



ORBIT - Online Repository of Birkbeck Institutional Theses

Enabling Open Access to Birkbeck's Research Degree output

Selected proposals from the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition and the winning design by Peter Eisenman : memory, commemoration, aesthetics and the representation of difficult histories

<https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/id/eprint/40378/>

Version: Full Version

Citation: Callaghan, Mark (2019) Selected proposals from the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition and the winning design by Peter Eisenman : memory, commemoration, aesthetics and the representation of difficult histories. [Thesis] (Unpublished)

© 2020 The Author(s)

All material available through ORBIT is protected by intellectual property law, including copyright law.

Any use made of the contents should comply with the relevant law.

[Deposit Guide](#)
Contact: [email](#)

**Selected Proposals from the Berlin Holocaust Memorial
Competition and the winning design by Peter Eisenman:
Memory, Commemoration, Aesthetics and the
Representation of Difficult Histories**

Ph.D Thesis (2018)

Mark Callaghan

Birkbeck College, University of London

Abstract:

This thesis involves a study of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition of the 1990s, with a special focus on submissions that engage with issues of empathy, secondary witnessing, viewer interpellation and cultural memory. This is a unique contribution to discussing ways that artists proposed to represent Germany's most difficult history, due to examinations of memorial designs that have either not been given scholarly attention through the aforementioned issues, or have not previously been subjected to any critical analysis. This includes designs that employ concentration camp icons, projected photographs of victims taken before the Holocaust began, or abstract proposals that either include references to the sites of mass murder, or, as with the winning model by Peter Eisenman, no references to the genocide at all. Building on the work of Aleida Assmann and Astrid Erll, the thesis looks to examine the role of cultural memory for those who encounter contemporary Holocaust memorials.

One of the key aims of the thesis is the exploration of questions concerning the potential elicitation of empathy when viewers encounter selected designs. These discussions are informed by the work of Amy Coplan, Dominic LaCapra, and Martin Hoffman, as the question of how viewers' memory of other Holocaust representations can enhance their capacity to relate to the victims' experience, is discussed. Further, as one of the selected designs can be seen in relation to Freud's concept of The Uncanny, how does this come to represent a new, fearful way of encountering concentration camp iconography? The scope of the thesis is further exemplified by discussions concerning artists who submitted proposals that consciously worked against the competition itself, whilst also involving the secondary witness in the creation and working processes of their designs.

The thesis takes an original approach to analysis of Eisenman's memorial too, by discussing its relationship to the underground Information Centre, where features of some unbuilt proposals are also observable. By taking this approach to the winning submission for the competition, Eisenman's design is understood as being in partnership with the Information Centre, rather than being separate, largely unrelated, components.

Drawing on archival research and interviews with a range of protagonists, the thesis reveals debates concerning who the memorial should be dedicated to, and how the idea of a memorial relates to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, highlighting a need for German introspection and the motivation to cultivate a new German self-image. This original contribution to understanding Holocaust commemoration also argues that designs featuring iconography associated with the concentration camps are more than mere provocations; they represent the possibility of stimulating empathic responses through evoking associations with Holocaust imagery and narratives which are in cultural circulation. Through examination of several unbuilt proposals, the thesis provides new, discerning ways, of considering a range of designs, and also the possibilities for Holocaust commemoration and the role of the secondary witness.

95,331 words

Acknowledgements:

The advice and support of Dr. Silke Arnold-de Simine and Dr. Gabriel Koureas has been greatly appreciated throughout this research and I am thankful for their time, patience, and intelligent guidance.

I am also grateful to Dr. Günter Schlusche who offered important details concerning primary documentation and provided significant insights into his experiences and knowledge of the Berlin competition.

My thanks also to all the artists, architects, and project influencers who were willing to be interviewed. This includes former Culture Minister, Michael Naumann, and *Findungskommission* Chair, James Young. All interviewees were generous with their time and played an essential role in developing an understanding of their concepts, the thoughts behind their respective submissions, and the ways in which the competition and its surrounding issues developed. I hope to have justified and expanded upon the work of the featured artists through critical analysis. Stefanie Endlich deserves a special thank you for providing images of several designs for both competitions, and Sarah Freidrich of the Memorial Foundation should be acknowledged for her efforts in obtaining good quality images of the Information Centre and its exhibits.

And finally, a special thank-you to Nellie Callaghan and Lisa Holland for their love, support, and remarkable patience.

Contents

	Pages
List of illustrations	6
Chronology of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition	8
Introduction	11
1. Who is the the memorial for?	32
1.01 The two operations and their respective guidelines	35
1.02 The concept of ‘never again’	44
1.03 A West German initiative	51
1.04 <i>Vergangenheitsbewältigung</i>	53
1.05 The European dimension	60
1.06 A German memorial?	64
1.07 Normalization	73
1.08 National memory and political memory	78
1.09 The role of the Jewish community	82
1.10 The Sinti and Roma victims of the Holocaust	91
1.11 A democratic competition?	97
2. Issues of representation	107
2.01 Crematoria Tower	109
2.02 Ferris Wheel	131
2.03 Jochen Heufelder’s projected photographs	144
2.04 Stelenfeld	149
2.05 Simon Ungers’ abstract design	160
2.06 Victims’ final letters exhibited in The Room of Dimensions	165

3. The Memorial Museum paradigm	180
3.01 How the memorial and Information Centre complement each other	191
3.02 The contrast between the memorial and the Information Centre	198
4. Counter-monuments and mnemonics	230
4.01 Bus Stop! – The Non Monument	237
4.02 Blow up the Brandenburg Gate	256
4.03 Warum	266
Conclusion	281
Bibliography	289
Appendices	
A. Original German for all translated primary documents.	
B. All interviews with selected artists, jury members James Young and Stefanie Endlich; Günter Schlusche who was responsible for engineering and planning aspects of the memorial, and Minister for Culture during the competition period, Michael Naumann.	

List of Illustrations:

Figure 1. The submission by Christine Jakob-Marks, Hella Rolfs, Hans Scheib, and Reinhard Stangl, for the 1994 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 2. The submission by Simon Ungers, for the 1994 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 3. Peter Eisenman's winning model for the 1997 competition (after modifications at the request of *The Bundestag*). Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 4. *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, Berlin. Design by Peter Eisenman. Photograph: Mark Callaghan. 2012.

Figure 5. Karol Broniatowski's and Patrick Glaster's submission, *Crematoria Tower*. Image courtesy of Karol Broniatowski.

Figure 6. Richard Gruber's submission, *Ferris Wheel*. Image courtesy of Richard Gruber.

Figure 7. Peter Eisenman's *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Photograph: Mark Callaghan. 2012.

Figure 8. Peter Eisenman's *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Detail. Photograph: Mark Callaghan. 2012.

Figure 9. The submission by Simon Ungers, for the 1994 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 10. *The Room of Dimensions*. Photograph: Mark Callaghan. 2012.

Figure 11. One of the copied victim's letters. *The Room of Dimensions*. Photograph: Mark Callaghan. 2012.

Figure 12. The displayed, enlarged copy of Suzanne Burinovici's postcard to her daughter, Claudine. *The Room of Dimensions*. Photograph: Mark Callaghan. 2012.

Figure 13. The Information Centre's typed translation of Suzanne Burinovici's postcard to her daughter, Claudine. *The Room of Dimensions*. Photograph: Mark Callaghan. 2012.

Figure 14. The submission by Gesine Weinmiller, for the 1997 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 15. The submission by Daniel Libeskind, *Stone-Breath*, for the 1997 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 16. *The Room of Dimensions*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 17. The foyer of The Information Centre. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 18. *The Room of Families*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 19. The Berkowitz family. *The Room of Families*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 20. The Berkowitz family. *The Room of Families*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 21. Auschwitz-Birkenau, June 1994: Deportees after a journey of several days. *The Room of Families*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 22. The submission by Christine Jakob-Marks, Hella Rolfs, Hans Scheib, and Reinhard Stangl, for the 1994 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 23. *The Room of Names*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 24. The name Berl Fiegelman. *The Room of Names*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 25. The name Elias Leberman. *The Room of Names*. Image courtesy of The Memorial Foundation.

Figure 26. *Bus Stop!* 1994. Image courtesy of Renata Stih and Freider Schnock.

Figure 27. Reinhard Matz and Rudolph Herz. *Autobahn Kilometre*. 1994. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Figure 28. Jochen Gerz's submission, *Warum*, for the 1997 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Chronology of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition

In 1988, television journalist Lea Rosh and historian Eberhard Jäckel began a campaign for a German national memorial to the six million Jews murdered during the Second World War. By the spring of 1989, the campaign had gained the support of prominent Germans such as the Mayor of Berlin, Walter Momper, and Senator of Culture, Anke Martiny.¹ Donations from prominent figures such as Willy Brandt, Christa Wolf, and Walter Jens, were also forthcoming, along with contributions from school councils, local unions, and also ‘The covenant of forced sterilization and euthanasia victims’. Petitions containing thousands of signatures in support of a memorial were also collected.²

By 1992 an estimated 15 million DM had been amassed, half of which was publicly funded, the other half provided by private donors.³ Corporate sponsorship was also prevalent with notable contributors being Marcus Bierich of the Robert Bosch GmbH and Daimler CEO Edzard Reuter.⁴

By 1994 Rosh and Jäckel had also gained enough support in the *Bundestag* that a competition was announced in Germany’s national press. 528 proposals were submitted by a field of international artists and architects. All designers were aware of the memorial’s pre-designated site, 19,000 square metres of land close to the Brandenburg Gate. Competing artists and architects were also aware of the memorial’s pre-designated title, *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*.

¹ Simone Mangos, *A Monumental Mockery: The Construction of the National Holocaust Memorial*, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007), p. 20.

² Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10.11.2012.

³ The final cost of the memorial, complete with Information Centre, would total an estimated 25 million Euros. www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en.html. Accessed 17.10.2011.

⁴ Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10.11.2012.

The jury, which was announced in April 1994, selected two designs: the model by Christine Jakob-Marks, and the proposal by Simon Ungers. In June 1995 it was announced that the Jakob-Marks design was the more feasible of the two finalists, primarily for budgetary reasons. Some aspects of the Jakob-Marks design did, however, concern some of the German Jewish community. Its gargantuan concrete plate, which would have been inscribed with the names of all known victims, was designed to be raised at one end, allowing for the mass of victim's names to be seen by visitors. This feature of the design was criticized for alluding to a rising tomb, an unintended Christian iconography that contravened the memorial's Jewish associations.⁴ This led to the unsuccessful end of the competition, leading to a two-year hiatus that included the 1996 colloquia where representatives of all German political parties met to discuss how the suspended memorial project could be revived.

In 1997, a more limited competition was initiated, with nineteen artists and architects invited to submit designs. The revived scheme had a new structure of decision-makers, the five-member *Findungskommission* chaired by James Young, who recommended the design American architects Peter Eisenman and Richard Serra, whose experiential model consisted of 4,000 concrete stelae.

⁴ Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), p. 166.

On 25 June 1999, the government approved of Lea Rosh's proposal to assign the final decision for selecting a memorial to the *Bundestag*. 439 out of 559 MPs voted in favour of the motion to build Eisenman's design,⁵ though the building of the proposal would be contingent on the inclusion of an information centre, petitioned by Federal Cultural Representative (*Bundeskulturbeauftragter*), Michael Naumann, who argued that the abstract design was in need of contextualization.

On 10 May, 2005, Eisenman's modified design, complete with underground information centre and a reduced number of stelae, was unveiled.

⁵ Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*, (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2005), p. 145.

Introduction

This thesis explores the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition of the 1990s, when a jury comprising academics, politicians, artists and architects, were charged with the task of deliberating on the selection of a design that would come to represent a national visualisation of Holocaust commemoration. The competition led to the creation of *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, also known as the *Berlin Holocaust Memorial*.¹ In April 1994, an open, international competition called for designs for this national memorial. It would, eleven years later, result in the unveiling of the design by American architect Peter Eisenman's *Stelenfeld*, as it is otherwise known, covering five acres and comprising 2,700 concrete blocks of varying heights, abstract and devoid of symbolism. Though this thesis pays attention to this winning design, its unique contribution is the focus on submissions that were rejected by the jury. This focus on unbuilt proposals is imperative as many of the unmade memorials disclose important factors concerning the fragile and volatile memory of the Holocaust, new possibilities for remembrance, and, as a result, significant insights regarding the ways that designers approached the commemoration of this event and the transgressing multiplicity of approaches to memory and commemoration that their designs offered.

Several scholars have written on Eisenman's winning design and, in some cases, as part of their work, the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition, too. This includes James Young's *Germany's Holocaust Problem and Mine*, his account of the seemingly quixotic project he was invited to conclude in his role as chief jury member, and Peter Carrier's *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*, which looks on the politics behind the memorial project and how they were

¹ It was common for designers and architects to submit proposals with individual titles such as *Stone-Breath*, by Daniel Libeskind, and *Yellow Flowers*, by Dani Karavan.

symptomatic of a wider struggle over national memory. Selected parts of Mark Godfrey's *Abstraction and the Holocaust* is a further example, with its close analysis of Eisenman's field of stelae, where Godfrey argues that the grid system of Eisenman's design, produced with unsettling and unpredictable results, 'serves as an analogy for Nazism as a disturbing product of a rational system, a moment in which modernity's rationality gives rise to calamity, a moment where modernity's industrial and economic means are put to horrific use.'² Further work includes Irit Dekel's ethnographic study of Eisenman's memorial from the approach of analyzing interaction between guides, memorial workers and visitors; and Simone Mangos' *A Monumental Mockery*, which concentrates on the history of the chosen site, the construction of Eisenman's memorial, the 'Degussa' controversy and the levity that one often sees at the memorial.³ This considerable body of research has examined *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* from multiple perspectives. These and other scholars have touched on some of the competition's alternative submissions but their primary focus is the competition's outcome, the commissioning, building, and reception of Eisenman's field of concrete blocks.⁴

² Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 246.

³ Simone Mangos, *A Monumental Mockery: The Construction of the National Holocaust Memorial* (Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2007), p. 113. The Degussa controversy surrounded the use of an anti-graffiti coating, applied to Eisenman's concrete blocks, that was discovered to be produced by Degussa, a sister company of the manufacturers of Zyklon B, the poison used to kill Jews in the extermination camps.

⁴ This includes: Suzanne Stephens, 'Peter Eisenman's Vision for Berlin's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', *Architectural Record*, 193.7 (2005) pp. 120-27. Johan Åhr, 'Memory and Mourning in Berlin: On Peter Eisenman's Holocaust-Hahnmal', *Modern Judaism: A Journal of Jewish Ideas & Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 28.3 (2008), pp. 282-305. Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, 'Deconstructivism and the Holocaust: On the Origins and Legacy of Peter Eisenman's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', in *History Unlimited: Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture*, ed. by Wulf Kansteiner, Todd Presner, and Claudio Fogu (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 283-303. Maïke Muegge, 'Politics, Space and Material: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin as a Sign of Symbolic Representation', *European Review of History*. Vol. 12. (2008), pp. 212-19.

My focus is to closely analyse what several competing designs say about a commemorative discourse despite not being commissioned, what these other *Memorials to the Murdered Jews of Europe* would contribute in terms of how visitors would be invited to interact, the respective designs' attempts to induce empathy, and how these German and international artists would have delivered diverse representations of Germany's national Holocaust memory. Specifically, I analyze the competition and its designs through a range of memory concepts: cultural memory, multi-directional memory, post-memory and prosthetic memory. With regard to some of the unbuilt proposals, I explore whether some of these designs share commonalities in terms of the images they might provoke, drawn from cultural memory of the Holocaust, and ask how history, memory, and aesthetics merge in Berlin's would-be national landmarks. These areas of investigation include the exhibits beneath the memorial, as Eisenman's design was only built on the condition that a subterranean Information Centre be included, adding historical context to a design that otherwise bears no reference to the event it commemorates. In fact, this study pays attention to Eisenman's concept from the otherwise overlooked perspective of how, it too, was rejected, as the original model was subject to significant design changes.

My methodology includes examination of German press articles that trace the progress of the two competitions. These primary sources reveal debates that were either addressed in the media during the 1990s or discussions that are explored in retrospect through this thesis. Designs were selected for analysis in this thesis with the following criteria in mind: i) that the design is provocative and potentially contentious, employing, for instance, a Holocaust icon such as a crematoria tower or a cattle-truck; ii) that the design would have been the first of its kind, which includes those in criterion i) but also models that would, for instance, project photographs of victims across the

memorial site, use a robot to inscribe answers as to why the Holocaust happened, or destroy the Brandenburg Gate and use its rubble as the memorial for murdered Jews. In relation to this, primary sources include interviews with the artists of all featured designs. My interviews with jurors and competing artists, and my analysis of the designs aided by a variety of sources formulates a detailed and rounded consideration of the two competitions and their outcomes.

The methodology of this thesis includes the study of the competition via its official guidelines; press statements by those with a leading role and influence in the memorial project, and the opinions of German historians who expressed a range of views during the years of deliberation. My interviews with Federal Cultural Representative (*Bundeskulturbeauftragter*), Michael Naumann, and jury members James Young and Stefanie Endlich, add important insights concerning the aesthetic preferences and anxieties of those with authority of what *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* should or should not be. Crucially, the thesis also peruses the formal submissions by artists, the official response by the jury (where available), and of equal importance, a new understanding of the unbuilt proposals based on my interviews with the respective artists and my further, independent analysis of their proposals.

The alternative submissions analysed in this thesis include a permanently fired model of a crematoria tower, designed by Karol Broniatowski and Patrick Glaster; a proposal to detonate the Brandenburg Gate and to use its rubble as the memorial, submitted by Horst Hoheisel; and a design by Jochen Gerz that involved a robot that would, over eight decades, inscribe visitor's answers to the question of why the Holocaust happened. Other designs include the idea of projecting pre-Holocaust photographs of victims onto the memorial site, submitted by Jochen Heufelder; and a Ferris wheel that

would have cattle-trucks for gondolas, designed by Richard Gruber. There is also analysis of other designs including a one-kilometer section of autobahn with a cobbled surface that would have forced drivers to slowly pass in remembrance to those who were murdered, designed by Reinhard Matz and Rudolph Herz; and a bus terminal, proposed by Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock, that would have been a hub, transporting visitors by double-decker buses to the former concentration camps of Germany and Poland. Along with Eisenman's design, which is abstraction without contextualization – where there is no reference to the commemorated subject in the design – there is also Simon Ungers' abstract design, which proposed to project the names of concentration camps onto its visitors, caused by light filtering through the perforated letters of its steel I-beams, and thereby being abstraction *with* contextualization, due to including distinct references to the genocide.

During my examination of selected proposals, I ask how visitors are to be interpellated by designs that either contain overt references to the Holocaust, or in the example of the winning design by Eisenman, none at all. By pursuing this question, my research builds on debates concerning negative representations of history that often emanate from Theodor Adorno's *Commitment* (1962), where Adorno's concerns regarding the potential gratification that one can gain when seeing images of suffering, can be seen as a prophecy, a warning that such images might elicit a suspicious excitement.⁵ When it comes to the ethical stakes of representing the pain of others, Susan Sontag also writes of these dangers but argues that it is still necessary to show images of suffering, that they can be a revelatory experience for those who see them or, with reference to the Bosnian atrocities, how gruesome pictures bolstered opposition to the war.⁶ These

⁵ Theodor Adorno, 'Commitment', in *Aesthetics and Politics*, ed. by Frederic Jameson (London, New York: Verso, 2007), pp. 112-123 (p.115).

⁶ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Penguin, 2004), p. 91.

views have been countered by many scholars, including Ann Kaplan, who argues that disturbing images can provoke awareness of atrocities that might lead to vigilance and a need to know more about the event being depicted.⁷ Though, in an enduring, oscillating debate, one should also be mindful of Dora Apel's argument that explicit images of suffering can be so repellent that viewers refrain from engagement with the subject being presented.⁸ There is also, in this regard, what historian Edward T. Linenthal calls a 'comfortable horrible' memory, which 'allows people to re-assure themselves that they are engaging in profound events whilst failing to engage with other events in the past or in the present.'⁹

In this study, I explore these arguments, and take into account the models of post-memory and secondary witnessing as the prevalent forms of memory transmission for those who did not witness the Holocaust. I further the debate by evaluating depictions of the Holocaust that do *not* show explicit imagery, where representations of violence and suffering are notably absent, yet, as I will argue, can still be visualized through cultural memory, defined by Aleida Assmann as a form of memory that includes artefacts, sites, rituals and texts.¹⁰ This is how the term 'cultural memory' is used and has come to be understood, though I extend this to include the plastic arts, and film and photography. I explore the question of how such designs might evoke canonized representations of the Holocaust. By doing this, I aim to go beyond the debate concerning the ethical hazards of representation, drawing from key submissions from the Berlin competition that help us to understand the intrinsic role of cultural memory.

⁷ Ann E. Kaplan, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Culture* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p. 36.

⁸ Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New York, New Brunswick, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002), p. 126.

⁹ Edward T. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 28.

¹⁰ Aleida Assmann, 'Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past' in *Cultural Memory and Historical Consciousness in the German Speaking World since 1500*, ed. by Christian Emden, and David Midgley (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 18-39 (p. 32).

The expansion of this debate prompts the vital question of what kind of empathy, if any empathy at all, could be provoked if one responds to images of suffering that are not actually depicted in the memorial? Empathy scholars whose work has been consulted for this thesis include Dominick LaCapra, Lauren Wispé, and Amy Coplan, whose contribution to empathy studies relates to one of the key questions posed in this study: is the potentially elicited empathy of selected designs and museum exhibits more likely to be self-oriented perspective-taking, where one can consider what it would be like to be in the situation being conveyed, or other-oriented perspective-taking, where one is provoked into thinking of what it would be like to be reduced to ‘bare life’, and thus deprived of any rights?¹¹ As part of this, the thesis explores the possible consequences of these responses.

As a result of this approach, I bring together debates concerning representation of the Holocaust and remembrance strategies that have the capacity to kindle empathetic responses. By doing this, I intend to add to the debates concerning secondary witnessing – when the observer relates to the experience of the primary witness conveyed through accounts and imagery – and empathy, which might, as Dora Apel argues, cause a form of secondary trauma shared with the victim.¹² As part of this debate, Dominick LaCapra raises the concern that the secondary witness can become a surrogate victim, thus becoming a falsifying voice, leading to his primary argument that empathy should be unsettled and critically interrogated in order for the beholder to

¹¹ Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive* (Boston: Zone Books, 2002), p. 28.

¹² Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002), p. 20. Apel goes on to argue that by way of secondary trauma, there can be a sense of unresolved shock and injury shared between secondary witness and the victim.

avoid ‘empathic over-arousal’.¹³ As a corollary of this I discuss the notion of LaCapra’s ‘empathic unsettlement’, where the spectator can respond to depictions of trauma, using emotions and feelings without compromising the subject position of the ‘other’, the primary witness.¹⁴ Rather than struggle to gain knowledge of how the other person feels, Lisa Cartwright helps us to conceptualize how empathy could condition our viewing of trauma-related content, arguing that by projecting oneself into the life of the other, the primary witness, the importance of the original experience is reduced, that empathy with the victim comes from a recognition of the feelings expressed in representation rather than by an identification with who the victim was.¹⁵ Such understandings of the victim are made more complex by Martin Hoffman who defines empathic response as ‘the involvement of psychological processes that make a person have feelings that are more congruent with another’s situation than with his own situation.’¹⁶ The problem with Hoffman’s approach, however, is the idea that we need to feel ‘more’ for the victim than ourselves in order to empathise, when, as Richard Crownshaw argues, we should ‘simultaneously maintain an objective perspective that preserves both historical specificity and the otherness of the other.’¹⁷

¹³ Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 717. LaCapra is fundamentally concerned that the secondary witness will claim to feel the same torment as the victim.

¹⁴ Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Chicago: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 22. LaCapra writes of empathic unsettlement in relation to literature though the notion can be applied to visual arts, and in this thesis, memorial designs too. When addressing a specific traumatic event, LaCapra argues that it would be preferable to use the type of writing that does not only embody ‘acting out’ but also ‘working through’, thus ‘developing articulations that are recognized as being problematic but still function as limits and as possibly desirable resistances to undecidability.’

¹⁵ Lisa Cartwright, *Moral Spectatorship: Technologies of Voice and Affect in PostWar Representation of the Child* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 24.

¹⁶ Martin Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 30.

¹⁷ Richard Crownshaw, *The Afterlife of Holocaust Memory in Contemporary Literature and Culture* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), p. 36.

My goal in this thesis is to frame these debates within the perspective of would-be visitors' visual and also somatic experience, as many of the featured designs of this thesis offer this kind of encounter. Whilst this study is not an examination of whether one style is more effective at conveying the Holocaust than another, or an exploration of long-standing debates concerning the morality of using explicit imagery, I do consider how designs that do not depict suffering might still evoke empathy for the victims. This unique contribution that pays attention to several designs, includes the question of whether, in the realm of the visual, despite lacking any image of human distress, selected designs might actually provoke images of anguish. Eisenman's design is not excluded from these discussions, as through these concepts, I argue that it can be understood from a new perspective, in relation to its possible distressing effects on the visitor and the kind of empathy this might provoke.

The discussions concerning empathy, cultural memory, and representation of the Holocaust, are also examined through the Information Centre's exhibits, specifically the display of fifteen victims' final letters to their families, which is a different medium for the expression of deep suffering that contrasts with the memorial designs that also relate to these areas of analysis. As I argue that the letters also have the capacity to induce both self-orientated perspective-taking and other-orientated empathic responses, the thesis commits to studying the victims' letters through these concepts, asking why this is important, and how this corresponds to Jill Bennett's notion of 'idiopathic empathy' where empathy 'is dependent on maintaining a sense of the victims as being sufficiently like us in order to imagine ourselves in their place.'¹⁸

¹⁸ Jill Bennett, 'The Limits of Empathy and the Global Politics of Belonging', in *Trauma at Home: After 9/11*, ed. by Judith Greenberg, (Bison: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), pp. 95-134 (p. 95).

As with the creation of any national memorial, the outcome demands reflection and assessment. With a new approach to the Berlin competition that analyses many of the alternative submissions, this study considers what could have been built in the pre-designated location of the former Ministerial Gardens, close to the Brandenburg Gate.¹⁹ By examining a cross-section of submissions, I analyse designs that sought to challenge the idea of even having a centrally located memorial; along with other, highly contentious proposals, such as those featuring iconography associated with the concentration camps; and further submissions that represent the gamut of styles and approaches to memorialization. They enable me to address the question of how the competition relates to political memory in terms of Pierre Nora's assertion that political memory is 'anchored in national narratives' that include memorials,²⁰ and Aleida Assmann's definition of political memory as being selections from the past which 'strengthen a positive self image.'²¹ How can the creation of a memorial dedicated to such difficult history correspond to such notions?²² What were the motives for building the national memorial and who was it ultimately for? Amongst the many objectives for commissioning the memorial, the study will examine the complexities of German self-image in what was, after all, the creation of a memorial to difficult histories, and how the initiative had an often unrecognized pan-European and international patronage.

¹⁹ A plot which became available after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and had been part of the *Todesstreifen* (the death-strip) – the barren strip of land separating the walls between East and West – was now the most significant place in the new Berlin. The memorial's proximity to the Brandenburg Gate and also Reichstag signify its importance in the metaphorical heart of Germany.

²⁰ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de memoire*', trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989), pp 5-29 (p. 9).

²¹ Aleida Assmann, 'Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past', p. 26.

²² Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt write of how how political regime change enforces an abrupt reorganisation of memory by ushering in a new value system, its most obvious external signs being the renaming of streets, and public commemorations. Assmann goes on to cite that changes can even be introduced with a change of political party, with the Obama administration appointing a Truth Commission to investigate the torture practices employed during the George W. Bush administration. Assmann argues that by doing this, Obama drew a crucial dividing line by relegating an unquestioned status quo of the present into a distanced past. *Memory and Political Change*, ed. by Aleida Assmann, and Linda Shortt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 8.

The contrast between Eisenman's abstract design on the site's surface and the Information Centre situated beneath it, is a further drive of this study. It suggests that some form of control is required, that the abstract memorial needs to be counterbalanced by erudition. The implementation of an Information Centre changes the meaning, purpose and understanding of the memorial site in Berlin, taking it from being a field of concrete pillars with viewer interpretative autonomy, to a memorial site where specific historical references are evident and museological remembrance strategies experienced. Though scholars have analysed Eisenman's field of blocks in terms of its abstract approach to representing the Holocaust, and also its playful reception, I explore the memorial's relationship to the Information Centre and its exhibits. The building of an Information Centre was an important change to Eisenman's original concept, as his initial design was rejected. As a result of this change, I ask how Eisenman's modified design and the Information Centre complement and contrast with each other in terms of offering two different experiences – the open, potentially anxiety-provoking, non-instructive experience of the abstract memorial, and the instructive experience found in the Information Centre.²³ I ask what role the Information Centre has, how it changes the meaning of the memorial, and conversely, how the memorial changes the meaning of the Information Centre. In what appears to correspond with a global paradigm of building a memorial with an accompanying museum, I explore how Eisenman's design seems to ask how the Holocaust can be understood without images, artefacts, and texts, whereas the Information Centre poses the opposite question: how can the Holocaust be understood only through the abstract memorial and thus without encountering victims' family photographs, their final letters, and the historical background and overview of the genocide arranged by its curator.

²³ It is not uncommon to see adults and children leaping from block to block or hiding from each other behind the pillars.

As part of this approach, I work with Alison Landsberg's view that experiential museums are transferential spaces 'in which people are invited to enter into experiential relationships with events through which they themselves did not live.'²⁴ Inside the Information Centre, one of its rooms – *The Room of Dimensions* – is where some of the victims' final letters are exhibited. The room functions as a direct, unmistakable record of the Jewish experience, where one can be drawn into testimonies of despair and gain immediate understandings of the desperate positions and feelings that victims were faced with. *The Room of Dimensions* is not conventionally didactic, as it shows examples of individual anguish rather than information relating to the history of the persecutions that might not be commonly known to many visitors. It is a space that is, I argue, designed to immerse visitors into the plight of victims and can impart further knowledge of events through its poignant displays.²⁵

As part of this investigation, the study focuses on the paradigm of the memorial museum, with a concentration on the abstract memorial's relationship to an accompanying museum. This is instead of the more expansive approach by Paul Williams who surveys the memorial museum from the perspective of all styles of memorial, not just abstract designs.²⁶ By concentrating on the memorial of abstraction that is without contextualization – exemplified by Eisenman's design – I seek to understand what is not entirely the bilateral arrangement of memorial and museum that one might believe it to be. I argue that this is not a relationship of opposites but rather an arrangement where the memorial signals to the event it commemorates, where there is some immediate correspondence to the museum exhibits on the respective site. The

²⁴ Alison Landsberg, 'America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy', in *New German Critique* 71 (Summer 1997), pp. 63-86 (p. 66).

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (London: Bloomsbury 3PL, 2000), p. 8.

focus, then, is on a situation where the museum appears to act as an assurance that the history being commemorated will be represented in a memorial landscape that does not seek to show this in the memorial constituent, that the memorial can be abstract because the museum provides the narrative. As part of my pursuit of this, I ask what role the abstract memorial has and the extent to which the relationship between memorial and museum is reciprocal. My aim is also to compare similar approaches to conveying the identity of victims and the scale of the crime – such as the use of victims’ names and victims’ photographic portraits – that can be found in some unbuilt proposals and the display strategies observable in the *Rooms*.

By examining the competition guidelines and the views of many protagonists, I also present incisive analysis concerning how the memorial – of any design – was thought of by some jurors and the media, as a panacea, loaded with too much expectation about what it could represent and achieve; how it was seen as representing a “never again” symbol that could have a demonstrable effect on the notion of preventing future genocides. This is not to chide the views of the jurors and the competitions’ guidelines, but rather to examine why the memorial project was being applied with such responsibility and accountability that began in 1988 when TV journalist Lea Rosh and historian Eberhard Jäckel proposed a Holocaust memorial be erected in central Berlin.²⁷ What followed in January 1989 was a call for a ‘conspicuous monument’ to be constructed in Berlin with the commemorated event being ‘the genocide against Jews in Europe during the Second World War’. As Rosh declared:

²⁷ Rosh was chairperson for *Perspective Berlin*, also known as the ‘Citizen’s Initiative’ who campaigned for a Holocaust memorial and later in 1989 she became an executive member of the *Förderkreis* - an organisation campaigning to build a Holocaust memorial in Berlin. Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10. 11. 2012.

Germany, the land of the perpetrators, the country of the inventor of this unique genocide, the murder of the Jews, has not a single monument to the more than five million dead, murdered by the Germans. France has such a monument. Italy has, Belgium has also. The Norwegians remember their dead, Hungary also. Only we do not. And it is long past time to end this scandal.²⁸

What followed was also a memorial project that excluded other victim groups – Roma and Sinti, homosexuals (unless Jewish), and by its designated title, Jews who survived the Holocaust, too. With assiduity, I examine the debates between the competition’s instigators, German politicians, the Jewish community, and historians, concerning the exclusivity of the memorial to murdered Jews. It is this, amongst my many lines of enquiry that cause one to ask who the memorial is actually for. If the memorial is ultimately for Germans, how does this relate to their self-image in the newly reunified state? As part of this I examine the *Nachgeborenen*’s (Germans born during or after the Second World War) attitude to the Nazi past and how this could impact on the memorial project, particularly as the jury comprised of this demographic. This area of discussion corresponds to the idea of there being a European and international patronage which correlates to Michael Rothberg’s ‘multi-directional memory’, a concept which allows us to think of the presence of widespread Holocaust consciousness as a basis to articulate a vision of other crimes, such as, for example, slavery.²⁹

²⁸ Lea Rosh, *War monuments yes, Holocaust monument - no? (Kriegsdenkmäler-ja, Holocaust-Denkmal - Nein?)* (*Vowärts* Nr. 45. 5.1.1989).

²⁹ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), p. 15-16.

The thesis pays close attention to the decisions made by the juries and the implications of their deliberations. This includes, in the chapter *Who is the memorial for?*, the issue of patronage from the Jewish perspective. This involves the Jewish identity of victimhood and the prolonged concern by some Jews that they are thought of one-dimensionally, with no identity outside of the Holocaust. This situation was made more prevalent by the peripheral role of the Jewish community in the selection process, and Jewish objections to having a national Holocaust memorial of any kind, regardless of aesthetic questions, independent of genre. As a result, the thesis pays attention to the complexities of Jewish involvement in the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition, looking at the reasons for increased Jewish influence and the extent to which the Jewish community were patrons. The question of who the memorial is for is further complicated by a range of views, from the project's promoters, members of both juries, politicians, historians, and competing artists too.

The question of who the memorial is for is also examined in the chapter *Counter-monuments and Mnemonics*, from the perspective of German counter-monument artists who submitted designs. By focusing on these submissions, the thesis analyses how some designs consciously worked against what were considered to be traditional approaches to memorialisation and even the competition itself, how they offered new ideas of co-authorship due to their encouragement of viewer interaction and participation, and how, as a result, they promoted alternate ways of reflecting on the past. They come to represent the failure of representation; they progress the debate but cannot resolve it. The study also pays attention to connecting interests between the *Nachgeborenen* juries and the German counter-monument artists of the same generation. Despite the ultimate rejection of all counter-monument proposals, to what extent did the German jury share corresponding ambitions of the prospective memorial? Though aesthetically divergent, I also explore how their submissions not

only resist the tendencies found in fascist monuments, but also come to represent a German response to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past).

By examining several of the competitions' unbuilt proposals, I intend to focus on significant parts of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition that have yet to be fully analysed or considered. As I hope to demonstrate, the pre-history of Eisenman's selection deserves attention, for it reveals that some designs change the way in which symbols of the concentration camps are considered; that other submissions relate to new distressing, provocative ways of commemorating the Holocaust. This is discussed in the chapter Issues of Representation. In looking at the pre-history of the decision to commission Eisenman's design, I argue that the competition and its many submissions caused the memorial project to be one that provoked German politicians, historians, intellectuals, the wider public, and prominent German designers, too, into thinking – or re-thinking – their Nazi past, as the post-unification state attempted to deal aesthetically with its difficult history.

The opening chapter, Who is the memorial for?, analyses the different motivations for building a memorial, including the extent to which the Holocaust resonates in contemporary Germany and how a reunited country saw itself and wished for others to see it. As a corollary of this, the question of who, if anyone, has ownership of the past also emerges. Lines of investigation include the questions of who the memorial is for, and what the competition guidelines tells us about patronage and the aims of the memorial project. Who was involved in the selection process and why was the public playing an ancillary role? As the competition guidelines make reference to the 'burden' and 'duty' of Germans to remember and commemorate the Holocaust,³⁰ how is this

³⁰ *Art Competition: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Invitation to Compete*. April 1994.

complicated by the *Nachgeborenen*'s propensity for readily embracing interpretative options by forebears who were directly involved in the Nazi crimes? In his study of this phenomenon Harald Welzer also writes of 'cumulative heroization', where the 'eyewitness' generation's stories of complicity under-go a change of meaning as they are re-told by the next generation, then the following generation – the grandchildren of the eyewitness generation – which often results in a process that turns forebears into heroes.³¹ How does this tendency contradict the competition's guidelines that make reference to the 'historical responsibility' of Germans?

Though patronage is never established by the jury, its published guidelines, or by politicians and the media, I argue that the memorial was built with different motivations and that ultimately the memorial project was for non-Jewish Germans, as the reunified country began to renegotiate its own image and confrontation with the Nazi era and was concerned by how other countries would see it too. What emerges is the concept of an introspective memorial that, when completed, becomes a representation of a country's self-examination. I argue that the competition itself is a document of national and political memory far more than any chosen design. I also examine the reasons for the breakdown of the first competition, the exclusion of other victim's groups, and the lack of former East German involvement.

In the second chapter, Issues of Representation, I will consider the emotional interpellation of visitors in several unbuilt memorials and Eisenman's design. I analyse two contentious proposals that use replica Holocaust icons, and other submissions that attempt, I argue, to involve the spectator empathetically. This also includes the letters

³¹ Harald Welzer, 'Grandpa Wasn't A Nazi: The Holocaust in German Family Remembrance', in *International perspectives*. Vol. 54. Berlin, 2005, pp. 3-18 (p.13).

exhibited in the Information Centre, where visitors can read back-lit displays of the last words written by parents to their children. I examine how such designs and the letters might affect the viewer and have a more varied role in memorialisation than simply being provocative and controversial. Some designs are, I argue, disconcerting because they become disturbing by the visitors' supplied knowledge of what happened to the victims, attained through other representations, leading to a recall of images associated with the design in question, thereby causing a visualisation of suffering which is not directly represented. Like these designs, victims' letters displayed in the Information Centre do not depict images of violence and death whilst offering insights into the distress of victims. So with equal dedication to the memorial designs, I ask what kind of empathy these exhibits encourage and to what extent are they effective modes of memory? Does Eisenman's memorial also encourage empathy for the victims? Additionally, how does LaCapra's notion of empathic unsettlement, that ambiguous movement of what someone feels whilst still having a cognitive distance, relate to selected, unbuilt proposals?

