise Erdrich's *Tracks*), the encounter with a specter often takes the form of possession in its initial phase. In line with Alexander Etkind's analysis, the main difference between other vehicles of cultural memory—that is, the “hardware” of monuments and memorials and the “software” of texts—and instances of haunting, which he calls “ghostware” (2009:193), is the uncanny and frightening character of the latter form of memory. The need to confront tragic and disturbing accounts of past violence, which the appearance of the ghost signals and facilitates, is unsettling. That is, of course, one of the main reasons why such memories are so often represented through the threatening rhetoric of haunting. Another reason could have to do with the imaginative dimension of ghosts. As Brogan points out:

The turn to the supernatural in the process of recovering history emphasizes the difficulty of gaining access to a lost or denied past, as well as the degree to which any such historical reconstruction is essentially an imaginative act (1998:6).

Thus, the presence of the ghost testifies that other means of representing and doing justice to past tragedies or wrongdoings have failed or were insufficient: there is still “something-to-be-done” (Gordon, 2008:205).

The incorporation or reintegration of disturbing memories, represented by ghosts, into the fabric of cultural memory is therefore understood—by both Brogan and Etkind—as a process of its re-description or transformation. Identification of that transformative process with the acts or rituals of mourning, including those performed in texts, literature, film and art, acknowledges the importance of collective memory practices in the production of cultural identities. On the other hand, the emphasis that both scholars place on the need to reintegrate the ghost into the constructions of collective identity, which cannot be equated with getting rid of them and once and for all putting them to rest (the Freudian model), signals the advent of the new “spectral turn.” To reintegrate the ghost as ghost into the fabric of cultural memory is to acknowledge its presence as a legitimate and important element of cultural imagery and vocabulary. That is, naturally, only one way to interpret and follow Derrida's postulate “to learn to live with ghosts” (1994:xvii–xviii).

More importantly, the “reintegration of the ghost” can also be conceived as a deconstructive practice aimed at unveiling, destabilizing and transforming the conditions

that have enabled specific instances of hegemonic (mnemonic) marginalization and repression, and, as a consequence, the proliferation of contemporary ghosts. Avery Gordon states:

It is sometimes about writing ghost stories, stories that not only repair representational mistakes, but also strive to understand the conditions under which a memory was produced in the first place, toward a countermemory, for the future (2008:22).

I will now go on to analyze a specific context in which those two dimensions of the presence of ghost—discursive (imaginative) and deconstructive—meet in a particularly fascinating and troubling way: the “Holocaust-haunted” world of contemporary Warsaw.

### **The figure of ghost in the “Holocaust-haunted” world**

The rhetoric of haunting is omnipresent in recent Polish academic reflection on World War II and, most of all, on the Holocaust.<sup>4</sup> As Polish Holocaust researcher Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs puts it, “We are still living in a world surrounded by the shadow of the Holocaust..., in a world with the ghosts of the Holocaust surrounding us” (2011:187). Jan Tomasz Gross describes the work of an historian dealing with the legacy of the war and the immediate post-war period as an attempt to exorcise ghosts, which, he claims, “ruined the lives of our parents’ generation” (2001b: Dedication) and threaten to ruin our own.<sup>5</sup> Zygmunt Bauman (2008) calls the contemporary world a “Holocaust-haunted world,” that is, a world constitutively shaped and scarred by the Holocaust. However, while for Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, the presence of the specter of the Holocaust reflects a genuine need to remember the most inhuman event in the history of humanity, Gross’s and Bauman’s uses of the rhetoric of haunting point to a more complex and critical approach toward the posthumous life of the Holocaust in the contemporary world. “It is hard to imagine the world with no inherent capacity for a new holocaust. This is what I mean by saying that the world is haunted by the ghost of the Holocaust,” notes Bauman (2008:271). Thus, for Bauman and Gross alike, the ghost of the Holocaust is not exactly one of the past: the possibility that violence, which it symbolizes, could be committed again is constitutively inscribed in the characteristics of the Holocaust-haunted world. The constant effort to reflect on the conditions that made the Holocaust possible and, at the same time, on the impact it has on those who were affected by or involved in it, is perceived as the only way to exorcise the ghost of the Holocaust—a ghost which is obviously not one. After all, as Bauman (2008) legitimately points out, Holocaust haunting afflicts and torments the perpetrators’ societies in a different way than it does those of victims or bystanders—if the latter term still applies.<sup>6</sup>

