

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xi
Introduction	1
<i>Uta Staiger and Henriette Steiner</i>	
<b>Part I Urban Memoirs</b>	
1 Monument and Melancholia	17
<i>Victor Burgin</i>	
2 <i>Sonnen-Insulaner</i> : On a Berlin Island of Memory	32
<i>Thomas Elsaesser</i>	
3 Arrivals and Departures: Travelling to the Airports of Berlin	52
<i>Henrik Reeh</i>	
4 Global Building Sites – Between Past and Future	69
<i>Daniel Libeskind</i>	
<b>Part II Conflict Zones</b>	
5 Spectral Ground in New Cities: Memorial Cartographies in Cape Town and Berlin	85
<i>Karen E. Till and Julian Jonker</i>	
6 Designing the Biblical Present in Jerusalem’s ‘City of David’	106
<i>Wendy Pullan and Maximilian Gwiazda</i>	
7 Historical Tourism: Reading Berlin’s Doubly Dictatorial Past	126
<i>Mary Fulbrook</i>	
8 Sacralized Spaces and the Urban Remembrance of War	145
<i>Janet Ward</i>	
9 Paradise for Provocation: Plotting Berlin’s Political Underground	161
<i>Charity Scribner</i>	

**Part III Art Works**

10	Architecture as Scenography, the Building Site as Stage <i>Stefanie Bürkle</i>	181
11	Buenos Aires 2010: Memory Machines and Cybercities in Two Argentine Science Fiction Films <i>Geoffrey Kantaris</i>	191
12	Perpetuated Transitions: Forms of Nightlife and the Buildings of Berlin in the Work of Isa Genzken and Wolfgang Tillmans <i>Philipp Ekardt</i>	208
13	On the Road with <i>mnemonic nonstop</i> <i>Lucia Ruprecht, Martin Nachbar and Jochen Roller</i>	223
	<i>Index</i>	234

# Introduction

*Uta Staiger and Henriette Steiner*

To write on memory and the city is to enter into a densely populated scholarly terrain. In the late twentieth century, engagement with memory became what Andreas Huyssen has called a 'cultural obsession of monumental proportions',<sup>1</sup> and Jay Winter a 'memory boom',<sup>2</sup> experienced both in academia and in popular culture. The 1990s, in particular, witnessed the rise of this 'cult of memory',<sup>3</sup> as it turned into a veritable 'memory industry' able to play on and exploit the interest in memory. For some, however, this intensified interest has itself been interpreted as a sign of a memory crisis, and many scholars have advised about the concomitant terminological ambiguity, semantic burden and even rhetorical abuse which are also associated with this term.<sup>4</sup> In fact, some have raised the question of whether and how in this situation a contemporary practice of 'remembering well' may be conceived at all.<sup>5</sup> Overall, this epochal commitment to, and interrogation of, the past and its representation in the present can be described as a memory culture.

While this interest in memory extends across disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, it has perhaps acquired particular resonance through research on the city. In our everyday understanding, memory may be a phenomenon that has to do with the life of the mind of the individual, but it is also always bound up with common settings, situations and forms of praxis. Tied to the body and the social material context of the remembering subject, Edward Casey even suggests that 'memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported'.<sup>6</sup> Even if memory is most often perceived as a temporal phenomenon, an intimate connection between place and memory can thus be suggested. Memory not only 'needs places', however, but arguably creates them: memory 'tends towards spatialization', as Jan Assmann puts it.<sup>7</sup> Often, these places of memory are urban. The city provides an abiding

## 2 Introduction

frame for urban life and establishes concrete sites of encounter with the past. Changes to the urban fabric therefore always carry with them both conflicting interpretations of the past and desires for the future. Whether as a site of institutionalized memory, as a host to ephemeral or even immaterial urban topoi of remembrance, or as a key stimulus to artists and writers, the built environment of urban centres occupies a focal position in and for our memory culture.

A decade into the twenty-first century, the aim of this book is to take stock of the ways in which this memory culture appears in relation to the city at the present time. It presents new research by scholars within the humanities and the social sciences as well as by practitioners from the fields of architecture and the visual and performance arts. It aims, firstly, to present particular analyses of how architectural and planning practice, visual and literary culture, history, cultural theory and personal narrative engage memory. It thus looks into the way material culture is involved in building sites of memory in the city through art and architecture projects, visual representation or narrative. Secondly, this research is tied to a set of iconic cities in which the past is often deliberately, if conflictingly, mapped, erased, rebuilt and remembered. In other words, these cities come to be seen, literally and metaphorically, as contemporary building sites in and of themselves. The aim of this introduction is to survey the intellectual ground upon which the diverse approaches that constitute this book build, and which they use as a point of departure for their contemporary reflections on urban memory cultures.

