Virtual Colloquium

Friday 20th November 2026

PROGRAMME

Note that the timings here are in GMT.

Session 1: 7:45-10:30 Urban dynamics, planning and regulation

8:15-8:30	Julie Rugg, University of York (UK) *Welcome*
8:30-9:00	David Ocón *Remembering after removal: Cemetery clearance and the afterlives of memorialisation in Singapore*
9:00-9:30	Agnieszka Wedeł-Domaradzka *Legal protection of cemeteries and memorial sites from the perspective of cultural heritage protection and monument preservation*
9:30-10:00	Olasupo Thompson *The dead cannot sleep well, nor can their neighbours: public cemetery (mis)governance in Abeokuta, Southwest Nigeria*
10:00-10:30	Danna Unmani, University of Groningen *Planning for perpetuity and plurality: how a local Israeli burial service aligns with interment densification and equity guidelines*

Session 2: 11:00-13:00 Accommodating new directions

11:00-11:30	Anna Długozima and Katarzyna Krzykawska *When green death becomes a greenwashed mirage: a critical assessment of Poland's hybrid burial grounds*
11:30-12:00	Georgios Dionysios Lountzis and Galini Nikolaidi, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki *From Grave to Ashes: Cremation, the Formless and the Transformation of Mourning Spaces in Contemporary Greece*
12:00-12:30	Katarzyna Apolinarski, Anna Długozima, Ewa Domanska, Eugeniusz Koda and Magdalena Vaverková, Warsaw University of Life Sciences (NAWA Research Grant) *Speculating on the necrocene: Hypotheses and visions of the cemetery of the future on brownfields*
12:30-13:00	V. Şafak Uysal, TED University, Türkiye *What Can a Cemetery Do? An Ethological Approach to Istanbul's Minority Heritage Landscapes*

13:30-15:30 Inequalities and necrogovernance

13:30-14:00	Nerija Putinaitė, Vilnius University, Lithuania *Negotiating memory through tombstones: Soviet policies, social status and enduring memory in Lithuania*
14:00-14:30	Klejd Këlliçi, University of Tirana, Albania k.kellici@gmail.com *From Martyrs' Cemetery to a Socialist-National Pantheon: Governing the dead in communist Albania*
14:30-15:00	Yiannis Papadakis, University of Cyprus *Location, location, location? Cemeteries and inequality across Denmark, Cyprus and Japan*
15:00-15:30	Michael C. McLaughlin, University of Plymouth *From rubble to rest: Civilian casualty management, mourning, and the Plymouth Blitz*

Session 4: 16:00-18:00 Proximities

16:00-16:45	**Plenary** Christien Klaufus, University of Amsterdam *The necropolis at stake: Latin American public cemeteries, deathcare, and social justice*
16:45-17:15	Liza Griffin,Vidya Varigala, Hairuo Yi, Alex Huang and Jane Faulkner *Cemeteries for health: Three projects with Highgate Cemetery*
17:15-17:45	Alison B. Snyder, Pratt Institute, US *The locked away cemetery - Reports of what matters from streets of New York City*
17:45-18:00	Julie Rugg, University of York, UK *Closing remarks*

ABSTRACTS

SESSION 1: 8:15-10:30 Urban dynamics, planning and regulation

8:30-9:00 *Remembering after removal: Cemetery clearance and the afterlives of memorialisation in Singapore*

David Ocón, Singapore Management University, Singapore (davidocon@smu.edu.sg)

Singapore's urban development has repeatedly involved cemetery clearance, exhumation and relocation, accompanied by efforts to preserve selected traces of former burial landscapes. Tombstones, gates, memorial gardens and documentary records carry these histories into new urban settings, raising questions about what survives, whose histories are represented and how relationships with the dead are sustained. This article examines the historical trajectories and continuing lives of cemetery memorialisation in Singapore, with particular attention to selection, displacement and care. The proposed study combines historical and documentary research with repeated site observation and photographic documentation at selected locations, including Fort Canning, Bidadari, the Armenian Church and Peck San Theng. It will investigate how public agencies, religious institutions and community organisations shape memorial arrangements; how these arrangements represent prominent individuals and wider burial communities; and what opportunities they provide for remembrance, ritual and engagement. The subsequent alteration or relocation of memorial sites introduces a further question: how durable is the commitment to remembrance within a city that continues to redevelop? Memorialisation is approached as an ongoing social and urban process, whose significance rests on continuing relationships and practices alongside retained material objects. The article asks how memorial arrangements acknowledge cemetery loss, how they negotiate its relationship with development, and what responsibilities accompany their long-term stewardship. By tracing these processes across Singapore's varied memorial settings, the study seeks to identify conditions that support meaningful and enduring remembrance and inform culturally responsive approaches to funerary heritage in other cities undergoing redevelopment.