I also argue that one unbuilt proposal, *Ferris Wheel*, is uncanny because it uses replica cattle-trucks for its gondolas, because a symbol associated with a form of entertainment is now also associated with the Holocaust. It is a design that would still operate as a leisure contraption, offering views of Berlin, though visitors would see the city from within replica vehicles that transported Jews to their deaths. The design, then, can be understood through Sigmund Freud's concept of the uncanny, where Freud reveals a process of transposition of the familiar into the opposite, where *heimlich* (homely, familiar, but also hidden) becomes *unheimlich* (fear provoking) – uncanny.³² The homely is not just the utopian place of safety and shelter for which we supposedly

³² Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2003), p. 124.

yearn, but also ‘the place of dark secrets, of fear and danger, that we can sometimes inhabit furtively’.³³ The cattle-trucks of *Ferris Wheel* represent this duality, working as both inviting and intriguing spaces where visitors can sit and observe the cityscape, whilst also being disturbing signifiers. This prompts the question of what this uncanny effect could result in, how the sight of a leisure contraption operating with vehicles associated with the transport of Jews to the concentration camps creates a new state of apprehension, a new way of representing Germany’s difficult history.

In the third chapter, The Memorial Museum Paradigm, I discuss how the Information Centre changes *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, which is essential to this study, as it develops the idea of there being a global paradigm of a memorial accompanied with a museum, and because it allows me to contextualise the memorial in the global paradigm of the ‘memorial and museum’ in which a memorial is accompanied by a museum.³⁴ The arguments for the implementation of an information centre are explored, and how the two entities, despite appearing as separate components, form an aesthetic and representational synthesis.

The Information Centre’s *Rooms* are examined in terms of their attempts to involve the viewer in the plight of the victims, from the wider perspective of unidentified suffering of anonymous victims to more private insights that are now made public. This chapter also pays attention to some of the unbuilt proposals for the competition and how they would have affiliated with an information centre had they been selected. This includes Daniel Libeskind’s design, *Stone-breath*, and the design of abstraction that is devoid

³³ Doreen Massey, ‘Space-Time and the Politics of Location’, in *Rachel Whiteread: House* (London: Phaidon, 1995), pp. 38-46. (p. 41).

³⁴ Examples include *The National September 11 Memorial Museum*, New York City; Hiroshima’s *Peace Memorial Museum*, and *The Jewish Museum*, Berlin, which integrates *The Holocaust Tower* and hosts *The Garden of Exile*.

of contextualization by Gesine Weinmiller, which reached the semi-final of the 1997 competition. I will also show how some elements of unbuilt proposals have found their way into the existing Information Centre.

The fourth chapter, Counter-monuments and Mnemonics, analyses submissions by German counter-monument artists. Though not exclusive to German creators, counter-monument artists are united by their lack of first-hand experience from which to recall events they can only experience vicariously because they are the *Nachgeborenen*, a generation born too late to experience Nazi Germany. They are also allied by their determination to involve the viewer directly in their work, and also their shared misgivings concerning the values of state-sponsored monuments. This chapter concerns three examples that qualify as being counter-monuments: Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock's *Bus Stop!*, an audacious counter-memorial where red buses would leave the memorial site at regular intervals, taking visitors to the former concentration camps of Germany and Poland; Horst Hoheisel's *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate*, which would use the rubble of a detonated national icon to represent a destroyed people; Jochen Gerz's *Warum*, which would invite visitors to comment on why the Holocaust occurred, with the subsequent answers engraved onto the base of the five-acre site; and *Autobahn Kilometre*, a design proposed by Reinhard Matz and Rudolph Herz, which, if it had been selected, would have dedicated a section of the German motorway network to the murder of European Jews.

I explore the ways that some artists renegotiate the process by which a different form of memory work can be produced, with designs that consciously work against other genres and even the competition itself. How, for instance, is the viewer involved in the memorial and why is this significant to each concept? Why does *Bus Stop* take the

visitor away from the designated site to the concentration camps and what can be interpreted from this process of remembrance, including its experience for the visitor who travels on the bus and Berliners who watch the buses pass by? How is Hoheisel's concept symptomatic for a reunified Germany and its symbol, which proposed to destroy, the idea of resisting the possibility of closure of memory? How does Gerz's design answer the concern that the creation of a national Holocaust memorial could result in an unintended message that the past has been negotiated?

The thesis brings together analysis of several unbuilt proposals that were submitted for the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition. Though visually divergent, submissions are connected by a refusal to depict images of suffering and distress, which prompts analysis concerning how the viewer can be empathetically affected when encountering such memorials, whilst acknowledging that some designs might not have been aimed to have this effect at all. The thesis also brings together the observation that unbuilt proposals and some of the Information Centre's exhibits are not exclusive to Jewish suffering, along with theoretical insights that reveal the continued importance and potential affect of victims' names and photographic portraits, and how there was, despite the rejection of their proposals, a shared interest between the *Nachgeborenen* jury and some of the designers.

1. Who is the memorial for?

Though the winning design for the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition was not unveiled until 2005 – some eleven years after the competition was announced – the *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* did exist by way of the continued debates amongst historians, intellectuals, the public, the press, and politicians. The discursive existence of a memorial was not only present by way of arguments concerning the form and necessity of a memorial but also who the memorial should be for, what its purpose was, and whether a memorial was even required. These debates continued throughout both competitions, as the competition that began in 1994 was disbanded because the chosen design upset representatives of the Jewish community. In 1997, a new competition was initiated that eventually led to the selection of the model by Peter Eisenman.

Who the memorial was for was expressed in the designs of several artists and architects who saw the memorial as having a pan-European and international audience, a sample of which I discuss in this thesis. All of these artists received considerable attention, as their proposals either reached the final stage of selection for the 1994 competition or were part of the revised contest two years later. 1997 finalist Jochen Gerz declared his design to be for a ‘community beyond the nation’, which correlates to the European dimension of his design, with its thirty-nine flagpoles each representing a European language spoken by Jews.¹ By contrast, Horst Hoheisel believed the would-be memorial was ‘for Germans and about Germans’,² whilst Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock stated that the memorial was for ‘all victims, including Russian prisoners of

¹ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 2.6.2012.

² Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

war, Jews, hostages, resistance fighters, and homosexuals.’³ One of the few artists who submitted designs for both 1994 and 1997 competitions, Dani Karavan, initially believed the memorial was for Germans so ‘they could recognise their crimes’ though his opinion changed as he began to view the competition as relating more to ‘showing the world that Germans are looking for consolation’ – which suggests the would-be memorial had, in his view, both a German and international audience.⁴ Joint-winner of the first competition, Simon Ungers, held a different opinion altogether, as he believed the memorial was for the victims of the Holocaust and the Jewish Community, to such an extent that he canvassed the Jewish community on aspects of his design, including which concentration camp names should be integrated as part of his concept.⁵ Ungers’ view correlates with one of the few jury members to speak in these terms, Lea Rosh, Director of the Association for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, and the person most responsible for instigating the task to create a national Holocaust memorial, who asserted that the ‘memorial is erected by the perpetrators to their dead victims.’⁶ Though this is a small sample, it exemplifies the different notions of who the memorial was deemed to be for that can be traced from the competition’s organisers to some of the competing artists and architects. The different views on who the memorial is for will be analysed in this chapter through the opinions of journalists, politicians, and scholars.

Would the memorial be an expression of German guilt for the past? Was it a timely opportunity for reunified Germany to demonstrate remorse to the rest of the world? If so, why were former East Germans largely excluded from the project? Were the competition instigators looking for a memorial that would assuage the country’s

³ Interview with Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

⁴ Interview with Dani Karavan. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 4.11.2012.

⁵ Interview with Sophia Ungers. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 8.12.2012.

⁶ William J.V. Neill, *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 14.

historical burden? Did the competition's sponsors, the media, the German public, and the *Bundestag*, believe the memorial would be a warning to post-war generations, that it should, in effect, promote the message of 'never again'? The competition was certainly a project that coincided with debates concerning German national identity, the question of assigning guilt, the extent to which Jews felt they were German, and the omnipresent and heady term *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past), which in many respects is the notion under which these discourses belong. It was against this background that the Berlin competition was instigated, with deliberations running parallel to a national dialogue that continued throughout the 1990s.

I analyse aspects of the competition thematically rather than chronologically. The competition can be seen as a quixotic project, an initiative that, like the majority of memorial competitions and commissions, sought to convey a multiplicity of complex issues in one mnemonic entity, built close to the Brandenburg Gate, with differing notions concerning the form of commemoration, who should be remembered, and who the memorial's beneficiaries would be. As such, amongst the polyphony of views, this chapter aims to observe and review the differing motivations for building a memorial, including the extent to which the Holocaust resonates in contemporary Germany and how a reunited country saw itself and wished for others to see it. As a corollary of these and other differences, the question of who, if anyone, has a mandate to interpret the past also emerges.

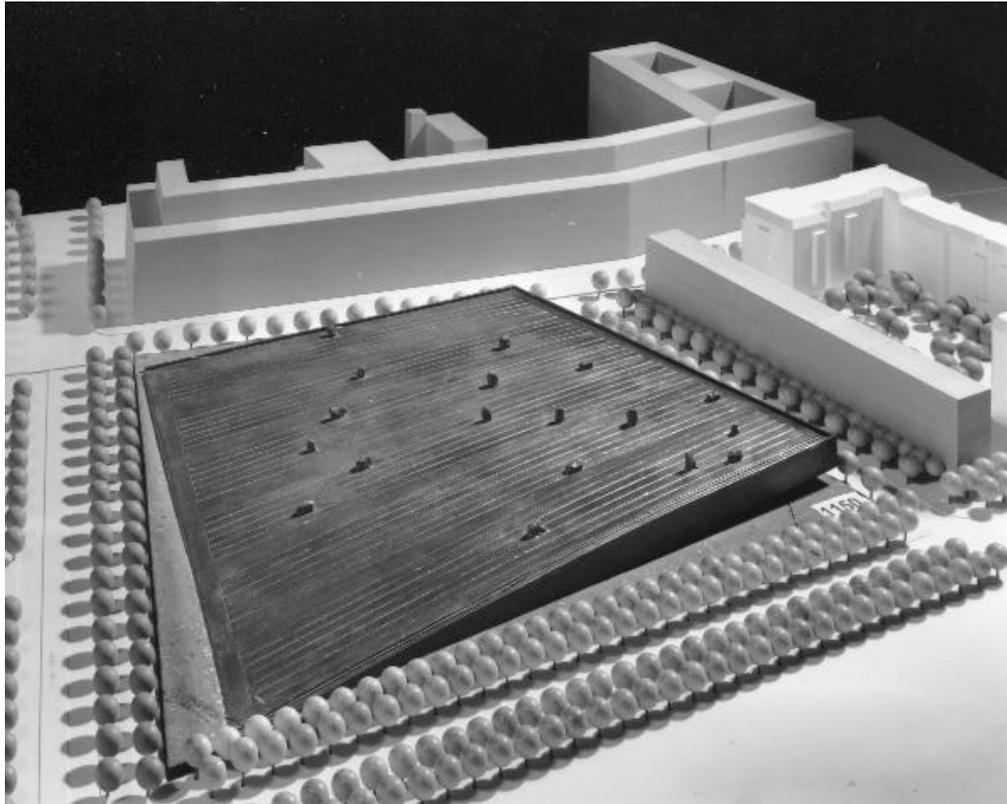
1.01 The two competitions and their respective guidelines

In 1995, the jury of the first competition, which was announced in April 1994, selected a design from the 528 entries, submitted by a field of international artists and architects. The model by Christine Jakob-Marks (Figure 1) was chosen as joint winner, together with the model by Simon Ungers (Figure 2). On 29 June 1995, it was announced that Jakob-Marks was considered the more feasible of the two winning designs, as Ungers' proposal would need modifications in order to comply with the required budget.⁷ The Jakob-Marks proposal did, however, upset some of the Jewish community, as the huge concrete plate was derided for being a *Grabplatte* (tombstone), which inadvertently referred to the Christian symbolism of Christ's rising from the tomb at the resurrection, thus contravening the memorial's Jewish associations.⁸ This led to the unsuccessful end of the first competition in 1995, leading to a two-year interval until the scheme was revived with a new hierarchy of decision-makers in 1997, the *Findungskommission* chaired by James Young.⁹

⁷ Günter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas" Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around "The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe" – a documentation)* (Berlin: Philo, 1999), p. 417. This information was also confirmed by Sophia Ungers. Interview with Sophia Ungers. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 8.12.2012.

⁸ Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), p. 166.

⁹ The *Findungskommission* comprised: Professor Werner Hoffmann, Hamburg: Sociologist; Professor Josef Paul Kleihues, Berlin: Architect; Professor Dieter Ronte, Bonn: Art Historian; Professor Christoph Stölz, Berlin: Director of the German Historical Museum in Berlin; Professor James E. Young, Amherst, Massachusetts, USA: Professor of English and Judaic Studies. Günter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas" Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around "The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe" – a documentation)*, p. 604.



(Figure 1) The submission by Christine Jakob-Marks, Hella Rolfes, Hans Scheib, and Reinhard Stangl for the 1994 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

The official tender for the 1994 contest defined the task of the memorial as an artistic expression of the obligation to remember and a response to the symbolism of its location. As part of this, the 1994 competition guidelines include a preamble that summarises the historical background and how the competition's instigators consider the current situation of Holocaust memory in post-unification Germany:

In this terror, the Jewish population of the world has been decimated by a third. Words such as compassion, sympathy, and empathy fail. Given the unprecedented character of suffering, the dimension of linguistic expression is blown. This crime is the heaviest burden on Germany, even today, half a century later (...) Situated just metres from Hitler's headquarters is the former 'Ministerial Gardens'. This is

where the words were formulated which led to the deeds which made the fate of all the Jewish citizens of Europe irreversible through suffering, exile, and death. This is where the central German memorial for the murdered Jews of Europe should be built. The location symbolises in a special way the commemoration of the millions of murdered Jews, which is a duty to all Germans to recognise.¹⁰

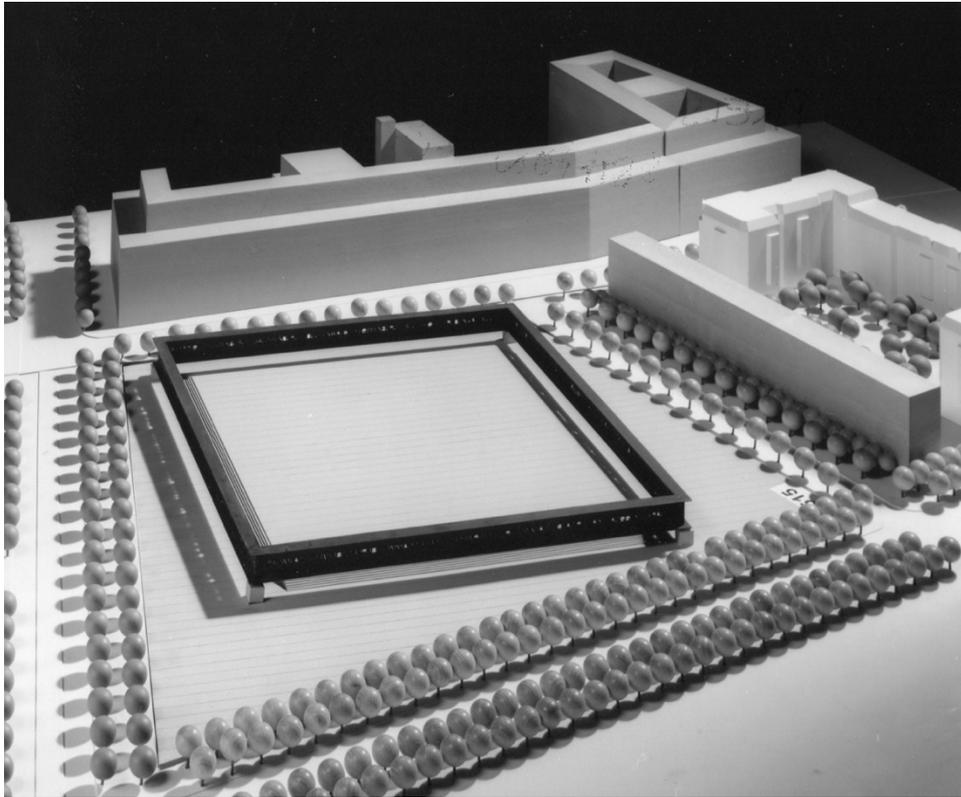
The memorial's pre-set location is of historic importance, and demonstrates a determination to transform a place beset with Nazi history into one that commemorates some of those they annihilated.¹¹ Of further note is the competition's references to the failure of the words 'compassion', 'sympathy', and 'empathy'. The competition's opening statements therefore determine that, according to the instigators, such emotive words – or any words, for that matter – cannot be adequate responses to the Holocaust.

The parameters given in 1994 and again, in the revived competition of 1997, seem to fall directly into both deconstructivist and traumatic discourse, with references to Germany's difficult and disturbing history, alluding to an absence of harmony and continuity, and how the 'burden' remains present. To those who compiled and endorsed the initial guidelines, the prospective memorial appears to have been viewed as a paradox of the curative and the scarred, a 'healing' memorial that would also leave a seemingly permanent physical and metaphorical wound on the nation. This initial call for an artistic response to historical questions asks for proposals that can represent vicarious trauma, the complex issue of German remorse, and a peaceful and possibly

¹⁰ *Art Competition: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Invitation to Compete*. April 1994. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by Mark Callaghan.

¹¹ 150 metres from the memorial site is the location of the Fuhrer Bunker, close to which is the ground that witnessed the cremation of Adolf Hitler's corpse. The remains of Joseph Goebbels' bunker, also lies beneath the north east corner of today's memorial. Simone Mangos, *A Monumental Mockery: The Construction of the National Holocaust Memorial*, p. 37.

salutary memorial design – ideas that will be pursued and examined throughout this thesis. Whilst this is certainly not a parochial expectation for the memorial site, it lists directives that, when combined, present an onerous challenge to architects and artists.



(Figure 2) Simon Ungers' submission for the 1994 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

In April 1994, what was an open, anonymous, international competition, also included the following aims:

The Federal Republic of Germany, represented by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the State of Berlin, represented by the Senate Department for Construction and Housing, and the *Förderkreis* organisation, are joint instigators of this art competition. So it is clear:

it is the Germany of today, which comes together in the full commitment to:¹²

Not to avoid the truth, or to give in to forgetfulness.

To honor the murdered Jews of Europe.

To remember them in sorrow and shame.

To assume the burden of German history.

To give the signal for a new chapter of human cohabitation in which injustice to minorities should no longer be possible.¹³

From the beginning, the debate was characterised by remarkable incongruity, expressed in petitions and these instructions to participants in the 1994 competition, between the distinct political purpose of the memorial and the entirely open formal solutions expected of artists and architects.

Jan-Holger Kirsch, a scholar at the Centre for Contemporary History in Potsdam, criticised the goal of the memorial for being too vaguely defined both in the competition guidelines of 1994 and in public discussions thereafter. Jury member Stephanie Endlich similarly stated that:

¹² Lea Rosh and Dietrich Goldschmidt, *Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas. Dokumentation 1988-1995* (Berlin: Bürgerinitiative Perspektive. 1995), p.6. *Förderkreis* was an organisation dedicated to the erection of a 'Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe'.

¹³ *Art Competition: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Invitation to Compete*. April 1994.

The memorial's task description was short and ill-defined and it is not even stated precisely who erects the memorial and for whom. There is also that difficult discussion: Is it a memorial for the Jews, or is it for commemoration by the descendants of the perpetrators? What is the goal of the memorial? Can we commemorate with large sculptures?¹⁴

As Günter Schlusche of the Holocaust Memorial Foundation, noted: 'Mistakes were made during the first competition that were not related to the creativity of the designer. Mistakes were made in the description of the task, because before one asks architects to develop ideas, one should describe the problem'.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the guidelines were printed and made available to the 1078 artists and architects who expressed an interest, 528 of whom submitted proposals by the January 1995 deadline.¹⁶

A significant comparison can be made with the 1997 guidelines issued by James Young¹⁷ and the *Findungskommission*, where the venture was broadened by suggesting that prospective designers consider the wider motivations for creating a memorial and what function their proposal might serve. In the revived competition, architects and artists were issued with questions to consider rather than given a list of statements. The questions were German-centric, they were no longer being directed by the original competition's guidelines, and now artists were being asked to think about set questions. As James Young explained:

¹⁴ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), p. 178.

¹⁵ Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10.11.2012. Günter Schlusche was responsible for engineering and planning aspects of the memorial.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

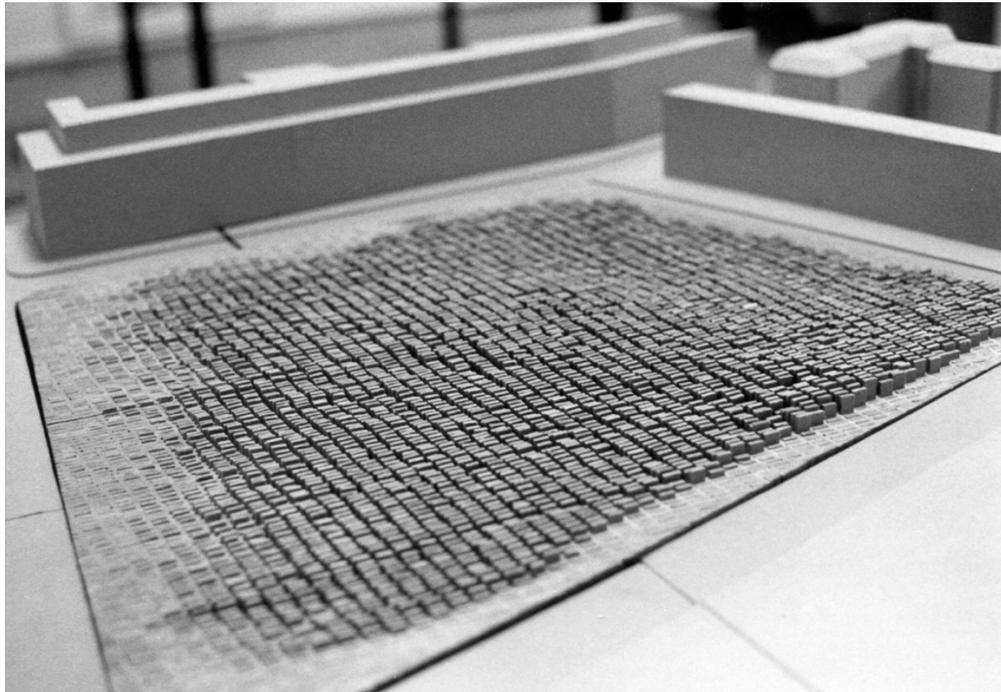
¹⁷ James Young was Chair of the Department of Judaic and Near Eastern Studies and has been Professor of English and Judaic Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, since 1988.

Instead of making formal requirements, we developed a concept of remembrance or commemoration work, which took into account the following points: a clear-cut definition of the Holocaust and its significance, the role of Nazi Germany as the perpetrator, and the role of today's unified Germany as a subject of remembering; the relationship of the current generation to the remembrance of the Holocaust. Instead of giving answers we asked questions: What are the national reasons for the commemoration? Are the aims of this commemoration redemption or reconciliation? Is this part of the mourning process? Do educational motives matter? What national and social purposes should the memorial fulfill? Will this be a place where Jews mourn missing Jews? A place where Germans mourn missing Jews? A place where Jews remember what Germans once did to them? These questions were, in my opinion, in themselves, even an essential part of the memorial and memorial process, so I suggested the artists should ask them of themselves even if no final answers could be found.¹⁸

By posing questions rather than making statements James Young left it for the designers to decide what they thought the memorial should be. Young also recognised that conclusions to these questions might not be forthcoming but that the memorialisation of the Holocaust and the necessary creative process to achieve this should be founded on the questions concerning the purpose of the memorial, including ideas about who the memorial is for and why. The questions posed by Young will be

¹⁸ James Young, *He who wants to remind one of the annihilation, must form the void: Berlin's problem with the Holocaust monument - and mine (Wer an die Vernichtung erinnern will, muß die Leere gestalten: Berlin's Problem mit dem Holocaust-Denkmal - und meines)* (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22.1.1998).

pursued in this chapter. Furthermore, Young's question of whether educational motives matter foreshadows a key development in the Berlin competition, as the selection of Eisenman's design (Figure 3) was only commissioned on the proviso, instigated by Federal Cultural Representative (*Bundeskulturbeauftragter*), Michael Naumann, that an information centre be included in the memorial site, adding, as he argued, contextualisation to the abstract design.¹⁹



(Figure 3). Peter Eisenman's winning model for the 1997 contest (after revision at the request of The *Bundestag*). Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

There are similarities between the two sets of guidelines, but with each similarity comes a significant difference. In 1994, competing artists were asked to honour the murdered Jews of Europe; in 1997 they were asked to think about whether the memorial would be a place to mourn the deceased. This made the competition now open to the

¹⁹ Interview with Michael Naumann. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.2.2014.

idea of a memorial design that is *not* a place of sorrow and bereavement, that its purpose and social function is open to question. In 1994, interested designers were told the memorial presupposes the weight of German history, whereas in 1997 they were asked to consider the reasons for a national Holocaust memorial and whether it could relate to atonement and possible resolution with the Jewish community, though this is never specified and could be more of a reference to reconciliation, more generally, with Germany's past. By posing questions instead of presenting statements, Young and the *Findungskommission* encouraged a more open competition of creativity, in terms of what this memorial – or any contemporary memorial – could be.

The question of who the memorial was for was left for designers to consider, prompted by suggestions that the memorial will in some way be for 'Germans' and Jews', as the 1997 guidelines, discussed by Young, point to: 'a place where Germans mourn missing Jews?'.²⁰ Though this is most probably an outcome of a habitual propensity rather than anything that refuses to accept the notion of a German Jew, it is highly problematic due to the high profile and coverage of statements, which alludes to Germans and Jews as being separate people, as though German Jews were not being considered. The edict is also notable for not referencing 'Europe' or anything resembling 'the international community', particularly as many of the finalists for the revived competition were not German. Young's questions to competing architects and artists do indeed relate to the 'nation', but who the memorial is specifically for is not clarified. In fact, following some seven years of debate (1994-2000) and a three-part colloquium, which resulted in the formation of the 1997 *Findungskommission*, there was no consensus on who the memorial was for. Exactly who was building the memorial for whom was still entirely

²⁰ James Young, *He who wants to remind one of the annihilation, must form the void: Berlin's problem with the Holocaust monument - and mine (Wer an die Vernichtung erinnern will, muß die Leere gestalten: Berlin's Problem mit dem Holocaust-Denkmal - und meines)* (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22.1.1998).

unclear.²¹ According to Simone Mangos, during the colloquia of 1996, when representatives of all German political parties met to discuss how the suspended memorial project should continue, this fundamental question had been avoided altogether.²²

1.02 The concept of ‘never again’

The 1994 guidelines were ambitious and open enough to encourage a range of ideas.²³ This includes the notion of the memorial pointing to a message of ‘never again’, which is how I interpret the final listed aim: ‘To give the signal for a new chapter of human cohabitation in which injustice to minorities should no longer be possible.’ Furthermore, some aspects of the guidelines were intrinsic to any design for this competition, such as the guidelines’ first statement regarding amnesia – ‘Not to avoid the truth, or to give in to forgetfulness’ – and the further point concerning the ‘burden’ of German history. By proposing a design for this competition, with its pre-set important location, its considerable size of 19,000 square metres, and its pre-determined title of *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, all proposals were inevitably connected to the idea of remembering the Holocaust and the burden of German history by way of these encoded outcomes.

Shortly after the publication of the guidelines, Senator Wolfgang Nagel (Senate Administration for Construction and Housing, Berlin) provided further commentary on the incentive to create a national Holocaust memorial, emphasizing its importance for

²¹ Hans-Georg Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal: der Streit um das ‘Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas’ in Berlin: 1988-1999* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), p. 182.

²² Simone Mangos, *A Monumental Mockery: The Construction of the National Holocaust Memorial*, p. 30.

²³ Competing designers included Dani Karavan, Horst Hoheisel, Simon Ungers, Christine Jakob-Marks, Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock, and Jochen Heufelder.

contemporary German racism, which made the function of the memorial exclusive to the reunified state and, in this case, its on-going issues with the far right: ‘This is the most important cultural enterprise in Germany since 1945 due to the new racist violence.’²⁴

Speaking on the day that *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* was unveiled, 8 May 2005, sociologist Michal Bodemann reiterates Nagel’s concern of the previous decade by telling *Die Tageszeitung* that there seemed to be a continued ‘lack of awareness of the connection between anti-Semitism and racism.’ In Germany today, Bodemann argued, ‘there are actual racist tendencies – perhaps in the talk of the parallel society in which the Turkish minority has supposedly secluded itself.’²⁵ While Bodemann did not believe the memorial would heighten consciousness of existing racism given that the Holocaust is regarded in isolation and is deemed so singular that it seems obscene to relate it to today, others such as Nagel, speaking during the first competition, did have faith in the memorial playing a role in combating the far right. This shows how responsibility was already being loaded onto the as yet to be selected memorial.

According to Kirsten Ann Hass, ‘the work of any memorial is to construct the meaning of an event from fragments of experience and memory. A memorial gives shape to and consolidates public memory: it makes history.’²⁶ The Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition had to face similar concerns and interpretations of what the memorial’s purpose should be, particularly as the memorial was commemorating such a difficult,

²⁴ Senator Wolfgang Nagel, *The National Holocaust Memorial is long overdue (Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst überfällig)* (*Frankfurter Rundschau*. 5.5.1994).

²⁵ Bodemann interviewed in *Die Tageszeitung*. 8.5.2005:

www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/germans/memorial/bodemann. Accessed 13.12.2013.

²⁶ Kirstin Ann Hass, *Carried To The Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998), p. 5.

painful subject. From conception to completion, the memorial had been assigned numerous responsibilities, from being a representation of Jewish murder without causing offence to the Jewish community, to conveying notions of ‘duty’ and the ‘burden’ of the Holocaust on the German nation, to be some way aesthetically ‘German’, and now a mnemonic form that could also be responsible for addressing contemporary racism and thus have a direct impact on the prospect of ‘never again’. A similar view was expressed by Contradi during the all-party debates of 1996, when he remarked upon the type of memorial, not in terms of style but rather of what he hoped the completed memorial can achieve, a function that appears to have a ‘never again’ aspect:

Monuments reflect the intellectual, cultural and political time in which they arise. The Holocaust Memorial could show an inner transformation of our people, even when dealing with our history. It will oblige our descendants, if genocide happens here or elsewhere, not to look away again, but to get involved.²⁷

To place such aspirations on culture is to assume it can have a greater influence than politics, that ‘soft power’ (where culture can mobilise political change) can always be effective and potent, overriding the intricacies and failings of politics, always mobilising the public into pressuring governments. Though the memorial project should not be criticised for its ambitions that are broadly positive, it should be recognised that too much weight was being applied to a memorial that, if anything, came to satisfy these demands rather than solve them.

²⁷ Peter Contradi speaking at the *Bundestag* all-Party debates (*Frankfurter Rundschau*. 9.5.1996).

Though few competing designers addressed the concept of ‘never again’, the German commitment to building a Holocaust memorial could serve as a basis for promoting acts of unity across cultures, time-frames, and countries. Such a large-scale, national project, that also invites designs from international artists, has the potential to raise awareness of other genocides and in doing so become the catalyst for remembrance of other crimes against humanity.

I would, however, question how ‘never again’ could ever be measured in terms of a memorial’s effect on a nation’s vigilance against genocide. How could one ascertain whether a memorial played a role in preventing or reducing the activities of the far right, should the wider population counter such actions? Though memorials do, as Contradi states, reflect politics when commissioned and unveiled, gauging the impact of a memorial on political action to combat far right actions and public support of such movements would always be difficult to substantiate.²⁸ Contradi’s hopes for a Germany that refuses to tolerate genocides might, however, have been satisfied by reunified Germany’s 1998 intervention in Kosovo, when it lacked a UN mandate and went against the country’s previous policy of not engaging in military action beyond its own borders.²⁹ In what might echo Theodor Adorno’s famous plea that the Holocaust be remembered so that Auschwitz is not repeated, this political and military intervention could never be attributed with any certainty to the, then, on-going Holocaust memorial debate.³⁰ But it does demonstrate that the new Germany was

²⁸ Bill Niven. *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*, p. 41. As Bill Niven points out, it is worth noting that there were significant anti-racist demonstrations in the late summer and autumn of 2000, notably in Neumünster, Düsseldorf, Kassel, Berlin and Cologne. This is ‘active memory’, as opposed to lip-service. In taking to the streets in protest at racism, as 300,000 did in November 1992 in ‘a show of solidarity with foreigners, many Germans demonstrate their determination not to allow a repetition of the past’. One should be mindful, then, that a national memorial was not required in order for this positive action to have occurred.

²⁹ Claus Leggewie, ‘Seven Circles of European Memory’, in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, ed. by Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan, Edgar Wunder (London, New York, Heidelberg: Springer. 2011), pp. 12-30 (p. 24).

³⁰ *Ibid.*

exercising a significant moral responsibility, and one that correlates with the reunified state's commitment to protecting, through military action, oppressed communities.³¹ Contradi's statement and the idea of 'never again' expresses an interest in the prevention of genocide that is in some way inspired by the Holocaust, making connections to atrocities outside of Germany and the Nazi era. Though the concept of 'never again' cannot be measured in terms of how a memorial can have a positive impact on this, the way the narrative around the memorial project was framed signals how the nation perceives its own role in regard to its military interventions and resistance against contemporary fascism.

This aspect of the memorial project can be seen in relation to what Michael Rothberg terms 'multi-directional memory', where remembrance of the Holocaust promotes a widespread consciousness of other genocides and crimes against humanity.³² The emergence of Holocaust memory on a global scale, caused by, for instance, feature films, novels, formal education, and the annual International Holocaust Memorial Day,³³ would have the potential to remind visitors of other histories, including the Rwandan genocide, or slavery, as the memorial is dedicated to the mass suffering and eradication of people. For this, Rothberg proposes the concept of multi-directional memory, exemplified by the Berlin Holocaust Memorial project, which also connects to other countries and their respective atrocities, 'articulating other histories, through

³¹ More recently, in December 2015, the *Bundestag* voted in favour of sending military support to the US-led coalition fighting Islamic State (IS) militants in Syria. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-35002733 *Syria Conflict: German MPs Vote for Anti-IS Military Mission*. BBC News. 5.12. 2015. Accessed 16.1 2016.

³² Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, p. 11.

³³ Museums have also played a significant role. Citizens from 151 countries have used Yad Vashem's web-site since 2004. www.yadvashem.org/. Accessed 17.2. 2016. Since its opening in 1993, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has received more than 40 million visitors. www.ushmm.org/information/about-the-museum. Accessed 17.2.2016.

their dialogical interactions with others.³⁴ The proposed memorial, dedicated only to Jews, would also highlight the crimes committed against other victim groups who would not be represented by this memorial. In other words, this would produce memory and discussion of these further examples of atrocities.³⁵

Thinking about memory in ways that allow for multi-directional communications can promote ‘complex acts of solidarity in which historical memory is a medium for the formulation of new political and communal identities.’³⁶ Multi-directional memory is, then, a potentially fertile way of cross-cultural thought and communiqué.³⁷ The idea that there were two Holocausts – the Jewish Holocaust and the African or Black Holocaust – has, for instance, gained wide currency among African Americans, who retroactively apply the term of the mid-twentieth-century disaster to events that, in their origins, preceded it by several hundred years and terminated in the previous century.³⁸

It is important to note that the question is not whether such multi-directionality between slavery, Nazism, and colonialism, are historically accurate, but instead whether they cause productive lines of political thought, new solidarity between historically oppressed groups, and even political resistance. Rothberg illustrates how multi-

³⁴ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, p. 5.

³⁵ According to Susannah Radstone, Rothberg’s ‘multi-directional memory’ comprises careful analysis of the imbrication of Holocaust memory with writings on colonialism and anti-colonial struggles, producing a critique of the ‘conception of competitive memory’. She argues that the connections that Rothberg finds are not equivalent to the transnational memories that might bind distinct groups together on the basis of shared suffering: ‘For Rothberg focuses on perpetration, as much as he does on suffering, and on the transnational process through which memory may be screened, denied or displaced.’ Susannah Radstone, ‘What Place is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies’, in *Transcultural Memory*, ed. by Richard Crownshaw (London, New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 119-131 (p. 125).

³⁶ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, p. 11.

³⁷ As Rothberg writes: ‘Against the framework that understands collective memory as competitive memory – as zero-sum struggle over resources – I suggest that we consider memory as multidirectional: as subject to ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing; as productive and not privative’. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, p. 12.

³⁸ Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002), p. 32.

directional memory can expose gaps in the collective remembrance of genocides and mass killings through a dialectical affinity of sites of violence.³⁹ This is a dialectical interrelation that reveals the historical specificity of the respective site through a continuing dialectic between the universal and specific aspects of the historic event concerning the site and its associated events.⁴⁰ With Rothberg's work in mind, interaction of memories would occur by visiting the memorial site in Berlin, which would remind some visitors of other atrocities, ones specific to their heritage.⁴¹ Whilst the 'never again' effect of the memorial would be difficult to establish, the potential affinities between historically oppressed groups broadened the meaning of Germany's determination to build a national Holocaust memorial.

³⁹ Niven takes the position that multi-directional memory has yet to produce transcendent moments of solidarity or understanding between competing memories, as other sufferings constantly fall prey to the temptation to frame these latter events in terms which recall the Holocaust, thus 'vying for position in orbit around Holocaust memory so as to be noticed, and, presumably, accepted.' Bill Niven, 'Multi-directional or Multi-dimensional? The Future of German Memory' in *Jahrbuch für Politik und Geschichte* 4 (2013), p.5. In a similar way, Huyssen argues that the dominance of Holocaust memory hinders recognition of Europe's colonial heritage because such memories are in contest with each other, potentially displacing or even delegitimizing each other. Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism (Theories of Representation and Difference)* (Indiana University Press. 1987), p.4. Rothberg, however, argues that: 'Far from blocking other historical memories in a competitive struggle for recognition, the emergence of Holocaust memory on a global scale can contribute to the articulation of other histories'. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Rothberg uses the example of Du Bois' visit to the Warsaw Ghetto in 1949 as a mediation on and basis for multi-directional memory. Du Bois draws on the material traces of the Nazi genocide in order to rethink his understanding of the African American past and present. Rothberg quotes Du Bois on his visit to the Warsaw Ghetto: 'The race problem in which I was interested cut across lines of color and physique and belief and status and was a matter of cultural patterns, perverted teaching and human hate and prejudice, which reached all sorts of people and caused endless evil to all men'. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, p. 9.