Of the cities evoked in the book, Berlin is perhaps most closely linked with the recent surge of memory culture. Having hosted many of the central European conflicts of the twentieth century, Berlin is arguably an exemplary case through which to explore the urban dynamics of memory, history and commemoration. Indeed, as a 1990s promotional slogan by the city authorities had it, post-unification Berlin was the *Baustelle* as *Schaustelle* par excellence: the city in its constructions and reconstructions became a place of 'building-site-seeing'.<sup>8</sup> Yet despite its self-proclaimed status as memory capital, there continue to be lacunae in the growing body of literature on Berlin, making this a timely juncture for a critical re-visioning. While Berlin is thus a recurrent focus of the present volume, it neither should nor could be seen in isolation. The very predicament of Berlin's representational culture is tied up with a shared European experience of conflict and rebuilding. And beyond the European frame of reference, it is most productively seen in relation to other cities with a pivotal standing in memory discourses. Berlin

is thus situated here with respect to other key urban topographies of remembrance, both proximal, Dresden, and global, Jerusalem, Buenos Aires, New York and Cape Town. The book aims at once for a broad, generic and a particular, in-depth investigation of the theme of memory culture and the contemporary city. It will be contextualized, in what follows, by some of the key conceptual stakes in research and thinking on memory, particularly as they evolve from the early defining moments of twentieth-century thought.

The interest in memory as a cognitive faculty related to but distinct from perception, imagination or knowledge has deep roots in Western culture. In contemporary usage we associate memory with a variety of functions, such as retaining factual information, remembering how to perform certain skills, or keeping a perhaps fortuitous selection of past experiences alive in our minds while others are forgotten.<sup>9</sup> What, in the early twentieth century, Henri Bergson and Bertrand Russell considered the 'memory par excellence' is, however, recollective memory.<sup>10</sup> Requiring an effort of the mind to recall and prolong past experiences into the present and attaching particular significance to selected episodes and events, recollective memory establishes a causal connection between these past experiences and the present. In this way, the act of remembering has also been seen to play a role in creating a coherent and continuous narrative of identity and selfhood.<sup>11</sup> Yet while seemingly about the grasp of temporal connection, recollective memory has also been understood to connect with particular places as they support and add structure to the act of remembering itself.

Memory in this sense raises a number of epistemological and cognitive questions. These include the aim for authenticity in comparison with the inherently reconstructed nature of the recollection, the articulation of claims about the nature of identities, and the role of the place of memory as the connecting point between the recollective moment, the place of the remembered, and the person remembering. Ultimately, at the core of most philosophical and sociological concerns with memory, these questions converge in the normative, practical, and ethical aspiration to 'remember well'. However, the focus of this aspiration and the forms it has consequently taken have varied across the intellectual history of memory research.

In much of early twentieth-century thought, the interest in the possibility of remembering well was flanked by a preoccupation with the defects of memory. This implied an increased focus on issues such as forgetting or inadequate perception and on how to allow the individual mind to recover a 'true' recognition of the past. Bergson discussed how

the process of recalling past conceptions left in unconscious 'pure' memory and prolonging them into the present was crucial for the functioning of perception. And Freud's psychoanalytic theory sought to bring back hidden or repressed memories by means of narrative reconstruction of events. Although partial, this form of recollection was seen to give continuity to the patient's narrative of selfhood, letting memory work in the present by allowing the patient to recover from, for example, anxieties or phobias. Both writers developed their thought by examining not only the functions but also the pathologies of memory, such as amnesia, in the case of Bergson, or melancholia and trauma, in the case of Freud; and this was to have a long-lasting influence on memory discourse.

A contemporary of both Freud and Bergson, Walter Benjamin not only investigated the significance of the conscious and unconscious dimensions of memory, but also deployed them in order to examine the historical conditions of modern life in the European metropolises of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For the group of thinkers connected more or less directly with the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, to which Benjamin belonged, the modern city with its random stimuli and constant change had on the one hand contributed to the withdrawn form of consciousness of the city-dweller – in line with what Simmel had characterized as the blasé attitude. From the perspective of critical theory, the city had furthermore turned into a phantasmagorical spectacle that no longer revealed its underlying historical conditions. On the other hand, however, the city was also thought to have the potential to stimulate knowledge and to provoke recognition. In this respect, writers like Siegfried Kracauer provided an important contribution to analysing the relation between modern, urban life and the capacity for knowledge, recognition, and recollection of the individual. For Benjamin, uncommon constellations of objects, sudden discoveries of often marginal places or seemingly insignificant fragments could bring about a quasi-physical encounter with the past, lifting conventional memory blocks. Recalling Marcel Proust's 'involuntary memory', Benjamin called it a form of remembering that 'has not been experienced explicitly or consciously by the subject'.<sup>12</sup> The sudden shifts of attention provoked by urbanity were thus thought to be the precondition for critical awareness of the present. Mirrored by artistic and literary practices, in such forms as the Surrealist *objet trouvé* or Joyce's stream of consciousness, the urban dweller, in the paradigmatic form of the flâneur, was seen to reappraise, indeed recollect, the residual presence of the past in the modern city, and to grasp the historicity contained therein.