9:00-9:30 *Legal protection of cemeteries and memorial sites from the perspective of cultural heritage protection and monument preservation*

Agnieszka Wedeł-Domaradzka, Kazimierz Wielki University, Poland (awedel@ukw.edu.pl)

The memory of the dead and ways of commemorating them have always held a special and unique place in all cultures. This memory often reflected attitudes towards death, the deceased themselves, or even the afterlife. Therefore, in many cases, graves, then cemeteries, and eventually places of remembrance associated with death became elements that reflected aspects of culture, art, and heritage. This heritage is protected by law at both the international and national levels. This presentation aims to outline international law regulations that protect cemeteries and memorial sites, based on international obligations. This aspect will be presented in the context of the applicable regulations, their scope and examples of their application, i.e. an indication of which existing cemeteries and memorial sites have received international protection and to what extent. The scope is determined, on the one hand, by the existence of regulations protecting cultural heritage on a global scale, and on the other hand, by humanitarian law regulations that protect heritage within a given country and legal system. Separate considerations will concern national regulations. In this regard, the analysis will cover legal regulations and practical experiences in Poland. Internal legal regulations will be specified, along with examples of measures taken to maintain and adequately secure buildings designated as historic monuments. The regulations presented will also be assessed in terms of whether they provide adequate legal protection, and whether changes to the regulations are necessary in view of new challenges and to optimise protection.

9:30-10:00 *The dead cannot sleep well, nor can their neighbours: public cemetery (mis)governance in Abeokuta, Southwest Nigeria*

Olasupo Thompson, Federal University of Agriculture Abeokuta, Nigeria (thompsonoo@funaab.edu.ng)

Cemeteries are designated spaces where the dead are laid to rest. Beyond their funerary function, they constitute an important aspect of public health, cultural heritage, and urban environmental management. However, in many developing countries, the governance of public cemeteries has received limited policy attention and academic studies. This paper examines the governance of public cemeteries in Abeokuta, southwest Nigeria. The study adopts a qualitative research design, drawing on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data were collected through archival research, ethnographic fieldwork in selected public cemeteries and neighbouring communities, interviews with public health experts, cemetery officials and security personnel, residents living adjacent to the cemeteries, and participant observation. Secondary data were obtained from books, newspapers, social media, government records, and other documentary sources. Anchored in Political Ecology Theory, the study demonstrates that the poor governance of public cemeteries manifested in inadequate funding, institutional neglect, weak planning, ineffective maintenance, and the exclusion of the dead from urban policy considerations—has adversely affected both the dignity of the deceased and the wellbeing of neighbouring communities. The consequences include environmental degradation, public health concerns, insecurity, and the deterioration of culturally significant burial spaces. The findings contribute to scholarship on public health, urban governance, anthropology, history, and heritage studies by highlighting the need to recognise cemeteries as critical components of urban infrastructure. The study therefore advocates improved funding, inclusive policy frameworks, and sustainable governance strategies to ensure the effective management of public cemeteries and the protection of the living and the dead alike.

10:00-10:30 *How a local burial service in Israel aligns with interment densification and social equity planning guidelines*

Danna Unmani, University of Groningen, The Netherlands (d.unmani@rug.nl)

Israel's perpetual burial policy results in incremental, irreversible land use. To attenuate land consumption, cemetery planning guidelines set densification benchmarks. These guidelines also address an equity gap, requiring allocation of 10% of designated land to civil burial areas. Burial companies, which plan cemeteries and provide interment services, are responsible for adhering to these guidelines. This paper studies burial pragmatics and shortcomings in Israel through a case study of a local burial company. It examines their alignment with these planning guidelines through the prism of cemetery expansion, adding a micro-level perspective to complement existing macro-level analyses. Data sources include aerial images, planning documents, interment and plot prepurchase datasets, and key player interviews. Our analysis reveals a significant shift in fulfilling interment densification and civil burial allocation requirements in recent years, though both need further alignment. The shift was influenced by (a) current management's actions to increase interment densification, (b) pressure from a local political player to provide civil burial, and possibly (c) remedial compliance. To achieve closer alignment, the local burial provider will need to increase default interment density, at least partially, from double burial to triple burial, and construct the planned civil burial area. To support densification, the loophole of performative prepurchase of top plots in double graves should be formally addressed. We recommend the state provide a prepurchase tracking system, enact legislation penalizing multiple prepurchase, or both. Our micro-level analyses round out existing macro-level research on Israel's burial challenges by documenting data-based spatial dynamics and roles key players fill.