The unique position of Poland on the map of the Holocaust-haunted world is, of course, very much due to the fact that the Holocaust, for the most part, took place on Polish soil. Poles were, as a result, the “prime witnesses” of both the mass murder of 3,000,000 of their fellow citizens and the attempted destruction of European Jewry (Steinlauf, 1997). Yet, the Holocaust, which literally and metaphorically transformed Poland into a Jewish graveyard, taking the lives of 90% of Polish Jews, was, as Jan Tomasz Gross (2001b) points out, intrinsically intertwined with (non-Jewish) Polish experiences of the war. Significantly shaped by the “normalization of anti-Jewish bias” (Meng, 2011:18) in pre-war Poland, the attitudes and actions of many Poles towards their Jewish neighbors (and Nazi anti-Semitic policies) can hardly be described in terms of “passivity” or “neutrality.” Therefore, the legacy of the Holocaust for Poles has been an extremely problematic one. The indifference of most of Polish society to the crimes committed before their eyes; the lack of an outright response to it on the part of the Polish underground state; the low social approval for saving Jews; the reported instances of collaboration with the Germans and, more importantly, the acts of violence directed against Jews; and, finally, the fact that, after the war, Poles found themselves beneficiaries of the Holocaust (e.g., by taking over Jewish property)—all contribute to the burden of guilt inscribed in the memory of the Holocaust in Poland (see, e.g., Engelking, 2003; Forecki, 2010; Grabowski, 2004; Gross, 2001a, 2006; Steinlauf, 1997). Moreover, in the immediate post-war years, the memory of the Holocaust was carefully separated from both heroic and martyrological Polish narratives of war, and consequently, it was forgotten or erased. The 3,000,000 Polish citizens who fell victim to Nazi genocide were neither mourned nor remembered. Also, the fact that Polish anti-Semitism survived the war almost intact and persists until today adds, in a very unsettling way, to the complexity of Polish perceptions of that “not fully witnessed [and definitely not yet reworked] event” (Steinlauf, 1997:54)—something to which the ubiquity of metaphors of haunting in post-1989 Polish academic debates on the memory of the Holocaust clearly testifies. The extensive research on Polish involvement in the Holocaust undertaken in the last two decades by Polish scholars, together with many efforts to officially commemorate the tragedy of Polish Jews, can be seen as modes of wrestling with the ghost of the Holocaust.

It is precisely within the broad and complex context of Polish experience and response to the Holocaust that I would like to locate my reflections on the concept of haunting. The basis of my reflection is the discovery that the last decade has brought about a noticeable proliferation of actual, real and imaginary “Jewish-Polish” ghosts (that is, Jewish ghosts haunting Poles). More and more often, these emerge on the margins of Polish theoretical debates on the Holocaust, testifying to the indispensability and, at the same time, insufficiency of those debates for exorcising the ghost of the Holocaust. Rather than consider the meanings of the metaphors of

haunting discussed in the Polish debates on the Holocaust, I ask whether an analysis of ghost stories and reported instances of haunting of Poles by Jewish ghosts, both in literature and popular belief, can problematize or transform the way we think about Polish Holocaust-haunted memory. At the same time, this question can be seen as an effort to inquire into the ways in which such ghostly encounters can contribute to existing theoretical approaches to haunting or, put differently, how the effort to wrestle with the Polish ghost of the Holocaust can be translated into a more general process of *learning to live with the ghost*. In order to answer these questions, I concentrate on a very specific spatio-temporality of the presence of ghost: the Muranów district in Warsaw, which in itself can be conceived as an instance of Etkind's "ghostware"—a space as a medium of haunting memory and, at the same time, a prism through which one can analyze Polish Holocaust-haunted memory.

### **Haunted—ghosted: Polish-Jewish encounters in contemporary Warsaw**

In 2011, a local branch of a large commercial TV station, TVN Warszawa, showed a short quasi-documentary entitled *The Secrets of Muranów*. The documentary was part of a broader series called *Doomed Districts*, which examined paranormal and unexplained activities and events taking place in various parts of Poland. The episode *The Secrets of Muranów* presented disturbing accounts of haunting experienced by the inhabitants of a particular “doomed neighborhood”: Muranów, a residential district in Warsaw and the location of the Jewish ghetto between 1940 and 1943. Sławomir Fedorowicz, the film's narrator, stayed loyal to the norms of the genre by presenting—in all seriousness and set against an appropriate background score—numerous examples of the “paranormal events to which the inhabitants of Muranów constantly fall victim.” Among these experiences were the sense of a presence, hearing strange noises or footsteps, a lack of control over electronic devices and self-moving furniture. The interviewees, some of whom preferred to remain anonymous, described their encounters with these definitely non-figurative ghosts, as well as their sometimes very strong emotional responses.

The sense of the presence of a third, invisible person in the room caused acute panic attacks, unexplained fears and sudden awakenings in the middle of the night. Some of the interviewees in the documentary admitted that frequent exposure to such events had forced them, or their acquaintances, to move out of Muranów and search for other places to live. Others, who confessed to an uncanny feeling of guilt associated with the haunting, turned to specialists for help; that is, they consulted people who “professionally” communicate with the dead: a medium or dowser. All the haunted inhabitants of Muranów—those who decided to move out and those who decided to stay and fight—directly connected their experiences of haunting to the area's Jewish history.

The ghost of a rabbi, said to have paid frequent visits to various residents of Muranów, until finally exorcised by a medium, seemed to function as the most powerful symbol of that history. One guest invited to the program, the head of the Polish Psychotronic Society, gave professional advice on “how to react to the terrible phenomena which can happen to every inhabitant of Muranów.” Her response was simple: to learn more about the history of the place, explore the Jewish past that haunts it and then ask the ghost what he or she needs, in other words, what is to be done.