Well into the early twentieth century, enquiries into memory were interested above all in assessing its functions and failures as a personal cognitive capacity. As Paul Ricoeur states, however, for sociology at the time 'individual memory, as a purportedly original agency, becomes problematic'.<sup>13</sup> Coinciding with an acute awareness of modernity's challenges to the prevalent understanding of subjectivity, which the study of the city in particular was believed to potentially make visible, a possibility for expanding the study of personal memory to the level of sociality or history was established. With Benjamin, in particular, we find a strategic interaction between the cognitive processes of the individual and the social and historical conditions that are always at stake in urban experience. This is also reflected in a new strand of sociological theory, which argues, against Bergsonian individualism, that memory is in fact essentially social. This has had a dual effect. On the one hand, concepts from the developing discipline of sociology could be applied to the study of memory, now seen in relation to a group or a collective. On the other hand, concepts from equally new psychological interpretations could be applied to the collective realm via the study of memory. One consequence is that themes from, for example, the Freudian vocabulary of psychoanalysis, such as trauma or the notion of repressed memory, have entered into the study of societal forms. This dynamic of mutual interference between the personal and the social set out defining features for the way in which the nexus of memory and the city is studied today.

The first to articulate a sociology of memory was Maurice Halbwachs, a student of Bergson and later Durkheim. He aimed to show that the notions people create of themselves and the past are necessarily shaped by their participation in different societal contexts and the status they assume therein: 'it is individuals as group members who remember'.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, personal memory is reciprocally bound up with what he calls collective memory. This is not to be confused with history, which Halbwachs considers a rationalized framework recording long-term changes. Collective memory, by contrast, provides uniqueness and continuity within a group by marking out a common normative horizon of expectations and experience, and creating what Assmann would later call a 'connective structure' between past and present.<sup>15</sup> As such, collective memory not only is seen as a culturally constructed representation of the past, it needs to be sustained and transmitted via narratives and traditions, bodily practices, material objects, and of course places. It is, in particular, these processes that have been of interest to scholarship on urbanity and memory since.<sup>16</sup>

The city is a prime site in which the negotiation of collective memory can take place and where it can be studied. Given the importance of the city as a shared topography, changes made to the urban fabric – in the name of preservation or redevelopment, or as the consequence of man-made or natural disasters – may have an impact on the self-understanding and sense of continuity of the inhabitants. This correlation continues to be of interest to architectural historians and theorists as they seek to reassess the relative success and impact of urban design strategies.<sup>17</sup> If architectural modernism notoriously sought to create a city without past in the name of a perhaps utopian promise, the new cities of the modern period, from the American gridded cities to the recent developments in Asia, have been found to represent a lack of urbanity. Subsequent movements such as critical regionalism and the citational forms of post-modernism, however, marked more than simply a resurgence of the interest in urban history. They prefigured what at the end of the twentieth century became a near obsession with the ‘city of collective memory’, as architectural historian Christine Boyer influentially phrased it.<sup>18</sup> Boyer suggests that since the late 1970s it is above all what she calls a pictorialization of the urban life world, an aesthetically sanitized and institutionalized staging of selected kinds of urban memories, which is being mobilized by planning practices – and resisted by other interest groups with competing claims to urban memory.

This infatuation with memory in the city does not, however, necessarily mark the return to a collectively shared and expressed experience of the past. This at least is the view of French historian Pierre Nora, who built on Halbwachs’s work in his influential volumes on the places of memory *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984–1992). Exacerbating the distinction between memory and history, Nora argued that the latter, an analytical and reconstructive production of the past, has in fact put entirely into question the ‘un-self-conscious’ nature of memory.<sup>19</sup> In compensation for such a loss, he argues, societies feel an enhanced need to crystallize collective memory in symbolically charged sites and objects. The places of memory – *lieux de mémoire* – acquire their significance only because of the demise of memory’s collective, environmental context – the *milieux de mémoire*.<sup>20</sup> Nora has thus played an important role in the increasingly intense battles fought over the alleged vacuity of the urban memory industry. But he is also representative of a trend to quasi-sacralize memory, endowing it not only with an aura of (lost) authenticity but with a spiritual or almost sacred dimension – a ‘therapeutic alternative to historical discourse’.<sup>21</sup>

This discourse on memory culture emerged at a particular historical juncture and with direct implications for our contemporary urban situation. The continued centrality of academic questions concerning the Second World War and the Holocaust in particular has given rise to a large body of work pondering the weight of historical knowledge with respect to the witnessing function of memory.<sup>22</sup> This interest is both complemented and accentuated by broader concerns in critiques of modernity regarding the amnesiac pressures of globalization and mass culture, which seemingly produce what Nora called our 'hopelessly forgetful modern societies'.<sup>23</sup> Both perhaps converged most evidently in the recent reconstruction efforts in Berlin, where the inscription of remembrance and guilt coincided with the need to rebuild urban topographies damaged by war and by the ensuing division of the city, while seeking to create a metropolis for the twenty-first century. But Berlin is joined by other cities with a conflictual past that is as complex to resolve, offering up renewed challenges for academic, urbanist, and popular perception.

Indeed, much contemporary research now seems to focus on the critical and political implications of memory being 'open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, [and] vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation'.<sup>24</sup> In this sense, memory's relationship to place not only is about preservation, continuity, and identity, but can become charged with intense and potentially divisive meaning. In cities marked by conflict and contestation – from Belfast and Nicosia to Jerusalem and Cape Town – memory plays a role both during and after conflict. Memorial and heritage sites are often annexed in order to promote particular interpretations of the past, thus enacting symbolic claims on the urban environment.<sup>25</sup> More often than not, this renders competing narratives invisible, eliding the often fractured memory culture yielded by a single place or city.<sup>26</sup> Sometimes the key disagreement is even about whether keeping the past alive is detrimental or beneficial to a collective that has been through conflict in the first place. These incompatible desires, to remember or to forget a violent past that continues to inform the present, are therefore often played out as if by proxy, in and through the urban environment.