SESSION 2: 11:00-13:00 Accommodating new directions

11:00-11:30 *When green death becomes a greenwashed mirage: a critical assessment of Poland's hybrid burial grounds*

Anna Długozima and Katarzyna Krzykawska, Warsaw University of Life Sciences, Poland
(anna_dlugozima@sggw.edu.pl; kasiakrzykasia@gmail.com)

Natural forms of burial are attracting growing interest in Poland; however, systemic barriers, the funeral industry lobby, and sociocultural superstitions continue to hinder a genuine shift toward regenerative ecological solutions. The national legal framework is still defined by the anachronistic Act on Cemeteries and the Burial of the Dead of 1959, which categorically mandates the burial of bodies and remains in coffins or urns within the boundaries of fenced-in cemeteries and prohibits the scattering of ashes. The response to these restrictions and spatial limitations has been the designation of sections within traditional cemeteries referred to as 'ecological'. The aim of this presentation is to verify the extent to which green burial criteria have been implemented in Polish cemeteries established between 2022 and 2026 (Antoninów, Poznań, Łódź, Podgórki Tynieckie, Warsaw, Opole, Gdynia, Szczecin), as well as to critically assess the accompanying superficial image-building narratives (greenwashing). The studied sites underwent a multi-criteria evaluation that included: procedures for preparing the body and the form of interment, the typology of memorial markers, the structure of vegetation, the land area, the landscape context, and the use of certified biodegradable materials. The study concludes with an original tabular summary. The findings indicate that Polish 'ecological burial plots' – as s a result of a rigid legislative framework and public concerns – do not meet the standards of a fully natural burial. They represent a pragmatic spatial and cultural compromise that directly reflects the tensions between local funeral traditions, religious norms, anachronistic laws, and the need to protect the environment.

11:30-12:00 *From Grave to Ashes: Cremation, the Formless and the Transformation of Mourning Spaces in Contemporary Greece*

Georgios Dionysios Lountzis and Galini Nikolaidi, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece
(georgiosdionysioslountzis@gmail.com)

Burial has historically been associated with the production of a permanent place for the dead, through which the deceased body is located, remembered and ritually encountered. The increasing adoption of cremation introduces a transformation of this relationship between body, place and memory. Rather than being permanently deposited within a grave, the body is transformed into ashes that may be retained, relocated or dispersed across environments. This paper examines cremation in contemporary Greece as a process through which mourning is spatially and materially reconfigured. It focuses on the institutionalisation of cremation and, particularly, on the operation of the Ritsona Crematorium since 2019. Contemporary cremation is considered alongside historical practices in Greece, not to establish continuity, but to examine how different modes of transforming the dead body produce distinct spatial and ritual configurations of mourning. The paper approaches cremation not merely as a technological method, but as a process that displaces mourning from the architectural permanence of the grave. Particular attention is given to ashes as a material condition capable of generating mobile and dispersed forms of remembrance. The sea is examined as a landscape of remembrance, where the dispersal of ashes challenges conventional cemetery boundaries. The theoretical framework draws upon Georges Bataille's concept of the formless, as elaborated by Rosalind Krauss and Yve-Alain Bois, to investigate the dissolution of relationships between the dead body and fixed architectural sites. The paper ultimately asks whether cremation transforms not only the dead body, but also the spatial organisation of mourning and the cemetery itself.