This documentary could be mocked and treated as an instance of sensation-seeking entertainment, if it were not for other reports—some based on academic research—on the widespread belief in ghosts among the inhabitants of Muranów. For instance, the authors of an ethnographic research report ordered in 2005 by the emerging Museum of the History of Polish Jews refer, with certain reserve, to various instances of haunting described by their respondents. The report, conducted under the supervision of well-known Polish environmental sociologist Maria Lewicka, was released in 2007 (Lewicka et al., 2007; see also Lewicka, Wójcik and Bilewicz, 2010). It describes a frequent feeling of unexplained guilt, fear and “uncanniness” (Lewicka et al., 2007:27) experienced by the residents of Muranów; once again, the residents see this as being directly linked to the Jewish past of the district.

An analogous point is made by Audrey Mallet, a French historian working on the memory of Muranów district: “Most of the people I talked to had a ghost story to tell me about” (2011:81). She even retells one story, citing an urban legend about a skyscraper on Bankowy Square, the “blue building.” Erected on the spot where the Great Synagogue had been located, this building is said to be haunted by the ghost of a rabbi. This nineteenth-century synagogue was destroyed by the Nazis on May 16, 1943, the day that symbolizes the suppression of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the destruction of the ghetto. The plan to build the skyscraper was made as early as the 1950s, and construction started in 1976. The tower was not completed until the beginning of the 1990s, however. As Mallet explains: “It took the builders fifteen years to finish the tower, and local superstition holds that the delay was due to a curse put by the former rabbi of the Synagogue” (2011:79). One can conclude that the figure of the ghost is intrinsically inscribed in the spatial imagery of Muranów.<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that, a couple of years ago, the lower floors of the “blue building” were reconstructed and now their shape mirrors the contours of the destroyed synagogue. This year, on the seventieth anniversary of its destruction, a wooden reconstruction was unveiled on Solidarity Alley.

Clearly, there is more to this than the simple fact that Muranów is located in the area of the city where the ghetto used to be. The post-war history of the memory of the district is also significant and has to be addressed. Before 1939, Muranów was the center of Jewish life in Warsaw. It was transformed into the Warsaw Ghetto in 1940

and went on to be totally destroyed during the war (Engelking and Leociak, 2009). After the end of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in May 1943, German officials decided to burn and raze the remaining buildings at the site. The entire pre-war Jewish district was flattened. In 1945, Muranów was just a heap of rubble; only a few buildings from the former Jewish district remained. As Lewicka and colleagues explain, Polish officials, urban planners and architects decided not to

rebuild the district in its pre-war form, as it was not in accordance with modern socialist architecture. Because of the total destruction of pre-war Muranów, the avant-garde architects had a unique opportunity to shape and rebuild the district from scratch (Lewicka et al., 2010:196; see also Chomątowska, 2012; Meng, 2011).

The historic reconstruction program—under the leadership of architect Jan Zachwatowicz and aimed at rebuilding large parts of the center of the “martyr city,” as Warsaw was then named—did not include Muranów: the Jewish district was not thought to be a valuable part of Polish heritage. On the contrary, the presence of the material traces of the former sealed district recalled the failure of Poles to properly address Jewish suffering during the war, a memory not easy to confront and therefore marginalized and repressed. Nonetheless, the ruins of the former ghetto, consisting of tons of bricks, were not taken away. According to Communist leader Bolesław Bierut, to clear the vast terrain would have been too expensive. Consequently, the bodies of the perished ghetto inhabitants were never exhumed. Only two intentional memorials were erected in the terrain of the former sealed district: Leon Marek Suzin’s 1946 temporary monument to the Ghetto Fighters and the famous Natan Rappaport’s Ghetto Uprising Monument, which was unveiled in April 1948 (Young, 1993:155–184).

The task of designing the district anew was given to architect Bohdan Lachert, who, following the guidelines of urban modernism, decided to transform Muranów into a functional housing complex for the working class. Geometrically square apartment buildings were to be located amid vast green areas. Yet, in a paradoxical way, Lachert’s project also sought to commemorate the tragedy of the Polish Jews. The housing complex was to be built, literally and symbolically, on the ruins of the former ghetto, thus testifying to the possibility of creating new life on the ruins of the past. As a result, those apartments built according to Lachert’s plan are still located on little hills composed of rubble and concrete from the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto. Moreover, the crushed-brick concrete used to construct the blocks of apartments was extracted from the bricks found on the territory of the former closed area. The houses designed by Lachert are thus made of rusty, dark-red bricks, intended never to be plastered, and conceived by the architect as a symbol of Jewish suffering. (Some years after the housing estate was completed, its inhabitants pleaded for changes: the buildings were painted and decorated.) Lachert’s project was abandoned in 1950, along with the

idea to commemorate the Jewish past of the district. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of southern Muranów, the only part of the district built according to the architect's plan, literally live on ashes and human remains. Other than this, the present urban shape of Muranów does not recall its pre-war past at all; even the names and, in some cases, locations of the streets were changed (for instance, the famous Nalewki Street). For many years, the Jewish past and the memory of Jewish inhabitants were totally erased from Muranów district, and from Warsaw in general. The landscape of the post-war capital was intended to reflect the "homogenous makeup" of its inhabitants, marked by monuments to the heroism of Varsovians during the war. As Michael Meng points out, Warsaw "became a city of carefully constructed temporal markers that narrated Poland's wartime suffering and postwar redemption" (2011:108). Not much space remained for the commemoration of Jewish suffering.