The memorialization and commemoration of the conflict a society has undergone thus remain intensely controversial. Underlying memorial sites generally, and in post-conflict cities in particular, is after all a symbolic exchange between what is, what was, and what is to become, between the living, the dead, and the not yet living. In the case of

wartime commemoration, as Jay Winter has argued with respect to the First World War, remembrance at symbolic sites can potentially show both indebtedness to a lost generation and an affirmation of community.<sup>27</sup> In other contexts, particularly those of civil strife, memorialization is a much more politicized act. Mapping memory at and through such sites is thus often shot through with more complex dynamics of guilt and redemption, challenging the representative nature and function of the monument or memorial site. Particularly in the 1990s, and often with reference to the Second World War, so-called counter-monumental strategies were supposed to provoke a new and very different kind of memory culture. This was complemented by renewed engagement, both in academic discourse and in museal and memorial practice, with many aspects of the memory discourse of the early twentieth century. As James E. Young describes it, the essence of these new memory practices can be seen as a fragmentary counterculture seeking to resist integration in totalizing discourses:

[They aim] not to console but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by passers-by but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desanctification; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town's feet.<sup>28</sup>

In many ways, this has by now become a dominant view and has spread from the sites of monuments or museums to architecture and urban planning at large. This can be seen in a surge of a quasi-performative museum architecture buoyed by a demand to evoke and redeem traumatic experience and collective mourning, with urban design consciously integrating fragments and suggestive traces of the past. Yet some recent work on urban memory culture has also critiqued these practices.<sup>29</sup> This, in part, signals a critical engagement with the local, ephemeral, and perhaps even incommensurable nature of memory work and representation. Certainly, any attempt to 'remember well' is now also an enquiry into the forms and modes of its representation. Here, artistic practices have provided a particularly complex but also refined site to engage with the narrative and representational aspect of memory and its manifestation in the contemporary city.

If the processes of urban development are of an often subtle nature, deeply embedded in the cultural fabric, it takes very particular representational instruments to begin to expose and interpret their character. The contemporary city not only constitutes the main site in which the

contemporary art scene is situated; in and through different art forms, the city itself is subject to reflection, revision, and intervention. Writers from Baudelaire and Benjamin to Borges, Auster, and Sebald have tracked and transformed the often processual and unfinished nature of urban practices and constructions, emphasizing the narrative articulation of the past by which memory can be generated and transmitted. Film, similarly, has historically engaged with the motions, changes, and transitions of city, as they play out against its built environment.<sup>30</sup> And these principles apply, with variations, to all cultural media in their engagement of narrative, imaging, and performance. Drawing attention to the spatio-temporal forms in which urban life is played out, artistic practices stimulate a reconsideration of the possibilities assigned to memory in the contemporary city.

By engaging with arts projects including film, photography and dance, as well as architecture and urban planning practices and the discourses of heritage, tourism, and archaeology, the contributions to this book can be seen as concrete investigations into the role of memory cultures in cities. Recent scholarship may have suggested, and not without sound argument, that it is no longer 'so sure that memory has a place in the contemporary city and that is [precisely] why it is talked about so much'.<sup>31</sup> However, the continued engagement with the challenges, vicissitudes, and ethics of memory, above all in relation to our contemporary urban environment, also suggests that it is a concern that refuses to be laid to rest. As such, it is therefore in need of the sort of renewed critical examination from different angles offered here.

In its treatment of the problem of memory culture and the contemporary city, the book follows a tripartite structure. Part I develops the intersection between the individual and the collective facets of memory culture, exploring the ties between particular representations of the past and given places and settings. A lead concept in this respect is Nora's term *lieu de mémoire*, taken as a point of juncture (but also tension) between collective and personal forms of urban memory-making. In his chapter, departing from a nineteenth-century photograph of Pompeii and travelling to a range of contemporary cities, Victor Burgin links Nora's term to the anthropological concept of the non-place, the *non-lieu*, developing the concept of the *non-lieu de mémoire* as a conceptual tool to describe particular places that have developed in late modernity. Thomas Elsaesser, in his contribution, links memory with the parurban place of the island, as *île de mémoire*. The chapter is concerned with a particular island close to Berlin on which a part of the author's family history was played out in the 1920s and 1930s. The island by

the city is the most important surviving material trace, connecting a particular episode in a family's history with concurrent historical events and movements. Photography and film are seen to play a special role here in twentieth-century commemoration of everyday life, and this topic is explored further by Henrik Reeh in his chapter. Reeh narrates the traversal of urban areas often deemed unworthy of remembering and photographing through a sequence of snapshot journeys to and from the airports of Berlin. Rounding off Part I is another personal account, by architect Daniel Libeskind. It is both a type of personal-professional memoir and a socio-political consideration of the uses of memory in contemporary cities, as Libeskind introduces the global building sites of some of his recent architectural projects. Here, the commitment of the architect to negotiation between past, present, and future is perceived as a tool with which to resist the non-places of memory often characterizing newly built, large-scale environments.