12:00-12:30 *Speculating on the necrocene: Hypotheses and visions of the cemetery of the future on brownfields*

Katarzyna Apolinarski, Anna Długozima, Ewa Domanska, Eugeniusz Koda and Magdalena Vaverková, Warsaw University of Life Sciences, Poland (NAWA Research Grant) (kasiakrzykasia@gmail.com)

The idea of a return to nature, as well as green and conservationist burial movements, have been topics of scientific and social debate for decades. In the context of these considerations—as well as in the face of the climate crisis, dwindling land and resource reserves, and reflections on the so-called Anthropocene—we propose a vision of a cemetery of the future located on brownfields. This idea is based on an unprecedented case study: a newly designed section of the municipal cemetery in Mińsk Mazowiecki (Poland), which has been in use since 2025 and is located on a former landfill site. At the intersection of regenerative ecology, landscape architecture, and funerary art, we formulate three working research hypotheses:

1. *The cemetery as a biofilter*. A degraded brownfield is a site onto which we apply a layer of self-regenerating nature, with a green burial ground that supports the processes of renewal.
2. *Degenerative commemoration*. The gravestone of the future is an ephemeral, bioregenerative object whose primary function is to undergo gradual decomposition and fertilize the wounded landscape.
3. *The Hypothesis of the Collapse of the Sacred and the Profane*. The physical fusion of a sacred resting place with the realm of civilizational waste nullifies their traditional dualism, transforming burial into the materialization of 'ecological sin' (E. M. Conradie) and a secular act of Anthropocene penance.

Our study raises the question of whether, in the Anthropocene era, cemeteries on degraded lands can become the vanguard of a new ecology of passing and laboratories for healing the wounded Earth. The presentation poses the question of whether, in the Anthropocene, it is precisely cemeteries on degraded sites that will become the vanguard of a new ecology of passing and laboratories for healing the wounded Earth.

12:30-13:00 *What can a cemetery do? An ethological approach to Istanbul's minority heritage landscapes*

V. Şafak Uysal, TED University, Türkiye (safak.uysal@tedu.edu.tr

Istanbul's minority cemeteries are usually studied through denomination, historical loss, urban transformation, or, more recently, as multicultural 'deathscapes' and living heritage landscapes. This paper proposes a complementary ethological reading grounded in the Spinozist-Deleuzian question of what a body can do. Rather than treating cemeteries as fixed heritage types, the author approaches them as urban assemblages whose capacities emerge from relations among graves, boundaries, vegetation, archives, rituals, caretakers, foundations, municipalities, legal regimes, and diasporic communities. Focusing on nine Armenian, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Italian Jewish, and Syriac Orthodox cemetery sites clustered around three nuclei across Hasköy/Halıcıoğlu, Şişli, and Kadıköy/Acıbadem districts, the study combines land registers, cadastral and historical maps, boundary and pathway analysis, semi-structured interviews, and site walks. Methodologically, it identifies capacities, thresholds of transformation, and assemblage relations, and redistributes the cases across six spectra: territorial persistence, ritual reactivation, archival legibility, ecological endurance, public visibility, and care. Initial findings show that denominational identity alone does not explain how cemetery heritage persists: sites from different communities may converge through shared conditions of fragmentation, saturation, caretaker dependence, ritual decline, legal vigilance, or ecological pressure. Preservation is therefore not a single, unitary condition but an uneven configuration of capacities. Care emerges as the transversal capacity sustaining all others. The paper concludes that minority cemeteries should be understood not as static remnants of plural pasts, but as active urban infrastructures whose futures depend on maintaining the practical relations that allow them to continue acting.

SESSION 3: 13:30-15:30 Inequalities and necrogovernance

13:30-14:00 *Negotiating memory through tombstones: Soviet policies, social status and enduring memory in Lithuania*

Nerija Putinaitė, Vilnius University, Lithuania (nerija.putinaite@tspmi.vu.lt)

This paper, drawing on the case of the Lithuanian SSR, examines the Soviet cemetery as a space in which Soviet policies encountered the choices and aspirations of individuals and families. Through rituals and commemorative markers, the Soviet authorities sought to control society's relationship with death and to harness it to state purposes. The policies sought to hierarchise people and the commemorative markers dedicated to them according to their contributions to the building of communism and socialism. They established a hierarchy of memory that was to be reflected in tombstones as commemorative markers of the dead. For ordinary people, a modernist standard of tombstones without religious symbols was prescribed. Drawing on resolutions adopted by the leadership of the Lithuanian SSR and selected individual cases, the paper examines the tombstone as both a material object of commemoration and a medium through which individuals negotiated the place of the dead in the hierarchy of memory. It argues that Soviet policies shifted the remembrance of the deceased from the family to society. This also changed the function of the tombstone, which became a material expression of an aspiration towards an enduring memory of the deceased as a member of society. The paper approaches the cemetery as a space where Soviet policies and everyday choices intersected. Tombstones reveal how people navigated prescribed norms while finding ways to articulate social status and religious belonging.