⁴¹ There are commonalities between atrocities, revealed through the learning of historical traumas, leading to what Greig Crysler refers to as 'the idea of an immanent universality' that enables the Holocaust narrative to be treated as a 'portable metaphor' for the human condition, which allows it to be used to represent historical trauma in other national contexts. Greig Crysler, 'Violence and Empathy: National Museums and the Spectacle of Society', in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*. Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring 2006), pp. 19-38 (p. 16).

1.03 A West German Initiative

The idea of creating a national memorial also relates to questions of national identity and national memory. Though numerous designs amongst the total of 547 (528 for the first competition, 19 for the second) would be received from international architects and artists, the decision-making was almost exclusive to Germans in the first competition of 1994 (albeit former West Germans) and included just one non-German, James Young, on the 1997 *Findungskommission* panel that selected Eisenman's design.⁴² The second competition is also more notable for its additional layer of assessors, the five-member *Findungskommission* who were given the task of recommending a national memorial from the nineteen architects and artists now invited to submit proposals, two of which, Jakob-Marks, and Dani Karavan, had submitted ideas for the 1994 competition.

The jury, founded in 1994, was designed to represent all of the three main sponsors equally: the Federal Republic of Germany, the *Förderkreis*, and the State of Berlin. The jury represented the fields of art, architecture/urban planning, history, public policy and administration. It also included members from all of Germany's main political parties. The jury included two Jewish members (Arie Rahamimoff, and Salomon Korn, who is half Jewish), but no representation from anyone with

⁴² The 1994 competition comprised the following jury members who held the listed positions and were based in the corresponding locations: Dr Stephanie Endlich: Arts publicist, Berlin; Professor Eberhard Jäckel: Department of History, Stuttgart; Professor Walter Jens: President of the Academy of Arts in Berlin; Dr. Salomon Korn: Architect, Frankfurt; Dr. Hanna-Renate Laurien, President of the House of Representatives of Berlin, and member of the Christian Democratic Union Party; Professor Horst Moller: Historian, Munich; Wolfgang Nagel: Senator for Construction and Housing, Berlin, and member of the Social Democratic Party (SDP); Professor Ansgar Nierhoff: Sculptor, Cologne; Arie Rahamimoff: Architect and urban planner, Jerusalem, Israel; Ulrich Roloff-Momin: Senator of Cultural Affairs, Berlin, and member of the Free Democratic Party (FDP); Lea Rosh: Director NDR Broadcasting Centre Hannover, Hannover and Berlin; Professor Michael Schoenholtz: Sculptor, Berlin; Dr. Frank Schirmacher: Journalist, FAZ, Frankfurt; Dr. Oscar Schneider: Federal Minister A.D., MP, Bonn, and member of the Christian Socialist Union Party; Harry Szeemann: Exhibition author, Tegna, Switzerland (Günter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas" Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around "The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe" – a documentation)*, p. 417.

connections to former East Germany. This second point becomes of particular importance when one considers co-project instigator Eberhard Jäckel's 'Now is the moment' article where he positions the memorial as being a joint enterprise between the former GDR and FRG of which the reformed GDR parliament had already formally expressed its shared responsibility for the Holocaust. As Jäckel writes:

By bringing the two German states together, they also assume responsibility for their common history. The first freely elected GDR parliament has in its first meeting on 12th April 1990 made a remarkable joint statement reminding all seven fractions of its priority to let it be known that it shares responsibility for humiliation, expulsion and murder of Jewish men, women and children.⁴³

This contradiction, or possible oversight, remains evident when one considers the selectors for the revised competition three years later. The new jury consisted of ten participating jury members of the first competition, now joined by two further jurors to complete a panel of twelve.⁴⁴ Former West German bias had still not been recognized, or if it had, then it had not been addressed, as the jury remained devoid of members with connections to former East Germany. The memorial's relation to the suturing of a divided nation was still not, then, despite Jäckel's notion of a joint enterprise, one that bears out.

⁴³ Eberhard Jäckel, *Now is the Moment. A Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Jetzt ist der Moment. Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europa)* (*Der Tagesspiegel*. 30.4. 1990).

⁴⁴ Those who participated in the first competition were: Dr Stephanie Endlich; Dr. Salomon Korn; Senator Wolfgang Nagel; Professor Horst Moller; Professor Ansgar Nierhoff; Arie Rahamimoff; Senator Ulrich Roloff-Momin; Professor Michael Schoenholtz, and project instigators Lea Rosh and Professor Eberhard Jäckel. The two new jurors were: Dr. Herman Rudolph: Writer, Berlin, and Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel: Federal Minister A.D., Bonn, Munich and former leader of the Socialist Democratic Party. Günter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas" Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around "The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe" – a documentation)*, p. 605.

1.04 *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*

The competition was a scheme orchestrated and selected almost entirely by former West Germans, therefore coming to represent *West* German collective memory⁴⁵ by way of selection, whilst also being a project that represents an international take on the memory of the Holocaust with its global call for submissions and the guarantee that many non-Germans would experience the completed memorial, primarily by way of tourism. German aegis is most prominent though, not only in terms of jury representation, but also in terms of who several influential Germans believed the memorial was for. Though opinions were wide-ranging, some non-jury members argued that the memorial was primarily, if not exclusively, for Germans. This included former East German, Wolfgang Thierse, Speaker of Parliament, who, in June 1999, declared that the memorial was being built ‘for ourselves, as it will help us to confront a chapter in our history’,⁴⁶ and Jochen Schulz-Rohr, Co-Chair of The Memorial Association, who was equally forthright in announcing that: ‘It doesn’t really matter what people from other countries say; what is more important is that we Germans need this.’⁴⁷ Such a self-issued challenge to address issues of responsibility and the complexities of such difficult history, was also proffered by sociologist and philosopher, Jürgen Habermas, who states that: ‘The monument will be a sign that memory of the Holocaust is a fundamental element of the ethical-political self-

⁴⁵ Maurice Halbwachs advanced the concept of collective memory, arguing that it can be shared, passed on, and constructed, by large and small social groups, including popular culture and governments (Maurice Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992). The concept of collective memory has since been expanded in various ways, including Jan Assmann’s notion of ‘communicative memory’, a variety of collective memory based on everyday communication, similar to memories collected through oral history. Assmann argues that collective memories can be materialized and in fixed points, such as monuments and texts. Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, in *New German Critique*. Trans. John Czaplicka. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1994, pp. 125-133 (p. 129).

⁴⁶ Ruth A. Starkman, Ruth, *Transformations of the New Germany: Studies in European History* (London: Palgrave MacMillian, 2006), p. 237.

⁴⁷ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 172.

understanding of the Federal Republic.⁴⁸ What emerges, then, is the concept of an introspective memorial that, when completed, becomes a representation of a country's self-examination. Then chancellor of Germany, Helmut Kohl, elaborates this point:

This is about the core of our self-understanding as a nation. In Parliament, the government and the public, there is a high degree of consensus that Germany bears responsibility to keep alive the memory of the Holocaust. It is therefore necessary that besides the locations of the Nazi crimes and their documentation centres, a central place in public memory is created.⁴⁹

The accompanying press release for the first competition, issued by Senator Wolfgang Nagel of the Senate Department for Building and Housing, also makes reference to the 'burden' Germans have to face whilst expanding upon this idea, again causing one to argue that who the memorial is for and its purpose is exclusive to Germans, the issue of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, and to maintain, in physical form, a representation of the country's most difficult history. Nagel released this statement with approval from the jury:

It is not too late for a monument because the obligation to deliberate and to have a confrontation with historical responsibility for the crimes of the National Socialist Germany is imposed upon us Germans and will not pass away. So it is vital for us to carry the burden of knowledge, to express regret and sorrow as well as benefit from the

⁴⁸ Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2005), p. 139.

⁴⁹ Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany. *The place of public remembrance of the murdered Jews of Europe (Der Ort der öffentlichen Erinnerung an die ermordeten Juden Europas)* (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 17.09.1998).

realization of the past lessons for the present and future [...] The object of this competition is of course difficult because it is not about getting rid of duty and we are not trying to draw a line under the past.⁵⁰

How selected designs correspond to resistance against creating a cathartic memorial, together with the idea of the would-be memorial representing a line being drawn under the past, will be pursued in this thesis, specifically when several counter-monument models are examined. What appear to be shared concerns between the jury and some designers will come into focus, as the interests of the *Nachgeborenen* jury and artists of the same generation (born in the 1940s, or early 1950s) and nationality are evaluated. The apprehension regarding the drawing of a line under the past is intrinsic to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, which generally translates as a ‘reckoning or coming to terms with the past’, but some have interpreted the phrase as ‘overcoming or mastering the past. The first meaning implies an ongoing process, while the second understanding refers to the expectation of a successful endpoint. Those who adhere to the latter notion imply that a conclusion is indeed possible’.⁵¹ As Christine Richert-Nugent asserts:

Once it has been reached, one can draw a final line, or *Schlussstrich*, under the past and Germany can once again be a ‘normal nation,’ however one might want to define such a concept. In any case, central to the effort is the need to construct a ‘usable’ past out of the Third Reich and its aftermath.⁵²

⁵⁰ Senator Wolfgang Nagel, Press Release. *The National Holocaust Monument is a long time overdue. (Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst überfällig)*. 5.5.1994.

⁵¹ Christine Richert-Nugent, *German Vergangenheitsbewältigung, 1961-1999: Selected Historiographic Controversies and their Impact on National Identity* (Culhooee: Western Carolina University Press, 2010), p. 110.

⁵² *Ibid.*

In their book *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern* (1967), Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich describe *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* as ‘the psychic process of remembering, and working through, a process which has to begin in the individual, but which can only be successfully completed if it is supported by the collective, by society at large.’⁵³ The creation of a national memorial implies that such practices were underway and could therefore be finalised by a memory work receiving input by a wide section of society. The problem, however, is that support by the collective, whether it be for the memorial design, or discussions concerning any aspect of the Nazi era, are rarely, if ever, consensual.

The 1994 guidelines certainly provide further evidence of the memorial project concerning Germany’s on-going ‘burden’ and ‘duty’ to address its difficult past. This includes a preamble that summarises the historical background and how the competition’s instigators consider the current situation of Holocaust memory in post-unification Germany. The guidelines make it clear that Germans are obliged to ‘recognise the crimes of their forebears’ and that this is a ‘burden’ for them, therefore making the memorial specifically and exclusively for Germans. What the guidelines ask for is also obfuscated by the *Nachgeborenen* propensity for acknowledging a German crime, whilst, at the same time, showing that there are many unacknowledged family histories, that they tend to ignore the content of their forebear’s involvement, a manner that Harald Welzer describes as ‘the process of cumulative heroization’ that turns forebears into heroes.⁵⁴ This includes the children of the ‘eyewitness generation’ (Germans who were old enough to see and/or be aware of Jewish persecution under Nazism) who do not, unlike their offspring, heroicize their forebears, but do,

⁵³ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism (Theories of Representation and Difference)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 97.

⁵⁴ Harald Welzer, ‘Grandpa Wasn’t A Nazi: The Holocaust in German Family Remembrance’, p. 6.

nonetheless, ‘manoeuvre them out of the perpetrator group into the much less suspect group of accidental witnesses’ when either questioning their parents’ complicity in person, or when reading letters written by their parents, which detail their involvement in Nazi crimes.⁵⁵

Welzer reports that only one percent of responders to a 2002 survey believed their relatives were ‘directly involved in crimes’,⁵⁶ a survey that comprised 182 interviews and family discussions with the ‘eyewitness generation’, their offspring, and the following generation too.⁵⁷ The survey shows how, in many cases, the following generations readily embrace interpretative options suggested by their forebears, and in other examples, where there is no response to a grandparent’s story when that story evidences clear participation in Nazi crimes.⁵⁸ A common outcome is the way that war-time stories of participation and complicity alter as they are re-told by the next generation, under-going a complete change of meaning. As Welzer summarises:

Often questionable, and sometimes even scandalous acts recounted by the eyewitnesses are mediated more abstractly through the second generation, with details changed and opened to interpretation; these accounts are then clarified in the grandchildren’s generation into a finding that the grandparents ‘helped’, ‘hid’, or ‘saved’, even if it was dangerous for them.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 6. An example of a person who does not heroicise but nonetheless creates a distance between her parent’s complicity and what her parent informs her, is Regina Seiler, who knows her father took part in crimes by quoting from his letters, but does not acknowledge it.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ The term ‘cumulative heroization’ describes the phenomenon of history becoming ameliorated from generation to generation. Cumulative heroization appeared in twenty-six of the forty families interviewed in Welzer’s study. This is two-thirds of all cases. Heroizing stories made up roughly 15% of all stories told; stories of forebear’s victimisation accounted for around 50% - thus two-thirds of all the stories were about family members from the eyewitness generation who were either victims of the Nazis and/or heroes of resistance. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

This is not to suggest that the *Nachgeborenen* do not believe in the Holocaust as a historical fact, but rather that their relationship with the past can, at times, be subject to alteration. In fact, Welzer's findings also include a key point concerning the paradoxical result of successful education about the Nazi past, with Welzer discovering, through interviews with the *Nachgeborenen*, that the more comprehensive their knowledge about war crimes and extermination, the stronger the need to develop stories to reconcile the crimes of 'the Nazis', or 'the Germans' with the 'moral integrity' of parents or grandparents.⁶⁰

As previously argued, the jury, and many of the designers who are also part of this generation, were following competition guidelines that included statements which firmly align the memorial to being a German-specific challenge relating to the country's difficult history.⁶¹ Yet this generation, the children of the 'eyewitness generation', are, according to Welzer's study, prone to not acknowledging their forebears' complicity and instead tend to distance their relatives from the atrocities. This is in contrast to the competition's guidelines that define the task of the memorial as being where, 'sadness, shock, and respect should be symbolically connected to a consciousness of shame and guilt.'⁶²

Furthermore, what I would question, particularly in light of the evidence concerning the grandchildren of the generation who committed the crimes and their tendency to heroicize their ancestors, is how they might perceive the idea of a national memorial to crimes that, to them, were committed by Germans, but not their families. Would they

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶¹ This is exemplified by a further statement from the guidelines: 'It is the obligation of Germans to deliberate and to have a confrontation with historical responsibility, for the crimes of National Socialist Germany are imposed upon us Germans and will not pass away'. Gisela Voss-Gieger, *Art Competition: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Invitation to Compete*. The Department of Building and Housing. 5. April 1994. p. 12.

⁶² Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*, p. 41.

feel the ‘historical responsibility being imposed on Germans’? Would they feel the ‘burden’, and how would they respond to the idea of ‘recognising the crimes of their forebears’? If Welzer’s study is characteristic, then familial memory is detached from historical fact,⁶³ and in some cases reinterpreted, meaning that whilst the ‘burden’ of national history would be felt by younger Germans who are mindful of the Nazi era, the competition instigator’s hopes that forebears’ crimes will be recognized applies to *other* Germans’ forebears rather than theirs. These factors could result in a reinterpretation of the Nazi past by some Germans who might view the fascist era in the same way that, say, a British person might: something that is disconnected from their own heritage.⁶⁵

As Young writes in relation to what kind of memorial could emerge from these complexities:

In a subtler, more reserved, more précised design, perhaps something like a balance between the burden of memory and the inspiration which the memory sparks could be expressed; a relation of tension between an existence, perpetually marked by the memories and an existence perpetually disabled by them. Just as other nations remembered the Holocaust before the backdrops of their founding myths and their ideals, their experiences as liberators, victims, or

⁶³ It should be noted that two members of the first jury were not the *Nachgeborenen* – Dr. Oscar Schneider, who was a member of the Nazi Party in 1944, and Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel who was a *Scharführer* (Squad Leader) of the Hitler Youth and therefore instead part of the ‘eyewitness’ generation. The two jury members in question were chosen because they represented the “Sachpreisrichter” i.e. politicians, representatives of local authorities, of administrations, MP’s etc. Their historic association with Nazi groups does not seem to have been a factor in their selection. The fact, that Mr Schneider as well as Mr Vogel were members of the NSDAP or other Nazi organisations was known but at this time not broadly discussed publicly. Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10.11.2012.

⁶⁵ Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German Identity* (Oxford: Verlag Peter Lang, 2005), p. 13.

fighters, so too will Germany remember the Holocaust before the backdrop of its own complex motives, which are prone to self-denial whether we like the motives or not.⁶⁶

With optimism, Young hopes for a memorial design that will represent the weight of German mid-twentieth-century history and, at the same time, relate to the complexities of what might be viewed as an indelible memory for Germans (and of Germans) and how this seemingly ineradicable history has impeded on German life. The aspiration to commission a design that expresses these tensions points to the need for a memorial design that expresses Germany's post-Holocaust history, thereby causing the memorial to relate to the wider context of post-War German history rather than a design that would seek to focus exclusively on the Holocaust itself. Such a design would convey the problem of Germany's enduring association with the genocide, pointing to how the memory of the Holocaust has impacted on the country and its citizens. It would have to strike a delicate balance between communicating Germany's lasting burden and how this has affected the country, whilst also being careful to avoid a design that expresses German-specific issues without paying due attention to the murdered Jews.

1.05 The European Dimension

Issues of German responsibility were raised throughout the deliberations, including during the hiatus between the two competitions. Contradi began proceedings with a direct reminder of who was responsible for the Holocaust, who was affected by it, and that, contrary to the *Nachgeborenen* propensity to modify the often self-confessed

⁶⁶ James Young, *He who wants to remind one of the annihilation, must form the void: Berlin's problem with the Holocaust monument - and mine (Wer an die Vernichtung erinnern will, muß die Leere gestalten: Berlin's Problem mit dem Holocaust-Denkmal - und meines)* (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22.1.1998).

actions of their ancestors, the memorial debates, if not the memorial itself, should be a reminder of this:

We want to build a monument that commemorates the victims of a crime and the crime, which was committed not by strangers, but by Germans: the systematic, brutal murder of the Jews of Europe. This was not a foreign power, this was our countrymen, our neighbours, our fathers and grandfathers.⁶⁷

Though Contradi considers the memorial to be for the victims as well as the new Germany, his focus on Germany as being the sole perpetrator ignores a European dimension of the memorial that relates not exclusively to the murdered of the continent, but also to their perpetrators. The Holocaust was a pan-European catastrophe as the memorial's title states, and as Dan Diner claims, the murder of six million European Jews is 'the paradigmatic *European* memory, providing the different member states of the EU with the bond of a shared history and an ethical commitment to remember and confront this dark episode in their history.'⁶⁸ This is supported by Antonia Grunenberg who argues that the Second World War will remain the 'foremost factor of European remembrance and that the Holocaust will continue to gain recognition as a European event',⁶⁹ whilst the planned presence of European embassies near to the site also enhances what Bill Niven believes to be a memorial that should be understood in terms of Europe's loss, not only Germany's, thus helping to define Germany's national identity along European lines.⁷⁰ Therefore the building of a Holocaust memorial is always an

⁶⁷ Peter Contradi, speaking at the *Bundestag* all-Party debates (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 9.5.1996).

⁶⁸ Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German Identity*, p. 100.

⁶⁹ Antonia Grunenberg, *The Pleasure of Guilt: The Power over the past over the Present* (Berlin: Rowholt, 2001), p. 96.

⁷⁰ Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, p. 31.

initiative relating to a pan-European audience due to the twenty-two European countries (based on existing European states in 1939) having their citizens transported to the concentration camps. There is also global audience, due to the descendants of the murdered surviving in other continents,⁷¹ particularly in North America.⁷² Schulze-Rohr highlights this point during his commentary on who he believes the memorial is being created for:

No memorial commemorates the murdered Jews in Europe. In Germany there are only memorials for Germans, but not for the murdered European Jews. And Germans are only 2 percent of the victims, 98 percent came from other European countries.⁷³

However, Contradi and Schulze-Rohr do not mention the breadth of European involvement in the orchestration and implementation of the Nazi pogroms. It is a fact that anti-Semitism and fascism were pan-European phenomena: ‘The murder of Jews would have been impossible without the broad collaboration of European governments and citizens.’⁷⁴ Addressing the German parliament on 27 January, 2009, Feliks Tych, Director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw from 1995 to 2007, spoke of the fact that many of the defendants sentenced in the ‘last Nazi trials’ were collaborators from the East and the West of Europe who voluntarily participated in the work of

⁷¹ It is worth noting that 97 percent of the US public disapproved of Hitler’s actions but that at least 77 percent did not support providing refuge. Andrea Liss, *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography and the Holocaust* (St Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 29.

⁷² Israel Gutman, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: MacMillan, 1990), p. 40. This information is also discussed by Jurgen Habermas, *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historian’s Debate* (London: Polity Press, 1994), p. 88.

⁷³ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 173.

⁷⁴ Claus Leggewie, ‘Seven Circles of European Memory’ in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, p. 123.

annihilation carried out in the concentration camps.⁷⁵ John Demjanjuk, who has been facing trial in Munich since 2009, is the most famous example. According to a list published by the Simon Wiesenthal Center, some of the most sought-after Nazi war criminals were Hungarian, Croat, Dutch, Danish, Lithuanian and Estonian.⁷⁶ This means that pronouncements focusing responsibility for the Holocaust as though it were exclusive to Germany were either misinformed or suggestive of a determination to take full and sole liability for the past, suggesting what one might call a ‘Germanisation’ of the Holocaust.⁷⁷ In this respect German introspection was understandable and an inevitable part of the memorial enterprise, but in terms of ‘self understanding’ the memorial is also one for all Europeans due to the multiple citizenship of those who were murdered (the memorial’s pre-determined title provides a guaranteed reference to this) and the nationalities of those who were complicit in the genocide. It is significant that several artists were determined to include references to Europe in their designs, such as 1997 semi-finalist, Gesine Weinmiller, whose design consisted of eighteen abstract blocks, which were all to be selected from different regions of Europe.⁷⁸ Jochen Gerz, whose design featured thirty-nine flagpoles, each representing a European language, was also determined to incorporate signs of pan-European patronage.⁷⁹ Dani Karavan’s 1994 proposal included the engraving of each European

⁷⁵ Feliks Tych, *Jewish Presence in Absence: The Aftermath of the Holocaust in Poland, 1944-2010* (Tel Aviv: Yad Vashem, 2015), p. 22.

⁷⁶ Claus Leggewie, ‘Seven Circles of European Memory’ in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, p. 124.

⁷⁷ Michael Rothberg and Yasemin Yildiz have co-authored research concerning Muslim immigrants in Germany, analyzing examples of how immigrants grapple with the history of Nazism and the Holocaust in a variety of arenas, including community activism, novels, essays, performances and songs. In looking at the ways that immigrants in Germany are excluded from this collective memory, Rothberg and Yildiz demonstrate the ways that many immigrants take on the histories of their adopted societies and interrogate the presumption of Muslim anti-Semitism and Holocaust Denial. ‘Memory Citizenship: Migrant Archives of Holocaust Remembrance in Contemporary Germany.’ Michael Rothberg and Yasemin Yildiz. *Parallax*, 2011, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 32–48.

⁷⁸ Günter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas" Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around "The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe" – a documentation)*, p. 889.

⁷⁹ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 2.6.2012.

country's name.⁸⁰ This is not to suggest that any of these designs signalled European participation in the murders, but rather that they were determined to include references to the pan-European victims.

1.06 A German Memorial?

Issues concerning the memorial being for all Europeans and globally too, were not exclusive to the proposed *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. The memorial project was not the first of its kind in the new Germany. After reunification, the memory of National Socialism and the Holocaust did not suddenly fade or disappear as some feared; on the contrary, the 1990s saw a virtual 'memory boom'.⁸¹ The villa on the shore of the Wannsee in Berlin, which had been used for everything from an American officer's club to a retreat for high school students, now became a memorial and museum, adding to the eighteen specific memorial sites (and approximately 200 initiatives to create them) counted in 1990.⁸² The Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition continued this dedication to creating places relating to the memory of the Holocaust. Though reunification triggered numerous memorial projects, commemorating the Nazi era became increasingly prominent before the *Wende*.⁸³ The much-celebrated *Jewish Museum* in Berlin, of which a competition to design an extension began in 1988, and the nearby *Topography of Terror* (operating since 1987, with a competition for a permanent museum announced in 1992 and opened in 2010), were both powerful reminders of National Socialism. Such memorial places anchored

⁸⁰ Interview with Dani Karavan. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 4.11.2012.

⁸¹ Russell Lemmons. 'Imprisoned, Murdered, Besmirched: The Controversy Concerning Berlin's Ernst Thälmann Monument and German National Identity, 1990-1995', in *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German Cultural Identity*. ed. by Silke Arnold de-Simine (Oxford: Verlag Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 51-63 (p. 59).

⁸² Geoff Eley, *The Goldhagen Effect. History, Memory, Nazism-Facing the German Past* (Detroit: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 107.

⁸³ The *Wende* is known as the 'turning point' when the GDR became a parliamentary democracy, the process of change that led to reunification.

the memory of fascist Germany more firmly in the collective consciousness, though there were voices arguing that the new Germany could not build its national identity on the memory of Nazism and the Holocaust. Wolf-Jobst Siedler, conservative publisher and publicist, for example, accused his fellow countrymen of megalomania when it came to memorializing German shame and guilt.⁸⁴ Project founder Lea Rosh responded by apparently speaking on behalf of many Germans with a suggestion of frustration when it comes to everlasting debates concerning *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* that might even slow the memorial's progress:

There are many citizens in this country who will support it, all those with imagination and compassion and decency. We have an abundance of war memorials, from the First and Second World War. We still do not have a Holocaust memorial. Let's see how many anniversaries, speeches and protestations of 'dealing with the past' we have to still go through until we finally have such a memorial.⁸⁵

Such protests and their subsequent counterpoints show that the memory of National Socialism is intrinsic to German national identity, including a paradoxical need to commemorate a disturbing past whilst also wishing to emerge from it, reducing its resonance in Germany's self-image and outlook.⁸⁶ There was, however, another reason

⁸⁴ Stefan Berger, *Germany: Inventing the Nation* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004), p. 236.

⁸⁵ Lea Rosh, *War Memorials – yes, the Holocaust Memorial – no?* (*Kriegsdenkmäler-ja, Holocaust-Denkmal - Nein?*) (Vorwärts Nr. 45. 05.11.1988).

⁸⁶ Despite the apparent success of Rosh and Jäckel's campaign there were objections to the notion of creating a national Holocaust memorial, regardless of its function and design. As journalist Henryk Broder declared with cynicism in *Der Tagesspiegel*: 'The time is ripe for a Holocaust memorial that doesn't hurt anyone and gives everyone the comfortable feeling of having done something good. In compliance with this need, the victims are given a final honour without confronting the perpetrators in one's own home.' *The Holocaust memorial issue: The comfortable feeling to do something good* (*Streitpunkt Holocaust-Mahnmal: Das wohlige Gefühl, etwas Gutes zu tun*) (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 17.1. 1995). Writing in the *Berliner Zeitung*, shortly before the jury began their deliberations in 1995, publisher Peter Moses-Krause argues that the chosen monument will only be 'a cheap demonstration of historical consciousness on defenceless objects' (*Berliner Zeitung*, 20.1.1995).

for some jury members' perception that the memorial was for Germany. This concerns self-image and the way in which the unified state might be perceived globally. As historian, co-instigator of the project and member of the 1995 jury, Eberhard Jäckel, asks: 'Where is our memorial? We Germans must place a symbol that will be visible from afar to show to the world that we have accepted the burden of our history.'⁸⁷ Jury colleague and art historian, Stefanie Endlich, expresses a similar view that substantiates the point that high-level influential participants were thinking of the project in terms of representing, not solely the Holocaust, but also Germany itself:

The Holocaust Memorial was conceived as a place of memory that performs the nation to an international audience. The growing public consensus that a memorial should be built is probably more to do with concerns about Germany's image in other countries than the conviction that it was really needed.⁸⁸

Though Geoff Eley argues that such concerns demonstrate that Germans had a somewhat 'grandiose perception that the eyes of the world were continually upon them', one should not underestimate the global focus on Germany as a result of reunification and the country's unique determination to address its difficult history through a memorialisation project.⁸⁹ As Sharon Chin argues, 'on the international level, the memorial serves as a way to improve Germany's image in the eyes of outsiders'.⁹⁰ The memorial was the first of its kind in that it, according to German

⁸⁷ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 162.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁸⁹ Geoff Eley, *The Goldhagen Effect. History, Memory, Nazism--Facing the German Past*, p. 137.

⁹⁰ Sharon Chin, *A Self-Serving Admission of Guilt: An Examination of the Intentions and Effects of Germany's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/225-a-self-serving-admission-of-guilt-an-examination-of-the-intentions-and-effects-of-germany-s-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe. Accessed. 27.11.2012.

Jewish lawyer, Danielle Leinemann, the memorial ‘served as an implicit apology to the governments of other countries for its actions during the Second World War.’⁹⁰ In this respect the memorial was also the international community. The memorial was, at least to some jury members, a project that was being pursued for the attention of other countries, and like all motivations for creating the memorial, there are different strands that connect to a particular nation, people, or continent. In his interview with *Der Tagesspiegel* in July 1998, Federal Cultural Representative (*Bundeskulturbeauftragter*) Michael Naumann, gave his views on contemporary German cultural policy, the direction he thought cultural policy should take (i.e. one that promotes Germany’s cultural identity), and more specifically to the forthcoming decision on *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, what this memorial could represent and, in effect, who it was for:

We live in the Federal Republic in the sense of a political-cultural desert. The country has been hostile to imaginative, innovative politics – just think of the resistance of the Kohl government to the wrapping of the Reichstag, which was the largest art event of the decade [...] I also want it to be clear overseas, that not only are we a new government, but that with the move to Berlin, a new self image, and indeed a playful, imaginative and artistic identity of the Federal Republic in Berlin, finds a platform here too.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Michael Naumann, *Berlin needs the city castle (Berlin braucht Das Stadtschloß)* (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 21.7.1998).

To Naumann, the memorial is about self-image, of how Germany is considered by the international community. Furthermore, by referencing Christo and Jean-Claude's *Wrapped Reichstag* (1995) – when, for two months, the Reichstag was wrapped in polypropylene fabric, tied by fifteen kilometers of rope⁹² – Naumann reminds the readers of *Der Tagesspiegel* that Germany has a recent history of commissioning pioneering aesthetic projects but that this was met with opposition by leading politicians. The popularity of the *Wrapped Reichstag*, both critically and with the German public, suggests Chancellor Kohl's attempts to impede were misplaced.⁹³ Naumann calls for Germany to show its new cultural identity and one that is, like the commissioning of *Wrapped Reichstag*, highly innovative and daring. This, however, was complicated by the new guidelines, issued by the *Findungskommission*, which make references to the would-be memorial having a 'German' appearance.

Unlike the 1994 guidelines, those of the revived competition in 1997 revert to the jargon of a personified nation that expresses 'experiences' and 'self-idealisation', and where each nation harbours particular 'aesthetic traditions'. According to the new guidelines, this is why the forms of monuments in the United States of America, Poland, Israel or the Netherlands differ so remarkably, meaning that Germany's national Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe will 'necessarily define Germany's own present memory of the Holocaust, a complex and difficult memory.'⁹⁴ This aspect of the new guidelines makes the assumption that there could be a national aesthetic of some kind. The references to Holocaust memorials in other countries and

⁹² Jakob Ball-Teshuva, *Christo: The Reichstag and Urban Projects* (Berlin, London: Prestel, 1993), p. 16.

⁹³ Critical acclaim included, amongst many interpretations, that the *Wrapped Reichstag* stands as a metaphorical statement in memory of the significance of the Reichstag as an enduring symbol of democracy. Valerie Swales, *Encyclopedia of French Culture*, ed. by Alex Hughes (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 103.

⁹⁴ Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*, p. 117.

the suggestion that the forthcoming Berlin memorial will be aesthetically ‘German’, also overlooks the number of prominent designs by non-Germans who were part of what was now an invited list of nineteen artists and architects.⁹⁵ The idea that the German nation could be represented by a memorial is highly problematic, unless the design included official insignia, symbols or a flag.

Indeed, when one looks at the array of designs for both competitions, the idea of ‘Germany’ appears to have been universally ignored, with no signs, be they explicit or implicit, of the nation being represented. I would therefore posit that both German and international architects bypassed this element of the brief, though it is plausible that artists and architects believed that submissions relating to the Holocaust were intrinsic to Germany and its identity, meaning a more direct reference to the nation was not required in their designs. Equally, the selection of anything with a visual reference to modern day Germany would go against the trend for German national modesty and a deep-rooted fear of being nationalistic. As Young asserts shortly after the *Bundestag* rubber-stamped Eisenman’s revised plan:

Now that the parliament has decided to give Holocaust memory a central place in Berlin, an even more difficult job awaits the organisers: Defining exactly what it is to be remembered here in Peter Eisenman’s waving field of pillars. What will Germany’s national Holocaust narrative be? Who will write it and to whom will it be written? The question of historical content begins at precisely the

⁹⁵ In this section of the 1997 guidelines, where the “aesthetic traditions of Holland, Poland, and America” are stated, there is the further point that this implies that the primary issue is that the Berlin memorial will be distinct from those found in other countries – because it will be constructed and selected by Germans (possibly designed by a German too) rather than because Germans systematically persecuted and murdered Jews. Simone Mangos, *A Monumental Mockery: The Construction of the National Holocaust Memorial*, p. 31.

moment the question of memorial design ends. Memory, which has followed history, will now be followed by still further historical debate.⁹⁶

Young's question of what Germany's national Holocaust narrative might be, is arguably complicated by the creation of a national memorial to those crimes that is abstract and without contextualization that points to the event being commemorated. Part of the duality here is that Germany created a giant, centrally located memorial, that not only avoided direct or even implied references to the Holocaust in its design, but also one that did not, I would argue, touch on notions of guilt and nationalism. Yet, the memorial, in whatever form it takes, represents Germany's consideration of its role in the world; that it wants to be part of the 'international community'.

This dichotomy of representing a self-effacing nation by creating a permanent structure to past crimes mirrors the dilemma of elaborating a post-Holocaust German national and cultural identity. As Saul Friedlander writes: 'Germans are faced with the paradoxical task of having to constitute their "Germanness" in the awareness of the horrors generated by a previous production of national and cultural identity.'⁹⁷ Anything that ventures toward nationalist sentiments might be repellent. Since 2006, for instance, Germans have often expressed that they are only comfortable with notions of patriotism when supporting the national football team.⁹⁸ As Friedlander goes on to write, both mourning and narrative fetishism (as he defines the terms) are strategies

⁹⁶ James. E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art & Architecture*, p. 199.

⁹⁷ Saul Friedlander, *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the 'Final Solution'* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 151.

⁹⁸ Sunder Katwala, *Football Patriotism Has Saved Modern Germany From Its Worries About National Identity*. 14.7.2014. www.newstatesman.com/staggers/2014/07/football-patriotism-has-saved-modern-germany-its-worries-about-national-identity. Accessed. 29.8.2014.

‘whereby groups and individuals reconstruct their vitality and identity in the wake of trauma. The crucial difference between the two modes of repair has to do with the willingness or capacity to include the traumatic event in one’s efforts to reformulate and reconstitute identity.’⁹⁹ Here one can see that Germany was eager to include the trauma of the Holocaust as part of its enduring national identity by creating a large memorial in the metaphorical heart of the country.¹⁰⁰

Interpretation of the guidelines and the changing emphasis from competition to competition is significant but the point remains that Germany was trying to build something positive out of the negative.¹⁰¹ As Stefan Berger points out, attempts to steer the symbolic politics of the new Germany away from the National Socialist past and towards a more positive (and more traditional) national memorial culture have not been

⁹⁹ Saul Friedlander, *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the ‘Final Solution’*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁰ The forthcoming (2019) *Monument to Freedom and Unity (Freiheits-und-Einheitsdenkmal)*, which will commemorate peaceful revolution and German reunification, and will be built close to the *Berliner Schloss*, can be seen as new, positive monument, and an ‘anti-monument’ to the *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews*. As Anna Saunders writes: ‘In light of this, the monument as a form of political memory is highly dependent on the physical landscape in which it is placed and whether seen as competing or complementing, other memory debates form a constituent part of a monument’s evolution.’ Anna Saunders, ‘The Politics of Memory in Berlin’s Freiheits-und-Einheitsdenkmal’, in ed. Anna Saunders and Debbie Pinfold, *Remembering and Re-thinking the GDR; Multiple perspectives and plural authenticities* (London, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), pp. 164-178 (p. 171).

¹⁰¹ The debate about the motives for building a national Holocaust memorial and the country’s self-image was influenced by the usual right-left dichotomy so typical of debates on the National Socialist past in Germany, though they cannot always be classified in accordance with this: ‘Thus Eberhard Diepgen, Berlin’s CDU mayor, spearheaded right-wing resistance to turning Berlin into a ‘centre of regret’, while Berlin’s SPD was more supportive of the memorial. Yet SPD Leader, Gerhard Schröder, who became chancellor in 1998, was lukewarm. Thus attitudes transcended party politics to a degree, running along the fault-lines of generation difference, family background or even simply diversity of personal opinion.’ Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*. p. 12. To a degree, the Holocaust as a subject of memory had been freed from the constraints of party-political discourse. Though, as Berger points out, several commentators, mainly on the left, preferred to use the term ‘unification’ to ‘reunification’ to indicate that what was in the making was not something that had existed previously, least of all a reincarnation of Bismarckian Prussian Germany. Stefan Berger, *Germany: Inventing the Nation*, p. 226. The national conversation regarding the past would relate to the country’s self-image in the present. As Jürgen Habermas writes: ‘With a Memorial to the Murdered Jews we are trying to come to terms with ourselves. We therefore do not meet the expectations of others, whether within or outside Germany. The past separates the descendants of the perpetrators from those of the victims. This split past can only avoid becoming a block to the collective action of citizens in the present, when one side credibly vouches for conditions that make for the other side of the coexistence possible and perhaps tolerable. A Holocaust memorial is also an expression of civil consideration directed onto the descendants of the victims.’ Jürgen Habermas. *The index finger: The Germans and their monument (Der Zeigefinger Die Deutschen und ihr Denkmal)* (*Die Zeit*. 31.3.1999).

too successful. Instead, the 'reunified Germany has shown a remarkable capacity to encourage a (self-critical) rather than affirmative perspective on the national past.'¹⁰² It shows a country that does not want to edit fascism from its past, present, or future. When it comes to the initiative of building a Holocaust memorial, a new national identity emerges, one that shows a commitment to addressing the past; a self-reflective and transparent demonstration that the newly unified state would erect a memorial despite the inevitable pitfalls and sensitivities expected to accompany such an enterprise.