Part II develops more explicitly around conflicted and conflicting memories relating to the political realm and to fraught or haunted urban sites of historical significance. In their chapter, Karen Till and Julian Jonker investigate concrete instances of spectral ground in what they call new cities, the main point of focus being a postcolonial site of conflictual memory in Cape Town. Wendy Pullan and Max Gwiazda in their chapter uncover the consequences of a highly instrumentalized politics of heritage and cultural memory in the urban topography of conflict characterizing an archaeological site in Jerusalem, the so-called City of David. In view of how tourist sites of memory and commemoration often respond poorly to the conflicted ambiguities of urban realities, Mary Fulbrook investigates the problem of historical tourism with respect to Berlin's doubly dictatorial past: the period of the National Socialist regime and that of Communist repression. The problem of remembrance in post-conflict situations is an equally significant concern in Janet Ward's investigation of sacralized spaces when it comes to the urban remembrance of war, with particular reference to the cultural politics of reconstruction in Dresden. Finally, Charity Scribner presents a reading and mapping of Berlin's Cold War radical underground. The activities of the RAF group, as represented in texts and films, reveal a little-known topography of cultural memory linking East and West Berlin in intricate and unexpected ways.

Part III engages the potential inherent in contemporary art to intervene in the more processual and implicit workings of urban memory. In her photo-essay, Berlin-based visual artist Stefanie Bürkle presents an artistic practice which draws upon scenographic effects in her dealings with

architecture and a very particular topos in the city, the building site. Her theoretical exploration of the lack of memory in the contemporary city is at the same time a concrete exploration of the superficial image plane of contemporary urbanity. The interplay between surface and depth, image and structure, technology and body is also explored in Geoffrey Kantaris's chapter on contemporary cinematic constructions of Buenos Aires. Here the Argentine capital appears as a cyber-city populated by cyborgs and organized by memory machines all too easily programmed for the disappearance of dissident elements. This cultural-critical potential also ties in with the central theme of the chapter by Philipp Ekardt, dealing with works concerned with the transitory architectures and techno-spaces of Berlin and other cities by sculptor Isa Genzken and photographer Wolfgang Tillmans. In the final chapter, Lucia Ruprecht discusses the piece 'On the Road with *mnemonic nonstop*' by dancers and choreographers Martin Nachbar and Joachim Roller. The dance performance develops correlations between actual urban walks in a series of historically burdened cities and reconstructive choreographies, in which real bodies, projected city maps, and narrative performance work together to build acts of creative drift, derivation, and orientation.

From dance to photography, film, sculpture, street art, and architecture; from museums, monuments, and memorials to more personal sites or islands of memory; from theoretical considerations of how memory works in cities to questions of historical practice, both singular and everyday; from Berlin to Buenos Aires, Jerusalem, New York, Dresden, and Cape Town; from the ruins of Pompeii to the building-site cities of postmodern spectacle – this volume maps out explorations of what it might mean to construct an appropriate urban memory culture, to remember well in the contemporary city.

## Notes

1. A. Huyssen (2003), *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), p. 16.
2. J. Winter (2002), 'The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the "Memory Boom" in Contemporary Historical Studies', *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 31, 69–92.
3. T. Todorov (2003), *Hope and Memory: Lessons from the Twentieth Century*, trans. David Bellos (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
4. See for example, K. L. Klein (2000), 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', *Representations*, 69, 127–50.
5. R. Sennett (1998), 'Disturbing Memories', in P. Fara and K. Patterson, eds, *Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 22.
6. See E. S. Casey (1987), *Remembering – A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).

## 12 Introduction

7. J. Assmann (1999), *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* [Cultural Memory: Writing, Memory and Political Identity in the Early High Cultures] (Munich: C. H. Beck), p. 39 (editors' translation).
8. A. Webber (2008), *Berlin in the Twentieth Century – A Cultural Topography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 14.
9. These functions are also called 'habit memory' or 'procedural memory' (for embodied skills such as using cutlery), or 'propositional' or 'semantic' memory (for retaining factual information).
10. H. Bergson (1908), *Matter and Memory*, trans. N. M. Paul and W. S. Palmer (New York: Zone Books); B. Russell (1921), *The Analysis of Mind* (London: Allen and Unwin).
11. See for example, M. Schechtmann (1996), *The Constitution of Selves* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
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13. P. Ricoeur (2004), *Memory, History, Forgetting* (London, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 95.
14. M. Halbwachs (1950), *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper-Colophon Books), p. 48.
15. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, p. 16.
16. See for example, P. Connerton (1989), *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
17. See for example, N. M. Klein (1997), *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* (London: Verso Books).
18. C. Boyer (1996), *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
19. P. Nora (1989), 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26, 7–24, p. 8.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
21. K. L. Klein (1999), 'On the Emergence of Memory in historical discourse', p. 145. See also C. Maier (1993), 'A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy and Denial', *History & Memory*, 5, 136–51.
22. See for example, S. Friedländer (1993), *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press); D. LaCapra (1998), *History and Memory After Auschwitz* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
23. Nora, 'Between Memory and History', p. 8.
24. *Ibid.* See also, among others, T. Todorov (2001), 'The Uses and Abuses of Memory', in H. Marchitello, ed., *What Happens to History: The Renewal of Ethics in Contemporary Thought* (London: Routledge), pp. 11–22.
25. See for example L. Purbrick, J. Aulich, and G. Dawson, (2007), eds, *Contested Spaces: Sites, Representations and Histories of Conflict* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
26. W. V. J. Neill and H. U. Schwedler (2001), eds, *Urban Planning and Cultural Inclusion: Lessons from Belfast and Berlin* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
27. J. Winter (1995), *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 80.