14:00-14:30 *From Martyrs' Cemetery to a Socialist-National Pantheon: Governing the dead in communist Albania*

Klejd Këlliçi, University of Tirana, Albania (k.kellici@gmail.com)

This article examines the Varrezat e Dëshmorëve të Kombit (Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation) in Tirana, inaugurated in 1972, and situates it within the broader network of Martyrs' Cemeteries constructed and reconstructed across socialist Albania. Drawing on central and local archival records, architectural plans, visual sources, and commemorative materials, it traces the emergence of a distinct socialist mortuary order after 1944. The article argues that Martyrs' Cemeteries, were not simply sites of remembrance but sites of sovereignty, which enabled the socialist state to classify, relocate, monumentalize and govern politically significant dead bodies. During the early post-war period, the regime collected and separated the remains of the fallen partisans, creating a distinct order of the dead. From the mid-1960s onward, this system was centralized and standardized through a nationwide program of cemetery and monumental reconstruction. Architectural design transformed individual death into collective sacrifice into by subordinating graves to monuments, ceremonial spaces around a unified narrative of victory. At the same time, administrative criteria regulated the production of martyrdom, while the transfer of selected remains from the regions to Tirana gave the national cemetery a representative function. The later incorporation of patriots and communist leaders expanded burial grounds beyond war commemoration, turning them into socialist-national pantheons. The Albanian case demonstrates that regime control over the dead operated not by classifying and excluding, but also through a constant reinterpretation of categories and reorganization of the political identity of the dead.

14:30-15:00 *Location, location, location? Cemeteries and Inequality across Denmark, Cyprus and Japan*

Yiannis Papadakis, University of Cyprus, Cyprus (papadakis.yiannis@ucy.ac.cy)

Cemeteries are often treated as places where social difference is suspended by death. This paper argues the opposite: burial landscapes and their associated necrogeographies reveal how inequality is reproduced after death. Drawing on comparative fieldwork in Denmark, Cyprus and Japan, it examines how location, cost, grave form, maintenance obligations and access to permanence shape who can occupy desirable cemetery space and under what conditions. In Cyprus, family graves, inherited obligations and the importance of burial close to kin embed cemetery space within structures of family, locality and status. In Japan, scarce urban land, expensive graves and the burdens of maintenance have encouraged communal, tree, automated and "eternally blessed" graves, reflecting both cost pressures and weakening family ties. In both countries, posthumous inequality also concerns who remains visible and who disappears. Denmark offers a striking contrast: municipal care extends beyond life, while most have few qualms to disappear into anonymous collective graves. Comparing these systems shows that cemeteries are not simply repositories of the dead, but spatial economies in which class, kinship, mobility, visibility and belonging are materially organized.

15:00-15:30 *From rubble to rest: civilian casualty management, mourning, and the Plymouth Blitz*

Michael C. McLaughlin, University of Plymouth, UK (michaelwriteshistory@gmail.com)

During the Second World War, aerial bombardment collapsed the traditional boundaries between the military front line and the domestic home front. While the destructive scale of the Blitz is widely recognized, the subsequent logistical, administrative, and emotional processing of mass civilian casualties remains less understood. This paper utilises the tragic bombing of the Portland Square Air Raid Shelter on April 23, 1941—Plymouth's single deadliest civilian incident—as a microhistorical case study to examine how a wartime city managed sudden, large-scale death. Through an analysis of wartime frameworks established by the Ministry of Health, this paper illuminates the practical operations of the Halwell Street Mortuary and the bureaucratic deployment of Civilian War Death Forms (Form CWD). These administrative records serve as poignant primary sources. Seemingly mundane details, such as layered clothing or personal effects, transform anonymous casualties back into recognizable individuals. This paper also explores the socio-cultural tension between private grief and public remembrance. By examining the contrasting trajectories of the victims, some incorporated into state-funded communal services at Efford Cemetery to reinforce a narrative of national solidarity, and others reclaimed for private family burials at Ford Park Cemetery, this paper investigates how bereaved citizens navigated mourning and meaning-making. Ultimately, this paper reveals how wartime casualty management negotiated balance between honouring a community's collective loss and maintaining the individuality of the ordinary people at its heart.