Though I argue that the creation of a national Holocaust memorial is an affirmative venture, not all Germans interpret it this way. As historian and journalist Gustav Seibt writes:

The planned memorial will be the first national monument to something purely negative, not for heroism, self-sacrifice and suffering, but for guilt that cannot be atoned. Monuments have usually tried to give meaning to suffering and expiate guilt, they have something conciliatory. Only here it must be different.¹⁰³

Seibt's announcement also supports the view that this commemoration of the negative was in fact a positive enterprise, as it exemplifies an unusual situation whereby a country memorialises a disturbing period of its history. Furthermore, Seibt does not see the memorial's function as being one that includes reparation for German guilt. This corresponds to guidelines that confine responsibility for the past to a different

¹⁰² Stefan Berger, *Germany: Inventing the Nation*, p. 238-239.

¹⁰³ Gustav Seibt, *Clear fault, unclear memorial (Klare Schuld unklarer Gedenkstätte)* (*Berliner Zeitung*, 09.02.1998).

generation and a relatively small part of that community too, i.e. Germans were ‘silent bystanders’,¹⁰⁴ which is the only time the 1994 guidelines make reference to the issue of guilt and responsibility.

1.07 Normalization

The memorial is, as I have argued, a demonstration of how reunified Germany wanted to be part of the ‘international community’ and therefore a ‘normal’ nation. *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* evokes discussions concerning ‘normality’ and the view that Germany should strive to become a ‘normal’ nation.¹⁰⁵ In terms of who the memorial was deemed to be for, it is not exclusively German (whether recognised or not), though Germany is the dominant audience. This becomes increasingly evident when one considers discussions that continued after the competition was concluded.

¹⁰⁴ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁵ The *Historikerstreit* (Historian’s dispute) of 1986-89 generated a great deal of attention, both academic and public, concerning the idea of ‘normality’. It concerned the status of the Nazi past in German history and its implications for contemporary German identity including the idea of a ‘progressive normality’. Jürgen Habermas, *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historian’s Debate* (London: Polity Press, 1994), p.4. On one side, arch-conservative Ernst Nolte argued that Auschwitz involved no greater evil than had occurred in many other places, from Turkish Armenia to Joseph Stalin’s gulags. On the opposite side, philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas, argued against ‘this revisionism, which he saw both as an attempt to avoid collective responsibility through a misguided comparative historiography and as an expression of a wider-ranging neoconservative conspiracy associated with the overall tenor of West German foreign and cultural policies since Helmut Kohl took office in 1982.’ Jeffrey Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York; London: Routledge, 2007), p. 51. As Russell Farnen argues, the so-called *Historikerstreit* was more of a hindrance to the process of normalisation because historians concentrated on Germany’s “singular discussion” and tried to unearth comparable examples as an exonerating function. The revisionist historians emphasized the crimes of others to lessen attention on the German Nazi past, arguing that we can only come to grips with the phenomenon of “coming to terms with the past” if we start to compare many relevant cases taken from the twentieth-century history. Russell F. Farnen, *Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity: Cross National and Comparative Perspectives* (Piscataway, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2004), p. 170. As Jeffrey Olick points out, ‘the debate was significant because it concerned the ontological status of the Holocaust as a cultural constraint in German politics and involved an attempt to alter that status for the wider public.’ Jeffrey Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*, p. 52. The *Historikerstreit* is perhaps most discomfiting to observers and especially the German Jews who have grown accustomed to their “negative symbiosis”, because no one is certain what a “progressive” normality would look like. Stuart Taberner, and Frank Finlay, ed. by *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics and Literature in the Berlin Republic* (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), p. 24. Yet by creating a memorial to the crimes of their forebears Germans were initiating something that illustrated how unusual their nation was.

As novelist Martin Walser said, ‘the combination of public obsession and media appropriation of the Holocaust undermined Germany’s very effort to achieve normality sixty years after the beginning of the extermination of European Jewry.’¹⁰⁸ Attempting to demonstrate how Germany’s Holocaust reception has rendered German “normality” taboo, Walser posed the rhetorical question: ‘But under what suspicion one comes, if one says, the Germans are now a completely normal people, a regular society.’¹⁰⁹ Speaking out against the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, after its conclusion and selection of Eisenman’s design, Walser linked it to the ‘stain of past disgrace’, which Germany should now move beyond. Conscience, Walser argued, ‘should be a private matter and Germans should not foster a ‘cult of past guilt’ where a nation is blamed forever.’¹¹⁰ Walser sought new, more private forms of commemoration and laid out his notion of individualized memory thus:

I will not allow myself to be told how I have to remember. Perhaps I did not make it clear enough that I think there should be public memory. But how every individual feels and what kind of conscience he and his family and children have, that must be left up to him.¹¹¹

One might consider Walser’s review of Eisenman’s memorial to be incongruous considering the memorial’s determination to be non-prescriptive and more open to interpretation than the overwhelming majority of designs submitted for the competition. Nevertheless, Walser’s aesthetic of private memory as opposed to

¹⁰⁸ Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, p. 241.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Marc Howard Ross, ‘Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis’, in *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, ed. by Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 42-80 (p. 198).

¹¹¹ Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, p. 243.

routinized public discussions, was contested by historian Micha Brumlik, who saw Walser's will to private reflection as a retreat from collective reflection on the past.¹¹² Of more prominence was Chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Ignatz Bubis, who criticised Walser for 'trying to block our history, to eliminate the remembrance, and for pleading for a culture of looking away and thinking away.'¹¹³ Intellectuals like Heinrich Böll, Günter Grass, and Christa Wolf, would also point out that remembering Nazi history helps to safeguard against similar evils in the present and future, predicated on a 'cathartic effect' of reckoning with the past.¹¹⁴ This corresponds with the competition's aforementioned 'never again' component, the belief that a national memorial could have this positive effect.¹¹⁵

As Walser made reference to the Berlin memorial in his speech, one should consider his opposition to 'routinized public' commemorations and what values such public reflections can have. One might ask who, for instance, would monitor the amount of private reflection that people do? How could any society be sure that private reflection was upholding the past and maintaining its vitality? Whilst living in a society that prescribes remembrance would be unfavourable, to knowingly jeopardise the relevance

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹¹³ Amir Eshel, *Jewish Memories, German Futures: Recent Debates in Germany About The Past*. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2000), p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Rolf Parr, 'National Symbols and the German Reunification', in *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German National Identity*, ed. by Silke Arnold-de Simine, pp. 51-65 (p. 58, 59).

¹¹⁵ Walser's speech on the memorial preceded his debate with Ignatz Bubis in 1998. The dispute is significant, not only because it was another well-publicized dispute over identity and memory in the new Berlin Republic, but also because it included Germany's most prominent Jewish representative. Walser had also declared: "Everyone knows our historical burden, the immortal shame. There is not a day on which the shame is not presented to us? (...) The historian Heinrich August Winkler calls this 'negative nationalism'. Martin Walser. *The banality of good: Experiences when writing a speech Sunday on the occasion of the awarding of the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade (Die Banalität Des Guten: Erfahrungen beim Verfassen Einer Sonntagsrede Aus Anlaß Der Verleihung Des Friedenspreises Des Ducheneutschen Buchhandels (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. 12.10.1998)*. As Frederike Eigler writes: 'Bubis charged that Walser rejected all attempts at coming to terms with National Socialism and that he promoted a brand of cultural conservatism that argues for closing this chapter of German history or, at the very least, for adopting a new historical narrative that individualizes and thus relativizes the role of National Socialism and the Holocaust'. Frederike Eigler, 'Memory, Moralism, and Coming to terms with the Present', in *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German National Identity*, ed. by Silke Arnold-de Simine, pp. 66-80 (p. 67).

of the Holocaust is equally problematic, though it could lead to the normalcy that Walser and others hope to establish in Germany. The notion of private reflection is, however, no greater threat to awareness of the Holocaust than the creation of a vast memorial, not only because Eisenman's design is often misunderstood,¹¹⁶ but also because measuring its ability to keep the Holocaust in public consciousness would be difficult to establish. In some respects, this situation reveals a dilemma: creating a national memorial might lead to a prescriptive instructional form of remembrance where Germany is not permitted to move away from its past (the initial guidelines do, after all, make reference to this 'duty').

According to Stuart Taberner, Walser's speech 'hints at the tension between Germany's desire to be part of the Western community – achieved, in part, by the incorporation of contrition into the 'normality' of the Berlin Republic – and the price that it may have to pay for this. He berates a focus on the Nazi past that crowds out other aspects of the country's history and inhibits any sense of national belonging or notion of an organic community'.¹¹⁷ Walser underscores the point that this is much more than a narrow concentration on the Nazi era. National identity could, for instance, include pride in the recovery of a nation left demoralised by the outcome of the Second World War, or its great cultural history that continued to prosper in the post-war years by way of Gerhard Richter, *Kraftwerk*, Joseph Beuys, Werner Herzog, and the burgeoning car manufacturing industry.¹¹⁸ There is also the question of whether this

¹¹⁶ It is common to see adults and children responding to the memorial by hiding from each other behind its blocks, or leaping from one block to another.

¹¹⁷ Stuart Taberner, 'Testing the new "Normality"' in ed. by Stuart Taberner, and Frank Finlay, *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics and Literature in the Berlin Republic* (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), p. 7.

¹¹⁸ Many of Walser's arguments, were, however, dismissed by Kathrin Schödel as re-runs of pleas for the relativisation of National Socialism, already observed in the *Historikerstreit*. As Schödel argues, Walser's vision of 'normalisation' challenges the current rhetoric, yet he offers in its place nothing more than 'a concept of German identity' that is 'based in a one-sided, falsified version of history.' Kathrin Schödel, 'Normalising Cultural Memory? The 'Walser-Bubis Debatte' and Martin Walser's Novel *Ein springender*

kind of identity construction is viable or even desirable. What is ‘normality’? Despite being suggestive of being virtuous, is it attainable, and if so, should it be celebrated? As Mary Fulbrook points out:

The repeated quest, in some quarters, to define some quintessential German national identity, is doomed to fail. National identity is a social, cultural, and political construction, and as such is essentially contested. It should not be reified as a reality floating somehow above the maelstrom of political debate and struggle, or the clash of competing moral values. Collective identities are malleable and constantly changing according to experience and circumstance.¹¹⁹

In addition to Fulbrook’s assertion concerning a contrivance of national identity, neither Walser nor Bubis seemed to recognise or accept that Germany was not faced with a normal situation and that conventional forms of normality are not necessarily something to strive for. The Walser-Bubis debate impacted on discussions concerning the Berlin memorial. Support for the memorial became associated with those who wanted to remember the Holocaust, criticism of it with those who wanted to forget.¹²⁰ This in turn, meant that SPD Chancellor Schröder, initially against the idea of a memorial, felt obliged to support it.¹²¹

Brunnen’ in ed. by Stuart Taberner, and Frank Finlay, *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics and Literature in the Berlin Republic* (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), p. 72.

¹¹⁹ Mary Fulbrook, *German National Identity After The Holocaust* (London: Polity Press, 1999), p. 238.

¹²⁰ The SPD and Green parliamentarians were aware that young people could not commemorate without first being informed of what it was they were supposed to be commemorating. But the general agreement that commemoration should be less abstract and symbolic, more ‘concrete’, was also a result of the intense discussion of Martin Walser’s speech. Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, p. 1. This reworking of Eisenman’s design seems to embody many of the problems concerning Germany’s effort toward normalisation, including the oversight that informing younger people of what is being commemorated is contingent, at least on this memorial plot, by visiting the Information Centre below the blocks, and notably, only 15% of visitors do this. Heidemarie Uhl, *Going underground: The "Information" of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial*, p. 19.

¹²¹ Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, p. 1.

1.08 National Memory and Political Memory

The debate concerning normalcy and German introspection is further complicated by a competition that can be seen as negotiating national and political memory. In terms of national memory, the creation of a national Holocaust memorial appears contrary to what national memory has historically been, something that is, as Aleida Assmann writes: ‘receptive to historical moments of triumph and trauma provided they can be integrated into the semantics of a heroic narrative.’ Of this, Assmann goes on to assert that, ‘trauma is not something that can be integrated into a heroic narrative, as it threatens or shatters the construction of a vigorous self-image: trauma ought not to be applied to the defeated in history, but to the victims’¹²² National memory and the prospect of a German national Holocaust memorial is convoluted when one considers who the memorial is dedicated to: the murdered Jews, the victims. Whilst this confounds what has been typically expected of national memory – selective and part of a heroic narrative – it brings into focus not just the murder of European Jews, but also German Jews, stressing the memorial’s dedication that includes Germans who were victims rather than the defeated.¹²³ This shows the changing face of national memory and memorialization. Indeed, as Assmann argues more recently, difficult histories are now increasingly addressed in political memory, and not only in Germany.¹²⁴ The prospect of a national memorial can, then, be seen as one where trauma *is* being integrated into national memory, which would have historically

¹²² Aleida Assmann, ‘Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past’, p. 28.

¹²³ Many Jews were ‘heroic’ in terms of resistance, such as the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, but with the memorial unless the chosen design represented different kinds of ‘victim’, the memorial would not pay attention to these differences. Moshe Arens. *Flags Over The Warsaw Ghetto: The Untold Story of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Jerusalem: Gefen, 2011.)

¹²⁴ Aleida Assmann, and Linda Shortt, ed. by, *Memory and Political Change* (London: Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, 2012), p. 1-4. An example of this is the *Shot at Dawn Memorial* (2001), National Memorial Arboretum, Staffordshire, U.K., which memorializes the 307 British Army and Commonwealth soldiers executed after courts-martial for desertion and other capital offences during World War I.

‘shattered the construction of a vigorous self-image’, but is now central to the commemoration, regardless of the chosen design.

How the concept of a national Holocaust memorial relates to political memory is more complex, and reveals subtleties and further complexities. By adding a Holocaust memorial to the Berlin landscape, the reunified city would have its first memorial site dedicated exclusively to difficult history. The importance of political memory is emphasized by Anna Saunders who argues that the prime locality of *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, ‘implies that the German nation should incorporate shame into its national memorial landscape, rather than constructing a national identity based on positive historical continuities.’¹²⁵ This incorporation of shame certainly contradicts normative historical narratives and how nations remember their past, as it is not difficult to define the criteria for selection that have determined the political memory constructions of hegemonic nations.¹²⁶ As Assmann writes: ‘References to the past were selected that only strengthened a positive self-image and supported specific goals for the future. What did not fit into this heroic pattern was passed over and forgotten.’¹²⁷ In the 1990s, however, Germany was embarking on a constructive endeavor for the new Germany that was not exclusively negative due to the determination to include a permanent symbol of shame in its landscape. In other words, the scheme to build a memorial commemorating the country’s nadir is one that supports a positive self image, not regarding Germany’s past, but rather its willingness in the present to address this difficult history.

¹²⁵ Anna Saunders, ‘The Politics of Memory in Berlin’s Freiheits-und-Einheitsdenkmal’, p. 170.

¹²⁶ With regard to minority nations, Assmann asserts that experiences of defeat can be erected into ‘seminal cores of political memory’ provided they are ‘emplotted in the martyrological narrative of a tragic hero’. Aleida Assmann, ‘Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past’, p. 25.

¹²⁷ Aleida Assmann, ‘Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past’, 26.

With further regard to political memory, Assmann believes this format of memory can be transmitted from generation to generation.¹²⁸ One should not, however, overlook the fragility of political memory and how ephemeral it can be. As Wulf Kansteiner argues, there remains ‘a distinct possibility that monuments whose history has been carefully reconstructed can quickly pass into oblivion without shaping the historical imagination of any individuals or social groups.’¹²⁹ Considering the most vernacular of political memory signs – the street named after a politician or theorist – one should note that among the first acts of new governments or regimes might be the removal of such markers in favour of the new power’s preferences, thereby erasing one political memory for another.

Though memorials are usually political from their ideological foundations upwards, they can be infused with further political significance.¹³⁰ One only has to consider the conversion of Islamic sites into Christian ones during the First Crusade, or more recently, the Taliban’s destruction of Buddhist statues in Afghanistan, to observe how these structures can become more openly politicised. Furthermore, heritage sites can also be transformed into places that become a locus for other forms of dogma that might be diametrically opposite to those the location was designed to embody: protest instead of celebration, pacifism instead of military success. One example is London’s Trafalgar Square, designed in the early nineteenth century to express the unassailable permanence of Britain’s Imperial power. The massive British rallies held there by the

¹²⁸ Aleida Assmann, ‘Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past’, 26.

¹²⁹ Wulf Kansteiner, ‘Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies’, in *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 2. (May, 2002), pp. 179-197 (p. 192).

¹³⁰ Here one could expand what constitutes political memory by including architecture, as in times of political conflict it can come under attack due to its symbolic representation. As Robert Bevan argues with regard to churches and synagogues, they are attacked not because they are in the path of a military objective, but because to their destroyers they *are* the objective. Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), p. 9.

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament during the 1950s arguably helped convert the site's built environment into a landscape now firmly associated with the late twentieth-century peace movement and public protest.¹³¹ More specifically in Berlin, the Brandenburg Gate is associated with the Nazi parades of 1933-1939, and also, conversely, the jubilation on 9 November 1989 when the Berlin Wall was breached.¹³² Political memory only lasts as long as the institutions that impose it. In Berlin, however, the authorities ultimately commissioned a design that is a combination of imposition – due to its pre-set title, and its occupation of 19,000 square metres of central real estate – whilst also being, as one sees with Eisenman's winning design, abstract, and devoid of symbolism (Figure 4).



(Figure 4). *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, Berlin. Design by Peter Eisenman. Image by Mark Callaghan (2012).

¹³¹ P. Reichel, *Politik mit der Erinnerung: Gedächtnisorte im Streit um die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit* (Politics of memory: Places of remembrance in the discussion on National Socialist history) (Munich: Hauser, 1996).

¹³² Matthias Donnath, *Architecture in Berlin 1933-1945: A Guide Through Nazi Berlin* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag Kunst Und, 2006), p. 36.

What one sees, then, is a political memory structure that is not only open to interpretation, but also open to meanings that have no relation to the Holocaust. Kansteiner's assertion that some memorials might pass into oblivion without ever affecting the nation can be progressed, not only because some memorials might be ephemeral, but also because a design, such as Eisenman's could instead be related to other political issues. Though he does not comment on Eisenman's design in this regard, Niven substantiates an argument for the shifting character of political memory, where, depending on Germany's future problems, enigmatic memorials could be read as, for example, memorials against unemployment, or as an expression of man's existential despair.¹³³ Though this is not exclusive to Eisenman's design, or even abstraction, Eisenman's abstract field is prone to the capricious disposition of political memory in this sense.

1.09 The role of the Jewish community

The de-selection of Jakob-Marks' design is a further example of how a memorial is open to unintended readings that, in this case, led to the postponement of the competition and its eventual revival, which concluded in the commissioning of Eisenman's proposal. Some German Jewish leaders were instrumental in the de-selection of Jakob-Marks' winning design in 1995 due to interpreting the submission as having Christian symbolism, with its rising tombstone appearance.¹³⁴

Due to the Diaspora of Jews, the project to build a national Holocaust memorial is undeniably international. In Berlin, however, the clamour for a Holocaust memorial did not emanate from Jews living in Germany. Though my research attests to a gradual,

¹³³ Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*, p. 56.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 166.

then sudden increase in Jewish influence, a national memorial was not a desideratum to the progeny of a persecuted people. Before raising and examining issues relating to Jewish involvement in the memorial project, it is, though, important to state that the Jewish community is not a singular entity and that Jews are not an easily categorized people with identical beliefs, customs, and ways of life. As Sander Gilman writes of post-reunification Jews: ‘German Jews represent a coalition of individuals from a wide range of traditions, and they all understand themselves as Jewish participants in German culture.’¹³⁵ Jewish people live in and as part of diverse social formations, some religious, others secular; some are traditional whilst others only consider themselves to be culturally Jewish. Some think of Jews as a people, others consider Judaism as nationalist ideology. In other words, it really depends what specific communities one has in mind; where they are based, how homogenous they are as regards their political, cultural, national and/or religious beliefs and, above all, who in the community decides what may be acceptable or not, who has the power to implement such views and to what extent they are actually followed by others in reality.¹³⁶

With further regard to Jews not being thought of as a single entity, Ignatz Bubis, Chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, never publicly supported the idea of Jews 'needing' a memorial.¹³⁷ The era of Bubis – 1992-1999 – which coincided with the Berlin competition, included a clear signal to the outer world as well as the inner-Jewish discourse that pluralism shall be heard and expressed; that Jews in Germany must not speak with only one voice, but as a pluralistic group with various backgrounds, identities, and opinions.¹³⁸ During Bubis’ tenure, these positive

¹³⁵ Sander Gilman, *Jews in Today's German Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 2.

¹³⁶ Suzanne Urban argues that this pluralism is the best proof that Jews in Germany were beginning to form a vibrant and growing community from these parts of the world in their dealings with the non-Jewish majority. Suzanne Urban, *Jews in Germany After 1945* (Frankfurt: Tribune, 2005), p. 31.

¹³⁷ William J. V. Neill, *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 171.

¹³⁸ Yasha Mounck, *A Stranger In My Own Country: A Jewish Family in Modern Germany* (New York: Farar, Straus, and Giroux. 2014), p. 95.

developments are countered yet also confirmed by the self-imposed peripheral role of the Jewish leaders in the memorial contest, thus demonstrating a more confident Jewish community that might have otherwise felt obliged to be more involved, whilst also leaving open the possibility that Judaism would not be represented sufficiently, meaning Jews were being spoken for in a limited way. This, I posit, is one of the issues that led to the selection of Jakob-Marks' design.

Bubis' initial view was to support the concept of a museum and document centre rather than a monument,¹³⁹ and though Heinz Galinski, Chair of the Jewish Community in Berlin, told Rosh that, if asked, he would support the creation of a national Holocaust memorial, he was endorsing a concept without yet knowing what form it would take and where it would be located.¹⁴⁰

There was a further concern within the Jewish community when it came to the creation of a memorial. Anxiety was expressed with regard to the motivations of non-Jewish Germans, with some German Jews raising questions about the ulterior motives of the memorial project's supporters. A fear, especially among German Jews, is that Germans may seek to salve their historical conscience by identifying with these victims.¹⁴¹ An example of this comes by way of project instigator, Rosh, who claims one quarter Jewish ancestry, and was faced with criticism by some Jews, including Holocaust survivor Richard Schneider, who protested that he 'refused her right to want to climb into the same boat as me and cuddle up to today's Jews.'¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (London: Praeger, 2001), p. 144.

¹⁴⁰ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 172.

¹⁴¹ William J. V. Neill, *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity*, p. 170.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

The lack of consensus amongst the Jewish community was also a corollary of a prolonged concern by some Jews that Gentiles would think of them one-dimensionally, as victims with no identity outside of the Holocaust, a situation that applies to their own community too. Jewish objections to having a national Holocaust memorial also relates to their own notion of ‘normalization’ and the process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. As Ruth Starkman summarizes this issue:

Most observers would concur that the “normalization” of Germany and German-Jewish relations has long been underway, and that the increasing frequency of public debates on the topic indicates nothing less than an agonizing struggle between German Jews, whose self-understanding has been shaped by their status as victims of a formerly murderous, fascist Germany, and the Germans, who, after near fifty years of stable constitutional democracy, seek a more positive national self-image.¹⁴³

Jews were not only concerned about Gentiles seeing their community as nothing but victims but also that by building a national memorial that same, potentially singular categorisation, might be reinforced amongst their own people. A national memorial, a highly visible structure, with a pre-designated title that commemorates the genocide, might only re-affirm this status, resisting Gilman’s assertion that Jewish Germans in the 1990s had ‘the necessity for an active presence in Germany but with an identity not based on the Holocaust.’¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Ruth A. Starkman, *Transformations of the New Germany: Studies in European History*, p. 234.

¹⁴⁴ Sander Gilman, *Jews in Today's German Culture*, p. 9.

The memorial would, after all, complete what was referred to as a ‘Capital Triad of National Socialist Memory’, comprising the aforementioned *Jewish Museum*, *The Topography of Terror*, and a national memorial. This trio of projects was seen as collectively calling to memory destroyed Jewish history, the Jewish victims and the acts of the perpetrators.¹⁴⁵ These projects had sincere objectives, and included further aspects of Jewish history, such as the approach of *The Jewish Museum*, that demarcates Jewish history thematically, meaning the Holocaust is but one, though an axiomatically significant, strand of Jewish identity.¹⁴⁶ The ‘Capital Triad’ would not be the only tool in reunified Germany, but the prominence of these projects should not be underestimated, particularly when one considers their location and popularity with German and international visitors alike.

Though both juries had Jewish representation by way of Salomon Korn, an architect with responsibility for articulating Jewish views on Jewish memorials, and Arie Rahamimoff, an architect and urban planner from Jerusalem, the merits, problems, and wider readings of some overtly Jewish designs appear to have been overlooked. This includes Dani Karavan’s, 1995 proposal, *Gelbe Blumen (Yellow Flowers)*. Primary research adds important details and analysis concerning this submission, which was the only one of forty-two designs featuring a Star of David that progressed to the penultimate round of deliberations. Karavan – whose subsequent design for the revised competition was near-identical – proposed a literal field of yellow flowers, formed as a star, thus conflating the Star of David with the Yellow Star that Jews were legally obliged to wear during the Holocaust. Had Karavan’s idea been commissioned, thousands of bulbs would have been planted across the memorial site, meaning a field

¹⁴⁵ William J. V. Neill, *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity*, p. 57.

¹⁴⁶ Daniel Libeskind, *Jewish Museum Berlin: Architect Daniel Libeskind with a photo essay by Helene Binet* (New York: G+B Arts International 1999), p. 9.

of yellow flowers forming a Star of David would grow and die each year. Karavan was compelled to use non-traditional materials, complying with his penchant of remembrance through nature, of symbolising the cycle of life through the re-growth and death of the flowers whilst also reminding the viewer that ‘the flowers go on forever and that even if we wish to forget the Holocaust the flowers will continue to grow and blossom.’¹⁴⁸ In his account of being chair of the *Findungskommission*, Young confirms the design was rejected because the jury were concerned that Jews would not want to be remembered by a ‘badge of shame’ assigned to them by their tormentors.¹⁴⁹ Along with the potential issue of Jewish objections to the re-appropriation of the Star of David, there would have been a further difficulty with this design, not recognised by any juror or scholar. That the Star of David and/or the Yellow Star patch worn during the Holocaust could be a symbol of re-growth might have caused greater offense than the Jakob-Marks model. A Holocaust memorial symbolizing the cycle of life, despite the positive overtones that Karavan had in mind, has connotations of death by natural causes rather than by murder.¹⁵⁰

A Judaeo/Christian reading of the once championed design by Jakob-Marks was not forthcoming either, a model that was lauded as the winner only to be de-selected two days later for upsetting the Jewish community. Referring to Jakob-Marks’ plan to place eighteen boulders on the memorial’s surface, each of them transported from

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Dani Karavan. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 21.11.2012.

¹⁴⁹ James Young, *At Memory’s Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 201.

¹⁵⁰ The first competition was subjected to a significant number of proposals containing other, more familiar, Judaic emblems. The competition guidelines were not adversed to designs sporting Jewish icons but there was a brief and unspecific vigilance raised amongst them, specifically in the second criteria: ‘2. The use of symbols of the Jewish faith must be addressed with caution, as should the connection between ‘perpetrators instruments’ with ‘victim symbols’, and understand that the mixing of terms referring to the victim and the perpetrator will be considered highly questionable.’ Minutes of the Jury’s first meeting. 15.3.1995.

Masada, Israel, Young also criticises the design, but writes of the ‘literal-minded and misguided symbolism’ of including stones from Masada.¹⁵¹

Eighteen is the Hebrew number of representing *chai*, or life, so the number of stones seemed right. But according to the early Jewish historian Josephus, Masada was the last stronghold against Romans and also the site of a collective suicide of Jews that prevented the Romans from taking them as slaves. A German national Holocaust memorial with Jewish self-sacrifice as part of its theme?¹⁵²

My research attests to objections being made by representatives of the Jewish community that are not about Jewish tradition or symbolism.¹⁵³ Whilst Carrier makes reference to the de-selection of the Jakob-Marks design due to the proposed ‘memorial’s high costs, and its ambiguous historical significance’, archival research shows important additional reasons for the rejection of the design as expressed by two leaders of the German Jewish community.¹⁵⁴ This was articulated by Bubis who mocked the designer’s proposal that the memorial’s engraved names of the known 4.2 million Jewish victims be partly based on public donations that would finance the engraving of the further 1.8 million names when they become known. Bubis stated that this would be a ‘tasteless never forget’ and he objected to the financing of the names, arguing that: ‘Anyone who has a bad conscience, and some that have a good

¹⁵¹ Helmut Kohl declared the design was ‘too big and undignified’. James Young, *At Memory’s Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* At Memory’s Edge, p. 190.

¹⁵² James Young, *At Memory’s Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, p. 189-190.

¹⁵³ Bill Niven writes of the issues concerning the Jakob-Marks proposal, of how it upset Jewish sensibilities due to the Christian reading of the design, with its rising tomb appearance, but not the issues highlighted by Bubis. Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*. p. 41.

¹⁵⁴ Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory: France and Germany since 1989*, p. 143.

conscience, would thus get the opportunity to select ‘between one and a hundred names.’¹⁵⁵

The opposition to the design on the grounds of the Christian/Judaeo reading – and the issue raised by Young – is not, however to place the onus of responsibility entirely on the two Jewish members of a fifteen strong jury, but rather to highlight the lack of knowledge about Jewish history, culture and customs in the wider German public amongst Germany’s non-Jewish population who were, of course, the overwhelming majority. When all 528 designs for the first competition were displayed at a grand memorial exhibition at Berlin’s *Stadtratshaus*, no objections were made concerning such, albeit unintended, Christian readings of Jacob-Marks’ design.¹⁵⁶

Korn and Rahamimoff could not have been expected to speak on behalf of all Jews considering the aforementioned complexities, which were further highlighted by the Jackob-Marks controversey.¹⁵⁷ In some respects, then, the Jackob-Marks ignominy and the subsequent two-year hiatus of the memorial project *was* a memorial to the murdered Jews, highlighting their near-absence from German society since the Second World War. Until the Jackob-Marks debacle, Jewish influence was apparently peripheral, the understanding of their culture amongst non-Jewish Germans seemingly negligible. As Gilman writes: ‘Post-Wall Jews feel part of, yet alienated from, the new Germany, a situation complicated by their feelings of invisibility (being seen as all others) or

¹⁵⁵ Ignatz Bubis, *Millions of Names are not enough (Millionen Namen sind nicht genug)* (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29.06.1995).

¹⁵⁶ James Young, *At Memory’s Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, p. 191.

¹⁵⁷ Young recognized that part of his role was to avoid a repeat of the egregiously misguided judgments of the first competition and that, as the only foreigner and Jew on the panel, he had been drafted in as a “Jewish Eye” that would provide some insurance against further offenses to the Jewish community. James E. Young, ‘Germany’s Holocaust Problem and Mine’, in *The Public Historian*. Vol. 24. No. 4 (Autumn, 2002), University of California Press, pp. 65-80 (p. 67).

visibility (being seen as others), meaning Jewish culture is both present yet not present at all.¹⁵⁸ This duality of awareness and inattention began in the 1960's when the field of Jewish Studies was 'discovered' in West Germany.¹⁵⁹ Institutes for the study of Jewish culture and history, centres for research on anti-Semitism, and documentation centres on the Holocaust were founded all across Germany and became an integral part of academic life in the Federal Republic.¹⁶⁰ Yet these curriculums, designed to raise awareness of Judaism, were faced with the countervailing situation of a sparse Jewish presence in Germany, attributed to the impact of the Holocaust on the Jewish population. Reflecting on the problems with the Jakob-Marks' model and the unintended offense, Young argues that: 'If Germans had grown up with certain symbols or stories, they would have known that the design would have offended people.'¹⁶¹

Additionally, as a person of Jewish descent, *Findungskommission* chair, Young, proclaimed during a speech at the University of California in 2007: 'We did not want to make it a Jewish site. This was, after all, a memorial proposed by Germans *for* Germans. Jewish Germans already had their own means of remembrance at the Jewish Museum.'¹⁶² These comments indicate that even high profile protagonists made distinctions between 'Germans' and 'Jews', as though the amalgamation of German nationalism and Judaism was a contradiction.

¹⁵⁸ Sander Gilman, *Jews in Today's German Culture*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁹ Helga Kraft, 'Post-Shoah Jewish Culture in Germany and Austria: An Introduction', in *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No.2 (Spring 2000): New Jersey: Published by Wiley, pp. 145-150 (p. 146).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁶¹ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 166.

¹⁶² James Young, during his presentation 'Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem – and Mine', speaking at University of California, Santa Cruz, 27 April, 2007. Also quoted in James E. Young, 'Germany's Holocaust Problem and Mine', in *The Public Historian*, Vol. 24. No. 4 (Autumn, 2002). University of California Press, pp. 65-80 (p. 69).

The evidence suggests that, though German ignorance of Judaism is demonstrable, one should not interpret this lack of knowledge as an on-going anti-Semitism, with German Gentiles having no interest in Jewish opinion. It is, after all, clear that non-Jewish Germans (represented in this example by Chancellor Kohl's government) would not create a national Holocaust memorial if it received stern criticism from leaders of the Jewish community, such as Bubis. What might have been a peremptory decision on the part of some German Gentiles ultimately required the consent of influential German Jews. Jews were not the arbiters and did not wish to be, but Jewish opinion was significant in influencing the outcome of a memorial that was intrinsically connected to their heritage.

My research indicates that despite the ineluctable lack of consensus, discussions concerning who the memorial was considered to be for were raised during the promotional campaign of 1989 and continued through to the instigation of the first competition in 1994. They were, however, restricted to the controversy of creating a memorial with exclusive reference to the murder of Jews, thereby excluding other victim groups, rather than the wider issue of ascertaining whether the memorial was for was Germany, Europe, a more global audience, or perhaps all.

1.10 The Sinti and Roma victims of the Holocaust

The Central Council of Sinti and Roma argued that the Jews were not the only people to be persecuted by the Nazis and that a memorial should include all victims of fascism.¹⁶³ In response to this, architect and husband to Lea Rosh, Jacob Schulze-Rohr, argued that the extermination of ‘gypsies’ as an ethnic group was not originally planned, so their status as victims is different to that of Jews.¹⁶⁴ As Ulrike Plewnia dryly noted: ‘It is a belated triumph of the Nazis that now the victim groups are divided against each other.’¹⁶⁵

Whilst it is true that Roma and Sinti were not discriminated against at the outset of the Nazi era, they were still persecuted and murdered and represent the second highest number of victims – an estimated 500,000.¹⁶⁶ Yet Jacob Schluzze-Rohr argues that:

The extermination of European Jewry really was a declared intention of Hitler, which can be read in 'Mein Kampf', so that was already at the beginning of the twenties a primary objective of the Nazis. All other groups, who died later in the concentration camps, were not originally intended as victims. To eliminate this problem from the beginning and to keep things clean, if I may say so, we designed the Holocaust Memorial for the Jews.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ The Holocaust is also the destruction of 500,000 Sinti and Roma. For over three decades it was possible in the Federal Republic of Germany to kill the crimes of this genocide on racial grounds against the Sinti and Roma. This cannot be continued in Berlin. There must be an equitable remembrance of all genocide victims.’ *Call to the Chancellor, the Governing Mayor of Berlin and the Prime Ministers for the central memorial of the genocide.* Romani Rose (Heidelberg), Otto Rosenberg (Berlin) for the Central Council of German Sinti, and Roma, (*Der Tagesspiegel*. 11.04.1989).

¹⁶⁴ Jacob Schulze-Rohr, *Memorials insignificant at the same time coming out? (Dabei Kommen belanglose Gedenkstätten raus?)* (*Tageszeitung*. 13.04.1989).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ www.holocaust-trc.org/sinti.htm. Accessed 19.8.2014.

¹⁶⁷ Jacob Schluzze-Rohr. *Memorials insignificant at the same time coming out? (Dabei Kommen belanglose Gedenkstätten raus?)* (*Tageszeitung*. 13.04.1989).

In a similar vein, Memorial project instigator Eberhard Jäckel, wrote in *Der Tagesspiegel*, that:

One reason (for the memorial only being dedicated to the Jews) is that the persecution and murder of Jews was very central for the Nazis. It was the core of Nazism. The second reason is that the murder of Jews was a culmination of centuries of anti-Semitism. This does not apply to the gypsies. We (the memorial instigators) have often been blamed for hierarchizing the victims. That's not right. What we hierarchize is the process. From 1919 to 1945, Hitler always said: 'We destroy the Jews'. He said it at the beginning and again at the end: 'You'll be eternally grateful to National Socialism that it had exterminated the Jews from Germany and Central Europe.'¹⁶⁸

Whilst the Roma and Sinti stated a sound case for their inclusion, the general argument by the memorial's instigators and main supporters was one that framed the issue by looking solely at the genesis of the Nazi pogroms, thereby suggesting that because Jews were always the primary target, commemorating their deaths to the exclusion of all others, was justified. *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews*, some felt, continued a tradition of discrimination.¹⁶⁹ Certainly neither Rosh nor Jäckel has shown much sympathy towards the Sinti and Roma; indeed, Jäckel has consistently refused to accept

¹⁶⁸ Eberhard Jäckel, *The Principal Item (Das Kernstück)* (*Der Tagesspiegel*. 8.3.1991).

