4.4 Gendered Martyrdom: Performances in the Image After Death and the Martyr Poster as an Advertising Image

The remembrance of martyrs in pictures is gendered, as men and women are visualised differently. In this part, I will claim that a set of posters that appear in *Nancy* reflect the fabricated gender roles performed in martyr posters of the *Wars*. My conceptual framework is guided by Judith Butler's book *Gender Trouble*, who argues that, unlike biological sex, social gender is not natural but performed. By learning gender, certain acts, like walking or speaking in a particular way, become normalised as either male- or female-connoted. For example, it is not biologically determined that women wear make-up and high heels and that men do not. These are merely norms society has taught us through repetition over time.

Butler further argues that the media contributes to forming these constructed gender performances, because they are ritualised when continuously shown and seen. Gender is not performed on purpose; that is, although a role is taken up, it is not acted out as in a theatre play. Rather, gendered acts are repeated because they are internalised and learnt from society. Therefore, as Butler poignantly claims, gender 'is the stylized repetition of acts through time'.[506] It is this performance of gender in martyr posters that, even post-mortem, is revealed in *Nancy*.

In the following, I first discuss selected posters accompanying deaths of Lina. In my interpretation, these posters, in combination with the text of the play and the underlying images, reflect on the roles women performed during the *Wars*, including their visualisation as martyrs. Second, I examine several posters of the three male actors and identify characteristics of what I term the 'hypermasculine format', a specific mode of poster issued during the *Wars* that depicts the male fighting martyr in an exaggeratedly masculine manner. I claim that findings on hypermasculinity in commercials can also be applied to martyr posters in the hypermasculine format, because these posters also serve as an advertisement for the militia that circulated them. In conclusion, I argue that *Nancy* reveals and subverts constructed roles of femininity and masculinity that are performed in posters of the *Wars*.

506 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999 [1990]), 179. See also Diana Newall and Grant Pooke, *Fifty Key Texts in Art History* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 227–31.

4.4.1 Lina as a Reflection of Modes of Female Martyrdom During the *Wars*

The posters in *Nancy* predominantly show men. This reflects the gender roles of the shuhada of the *Wars*, who were mostly male, as the number of available martyr posters in the archives I have visited confirm. In the play, six posters depict Lina as a martyr.[507] In four instances, she is part of a militia but gets killed without being actively engaged in combat (*Figs. 3.43*, *3.46*, *3.48–3.49*), in another case, she dies while fighting (*Fig. 3.44*), and in yet another she dies as a civilian (*Fig. 3.47*). Below we will see that *Nancy* reflects on women as different kinds of martyrs. First, there was the non-fighting shahida, who was active in her militia but not as a combatant; second, there was the militant shahida, who was killed while militarily active; third, there was the massacred shahida, who was killed at home; and fourth, there was the civilian shahida, who was killed by being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Modes of Female Martyrdom I: The Non-Fighting Martyr, Active in Her Militia

The most common role of women during the *Wars* was to assist the fighters without taking up arms. This is also reflected in *Nancy*. In 1985, so the play's storyline goes, Lina had joined the LF for her own safety after moving from West Beirut to LF-controlled East Beirut. Here, she worked in the party's media office until she was accused of being a spy for Geagea and was killed by Hobeika's men (27). After coming back to life, she continued her activities within the party and tells the audience of the following incident:

> Hobeika flew out of the East Beirut area and landed in Zahlé, which he proceeded to turn into headquarters for himself and his mob. I was […] assigned a security mission […] to infiltrate Hobeika's mob in Zahlé and convey information about his forces. I, of course, accepted the mission; I hadn't forgotten that it was Hobeika himself who had ordered my execution the last time. I headed out to Zahlé and, in a couple of days, I was found out. A member of Hobeika's mob […] recognised me… He reported me, they captured me, […] they liquidated me. (28–29)

The text implies that Lina was not actively fighting in combat but working as a spy on a mission.

507 A monochrome (*Fig. 3.45*) also accompanies a death, but as discussed in 4.3, here Lina is not a martyr but a missing person.

The poster that accompanies the speech (*Fig. 3.49*) shows Lina sitting behind an office desk covered in papers, talking on the telephone. This mode of depiction is peculiar, as it does not adhere to the ordinary format because, instead of an ID photograph, it shows a photograph of Lina in a workplace setting. As Fadi Toufiq explained, Lina's role alludes to a role women performed during the *Wars*.

> [Lina] is intermediate. She is not a full fighter, but she is not a civilian. She was part of the civil war. This was mainly the role of women in a party. In the Communist Party you have women fighters, but rarely. They [women in general] were active more logistically in the media and things like this.[508]

Fig. 4.62: Committee of Friends of Marie Rose Boulos, 'Because She Is with the People. Because She Is with the Future. Because She Is with Lebanon. In Memory of the Martyred Marie Rose Boulos', 1976, Poster, 49 x 69 cm, 220-PCD2081-45, American University of Beirut/Library Archives.

Even when they were not fighters, women across all militias were part of the *Wars* as they supported the warring factions—for instance, by doing administrative and media work, as Lina is depicted doing, or by transporting and gathering information, as the text of *Nancy* implies.[509]

Sometimes women died without being engaged in combat, as the tragic death of Marie-Rose Boulos shows. Boulos's story is worth mentioning here, as both Lina and Boulos died a violent death because of their non-violent activities. Boulos was a Syrian Christian who was a teacher and social worker in Palestinian refugee camps and was executed by Christian militiamen for this—in other words, for collaborating with the perceived 'enemy'. Not only is Boulos remembered as a martyr on a poster (*Fig. 4.62*), but the late poet, writer, and artist Etel Adnan

508 Toufiq, Zoom, 6 May 2021.

509 Maria Holt, 'Lebanese Shi'i Women and Islamism', in *Women and War in Lebanon*, ed. Lamia Rustum Shehadeh (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999); Lamia Rustum Shehadeh, 'Women in the Lebanese Militias', in Rustum Shehade, *Women and War*, 149–50; Bonsen, *Martyr Cults*, 208. Other activities included cooking for the fighters, collecting money, providing shelter, and smuggling weapons. For a case study of how a woman could be active during the *Wars* without taking up arms, see Kari H. Karamé, 'Maman Aida, a Lebanese Godmother of the Combatants: Fighting Without Arms', in Rustum Shehade, *Women and War*.

also modelled her novel *Sitt Marie Rose* (1982) after Boulos's life and death.[510] The poster, a headshot of Boulos in front of a transparent pink mass of children, has no stylistic parallels to the poster of Lina, and I have not encountered any posters of the *Wars* showing a martyr engaged in office tasks.

The fact that women, across all militias, aided their militant group by different non-combatant means in the widest sense—ranging from spying to educating the fighter's children—and died due to this is reflected in *Nancy* through the discussed death of Lina. She was neither a civilian nor a fighter, as she was working for the LF not by taking up arms, but as a spy and media officer. However, some warring parties also had female fighters, as Toufiq mentioned in the quote above.

Modes of Female Martyrdom II: The Militant Martyr

Nancy also reflects a second mode of female martyrdom; that is, in certain parties, women performed the role of militants, and this included fighting in combat as well as conducting other activities, such as martyrdom operations. As Jennifer Philippa Eggert has convincingly shown by interviewing previous female fighters, women were not urged into participating in combat, it was the women themselves who insisted on taking up arms.[511]

In *Nancy*, Lina only once dies in battle. In 1981, she was increasingly harassed in West Beirut for being a Christian, even by her own secular party, the SSNP. Consequently, Lina decided to take a stand, as I have already discussed in 4.3 in the context of hierarchies of ordinary martyrs. I am here re-quoting her anecdote:

> So, what more did they want me to do to prove to them that I was every bit a National? They wanted me to fight? Fine, fight I shall! In 1981, I ask the central command to transfer me to military duty. After some hesitation, the command grants me my request and dispatches me to the Ras el Nabeh frontline. I am killed right from the first clash. (20)

Finally, Lina had proved her commitment to the cause by dying for it in combat. The fact that Lina herself insisted on fighting for the party echoes the realities of the *Wars*.

510 Etel Adnan, *Sitt Marie Rose: A Novel* (Sausalito: PostApollo Press, 1982). For the novel and the historical person of Marie-Rose Boulos, see Olivia C. Harrison, 'Resistances of Literature: Strategies of Narrative Affiliation in Etel Adnan's *Sitt Marie Rose*', *Postcolonial Text* 5, no. 2 (2009).

511 Jennifer Philippa Eggert, *Women and the Lebanese Civil War: Female Fighters in Lebanese and Palestinian Militias* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 162.

Fig. 4.63: LNRF/SSNP, 'This Is a Lesson to All the Angry Ones and Conspirers So That They May Know That We Do Not Differentiate Between the Jews of the Inside and the Jews of the Outside. Ibtissam'.
'I Am the Son of the Sham, Come to Water My Land, the Land of the South, with My Blood. Khaled', 1985, Poster, 46 x 61 cm, ZMA 420, signsofconflict.com.