28. J. E. Young (1993), *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), p. 30. See also A. Huyssen (1999), 'Monumental Seduction', in M. Bal, ed., *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England), pp. 191–207; and P. Homans (2000), ed., *Symbolic Loss: The Ambiguity of Mourning and Memory at Century's End* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia).
29. See particularly M. Crinson (2005), 'Urban Memory – An Introduction', in M. Crinson, ed., *Urban Memory – History and Amnesia in the Modern City* (London, New York: Routledge), pp. xi–xx.
30. E. Wilson and A. Webber (2008), *Cities in Transition: The Moving Image and the Modern Metropolis* (London: Wallflower Press).
31. Crinson, 'Urban Memory', p. xx.

## Index

- Abraham, Nicholas 87  
 Adenauer, Konrad 132, 134, 152  
 Adorno, Theodor W. 146–7, 149, 188, 219–220  
 Agamben, Giorgio 87, 102n  
 airport 20, 57–9, 60–1, 62, 65–7, 78, 177n  
   Tegel 60  
   Tempelhof 57–8, 60  
   Schönefeld 63–5  
 anti-Semitism 134, 171  
 Appadurai, Arjun 107  
 Aragon, Louis 197  
 archaeology 95–6, 106–7, 110, 112–13, 115–16, 121n  
 architecture 6, 8, 40, 46, 57, 62, 85, 76–9, 116, 118–19, 145, 148, 162, 185, 188, 210, 211–13, 215  
 Assmann, Jan 1, 5, 18n  
 Augé, Marc 20, 25, 28  
  
 Baartman, Sara 95  
 Babylon 191  
 Barthes, Roland 21, 34, 37  
 Baudrillard, Jean 197, 202  
 Beck, Ulrich 146  
 Bell, Terry 94  
 Beller, Jonathan 203  
 Bellour, Raymond 29  
 Benjamin, Walter 4, 27–9, 54, 61–2, 87, 101, 158, 181, 197, 219  
 Bergson, Henri 3–4  
 Berlin 2–3, 7, 37, 47, 52–67, 69–73, 85–6, 99–101, 126–142, 149, 153, 157, 161–75, 182, 184–9, 209–12, 218, 224–5, 228, 230  
   airlift 131  
   Checkpoint Charlie 129, 135, 184, 228  
   Friedrichstraße 54–6, 64, 129, 169  
   Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church 28, 153  
   Oranienburger Strasse synagogue 134  
   Palace of the Republic 129–30, 186  
   Potsdamer Platz 131, 184, 185, 190, 208, 210, 219  
   ruins 18, 132  
   Stadtschloss 47, 130, 157, 184, 186–7  
   Wall 39, 41, 56, 69–70, 85, 129, 132, 136, 161, 169, 170, 208, 219, 228  
 Berne 76–7  
 Bioy Casares, Adolfo 195–6, 202  
 Boltanski, Christian 34, 50n  
 bombardment 34–5, 145–6, 150–1  
   Berlin 29, 146  
   Dresden 155, 157–8  
   Guernica 29  
   Hiroshima 29  
   London 150  
 Borges, Jorge Luís 191, 202  
 Boyer, Christine 6  
 Breton, André 197  
 Brittain, Vera 151  
 Brussels 224, 228  
 Bubis, Ignaz 136  
 Buenos Aires 192, 200–1  
 building site 2, 28, 69, 81–2, 85, 96–7, 101, 184, 188–9  
  
 Cape Town 85–102  
   apartheid 85–6, 90–4  
   District Six 91–3, 96  
   Prestwich Place 87–9, 91, 93–6  
 Caracas 196  
 Carpentier, Alejo 193  
 Caruth, Cathy 147  
 Casey, Edward 1, 101  
 Caspaõ, Paula 226  
 Castells, Manuel 193, 197  
 Chalef, Talya 88, 96–8  
 churches 28, 90, 133, 150–8, 160n, 201