¹⁶⁹ As historian Ute Frings also stated with regard to the situation: The dispute between representatives of the two groups of victims continues. The chairman of the Central Council of Sinti and Roma, Romani Rose, has written an open letter to the chairman of the Jewish Council, Heinz Galinski, calling for a joint memorial that commemorates the victims of both groups equally. As Romani Rose speaks of the tragic commonality: 'There were two peoples who were on the sole basis of their biological existence systematically destroyed.' Ute Frings, *National Holocaust Monument for whom? (Nationales Holocaust-Denkmal für wen?)* (*Frankfurter Rundschau*. 10.7.1992).

that as many as 500,000 Sinti and Roma were killed.¹⁷⁰ Nearly all memorial sites at the concentration camps, by contrast, now include *all* camp victims in their commemorative and documentary landscape.¹⁷¹ It is also important that since the building of *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, three separate memorials have been created in central Berlin, for Roma and Sinti victims, for homosexuals persecuted by Nazis, and for victims of the Nazi euthanasia programme. *The Memorial to the Sinti and Roma Victims of National Socialism* (2012) was designed by Dani Karavan who also submitted designs for the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition. It is situated close to the Reichstag, and in keeping with Karavan's penchant for memorials that utilize nature, the design consists of a dark circular pool of water with a triangular stone at its centre. The triangular shape of the stone is a reference to the badges that had to be worn by prisoners in concentration camps.¹⁷² Directly across from *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* is *The Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted Under Nazism* (2008). Designed by Michael Elmgreen and Ingar Dragset, the memorial is a cuboid made of concrete. When visitors look through the cuboid's window they see a film of two same sex couples kissing.¹⁷³ Located on the edge of Tiergarten, *T4 – Memorial and Information Centre for the Victims of the Nazi Euthanasia Programme* (2014) is the most recent Holocaust memorial to be erected in Berlin. This memorial comprises a blue glass wall serving as a symbol of entrapment

¹⁷⁰ Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, p. 24.

¹⁷¹ The 'patch' memorial at Dachau concentration camp is an exception. It does not show the black triangle marked for the so-called 'asocials,' nor the green triangle of 'criminals', nor the pink triangle that homosexuals were forced to wear. The memorial was created in 1968 by the International Prisoner Committee. It honored all the categories of prisoner that were considered 'recognized' persecuted groups after 1945. This included people who were persecuted solely for political, religious, or racial reasons. Hans-Gunter Richardi. *Dachau: A Guide to its Contemporary History* (Atlanta: Oglethorpe University Museum of Art), p. 55/56.

¹⁷² *The Sinti and Roma Memorial* www.danikaravan.com/portfolio-item/germany-the-sinti-roma-memorial/ Accessed. 9.2.2013.

¹⁷³ Jeffrey Olick, 'Remembering Different Histories: Monument to Homosexual Victims Opens in Berlin', in ed. by Jeffrey Olick, and Daniel Devy, *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 38-62 (p. 41).

and how quickly victims, though visible, can be systemically excluded.¹⁷⁴ Though these memorials are in significant locations they are distinctly smaller than the memorial that commemorates the murder of six million Jews, thus implying, as *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews* does, that memorialisation is determined by the scale of the crime.

Furthermore, these debates paid no attention to the other victims of the Holocaust, including German political prisoners, and German Jehovahs Witnesses who had no affiliation with Jews or Roma and Sinti. This also excludes victims who did not die but suffered the atrocities of the Holocaust nonetheless. Given that they live with the memories of seeing the murders, even the murders of their own families, why are they less entitled to commemoration? Is their suffering less intense because they lived? Did the *Sonderkommando* (Jewish prisoners who were forced to dispose of corpses at the concentration camps) not experience a comparable, if not worse, experience than the murdered?

Analysis of the many forethoughts by those with a direct influence on the memorial project disclosed that there was an unconfirmed consensus that the memorial was for Germany, though this was complicated by a memorial that excluded, by its title alone, survivors and other victims' groups. Whilst the competition received more than forty designs that included Stars of David, some of the featured submissions examined in this thesis show that proposals were received that represented a memorial to *all* the murdered and the survivors too. As Roma and Sinti were also cremated, Karol Broniatowski's and Patrick Glaster's proposal, *Crematoria Tower*, a black, metal representation of a working crematoria, including a permanently-lit furnace, can also be seen as a memorial that commemorates the murder of this victim group. Central to

¹⁷⁴ www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/memorial-and-information-point-for-the-victims-of-national-socialist-euthanasia-killings.html Accessed 15.5.2018.

the design of Jochen Gerz's, *Warum*, was the question asked of visitors concerning why the Holocaust happened, which invites considerations of the event as a whole, without the division of victims' groups. Political prisoners and homosexuals were also killed at some of the concentration camps named in Simon Ungers' design, and this also applies to the destinations that Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock's *Bus Stop!* would have taken visitors to, as people would have been transported by bus to some of the sites of mass murder in Germany and Poland.¹⁷⁵ Transportation by cattle-truck was not exclusive to Jews, and not all who were taken to the concentration camps by this means were murdered. Richard Gruber's design, *Ferris Wheel*, which would have seen a ferris wheel with cattle-truck gondolas erected in central Berlin, would also have inadvertently commemorated more than the genocide of Jews.¹⁷⁶ This means that a competition that set out to build a memorial exclusive to Jewish murder included many proposals that represented *all* deaths and suffering in the Holocaust. Though these designs would have been accompanied by the memorial's official title, they would, like Eisenman's memorial, have been the singular representation and encounter. In fact, Eisenman's design can also be included as one that commemorates all those who suffered and died, as it makes no reference to any victim group. As a result of these considerations, this chapter has shown that the project's instigators and those who argued for a memorial dedicated only to Jewish murder did not seem to anticipate that the competition would receive numerous submissions that would represent all victims, including the finally selected one by Eisenman.

¹⁷⁵ The concentration camps relating to these designs and where non-Jews were also killed, include Dachau, Buchenwald and Madjanek. Nikolaus Wachsmann. *KL: A History of the Concentration Camps* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux), p. 414.

¹⁷⁶ This included Jehovah's Witnesses. Michel Reynaud, *The Jehovah's Witnesses and the Nazis: Persecution, Deportation and Murder, 1933-1945* (New York City: Cooper Square Publishers Inc.), p.29.

In addition to the conflicting views concerning who the memorial was for and its supposed function, comes the issue of its selection and who, if anyone, can rightfully claim authority over the past. As William F. Miles writes, ‘the representation of an event is often flexible and the memorial becomes symbolic of something else, namely ownership.’¹⁷⁷ As part of the examination concerning who the memorial was considered to be for, I now peruse the extent to which the German public were involved in a memorial project which was primarily for them.

1.11 A democratic competition?

If *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* was, as some believed, for the German people, then one might expect the German people to be closely involved in the decision-making process. Yet by looking at examples from the 1994 competition, one can see that, if anything, the public was playing an ancillary role in the selection procedure and subsequently having a minimal influence on the competition’s outcome. Public opinion was, for instance, strongly in favour of Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock’s *Bus Stop!*, as reported in *Die Welt*, which declared that, in their view, the proposal seemed to be the popular favourite.¹⁷⁸ Yet Stih and Schnock’s idea failed to make the 1995 shortlist of finalists. Conversely, Jakob-Mark’s gigantic memorial slab was unpopular with the German public (both Jews and Gentiles), heavily criticised in the public debates, but approved as the joint winner of the 1994 competition and would have been created were it not for the aforementioned objections to its Christian symbolism and Chancellor Kohl’s resulting intervention.¹⁷⁹ This apparent lack of public influence is an interesting contradiction for what is, after all, the utilisation of a

¹⁷⁷ William F. Miles, *Imperial Burdens: Counter-colonialism in Former French India* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 1995), p. 88.

¹⁷⁸ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 180.

¹⁷⁹ Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*, p. 66.

public space for commemoration, and one that includes the official intention of, ‘defending democracy and the rule of Law’.¹⁸⁰

During the second competition phase of 1997/98 the public appeared to have had a more defined opportunity for inclusion by way of six public hearings. Yet despite this apparent transparency the organizers insisted on adding the designs of Jochen Gerz and Daniel Libeskind to the final list, despite the five-member *Findungskommission* panel having already rejected both.¹⁸¹ Though Carrier cites the different opportunities for the public to participate in the selection procedure exhibitions, the public hearings, extensive press coverage for the public to participate in the selection was never forthcoming.

The specialized knowledge of intellectuals, artists and scholars, can play a central role in communicating ideas that can enhance public understanding. Should this be followed, a more democratic procedure would be in place where experts could be advocates for their preferred submissions, providing comments that would help the public in deciding what proposal to select. Such a debate would not exclude either the public nor specialists, but would rather see expert knowledge employed in a democratic process. This, however, was not the process in Berlin. Both the 1994 and 1997 juries were dominated by highly qualified academics, artists and architects, which would be the most appropriate people to steer the competition in deciding what the limited influence of the public causes one to wonder whether the three sponsors were concerned that a more publicly involved selection procedure could lead to the choosing of a banal design, or worse, the selection of a controversial proposal such as Richard

¹⁸⁰ Kirsten Harjes, ‘Stumbling Stones: Holocaust Memorials, National Identity, and Democratic Inclusion in Berlin’ in *German Politics and Society*, Spring 2005, Vol. 23, Issue 1, pp. 3-19 (p. 5).

¹⁸¹ Interview with James Young. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.12.2011.

Gruber's *Ferris Wheel* with its cattle-truck carriages, or some plans for the site that incorporated Swastikas, such as those proposed by Michael Nobbe, and Christian Hamm.

It is, however, worth noting that it would be very unusual, if not unprecedented, for a memorial to be commissioned by way of a public vote, so despite the aforementioned queries and contradictions it should be noted that the commissioners and politicians were, to a large extent, following the paradigm for the creation of public memorials. One should also be conscious that the process of establishing this memorial was in fact unusual, with three official sponsors overseeing the project: the Federal Republic of Germany, the *Förderkreis* and the State of Berlin, meaning that, perhaps for the first time ever, a private citizen initiative was an official sponsor of a state or federally funded cultural project.¹⁸² What I would question, though, is the extent of the private citizen's influence in light of the decision concerning Jakob-Marks' design and the exclusion of Stih and Schnock's proposal from the short-list. If the public had a substantial influence, why did the most popular design fail to make the list of finalists and an unpopular design become the would-be winner? If the public had a substantial influence, why did the most popular design fail to make the list of finalists? Though models of all 528 entries for the 1994 competition were on public display at an exhibition hosted by Berlin's *Stadtratshaus* from 11 April, 1995 to 7 May, 1995, and many visitors accepted the invitation to comment in the accompanying guest books, there is no evidence concerning the impact this had on the jury.¹⁸³ However, as part of the revised competition, the public appeared to be more involved, at least toward the final stage of the process, with Germans having direct access to the final four artists and architects, who presented their designs in public lectures. Here the public was able

¹⁸² Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 170.

¹⁸³ Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10.11.2012.

to ask questions as part of this process, though again there is no evidence of these questions or subsequent answers having any influence on the *Findungskommission* or the *Bundestag* whose decisions are outlined in what follows.¹⁸⁴

In the example of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition, decisions concerning the list of finalists for both the 1994 and 1997 contests, were made by the respective juries. Following this, German politicians either vetoed decisions (as Chancellor Kohl did in 1995 concerning Jakob-Marks's would-be winning design) or insisted on changes to guarantee their support, as Naumann did in 1998 concerning the inclusion of an Information Centre to accompany Eisenman's revised model.¹⁸⁵ Based on this evidence, the representation of the past was, in effect, owned by a relatively small number of decision-makers, rather than Germany as a democratic state: a point which becomes more pertinent when one is reminded that *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* is not a single painting in a gallery, nor a sculpture in an obscure location, but rather a gargantuan memorial situated in a symbolic and public setting, so its influence on history and indeed the future is more profound. It is with regard to such an influence on history that Assmann writes: 'The past is not safely locked up in history books and stowed away in libraries but continually reclaimed as an important resource for power and identity politics. History is not only what comes along *after* politics; it has also become the stuff and fuel of politics.'¹⁸⁶

Based on the aforementioned evidence, the project was controlled by the scholars and artists who comprised the overwhelming majority of the 1994 and 1997 juries, and the relatively small number of politicians involved in this process who, primarily as a result

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Michael Naumann. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.2.2014.

¹⁸⁶ Aleida Assmann, *Memory in Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, p. 57.

of the unsuccessful first competition, became ultimately responsible for the outcome. Whilst the presentation of citizens by way of Rosh's group, and the public hearings of 1998, suggest a degree of transparency and democracy, public opinion was superseded by the need for consensus amongst the three sponsoring groups, and a truly democratic decision-making procedure (i.e. a public vote) was never in operation or apparently considered. Though the aforementioned problems with the concept of a democratically selected memorial should not be sidelined, the Berlin competition was an important opportunity for the selection of a memorial where cross-generational differences could have been expressed and ownership of Germany's past could have been debated and demonstrated by way of the memorial's selection.

On 25 June 1999, the government approved of Rosh's plan to delegate ultimate responsibility for selecting a memorial to the *Bundestag*. The issue of patronage remained exclusive to the issue of dedicating the memorial to Jewish victims rather than to all victim groups collectively. Ballots were cast in the following manner: 439 out of 559 MPs¹⁸⁷ present voted in favour of the basic motion to build Eisenman's design; 325 voted in favour of a monument dedicated exclusively to Jewish victims rather than to all victim groups collectively, 314 voted for the modified model by Eisenman, and 209 for SPD politician Richard Schröder's (a former East German) proposal to build a monument consisting of two obelisks bearing the inscription "Thou Shalt Not Kill" in German and in Hebrew.¹⁸⁸ In short, the decision fell on the second

¹⁸⁷ At this significant stage former East German involvement can finally be accounted for, as some politicians were from the former East.

¹⁸⁸ Of this proposal, discussed during the *Bundestag* debate of 25 June 1999, Peter Carrier argues, if realised, 'this model would have displaced the signifying function of the monument from sculptural form to its inscription, from an artistic to a rhetorical form of commemoration. Members of parliament did not favour this idea over Eisenman's. A *Bundestag* that was sensitive to Jewish sensibilities realised that this late proposal evoked a false affinity between Christianity and Judaism.' Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*, p. 145.

version of Eisenman's model with 2,700 stelae, modified with an Information Centre and dedicated to the 'murdered Jews of Europe.'¹⁸⁹

Groups do not own memories, nor are groups owned by memories. Rothberg posits that 'we should think of the public sphere as a malleable discursive space in which groups do not simply articulate established positions but actually come into being through their dialogical interactions with others; both the subjects and spaces of the public are open to continual reconstruction.'¹⁹⁰ In light of this argument one can appreciate why the initiative to create a national Holocaust memorial might have aided Germany in its renegotiation of its relationship with the Nazi past, even though, as I have discussed, that collaboration exposed the competing claims for the ownership of the memorial's meaning, if not the past. The protracted evaluation of whether a national memorial was required, what purpose it would serve, and who should be commemorated, are not negative tensions, but rather opportunities for positions to be taken and, in some cases, developed through dialogue. Though many were steadfast and seemingly inflexible in their views, the memorial project was ultimately realized.

This chapter has argued that despite the memorial scheme being a national venture there was no consensus on who the memorial was for, nor its purpose. Whilst this would not be exclusive to this memorial endeavour, my research has revealed that the initiative was complicated by the weight of responsibility being applied to it, regardless of which design was to be selected. By considering the views of several protagonists, including jurors, politicians, historians, and competing artists, along with analysis of the competitions' guidelines, this section of the thesis has revealed how the memorial

¹⁸⁹ Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*, p. 106-107.

¹⁹⁰ Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, p. 5.

was seen in connection with the idea of ‘never again’, as though it could play a role in preventing future atrocities. Whilst I have posited that it would be difficult to quantify and qualify the affect of this, the creation of a high profile national Holocaust memorial plays an albeit inestimable role in articulating other historic mass murders and contemporary genocides.

My consideration and review of statements by numerous key proponents and critics of the project have, for the first time, fully addressed the different understandings as to who the memorial was being built for. This leads to a better appreciation of what the memorial scheme demonstrates or appreciation of what the different understandings as to who the fragments of vicarious experience and memory due to the project being orchestrated by the *Nachgeborenen*; one that revealed partial knowledge of Jewish culture as a direct corollary of the Holocaust; and that a national memorial was not only an opportunity to explore issues that might otherwise have been left dormant or unexplored, but also a venture that could represent a reunified country, not in the traditional way of building mnemonic forms that would celebrate national moments of triumph, but instead, the dignity to commission a memorial relating to its most shameful period of history, right at the centre of its capital.

Eisenman’s submission can be seen as the ambivalent visual outcome of protracted deliberations, where the question of who the memorial was being created for is not evidenced by consensus, but rather by a range of understandings that suggest the memorial, regardless of its aesthetic and function, has a multiple, though unconfirmed, unofficial audience. This not only reveals the pan-European and global relevance of the Holocaust, due to it having a contemporary, politico-pedagogical side that is directed at the present and the future, but also because memorialisation of the Holocaust can never be exclusive to the commissioning country. As argued by reviewing the

comments of several protagonists, what they claimed to be a German-specific project was, under closer examination, something that had an international scope, though control of the project was almost exclusively (West) German. The memorial project was still, however, introspective and coincides with Germany's search for a coherent identity, as expressed in the views of Wolfgang Thierse, Wolfgang Nagel, and Chancellor Kohl, amongst others. Any attempt to consolidate public memory is more difficult to establish and arguably compromised by the peripheral role played by the German public.

The memorial was considered to be for a pan-European audience and its historic connections to the Holocaust. This was supported by way of interviews with several artists and examination of their proposals, which showed that some artists incorporated European references into their designs represent the victims from all countries of the continent. The sample of competing artists' views also shows the contrasting opinions on who the memorial was for that are either visible through examination of their respective designs, or explicitly stated in my interviews with the artists.

The National Holocaust Memorial, as an alternative title, would have confirmed who the memorial was for, whilst also including all victims of fascism and survivors too. This would have avoided the contentious exclusion of other victims' groups and the perceived misrecognition of the victimisation of Roma, Sinti, the disabled, homosexuals, political opponents of the Nazis, and German resistance fighters, too. This was an opportunity to harness legacies of violence, and though some of these victims' groups have since had memorials in Berlin built in their honour, a memorial to all victims would have also demonstrated Germany's determination to express an egalitarian present and future. This would have been a further Berlin memorial dedicated to all victims, following the title change to the *Neue Wache* in 1993 when it

was rededicated,¹⁹¹ going from the *Memorial to the Victims of Facism and Militarism* (a title established by the GDR in 1960), to the *Central Memorial of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Victims of War and Dictatorship*.¹⁹²

My research provides further insights into the discussion on having a memorial exclusive to Jewish suffering. This has been detailed in the statements by key protagonists, Lea Rosh, and Jacob Schulze-Rohr, who argued that the extermination of Jews was a primary objective of Hitler and that other groups were not originally intended as victims.

The instigation of a national Holocaust memorial was, however, important for causing what Senator Wolfgang Nagel thought the memorial's purpose was: a 'self-effacing examination' and a 'new self-effacing nation'.¹⁹³ This meant that the competition, regardless of its chosen design, was testament to how open and vocal Germans were about their difficult past, how its citizens were free to endorse or propose the initiative, despite their lack of direct involvement and the arguable need for a more democratic selection procedure. Whilst one might assume that the creation of a Holocaust memorial in Germany is one centered on negative connotations, the competition began a process that promoted Germany in a constructive light. Nonetheless, this chapter has also revealed the on-going complexities of German responsibility for the Nazi crimes,

¹⁹¹ Elke Grenzer, 'The Topographies of Memory in Berlin: The Neue Wache and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', in *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 22-31 (p. 25). Published by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 2002.

¹⁹² During the rededication ceremony, attended by Chancellor Kohl, protestors demonstrated their disapproval of the site. This includes grievances against Kohl's choice of the statue, *Mother with her Dead son*, a Pietà by Käthe Kollwitz, an artwork that some argued failed to portray the horror Germans inflicted on their own citizens and on foreign citizens. There was also strong opposition to the monument's new inscription, which many felt did not differentiate between victims and perpetrators. Sean A. Forner, 'War Commemoration and the Republic in Crisis: Weimar Germany and the Neue Wache', in *Central European History*, Vol. 35, No. 4, (pp. 513-549), p. 547. Cambridge University Press, 2002.

¹⁹³ Senator Wolfgang Nagel, *The National Holocaust Memorial is long overdue (Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst überfällig)* (*Frankfurter Rundschau*). 5.5.1994.

with the memorial project provoking statements on this issue. This was exemplified by Peter Contradi's belief that the memorial would act as a direct reminder of who was responsible for the Holocaust – 'our countrymen, our fathers and grandfathers'¹⁹⁴ – which is, as I have argued, contrary to the *Nachgeborenen* propensity to modify the often self-confessed actions of their ancestors.

Eisenman's winning submission relates to Michael Naumann's assertion that the memorial project was an opportunity to showcase the country's interest in commissioning innovative, avant-garde art. The unbuilt proposals of this study also expand the possibilities of what a memorial could be, and they raise important issues concerning interaction, the representation of the Holocaust, and empathy, which will be analysed in the next chapter.

The competition began with an opening statement decrying the use of words including 'empathy' to explain a response to the horrors of Nazism. My purpose is not to question whether this response is a valid one and should be fostered or not, but rather, in the next chapter, to examine how selected, unbuilt proposals relate to the distinct possibility of eliciting empathetic responses. The next chapter will closely examine different forms of empathy, including how they correspond to Eisenman's chosen model and how the evocation of empathy is prevalent in the Information Centre. As I shall argue, these apparently contentious designs are more than mere provocations; they have the capacity to stimulate empathic responses through evoking associations with Holocaust imagery and narratives which are in cultural circulation. One such design, entitled *Ferris Wheel*, relates to an issue that was at the forefront of the competition's interests – issues of guilt, responsibility, and the notion of a repressing

¹⁹⁴ Peter Contradi speaking at the *Bundestag* all-Party debates (*Frankfurter Rundschau*. 9.5.1996).

history that some Germans would prefer not to acknowledge. It is a design, excluded during the first round of deliberations, that is, amongst others that I examine, much more than what appears to be the contentious use of a concentration camp symbol.

2. Issues of Representation

Current debates around the parameters and possibilities for representing the Holocaust are essential to a study of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition, particularly as some 547 designs were submitted from an international field of designers and architects, from which an array of contrasting models were available for the jury to consider.¹ The range of approaches to representing the Holocaust, the jury's early rejection of contentious proposals, and the subsequent predilection for abstract memorials (which dominated the short-lists for both competitions), are indications of the contestations at the heart of Holocaust memorialisation.² My focus here is not an evaluation of selected designs based on what could be championed as the most 'suitable' form of representation, as one should be mindful, as Jeffrey Olick has argued, that the only coherent lesson from the Holocaust is 'our inability to comprehend or to represent it adequately'³ – a view that was echoed during one of the *Bundestag* debates of June 1999, when CDU representative Norbert Lammert spoke in advance of the political endorsement of Peter Eisenman's revised design:

The fact that the memorial is built will be more important than the form it takes. To do something which it is not really possible to do successfully [...] that's the huge quandary we are faced with.⁴

¹ Architects whose work was rejected during the first round of deliberations did not receive feedback from the jury.

² Around 70% of the submitted designs were abstract so this style had a statistically better chance of reaching the final stages of the competition.

³ Jeffrey Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York, London: Routledge, 2007), p. 103.

⁴ Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*, p. 2.

Ultimately, what became at stake was Germany's attempt to deal aesthetically with its Nazi past. This chapter will focus primarily on the emotional interpellation of visitors in various non-commissioned memorials because they help us to understand how the visitor might be affected by designs that either contain overt references to the Holocaust, or in the example of the winning design by Eisenman, none at all. Emotional interpellation of visitors and the choice of design for a memorial relating to the Nazi past are issues connected by the use of images and references to the Holocaust. This not only concerns the long-standing debate regarding how and if the Holocaust should be represented, but also how viewers might be emotionally affected and whether this could lead to an understanding of the victims' plight. This chapter will therefore analyse designs that contain explicit references to the Holocaust through the use of an iconography associated with the concentration camps – such as replica cattle-trucks, guard towers, crematoria structures, or the sign *Arbeit Macht Frei*. I will also examine the winning abstract design by Eisenman – which does not aim to represent the Holocaust mimetically.

I will be discussing Karol Broniatowski's and Patrick Glaster's *Crematoria Tower*, where an imitation tower, complete with furnace, would be fired day and night; and Richard Gruber's *Ferris Wheel*, where the ride's gondolas resemble the cattle-trucks that were used to transport Jews to concentration camps. Following this, I look toward seemingly less contentious forms of representation, starting with Jochen Heufelder's proposal of projecting photographs of Jewish victims onto a screen above the memorial site – each of them a portrait of a victim taken before the Holocaust began. This is followed by analysis of Eisenman's abstract field of grey pillars. As a comparison to this and other examples cited here, I also analyse the Information Centre's *Room of Dimensions (Raum der Dimensionen)*, which displays copies of final letters to loved ones.

2.01 Crematoria Tower

The contest received several proposals that the jury considered to be highly antagonistic. Broniatowski's and Glaster's *Crematoria Tower* (Figure 5.) appears to be one of the more provocative designs, due to its immediate reference to the process by which Jews in the concentration camps were disposed of – the conclusion of industrialised murder. As *Crematoria Tower* was described in its documentation to the jury:

The oven is made of steel, matt black painted and fired day and night. The fire wall is visible through an opening. There is no smoke. Raised to 1.10m, the square bottom surface marks the non-accessible space around the furnace. The total land area is paved with a gray granite mosaic. White concrete forms the edges of the square.⁵

Crematoria Tower would be made of black metal, rather than brick, and would be much higher than the crematoria towers used at the concentration camps, primarily to compete with the environment of high buildings in the designated memorial site in central Berlin.⁶ The black metal looks two-dimensional, like a shadow, which relates to the design's symbolism, as Broniatowski and Glaster wanted to show that the 'shadow of Auschwitz' is always present and that the flames, which, to them, are a traditional way of commemorating the dead, will always burn.⁷ The extent to which viewers would identify such connections is open to conjecture, but it is clear that the designers did not consider their proposal to be a provocation or violation of a taboo around showing gas chambers in working mode.

⁵ Document outlining Broniatowski's and Glaster's concept. April. 1994.

⁶ Interview with Karol Broniatowski. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 14.1.2015.

⁷ *Ibid.*



(Figure 5.) Karol Broniatowski's and Patrick Glaster's *Crematoria Tower*.
Image courtesy of Karol Broniatowski.

The history of this reluctance to depict the disposal of bodies in gas chambers begins in the camps themselves, as inmates rarely discussed the subject of gassing and cremation during their time in the camps. Most of them neither saw nor knew exactly what was happening, and those who did see the gas chambers in operation were usually soon sent to die there themselves. Since artists found it extremely hard to find an effective method of handling a theme that would not immediately repel the spectator, they hardly ever portrayed it.⁸ Few artists working in any medium have chosen to represent this aspect of the Holocaust.⁹ On this subject, the jury for the first competition makes a reference to designs that are 'reality-based' and why this should be considered with great care:

⁸ Ziva Amishai-Maisels, 'Art Confronts the Holocaust' in *After Auschwitz: Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art*, ed. by Monica Bohm-Duchen. (London: Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, 1995), pp. 48-62 (p. 59).

⁹ Yosefa Loshitzky, *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 111.

An essential element of the design is the choice of the means to capture people emotionally, for bringing the visitors to the subject. It is important to note whether an alleged 'empathy' is to be activated through 'reality-based' or 'Holocaust symbols', or whether information and contemplation are set in a balanced ratio.¹⁰

The reference to 'reality based' images and whether they might produce empathy in the beholder, is the first and only point by which the jury formally raises the issue of how mimetic depictions or symbols of the Holocaust might be received. Though the jury does not go on to discuss the problems that such portrayals might engender – that they might cause offence, or provoke a voyeuristic fascination with the instruments of murder and disposal, for instance – it is clear that they try to take these sensibilities into consideration. In what follows, I discuss how designs that include such mimetic depictions – a replica crematoria tower, replica cattle trucks – and references to the Holocaust, such as the use of concentration camp names – might affect the viewer and have a more varied role in memorialisation than simply being provocative and controversial. How do these designs evoke a potentially shared canon of Holocaust imagery and how does a canon of representations become formulated? To investigate these questions, it is important to outline what Assmann describes as 'functional memory'.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Jury's first meeting. 15.3.1995.

Functional memory is distinct from storage memory, as functional memory is actively circulating in society through popular culture or canonized knowledge, whereas storage memory is archival, dormant but can be revitalised.¹¹ Leading on from this, when consistent memory practices focus on images and texts they result in the establishment and consolidation of a canon that becomes relevant for the way an event is envisaged in the collective imaginary.

Canonized knowledge, or in the case of *Crematoria Tower*, popular culture and cultural artefacts, are, I argue, something that becomes inherent to understanding this design and some other designs featured in this chapter. Whilst one could argue that *Crematoria Tower* is, by itself, distressing and still macabre even when removed from the context of the authentic site, the memorial does not depict humans, dead or alive, and nor does the memorial show any sign of the deceased's existence by way of personal artefacts. In *Crematoria Tower* humans are absent and can only be imagined. Without cultural experiences of the Holocaust – by way of films, photography, and literature – *Crematoria Tower* is not a distressing structure because it can only become disturbing by the visitors' supplied knowledge of what happened to the victims, attained through the aforementioned media, leading to a recall of images associated with the design in question, thereby causing a visualisation of suffering which is not directly represented. This is where the onlooker is interpellated to recall graphic

¹¹ Storage memory shapes the background of functional memory, which is why Assmann calls it the 'memory of memories.' It is 'uninhabited', as it stores that part of a society's cultural knowledge, which has 'lost its use, which has become obsolete or alien'. Assmann conceptualises storage memory as an archive containing an ever-increasing mass of information, documents, and memories, managed by social institutions such as libraries and universities, primarily used by academics. The entry of this information into storage-memory leads to processes of selection and cataloguing, which make the data accessible to the public, and, as a result, a canon of knowledge and images. Assmann stresses that the archive, cut off from practical use, remains a mass of meaningless information, so functional memory, which is used for meaning-making purposes, can elevate storage-memory. Assmann points out that reaching for and activating the information collected in storage memory (in the archives) can lead to profound cultural changes. Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Function, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 134.

representations/evidence of the Holocaust even though they are not depicted in the memorial design. Such designs are “completed” or “amplified” by audiences drawing on cultural memory. Through this process of association, a memorial, which does not show images of suffering, still has the potential to evoke them.

Crematoria Tower would have, in part, memorialised the Nazi attempt to erase all traces of those they murdered, so it would, in effect, recall the fanaticism, organisation and methods employed by the killers. Though the crematoria tower is not a replica per se, its shape and its fires make it an unmistakable reference to the industrialised process of murder. As a result, one could argue that the memorial is less focused on the loss of life than the means by which so many lives were disposed of. Though smoke would not have billowed from the design’s chimney, the tower and its flames would have made a clear reference to the mass eradication of Jewish life. When one encounters *Crematoria Tower*, its form and furnace would have had the potential to remind the viewer of, through representations seen in popular culture, the *Sonderkommando* who were charged with dragging the murdered from the gas chambers and loading them into the crematoria or burning pits, or the line of women and children preparing to enter the ‘showers’ and what one imagines their last moments to have been like.¹²

Such images emanate from widespread cultural memory of the Holocaust – defined by Aleida Assmann as ‘the practices by which society creates and transmits collective memories such as images stemming from films and museums.’¹³ This includes graphic

¹² Many clandestine photographs were taken by the *Sonderkommando* whose identity remains uncertain. They were taken inside the epicentre of the horror, from which no other visual material exists. Photographs show groups of naked women awaiting the ‘showers’; others show the cremation of corpses. The photographs were hidden and smuggled out of the camps and given to Polish resistance fighters to show the world what was happening and to give testimony about the extermination. www.yadvashem.org/gathering-fragments. Accessed 9.2.2013.

¹³ Aleida Assmann, ‘Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past’, p. 31.

imagery, representations of the circumstances people endured, and/or descriptions of the history they relate to. The images and accounts that are potentially evoked are part of functional memory, which is in circulation, as opposed to archival, storage memory.¹⁴ Astrid Erll writes of ‘media that creates and moulds collective images of the past’ more than other media, and cites film and novels as primary examples.¹⁵ As Erll argues, novels, photographs, and film ‘possess the potential to generate and shape images of the past, which will be drawn upon by whole generations.’¹⁶ I would include other media too: documentary, non-fiction, and the plastic arts, which each have the potential, through remembering aspects of them, to enable readings of memorials that do not include images of suffering. What is known about one of the most known Holocaust victims, Anne Frank, has been made prominent by her diary; *The Anne Frank House* museum in Amsterdam,¹⁷ biographies and historical accounts, where a witness describes her appearance at Bergen-Belsen as being ‘bald, emaciated, and shivering’;¹⁸ more than twenty cinema and/or television films based on her life in hiding, and eventual capture,¹⁹ and education in schools. Representations and knowledge of Holocaust victims have also become canonized by a further well-known example, the Booker Prize-winning, historical fiction, Thomas Keneally’s *Schindler’s Ark* (1982), and the subsequent, Academy Award-winning film, based on this story, Steven Spielberg’s *Schindler’s List* (1993).

¹⁴ Filip Müller is a further source, as he witnessed the extermination of Jews and lived to write *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (Chicago: Ivan. R. Dee, 1999).

¹⁵ Astrid Erll, ‘Literature, Film, and the Mediality of Cultural Memory’, in *Cultural Memory Studies An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. by Astrid Erll (Berlin, New York: Ansgar Nünning Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 384-398 (p. 389).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

¹⁷ The museum receives nearly a million visitors per year. www.annefrank.org/en/Museum/From-hiding-place-to-museum/Visitors-over-the-years/ Accessed. 9.9.2014.

¹⁸ Melissa Muller, *Anne Frank: The Biography* (London: Bloomsbury), p. 294.

¹⁹ This includes the Academy Award-winning film, *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959) and films produced in Yugoslavia (*Dnevnik Ane Frank*, 1959), Japan (*Anne no nikki*, 1995), Germany (*Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank*, 2016).

The apparently lit crematoria tower could, then, inspire graphic images of the Holocaust, such as those depicted in *Schindler's List*, where, for instance, some of Schindler's female factory workers are mistakenly taken to Auschwitz. In scenes that come close to breaking the taboo of depicting the gas chambers in operation, the women are seen having their hair cropped and walking naked into a shower room, which some of the women seem to believe are not actual showers. Their fear of what is to come, their pending death by gas, is only punctuated when water eventually falls from the shower heads. The intensity of these scenes is followed by the depiction of the same women who now witness other women and children entering the actual gas chambers, with smoke coming from a crematoria tower. In the example of Anne Frank, further association with *Crematoria Tower* comes by a range of representations, including the mini-series, *Anne Frank: The Whole Story* (2001), which depicts the Frank family's deportation to Auschwitz where Anne narrowly escapes selection for being gassed and wrongly believes that her father, who was separated from the family upon arrival, had been murdered by this means.

Further examples of representations that provoke distressing images include Lee Miller's photographs of stacked corpses at Buchenwald;²⁰ award-winning documentaries that discuss the industrialised process of murder: the BBC series, *Auschwitz: The Nazis and the Final Solution* (2005), and the feature film *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008), that re-enacts the processes leading up to the actual killing. In fact, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* comes closer to breaking the taboo of depicting the gas chambers in operation than *Schindler's List*, as its conclusion shows victims being told to undress, following which they are seen packed into the chamber, naked

²⁰ An exhibition of Lee Miller's photography was shown at the Imperial War Museum, London, in 2015, which included images of the liberation of Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps. www.iwm.org.uk/history/lee-millers-second-world-war. Accessed 4.11.2015.

and fearful, and then a Nazi is seen pouring gas pellets into the chamber. The popular TV series, *Holocaust* (1978) includes conflict and violence between the *Sonderkommando* and Jewish prisoners at a concentration camp, and naked prisoners entering the gas chambers, with Zyklon B being poured into the cell through outlets in the roof.²¹ More recently, *Son of Saul* (2015), which focuses on a Jewish prisoner forced to work in the *Sonderkommando*, comes nearer to the taboo with several sequences set within the gas chambers and furnaces.²² This wider knowledge of the Holocaust and its associated imagery is also assisted by the number of people who visit Holocaust museums, and former concentration camps each year, with more than 1.5 million visitors to Auschwitz-Birkenau in 2015,²³ where remnants include crematoria towers and photographs of the deceased, along with texts that describe the Nazi pogroms.²⁴

In *Crematoria Tower* humans are absent and can only be imagined. Without cultural experiences of the Holocaust – by way of films, photography, literature, and painting²⁵ – *Crematoria Tower* is not a distressing structure because it can only become disturbing by the visitors' supplied knowledge of what happened to the victims, attained through

²¹ In January 1979, the series aired in West Germany for the first time. The miniseries was very popular, leading to an increased public interest in the crimes of the Nazi era. The series was watched by 20 million people, or 50 percent of West Germany's population, and it first brought the matter of Holocaust to widespread public attention in a way that it never was before. Alf Lüdtke, 'Coming to Terms with the Past': Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany', in *The Journal of Modern History*, 65 (3) September 1993: pp. 542–572 (p. 553).

²² Though the film has a soundtrack of screams as victims are being gassed the taboo is never breached, as the gas chamber murders are not depicted. Though piles of the naked murdered are seen, they are either at a distance or out of focus.

²³ In addition to this, the memorial museum's web-site also reports that more than a million people from all over the world have visited the site annually since 2007. auschwitz.org/en/press/basic-information-on-auschwitz/ Accessed 9.4. 2013.

²⁴ Similar photographs, texts, and also documentaries are available at Holocaust museums. An estimated two million people visit Yad Vashem each year, from both Israel and abroad (www.yadvashem.org). Since its dedication in 1993, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has welcomed more than 40 million visitors. Its web-site claims to be the world's leading online authority on the Holocaust, is available in 16 languages and was visited by more than 16.5 million people in 2015. www.ushmm.org/information/about-the-museum Accessed 9.4.2013.

²⁵ In September 2017, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum acquired 18 paintings by Auschwitz *Sonderkommando* and survivor David Olère. The paintings depict scenes of beatings by Nazi guards, and flames and smoke billowing from crematoria towers. What is arguably his most renowned work, *Gassing*, shows naked prisoners dying of the poisonous gas. In *Pictures: Olere Art Depicts Auschwitz Horrors* 15.9. 2017. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-41283370. Accessed 29.9.2017.

the aforementioned media, leading to a recall of images associated with the design in question, thereby causing a visualisation of suffering which is not directly represented. This is where the onlooker is interpellated to recall graphic representations/evidence of the Holocaust even though they are not depicted in the memorial design. Such designs are “completed” or “amplified” by audiences drawing on cultural memory. Through this process of association a memorial, which does not show images of suffering, still has the potential to evoke them.

An experience of *Crematoria Tower* could involve specific recalls across a wide spectrum of representations, regardless of medium. To Aleida Assmann, this form of memory – cultural memory – includes artefacts, sites, ceremonies, but also myths, rituals and texts.²⁶ Jan Assmann defines cultural memory as a ‘collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation.’²⁷ Aleida Assmann develops this definition by determining cultural memory as a multifaceted structure that is distinguished from individual, social, and political memory – tracing an undisclosed, private level to the institutionalised level of remembrance. Aleida Assmann stresses the importance of memory objects’ materiality in texts and images, arguing that memory objects are exceptional attachments of remembering processes through which one becomes connected.²⁸ Following from Assmann, my focus is more geared toward cultural memory in terms of mass media – images, texts, news-reports on the Holocaust; cinema, and photographs – indelible images and representations that could be easily recalled when prompted to remember

²⁶ Aleida Assmann, ‘Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past’, p. 32.