As discussed in 3.6, the design of the accompanying poster (*Fig. 3.44*) resembles a poster issued by the SSNP for the martyr Nazem Ayyash (*Fig. 3.59*). The fact that Lina is female, however, reminds me of a poster commemorating Sana Muhaidly (*Fig. 3.77*). Like Ayyash, Sana was a member of the SSNP, a militia that had female militants and visually remembered female martyr peers with the same imagery as their male colleagues.[512]

Maasri has identified that the posters the SSNP issued after martyrdom operations have a serial format that consists of the Jammoul logo at the top, a large photograph of the martyr in the centre, and, at the bottom, a statement from the martyr's message in the video taped before the operation, followed by his or her name (*Figs. 3.77, 4.59, 4.63*).[513] The equality of men and women fighting within the militia seems to be emphasised in a poster (*Fig. 4.63*) that shows Ibtissam Harb and Khaled al-Azraq, who conducted a martyrdom operation together in 1985.[514] They are depicted in combat clothes, their clasped hands raised as if to communicate that they will jointly succeed in the cause, including dying as martyrs, no matter their gender.

Looking through the posters in the archives, I found numerous images of female militant martyrs of the SSNP and the LCP. Also, the LCP employed one of their standardised templates equally for martyred men and women, as the poster

512 For the role of women in the SSNP, see Solomon, *In Search*, 145–49; Al Jazeera, 'Lebanon's Women Warriors', *YouTube*, 46:11 min, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P5K949l_qs0.

513 Maasri, *Off the Wall*, 94–96.

514 Straub, *Das Selbstmordattentat*, 123. Whether they were married, as Straub claims (*Das Selbstmordattentat*, 128), is not proven.

Fig. 4.64: SSNP, '...For Liberation and Change. The SSNP Invites You to Participate in the Celebration in Honour of Martyr Sana Muhaidly and the Martyrs of the Resistance Front. Place: Beirut Around Sin el Fil. Date: Sunday 26 April 1998, 10 am', 1998, Poster, American University of Beirut/ Library Archives.

Fig. 4.65: SSNP (@ssnpparty), 'I Am Now Planted in the South, I Soak Its Earth with My Blood, Istishahida Sana Muhaidly, 'The Bride of the South' 9 April 1985', Instagram, 8 April 2022.

of istishahida Lola Abboud demonstrates (*Figs. 3.60–3.61*).[515] In the gender ideologies of these two parties, it was clear that women were equally allowed to conduct militant activities. Nonetheless, the SSNP and the LCP had significantly more male than female militants. The SSNP in particular distributed visuals of female martyrs to such an extent that numerous posters of these women survive until the present day.[516]

Their posters were reprinted after the *Wars* had ended. An example is a poster of Sana issued in 1998 (*Fig. 4.64*), and her face is still posted on the party's Instagram page today (*Fig. 4.65*). It seems that the ongoing distribution of her images fulfils what Sana said in her farewell video, in which she told spectators she was

515 According to Eggert (*Women and the Lebanese Civil War*, 101), the LCP had the highest number of female fighters of all militias involved in the *Wars*. Like the SSNP, the LCP also advertised their female martyrs. An example is the video of Jamal al-Sati, whom we have encountered in the context of *Three Posters*. In this video, which was taped before his martyrdom operation, he explains his action while sitting in front of multiple posters of his two female LCP predecessors, Lola Abboud and Wafa Nur al-Din.

516 It is possible that parties such as the Kataeb or the LF issued posters for their fallen female combatants, but that these posters are not housed in the archives I have consulted.

still alive, even though she knew the tape would only be broadcast after she had physically died.[517] No other martyr of the party, except for the founder, Antuan Saadeh, is distributed in images to such an extent as Sana. The choice to put a woman at the forefront of the visuals of the commemoration of martyrdom was deliberately made by the party. They could have put a male face—for example, that of Wajdih Sayigh, who undertook the first martyrdom operation for the SSNP[518]—as the focus of remembrance of the party's activities against the Israeli occupation, but Sana's face is more visible than his in the party's online and offline posters.

In the anatomy of LCP and SSNP posters, no visual distinction can be observed between those for male martyrs and those for female martyrs. However, there are differences when looking beyond the frames of the posters and into the discourse in which the pictures are situated. Two important components of female martyrdom that are not addressed in *Nancy* but that I consider crucial are the focus on the women's looks and the rumours that often surround their deaths.

First, attractiveness is usually mentioned only regarding female martyrs. For example, those who praised the deeds of Sana right after her martyrdom operation, like Hafez al-Assad, who was then the president of Syria, highlighted not only her heroism, but also her beauty. I have never encountered an account that focuses on the handsomeness of Bilal Fahs or other male martyrs.[519] Mia Bloom, writing about Palestinian female martyrs, argues that the women's physical appearance is an advantage for the group for which they die. Compared to their male peers, pictures of young women who choose to become martyrs draw more attention and prompt spectators to ask, 'what could make such a pretty girl do that? There must be something seriously wrong'.[520] Therefore, it is possible that the party deliberately took advantage of the youthfulness and looks of the women.

Second, as André-Dessornes has shown in her study on female martyrdom operations, the deaths of women are often surrounded by gossip. The author has conducted an interview with Soha Bechara, who recalled that in the 1980s there were often rumours when women died in martyrdom operations. Specifically, it was often alleged that the unmarried women were pregnant, which would have hurt

517 The members of the SSNP who opted to conduct martyrdom operations recorded a video before their deaths in which they explained the reasons for the operation. For an analysis of the video of Muhaidly, see Straub, *Das Selbstmordattentat*, 99–152.

518 Bonsen, *Martyr Cults*, 109.

519 Straub, *Das Selbstmordattentat*, 118. Straub also cites a poem that praises Muhaidly as a 'beautiful bride'. For Bilal Fahs, see Bonsen, *Martyr Cults*, 255–58.

520 Mia Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and Terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2011), 128.

the woman's reputation, and thus the choice to become a martyr would have been a drastic solution to not lose honour. Bechara also remembers that such rumours were spread after she tried to kill Lahad, although according to her account, she was not pregnant.[521] Whereas martyred men were praised for having died heroically against the Israeli occupation, for some people, it seems, it was hard to imagine that women would do this for the same reason and not because they wanted to save their honour.

The notion of the rumour is also interesting on another level. There are a few accounts that an eighteen-year-old woman, Somayah Saad, conducted a martyrdom operation for Hezbollah on 10 March 1985.[522] However, Straub argues that no source other than Amir Taheri mentions this woman,[523] and Bonsen, who provides a list of martyrdom operations conducted in Lebanon, names the martyr who caused the explosion on 10 March 1985 as Abu Zaynab/Amir Kalakish.[524] Contradicting this claim, Joseph Alagah indicates that Kalakish conducted his operation on 11 March 1988.[525] As mentioned, this book is not seeking to write history, and therefore I am not interested in finding out who is responsible for the detonation in March 1985, which, as we know from press reports, undoubtedly happened in the South and killed twelve Israeli soldiers.[526]

Instead, let's hypothetically assume that Somayah did exist and that she conducted the attack, because comparing her case to Sana's demonstrates how the gender of the martyr is constructed.[527] Somayah's example shows that even if a woman takes all the necessary measures to become a martyr for a group, she is not made a shahida if there is no remembrance by the party, which ultimately decides who becomes a martyr and whose death sinks into oblivion. Sana became the SSNP's poster girl. On the other hand, Somayah, if she existed, took the same action as Sana but her memory was erased because Hezbollah's gender ideology does not include female intentional martyrs, and therefore, women who potentially

521 André-Dessornes, *Les Femmes-Martyres*, 101–02.

522 Amir Taheri, *Holy Terror: The Inside Story of Islamic Terrorism* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 116.

523 Straub, *Das Selbstmordattentat*, 176.

524 Bonsen, *Martyr Cults*, 109.

525 Joseph Alagha, *The Shifts in Hizbullah's Ideology: Religious Ideology, Political Ideology, and Political Program* (Leiden: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 38.

526 John Kifner, 'Car Bomb Hits Israeli Convoy in Southern Lebanon, Killing 12', *New York Times*, 11 March 1985, https://www.nytimes.com/1985/03/11/world/car-bomb-hits-an-israeli-convoy-in-southern-lebanon-killing-12.html.

527 A similar incident occurred in 1987, when a Sunni woman named Soraya Sahouni blew herself up in Beirut's airport. No group claimed responsibility.

gave their lives for the party are not recognised as martyrs.[528] In contrast, the SSNP's gender ideology includes female martyrs, and women who gave their lives for the SSNP are actively remembered visually.

Beyond the SSNP and the LCP, I encountered only one poster showing a female militant martyr, which was from Ahrar. It commemorates Saydeh Jamil Khayatt and was issued in 1976 (*Fig. 4.21*). The poster fits the characteristics of the ordinary format by including the party logo, an ID photograph of the deceased, and a slogan that commemorates her death, labelling her as Lebanon's first female martyr who died in battle. While there is little information about Ahrar's gender ideology during the *Wars*, the largest Christian party—the Phalange, which later split into the Kataeb and the LF—had female battalions; despite this, its leadership was at odds on whether women should fight.[529]

Regarding the other parties involved in the *Wars*, images commemorating women as martyrs are absent in the archives I have consulted. However, there are sources suggesting that Amal and Hezbollah potentially had female combatants, albeit in very small numbers, and allowed women to fight when absolutely necessary.[530] The Sunni and Druze parties, on the other hand, officially had no female fighters at all.[531] Generally, the visual distribution of the militant shahida is, with some exceptions of Christian parties, restricted to the SSNP and the LCP.

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528 Whereas Hezbollah officially does not have any women who conducted martyrdom operations, the group, as a Hezbollah representative told André-Dessornes, acknowledges Sana Muhaidly and Lola Abboud, who conducted martyrdom operations for the SSNP and the LCP, as martyrs because they were fighting the common enemy, Israel. See André-Dessornes, *Les Femmes Martyres*, 129. It is therefore surprising that Straub, who refers to a 1986 source that claims that Hezbollah does not accept Sana as a martyr, ignores André-Dessorne's more recent findings. See Straub, *Das Selbstmordattentat*, 176–77.