- Communism 128, 130–4, 136,  
140, 166
- concentration camps  
Auschwitz 22–3, 147  
Buchenwald 25, 131  
Dachau 152–53  
Sachsenhausen 128, 131
- Cortázar, Julio 197
- cyborg 192–3, 195–7, 200,  
204–5
- Demnig, Gunter 148
- dérive 36, 49, 163, 228–9,  
232n, 233n
- Derrida, Jacques 101
- Deutsch, Armin Joseph 198
- Diamond, Jared 35
- Dick, Phillip K. 18–19, 26, 197
- Didi-Huberman, Georges 22
- Dresden 17, 154–58, 167  
Bähr, George 155  
Frauenkirche 155–8
- dystopia 175, 200–1, 204–5
- El-Ad 110–21
- El-Haj, Abu 106
- Eiermann, Egon 153
- Eisenman, Peter 148, 159n
- Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)  
132, 141–2, 151–3, 161, 165–8,  
170, 172
- flâneur 4, 61
- forgetting 3, 7, 26–7, 33, 114–15,  
148, 152
- Foster, Hal 34
- Foster, Norman 85, 78
- Foucault, Michel 87, 102n
- Frankfurter Zeitung* 54
- Fratacci, Carlo 18, 30
- Freud, Sigmund 4–5, 19, 21, 24
- Friedländer, Saul 157
- Friedrich, Caspar David 181
- Funder, Anna 136
- García Canclini, Néstor 194
- Genzken, Isa 208–13, 217
- German Democratic Republic (GDR)  
41, 128–34, 136–7, 139–42,  
155, 162, 165–8, 173–5,  
219, 224
- Ernst Thälmann Pioneers 131, 139
- GDR Museum 130, 137, 139
- Ostalgie 140
- German unification 2, 57, 132, 145,  
165
- Giddens, Anthony 194
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 24–5
- Gorer, Geoffrey 19
- Grayling, A. C. 146
- Graz 228
- Greenberg, Rafi 110, 122n
- Ground Zero 79–80
- Grunebaum, Heidi 94
- Grunwald, Walter 25
- Gursky, Andreas 183
- Halbwachs, Maurice 5
- Haney, David H. 45
- Haraway, Donna 192, 204
- Hein, Christoph 62, 164–6, 169,  
174–75
- Henri, Yazir 94
- heritage 7, 32, 74, 86, 89, 93–5,  
106–7, 110–12, 115–16, 119–21,  
150, 153, 157
- Disneyfication of 112, 114,  
157, 186
- stewardship 36, 38, 106–7, 112,  
116, 121
- Hessel, Franz 61
- historians' debate 145
- Hitler 128, 131–2
- Holocaust 7, 22, 99–101, 135–7,  
145–7, 149–50, 152–3, 157,  
172
- Hong Kong 184
- Huysen, Andreas 1, 127
- Institute for Social Research 4
- Irving, David 157
- Jerusalem 106–8, 111–13, 115,  
119–121
- City of David 106, 108
- Historic Basin 108, 111–14, 121
- Judaization of 111
- stone 116, 118, 124n

## Jewish

- community 99–100, 134–5, 137–8, 146, 148, 154, 170–2, 230
- memorials 134–6, 148
- Museum in Berlin 60, 69–73, 135, 149
- quarter in Jerusalem 108, 110, 112, 116–18
- settlement 106, 108, 110–11
- Joyce, James 21
- July Plot 131, 138
- Kennedy, John F. 131
- Kinshasa 224
- Klee, Paul 158
- Kluge, Alexander 209
- Kollwitz, Käthe 139, 154
- 'Kommune 1' 163, 167
- Kracauer, Siegfried 4, 54–6, 59, 60, 64–5
- labyrinth 72, 191, 197–8, 200, 205
- Landry, Tristan 20–1, 25
- Lang, Fritz 201
- Lanzmann, Claude 22, 147
- left wing militancy 161–4, 166, 169, 171–2, 174–5, 176n
- lieu-de-mémoire 6, 9, 20–1, 25–6, 28, 32–3, 37, 126, 153, 184
  - millieux de mémoire 6, 20, 91, 184
  - non-lieu-de-mémoire 9, 20, 25–6
- London 20, 95, 139, 150, 164, 191, 216
- Los Angeles 201
- Lowenthal, David 107, 115, 121
- Lutyens, Edwin 20–1
- Mamdani, Mahmoud 94
- maps 2, 8, 24, 35–6, 42, 44, 70, 86–7, 90–1, 93–4, 96–101, 114, 162, 164, 198–9, 207n, 223–32
- May, Ernst 45, 47
- Mbembe, Achilles 87
- melancholia 4, 19, 26
- memorial 7–8, 20–1, 26, 32, 40, 80, 85–102, 126–7, 130–4, 138, 141–2, 149, 151–5, 172
  - cartography 85–102
  - cenotaph 20
  - Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe 130, 135–6, 148
  - memory 3
    - collective 5–6, 19–20, 126–7, 141, 145, 152, 158, 193, 201, 203–4
    - media and 8–9, 17, 38, 43, 59–60, 182–3, 192, 194–5, 197, 201–3
    - official 19–20, 26–7, 94, 99, 126–7, 142, 154, 156
    - physical 1, 91, 100–1, 218, 229
    - traumatic, *see* trauma
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice 23
- Mexico City 194
- Migge, Leberecht 40–48
  - Dommelwall 39–43, 47
  - Elsaesser, Elisabeth 45–48
  - German Green Movement 44, 47
  - 'Natural Architecture' 46
- Milan 78–9, 184
- modernism 6, 26, 37–8, 40, 42, 48, 116, 126, 146, 192, 211
  - postmodernism 6, 117, 121, 124n, 193, 201–2
- modernity 5, 7, 29, 43, 53, 66, 69, 191, 193–4, 219–20
  - supermodernity 20
- monument 8, 20, 25–8, 62, 106, 153–4, 187
  - counter-monument 8, 146–48
- Mosquera R., Gustavo 192, 198, 200
- Muschamp, Herbert 149
- museums 8, 20, 26, 69–75, 86, 93, 95, 129, 133, 149, 156, 218
  - architecture 8, 73–74, 79
  - GDR Museum 130, 137, 139
  - Hiroshima War Museum 156
  - Imperial War Museum 150
  - Jewish Museum Berlin 60, 69–73, 135, 149
- Nazism 37, 40, 100, 126–8, 130–2, 134–5, 137–8, 140–1, 151, 154, 158
  - neo-Nazis 133, 147, 157, 172
- New York 78–81, 164, 191, 211–12
- Nora, Pierre 6–7, 19–20, 32–3, 184
- Ntsebeza, Dumisa 94