²⁷ Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, in *New German Critique*. Trans. John Czaplicka, 1995, pp. 125-133 (p. 126).

²⁸ Aleida Assmann. ‘Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past’, p. 36.

the Holocaust, particularly where the object – in this case a memorial – leaves to the imagination details that audiences are otherwise familiar with.

With the concept of cultural memory, it is important to note that considering cultural memory means taking a significant move beyond the individual who alone possesses a memory in the true sense. Neither the group, nor even culture, “has” a memory in that sense.²⁹ Cultural memory exists only in mediated form. In fact, Astrid Erll posits that because memorable events are usually represented again and again, over decades and centuries, in different media, this means that part of what is known about an event seems to refer not so much to what one might cautiously call the ‘actual events’, but instead to a ‘canon of existent medial constructions’, to the ‘narratives and images circulating in a media culture.’³⁰ In relation to *Crematoria Tower*, the canon of images includes piles of gassed bodies and *Sonderkommando* loading corpses onto biers.³¹

Ostensibly, such recalls drawn from cultural memory, can also be associated with Alison Landsberg’s concept of ‘prosthetic memory’, which leads to a site operating as one of memory rather than history, which encourages the visitors to feel as though they too were part of that same event, as though they were in some way present.³² The mass cultural technologies are so powerful that, even though the spectator did not experience the actual event, they can still feel as if they lived through the history being presented. Prosthetic memory, then, is not directly connected to the spectator’s lived experience

²⁹ Thiemo Breyer, and Christopher Gutland, *Phenomenology of Thinking: Philosophical Investigations into Character of Thinking* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 28.

³⁰ Astrid Erll, ‘Literature, Film, and the Mediality of Cultural Memory’, p. 398.

³¹ Canonized representations of the Holocaust also include striped prison uniforms, emaciated, near skeletal figures; the railway track entrance to Auschwitz, the sign *Arbeit macht frei*, yellow star patches; Jews being humiliated, made to wear signs and to scrub streets; families being separated, and Jews being forced into packed cattle-trucks.

³² Alison Landsberg, ‘America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy’, p. 23.

and yet strongly related to the formation of subjectivity. It is important at this stage to clarify a distinction between Landsberg's theory and what I argue for here. Landsberg's concept includes the notion that cinema and experiential museums might create a form of 'prosthetic memory', as the viewer can 're-live' the events and thereby adopt the protagonists' memories.³³ With *Crematoria Tower*, however, the viewer's archive of experience might be drawn upon to imagine what is *not* being presented, causing the memorial to be more graphic and therefore disturbing. With *Crematoria Tower*, I would argue that whilst the viewer might be prompted to imagine themselves in the position of the *Sonderkommando*, the experience of seeing the design could also cause one to visualize a fully functioning apparatus with a disturbing human presence, enhanced by cultural memory of the event. I refer to the possibility of recalling such images, drawn from cultural memory, in response to Adorno's famous post-Auschwitz aporia concerning the apparent impossibility of art and representation after the Holocaust. Adorno's dictum 'to write lyric poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric'³⁴ is to highlight the aporetic situation facing the post-Auschwitz writer or artist: 'the moral obligation for artists and writers to represent and reveal appalling crimes versus the possibility that aesthetic pleasure may emanate from the victim's experience, or that the extermination of a people could somehow be given an eloquent appearance.'³⁵ As Elaine Martin elucidates:

³³ *Ibid*, p.19.

³⁴ Theodor Adorno, 'Commitment', in *Aesthetics and Politics* (London: Verso, 2007), pp. 121-123 (p. 18).

³⁵ Simon Jarvis, *Adorno: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 18.

To derive any form of aesthetic pleasure from the victim's experience was for Adorno a complete distortion of that same experience. Not only would representation in aesthetic form as a matter of course shear away some of the horror, but the principle of aesthetic stylization might attribute a sense of meaning to the fate of the victims in the sense that senseless mass murder would be given meaningful form.³⁶

Adorno's warning can be seen as a prophecy, a misgiving of what future artists of all mediums would convey in rendering images of the Holocaust and other atrocities. Adorno raises an aesthetic and moral dilemma, a dialectical tension that can be summarised as follows: we cannot truly reflect upon our incapacity, yet we must reflect upon it; the suffering cannot be reflected upon to any meaningful extent, yet it must be reflected upon; the trauma cannot be represented, yet it must be represented. This, then, is Adorno's paradigmatic case of extreme aporia, and it leaves no room for solution. When Adorno warns of the seductiveness of violence, one can consider any image from the anthology of Holocaust-related art, including, from the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition, designs such as the Hamid Ghandehary's *Fallow – Figure – Fire*, which comprised a twelve-metre-sized human sculpture of reinforced steel, appearing like a 'burnt hollow man', standing alone in a desolate landscape, intended to represent a 'theatre of war', which would have highlighted the problems that Adorno writes of, bringing potential thrills to central Berlin,³⁷ a dubious eroticism for the spectator as

³⁶ Elaine Martin, *Re-Reading Adorno: The After-Auschwitz Aporia* (Dublin: National University of Ireland, 2006), p. 3.

³⁷ These issues include experiences of the concentration camp memorial sites. In *Selling the Holocaust*, Tim Cole writes of his first trip to Auschwitz: 'We were tourists of guilt and righteousness: guilt at an almost pornographic sense of expectancy of the voyeurism ahead.' Cole also ponders the 'titillation' afforded concentration camp tourists and cites psychologist Israel Charny's own reaction to reading about the genocide: 'The reading becomes exciting... One murderous incident follows another... My excitement mounts... It is almost a sexual feeling... I flow into the next account of a killing and become one with the murderer.' Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler; How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold*. (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 55.

opposed to beholding an anguished, sympathetic figure.³⁸ A further concern regarding this kind of memorial, or a design such as *Crematoria Tower*, that can evoke images of suffering, is asserted by Dora Apel who argues that realist work can easily become unbearable to look at, ‘driving viewers away, or worse, becoming maudlin.’³⁹ This is an important reminder that the sight or evocation of horrific images have the potential, as Apel argues, to disengage the viewer with the history the representation relates to. Though it is more constructive to debate the different types of representation than it is to legislate which images might be permissible, it is important to acknowledge that other scholars, such as Michael Taussig, James Freed, and, to some extent Ann Kaplan, argue in favour of explicit portrayals, with Taussig positing that mimesis offers an alternative mode of knowledge, that the beholder can become more engaged and connected through seeing images of empirical reality.⁴⁰ Museum architect, James Freed echoes this approach by declaring that representations should be a ‘resonator of emotions’, that ‘odd or quiet is not enough: it must be intestinal, visceral; it must take you in its grip.’⁴¹ Ann Kaplan, too, highlights the possibility that seeing horrific images might motivate the viewer into accepting agency:

The effect may be negative if the impact is so great that the viewer turns away from images instead of learning through them. Whilst on the other hand, a degree of vicarious trauma may shock a viewer into wanting to know more and perhaps to do something about what they have seen.⁴²

³⁸ From the submission by Hamid Ghandehary, Waltrund Brodersen, Ali Ghandehary, Sabine Lorenz, and Ingrid Buhr. 1994.

³⁹ Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing*, p. 18.

⁴⁰ Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses: A Particular Study of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 21.

⁴¹ James Inigo Freed, *The US Holocaust Memorial Museum* (New York: Phaidon, 1995), p. 73.

⁴² Ann E. Kaplan, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Culture* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p. 7.

Kaplan's case for mimetic and/or disturbing images as being provocations that incite vigilance is compelling, encouraging the viewer to become more engaged through recalling images of distress. Though *Crematoria Tower* does not include an image of suffering as part of its design, it could provoke recalls of those who were forced to dispense with the murdered, thus supporting the arguments concerning the positive reasons for producing explicit images and also the counterpoints regarding the hazards of presenting them. Should viewers have recalled images of cruelty associated with the Holocaust crematoria tower, then disengagement could have been a response. Equally, with this design, recalls of the *Sonderkommando* could have been more engaging for some viewers, which invites consideration of secondary witnessing and empathy.

Secondary witnessing might, as Apel argues, cause a form of secondary trauma, a sense of unresolved shock and injury that the secondary witness shares with the victim,⁴³ a point which is further explored by Dominick LaCapra's concern that the secondary witness can become a surrogate victim, assuming an inauthentic voice.⁴⁴ Indeed, LaCapra argues that one should 'acknowledge a need for empathy itself to be unsettled and critically interrogated' in order to avoid 'empathic over-arousal' when encountering trauma imagery.⁴⁵ 'Empathic over-arousal' is determined by Hoffman as being an 'involuntary process that occurs when an observer's empathic distress becomes so painful and intolerable that it is transformed into an intense feeling of personal distress, which may move the person out of the empathic mode entirely.'⁴⁶

⁴³ Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing*, p. 20.

⁴⁴ Dominick LaCapra, 'Trauma, Absence, Loss', in *Critical Inquiry*, Vo. 25. No.4. (Summer 1999), University of Chicago Press, pp. 696-727 (p. 717).

⁴⁵ Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 11.

⁴⁶ Martin Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 198.

These points lead from LaCapra's *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, where he warns that despite the apparent merits of empathetic identification (primarily, emotional and visceral appeal), it is difficult to see how one might be empathetic without intrusively arrogating to oneself the victim's experience or undergoing (consciously or not) 'surrogate victimage'.⁴⁷ LaCapra's concept of 'empathic unsettlement' is defined as, 'a kind of virtual experience through which one puts oneself in the other's position while recognising the difference of that position and hence not taking the other's place.'⁴⁸ La Capra warns that over-identification with victims runs the risk of the secondary witness partaking in an 'empathy that gives way to vicarious victimhood', a situation in which a witness begins to imagine they are in place of the victim and replaces the victim's situation with their own perceived victimhood.⁴⁹ This would make the secondary witnessing process ineffectual by making the victim, in effect, voiceless, in their experience with the imagined experience of the witness. Unsettling, then, is a conscious awareness of being a witness who will never be able to fully understand the experience of the victim, even when empathy for the victim is felt.

LaCapra's theorisation of 'empathic unsettlement' elaborates on Kaja Silverman's concept of 'heteropathic' identification. Silverman writes of two possible modes of identifying with the victim: 'idiopathic' identification, which she considers to be a 'cannibalistic' tendency to consume the 'other within the self' – thinking of the victim from one's own perspective – and 'heteropathic' identification, where one needs to step outside of oneself and respect the other's alterity, recognising the victim's irreducible

⁴⁷ Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 182.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴⁹ Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, p. 47.

separateness in the process.⁵⁰ For Silverman, it is the heteropathic identification that proves enriching and shows a moral potential.⁵¹ Similarly, Marianne Hirsch, when addressing ethical concerns regarding trauma, hopes that memorial designers and artists will be able to ‘resist appropriation, resist annihilating the distance between self and other’, and the ‘otherness of the other.’⁵³ In respect of these issues, LaCapra questions whether the spectator can ever gain an insight into the suffering of victims, whilst also querying whether it has the promised outcomes.⁵⁴ As a result, LaCapra proposes an ‘empathic unsettlement’ where remembrance can be provoked but where the viewer develops a perception of the victim’s experience that ‘respects the otherness of the other’ and, as a result, does not claim to feel that same torment.⁵⁵ What is critical here is that the victims’ experience should remain acknowledged as being theirs. Empathic unsettlement is therefore productive, as it prevents the secondary witness from believing that they, too, have experienced the kind of suffering endured by the primary witness.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 25.

⁵¹ As Silverman argues with regard to heteropathic identification, emotional response, in this concept, comes with respect for the victim and the realisation that the experience is not one’s own. It is an ethical, non-appropriative and not-self-serving relation to the victim that recognizes the other as a separate, individual, and equal subject. Silverman goes on to argue that if the imaginary process of identification is sufficiently tempered by symbolic functions, identification can be modulated so that one could identify with the other’s perspective without usurping it or distorting it. Kaja Silverman, *The Threshold of the Visible World*, p. 26.

⁵³ Marianne Hirsch, ‘Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy’, in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. by Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. 43-54 (p. 46).

⁵⁴ Another issue with making the suffering one’s own is that suffering is occluded by the other’s erasure, a point argued by Greig Crysler who posits that the ambivalent character of empathy can be located in the displacement of otherness that occurs as we feel ourselves into those we imagine as ourselves: ‘We project ourselves into the position of the victim on our terms, and in doing so we convert the other to the same’. Greig Crysler, ‘Violence and Empathy: National Museums and the Spectacle of Society’, in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*. Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring 2006), Berkley: University of California, Press. pp. 19-38 (p. 12).

⁵⁵ Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Cornell University Press, New York, 1998), p. 183.

⁵⁶ LaCapra is an opponent of critics, writers and artists who do not stand apart from identification processes and ‘rhetorically validate or advocate vicarious identification and take up the gap-ridden voice of the victim, attempting to speak for and in that voice rather than with respect to, and respect for it.’ Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, p. 66.

In respect of *Crematoria Tower*, a form of secondary witnessing would have been enacted when one encountered the furnace and would have been stimulated to recall mediated scenes of the abject from which it derives; where one might imagine seeing those enforced to dispense with the murdered. The design's capacity to induce empathy is founded on its evocative sight of an apparently working incinerator, an image associated with the concentration camps, a sight that prompts recalls of representations experienced through other media, causing it to be a memorial that might therefore produce the conditions necessary for one to engage more deeply on an empathetic and emotional level, as one instinctively fills its gaps, imagining the perished that are not being depicted, with projections of emaciated figures or corpses. Interpellation here, then, is when this mnemonic form causes the viewer to recall explicit imagery, making the beholder a witness to suffering that is not actually being depicted in the design but is thought of when encountering this tower and its furnace. How this design relates to empathic over-arousal and empathic unsettlement, and what kind of empathetic responses are possible through seeing *Crematoria Tower*, is aided by considering different forms of empathy, which I deliberate from here.

This chapter is underscored by the point that emotional responses to representations of the Holocaust are not founded simply on images of distress but instead on a range of approaches in which mimetic representations of violence, suffering and death are notably absent. What I shall pursue here, by way of analysing *Crematoria Tower* and a cross-section of designs, along with exhibits in the Information Centre, is how selected designs and remembrance strategies might kindle empathetic responses. If, for instance, empathy involves making ourselves vulnerable to what Susan Sontag calls 'the pain of others', how can such an experience be encouraged by a memorial

design?⁵⁷ In fact, this brings us to one of the key explorations of this thesis: the question of how the beholder can feel empathy for the victims when there is no image of suffering?

To work toward clarification, one should begin by distinguishing forms of empathy. In psychology, empathy is associated with perspective taking – taking perspective of the other person or recognizing their perspective as their truth. As Lauren Wispé elucidates: ‘Empathy also requires a great deal of exposure because it says that I feel what you have felt. I may not have experienced everything you have, but I *know* that feeling.’⁵⁸ This does not mean that someone else’s pain is the same as your pain, but rather that in order to be empathetic one has to find a place within one that was also hurt. In contrast, sympathy is more related to feelings of pity rather than feeling the pain of the victim.⁵⁹ Sympathy is not about feeling the same thing that somebody else is feeling, but instead an appropriate emotion to complement theirs. Common to these are feelings that are congruent with the other’s emotional state or condition.⁶⁰

To extend this, it is important to be mindful of different levels of empathy, as they highlight the complexities that might be relevant when one encounters a memorial that elicits visceral responses. Current empathy research distinguishes between ‘lower level empathy’ as an unconscious reaction which essentially mirrors another person’s

⁵⁷ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Penguin, 2004), p. 8.

⁵⁸ Lauren Wispé, *The Psychology of Sympathy* (New York: Plenum Press, 1991), p. 70.

⁵⁹ As Carolyn Dean states with regard to the historic use of the terms ‘empathy’ and ‘sympathy’, over the last century, perhaps mostly because of the increasing integration of psychoanalytic understanding into mainstream discourse about self and society – and shorn, to be sure, of its technical context – empathy has replaced sympathy to signify feeling compassion for others (though late eighteenth and nineteenth century versions of sympathy also embraced what we now call empathy. Carolyn J. Dean, *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 6.

⁶⁰ Stephen Darwall, *Welfare and Rational Care* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 51.

emotions (empathy through emotional contagion), and ‘higher level empathy’, which requires imaginative investment and perspective shifting.’⁶¹ As Amy Coplan asserts:

One of the key differences between emotional contagion and empathy is that contagion is a direct, automatic, unmediated process, whereas empathy is never fully unmediated since it requires perspective-taking. Approximately, perspective-taking is an imaginative process through which one constructs another person’s subjective experience by simulating the experience of being in the other’s situation.⁶²

As Coplan argues, in self-oriented perspective-taking, a person represents herself in another person’s situation: ‘Thus if I engage in self-oriented perspective-taking with you, I imagine what it’s like *for me* to be in *your* situation.’⁶³ Whereas, in other-oriented perspective-taking, a person is representing the other’s situation from the other person’s perspectives and therefore attempts to simulate the victim’s individual experiences as though they were the victim: ‘thus I imagine that I am you in your situation, which is to say I attempt to simulate your experiences from your point of view.’⁶⁴

Coplan points to further important distinctions between self-oriented perspective-taking and other-oriented. Coplan associates self-oriented perspective-taking with personal distress, false consensus, and misunderstandings of the other. Coplan argues

⁶¹ Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia* (London, New York: Palgrave MacMillan Memory Studies, 2013), p. 46.

⁶² Amy Coplan, ‘Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects’, in *Empathy: Philosophical and Psychological Perspectives*, ed. by Amy Coplan and Peter Goldie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3-18 (p. 8).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

that ‘when we imagine ourselves in another person’s situation, it frequently results in inaccurate predictions and failed simulations of the other’s feelings, thoughts and desires.’⁶⁵ Self-oriented perspective-taking thus makes us more likely to become emotionally aroused, as we are solely focused on our own experience. As Coplan states:

Rationally and theoretically, most of us understand that most people are very different from us, and yet we make these mistakes all the time. We don’t just fail to understand others’ subjective experiences; we often assume that we do understand them, which leads to a new set of problems.⁶⁶

Coplan contends that ‘self-oriented perspective-taking leads to a type of “pseudo empathy” since people often mistakenly believe that it provides them with access to the other’s point of view.’⁶⁷ As Coplan states: ‘Affective matching and self-oriented perspective-taking are not sufficient for empathy. It also requires clear self–other differentiation, which is usually present in other-oriented perspective-taking but not always.’⁶⁸ Without clear self–other differentiation, Coplan argues that we are almost certain to fail in our attempts to empathize. As Coplan states:

⁶⁵ Amy Coplan also cites Sara Hodges and Daniel Wegner as arguing that egocentric bias (when one assumes greater similarity between self and other than typically exists) occurs due to a failure to suppress one’s self-perspective: ‘In anticipating and imagining what another’s experience will be in a given situation, many of us are unable to move beyond our perspective and so rely on our own imagined experiences to formulate conclusions about the other. We have difficulty not allowing our own beliefs, values, and occurrent states to influence our simulation which is why we regularly fail to understand others in a fine-grained way.’ Amy Coplan, ‘Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects’, p. 14.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁷ Coplan does not mean to deride self-orientated perspective taking, and acknowledges that it is often motivated by a concern for the other and a desire to understand their experiences. Coplan is also clear that self-oriented perspective-taking can sometimes improve our understanding of someone. Responding to someone’s distress by saying ‘I know just how you’re feeling’ is, to Coplan, a perspective-taking that is ours, whilst the circumstances remain the other’s. Amy Coplan, ‘Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects’, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Amy Coplan, ‘Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects’, p. 13.

One either loses one's sense of self and becomes enmeshed or, more often, we let our imaginative process become contaminated by our self-perspective and thus end up engaged in a simulation that fails to replicate the experience of the other. Self–other differentiation allows for the optimal level of distance from the other for 'successful empathy'. One is neither fused nor detached. One relates to the other as an other but shares in the other's experience in a way that bridges but does not eliminate the gap between our experiences.⁶⁹

Coplan, thus, proposes that empathy is contextualised so as to 'exclude processes that involve self-oriented perspective-taking, unless combined with other-oriented perspective-taking'.⁷⁰

With regard to *Crematoria Tower*, should one be prompted to recall images associated with the concentration camps, this would cause a more emotional encounter with this memorial, with thoughts of emaciated figures or corpses, or victims entering the gas chambers, which would make the viewer a witness to suffering that is not part of the actual design. The horror of such recalls would result in the distinct possibility of empathic over-arousal and LaCapra's concerns regarding 'surrogate victimage', as one imagines oneself in the position of the victim, thus involving self-oriented perspective-taking. Though associated with horrific scenes, knowledge, and images drawn from cultural memory, the design is also disconnected from them, as victims are not actually present. The tower is not useable, is not in a location where the murders took place, and is not even a replica, as it would be made from metal rather than brick. The fact

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14, 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

that it is not an exact replica allows visitors to distance themselves from the horror which in turns allows for other-orientated perspective-taking.

The question, then, of how the beholder can feel empathy for victims when there is no image of suffering, is possible, in this example, through the probability of other-oriented empathy and its connection to empathic unsettlement, which *Crematoria Tower* would allow for. Specific, traumatic recalls can also, then, in this example, correspond to LaCapra's 'empathic unsettlement', where one does not appropriate a victim's experience, as *Crematoria Tower* would have been surrounded by contemporary Berlin life and would not be an actual working furnace. This indexical distance between the original crematoria towers and what would have stood in central Berlin – this lack of indexical meaning that would otherwise emanate from an actual, historic crematoria tower – could therefore be the barrier to protect against appropriation of the victim's experience and thus encourage 'heteropathic' identification where the viewer recognizes the distinction between themselves and the victim.

It is only by preserving this sense of this alterity that one can relate to the other as another and at the same time 'share in the other's experience in a way that bridges but does not eliminate the gap between our experiences.'⁷⁰ Here, one should also be mindful that the position of the viewer is always located in the role of the secondary witness, defined by Apel as someone who endeavours to relate to the victim through accounts and imagery that allow them to draw closer to the experience of the primary witness.⁷¹ In the case studies that follow, I examine how other memorial designs and

⁷⁰ Amy Coplan, 'Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects', p. 16.

⁷¹ Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing*, p. 21.

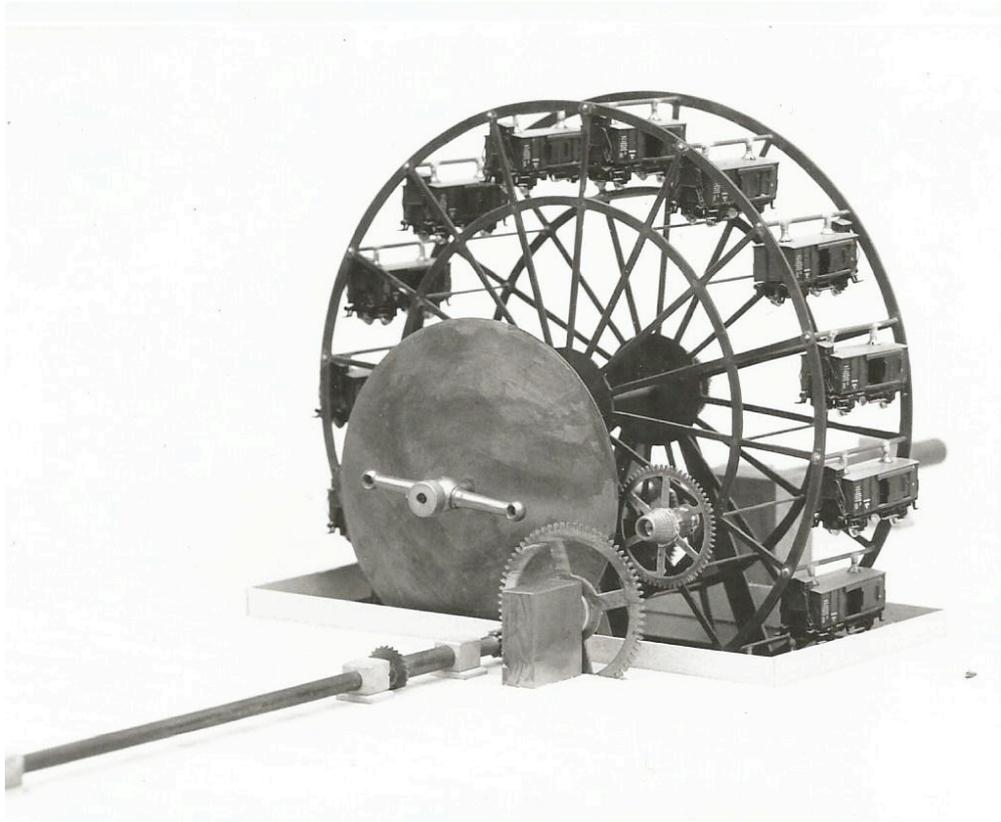
the victims' letters displayed in the Information Centre, relate to the aforementioned theoretical issues concerning empathy.

2.02 Ferris Wheel

Like *Crematoria Tower*, Richard Gruber's submission, *Ferris Wheel* (Figure 6), is a design based on a replica object associated with the concentration camps – the cattle-truck – the method of transportation used by the Nazis to transfer Jews across Europe to their imprisonment or death. At first, one might presuppose that there are more similarities between these designs than differences, that the use of such a reproduction necessarily conveys related issues concerning the recall of horrific imagery, that the viewer will again be provoked into imagining the murdered, stimulated by the sight of a Holocaust-related 'icon', a representation, though complex and discomforting, that communicates something of the meaning of the past without overly distorting it.⁷² *Ferris Wheel's* cattle-trucks are not, however, presented as articles that reference their original function – in the case of *Crematoria Tower*, these are the fires that burn at its base. Instead, the cattle-trucks of *Ferris Wheel* would have become intrinsic to a leisure contraption, meaning they are divorced from their linear travel function into a bewildering, circular, and seemingly perpetual arrangement; de-familiarised through their new role as vehicle of recreation rather than a symbol of death. As a result, I seek to analyse the consequences of this indeterminate identity and explore the question of how this design might affect the viewer, not only in comparison to *Crematoria Tower*, but also in contrast to other cattle-trucks, of which twenty are currently exhibited in museums across Europe, the United States, and Mexico.⁷³

⁷² Oren Baruch Stier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), p. 32.

⁷³ All except one of these re-presented cattle-trucks are singular. It is also typical for them to be situated on rail-tracks.



(Figure 6) Richard Gruber. *Ferris Wheel*. Image courtesy of Richard Gruber.

Instead of encountering a contemporary Ferris wheel comprised of brightly coloured gondolas, or passenger capsules made of steel and reinforced glass, *Ferris Wheel* bears more semblance to the antique Ferris wheels of the late nineteenth century, best represented by the *Viennese Giant Wheel* in the Prater, Vienna, due to its rectangular box-shaped gondolas. On closer observation, however, the viewer sees that *Ferris Wheel*'s gondolas are rust-coloured and stamped in white with *Deutsche Reichsbahn*, thus closely resembling the cattle-trucks used by the Nazis during the Holocaust. Though their wheels remain fixed, they hang useless from the carriages, as the cattle-trucks no longer stand on tracks or are set on the ground – the first of many signs that they have been detached from their anticipated environment, be it the cattle-trucks' museological surroundings, or their historic, more practical function as a form of mass transport. This disconnection is further enhanced when one observes that *Ferris*

Wheel's carriages are entered from below ground and that unlike conventional Ferris wheels, the mechanism appears to burrow into the earth and rise again, like a watermill, adding to the unexpected, unfamiliar site of something that, despite these changes to convention, is still recognisable.

According to its designer, the memorial takes inspiration from the German saying of the 'wheelwork of the world' and 'the wheelwork of life.' As Gruber explains:

It means that what happens to one person, to one place, has causal connections to others. So it is with wars, injustice, old debts, megalomania, import/export of goods, religion etc. that lead to violence and destruction. This happened nearly perfectly in the Nazi system – for that stands my Ferris wheel.⁷⁴

Ferris Wheel can be understood as a metaphor for a continued cycle with no sign of ending, no break or interruption – and with Gruber's elucidation in mind, a contextualised, global contemporary context that relates to the consequences of all actions, with the designer's further ambition of averting the perpetual sequence of suffering by showing that it is not simply commemorating an event that is securely located in the past. Either way, *Ferris Wheel* as a customary symbol of enjoyment becomes merged with a recognised symbol of torment.

The transporter to death function of the cattle-truck is usually emphasised and authenticated in its role as a museum artefact. At the *USHMM (United States Holocaust*

⁷⁴ Interview with Richard Gruber. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 15.12.2014.

Memorial Museum) the visitor is encouraged to walk through a cattle-truck in order to reach the next section of the exhibition. In the *Dallas Holocaust Museum*, in a similar strategy, the cattle-truck forms the entrance to the exhibit space.⁷⁵ In contrast to the museum exhibits, *The Memorial to the Deportees*, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, is a cattle-truck situated outdoors, perched precariously on an iron rail-line, which juts out from a steep slope, meaning the carriage cannot be accessed, as the rail-track on which it stands is raised and is unreachable. Whilst in the aforementioned museums the visitor experiences the interior of the cattle-truck, at Yad Vashem, the viewer can only consider the memorial from a distance. Gruber's memorial would have offered both an interior and exterior experience of the cattle-truck, though given its unique use of the vehicle, one should expect significant differences when compared to the more conventional arrangements cited here.

The Memorial to the Deportees is clearly encouraging a reverential experience in visitors, as the pedestal-like arrangement, causes it to be considered only from a detached viewing platform, affirming its status as an untouchable artefact. This is an interesting contrast to the domesticated cattle-trucks of the aforementioned museums, where one is encouraged to interact with the articles, which arguably reduces their inimitability, veneration, and their degree of presence. Further to this, one could argue that the cattle-trucks exhibited in Dallas and Washington D.C. are more engaging than *The Memorial to the Deportees* due to their accessibility, because visitors can stand inside the cattle-trucks and are being encouraged by the museums to put themselves in the position of people who went through the ordeal.

⁷⁵ Oren Baruch Stier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust*, p. 34.

Though the museum cattle-trucks do not re-enact the scene of deportation, they do encourage the visitor to relate to the Holocaust in a physical encounter. Through the presentation of such objects spectators can feel that they are in the presence of the past, partaking in the ‘aura of the real’, which is what the cattle-truck seems to offer in the museum.⁷⁶ Should visitors have a general knowledge of the suffering associated with the cattle-truck, they could imagine themselves being confined to these spaces during arduous journeys to the camps. Recalling the victims’ experience of the cramped conditions, adverse temperatures, the lack of water, their anguish at the sight of fellow prisoners who starve to death during the convoy, can therefore cause stronger personal connections when experiencing these artefacts. It would be, as Coplan argues, a case of imagining ourselves in the victim’s position, which frequently results in misleading, false understandings of the other’s feelings and the suffering they endured.⁷⁷ Empathic over-arousal is a distinct possibility here, as the visitor becomes focused on their experience, their emerging distress and they would therefore be less likely to empathise with victims.

The museum cattle-truck could also become associated with people one knows were transported to the concentration camps, individuals that have either been written of or depicted in films, paintings and documentaries, specifically with their experience of the cattle-truck in mind.⁷⁸ In the documentary *Shoah* (1985), director Claude Lanzmann’s witnesses speak of the suffering they saw, and the film ends with shots of the railway lines, interpreted by Yosefa Loshitzky as a symbol of dread.⁷⁹ One of the most noted scenes in *Schindler’s List* is the child who slices his hand across his throat

⁷⁶ Silke Arnold-de Simine, *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia*, p. 84.

⁷⁷ Amy Coplan, ‘Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects’, p. 12.

⁷⁸ This could include the novel or film adaptation of William Styron’s *Sophie’s Choice*, where the protagonist endures many hours in a cattle-truck that transports Sophie and her children to Auschwitz.

⁷⁹ Yosefa Loshitzky. *Spielberg’s Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler’s List*, p. 191.

as the cattle-trucks pass him. This is also filmed from within the cattle-truck, taking the condemned's perspective. As a corollary of such recalls the final journey of victims becomes represented by images drawn from cultural memory, transforming the experience of encountering the cattle-truck into something made more harrowing by remembering how victims described their experience, or how it was represented through media and popular culture. This other-orientated empathy is where the secondary witness, who now stands inside a cattle-truck, attempts to evoke the experience of the victim from the other's perspective. With Coplan's work in mind, this self-other differentiation would allow for distance from the other, thus negating empathic over-arousal.

In contrast to both strategies of remembrance, Gruber's design neither re-enacts the scene of deportation, nor does it present the cattle-truck monumentally, as the cattle-truck is not a singular, inaccessible authentic object, stationed in a podium-like setting, but is, instead, repetitions of the same vehicle, now operating as a memorial that offers a sensation that jars with what is expected from a contraption associated with pleasure. The visitor is more likely to be bewildered and distracted, and though it encourages access, *Ferris Wheel* would have provided an experience of the cattle-truck that dislocates the visitor's experience: for some visitors the 'aura' and presence of the past and the 'real' might still be evoked, as the carriages appear to be authentic despite their questionable treatment. In this respect, *Ferris Wheel* is a blend of the aura of the real and the bemusement which is caused by the surreal.

Ferris Wheel might have had an empathetic affect on the visitor, an impact similar to the museum exhibits as one enters the carriages and considers the space and all that the cattle-truck evokes. This could only have been fleeting though, due to the tourist-

friendly conditions and the forthcoming Berlin skyline, which would have reminded the viewer of the cattle-trucks' new function and how it is completely removed from its disturbing historic role. The different presentations of this icon poses the question of whether Gruber's cattle-trucks are no longer icons, and if so, what the consequences of this could be.

Oren Baruch Stier defines icons from a religious studies perspective using the term *icon* because of its religious connotations, 'which speak to the issue of the presumed sanctity of Holocaust artifacts.'⁸⁰ According to Stier, an icon is 'a mediator of memorial experience and a model of sacred engagement and embodiment' that also establishes 'narratives of representation' and a 'complex meaning of the past without overly distorting it.'⁸¹ As such, Holocaust icons are:

Living, embodied distillations of Holocaust images, of the 'Holocaust' itself. Better yet, they are enlivened embodiments of the Holocaust, whose life comes from a blend of their own inherent qualities and their emplacement in museological contexts and memorial narratives.⁸²

Though cattle-trucks are often given homes in museums and memorials far from their place of historic use, they retain their connections to the events that disgorged them and convey the multiple meanings of those events through their roles as vehicles of and for memory.⁸³ I would argue that Gruber's design alienates our perception of the well-known iconic function of the cattle-truck. With *Ferris Wheel*, however, the strategy of

⁸⁰ Oren Baruch Stier, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust*, p. 41.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32, 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

remembrance is very different to *Crematoria Tower*, as the icon has been estranged, operating as part of something unexpected, thereby disturbing its previous associations, which prevent it from being an icon. Though not entirely dissociated from its origins as a recognized transporter to death, the cattle-truck is now more than this. Because the ‘narrative of representation’ that Stier writes of has been disturbed, the potential effects of this and resultant emotional responses will be discussed, as they are likely to reveal significant differences between *Ferris Wheel* and other presentations of the cattle-truck.

In the semantic field of the opposition of the German words *heimlich* and *unheimlich* that Sigmund Freud writes of, *unheimlich* equates to ‘un-homely’.⁸⁴ Tracing the word’s complex etymology, Freud reveals a process of transposition of the familiar into the opposite. In a process of elaboration, *heimlich* (belonging to the house, familiar, friendly, but also secret and hidden) becomes the negative compound *unheimlich* (ghostly, spooky, fear provoking) – uncanny. A Ferris wheel, then, a blueprint normally associated as a comfortable, homely form of entertainment, becomes associated with the Holocaust due to the replacement of conventional gondolas with carriages that are simulacrum of cattle-trucks used to deport Jews to the concentration camps. Concomitantly, the homely, leisurely object of the Ferris wheel gondola is now, despite being removed from its context, an ominous reminder of the past. As Doreen Massey posits, the homely is ‘not just the utopian place of safety and shelter for which we supposedly yearn’, but also ‘the place of dark secrets, of fear and danger, that we can sometimes inhabit furtively.’⁸⁵ The cattle-trucks of *Ferris Wheel* are loaded with such a duality, as they operate as both threatening signifiers of the past and also

⁸⁴ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2003), p. 124.

⁸⁵ Doreen Massey, ‘Space-Time and the Politics of Location’, in *Rachel Whiteread: House* (London: Phaidon, 1995), pp. 38-46 (p. 41).

intriguing spaces, which would have invited visitors to enter, to sit in comfort and see the cityscape as the wheel turns. When accessed by the public, the cattle-trucks would have provided a space, which contrasts with the vehicle's historic associations of arduous journeys to the death camps, thus challenging its otherwise fixed, macabre role.

The cattle-truck gondolas would have been accessed via a dimly lit underground space. Once inside the cattle-truck, visitors would sit and look onto the city below and the skyline ahead, just as one would in a conventional Ferris wheel.⁸⁶ A symbol associated with cramped, insanitary, suffocating conditions, would therefore have been re-fitted to accommodate a small number of visitors who experience a series of contrasts and repetitions: from darkness into the light of day, from ground level to rising until elevated above the city, to the enjoyment that many would typically experience by being on a Ferris wheel – an experience that would soon return the visitor back to the darkness from where their circular journey began.

Gruber's design represents our fascination with the aesthetics of the uncanny, that emotional response to an object or event that Freud defines as 'the class of the frightening which leads us back to what is known of old and long familiar.'⁸⁷ The uncanny can take the form of something strange and unfamiliar unexpectedly arising in a familiar context, or something familiar that unexpectedly arises in a strange and unfamiliar context, thus corresponding to *Ferris Wheel's* interface of a renowned Holocaust vehicle and an immediately recognisable fairground attraction, now operating together as one.⁸⁸ The icon would have been presented in an uncanny way, whether one chose to ride in the gondolas or chose to consider the whole contraption

⁸⁶ Interview with Richard Gruber. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 15.12.2014.

⁸⁷ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, p. 123.