529 On gender ideology regarding female participation in combat within the militias, see Eggert, *Women*, 10–11.

530 Eggert, *Women*, 88; Bonsen, *Martyr Cults*, 244. Amal had only twenty women who were killed in combat. Holt ('Lebanese Shi'i Women', 176–87) interviewed a female Hezbollah member, who told her that waging war is primarily a man's thing, but women are allowed to join if necessary. Nasrallah agreed on this point, though he also stressed that fighting by women should be avoided, and according to him, Hezbollah women did not take up arms. This claim is countered by Al Jazeera, 'Lebanese Women Warriors', because the documentary includes an interview with a woman linked to Hezbollah who narrates that she took up arms during the *Wars*. Of course, fighting with weapons is not the only mode of struggle that women can engage in. Accounts also mention that women in the South participated in fighting by other means, such as pouring boiling hot oil from their windows on Israeli soldiers; see Eggert, *Women*, 115. Bonsen also mentions that women attacked Israeli soldiers with kitchen knives (*Martyr Cults*, 188).

531 Eggert, *Women*, 9–11; also see page 175 for the Morabitoun and pages 116–17, which includes Eggert's interview with a woman who recalls that despite the fact that the PSP officially had no female fighters, women took up arms when Israeli soldiers entered their village. Chami published a photo of female PSP fighters training with arms (*Le Mémorial de la Guerre*, 75).

The fact that Lina's only death in combat occurs for the SSNP (*Fig. 3.44*) echoes this gender ideology. The SSNP, more than any other party, foregrounds their female martyrs and actively and vividly remembers their killed women in posters. The choice of the two underlying images in combination, namely, images of Sana and Ayyash, points in my reading to the equality the SSNP claimed that male and female militants had; this equality was particularly evident in the imagery commemorating their martyrdoms.[532] However, most of the deaths of women during the *Wars* happened not because they were active in combat, but because they died in other ways, such as in bombings or massacres.

Modes of Female Martyrdom III: The Martyr Massacred at Home

Targeted political killings inside the domestic space were another way in which women died during the *Wars*. The shahida, massacred at home, appears in *Nancy* when Lina tells the audience the following anecdote that happened 'in early '77' (17):

> I found myself a commander in the National Christians Front, fulfilling my duty with all my heart and enthusiasm. I even became a staunch defender of the West Beirut National Christians. That is, until certain parties started getting irritated with me for endlessly criticizing the liberties we were taking in the National neighbourhoods. First, they notified me that I'd better cool it a little. Then, they sent me a pretty threatening message. Finally, they sent someone over to assassinate me… And that was how I died at home in Mazraa, along with my husband and four children, a massacre. (16)

Lina's speech is accompanied by a poster showing her headshot (*Fig. 3.43*). In the lower-left corner, four flowers are visible; the white petals are empty, and in the centres, photographs of faces representing Lina's children are inserted. The children are also mentioned in black letters that appear next to the flowers and that read: 'The Martyrs of Beirut. Lina Saneh and Her Children'.

Using the image of a living being for the representation of a dead person is often met with emotional discomfort by those lending their faces. I suspect that this is the reason why the children are photographs of Saneh's and Mroué's younger selves.[533] The fact that the killed husband is missing from the image is probably

532 Maasri, when discussing a poster of Sana issued by the SSNP in 1986, describes it—due to the soft strokes used for this portrait of the shahida—as a 'typical stereotype of romanticised femininity' (*Off the Wall*, 94). Compared to all other posters of Sana, this image is an exception, which is why I would not place much relevance on a single poster.

533 Maakaroun, Zoom, 17 February 2021.

based on the same reason and on the storyline, as it would have been confusing to use a face of one of the three male actors, who do not act as Lina's husbands in the play.[534]

Here, Lina is militarily active but is assassinated at home and not—as in her death, which I have discussed before—in combat. Such assassinations happened during the *Wars*. An example is the case of Linda al-Atrash, the sister of the PSP's leader Kamal Jumblatt. She was killed together with her daughter in her apartment in East Beirut in 1976.[535] The two incidents are comparable, as the Christian Lina lived in Muslim-dominated West Beirut when she was massacred and Linda, who was Druze, lived in the Christian-dominated eastern sector of the city. I have not encountered a poster commemorating Linda as a shahida, probably due to the gender ideology of the PSP, which refrained from visualising women martyrs.[536]

Other women who died in other politically motivated massacres were remembered on posters and performed there as martyrs. A poster (*Fig. 4.19*) that commemorates the killing of the Chamoun family also shows Ingrid, the wife of Ahrar's leader Dany Chamoun. Ingrid was killed along with her husband and their two young sons. A family photograph depicting the smiling couple with their children on their laps was turned into a poster of martyrs, including a slogan that labels all dead family members as shuhada. Even though Ingrid did not die fighting—rather, she was inside her home—she is presented as a martyr, which she only became due to her husband's political activity.

Compared to the deaths of Linda and Ingrid, Lina's case in *Nancy* is slightly different. She did not die because of her husband or brother, but because of her own activities in the militia. Nonetheless, the mode of the image, a family photograph including children, is comparable to the poster of the Chamouns. At the same time, Lina's image is a deconstruction of the commemorative poster issued when a family was massacred at home, not only because a woman instead of a man turns into the protagonist, but also because, while the children remain present, the husband is not depicted. No male hero is needed, and Lina herself performs as the heroine who is assassinated for her political deeds.

534 Lina is also massacred in a poster of the Blue Group (*Fig. 3.46*), as I discussed in 4.3. As this visual does not correspond to the family image, I will not mention this death further at this point.

535 Traboulsi, *History*, 200.

536 An exception is a poster issued by the PSP that commemorates the massacres of Masklakh and Karantina and depicts a dead woman lying on the ground. I have discussed this image in 4.2. Linda al-Atrash's portrait covered the frontpage of the magazine *Assayad* on 10 June 1976, with the caption 'Why Did They Kill Sitt Linda?' I encountered this magazine in Alfred Tarazi's exhibition *Memory of a Paper City* at UMAM, which ran from 10 June 2022 to 15 July 2023.

Modes of Female Martyrdom IV: The Civilian Martyr

Other women were killed during the *Wars* without being politically active and were murdered without being personally targeted. Lina, too, dies as a solely civilian martyr. After moving from West to East Beirut, the following incident occurred, as she tells the audience:

> One pitch-black night, while on my way back to our new home in Furn el Chebbak, a hysterical youth springs up in my path and starts screaming: 'You traitor, you collaborator, you bitch, you f-'. He proceeds to beat me to a pulp. He keeps at it until my blood has soaked into the ground and I die. That was on March 12, 1984. Later I learnt that the youth in question had killed me to avenge his brother, who had been abducted that same day in West Beirut when on his way to work at the Central Bank. That's sectarianism for you, that's where it leads. (26)

Lina was selected for an act of revenge because she had chosen to live in the Muslim part of town before moving to the Christian-dominated part.

The black-and-white image that accompanies this death (*Fig. 3.47*) shows an ID photograph of Lina looking into the camera. A black cross is visible in her hair. As Lina was not part of any militia at the time of this death, the poster lacks a party logo. The visual reminds us of the announcements of deaths still visible in East Beirut's streets (*Fig. 2.7*), for it includes a black cross, black letters, and a photograph of the deceased. Today, these announcements are used for non-martyric deaths, and I would argue that this image type is chosen in *Nancy* because the death happened not as a result of Lina's heroism, but while she was walking as a civilian on the street and unfortunately encountered an angry youth.

Like Lina, civilian women who have died due to being in the wrong place at the wrong time are presented as martyrs in images of the *Wars*. An example is a poster issued by Hezbollah in 1985 (*Fig. 4.17*). It shows headshots of men, women, and children in rectangular frames. The faces of some of the depicted, male and female, are obscured by flowers. Below each photograph, the dead are labelled as a shahid or shahida. All the depicted people died when a car bomb exploded in the Dahiyeh. The Bir al-Abed bombing was aimed at murdering a high-ranking Hezbollah official but instead killed dozens of civilians, mostly women and girls, who were leaving a mosque or doing other daily tasks. The mother of two of the dead told journalist Nora Boustany that 'Ahmed and Zeinab were working, not fighting. She [Zeinab] was selling a bride her trousseau. Now they are both dead'.[537] The Shia

537 Nora Boustany, 'Beirut Bomb's Legacy Suspicion and Tears', *Washington Post*, 6 March 1988, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1988/03/06/beirut-bombs-legacy-suspicion-and-tears/28371cdd-e9ac-4792-89df-88bf0c0c64c7/.

women, like Lina in the poster in *Figure 3.47*, did not die in combat. Their murders were not the result of personal targeting and they were not actively engaged in fighting. Nonetheless, they are remembered as martyrs on posters.