The first efforts to spatially memorialize Jewish history in Muranów were undertaken in the 1980s. In 1988, the Umschlagplatz Monument was unveiled, marking the place from which the inhabitants of the ghetto were deported to the extermination camp in Treblinka. Designed by Władysław Klemerus and Hanna Szmalemburg, the monument was conceived as part of the Memorial Route of Jewish Struggle and Martyrdom, which comprises 22 symbolic tombstones and plaques for insurgents who fought in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (designed by Marek Moderau, Zbigniew Gąsior and Stanisław Jankowski). In 2006, the bunker at Miła 18—where, together with other insurgents, Mordechaj Anielewicz committed suicide on May 8, 1943—was secured and a new obelisk, designed by Hanna Szmalemburg and Marek Moderau, was added. In 2008, Eleonora Bergman, director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, and architect Tomasz Lec introduced the idea of marking the outline of the ghetto wall in the urban fabric of Warsaw: more than 20 plaques with the inscription "Ghetto Wall 1940–1943," written in both Polish and English, were installed. Finally, on April 19, 2014, the Museum of the History of Polish Jews was opened to the public. At the same time, one can also refer to numerous grassroots and artistic initiatives aimed at demarginalizing the memory of the pre-war Jewish neighborhood and at inscribing it into the cultural landscape of Muranów. The annual "Singer's Warsaw" Jewish festival (organized since 2004); the non-profit initiative "Muranów Station" popularizing the knowledge of Muranów Jewish history (see <http://www.stacjamuranow.art.pl>); the artistic exhibitions organized since 2006 at Próżna Street 7/9, one of few tenement houses in Muranów steaming from pre-war times—all work, more or less critically, towards the recovery of the district's Jewish past.<sup>8</sup>

All these official and bottom-up efforts to commemorate and re-inscribe Jewish presence and war-time suffering into the landscape of Muranów have not put a stop to the belief in ghosts among the inhabitants of the neighborhood. On the contrary, the knowledge that the residents of the "doomed neighborhood" have gained, thanks

to official attempts to commemorate its Jewish past, contributes to the proliferation of Jewish ghosts. The very knowledge of the existence of the “haunting invisible metropolis” (Zaborowska, 2004:100) or of the fact that a great cemetery lies under modern blocks of apartments, built upon ashes and human remains, unsettles the experience of the inhabited space and renders Jewish ghosts all the more real. Moreover, according to Maria Lewicka’s report, it is precisely the absence of any material vestiges from the pre-war period in the landscape of Muranów that most inspires the imagination of its inhabitants and brings about the uncanny images of what could be found “beneath the surface” of Muranów (Lewicka et al., 2007:26). The ubiquity of ghosts in Muranów—imaginatively filling the gap between pre-war and post-war maps of the district, or its pre-war and post-war topography—has as much to do with the marginalized and erased memory of the Jewish past as with actual Jewish suffering during World War II. As in Brogan’s interpretation of haunting, the recovery of the erased Jewish past is doomed to be a ghost-producing, imaginative act.

Interestingly, the two most important Polish historians of the sealed district of Warsaw, Jacek Leociak and Barbara Engelking, also operationalize haunting metaphors to reflect upon Muranów as the “post-ghetto space” (Engelking and Leociak, 2009). This term, coined by Leociak (2001:85), aims to emphasize the radical difference—an architectural and topographical incompatibility—between the ghetto and the present space, which is deprived of all material traces of its past and is therefore experienced as a peculiar warping of vision, brought on by a ghostly interplay between visibility and invisibility. As Leociak writes, the doubling of perspective inscribed in present-day perceptions of the former sealed area involves seeing “what we do not see” behind the veil of the present-day urban landscape of Muranów (2013:837). Engelking and Leociak describe their book, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*, as

a guide to the spectral Warsaw, which readers must themselves reconstruct and compare with the Warsaw of today. If they want to, they will meet there the shadows of the Jews of Warsaw. Behind the screen of the houses and streets of contemporary Muranów, their hidden presence will make itself felt (2013:11).

And it does, indeed. Yet, among some of the inhabitants of the district—definitely not in accordance with Engelking and Leociak’s intentions—it causes, above all, a sense of displacement or a loss of control over the space that is their home, a feeling of guilt, and a fear of being judged for living in the post-ghetto space. According to Beata Chomątowska, author of *Muranów Station*, a monograph dedicated to the pre-war and post-war history of the district, the presence of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews and the international tourists visiting it can only radicalize the unsettling, anxiety-generating process of blurring the boundaries between “our Muranów” and “the Jewish space” (2012:340).