- Obermeier, Uschi 163  
 Ortiz, Renato 194  
  
 Piglia, Ricardo 200, 203–4  
 Pontalis, Jean-Bertrand 27  
 prison 29, 128, 130, 164, 167, 169,  
     173, 202  
     Berlin-Hohenschönhausen 130  
     Plötzensee 128  
 Pritchard, Elizabeth A. 149  
 Proust, Marcel 4, 23, 28  
  
 Rancière, Jacques 27  
 Rebentisch, Juliane 219  
 reconciliation 85, 95–6  
 reconstruction 7, 10, 92, 108,  
     112, 130, 134, 140, 145, 147,  
     150, 152, 156–8, 160n, 184,  
     188, 194  
 Red Army 132  
 Red Army Faction (RAF) 162, 164–9,  
     171, 173–5  
     anti-semitism 171–2  
     Grams, Wolfgang 165–6  
     Hogefeld, Birgit 164–5  
     Kunzelmann, Dieter 163, 167,  
         169–70, 171–3, 175, 177,  
         178n  
     Siepmann, Ina 167, 169, 170,  
         176n  
     Viett, Inge 167–9, 174  
 redemption 8, 136–7, 148, 150,  
     153–4  
     of land 111  
 remember 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 27, 37, 101  
 Remembrance Day 20  
 remembrance 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 19–20,  
     25–6, 93, 99, 100, 138, 145–58,  
     166, 200  
 Resnais, Alain 29  
 restoration 26, 37, 115–7, 152, 204  
 Ricoeur, Paul 5  
 Roost, Frank 185  
 Rosen, William 35  
 Rosenfeld, Gavriel 145  
 Rossellini, Roberto 17, 29  
 ruins 18, 26, 28, 34, 89, 132, 151–3,  
     181, 187  
 Russell, Bertrand 3  
  
 Sábato, Ernesto 197  
 Sagebiel, Ernst 57  
 Sartre, Jean-Paul 21  
 Schama, Simon 36  
 Scheffler, Karl 185  
 Schlöndorff, Volker 162, 164,  
     166–9, 173–5  
 Scott, Ridley 197  
 Sebald, W. G. 9, 17, 26, 35, 36,  
     151, 158  
 Semper, Gottfried 185  
 Silwan 108, 110, 111–15,  
     117–121  
 Simmel, Georg 4, 54  
 Singapore 75–6  
 Spielberg, Steven 122n, 147  
 Spielman, Doron 114  
 Spiner, Fernando 192, 200  
 Stasi 130, 133, 136–37, 162, 164,  
     166–9, 173–5, 176n, 177n  
     headquarters 131  
 Stih and Schnock 88, 99–101,  
     144n  
 stone 21, 29, 31n, 59, 72, 116,  
     118, 124n, 155, 158  
 Stora, Benjamin 20  
 stumbling stones project  
     (*Stolpersteine*) 135, 148  
 Subiela, Eliseo 196  
 subjectivity 3–5, 56  
 Sun, Raymond C. 152  
 Sydney 78  
  
 Tel Aviv 228–31  
 territory 47, 106, 109, 186, 208,  
     212, 219, 229, 231  
 Tillmans, Wolfgang 208, 213–18  
 Torok, Maria 87  
 Toronto 73–4, 77, 211  
 trauma 4, 146–7, 150, 157–9  
 travel 29, 52–6, 58, 61–3,  
     65–7, 198  
 Truth and Reconciliation  
     Commission 94  
  
 urban development 8, 85  
 urban planning 8, 9, 34, 78, 86, 91,  
     108, 113, 116, 124n, 152,  
     161, 185

- Venturi, Robert 185  
victimhood 94, 133–4, 137–38,  
140, 146  
Virilio, Paul 35–6, 52–3, 56, 58, 66,  
67n, 185
- Walser, Martin 136  
Wannsee Conference 129  
war 7–8, 10, 157, 168, 171  
    Argentina's dirty war 196, 200  
    Battle of the Somme 21  
    Cold War 10, 55–7, 85, 126,  
    129, 132, 137, 139, 145,  
    161, 162–4, 167, 175, 176n  
    Israel's 1967 war 108  
    World War I 8, 19, 21, 30, 139  
    World War II 7–8, 35, 45, 71,  
    138–9, 140, 145–6, 147,  
    150–8, 169, 210
- Warner, Marina 35–6, 38  
Warsaw 157  
waste 33, 43–5, 119  
wasteland 56, 115, 184  
Watts, Michael 193  
Weimar 24–5  
    Republic 44–5, 48, 61, 126  
Williams, Raymond 194  
Winter, Jay 1, 8
- Young, James E. 8
- Zagreb 228  
Zifonun, Dariusz 154  
Zille, Heinrich 140