The Depiction of Lina as a Reflection of Women Primarily Performing the Role of the Martyr by Being Killed Violently, but Not in Combat

While the focus on female martyrs' looks and rumours surrounding their deaths are absent in *Nancy*, Lina combines four different roles that female martyrs performed in images during the *Wars*. The play illustrates via the poster in *Figure 3.49* that women died while being active within their parties yet without taking up arms. Other women, such as Muhaidly, died as militant martyrs and were widely remembered as such in visuals, though in most cases this was only by secular parties such as the SSNP and the LCP. By framing Lina's only death in combat as a martyrdom for the SSNP (*Fig. 3.44*), the play highlights the visual equality of female martyrs that was more vivid in the SSNP than in any other party. Throughout the play, Lina never becomes a martyr for a faction that did not have visuals of female martyrs, such as the Morabitoun. Women who were in familial relationships with influential politicians and were killed at home, such as Ingrid Chamoun, were also turned into martyrs, as happened to Lina in the death that accompanies the poster in *Figure 3.43*. But Lina is not murdered because of a man; rather, she performs the role of the heroine martyr herself. Women were also frequently killed while living their daily lives, such as the women exiting the mosque in Bir al-Abed. Still, they were remembered as shuhada, as Lina is in the image in *Figure 3.47*.

During the *Wars*, women were elevated to the rank of martyrdom primarily because they were killed violently without taking up arms; Lina, too, died in combat only once. This is in contrast to men, who were usually turned into martyrs by being militiamen and by dying in battle, as Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad repeatedly do in *Nancy*.

4.4.2 Appropriations of the Hypermasculine Martyr Poster in *Nancy* and the Disenchantment of the Hypermasculine Fighter in Other Cultural Productions

The hypermasculine format is a certain type of martyr imagery, which shows exaggerated traits of masculinity and can be encountered among almost all parties involved in the *Wars* and is caricatured in *Nancy*.

My discussion here continues the work of Haugbolle, who argues that *Nancy* reflects on hegemonic masculinity during conflict.[538] Male gender roles performed

538 Haugbolle, '(Little) Militia Man', 118.

during the *Wars* included specific attributes such as a peculiar uniform, weapons, facial expressions, and bodily poses. All these are labelled 'militarised masculinities' in Myrttinen's brief study on the visuals of martyrs on Lebanese streets today.[539] Khalili has also earlier identified an 'emphasis on hyper-masculine heroism' among Palestinian fighters and martyrs, where men are presented as having courage during battle, acting out violence while being fearless, cool, and effective, and willing to sacrifice themselves for the cause.[540] All these points also apply to the Lebanese factions, as I will elaborate below by linking selected pictures of *Nancy* to their underlying images, which are posters from the *Wars* that have a hypermasculine format. As we will see, *Nancy*, via the exaggerated use of attributes and symbols associated with masculinity in the posters of the *Wars*, ridicules the depiction of the male martyr. Furthermore, the reading of the image and text of the play in combination reveals that it is only the image of the shahid that presents the martyr as a hero, while the text points to the martyr's humanity by emphasising soft traits and emotions; this deconstruction of the hero also takes place in other Lebanese cultural productions. I start with the identification of the elements of the male hero in posters of the *Wars* that can also be found in the posters of *Nancy*.

The Elements of the Male Martyr I: What Makes a Man Is Not the Gun, but the Sunglasses

Several images in *Nancy* (*Figs. 3.13*, *3.19*, *3.32*) show Rabih, Hatem, or Ziad wearing sunglasses. These posters commemorate the men's deaths as martyrdoms for their respective militias; namely, Rabih for the LF, Hatem for the Morabitoun, and Ziad for the LCP. All three died in combat while fighting against their perceived enemies.

A poster (*Fig. 3.19*) that accompanies Hatem's death was issued when he died in combat against the Phalange:

> In the end, the battle is settled in our favour, and we seize control of the tower. In my excitement, I run all the way up to the roof and start shouting for the people of Beirut to behold this first victory of the Morabitun: 'God is Great. Allahu akbar!' A moment later, I feel this heat in my head: A Phalangist sniper perched on the roof of the Holiday Inn delivers a bullet, and I die on the spot. (14)

The poster shows the actor standing, oriented to the viewer. His body is visible down to slightly below his waist, and his arms are at his sides. This depiction reminds me of the pose of Mostafa Marouf Saad (*Fig. 3.75*), who was, as mentioned, not a martyr but the leader of a Sunni militia, the Popular Nasserist Movement.

539 Myrttinen, 'Death Becomes Him', 123.

540 Khalili, *Heroes and Martyrs*, 20–21.

Like Hatem, he is wearing sunglasses and is standing on the right-hand side of the poster with a ruin in the background. What is noteworthy is that in this case, it is not the poster of a martyr that was appropriated. This, in my reading, was done because the masculine traits of militiamen (and militia leaders) should be foregrounded. As I have argued in 4.2, most of the actual posters of the martyrs of the *Wars* appropriate ID photographs, in which the men, of course, do not wear sunglasses. Therefore, it seems, the makers of *Nancy* resorted to an image of a militia leader, although he had not become a martyr.

Another mode in which sunglasses are included in the visuals of *Nancy* is the appropriation of one of the rare posters of the *Wars* depicting a martyr who is wearing sunglasses. This is employed in the poster that was issued after Rabih's death for the LF during the Geagea-Hobeika dispute (*Fig. 3.13*). Rabih, who was part of Hobeika's faction, talks about Geagea's reaction to Hobeika's travel to Damascus to sign the peace treaty:

> Geagea's response comes a couple of days later, in the form of a full-fledged military offensive. First on the list are our offices in the Military council… The attack lasts two hours and ends with our defeat and my death—along with nine of my friends… It was the first day of the year 1986. (27)

The poster accompanying this death of Rabih is—although he is not depicted with a rifle, but only in combat gear and wearing sunglasses—an appropriation of an iconic and widely reproduced image of Bachir Gemayel (*Fig. 4.66*), issued by the Phalange, that shows him with Ray-Ban sunglasses and a gun.[541]

A third visual strategy of incorporating sunglasses is to add them to an appropriated image, and this is done in the depiction of Ziad's death (*Fig. 3.32*), which occurred under the following circumstances:

> Then in early '76 I joined the fighting in the Sannine mountain range. […] A Russian-made shell descends on us from the Syrian side, and a piece of shrapnel gets lodged in my gut. Comrade Nassim carried me on his back, but we had a long distance to cross and it wasn't easy walking in the snow. He was getting tired and I couldn't take it anymore, I just wanted to die and get some rest. I begged him to leave me behind… He agreed, but he promised to come back for me with the other comrades… Hardly half an hour later the cold had penetrated my bones and I was frozen stiff. The battle was settled in the Syrian Army's favour. Nevertheless, my comrades counted me as the first hero to fall in the Sannine battle against the separatist isolationist project for Lebanon. (15)

541 Jabre, *Lebanese Resistance Posters*, 6. In Bachir's case, the gun was a Belgian CAL.

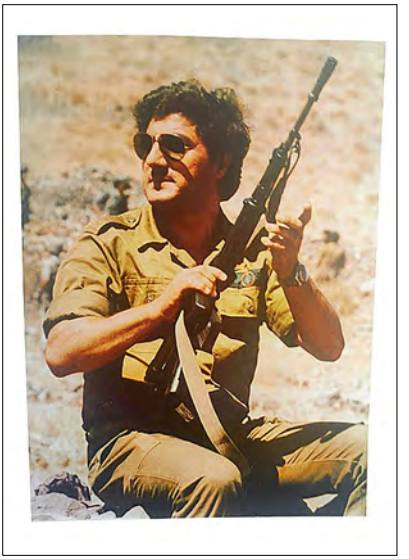

Fig. 4.66: Phalange (Photographer Varoujan), Bachir, 1980, Poster, 47 x 65 cm, WJA 39, signsofconflict.com.

Fig. 4.67: LNRF/SSNP, 'Oh My Family in the South, a Few Steps and I Will Be with You, a Bride You Hail to the Soul of the Martyrs. Norma Abu Hassan', 1986, Poster, 45 x 60 cm, ZMA 423, signsofconflict.com.

Here, a poster of LCP martyr Ahmad al-Mir al-Ayubi (Abu Hassan; *Fig. 3.62*), which I have already discussed in 4.2, served as the underlying image.[542] Both posters show the martyrs in front of a blue background, looking directly at the viewer. Also, the red flower with a blue bullet cutting its stem, symbolising the death of the depicted, is appropriated in the poster of Ziad, but the sunglasses were added in *Nancy*.

Generally, men with guns were frequently visible in martyr posters of the *Wars* (*Figs. 3.64, 3.67, 3.74, 4.9, 4.11, 4.13*). However, guns are not a purely male-connoted symbol. Women with rifles are also depicted in SSNP posters, which visually celebrated its female martyrs more than any other militia, as can be seen in an image of Norma Abu Hassan where she holds a black gun (*Fig. 4.67*). Another example is a poster issued by the LF (*Fig. 4.18*) to commemorate the Siege of Zahlé. The drawing shows a woman, whose face is left blank. She is holding a black rifle in her hands, and a bunch of daisies is growing out of the muzzle of her gun.[543]

542 For the poster, see Maasri, *Off the Wall*, 91.

543 Maasri interprets the woman as the Virgin Mary (*Off the Wall*, 79). I would argue that she could also be a female fighter.

As women are depicted with weapons in posters, it seems that sunglasses are a more masculine-connoted element than guns. The fact that sunglasses were worn by male fighters of different militias is reflected in *Nancy* by showing the three actors having died for different factions with sunglasses. According to Mroué, Ray-Bans were particularly popular.