### Reghosting as critical practice

It is exactly this problem of the “ownership” of Muranów that is confronted, in a very interesting way, by contemporary Polish literature. Elaborating on the unresolved tension between the official politics of memory in Poland and the fears inscribed into popular belief in ghosts, authors such as Sylwia Chutnik (2011)<sup>9</sup> and Igor Ostachowicz (2012) undertake the task of translating the unsettling experiences of the inhabitants of the district into a form of critical cultural intervention. Described by Magdalena Waligórska (Forthcoming) as “traumatic surrealism,” their attempts to invest the ghost stories of Muranów with a critical and transformative function are connected to an intentional effort to recover the landscape of Muranów for the ghosts of its former inhabitants, radically blurring the boundaries between “theirs” and “ours.” Thus, the literal reghosting, that is, repopulating of the landscape of Muranów with Jewish ghosts, goes beyond a mere re-description of the spatial imagery and memory of the post-ghetto space. Chutnik and Ostachowicz aim to demarginalize both the Jewish past of the district and the figure of the ghost itself, depicting Muranów as an imaginary battlefield: a space of a critical, but also therapeutic, encounter between the not yet fully worked through Jewish legacy and haunted Polishness. The symbolical restoration of justice can be seen as one of the most important objectives of the works analyzed herein (Waligórska, Forthcoming). At the same time, they problematize the redemptive dimension of official commemorative practices of the state, which can be seen as a premature celebration of the ingestion of the difficult Polish-Jewish past by Poland.

In “Muranooo,” a short story written in 2011 and adapted shortly thereafter into a theater screenplay, Sylwia Chutnik depicts the life of the residents of a severely haunted block of apartments in Muranów. A tragi-comedy, “Muranooo” was inspired by the numerous accounts of haunting reported by inhabitants of the district and the above-mentioned quasi-documentary, *The Secrets of Muranów*.<sup>10</sup> The encounter between “real” Poles and “spectral” Jews, triggered by a visit of Polish residents of the building to the basement in search of Jewish valuables potentially hidden there, is at first threatening. It all ends happily, however, when the Poles learn to recognize the Jewish ghosts not as vengeful creatures yearning to regain their property and appropriate urban space, but as precarious, vulnerable beings who return to their homes in search of the simple pleasures of everyday life. What the Jewish ghosts want, we learn from “Muranooo,” is not revenge on Poles, or more monuments commemorating their tragic death, but that we start to enjoy the simple pleasures in their name. In Chutnik’s story, the imaginative re-description of the meaning of the Jewishness of the ghosts, evident in the change of attitude of the Poles towards their threatening, uninvited guests, leads to a parallel critical re-description of a Polishness still based on anti-Jewish sentiments. Associating the presence of Jewish ghosts in

the urban landscape of Muranów with fear of the Jews and absurd prejudices against them, which are deeply rooted in Polish cultural imagery (Cała, 1995; Tokarska-Bakir, 2004), Chutnik's story provides a critical commentary on the reasons behind the propagation of contemporary Jewish ghosts. Fear of the Jew as the "threatening other" (Michlic, 2006), closely linked with the old myth of Jewish conspiracy, ritual murder and blood libel, is here conceived as part of the legacy of Polish anti-Semitism. Thus, in "Muranooo," learning to live with the Jewish ghosts is primarily equated with exorcising the destructive ghost of Polish anti-Semitism.

An analogous point is made by another Polish writer, Igor Ostachowicz, author of *The Night of the Living Jews* (2012).<sup>11</sup> Much less optimistic than "Muranooo," this book—which, as its title suggests, could also easily be classified as a tragi-comic horror story—can at the same time be read as a critical pamphlet about the dark side of Polish memory politics and past- and present-day Polish anti-Semitism. Aimed both at anti-Jewish sentiments and at the superficiality of contemporary "philosemitism without Jews" (Wiszniewicz, 1997), Ostachowicz's novel elaborates on the phantasmatic character of the image of a Jew inscribed in both pro-Jewish and anti-Jewish cultural imagery in Poland, which is an obvious consequence of the marginalization and consequent erasure of the Jewish past from constructions of Polish collective memory. The setting of the action of the novel, contemporary Muranów, is established as the perfect context for asking how Poles would react if the Jews really were to come back to Poland, even if only as the undead.

In this perverse way, Ostachowicz contributes to the debate triggered by Yael Bartana's project, *And Europe will be Stunned*, which supports the movement for a "Jewish Renaissance" in contemporary Poland.<sup>12</sup> Ostachowicz's *The Night of the Living Jews* translates the Polish Jews' right to return, along with the repressed memory of their suffering, into pop-cultural imagery, and, in doing so, it elaborates upon popular belief in Jewish ghosts. In the novel we read that

...evil cannot be covered up with debris and soil, the suffering has to be respected and accounted for, and blood, if it is not cleaned in time and is allowed to soak into the ground, mixed with dust, will arise one day as a horde of golems slow like tanks, and broken bones and maltreated bodies will cover themselves with the few rags which were not stolen from them, by means of sub-biological forces they will cobble themselves together into bipedal monsters who only know pain, and they will share the pain, running from door to door of our calm apartments (Ostachowicz, 2012:41).

And so the Jews do return, but instead of a horde of golems or monsters, the Jewish undead turn out, just as in Chutnik's story, to be normal people—a little bit lost perhaps, but looking, like everyone else, to live a simple, enjoyable life.