⁸⁸ Nicholas Royale, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 3.

from below. The way in which one recognises the Holocaust through the symbol of the cattle-truck – as the daunting prelude to the concentration camps – is no longer as established and fixed as one might suppose. The cattle-truck now plays an unexpected role; it is alien to the fairground; it should not assimilate. As the uncanny is first and foremost a sensation, a feeling; a shudder of fear or apprehension, it disturbs deeply held, taken for granted assumptions about what is real and unreal, or imaginary. The cattle-truck's new, unforeseen, startling purpose would have had the capacity to cause such emotions. Emotions that one might expect to feel when seeing a Ferris wheel – the anticipation of enjoyment, an exciting diversion from triteness – would have been immediately challenged by the sight of a fairground ride that employs an icon of the Holocaust - a historic object now brought into the present, and now occupied, not with the condemned, but with tourists. Such emotions are instead overwhelmed by uncertainty, as the memorial's collusion of a fairground ride and a symbol of the Holocaust make both objects indeterminate, causing unease.

As John Jervis explicates: 'the uncanny shakes fundamental categories of knowledge and experience, while yet depending on them: it challenges the limits of experience and understanding, given the world we think we live in. It disturbs our sense of atmosphere, makes us apprehensive in our apprehension of presence, of the here, the now, of time, the take for granted framework of experience.'⁸⁹ As *Ferris Wheel* is uncanny, one can appreciate why this form of memorialisation delivers a different sense of foreboding to other submitted designs for the Berlin competition. Whilst other designs would have caused disturbing sensations by way of explicit imagery, including the aforementioned *Fallow – Figure – Fire* by Hamid Ghandehary, *Ferris Wheel* corresponds to feelings

⁸⁹ John Jervis, and Jo Collins, *Uncanny Modernity: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties* (London: Palgrave School, 1998), p. 11.

of unease when encountering an identifiable object that is now, in this arrangement, loaded with uncertainty.

Though the uncanny involves feelings of insecurity, it is not simply an experience of strangeness or disaffection. More specifically, it is a peculiar commingling of the familiar and the unfamiliar, which is now established in Gruber's proposal. Unlike *Crematoria Tower*, *Ferris Wheel* is not only a provocation because it employs a concentration camp replica, but also because it de-familiarises that same icon, making it uncannily familiar yet unfamiliar. It is represented out of context, confounding the memory of its imagined function and its historic usage. The Holocaust cannot be evoked in the same way as it can with *Crematoria Tower*, where its furnace would have suggested a working crematoria, prompting recalls of, amongst other scenes, the *Sonderkommando* loading corpses onto biers. Due to it being uncanny, *Ferris Wheel* does not provoke such projections, as it is no longer the Holocaust-related object one thought one knew.

The Holocaust icon of the cattle-truck has been uprooted, modified, and re-employed as part of a surreal amusement ride, thereby altering its seemingly fixed, singular associations with suffering. The Ferris wheel's previously uncomplicated role as a symbol of fun has been distorted by its unexpected connections to the Holocaust. Revolving in central Berlin, an ingenuous, undemanding symbol of entertainment and what is normally a harbinger of suffering would have revealed ambiguities that shift their respective identities and introduce an element of anxiety to what one would think as being unalterable. The conventional would have been made suspect; the cattle-trucks do not belong to the centre of Berlin, and devoid of their tracks would have had the potential to cause the viewer to be unsettled due to their dislocation. LaCapra's

proposed ‘empathic unsettlement’, where the viewer develops a perception of the victim’s experience whilst respecting the ‘otherness of the other’, is arguably established here due to the effects of the uncanny, as the uncanny experience should prevent claims of experiencing the same torment as victims, primarily because of the uncanny’s disturbances, because the object in question – in this case a cattle-truck – encourages empathy but is also outside of its historic function. The design is confusing and would disrupt the possibility of empathic over-arousal, as victims experienced the cattle-trucks in a completely obverse way to this.

Whether the visitor observes *Ferris Wheel* as an onlooker, or chooses to have a more corporeal experience by entering one of its cattle-truck gondolas, they would have encountered a memorial relating to concealment. Following Freud *heimlich* is not unambiguous, but belongs to two different sets of ideas, which are not mutually contradictory, but very different from each other – the one relating to what is familiar and comfortable, the other to what is suppressed and kept hidden. The term ‘uncanny’ applies to everything that was intended to remain secret, hidden away, and has come into the open. If it resurfaces it does so in an unexpected, perplexing form.⁹⁰ In this respect *Ferris Wheel* does not reassure or console but rather has the capacity to haunt visitors with the unpleasant – uncanny – sensation of calling into consciousness that which has been previously repressed.

For some spectators, a moment of singular strangeness would arrive as they sense the return of a memory long since repressed, a ‘revenant mnemonic trace that occupies a kind of interior no-man’s land, belonging neither to the conscious nor to the

⁹⁰ Jon Bird, ‘Dolce Domum: House,’ in *Rachel Whiteread: House* (London: Phaidon, 1995), pp. 112-119 (p. 115).

unconscious, but to both at once.’⁹¹ Though Freud traces this phenomenon to the ‘early mental stage’ and a ‘repressed fear of castration’, I proffer that repression can be understood in a more psychosocial way – something that impedes with our regular thoughts, feelings, and inclinations, something that emanates from a place that is unique to us through our own personal associations.⁹³ In this sense, one might consider repression to be a barrier that opposes itself to disturbing thoughts. In this respect, I would argue that *Ferris Wheel* has the capacity to remind its visitors that the Holocaust was orchestrated and executed whilst some people continued to enjoy relatively normal lives and that leisurely pursuits continued as Jews were transported to concentration camps and ultimately to their deaths.⁹⁴ The reassuring familiarity of the surrounding area – the dome of the Reichstag, the Quadriga atop the Brandenburg Gate – would have been invaded by an uncanny object in a symbolic field, thus leaving the viewer estranged from everyday normality. Had *Ferris Wheel* been selected, the memorial would have provided a juxtaposition between that which is felt as being real – the city – and that which remains confusing and concealed – the memorial and its uncanny effect. What makes the memorial so compelling is precisely the fact that it repurposes the perpetrators’ means of deportation as a means of transport for the memory of their victims. *Ferris Wheel* thus represents a return of the repressed in the landscape.

⁹¹ Alexandra Maria Reuber, *Haunted by the Uncanny: Development of a Genre* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2001), p. 13.

⁹³ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, p. 203.

⁹⁴ As an example of this, there were 13,052 theatre productions in Germany between 1939 and 1944. Audience figures grew from 30 million in 1938 to around 40 million in 1940. There were 1.116 billion cinema visits in 1943, and every year from 1939 to 1944 saw around forty films produced for the German and European market. Jorg Echterkamp, *Germany and the Second World War. Vol. 9/1, German wartime society 1939-1945: politicization, disintegration, and the struggle for survival* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), p. 103-104.

2.03 Jochen Heufelder's projected photographs

Whilst *Ferris Wheel* might remind the viewer of events that were occurring during the Holocaust, Jochen Heufelder's submission directly relates to times before the Nazis came to power. Heufelder's submission for the first competition features the placement of a large screen at the centre of the memorial site where photographs of Jewish victims, pictured whilst alive and before the Holocaust, would be projected, slideshow fashion, to visitors and passers-by. As Heufelder elaborates:

I planned to show pictures of victims on a large screen. Each photograph would be displayed for forty seconds. This means that six people would be seen in one minute, and 360 in a typical thirty-minute visit. By seeing so many faces during a visit people would realise the dimension of the crime. 360 photographs is small compared to the loss (...) The typical war memorial seemed out of date to me. I thought we should use the language of the twentieth century. So I thought that using photographs would be more suitable. The photos exist forever; they are a permanent reminder of the loss.⁹⁵

Heufelder's decision to use photographs of the deceased whilst they were alive draws parallels to Gil Pasternak's study of photographs that supplement Jewish soldier's graves. Writing of one such image, Pasternak argues that its appearance on the tombstone 'evokes a sense of identification between the dead subject and the social role he played at the moment of his death: After all, the pose enacted here is of a proud, obedient soldier, a soldier at the service of the state and its military commanders.'⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Interview with Jochen Heufelder. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.12.2013.

⁹⁶ Gill Pasternak, 'Posthumous Interruptions: The Political Life of Family Photographs in Israeli Military Cemeteries', in *Photography and Culture* 3. Oxford: Berg. 2010, pp. 41-66 (p. 47).

The photographs that Heufelder would have projected onto the memorial would, like the soldier's memorials, re-contextualise the site, representing not just a place of commemoration and death, but also a monument to civic pride and dignity.⁹⁷ The employment of such pictures of the dead whilst living has significance, as the impact of seeing the victims prior to the rise of National Socialism would have the potential to evoke a stark reality of what would soon be lost, taking the viewer to a time before *Kristallnacht* was even conceived of. As Heufelder describes his reasons for projecting photographs of the victims whilst they were alive:

When you think of them as being alive you think of what is lost and that they were murdered. This, for me, leaves a greater impression. Memorials normally consist of names but this, for me, this is not individual enough. Some of the surnames are the same. As we live in a world of pictures it is more important to show photographs of people. It makes the memorial more individual to the victims.⁹⁸

The individualisation that Heufelder had in mind, would, however, have been restricted to the victim's unnamed image being projected onto the memorial site alone, as there were no plans to include any details concerning who each victim was or the circumstances under which they died. As a result, the individualism would also be one of anonymity and de-contextualisation, meaning details concerning the victim would be left for us to speculate based entirely on the picture that would have been seen for a few seconds. This is comparable to the *Hall of Names* at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, where photographs of living victims, taken before the genocide began, are displayed.

⁹⁷ Had Heufelder's design been selected it would, like the use of photographs on the soldier's graves, contravene Jewish protocol, as images of the deceased are not permitted on memorials. Gill Pasternak, 'Posthumous Interruptions: The Political Life of Family Photographs in Israeli Military Cemeteries', p. 48.

⁹⁸ Interview with Jochen Heufelder. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.12.2013.

None of these strategies of remembrance depict the victims as victims, in a state of distress or anything that indicates they will become victims, except, that is, that they are being exhibited in a Holocaust museum, or in Heufelder's design, as the focal point of a memorial. All of these designs are made powerful by their presence of life, that we see the victims alive. The photographs could have a profound affect, as one would see faces of the deceased whilst alive with knowledge of the future that the people we see did not have. Their ignorance would therefore contrast with our knowledge of their fate.⁹⁹

There is, however, a distinction between Heufelder's plan and the *Tower of Faces* at the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)*, as in Washington D.C. the visitor is provided with details concerning the victims, with a text panel detailing the date on which the group in question – all of them from the town of Ejszyszki, Lithuania – were captured by Nazi mobile killing squads, taken to the fields outside the town and shot.¹⁰⁰ Knowing that all the faces we see are from the same town provides a sense of community and family, as we understand the likelihood of such connections between victims. This is arguably more emotive than Heufelder's vast collection of portraits, which span several countries and years, and would not be presented in any particular sequence.¹⁰¹ Yet the single image of one victim at a time, that is so central to Heufelder's concept, might have also caused emotional responses, as each victim would have been afforded their own highly prominent moment of memorialisation, a dedication that means each photographed person is highly significant, and arguably the

⁹⁹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (London: Vintage, 1993), p. 36.

¹⁰⁰ Andrea Liss, *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography and the Holocaust* (St Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 27.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

most prominent sight in the city, before another would take its place. Just as one begins to imagine the person, they are gone.¹⁰²

The envisaged process of seeing a victim for forty seconds, before the face is then replaced by another, then another, inadvertently reflects the Nazi attitude to their victims, as one person is dealt with, then dispensed in a process that seems to have no end. The design's lack of commentary, or information regarding the people being projected, might also connect to the homogenous way in which Nazis considered Jews: dehumanising them, removing their identity, rendering their names irrelevant, which was done quite literally with the tattooed concentration camp numbers. The regular-sized photograph, now made large, would also have projected a presence and an absence, reminding the viewer of what has been lost. The two different ways of showing photographs would also, for some, be a way of verifying the past, as photographs are also a way of signifying absence.¹⁰³

Heufelder's design is much more than this though. It is a proposal about refusal – the refusal to depict the atrocities and the refusal to provide any information concerning the victims. This refusal causes imaginative investment where the spectator would have been encouraged to complete the picture, imagining the personality of the person they see, as one often does, when seeing a portrait, be it photographic or otherwise. In this respect, Heufelder's design mirrors what Marianne Hirsch describes as the 'archival impulse' the obsessive practice of collecting and multiplying and the more

¹⁰² The Holocaust, like many extreme events, is remembered by a small number of iconic images, yet in Heufelder's design no image is allowed to become iconic. Had he proposed to use a small number of photographs this would have been a distinct possibility.

¹⁰³ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, p. 29.

contemporary urge to peer inside the images and imagine more about the particular life stories they indexically call forth.¹⁰⁴

Whereas the *Tower of Faces* assists the viewer with historical information, Heufelder encourages the viewer to project their own sense of who the victims were, including their nationality, ethnicity, and how they died. By drawing upon cultural memory, Heufelder's design could have also encouraged the beholder to imagine what happened to the victims whose otherwise healthy and untroubled faces are being projected onto the memorial site. This would have been likely to include an instinctive categorisation of victims from which their deaths are imagined. This would influence the viewer's imagination as they look at the projected face and consider what happened to that person. The person whose face is projected onto the memorial site would now have been envisioned in these and other circumstances.

In this sense, though one cannot be sure what audiences will concentrate on, the viewer could become the co-author of a memorial that does not show graphic imagery but now becomes 'completed' by remembrance of other forms of representations to picture what Heufelder does not show – the method of death and the kind of suffering that these people would have experienced. Heufelder's proposal incites one to ask how one might respond to the visceral knowledge of genocidal murder that is not seen in the photographs but is known. Empathy is created by inviting audiences to imagine what happened to the people whose photographs are projected across the memorial site. Through Heufelder's design one can understand how images, sourced from the beholder's memory of Holocaust-related representations and cultural artefacts, have the capacity to transform a memorial that does not depict suffering. Empathy, then, is

¹⁰⁴ Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p. 235.

enabled by encouraging the visitor to draw on their imagination rather than by showing them images of distress. It is a potential response to an image devoid of suffering, meaning cultural memory and empathy are intrinsically linked.

2.04 Stelenfeld

What, though, of a design that does not make a visual reference to the Holocaust but instead attempts to convey the genocide through a physical, immersive experience, i.e. Eisenman's winning model – an interactive field of stelae, designed to create an unnerving experience for the visitor, sensations emanating from possible connections between an experience of the memorial and emotions felt by the victims. How can the experience of the victims be expressed without appropriation, without unduly calling attention to ourselves, and without, in turn, having their stories displaced by ours?

The winning design by Eisenman is ambiguous and devoid of narrative, primarily because it is abstraction without contextualization, having no symbolism or references to the Holocaust (Figure 7). It comprises 2,711 grey concrete blocks of varying heights, placed meticulously across the five-acre site at intervals of 95 centimetres, creating pathways for visitors to walk through. Though the channels are narrow and have been arranged in a precise rectilinear grid-like system, people move through the memorial in spontaneous directions, and can easily become lost in its pathways. There is neither a single entry point nor central focus. The tallest blocks are 4.7 metres high, with the other pillars ranging from 0.2 metres to 3.6 metres in height.¹⁰⁵ At the extremities of the memorial, some blocks are flush with the pavement. As one enters the memorial site, and walks from the lower, knee-level slabs deeper into the field, the ground

¹⁰⁵ *Stelenfeld*. www.stiftung-denkmal.de/denkmaeler/denkmal-fuer-die-ermordeten-juden-europas/stelenfeld. Accessed. 27.10.2011.

undulates and the blocks rise, meaning the visitor's sight of the surrounding area – the dome of the Reichstag, for instance – becomes obscured, then lost, as one becomes submerged in the field of grey pillars. The memorial is always accessible to those who want to use it. It is always open and the path of its central channel is lit at night.



(Figure 7). Peter Eisenman's *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*.
Photo: Mark Callaghan (2012).

Whilst the design bears a similarity to Daniel Libeskind's *Garden of Exile* at the *Jewish Museum*, Berlin, Eisenman's memorial creates a greater sense of boundlessness due to its much larger scale and its sense of monumentality. The unpredictable heights of the stelae and the instability of the ground interact to frustrate an understanding of the site. The repetition of what are actually non-identical forms causes a further sense of confusion, as apparent uniformity is broken. The memorial's irregular undulations means there is no certain or changing ground line that can be established; there is no reference point or markers, adding to the confusing appearance of the field. With regard to an experience of the field, a further sense of instability exists, as the memorial

inconsistently surrounds and borders visitors without ever completely confining them. There are places in the memorial where one's sight of Berlin is uninterrupted, and other areas of the memorial where the surrounding area is more difficult to ascertain. It is difficult to determine the physical and representational limits of the memorial. What is being conveyed appears to be beyond representation, outside of conventional depictions and, as a result, our understanding too. Like the event it commemorates the memorial conveys a sense of the limitless through its appearance. It confounds one's attempts to comprehend.

The memorial looks almost primordial, as though the city has grown around it. From distant viewpoints, the site evokes a graveyard for those who were unburied or thrown into unmarked pits; the stelae appear like tombstones or sarcophagi. Due to some stelae being set at different, leaning angles, the field might be suggestive of an old, untended, or even desecrated cemetery. But the memorial is distinctly different to a necropolis due to the lack of names inscribed on the blocks. Moreover, neither the stelae, nor their number of 2,711, are symbolic. In fact, the *Findungskommission* recommended the design to the *Bundestag* because it lacks any symbolism, and were also drawn to the idea of a memorial that would not be cordoned off from German society due to the multiple entry points and the way in which the memorial merges with the adjoining streets, thereby appreciating Eisenman's concept of a memorial that is 'part of everyday German life'.¹⁰⁶

Unlike *Crematoria Tower*, Eisenman's design does not include a conspicuous icon that aids imaginative investment, relating the scheme directly to the Holocaust. Yet the field of concrete stelae is, despite appearances, a memorial that still has the potential to

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Peter Eisenman. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 17.11.2011.

convey the Holocaust, only in a more experiential, perplexing way, when compared to, for instance, the immediacy of *Crematoria Tower*. It is also, most evidently, an abstract memorial, but this is not to say that abstract work refuses signification. In front of abstract works, the lack of a depicted image tends to heighten our awareness of materials, composition, and the process of looking and meaning-making itself.¹⁰⁷ Without an image corresponding to empirical reality, the viewer has to read an abstract memorial with questions that are more centred on the communication of a condition or ambiance. A memorial designed to be devoid of symbolism, or any visual reference to genocide, and with only one title sign on its entire plot, could be perceived as a memorial that ostensibly does not represent the Holocaust. However, the blocks' muted grey colour can have a calming effect, which promotes contemplation, sadness, or at least provide a signal that the site is a place of commemoration.¹⁰⁸ Equally, as some of the blocks were deliberately set to tilt, which created a less uniform appearance of stelae that would have otherwise been orderly rows of pillars, the composition of the memorial is a further, sometimes interpreted aspect, of its design. For Eisenman's design, the process of looking involves consideration of its apparent repetition of forms, which are not actually identical; what the design might be attempting to convey in relation to its subject of commemoration, and whether the visitor contemplates its pervading tone or mood and what this might convey.

¹⁰⁷ Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ As architectural critic, Heinrich Wefing, states, 'many visitors do not see the 2,700 stelae as being a memorial, but instead an abstract work of art. A Memorial Site Survey of 2005 concluded that: 'Too many interviewees emerged confused or merely fascinated by the aesthetic impression of the structure (...) Due to its abstraction, the design is regularly considered an artwork rather than a memorial'. Sharon Chin, *A Self-Serving Admission of Guilt: An Examination of the Intentions and Effects of Germany's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Accessed. 27.11.2012. humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/225-a-self-serving-admission-of-guilt-an-examination-of-the-intentions-and-effects-of-germany-s-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe.

The observer is free to develop their own interpretation. Indeed, Eisenman's memorial has received considerable attention and a corresponding amount of readings. Different interpretations of the design include those by scholars who see the memorial as being a metaphor. This includes Johan Ahr who reads the memorial's abstractness as a metaphor for how people can be 'stripped of identity, homogenised, and thus dehumanised so as to rationalise their murder'.¹⁰⁹ Uri Mayatyaou writes of the *Stelenfeld* as: 'neither self contained nor self-referential, the memorial questions the meaning of death without itself providing an answer. It is acutely aware of both its necessity and its inherent limitations.'¹¹⁰ A model that was, in part, selected for being non-symbolic, has been prone to readings that are, in fact, representational, as the memorial is seen as being a metaphor for the loss of identity and a place that comes to represent a question concerning the significance of death without any attempt to impart answers.

Such responses support James Young's justification for the selection, as the abstract field is open to subjective construal, be those outcomes symbolic readings or not. As an example, the field of grey blocks stimulates acuity in many scholars, who consider its rising and tilting slabs, its grid with no centre, its interactivity, and even how, when one knows it is a Holocaust memorial, one might be bewildered by its connections to the event it commemorates. Whilst abstraction's lack of direct representation can result in the specificity of a historical event not being recognised, anodyne, or misunderstood, the noted absence of symbolism can also signal to viewers that something has been actively withheld. One might even say that the absence of an actual statement or direct meaning adds to the memorial's power. Either way, the appearance of the design has been understood variably, including a reading by architecture critic for the *New York*

¹⁰⁹ Johan Ahr, 'Memory and Mourning in Berlin: On Peter Eisenman's Holocaust-Mahnmal', in *Modern Judaism* (2008) 28 (3), pp. 283-305 (p. 297).

¹¹⁰ Uri Jacob Mayatyaou, *Memory, Space, Politics: Public Memorials and the Problem of Political Judgment* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), p. 181.

Times, Nicolai Ouroussoff, as ‘a memorial about moral uncertainty’, described as embodying ‘the delicate, almost imperceptible line that separates good and evil, life and death, guilt and innocence’;¹¹¹ by Johan Schlor as looking like an ‘orderly system that has lost its connections with human reason’;¹¹² by Eisenman himself, as ‘standing for reason gone mad’;¹¹³ and by Mark Godfrey, who argues that the blocks’ lack of inscriptions signify a ‘reflection on the nature of death in the Final Solution.’¹¹⁴ These, and other scholars read the memorial in differing ways, that seem, in the readings of Schlor and Eisenman, to relate the field to being a symbol of instability and the death of logic – a place where sanity is lost, where the appearance of the field defies order and looks to be chaotic. My intention is, however, to consider the design in relation to its possible distressing effects on the visitor, by concentrating on the visceral, somatic experience of being within the field of pillars rather than looking onto them.

Eisenman’s supporting theory for the Berlin memorial site was key in persuading the *Findungskommission* to recommend the model as a potential solution to the protracted debate and an outcome of the revived competition.¹¹⁵ According to Eisenman, the memorial is not just an impressive field of rising and tilting blocks but also an invitation to experience the Holocaust as a secondary witness. His design is more concerned with an immersive experience than a message or conventional story-telling account. Though Eisenman’s intentions are not necessarily mirrored one-to-one in the structure itself, he stresses the importance of experiencing the design. As Eisenman states:

¹¹¹ Nicolai Ouroussoff, *A Forest of Pillars, Recalling the Unimaginable*. New York Times. 5.9. 2005. www.nytimes.com/2005/05/09/arts/design/a-forest-of-pillars-recalling-the-unimaginable.html Accessed 9.10.2013.

¹¹² Joachim Schlor, *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* (Berlin: Prestel Verlag, 2009), p. 19.

¹¹³ Hanno Rauterberg, *Holocaust Memorial Berlin: Eisenman Architects* (Baden: Lars Mills Publishers, 2005), p. 19.

¹¹⁴ Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust*, p. 247.

¹¹⁵ Interview with James Young. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.4 2011.

I wanted visitors to experience ‘the moment’ of being absorbed by these surroundings whilst thinking of the past. I wanted to introduce a sense of fear to the site (...) The design has several calculations to create certain effects, all to create the feeling of an unnatural and tight space.¹⁰⁶

This invites consideration of what kind of empathy is possible during an experience of this design. Could this design encourage a form of secondary witnessing that LaCapra warns against – one that leads to a false affinity with the victim,¹⁰⁷ and as Coplan argues, self-orientated perspective-taking that does not result in true empathy and is instead a ‘pseudo empathy’?¹⁰⁸

As Eisenman explains:

I wanted to create an out of body experience, rather than say the experience you would have at Auschwitz because after going to a site like that you can place it in a separate part of your mind – it’s outside of normality. So I wanted a physical experience in the present tense because it would be so different to what one would have elsewhere. I wanted them to experience ‘the moment’ of being absorbed by these surroundings whilst thinking of the past. I wanted to introduce a sense of fear to the site.¹⁰⁹

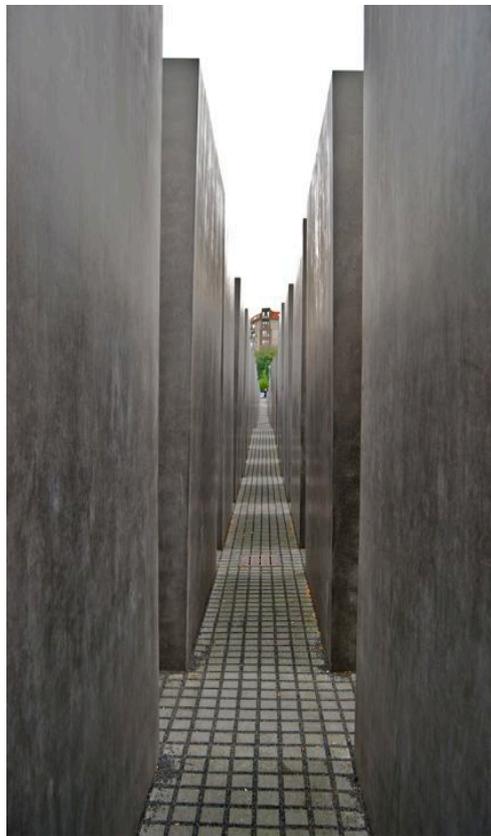
¹⁰⁶ Interview with Peter Eisenman. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 17.11.2011.

¹⁰⁷ Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, p. 183.

¹⁰⁸ Amy Coplan, ‘Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects’, p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Peter Eisenman. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 17.11.2011.

As the site provides a unique encounter with various stimuli, I will examine its potential for creating an immersive experience, in terms of how one can be absorbed by the memorial whilst being within its channels. If Eisenman's memorial succeeds with his plan to cause fear in the beholder, this response would preclude empathy, as fear for oneself negates the position of the other. As the memorial is designed to promote feelings of insecurity for visitors, caused by constraints on the body and the gradual immersion into a site that for some, will be incomprehensible (Figure 8), it encourages a self-orientated response.



(Figure 8) *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Detail.
Photo: Mark Callaghan (2012).

In its first incarnation, the experiential design included calculations that would have been far more effective in achieving Eisenman's 'sense of fear'. In November 1997, Eisenman and then co-designer Richard Serra proposed a distance of just 65cm

between the pillars rather than the present 95cm, creating an even more restricted space than visitors experience today. The design, at this initial stage of the revived competition, had 4,000 stelae instead of the eventual 2,711, thus proposing a more dense field, and as a result, an overawing experience for the visitor as they walk through the channels – an effect increased in the original model by the stelae, which would all be an imposing 4.7 metres in height rather than the assortment of shorter blocks that one encounters in Berlin today (though, in the final version, some pillars were cast according to the original specifications). Such computations were all part of Eisenman’s and Serra’s notion of relating the memorial to an experience of anxiety, and the aim of situating visitors in an ‘unnatural and tight space’ that might result in claustrophobia, or at least a sense of unease. In response to Eisenman’s and Serra’s wish to create these sensations for visitors, the *Findungskommission* accepted the initial plan but only on the proviso that the site be made *less* intimidating and more accessible.¹¹⁰ This means that Eisenman’s original model was also, in effect, an unbuilt proposal. Some effects were maintained though, including the height of many blocks, and the undulating ground designed to amplify people’s footsteps, combining to engender what Eisenman describes as: ‘An uncomfortable space where the sound of footsteps echo like Jackboots’, amplified by the use of a specific type of stone, selected in order to create this reverberation.¹¹¹ Eisenman hoped to build a site that would simulate sensations associated with the Holocaust, such as the notion of disorientation amongst the stupefying blocks. From this one can see a different kind of remembrance strategy: one that is focused on sensations that might, in some way, cause the viewer to consider the victim’s experience.

¹¹⁰ With encouragement from Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Eisenman agreed to alter his design to make it a less intimidating and more contemplative site. As a result of this, Richard Serra withdrew from the project, feeling that the changes meant that the design was no longer his. Interview with Peter Eisenman. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 17.11.2011.

¹¹¹ Interview with Peter Eisenman. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 17.11.2011.

An experience of such multiple stimuli has the potential to evoke a sense of foreboding. If this is to bear some relation to the Holocaust, though, and perhaps represent the notion of a memorial as a simulacrum of Holocaust experiences, it brings into focus the problem of seeking viscerally the sensation of horror, which could easily trivialise those horrific events, as even the most uncomfortable of spaces would be incommensurate to the suffering experienced by the victims. Nevertheless, despite the aforementioned changes to the design, a sense of bewilderment is still possible, as the memorial remains recondite and polysemic, and visitors can still experience the field somatically whilst negotiating the channels of blocks. Eisenman's incorporation of the 'Jackboot' acoustic is testament to this, though this particular effect is difficult to discern at the memorial site. The narrow channels are more effective though, at least in terms of their combined potential to cause confusion, as one can still, despite all the modifications to the original blueprint, become lost in the network of paths, and one can be surprised to find that familiar Berlin landmarks are suddenly out of sight whilst walking on a ground that is, unlike the spaces outside the memorial, irregular, and still a further reminder that this is not a typical pedestrian area.

The memorial site takes visitors away from 'normal' daily life into a place where visitors might feel disorientated, and as a result, uncomfortable and confused.¹¹² The effects that Eisenman envisaged were designed to create fear, and though they might have been compromised, some of those tensions remain. In this sense, the Holocaust has been brought into the present; it is represented, not mimetically but instead, in an experiential, corporeal, potentially visceral way. *The Holocaust Tower at the Jewish Museum*, Berlin, is a similar experiential memorial space pointing to Jewish desolation

¹¹² It is not uncommon, however, to observe visitors responding to the maze in the more conventional sense of trying to find their way out and taking pleasure from being lost.

that could never be a direct experience of it, and could therefore, like Eisenman's design, be read metaphorically.¹¹³ It is a space of near complete darkness were it not for the shaft of light from the top of a 24 metre silo, along with the cold temperatures experienced in the tower, and the occasional sound of traffic that can be heard, but never seen, creates an eerie experience. Though it is rare to experience this space without other visitors being present, there is potential to sense feelings of isolation and solemnity due to the lack of light and separation from the outside world.¹¹⁴

In such designs, one is not being asked to understand what it was like to be a person in this situation because the historic conditions could never be replicated by way of the experiential. Given the numerous ways the appearance of the design has been interpreted, it is possible that the experience, despite being one that encourages personal fear, could also be interpreted as an experience that is an attempt to make reference to the plight of Jews: their isolation, their uncertainty, their disorientation. I would therefore argue that the innovations of these designs go much further than other abstract models. Eisenman's design encourages a self-orientated response through the immersive experience, though by immersing spectators in the memorial landscape it also offers a possibility for visitors to experience a connection between an aberrant experience in the present that is a *reference* to the suffering of others – but nothing more.

¹¹³ www.jmberlin.de/en/libeskind-building Accessed 20.10.2013.

¹¹⁴ Peter Chametzky, 'Not what we expected: the Jewish Museum Berlin in practice', in *Museum and Society*, Nov. 2008. 6 (3). Southern Illinois University. Hilde S. Hein also writes of the experiential museum in *Public Art: Thinking Museums Differently*, in the chapter titled 'The Experiential Museum' (Rowman Altamira, 2006), p. 230.

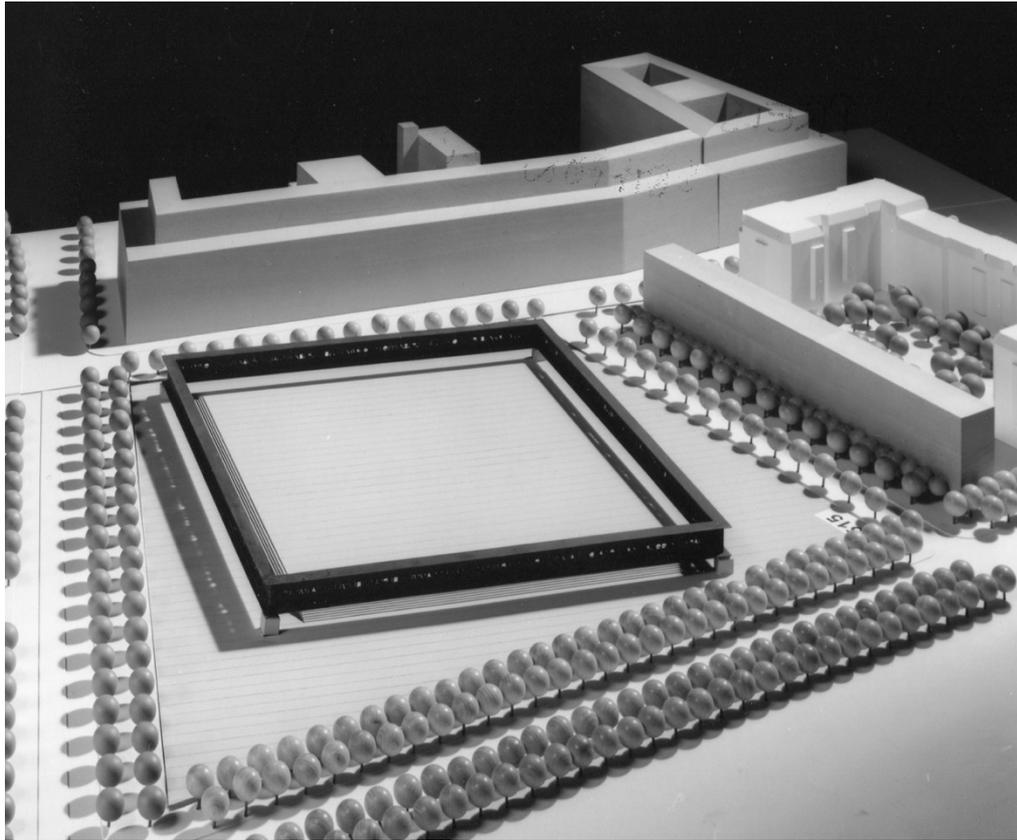
2.05 Simon Ungers' abstract design

As a consequence of this abstraction that does not include contextualization pointing to the event being commemorated, the viewer is provided with complete autonomy, encouraged to interpret the field of pillars as they wish. This becomes evident if one considers the abstract design by Simon Ungers, which was announced as the joint winner of the first competition in 1995.¹¹⁵ Ungers' proposal (Figure 9) would have seen four 85-foot I-beams forming an abstract steel sculpture, each perforated with several concentration camp epithets, comprising thirty names in total for this design.¹¹⁶

Ungers' design is a reminder of the scale of the genocide due to the referencing of so many concentration camp names, and as such, it might have evoked in some viewers the statistical nature of the Holocaust. With no mimetic representation being a feature of this design, the number of murders could also have been evoked by the name of 'Auschwitz' alone, given that this is widely known to many as the camp with the highest death toll.

¹¹⁵ Ungers' design was de-selected due to surpassing budgetary constraints, and had been criticized for being too large, at least horizontally. Interview with Sophia Ungers. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 8.12.2012.

¹¹⁶ Ungers consulted with members of the Jewish Community regarding the concentration camp names that should be included in his design. Interview with Sophia Ungers. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 8.12.2012.



(Figure 9) Simon Ungers' submission for the 1994 competition.
Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Ungers' submission would encourage multiple interpretations, guided by its references to the concentration camps, which would have been rendered legible only when the visitor is looking at the I-beams from within the design. This arrangement of gargantuan I-beams would have caused the memorial to be experiential due to the viewer being suddenly within its boundaries, enveloped by the names of concentration camps, which would have casted shadows on spectators, caused by natural light filtering through the enormous letters. Part of a concentration camp name would therefore be projected across the body of some visitors.

The design would also be a metaphor. As the official submission details:

Once inside the massive walled-in square of I-beams the spectator is surrounded by the awesome weight of history. Memory imprisons, like the barbed wire and electric fences that encircled the camps (...) the space is lit by the entries and the names of the concentration and extermination camps, which burn into the darkness of the space as they should burn in our conscience. This is a dark space for the darkest period in German history. History is conceived as a black void in between the “glossy” new centres of government and commerce.¹¹⁷

The symbolism is there to be discovered, though it could be argued that any Holocaust memorial would be seen as a metaphor for Germany’s darkest period of history and/or a black void surrounded by post-modern Berlin. The concentration camp names evoke association in those who know about the infamous place names that would have surrounded them in this design. Despite there being no depictions of trauma these names could have conjured images connected with the sites in question, or images associated with all concentration camps. Though the design is abstract, Ungers’ submission demonstrates significant differences within the same genus as Eisenman’s model. In this sense, Eisenman’s proposal is abstraction without contextualization, devoid of references, save for a relatively small title sign that often goes unnoticed, whilst Ungers’ submission is less committed to this form of abstraction, as it includes names to aid the viewer’s thinking, meaning the observer is provided with a starting point – the concentration camp names – that encourage recall of the Holocaust. As Ungers explains:

¹¹⁷ From Simon Ungers’ submission. Provided in English by Sophia Ungers. 8.12.2012.

The engraved names should be a big enough reminder and let every person feel their own personal emotions connected to these names (...)

I continue to believe that the integration of names of the camps is indispensable. Contrary to the instability of purely metaphorical signs, the names of the camps are immutable; they are an uncompromising reminder of an incomprehensible horror that defies representation.¹¹⁸

Ungers' point concerning personal emotions leads to the question of what these personal emotions could be and from where they would emanate. Whilst the viewer's attention would initially be focused on the innovation of Ungers' design, thoughts concerning the meaning of the perforated names would be founded on the beholder's memory of the Holocaust and what, for instance, 'Sobibor' would mean to them. Standing within this abstract memorial, confronted with thirty names of concentration camps, the viewer might have recalled the images and texts that one is so familiar with through cultural memory, though it is important to acknowledge that visitors would have different levels of familiarity. As Young writes with regard to abstraction: 'In its hermetic and personal vision, abstraction encourages private visions in viewers.'¹¹⁹

Semi-finalist of the 1997 competition, Gesine Weinmiller, inadvertently emphasises the predicament for abstract artists. She acknowledges the impossibility of representation whilst seeming to support an excavation of cultural memory that summons a catalogue of non-abstract imagery, and mimetic conveyances that are more specific to the historic event:

¹¹⁸ From Simon Ungers' submission. Provided in English by Sophia Ungers. 8.12.2012.

¹¹⁹ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials & Meaning*, (Newhaven, London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 10.