> This is related to the macho culture during the war and represented in the political posters. It was a trend for most political parties. In the Lebanese Forces, wearing Ray-Ban sunglasses like the leader Bachir Gemayel was a trend followed by most members. This trend was similar for other political parties and militias.[544]

Similarly, Jabre points out that sunglasses, primarily Ray-Bans, were fashionable among fighters.[545] The brand was invented in the 1930s to prevent US Army pilots from being blinded by rays while flying. Twenty years later, Ray-Bans entered pop culture and were, for example, worn by James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause*. The brand was male-connoted for decades; it was only in the 1960s that a model was designed for women.[546]

The popularity of sunglasses and guns among militiamen is also mentioned in memoirs and novels about the *Wars*, such as one by Youssef Bazzi, a former fighter of the SSNP, who remembers: 'I stood at the checkpoint, wearing gold-rimmed Ray-Ban sunglasses with green lenses, a white tank-top and camouflage khakis, holding a British-made VAL rifle'.[547] Similarly, Rawi Hage describes a militiaman in his novel *De Niro's Game* (2006), which is set during the *Wars*, as follows: 'Abou-Nahra had on his Ray-Ban sunglasses, so you couldn't tell whether he was looking at you'.[548]

I have not encountered sunglasses in posters or photographs depicting female martyrs or fighters.[549] While a few posters across different militias show male martyrs wearing sunglasses, there are numerous photographs of male combatants that show the fighters with sunglasses and confirm how popular they were during the *Wars*.[550] One photograph by Harout Jeredjian (*Fig. 4.68*) illustrates that gender was performed by wearing or not wearing sunglasses. Two fighters, one male and one

544 Mroué, Zoom, 18 May 2021.

545 Jabre, *Lebanese Resistance Posters*, 6.

546 Ray-Ban, 'Ray-Ban: The History of the Top-Selling Eyewear Brand Worldwide', *Luxottica Homepage*, n.d., https://www.luxottica.com/sites/luxottica.com/files/ray-ban_history_en.pdf (last accessed 5 December 2023; site inactive on 25 October 2024).

547 Yussef Bazzi, *Yasser Arafat Looked at Me and Smiled* (Beirut: Ashkal Alwan, 2005), 41.

548 Rawi Hage, *De Niro's Game* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2006), 90.

549 However, I have seen photographs from the *Wars* of women wearing sunglasses at funerals.

550 Images of male martyrs wearing sunglasses are also shown in Schmitt, *Advertised to Death*.

Fig. 4.68: Harout Jeredjian, *Untitled*, 1976, Courtesy of Georges Boustany Collection.

female, are walking next to each other carrying guns, but only the man is wearing sunglasses, while the woman's face is bare.

Wearing sunglasses de-individualises, as a part of the face is covered. This creates the appearance of similar-looking militiamen. As discussed above, women are depicted in martyr posters because of their looks; for this reason, it is more essential that their faces are fully visible and not partly covered.

In short, what distinguishes the gender performance of the male martyr from his female counterpart is not the gun, but the sunglasses. This is also reflected in *Nancy* by the decision to depict Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad wearing sunglasses.

The Elements of the Male Martyr II: Crossed Arms in Military Clothes, a Muscular Body in Everyday Clothes

The second element of the male martyr's image that *Nancy* points out are body poses, namely, crossed arms and the exposure of a (semi)muscular body. Two posters in the play stress the body of the male fighter. The first is a death of Rabih for the LF (*Fig. 3.12*), and the second is a death of Ziad for the PFLP and the LCP (*Fig. 3.33*). Ziad tells the audience, 'We are to attack the town of Aishiyeh. […] On November 9, 1976, […] Our jeep is hit and all the passengers die, myself included' (16). Ziad's death is accompanied by a poster that shows him in combat clothing; his muscular

arms are crossed, and he is looking to his right. His slightly unbuttoned shirt reveals part of his bare chest. Rabih is depicted in a similar vein. With crossed arms in military gear, he looks towards the viewer. His chest is also revealed by a V-neck. He tells of his death as follows: 'on Tuesday, October 27, 1980 to be exact—I join the campaign to finish off the last of the Ahrar's bases in Ain el Remmaneh… […] I am wounded in several places and die' (19). Both Rabih and Ziad die in combat.

The underlying image of the posters for Rabih and Ziad is a depiction of Bachir (*Fig. 3.58*) in which he is shown with crossed, strong, and muscular arms in military gear; specifically, he is wearing a shirt that reveals part of his chest. Bonsen interprets this staging of Bachir as a demonstration of his 'strength, being a brave soldier of Lebanon'.[551] According to Schmitt, the image shows an idealised male fighter, characterised by 'a military uniform' and a 'facial expression of fierce resolve'.[552] I have not encountered posters in which women are depicted in this manner. Although the SSNP's female martyrs are wearing military gear in posters (*Fig. 4.67*), they are shown neither with crossed arms nor with an emphasis on their muscles.

A second mode of visualising masculinity in *Nancy* is the accentuation of the whole body in everyday clothes, as can be seen in images of Hatem (*Fig. 3.19*) and Rabih (*Figs. 3.8–3.9*). Rabih, as I will elaborate further in 4.5, died like Hatem in the Battle of the Hotels. Both martyred fighters wear a fitted top (a tight T-shirt for the former and a slim-cut shirt for the latter) tucked into their trousers, which are held with belts, accentuating their semi-muscular bodies. Their arms hang at their sides, and they look towards the viewer. Parts of their lower arms are uncovered, and Hatem's white shirt, via the V-neck, exposes part of his chest. A gun holster is visible around his right shoulder.

One underlying image of this depiction could be a poster issued by the PSP (*Fig. 3.74*) that shows Walid Samih Chahin, an ordinary militiaman and martyr. He stands in front of a tree wearing non-combatant clothes and, like Rabih and Hatem, is frontally posed, looking towards the viewer. Chahin is, like Hatem, depicted with a rifle. Unlike the two images of *Nancy*, however, it is not just the lower arms of the PSP fighter that are exposed, because he wears a tank-top (on which white letters read 'No Problem') so that his hyper-trained muscular arms are fully visible.

Nancy reflects on two postures performed by the male martyr in posters of the *Wars*: first, the depiction of martyrs in combat gear and with crossed muscular arms; and second, the exposure of the whole muscular body, in everyday clothes, often with a weapon. I have not encountered such depictions of women in martyr posters, as I have not encountered women wearing sunglasses. I call the combination or partial application of these elements in posters of martyrs the hypermasculine format.

551 Bonsen, *Martyr Cults*, 105.

552 Schmitt, *Advertised to Death*, 91.

Nancy as a Reflection of Exaggerated Masculinity in the Posters of the *Wars*

Hypermasculinity is a concept that is rooted in psychology and was coined as a term by Donald L. Mosher and Mark Sirkin in 1984. It describes an exaggerated form of stereotypical masculinity that consists of four elements: first, toughness as emotional self-control, meaning that feelings such as fear, distress, empathy, and sensitivity are regarded as weak, while anger is perceived as the only legitimate emotion; second, physical and verbal violence are considered acceptable behaviours of masculine power; third, dangerous situations are perceived as exciting, and surviving them is believed to be manly; fourth, insensitive, aggressive, and depersonalised attitudes towards women and sex. In combination, these elements describe a male personality who wants to be powerful and dominant over other men, women, and the environment, often by resorting to violence.[553]

Not all four traits can be found in the hypermasculine format in the *Wars* posters and in the *Nancy* posters. Whereas dominance over women and violence as acceptable behaviour are absent,[554] toughness is expressed through an emotionless face; specifically, through sunglasses that cover the eyes and thus conceal all possible feelings that the depicted men may express. The exposure of the body and the posture with crossed arms point to strength and bravery, and therefore to the willingness to place oneself in a dangerous situation that might be perceived as exciting.

Broader existing discussions on the performance of exaggerated male attributes in imagery from the *Wars* are, with the exception of Myrttinen's article, limited. Researchers usually focus on the image of Bachir alone. In this regard, Haugbolle writes of 'muscular Maronitism', which describes the image of a young, healthy, and strong Maronite, or at least Christian fighter, primarily embodied by Bachir.[555] Traboulsi, in a similar vein, speaks of 'muscular Libanity', referring to Bachir.[556]

By appropriating hypermasculine poses from the posters of the *Wars* for Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad, who died as fighting martyrs for different militias, namely the Phalange, Ahrar, the LCP, the PFLP, and the Morabitoun, *Nancy* reflects the fact that the exaggerated visualisation of the male combatant in posters of the *Wars*

553 Megan Vokey, Bruce Tefft, and Christ Tysiaczny, 'An Analysis of Hyper-Masculinity in Magazine Advertisements', *Sex Roles* 68 (2013): 562–63.

554 Remarkably, little research has been conducted regarding sexual violence against women during the *Wars*, with the first study on this topic published only recently. See Legal Action Worldwide, *They Raped Us in Every Way Possible, in Ways You Can't Imagine: Gendered Crimes During the Lebanese Civil War* (n.p.: Legal Action Worldwide, 2021), https://www.legalactionworldwide.org/wp-content/uploads/They-raped-us-in-every-possible-way-23.05.2022.pdf.

555 Haugbolle, 'Secular Saint', 208–10.

556 Traboulsi, *History*, 216.

is not limited to Bachir; as I have shown with the underlying *Wars* posters of the LF, the Popular Nasserite Movement, and the PSP, they can also be encountered in other images of martyrs and among various groups involved in the conflicts. In my reading, the exaggerated re-staging of these poses in *Nancy* caricatures the visual hypermasculinity in the posters of the *Wars*.