Nonetheless, the Jewish return depicted by Ostachowicz in his novel is not an easy one. The presence of “Living Jews” in the landscape of contemporary Warsaw provokes a radicalization of anti-Jewish sentiment and an outburst of violence against the “Jewish corpses threatening living Poles.” Mass mobilization of right-wing enthusiasts, nationalists and so-called patriots, hoping to get rid of the Jewish ghosts, eventually leads to a final battle between furious masses and a small group of Poles defending the “Living Jews.” The battle, in which Satan himself is involved, takes place in the everyday setting of the Arcadia shopping mall in Muranów. The eventual victory of Jew-protectors over nationalists—here ironically equated with the victory of good over evil—is also paradoxical. While the “Living Jews” are able to blend into the crowd of ordinary Varsovians, the main protagonist of the novel, an uncomplicated Polish tile layer who underwent a radical transformation from indifferent conformist to committed defender of the Jewish cause, has to pay with his life for his solidarity with the Jews.

This radical revision of the Polish myth of heroism and victimhood in terms of a fight against Polish nationalism and anti-Semitism in the name of a more inclusive Poland—that is, the struggle of Poles with themselves—points to the transformative dimension of the presence of Jewish ghosts. Making room for the memory of the marginalized, excluded minority and the suffering that it had to endure, also at the hands of Poles, must involve, above all, an effort to deconstruct national myths, blur the boundaries of exclusive Polishness and adopt a more critical approach towards Polish-Jewish history. Thus, if wrestling with the Polish ghost of the Holocaust means learning to live with Jewish ghosts, then there is still a lot to be done, as *The Night of the Living Jews* clearly suggests.

## Conclusion

No single narrative can embrace the complexity of Polish responses to the Holocaust and the Polish-Jewish past. However, the language of haunting—in both its imaginative and deconstructive dimension—proves productive in exploring the ambivalent nature of these responses. The figure of the Jewish ghost, itself profoundly ambivalent, functions as a symbol of repression or marginalization of memory of Poland’s Jewish inhabitants and an entry to this erased and forgotten past. It allows creative space to address the problem of misrepresentation and denial, as is prevalent in Polish politics of memory after 1945, as well as present-day critical efforts to repair those representational mistakes. Thus, two features underlie the presented vision of contemporary Polishness haunted by its Polish-Jewish past: ghosting as mnemonic marginalization and exclusion, and re-ghosting as critical practice aimed at a deconstructive reading of exclusive constructions of memory and identity. Moreover,

it is precisely this recognition of the interdependence of ghosting and haunting—experienced after all as a troubling confrontation with an erased or marginalized past—which enables an interpretation of this experience not only as potentially critical or transformative, but also as an ethical, future-oriented act. It is not sufficient to acknowledge past damage that cannot be undone: *learning to live with the ghosts* means rather a constant effort to translate one’s own guilt or fear into a “desire for a second chance” (Stuart, 2006:7), even if this inevitably comes too late.

## NOTES

- 1 I wish to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, which generously supported this research.
- 2 Interestingly, it was the political dimension of Derrida’s interpretation of the ghost, as proposed in *The Specters of Marx*, that provoked the harshest critique of many influential contemporary political thinkers. The naivety or abstract character of Derrida’s interpretations of the legacy of Marx, reflected in the assumed emptiness of the figure of the specter, were pointed out by contributors of the volume *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida’s Specters of Marx* (see, e.g., Eagleton, 2008; Macherey, 2008; Negri, 2008). An analogous point is made in *Popular Ghosts* (del Pilar Blanco and Peeren, 2010:xix).
- 3 Instead of invoking or critically contributing to the existing, already very intense, scholarly debates on the highly contested notions of collective and cultural memory, I employ, for the purposes of this paper, a broad understanding of the concept of cultural memory as a set of culturally framed and politically constrained performative representations and practices referring to the past, both individual and collective. I hope that the premises for this kind of understanding of the concept of cultural memory, which aims against reinforcement of the problematic distinctions between individual and collective, private and public, personal and political, socio-political and cultural, are or soon will be clear to the readers of this text.
- 4 This statement could also easily be attributed to non-Polish reflections on the Holocaust and its aftermath, such as Ruth Klüger’s (2001) *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* or Aleida Assmann’s (2011) interpretations of Christian Boltanski’s art.
- 5 An illuminating interpretation of the importance and meaning of the metaphor of the ghost in Gross’ writing can be found in Shore (2005).