SESSION 4: 16:00-18:00 Proximities

Plenary

16:00-16:45 *The necropolis at stake: Latin American public cemeteries, deathcare, and social justice*

Christien Klaufus, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands (c.j.klaufus@uva.nl)

Focusing on cities in Latin America, Christien Klaufus' lecture starts from the observation that differences between public and private cemeteries and crematoriums are as pronounced as, for example, public-private divides in healthcare and education systems. Drawing on ethnographic research in six Latin American cities, Christien depicts the marginalization in and of public cemeteries. Due to a lack of reliable long-term public policies, many low-income groups across the region depend on self-help and mutual help in deathcare and spiritual needs. Christien specifically explores vernacular death practices, which are often considered polluting or dangerous by local officials, to unpack the idea of reciprocity beyond life, and of proximity between the living and the dead in the context of a search for dignity and social justice. Building on Jacques Lévy's notion of *cospatialité*, she develops an ontological approach to marginalized death in urban Latin America.

16:45-17:15 *Cemeteries for health: Three projects with Highgate Cemetery*

Liza Griffin, Vidya Varigala, Hairuo Yi, Alex Huang and Jane Faulkner, University College London, UK (liza.griffin@ucl.ac.uk)

This paper presents findings from three Master's dissertation projects in Development Planning at UCL, undertaken through a competitive fellowship scheme in partnership with Highgate Cemetery and supervised by Liza Griffin. Together, they explore how cemeteries support health and wellbeing, and what their distinctive ecological, social, cultural and temporal qualities offer beyond conventional urban greenspaces. The first project, by Vidya Varigala, trials an alternative wellbeing walk for NHS staff, developed with Highgate Cemetery Trust and the NHS Recovery College. Bringing queer theory and queer ecology into conversation with Attention Restoration Theory, it considers how encounters with decay, fungal life, mortality and layered temporalities might challenge conventional understandings of restoration and wellbeing. The second, by Hairuo Yi, develops a participatory framework for evaluating cemeteries as spaces of wellbeing. Combining stakeholder systems mapping with visitor research, it explores their social, cultural, ecological and wellbeing benefits, and implications for activity planning and evaluation. The third, by Alex Huang, examines experiences of the Reflective Walks initiative, developed by former NIHR Fellow Jane Faulkner, alongside perceptions of different urban greenspaces as therapeutic environments. Together, these studies move beyond cemeteries as burial or heritage sites to explore them as distinctive salutogenic landscapes. They consider how nature, mortality, memory, community and time intersect to create opportunities for reflection, restoration and wellbeing, while offering practical insights for the future programming and stewardship of urban cemeteries.

17:15-17:45 *The locked away cemetery - Reports of what matters from streets of New York City*

Alison B. Snyder, Pratt Institute, US (asnyder@pratt.edu)

What do people actually feel, consider, or imagine when they pass by a cemetery or stop to peer? Psychologist Clark E. Moustakas's experiential models for approaching, sensing and witnessing are useful for comprehending how different types of cemeteries are places where life-death, memory, and myth intersect. Realizations occur even when visits are unplanned and are not about specific mourning. While' philosopher and historian Michel Foucault suggests that the 'strange heterotopia of the cemetery…a place unlike ordinary cultural spaces'. To illustrate the experiences or thoughts about graveyards that still exist inside the city today, the author selected three small, locked sites in Downtown Manhattan to understand more. Over several visits to the Second Cemetery of Congregation Shearith Israel (Portuguese Sephardic, est. 1805), the NYC Marble Cemetery (Non-Denominational, est. 1831), and the St. Patrick's Old Cathedral Cemetery (Christian, est. 1801), the author observes not only her own reflections, but ponders what others consider by speaking to people on the streets. If you cannot actually enter the cemetery, but can peer inside through its gates or over its walls, is a cemetery squeezed between other buildings merely suggesting a condensed view of city history? Does the gating frame the experience of death to be less morbid or more palatable? Does the separation provide space and time for random memories or personal contemplation? Are these locked cemeteries not only protected from desecration, but also a metaphor for protecting ourselves from confronting death? A narrative of what is seen, heard, and possibly matters, is presented.