Undermining Hypermasculinity: The Hero Is a Human and (Un)Heroic Militiamen in Other Cultural Productions

The hypermasculine fighter is disenchanted in *Nancy* and in other artworks. Hypermasculinity in *Nancy* is expressed only in the visuals. Read in combination with the text, the play denounces the construction of the hypermasculine martyr and reveals him as being not a hero but a human, who expresses emotions. For example, when he departs with the PLO for Tunis in 1982, Hatem admits: 'There I was, on deck, holding back my tears' (22). Rabih, as mentioned in 4.2, is deeply saddened when he learns, after the *Wars* had officially ended, that one of his deaths has not been captured on camera, saying, 'I watched the tape because I wanted to see how I was killed. But, alas, I wasn't on the tape. I was really stung by this—it hurt my feelings…' (32). Similarly, Ziad wishes to die after he was wounded in a battle in the Sannine, explaining, as quoted above, 'I couldn't take it anymore, I just wanted to die and get some rest…' (15).

These examples show that, on the textual plane, the martyr is presented as an everyday human, with feelings such as sadness, sensitivity, and distress, who only through the circumstances of war becomes a fighter. Fadi Toufiq commented on this notion regarding *Nancy*:

> [The militiamen] were citizens, not fighters. No one is born as a fighter. A fighter is not a genre of people; it is not a nationality. It is our cousin, our brother; it is the family. […] A fighter is not someone as now they speak about them; they were not these bad guys. They were the loved ones on the street. […] In a civil war, you do not need a uniform; if you throw [down] your arms, you become a civilian and we brought that notion to the theatre—these four performers, four fighters—and we showed the people how they are. They are you; they are anyone.[557]

In this passage, Toufiq does not speak of any heroism of the fighters but describes them as any man or woman next door who became a fighter because he or she was born in the temporality and locality of war.

557 Toufiq, Zoom, 6 May 2021.

The fighter, as Khatib has also argued for Lebanese cinema—in particular, for movies by Baghdadi—is characterised not as a superhero, but as a man with human traits, who despite having these traits, commits violent acts.[558] In the hypermasculine format, however, the shahid is never visually portrayed as a man-next-door, but as a hero. This stands in contrast to the ordinary format, where the ID images themselves do not create the impression of the martyr as an extraordinary being.

Nancy does not demonise the militiamen; rather, Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad partly fit into Haugbolle's concept of the 'little militia man'. The 'little militia man' joined a militia due to economic and social circumstances and now feels remorse for his deeds during the *Wars*.[559] Such sentiments are absent in the text of *Nancy*. Therefore, regarding *Nancy*, I would not speak of the 'little militia man' but of the '(un) heroic militiaman'. To better understand the construction of this figure, I will link his portrayal to other Lebanese cultural productions.

First, there is the movie *Memory Box* (2021) by Hadjithomas/Joreige, in which the artists tell the story of three generations of Lebanese women and the effects of the *Wars* on them. One of them, Maia, came of age during the *Wars* and left the country with her mother before the official end of the conflict, whereas her daughter was born in Canada. While still in Lebanon, Maia had a boyfriend, Raja, who was part of a militia. In *Memory Box*, he is portrayed not as a strong hero but as a gentle and sensitive lover who takes risks not in the battle but in his endeavours to see Maia. This is evident, for instance, when he secretly collects her from her house in the middle of the night.

Another example is *Three Posters* (2000; *Fig. 3.1*). By showing different takes of al-Sati's video, which he recorded before his martyrdom operation, the audience sees that the martyr-to-be sometimes stutters or corrects himself, as Mroué explained:

> You see the very human side of him; you see the fear in his eyes. You can also see the pride he had for his cause. I think you can feel his hesitation in his stuttering. You sense that he is reading from or has memorised a written text, and that sometimes he tries to improvise but then cannot go on. You feel all of these things.[560]

By watching the different versions of the video, and the martyr's insecurities and errors in the process of recording, it becomes obvious that 'the martyr is not a hero but a human being'.[561]

558 Khatib, *Lebanese Cinema*, 105–25.

559 Haugbolle, '(Little) Militia Man', 135.

560 Elias, 'Interview with Rabih Mroué'.

561 Mroué and Khoury, 'Three Posters', 183.

A third example on which I will focus is the representation of the (un)heroic militiaman in the documentary movie *Massaker* (2004) by Borgmann, Slim, and Theissen, which in my reading denounces the hypermasculinity of fighters. The filmmakers interviewed six former combatants of the Phalange who committed atrocities in the massacre of Sabra and Shatila in 1982. These men, like the four actors in *Nancy*, provide details, sometimes including exact dates and locations, of their experiences during the *Wars*, although in *Massaker* they are restricted to Sabra and Shatila. Similar to Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad, the ex-combatants do not express regret for the violence they have committed.

The visual depiction of the protagonists of *Massaker* is in no way heroic (*Fig*. 4.69). Their faces are not visible; the spectators only see the men in dim light, and the frequent close-ups evoke an interrogation scene.[562] However, the Phalangists show hypermasculine traits. In some scenes, they present themselves as tough guys with no emotions. For example, when an interviewee re-enacts a memory of killing a Palestinian with a knife, he says without sentiment that it is better to slaughter and torture a human than shoot him, as the experience before death is more painful. In another scene, an interviewee says, 'During a street battle you have to be ice cold like a refrigerator'. These statements are devoid of empathy or sensitivity.

Physical violence as an acceptable expression of masculine power is also repeatedly acknowledged. For instance, a militiaman mentions that it is no problem to shoot at people, and another of the interviewees re-enacts without any expression of pity how the Phalangists hijacked the homes of Palestinians, throwing grenades inside them, killing the inhabitants. A militiaman bluntly explains, 'We were there to kill them'.

Fig. 4.69: Monika Borgmann, Lokman Slim, Hermann Theissen, *Massaker*, 2004, Film, 99 min, Courtesy of Monika Borgmann.

562 Mark Westmoreland, 'Catastrophic Subjectivity: Representing Lebanon's Undead', *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 30 (2010): 200.

Other sections of *Massaker* reflect the belief that survival in dangerous situations is perceived as manly. A commander says that he brought his men to Sabra and Shatila 'to give them a chance to kill and see blood. The most important thing to survive a war is to see blood'. The ex-fighters also boldly claim that they enjoyed the killings and that there was a subconscious competition to see who could slaughter the most Palestinians.

Furthermore, insensitive, aggressive, and depersonalised attitudes towards women are addressed. One Phalangist remembers another fighter, who had raped and killed a Palestinian girl, saying, 'We didn't object. We laughed. You've got a little one. Why didn't you kill her straightaway. She stinks, she his dirty. Her pubic hair is one meter long. He said I needed a fuck—how else could I get it'. This memory, uttered without regret, is only one of numerous passages that make *Massaker* terribly difficult to watch.[563]

While the statements I have discussed, taken together, seem to embody the hypermasculine man who wants to be powerful and dominant, in this case over the Palestinians, by killing and torturing them, the filmmakers simultaneously deconstruct the image of the ruthless and barbaric militiaman by including narrations by the interviewees, which show that they are not only tough guys but also humans with feelings. For example, a Phalangist tells the audience that he was terrified and shocked when he saw the many dead in the camp but participated in the massacre because he was afraid that he would be killed if he refused to do so. Another interviewee remarks that he did not have the courage to kill, which is why someone else killed for him. Also, the commander admits that ninety percent of his men were afraid to go to the camp. Another man says that seeing people slaughtered made him feel sick, and he could not stand watching. Awkwardly, compassion for animals is addressed when a militiaman expresses pity for dead horses, shot in Sabra and Shatila, and another man tells in a lengthy anecdote of his love for his cats and that the mother cat has given birth to her kitten in his bed.

The different narrative parts and the visuals of the movie, when combined, show that although these men committed hideous atrocities and have undoubtedly hypermasculine traits, they also have emotions, and although they do not express any pity or regret about what they have done, they also feel love, sadness, and fear, which portrays them not as heroes but as human beings.

563 Direct violence is shown in *Massaker* in photographs of mutilated bodies of Palestinians who were killed in the massacre. To me, it was not these violent images that made watching the movie so distressing, but rather the violence described in detail by the militiamen. I watched *Massaker* twice and felt extremely disgusted and disturbed both times. The fact that none of the survivors of the massacre is given a voice by the filmmakers, who invite only the perpetrators to speak, has been criticised in Lebanon. See Westmoreland, 'Crisis of Representation', 136; Sune Haugbolle, 'Best Practices' of Global Memory and the Politics of Atonement in Lebanon', in *Replicating Atonement: Foreign Models in the Commemoration of Atrocities*, ed. Mischa Gabowitsch (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 66–68.

Like *Massaker*, *Three Posters*, and *Memory Box*, *Nancy* demonstrates that the hypermasculine militiaman does not exist outside his image. Only the surface carries the illusion of a tough hero. These men are not emotionless machines but have, like every human being, the ability to feel not only anger but also fear and love and, at times, insecurity. The hypermasculine men in the posters were neither heroes nor demons, but men who lived next door, (un)heroic militiamen, who either died during the *Wars* and became martyrs or, if they survived, are part of Lebanese society today.

4.4.3 The Hypermasculine Format as Advertisement for the Militia

There are parallels between the martyr posters in the hypermasculine format and certain commercial ads that target men, as both follow a mechanism to establish an illusion of a hypermasculine man and are intended to persuade. Martyr posters, as Maasri has argued, are supposed to encourage men, and in some cases, women, to join the militia that has issued the poster.[564] Hamdar has characterised Hezbollah as its own religious-political brand,[565] and Chaib has pointed out that Hezbollah is using the tools of advertising for the posters of martyrs and that it brands them via the party's logo, calligraphy, and colours.[566] These observations are also valid for the posters of many of the other groups involved in the *Wars*. The title of Schmitt's book, *Advertised to Death: Lebanese Poster Boys*, also hints at this notion; however, she does not discuss the proximity of the martyr poster and the advertising poster, which I will further examine here.