- 6 I am referring here to the question posed at the conference “Being the Witness of the Holocaust,” organized in Warsaw in April 2013 and debated during the conference panel “What is left of Hilberg’s ‘Perpetrators–Victims–Bystanders’ triad?” chaired by Professor Paweł Śpiewak from the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. Jan Tomasz Gross, whose *Neighbors* (2001a) significantly contributed to the problematization of the perception of Poles as mere “bystanders” not involved in the violence directed against the Jews, was one of the participants in that debate.
- 7 The memoirs of Jews returning to Warsaw after the war to encounter their destroyed homes and totally devastated ghetto area are also full of ghost stories. However, an interpretation of those haunted narratives, which definitely deserve critical attention, would be beyond the scope of this paper.
- 8 For further readings, see Chomątowska (2012), Engelking and Leociak (2009), Janicka (2012), Majewski (2012), Mallet (2011) and Meng (2011).
- 9 The author is indebted to Magdalena Waligórska for providing her with the manuscript.
- 10 The play based on Chutnik’s short story was performed in 2012 at the Teatr Dramatyczny in Warsaw and the Theatre Ensemble in Tel Aviv. Israeli artist Lilach Dekel-Avner directed it.
- 11 A short horror movie with the same title, written and directed by Oliver Noble, was released in the US in 2008. Yet, since the plot of Ostachowicz’s book bears little resemblance to that of the movie, I assume that the author of the Polish *Night of the Living Jews* was not directly inspired by Noble’s film. I would like to thank Kobi Kabalek for directing my attention to this uncanny coincidence.
- 12 The project *And Europe Will be Stunned* is conceived as an incentive to and expression of activities of the Jewish Renaissance Movement in Poland, an initiative of young Jews and Poles calling for a return of Jewish life to contemporary Poland. The project was initiated in 2007 by the production of a short artistic movie *Nightmares* (first part of a trilogy entitled *And Europe Will be Stunned*), in which 3,300,000 Jews were summoned to return to Poland in order, among other things, to exorcise xenophobic and anti-Semitic attitudes of its inhabitants.

## REFERENCES

- Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, Jolanta. (2011). “Do we want to remember? Commemorating the Holocaust in practice in post-Communist Poland from a European comparative

- perspective.” In Piotr Trojański (ed.), *Poles and Jews: History–Culture–Education* (pp. 183–203). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.
- Assmann, Aleida. (2011). “Ghosts of the past.” *East European Memory Studies* 8:1–5.
- Bal, Mieke. (2002). *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities. A Rough Guide*. Toronto/ Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. (2008). “The haunted world.” In Krystyna Oleksy and Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs (eds.), *Remembrance, Awareness, Responsibility* (pp. 271–279). Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum.
- Bergland, Renee L. (2000). *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects*. Hanover/London: University Press of New England.
- Brogan, Kathleen. (1998). *Cultural Haunting: Ghosts and Ethnicity in Recent American Literature*. Charlottesville/London: The University Press of Virginia.
- Butler, Judith. (2006). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London/ New York: Verso.
- Cała, Alina. (1995). *The Image of the Jew in Polish Folk Culture*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Chomątowska, Beata. (2012). *Stacja Muranów [Muranów Station]*. Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne.
- Chutnik, Sylwia. (2011). “Muranooo.” Unpublished manuscript.
- Davies, Owen. (2007). *The Haunted: A Social History of Ghosts*. New York/Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Davis, Colin. (2007). *Haunted Subjects: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis, and the Return of the Dead*. New York/Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- del Pilar Blanco, Maria, and Peeren, Esther. (2010). “Introduction.” In Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (eds.), *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture* (pp. ix–xxiv). London/New York: Continuum.
- Derrida, Jacques. (1994). *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, The Work of Mourning and the New International*. New York/London: Routledge.
- D’Harlingue, Benjamin. (2010). “Specters of the U.S. prison regime: Haunting tourism and the penal gaze.” In Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (eds.), *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture* (pp. 133–146). London/New York: Continuum.
- Eagleton, Terry. (2008). “Marxism without Marxism.” In Michael Sprinkler (ed.), *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium of Jacques Derrida’s Specters on Marx* (pp. 83–87). London/New York: Verso.

- Engelking, Barbara. (2003). *"Szczegółowy Panie gestapo": Donosy do władz niemieckich w Warszawie i okolicach w latach 1940–1941* ["Dear Mr. Gestapo": Denunciations Sent to the German Authorities in Warsaw, 1940–1941]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Engelking, Barbara, and Leociak, Jacek. (2009). *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . (2013). *Getto Warszawskie: Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście* [The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City]. Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów.
- Etkind, Alexander. (2009). "Post-Soviet hauntology: Cultural memory of the Soviet terror." *Constellations* 16,1:182–200.
- Finucane, Ronald C. (1996). *Ghosts: Appearances of the Dead and Cultural Transformation*. New York: Prometheus Books.
- Forecki, Piotr. (2010). *Od Shoah do Strachu: Spory o polsko-żydowską przeszłość i pamięć w debatach publicznych* [From Shoah to Fear: The Holocaust in Polish Public Debates]. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie.
- Freud, Sigmund. (2003). "The uncanny." In *The Uncanny* (pp. 121–162). London: Penguin Books.
- Gordon, Avery. (2008). *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Grabowski, Jan. (2004). "Ja tego Żyda znam!" Szantażowanie żydów w Warszawie 1939–1943 ["I Know this Jew!"] Blackmailing the Jews in Warsaw, 1939–1943]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN.
- Gross, Jan T. (2001a). *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne*. Princeton/New York: Princeton University Press.
- . (2001b). *Upiorna dekada: Trzy eseje na temat wzajemnych relacji między Żydami, Polakami, Niemcami i komunistami w latach 1939–1948* [Ghastly Decade: Three Essays on Stereotypes of Jews, Poles, Germans and Communists, 1939–1948]. Kraków: Universitas.
- . (2006). *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz: An Essay in Historical Interpretation*. New York: Random House.
- Handley, Sasha. (2007). "Ghosts, gossip and gender in eighteenth-century Canterbury." In Sladja Blazan (ed.), *Ghost, Stories, Histories: Ghost Stories and Alternative Histories* (pp. 10–20). New Castle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Jameson, Frederic. (2008). "Marx's purloined letter." In Michael Sprinkler (ed.), *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx* (pp. 26–67). London/New York: Verso.