The Promise to Become the Ideal Man by Buying a Product/Joining the Militia: Hypermasculinity in Commercial Advertisements and Martyr Posters

A collective of psychologists who have studied the frequent employment of hypermasculinity in advertisements in US men's magazines came to the conclusion that usually the hypermasculine traits of 'calloused attitudes towards women and sex' and 'violence as manly' do not appear in commercial ads. In contrast, the hypermasculine components 'toughness and emotional self-control' and 'danger as exciting' are frequently depicted in the advertisements they studied. The reason for this, the authors argue, is that these two traits are socially more accepted than violence in general and aggression against women. Therefore, a broader audience will be reached when these two components are omitted.[567]

564 Maasri, *Off the Wall*, 88.

565 Hamdar, 'Hizbullah-land?', 318.

566 Chaib, 'Hezbollah Seen', 131.

567 Vokey, Tefft, Tysiaczny, 'Analysis of Hyper-Masculinity', 572.

Fig. 4.70: Duncan Skipper (Art Director), Maxi-Milk, 2012, Online Poster. Imagery from an old Maximuscle Protein Milk campaign. Maximuscle has since rebranded to MaxiNutrition and is now focused on providing everyday sports nutrition products for everyone.

A typical example of hypermasculine advertising appears for a protein product that builds muscles, called Maxi-Milk (*Fig. 4.70*). It shows a rugged, strong, muscular, physically fit, shirtless man in an outdoor setting. His facial expression is relaxed, embodying 'toughness and emotional self-control', although he is holding himself up with one hand on a rock while hanging from it, an activity that points to 'danger as exciting'. In his other hand, he holds a bottle of the advertised product, from which he is drinking. On the poster's upper right, a slogan reads, 'MILK for REAL MEN', and on the bottom right, a bottle of the product is depicted. This is the logo that serves as the recognition factor for the brand.

Such constructed advertisements do not represent how men actually are but rather create an illusion of the ideal of a man. Through the combination of the image of the advertised product and the man who performs hypermasculinity and owns and uses the product, the ad holds the promise that when buying that item, the depicted version of manliness can be achieved. The target group and those who can be most influenced by such advertisements are young men with lower social or economic power. This is because these men are more likely to buy products that promise that by owning them, one can obtain women, economic security, and social status, which more older men have already gained. Through the presence of such commercials in daily life and their repeated and constant exposure to potential consumers, hypermasculine performances of gender are intended to be normalised and validated. These ads, along with men's early socialisation and the consumption of other media, such as movies and videogames, play a role in the teaching and shaping of masculinity. In other words, these commercials have a substantial influence on hypermasculine behaviour in society because they encourage men to consciously and unconsciously re-enact the men presented in the images.[568]

As with the ad discussed above, the martyr posters in the hypermasculine format are usually void of elements that show aggressive attitudes towards women

568 Ibid., 564–65, 572.

and that depict violence as acceptable manly behaviour. Like the men in the commercials, the shuhada are portrayed as strong, muscular, and rugged, embodying toughness and the perception of danger as exciting. Of course, elements of hypermasculinity in posters of martyrs are depicted not in order to sell a product but to convince young men to join the militia that has issued the poster.

Becoming first a militiaman and then maybe a martyr is framed as the illusion of the ideal man. When becoming part of the militia, as the poster seems to promise, men can achieve the desired masculinity presented in the image. Like the hypermasculine ads, the hypermasculine posters primarily target young and economically unstable men because, as Haugbolle has stated, joining a militia gave boys access to sex, easy money, and guns.[569]

Also, celebrities are often used in hypermasculine commercials. For example, Daniel Craig appears in ads for Omega watches.[570] The use of a celebrity as a face of a brand is comparable to a poster's depiction of a celebrity martyr, who is the face of a dream. Bachir, whose status as a celebrity martyr I discussed in 4.3, is, like Craig, a branded face. He is advertising not a watch but the idea of a Christian-dominated Lebanon.

In *Nancy*, this is particularly reflected in the posters in *Figures 3.12* and *3.13*, which show Rabih as 'little Bachir'. Rabih reproduces hypermasculinity by re-staging the pose of the celebrity martyr with crossed arms and military gear (*Fig. 3.58*). Bachir's image is used to promise that everyone could become like him by joining the Phalange. The posters present Bachir both as one of the militiamen and as a hero. This is also emphasised by Jabre in an outburst of sectarian glory:

> As for Bashir, it wasn't just a matter of admiration towards him but rather veneration. An unexpected hero, he is the 'hope' of a strong Lebanon, where Christians would live free, far from any kind of dhimmitude [a term for the situation of Christians living under Muslim rule]. The posters that were plastered at every street corner represented Bashir in his military uniform, arms crossed or holding his gun. The propaganda was to convey the image of a charismatic leader who does not hesitate to take up arms and fight alongside young resistance fighters. This selflessness shows the young commander was admired by both young combatants and civilians.[571]

This passage would be a perfect advertising text for another of Bachir's posters (*Fig. 4.66*), as Jabre here puts in words what the image should communicate. The poster seems to say: 'You, a little boy, can be like me, wearing combat gear, a gun, and

569 Haugbolle, '(Little) Militia Man', 128–29.

570 Elizabeth Nichols, 'Behind the Brand of James Bond', *The Luminary* 4 (2014).

571 Jabre, *Lebanese Resistance Posters*, 18.

sunglasses. I talk like you. I am young, like you. You can be a tough fighter, seeking danger to protect us, Christians. Be like me, join the Phalange!' All these words do not need to be said. The image of Bachir communicates this message itself.

While posters could already convey this message during Bachir's lifetime, they did so even more after his death. Especially around 1983, during the War of the Mountain, many posters of the dead leader were installed to motivate young fighters to continue his cause.[572] Now, it was proven that Bachir would die for his convictions, and he turned into a role model who encouraged others to sacrifice themselves following his example.

The martyr posters in general, celebrity and non-celebrity, contributed to the learning of masculinity. Just as people in urban landscapes are constantly surrounded by advertising posters, the Lebanese were—during the *Wars*—and still are repeatedly exposed to posters of martyrs, often next to commercial ads. In one example on Sassine Square, Bachir's poster is placed in the vicinity of a jewellery ad (*Fig. 4.3*). Through its regular visualisation, hypermasculinity is supposed to be accepted, shaped, and internalised in order to encourage men to re-enact the martyrdom shown. Like the bottle of the Maxi-Milk protein drink, the parties' logos serve as branding.

The hypermasculine format, including a muscular man with a weapon and sunglasses, in relation to the multitude of images in the ordinary format that show ID photographs, stands out. It is therefore arguably more effective at catching the attention of passers-by and it is intended to evoke in the young men strolling by a desire to become like the poster boy.

This is also true for the posters showing women, as they are depicted far less frequently than men. Especially women sympathising with the SSNP or the LCP might be encouraged to join the militia when they see images of Sana Muhaidly or Lola Abboud. These two women, like all other female martyrs, are not portrayed with stereotypical feminised images, and their posters are devoid of any sexualisation or objectification of the female body, despite the fact that such depictions existed in Lebanon prior to and during the *Wars*. Alfred Tarazi collected numerous examples of magazines presenting women as sexualised objects and exhibited them in his show *Memory of a Paper City* (*Fig. 4.71*). I suggest

Fig. 4.71: *Memory of a Paper City*, UMAM, Exhibition View, Courtesy of Alfred Tarazi.

572 Maasri, *Off the Wall*, 63–64.

that the reason for the non-sexualisation of women in martyr posters is that the posters of female fighters should not enhance the image of a 'loose' woman, rather they should present self-sacrifice as an honourable deed. Sometimes women are carrying weapons, as in the case of Norma Abu Hassan (*Fig. 4.67*), and sometimes women are depicted in the serial format, as in the case of Sana Muhaidly (*Fig. 3.77*). But the depiction of women is unlike that of men because their pose matters less than the sheer fact that they are women. Simply being a woman makes them stand out from the mass of faces of male martyrs.

4.4.4 Deconstructing and Revealing the Gender Roles Performed in *Nancy* and Other Works of Art

Because social gender is constructed, roles can be changed, at least in theory. During the *Wars*, it would have been possible to depict female martyrs with sunglasses or crossed hands in posters. However, this did not happen because it would have been perceived as odd if a woman, such as Norma Abu Hassan (*Fig. 4.67*), had performed the same pose as Walid Samieh Chahin (*Fig. 3.74*), exposing her body in a tank-top and showing her muscular arms.

In the posters of *Nancy*, the performance of gender is especially revealed in one black-and-white poster that depicts Lina (*Fig. 3.48*). The actor sits on a military jeep, wearing sunglasses, and her arms are bare. She narrates her death for the LF as follows:

> I joined the Lebanese Forces. Given my former political background and my experience in the media, I was assigned to their media office. […] Until I found myself on the media consultant team accompanying Hobeika on his visit to Syria. Upon our return, Hobeika accused me of working for Samir Geagea—and of leaking information on the serious concessions he had offered to the Syrians… The charge ended up costing me a bullet in the head. (27)

This death of Lina, again caused by the Geagea-Hobeika conflict, fits into the typical roles women performed during the *Wars* because Lina was affiliated with a militia without actively taking part in combat.

The underlying image comes from a poster that was issued by the Lebanese National Resistance Front (*Fig. 3.73*). It shows a man throwing a stone at a vehicle on which, in this version, nobody is sitting. What is crucial, however, is that Lina wears sunglasses and her arms are bare, elements that, in the posters of the *Wars*, are restricted to men. Butler would term this strategy of depicting one gender with attributes ritually performed by the other as 'cross-dressing'. At the same time, *Figure 3.48* is an example of a subversive act against the categories of gender, as explained by Butler:

> If subversion is possible, it will be a subversion from within the terms of the law, through the possibilities that emerge when the law turns against itself and spawns unexpected permutations itself.[573]

If the poster, in particular the hypermasculine format, is thought of as Butler's law, then *Nancy* subverts it by turning it against itself when it shows Lina with elements usually restricted to men. Also, the exaggerated depiction of masculinity in the posters of Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad are permutations that turn the posters of the *Wars* into mere parodies of themselves. The hypermasculine format in the play reveals that the construction of gender takes place even after death, and to such an extent that, as Christopher Kilmartin stated when characterising hypermasculinity, 'the picture that emerges is of a man who is not really masculine but is more of a caricature of masculinity'.[574]

Post-mortem gendered performances are also addressed in *Inhabitants*. While sitting in front of a poster that shows a meeting of Nasser and Hariri (*Fig. 3.3*), Mroué narrates the deaths of Nasser and Hariri:

> Going back to the question of this meeting, it might symbolically represent a meeting between the genders of the two deaths; Nasser's 'feminine' death, and Hariri's 'masculine' death. […] We should not forget that Nasser died defeated. […] especially since he died of a natural, rapid death. His death did not fit that of a hero. […] He died of sadness and bitterness; he died in the same way that a mother would die, if her loved ones passed away. As for Hariri, he was killed, assassinated, slaughtered… like a hero would be. His murderers were forced to use hundreds of explosive materials in order to get rid of him. He was not an easy target, and refused to go down easily.[575]

Mroué, in this passage, reflects on the gendered perceptions of modes of deaths. While a silent, natural death is constructed as feminine, a killing with tonnes of TNT is perceived as masculine and heroic due to the massive violence involved. This is also the case in *Nancy*, where primarily the men die in battles, while Lina is killed under violent circumstances repeatedly, but only once in combat.

Of course, returning to the images of Sana (*Fig. 3.77*) or Norma (*Fig. 4.67*), we see that women can also die as heroes. The notions of feminine death from sickness and masculine death out of heroism are nothing more than constructions that are neither essential nor 'normal'. The societal pressure that relatives experience regarding the idea that male deaths should be heroic is also reflected in *Memory Box*

573 Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 119.

574 Christopher Kilmartin, *The Masculine Self* (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2007), 43.

575 Mroué, 'Inhabitants', 344–45.

by Hadjithomas/Joreige. The protagonist Maia's father is portrayed as a man who tries to stay away from the militias and therefore loses his position as the head of a school. This makes his life void of sense, which finally drives him to commit suicide. Maia's mother wants to hide the fact that he shot himself and so she stages his assassination, which she explains to her daughter by saying, 'He should be remembered as a hero'.

Another example of the gendered construction of martyrdom can be found in Lamia Joreige's project *Objects of War* (1999–), in which the artist asked people to share the story of an object linked to the *Wars*. Joreige videotaped her interviewees holding their chosen object while they told their personal memories connected to it.[576] Youssef Bazzi, whose book I have cited above, shows a photograph of his friend and fellow militiaman Kifah Abou Rached. After surviving an assassination attempt, Kifah was killed in an ambush during the *Wars*, and Bazzi told Joreige:[577]

> When he died, I decided to keep his photo and had it plastic-coated, as a souvenir of him. […] I thought he was […] an untouchable man, a born leader, a man whose body had been riddled with 14 bullets and who was defying bullets again. His body structure, his muscles made me envious. I'm such a small, frail man. I felt his strength, I longed to get some of it.[578]

Bazzi describes the daring and fearless qualities of his friend, which he admires and partly envies. In short, he tells Joreige that Kifah was a heroic fighter and, finally, a martyr, although the photograph Bazzi holds is void of these qualities. It simply shows the picture of a man (*Fig. 4.72*).

Another of Joreige's interviewees, a Palestinian woman who grew up in the refugee camps in Lebanon, also holds a photograph (*Fig. 4.73*). She tells the artist that it depicts her sister, whom she labels as 'martyr Khaldiyah Ahmad Sharour', who died when killed by shrapnel on her way to the camp's well. Khaldiyah was not a fighter but died while performing the everyday task of fetching water. Her sister describes Khaldiyah not as a heroic martyr but as an everyday human. This evokes Lina's remembrance as a shahida in *Nancy* when she was murdered when walking home (*Fig. 3.47*). Also, Khaldiyah was not part of a militia and died without intending to become a martyr.[579] Kifah, on the other hand, is presented as having died for a cause in combat, like Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad in most of their deaths. Therefore,

576 Lamia Joreige, *Lamia Joreige: Works 1994–2017* (Beirut: Kaph, 2017), 15. For *Objects of War*, see also Laura U. Marks, 'Dangerous Gifts: Lamia Joreige's *Objects of War*', *Art Journal* 66, no. 2 (2007).

577 The assassination attempt is also narrated by Bazzi in his memoirs (Bazzi, *Yasser Arafat*, 30–31); see also Joreige, *Lamia Joreige*, 22–23.

578 Ibid., 23.

579 Ibid., 21–22.

Fig. 4.72: Lamia Joreige, *Objects of War No. 2*, 2003, Multimedia Installation (Videos and Objects), Dimensions Variable, Courtesy of the Artist.

Fig. 4.73: Lamia Joreige, *Objects of War No. 3*, 2003–06, Multimedia Installation (Videos and Objects), Dimensions Variable, Courtesy of the Artist.

Objects of War, like *Nancy* and *Inhabitants*, reveals the gendered constructs of martyrs and the post-mortem performances of masculinity and femininity, and comments, like *Memory Box*, on society's urge to fabricate heroes when men die, while women are mostly labelled as victims.

4.4.5 Martyrdom Is a Gendered Performance

In this part I have shown that *Nancy* reveals the socially constructed gender in martyr posters employed by the militias. It is not essential for women or men to fight or not to fight or to become martyrs or not. Also, it is not essential that male martyrs are depicted with sunglasses, crossed arms, and muscular bodies in posters, while female martyrs are not. These are gender roles that are performed by the militias and that were normalised by being repetitively acted out and depicted.

Applying Butler's theorisation to martyrs, it can be said that showing a martyr is an act and that presenting the shahid/a in a certain mode—for instance, as a fighter—or with specific attributes is a stylisation. These stylised acts have been repeatedly depicted since 1975 and therefore became naturalised. *Nancy* reflects on these roles by presenting Lina as a martyr only in posters of militias that actually had female martyrs, and thus comments on the roles women performed during the *Wars*. At the same time, the play usually only shows Rabih, Hatem, and Ziad in the hypermasculine format. This calls attention to the exaggerated traits of the shahid's manliness, which were restricted to male shuhada during the *Wars*. Like the images of female martyrs, the posters of hypermasculine martyrs stand out because they do not conform to the usual obituary format.

There is only one image from *Nancy* (*Fig. 3.48*) in which Lina is depicted with the male-connotated attributes of sunglasses and bare arms. This cross-dressing

reveals the gender roles as well as the post-mortem practice where men perform the role of a fighting martyr who died in battle and women predominantly perform the role of a non-fighting martyr.

Through exaggerated appropriations of the hypermasculine elements of the posters of the *Wars*, as well as through Lina's cross-dressing, *Nancy* caricatures this hypermasculinity and shows on the textual plane that the hero is constructed and does not exist beyond his image. In reality, he is a human being who feels emotions such as fear and love. The hypermasculine format shares parallels with commercial ads; these images aim to convince men to join a militia and to buy a product, respectively. In one of the appropriations of the hypermasculine format that shows Hatem with sunglasses and the holster of a gun (*Fig. 3.19*) we see Murr Tower in the background, which brings us to the next part, which is about ruins of the *Wars*.

4.5 Premature Historicist: The Martyr Poster and the Ruin as Presents Framed as Past

Martyr posters from the *Wars*, like ruins from the *Wars*, belong not only to the past but also to the present. In this part, I will focus my attention on the depictions of the Holiday Inn and of Murr Tower (Burj al-Murr in Arabic) in the posters of *Nancy*. Both buildings still exist in Beirut's cityscape as iconic remnants of the *Wars* and were sites of martyrdom during the infamous Battle of the Hotels. They also appear in Mroué's play as indicators of this battle.

Below, I will link five posters from *Nancy* that depict the Holiday Inn and Murr Tower to posters of the *Wars* and to the historical events of the Battle of the Hotels. Within this discussion we will see that the stories told in *Nancy* should be understood not as a narration of history but as anecdotes of historical potentialities that could have happened. Also, looking at these five posters in combination points to the fact that when there is a martyr, there is often a counter-martyr, and that shuhada are often surrounded by rumours. Then, I explore the meaning of Murr Tower and the Holiday Inn in contemporary Beirut and argue that these ruins, like celebrity martyr posters, evoke strong emotions. Finally, I suggest that the Holiday Inn and Murr Tower can be understood through Walid Sadek's concept of the 'premature historicist ruin', which 'frames presentness as past'.[580] The temporality of both buildings is non-linear, as they belong not only to the past but also to the present. This framework of thought can also be applied to the martyr posters, as they, like the Holiday Inn and Murr Tower, render unfinished business past instead of acknowledging the present protraction of the *Wars*.

580 Sadek, *Ruin*, 178.