- Janicka, Elżbieta. (2012). *Festung Warschau [Fortress Warsaw]*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo krytyki politycznej.
- Klüger, Ruth. (2001). *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered*. New York: Feminist Press.
- Leociak, Jacek. (2001). "Aryjskim tramwajem przez warszawskie getto, czyli hermeneutyka pustego miejsca" ["With an Aryan tram through the Warsaw Ghetto, or the hermeneutic of an empty place"]. In Lidia Burska and Marek Zalewski (eds.), *Maski Współczesności [The Masks of Contemporaneity]* (pp. 85–100). Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- . (2013). "Epilog: Miejsce-po-gettcie" ["Epilogue: Post-ghetto space"]. In Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak (eds.), *Getto Warszawskie. Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście* (pp. 820–837). Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum badań nad Zagładą Żydów.
- Lewicka, Maria, Kuzko, Katarzyna, Maksimowska, Agata, Szczepańska, Joanna, Waśniewska, Dorota, and Wieczorek, Anna. (2007). *Muranów i Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich: tożsamość, pamięć miejsca, postrzeganie dzielnicy i jej żydowskiej historii. Raport z badań jakościowych [Muranów and the Museum of the History of Polish Jews: Identity, Place Memory, Perception of the District and its Jewish History]*. Warsaw: Wydział Psychologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Lewicka, Maria, Wójcik, Adrian, and Bilewicz, Michał. (2010). "Living on the ashes: Collective representations of Polish–Jewish history among people living in the former Warsaw Ghetto area." *Cities* 27(4):195–203.
- Macherey, Pierre. (2008). "Marx dematerialized, or the spirit of Derrida." In Michael Sprinkler (ed.), *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx* (pp. 17–25). London/New York: Verso.
- Majewski, Jerzy S. (2012). *Warszawa Nieodbudowana. Żydowski Muranów i okolice [Never Reconstructed Warsaw: Jewish Muranów and its Surroundings]*. Warsaw: Agora SA.
- Mallet, Audrey. (2011). "Negotiating, contesting and constructing Jewish space in postwar Muranów." Master's thesis, Concordia University, Montreal. [http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/7685/1/Mallet\\_MA\\_F2011.pdf](http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/7685/1/Mallet_MA_F2011.pdf), accessed March 20, 2013.
- Meng, Michael. (2011). *Shattered Spaces: Encountering Jewish Ruins in Postwar Germany and Poland*. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press.
- Michlic, Joanna Beata. (2006). *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Negri, Antonio. (2008). "The specter's smile." In Michael Sprinkler (ed.), *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx* (pp. 5–16).

- London/New York: Verso.
- Ostachowicz, Igor. (2012). *Noc Żywych Żydów* [*The Night of the Living Jews*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo W.A.B.
- Peeren, Esther. (2007). "The ghost as a gendered chronotope." In Sladja Blazan (ed.), *Ghost, Stories, Histories: Ghost Stories and Alternative Histories* (pp. 81–96). New Castle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Scott, Joan. (1992). "Experience." In Joan Scott and Judith Butler (eds.), *Feminists Theorize the Political* (pp. 22–40). New York/London: Routledge.
- Shore, Marci. (2005). "Conversing with ghosts: Jedwabne, Żydokomuna, and totalitarianism." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 6,2:345–374.
- Steinlauf, Michael. (1997). *Bondage to the Dead: Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Stuart, Meg. (2006). "The ghostliness in private and public spaces." In *Ghosts, Specters, Phantoms, and the Places where They Live. The Program of Mobile Academy in Warsaw* (p. 7). Warsaw: Agencja Reklamowo-Wydawnicza, Arkadiusz Grzegorzcyk.
- Tokarska-Bakir, Joanna. (2004). "Żydzi u Kolberga" ["Jews at Kolberg"]. In Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, *Rzeczy mgliste: Eseje i studia* [*Shady Matters: Essays and Studies*] (pp. 49–72). Sejny: Fundacja Pogranicze.
- Vattimo, Gianni, and Zabala, Santiago. (2011). *Hermeneutic Communism: From Heidegger to Marx*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Waligórska, Magdalena. (Forthcoming). "Healing by haunting: Jewish ghosts in contemporary Polish literature." *Prooftexts* 34,1.
- Wiszniewicz, Joanna. (1997). "Antisemitism without Jews and philosemitism without Jews: Towards a new Jewish and Polish memory." *East European Jewish Affairs* 27,2:68–69.
- Wolfreys, Julian. (2002). *Victorian Hauntings: Spectral, Ghosts, The Uncanny and Literature*. New York/Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Young, James. (1993). *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Zaborowska, Magdalena J. (2004). "Reading transparent 'constructions of history'; or, three passages through (in)visible Warsaw." In Sibelan Forrester, Magdalena Zaborowska and Elena Gapova (eds.), *Over the Wall/After the Fall: Post-Communist Cultures Through an East-West Gaze* (pp. 97–119). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.