The horrors of the Holocaust are impossible to represent in a monument. The point is to create a quiet space in which every visitor, whether perpetrator or victim of persecution, can produce his associations and images, and thus finds his own commemoration.¹²⁰

Though not commenting on Ungers' proposal, Weinmiller substantiates the argument that visitors will be prompted to conjure images associated with the Holocaust even when they are not confronted with memorials that include mimesis.

Unlike *Crematoria Tower*, where empathy for victims would have been founded on the evocative sight of an apparently working incinerator, Ungers' design has association with the concentration camps by way of their names rather than iconic structures. Ungers' design is more open to recalling *any* image associated with the concentration camps rather than focusing on, for instance, the industrialised process of murder and the disposal of bodies. Without the immediacy of a concentration camp icon, some visitors might also have responded to this design by interpreting its features in relation to the historical event of the Holocaust. Personal metaphors and interpretations could, for instance, centre on the memorial's overwhelming or over-bearing size, and how natural light contradictorily illuminates Germany's most difficult history.

Along with considering the features of the design, other visitors would have been stimulated to recall images associated with the concentration camps. From the canon of images drawn from cultural memory, Ungers' design would therefore have been a memorial with the capacity to cause other-orientated empathy for victims, where the

¹²⁰ Gesine Weinmiller. Submission for the 1997 Competition. 4.1997. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' - a documentation)*, p. 641.

visitor's recall of canonized representations leads to an evocation of the victim from the other's perspective.

2.06 Victims' final letters exhibited in The Room of Dimensions

The underground Information Centre beneath Eisenman's field of stelae provides a more direct confrontation with stories of deportation and annihilation, and thus, a significant contrast between a lack of representation on the surface of the memorial site and the narrative contextualisation beneath it. For those who enter the permanent exhibition situated beneath Eisenman's memorial, a deceptively powerful experience is likely to occur, specifically in the first of four themed *Rooms*, *The Room of Dimensions*. I will concentrate on this dimly-lit exhibition space, as it displays the final letters and diary entries of several lives cut short, whose words serve to represent an insight into individual suffering (Figure 10). This part of the memorial site offers an insight into the distress of victims through a different medium to memorial designs, but one that, like the unbuilt proposals, does not depict images of violence and death. How these exhibits relate to issues concerning empathy is also examined here.

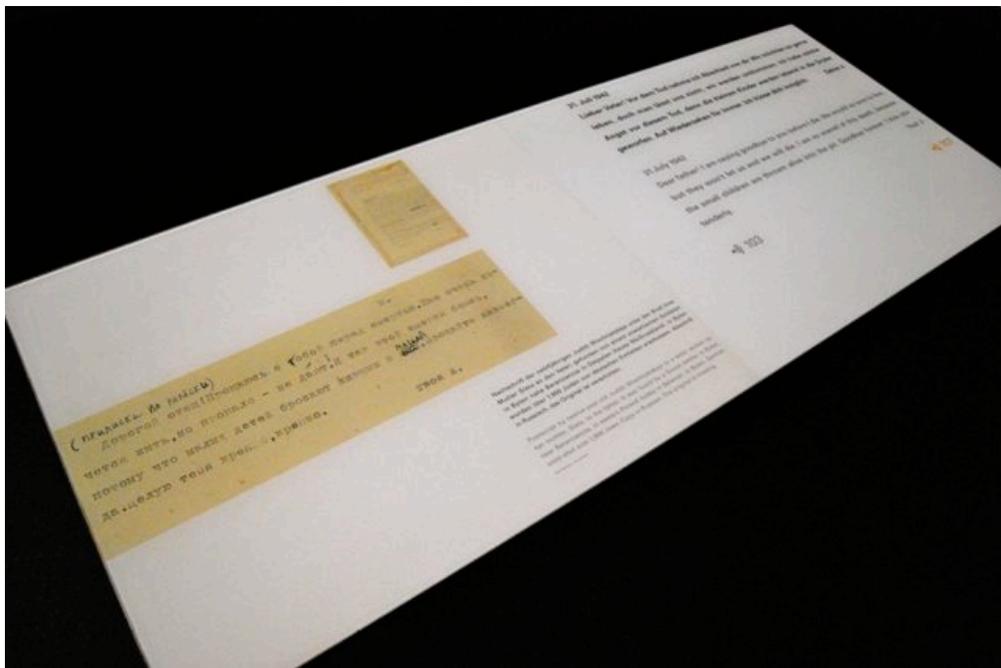


(Figure 10) *The Room of Dimensions*. Photo: Mark Callaghan (2012).

The Room of Dimensions displays extracts from hastily written postcards, letters, and diaries, which are arranged in fifteen panels on the floor; some were composed in concentration camps, one was written on toilet paper. The letters and notes were written by parents to their children, or in some cases, by children to their parents. Unlike the previously discussed memorial designs, the letters are not replicas, nor are they imagined, though they do become part of the collective memory once they enter the realm of the museum space.¹²¹ What viewers see, however, are not the actual letters but rather facsimiles of the originals. Adjacent to all letters are magnified details pulled from each document, which are also copied in line with the coloured originals. As none

¹²¹ As Ann Rigney states: ‘For memory to be ‘collective’ it must involve not only recollections that are held in common, but reflections that are also self-reflexively shared as part of a common knowledge about the past. And memory can only become collective in this specific sense when different acts of communication and representation using whatever tools are available had come into play so as to create a common pool of stories and figures of memory to which reference can be made’. Citing the example of the Second World War, Rigney argues that the collective memory of this era means referring to a set of representations with which particular groups are familiar thanks to media of all sorts; ‘these provide common points of reference within a community’. The greater the scale of the communities involved, the greater is their reliance on media technologies to produce, store, and circulate communal stories. Ann Rigney, ‘Cultural Memory Studies: Mediation, Narrative, Aesthetic’, in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Ana Lisa Tota, Trevor Hagen (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 59-69 (p. 65).

of the letters are in English (some are not written in German either) they are translated into German and English, with those words appearing in black print alongside the copied handwritten originals and their extracts (Figure 11). The *re*-presented letters are spaced across the room and the viewer moves from each illuminated letter to the next. This includes brief accounts, provided by the Information Centre, detailing what is believed to have happened to the parent and child after the letter was written and received, though in some cases this is unknown.



(Figure 11) One of the copied letters in the *Room of Dimensions*.
Photo: Mark Callaghan (2012)

The backlit displays provoked objections, primarily from The Speaker of the Advisory Council, Wolfgang Benz, who criticised the arrangement of floor panels for lowering the visitor's head posture, thus resulting in a forced gesture of humility toward the victims.¹²² Whilst one's attention might be drawn to the stela-shaped recesses above

¹²² Ulrich Baumann, 'Sinn aus der Tiefe Der Ort der Information am Holocaustdenkmal in Berlin – Konzepte und Kontroversen' ('Sense out of the depths. "The "Place of Information" at the Holocaust

each letter, the visitor has to look downwards to read each copied artefact and the additional details about the victim's fate as provided by the Information Centre. The letters profoundly express torment and suffering, conveying what victims felt, rather than what happened to them. As Brigitte Sion writes:

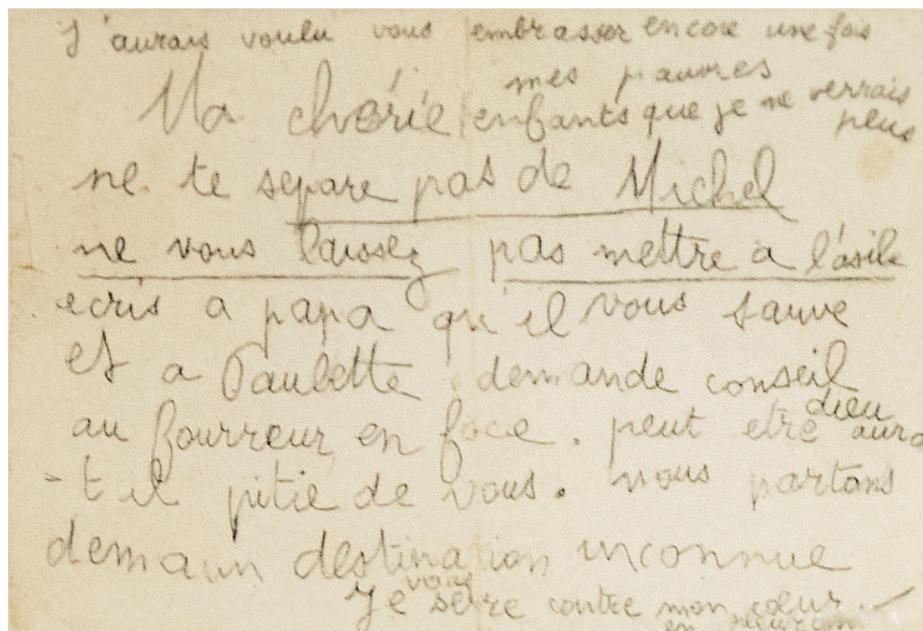
In the confined underground space, discomfort is visible; some visitors express their distress through bodily reactions: they cry, cling to each other, and pause in silence, it is perhaps the part of the memorial in which the corporeal experiences cause the visitor to lose their innocence about the reality of the Holocaust.¹²³

A sense of the 'real', of materiality, is reinforced by noticing the scribbles and marks on the letters, where the writer has quickly amended their message, or in other cases, where the letter is not typed but seemingly written with all the urgency expressed in the message itself (Figure 12). The marks, tears and scrawling that obscure typed words, demonstrate the letters' own historical journey; damaged, but now reproduced in a museum. Though they are facsimiles, these original markings help to make the copies appear more real, more compelling, as one observes sudden changes, corrections, and a sense of exigency. The facsimiles are larger than the originals and by being backlit the changes and corrections made by the writer are easier to discern. Figure 12 is an enlarged copy of a postcard, which is displayed next to the translated text, produced by the Information Centre in German and English (Figure 13). Adjacent to this, the Information Centre provides further, brief textual details concerning the

Memorial in Berlin - Concepts and Controversies') in *Die Verfolgung der Juden während der NS-Zeit Stand und Perspektiven der Dokumentation, der Vermittlung und der Erinnerung (The persecution of the Jews during the Nazi era Status and prospects of documentation, brokering and memory)*. Hessian State Archive Marburg in conjunction with the Commission for the History of Jews in Hesse Writings of the Hessian State Archive Marburg, Volume 24. 2008, p. 25.

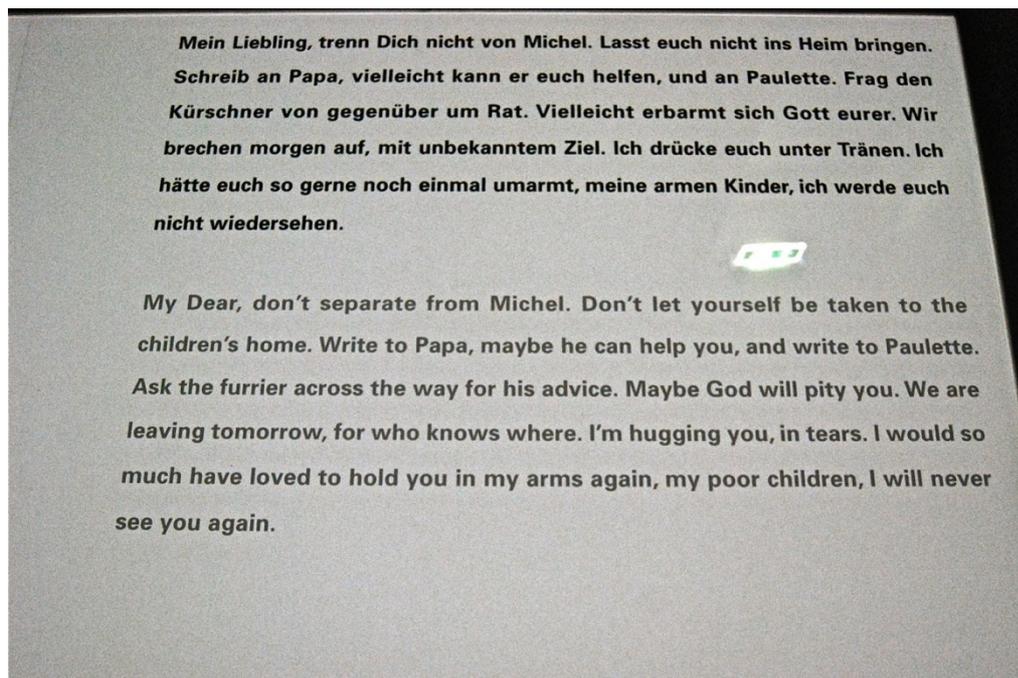
¹²³ Brigitte Sion, 'Affective Memory, Ineffective Functionality: Experiencing Berlin's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', in *Memorialisation in Germany since 1945*, ed. by Bill Niven, and Chloe Paver (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 243-253 (p. 246).

writer of the postcard, who the message was intended for, and their respective fates. One is informed that the writer was called Suzanne Burinovici, a Romanian Jew living in Paris with her mother until they were both arrested during a police raid in September 1942 from where they were taken to the transit camp, Drancy. The visitor is also informed that the postcard was written to Suzanne's eldest daughter, Claudine, on 26 September 1942, a day before Suzanne was deported with her mother to Auschwitz. The Information Centre concludes its brief account of this family's trauma by stating that Suzanne and her mother were gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau immediately after their arrival, that Suzanne threw the postcard from the train that deported them from Drancy, that the message subsequently did not reach Claudine and that Claudine's fate is unknown.



(Figure 12) The displayed, enlarged copy of Suzanne Burinovici's postcard to her daughter Claudine. *Room of Dimensions*. Photo: Mark Callaghan (2012).

The materiality of the copied original note, postcard or letter is important, and the words themselves convey emotions, which are more significant, evidenced by the translated Information Centre text that does not, I would argue, lose any of its poignancy through this mediation. What the viewer reads are the urgent words of someone in distress, so the viewer is encouraged to experience, on some level, what it was like for the persecuted to write to their loved ones knowing, as some letters acknowledge, that they will never see them again. With this unbearable fact comes the knowledge, in both the writer and today's reader, that the author will not survive and will soon be murdered. But what kind of 'reality' is the spectator being presented with in *The Room of Dimensions*? What kind of emotional response is being elicited, and what kind of empathy do these exhibits encourage?



(Figure 13) The Information Centre's typed translation of Suzanne Burinovici's postcard to her daughter Claudine. *Room of Dimensions*. Photo: Mark Callaghan (2012).

Other victims wrote final letters, sometimes to friends, sometimes to unidentified recipients, but the Information Centre concentrates on correspondence between parent and child knowing that these relationships will be the most emotive and that many visitors will be able to relate more strongly to them because they are parents or children themselves. One can, of course, not be certain that these responses are exclusive to empathetic feelings or that those who cry and support each other are feeling empathetic. Equally, the despair being expressed by the writer of each letter affects many visitors who might not be parents and have no connection to the victim beyond fundamental humanity. Unlike Heufelder's design, one is taken to a specific moment in time, the minutes of alarm and terror when the postcard was written. Spectators do not have to imagine, inspired through sources of Holocaust-related media, what is happening to Suzanne; she is telling us.

A comparison to the identity cards issued to visitors at the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C. (USHMM)*, highlights different approaches to written accounts concerning victims' histories that illustrate further understandings of endeavours to affect visitors empathetically. At the *USHMM* the visitor enters the museum and chooses from piles of cards that are placed in two boxes, marked solely by gender. All identity cards impart, through text, the fundamental details of a victim's life, including their circumstances and ultimately their death during the Holocaust. The visitor therefore journeys through the museum with this eerie conflation of passport and possible death sentence in hand.¹²⁵ As they pass through the exhibition, they are encouraged to refer to their four-page-identity card to understand the conditions under which the victim was living, and in the end, the circumstances under which they died. In this first example we read the museum's description of what happened to the victim.

¹²⁵ Andrea Liss, *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography and the Holocaust*, p. 14.

1940–44: Kalman escaped with 16 others from the Glogow labor camp, where they had been slave laborers building roads for the Germans. Kalman returned to Kupno. There, he hid in a barn and ventured out each week to get food from a peasant he knew in the village. One night, he was visited by two Jewish friends who had escaped from the Kolbuszowa labor camp and were hiding in the forest. Kalman decided to join them. He spent several months hiding in the forest, and made regular trips into his village for food.

On a trip into Kupno, Kalman was ambushed by some Poles – his former neighbors. A friend from the forest found him with a pitchfork in his chest. Kalman died the next day.¹²⁶

By contrast, in this example we read the first-person testimony of a victim who survived:

1933–39: On November 10, 1938, (Kristallnacht, ‘Night of Broken Glass’) hoodlums threw rocks and broke all the windows of our home. That same day police arrested my father and grandfather. My mother, my grandmother, and I managed to hide in a shed until it was quiet. When we came out, the town’s Jewish men had been taken to the Dachau concentration camp. My father and grandfather were allowed to return home a few weeks later, but by May my grandfather died of a heart attack.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Museum Identity Cards for the Permanent Exhibition. *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, Washington D.C. www.ushmm.org/remember/id-cards Accessed 19.9.2014.

¹²⁷ Museum Identity Cards for the Permanent Exhibition. *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, Washington D.C. www.ushmm.org/remember/id-cards Accessed 19.9.2014.

The key difference between the letters in *The Room of Dimensions* and the information relating to the deceased whose identity card the visitor holds in the *USHMM*, is that one ‘hears’ from the victim by reading the highly emotional final correspondence between family members, whereas in the *USHMM*, we do not hear the voice of the deceased but are instead informed in a somewhat matter-of-fact way, as to what experiences the victim encountered. In the *USHMM* the account of the victim who ultimately survived is not only less emotional when compared to first-person written accounts exhibited in *The Room of Dimensions*, but is also one that is not communicating with another victim or loved one. This means that the text on the identity card is far less intense than the letters in the Information Centre, where the words are emotionally transformative for the visitor because they are presented with the victim’s experience, through the victim’s poignant words, encouraging the reader to become closer to the victim’s plight, and thereby feel a sense of their distress.

In Berlin, the details, and the picture that one, as a secondary witnesses, might imagine, is made more stark by knowing that the extract comes from a historical document – a letter, postcard or note. The viewer also reads accounts which are written in the present tense, as though these events could be happening now, thereby adding further intensity to the experience of reading them. This is a notable contrast to the identity cards at the *USHMM*, which are written in the past tense, thereby preventing the sense that events are happening in the here and now. This is not to say that the identity cards are unable to cause emotional responses. Empathising with the victim whose supposed identity card one carries is attempted through an amalgamation of having some kind of bond with the victim caused by having a physical connection through holding their identity, whilst also having an understanding of that person’s fate.

Though one might feel like a voyeur reading private correspondence, the letters have the capacity to induce empathetic responses. They might, in some viewers, induce self-orientated perspective-taking because the visitor will be able to imagine what it would be like to write to a loved one knowing one would never see them again, writing the final, unbearable sentence, which acknowledges no hope of survival. This self-orientated perspective-taking is connected to Jill Bennett's concept of 'idiopathic empathy' where empathy is 'dependent on maintaining a sense of the victims as being sufficiently like us in order to imagine ourselves in their place.'¹²⁸ The main consequence of not sensing that victims are sufficiently 'like us' would be that those victims are ignored. This is complicated by Bennett's acknowledgment that establishing who is 'like us' has slippery boundaries. In the example of the World Trade Centre attacks, of which Bennett writes, there is no single image, identity, or lifestyle associated with the victims, despite the fact that the World Trade Center conjures up the figure of the corporate trader.¹²⁹ This is further supported by Carolyn Dean, who, also in reference to the trauma of 9/11, points out that victims of the World Trade Centre attacks were a racially and ethnically diverse group, emanating from all strata of society, so only empathizing with victims who are 'sufficiently like us' is highly problematic.¹³⁰

The idea of experiencing the 'wrong' sort of compassion has further historical roots, presuming that all natural human empathy has socio-historical limits determined by the extent to which people perceive likeness (or not) to others. Thus geographical, ethnic, and social distance may preclude or distort compassion. Distance extends across space

¹²⁸ Jill Bennett, 'The Limits of Empathy and the Global Politics of Belonging', in *Trauma at Home: After 9/11*, ed. by Judith Greenberg (Bison: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), pp. 95-134 (p. 134).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Carolyn J. Dean, *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust*, p. 3.

and between cultures, so that when there are calamities in Japan, says Jean-Jacques Rousseau, he cannot get very worked up about them.¹³¹ Whilst geographic and ethnic similarities or differences might have a bearing on empathy, one might also be more empathetic with someone of a similar age, sex, and lifestyle, despite being otherwise culturally different and geographically remote. This is not to discount Bennett's views, particularly as reading the letters and notes allows the onlooker to reach a more profound understanding of the writer's experience. Parents should, for instance, be able to identify with the anguish of the letter writers who still have, at the forefront of their mind, the safety of their children, giving their child instruction on what to do and who to avoid.

Lisa Cartwright uses the term 'empathic identification' to distinguish her concept of empathy from Heinz Kohut's suggestion that one might be able to think and feel oneself into the life of another.¹³² For Cartwright, and indeed LaCapra, Kohut's notion is problematic, as the act of projecting oneself into the life of a primary witness reduces the importance of the singularity of the traumatic experience:

I argue that in empathy there is a force in that moment in which I feel that I know how you feel, a welling up and bursting force of emotion about the object of regard. But in my empathy with you, in thinking I know how you feel, I do not need to know about you or identify with you. Rather, in empathy, my knowledge comes from the force of the object – “you”, the image, the representation, and my reciprocal sense that I recognize the feeling I perceive in your expression.¹³²

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹³² Lisa Cartwright, *Moral Spectatorship: Technologies of Voice and Affect in PostWar Representation of the Child*, p. 1.

¹³² *Ibid.*

Empathy with the author of the letters displayed in *The Room of Dimensions* is not, then, contingent on identification with the writers. The identifiable emotions, instinctively and immediately observable in the letters, means that self-orientated perspective-taking, despite its connections to idiopathic empathy, is a form of empathy that can emanate through an encounter with human emotion, independent of historical context. This means that for visitors who only experience self-orientated perspective-taking, empathy with the victims will not be forthcoming, as they imagine themselves in the victim's situation rather than what it was like for the victims to experience what they write of. The highly emotive letters could also cause empathic over-arousal, an empathic distress described by Hoffman as, 'a culmination effect that may diminish to the point of the person becoming indifferent to the victim's suffering.'¹³³ This means that for some readers such emotive mnemonics might not cause empathic responses but rather feelings that inadvertently discard the victim's pain.

More positively, other-orientated empathy is also a possibility when people read the letters, notes and postcards. As *The Room of Dimensions* provides information, adjacent to the letters, that details what happened to each writer, the profoundly emotive exhibits can evoke iconic images that add to what is not always described. If empathy is felt it will therefore be on the basis of images and stories supplied by popular culture and canonized in commemorative discourses. This other-orientated empathy would have the capacity to cause the words of despair to be even more emotive, as the reader imagines what the victims will go on to endure, imagining what it was like for them in circumstances that are briefly outlined by the Information Centre, such as 'deportation to Auschwitz' and 'hundreds were shot as they tried to flee'. If visitors are willing and able to make this emotional and imaginative investment, what

¹³³ Martin Hoffman, *Empathy and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 205-206.

is not written of by the victim, and what is outlined but not actually described by the Information Centre, is therefore imagined, drawn from cultural memory.

This chapter has argued that whilst none of the case studies use explicit images of suffering, they testify as to how memorials can be highly emotive and emotionally transformative without direct recourse to this kind of representation. The image of suffering is not required in order to encourage empathy. Though the featured designs of this chapter do not depict the terror experienced by the murdered, the image of suffering is often present, either provoked through the use of a replica icon associated with the concentration camps – *Crematoria Tower* – or, in the design by Heufelder, where photographs of victims, taken before the Holocaust began, would have been projected over the memorial site, inviting the viewer to consider, amongst many things, how the person they see was murdered. Though these designs could not be more different to each other, visitors would have been encouraged to picture the circumstances that are not depicted or described. Therefore, the case studies examined in this chapter have been analysed in terms of their potential to elicit empathic responses triggered by representations drawn from cultural memory.

Paying close attention to different levels of empathy, this chapter has also, through examining a number of unbuilt proposals, shown how selected designs invite certain responses. I have posited that cultural memory – the recalls of canonized representations – can transform the beholder's experience from one of self-orientated perspective-taking to other-orientated empathy. Though my research concentrates on rejected designs for the Berlin competition, I have also related these areas of discussion to Eisenman's memorial design. By analyzing the winning design through concepts of empathy, this chapter has demonstrated that Eisenman's field of blocks does not

correspond to eliciting the fear of victims but instead has the potential to cause anxiety for oneself, resulting from its experiential mode, its narrow channels that might provoke a sense of unease. In this example, though, self-oriented perspective-taking inadvertently guards against compromising the subject position of the other, because the sense of fear that one might experience is a personal fear rather than one relating to the plight of victims. This is not an outcome in other designs where the experience of the primary witness is not always discouraged from victimhood by proxy.

The chosen design does not encourage empathy for victims, whereas other proposals, despite appearing to be contentious, would have the potential to evoke empathy for those who suffered and died. Images of suffering are not shown in the unbuilt proposals of this chapter, but they are potentially present through the viewer's memory of canonized representations of the Holocaust. Through these designs, the debate concerning the ethics of representation now includes the question of whether the memorial evokes canonized representations of the kind that Adorno and other scholars would be concerned with, or conversely, other theorists would support. Though empathic over-arousal remains a factor, for the Adorno-related position, possible objections to memorials that would evoke representations of suffering that could cause responses of questionable stimulation, would have to take into account the prospect of these same designs and that they could also prompt empathetic responses concerning victims. As a result, a new conundrum becomes part of this discourse.

Designs that do not elicit empathy still have effects, which can cause discomfort through their different forms of commemoration. The use of objects associated with the concentration camps relates to the possibility of responses where, in the example of *Ferris Wheel*, distortion of the replica artefact creates a new kind of uncanny

Holocaust effect. Like *Crematoria Tower*, *Ferris Wheel* would employ a concentration camp icon, but the use of such a specific historical object relates to a very different emotional response. *Ferris Wheel* would have brought an innovative, incomparable memorial to central Berlin, a design that would be distressing to some viewers due to this uncanny effect. This use of an icon associated with the concentration camps would therefore relate to two aspects of Holocaust history: the systematic murder of Jews and the simultaneous detachment from these events by many Germans.

As seen in the previous chapter, *Who is the memorial for?*, the lack of references to the Holocaust in Eisenman's design led to the call by Federal Cultural Representative Michael Naumann, for an Information Centre to be built as part of the scheme – a change that ultimately led to the inclusion of exhibits such as the letters and notes that have been discussed at length in this chapter. In the next chapter I will discuss the further outcome of Naumann's intervention in terms of the relationship between Eisenman's design and the Information Centre, exploring how the exhibits beneath the field of stelae and features of the Information Centre's design, complement the memorial of abstraction that is without contextualization, not just in terms of emotional effects, but also in terms of the contextualization brought to the memorial site by the Information Centre. The selection of Eisenman's abstract model led to a memorial site in which the site's two components work differently, with the non-referential stelae on the site's surface and the place of history, primarily formed through victim's personal stories of anguish, beneath. This considerable addition to the memorial will be pursued by analysing how the memorial and Information Centre relate to each other aesthetically, how they offer two distinct approaches to considering the Holocaust, and the extent to which their relationship is reciprocal.

3. The Memorial Museum Paradigm

The Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition did not include discussions concerning an information centre until the latter stages of the 1997 competition when Federal Cultural Representative Michael Naumann declared he would only support Eisenman's design if an information centre were to be incorporated.¹ That the memorial needs to be contextualized was the primary incentive for Naumann's intervention.² As Naumann states:

Monuments are not normally created to remind people of horrible things. I would rather have information where people who visit memorials learn what the memorial stands for, what history it commemorates. A memorial like Eisenman's – one that is purely abstract – needs interpretation. It is beautiful, but I was concerned that tourists would be confused, particularly non-German tourists who might not know that it is a Holocaust memorial.³

Eisenman subsequently offered a revised design that included an entrance to the subterranean Information Centre, designed by Dagmar von Wilcken – a redesign that allows the entrance to the Information Centre to blend with the memorial's landscape of grey blocks.⁴

¹ Interview with Michael Naumann. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.2.2014.

² Members of the Jewish community also publicly criticized the memorial's failure to properly promote the design's message. These individuals were outraged that the 'memorial bears no signs; there is no marker indicating the title or even the purpose of this massive memorial [...] an approaching visitor, unaware of the existence of such a monument, could remain bewildered about its purpose, meaning, and intended commemoration of the victims'. Sharon Chin, *A Self-Serving Admission of Guilt: An Examination of the Intentions and Effects of Germany's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Accessed. 27.11.2012.

³ Interview with Michael Naumann. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.2.2014.

⁴ The *Bundestag* resolution of 25 June 1999 demanded that Eisenman create space for an exhibition that would complement his memorial and explain its dedication. Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10.11.2012.

As a result of this important change, this chapter will discuss differences and commonalities between these mnemonic places – Eisenman’s memorial and the Information Centre beneath it – whilst exploring the relationship between memorial and museum, particularly where they operate on the same site, working to commemorate the same historical event.⁵ In Berlin, Eisenman’s design asks how the Holocaust can be remembered without images and texts, the *Rooms* beneath it ask how the Holocaust can be understood through victims’ family photographs, letters and diaries. Furthermore, as Naumann points to the apparent problem of ‘pure’ abstraction, this chapter will also consider the abstract memorial’s contribution to the partnership, exploring how the Information Centre competes with, complements, and also changes the meaning of Eisenman’s design.⁶ This chapter also pays attention to some of the unbuilt proposals for the competition and how they would have affiliated with an information centre, specifically the abstract designs by semi-finalists of the 1997 competition, Gesine Weinmiller, and Daniel Libeskind, with his submission, *Stone-Breath*. Returning to the unbuilt proposals by Simon Ungers, Christine Jakob-Marks, and Jochen Heufelder, this chapter also considers how aspects of their respective designs can be observed in the Information Centre’s *Rooms*. This includes how the Information Centre employs victims’ names in comparison to Jakob-Marks’ proposal,

⁵ A place of information was not part of Eisenman’s original scheme, nor the first redesign, known as *Eisenman II*, where Naumann requested the number of stelae be reduced by half in order to have a large documentation centre on the surface of the site, next to the memorial. Naumann argued that such a visible information centre would encourage visitors to conduct ‘research on the spot’ and would therefore be part of the overall concept, standing adjacent to Eisenman’s blocks. Interview with Michael Naumann. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.2.2014. Had the *Bundestag* not objected to *Eisenman II* on the grounds that it would change the memorial’s design too much, the implementation of Naumann’s plan would have led to a more visible correspondence between an abstract memorial and an information centre, if only by proximity.

⁶ Though some people, such as Stefan Reinecke, spoke disparagingly of the decision to include an information centre, describing the revision as ‘Naumann’s memory with instructions’, Lea Rosh approved of the revised plan and Ignatz Bubis offered no objections. Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and the Cabinet supported Naumann’s argument that Eisenman’s design needs to be contextualized. Interview with Michael Naumann. 24.2.2014. Paul Spiegel, then President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, described the Information Centre as an ‘indispensable complement to the monument’. Heidemarie Uhl. *Going underground: The ‘Information’ of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial*. www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de. Accessed 29.5.2013. Whilst Eisenman believed that his and Naumann’s plans would ‘not collide’ but rather lead to a ‘synthesis’. Interview with Peter Eisenman, Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 17.11.2011.

and what appears to be a similar use of victim portraits by the Information Centre and Heufelder's design, that also have, upon scrutiny, distinct and important differences.

As some of the examples cited in this chapter were commissioned as memorials with accompanying museums (such as with the final arrangement in Berlin), or as memorial museums built as one entity, I shall explore why the memorial is, in many cases, no longer seen as an adequate stand-alone *aide mémoire*. A tandem function has developed and the combination has become increasingly common. In fact, the decision to include an information centre relates to several projects of duality in other locations, where museums are part of mnemonic arrangements that often feature abstract memorials that include contextualizing elements within the design.

Though *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* was not the first of these configurations, it represents an emerging trend that might express a global concern amongst those endorsing such commemoration projects – politicians, intellectuals, historians, financiers, and in some cases, artists – that the memorial or museum as sole representation of an event is no longer a sufficient form of remembrance and education. Though I shall not endeavour to define the memorial museum,⁷ it is, in most cases, at its most fundamental level, a trend for creating both a memorial and a museum as dual evocations of the past. This involves one form – the memorial – arguably functioning as an aesthetic curiosity, a place that functions more like an artwork, leaving more room for interpretation, which is usually an abstract form, sometimes perplexing, that invites the beholder to consider the historic event outside of mimesis. Such memorials might

⁷ Along with Paul Williams' *Memorial Museums*, further literature on the memorial museum includes Amy Sodaro, *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2017); and Michael Bernard-Donals, *Figures of Memory: The Rhetoric of Displacement at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2017).

be enlightening to some whilst also being limited in conveying the past to others (or simply misunderstood), whilst the other form – the museum – applies didactic historical context that appears to either compensate for the possibility that the memorial will be too ambiguous to solely represent the event in question, or conversely, complement the abstract memorial's potential to be visceral and to offer a more unguided way of considering difficult histories. This provides a duality of an ambiguous design, combined with a more prescribed, factual display of the past, which is arguably the outcome of the Berlin competition.⁸

Several memorial museums were commissioned in the 1990s and thus unveiled in the early 2000s, though further memorial museums have been opened more recently, such as *The National September 11 Memorial Museum*, New York City, in 2014. As Tiffany Jenkins writes, by 2005 there had been more memorial museums opened in the last ten years than in the previous one hundred.⁹ During the period in question, there was an increase in the configuration of a museum being accompanied by a memorial (usually abstract), or where the museum is the memorial itself, a building operating as both, in some cases, as a visual representation of history, whilst also featuring a historical exhibition. The *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, Washington D.C. (1982) and its anticipated *Education Centre* (2018), and Rachel Whiteread's *Judenplatz Memorial and Museum*, Vienna (2000) exemplify a tendency for having an abstract memorial with contextualization, or in Whiteread's case, an abstract memorial with

⁸ This emphasis on the importance of having an educational function correlates to historian and journalist Nikolaus Bernau's view that the chosen design should be vibrant and perhaps inspired by the success of the *Wannsee Conference House Holocaust Memorial and Documentation Centre*, Berlin (opened in 1992) and the *Topography of Terror*. Bernau argued: 'A meditative memorial fulfils perhaps the emotional needs of survivors, and representative needs of politicians – but for the necessary education it needs to be more like the active museums such as the *Wannsee Conference Villa* or *The Topography of Terror*, we need more dynamic places.' Nikolaus Bernau. *Competition of Martyrdom (Wettbewerb des Martyriums)* (*Der Tagesspiegel*. 12.10. 1994).

⁹ Tiffany Jenkins, 'Victims Remembered', in *Museums Journal*. ed. by S. Watson (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 448-451 (p. 449).

contextualization in the design, that is accompanied by a museum or place of information. Further examples include, but are not limited to, Hiroshima's *Peace Memorial Museum* and its accompanying *Peace Memorial Park* (created in 1954 but with additional memorials, mostly abstract, up to 2005); and *The Berlin Wall Memorial and Documentation Centre* on Bernauer Strasse (2012), where a place of information overlooks an abstract memorial comprising two steel walls, parallel to each other, that create the impression of a never ending wall.¹⁰ Though the genre tends to involve abstract memorials without contextualization, or abstract memorials that include contextualization regarding the event, figurative examples do include *The Oklahoma City National Memorial and Museum* (2000), which symbolically memorializes each victim with an empty chair made of stone. Within this genre there is also the memorial museum which incorporates memorials into its design, such as the *Jewish Museum, Berlin* (2001), which integrates *The Holocaust Tower* and hosts *The Garden of Exile*, both of which are abstract, and in the case of *The Holocaust Tower*, a dark and potentially chilling space. Whilst the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C.* (1993), is a variation of this arrangement, where the architect James Freed created a circulation path that intertwines harmonically with that of the exhibition, linking the museum's *Hall of Remembrance* and its *Eternal Flame* with visual narratives found in the museum's displays.¹¹

¹⁰ Sybille Frank, *Wall Memorials and Heritage: The Heritage Industry of Berlin's Checkpoint Charlie* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 161.

¹¹ As Freed describes his plan: 'I did not want to make it a visual building. I wanted to make it abstractly symbolic. I was not interested in resuscitating the forms of the Holocaust. I did want to use everything that was possible in the building, for instance, acoustics. When you walked out of Washington, I wanted to separate you from the city formally and spatially'. James Inigo Freed, *The US Holocaust Memorial Museum* (New York, London: Phaidon, 1995), p. 96.

A common denominator of the memorial museum has been offered by Paul Williams who defines the memorial museum as being a specific kind of museum ‘dedicated to a historic event commemorating mass suffering of some kind.’¹² This definition is, however, so broad as to both include museums that Williams does not list in his extensive account and survey – such as the *Imperial War Museum*, London – whilst also causing the category to be so expansive that the classification is too inclusive, suggesting that any museum referencing war, genocide, and even suffering resulting from natural disasters, could in some way be a memorial museum. Williams does, however, acknowledge his use of a cluster of terms – memorial, monument, memorial museum, memorial site – and shows that the traditional distinctions between these forms become increasingly blurred due to the advent of the memorial museum.¹³ Williams further argues that ‘a memorial is seen to be, if not apolitical, at least safe in the refuge of history.’¹⁴ This is, according to Williams, largely because we recognise that honour will accrue to most people simply because honest evaluation of the dead is normally seen as disrespectful: ‘A history museum, by contrast, is presumed to be concerned with interpretation, contextualisation and critique. The coalescing of the two suggests that there is an increased desire to add both moral framework to the narration of terrible historical events and more in-depth contextual explanations to commemorative acts.’¹⁵ The prevalence of abstract memorials being created with accompanying museums suggests a concern, not confined to Germany, that non-representational memorials need the referencing and framework of a museum in order

¹² Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*, p. 8.

¹³ Williams uses ‘memorial’ as an umbrella term for anything that serves in remembrance of a person or an event. Williams acknowledges that some writers distinguish between memorials and monuments based on their political function – memorial signifying mourning and loss, monument signifying greatness and valour – but argues that we often see measures of both in any single structure, which also blurs this distinction. Following Young’s formal distinction, Williams views monuments as a subset of memorials, characterized by their physical appearance. A monument is a sculpture, structure, or physical marker designed to memorialize. Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*, p. 7.

¹⁴ Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*, p. 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

to establish diegesis, as though recognizing that abstraction is not sufficient for conveying a multifaceted historic event, suggesting that some form of control is required, that the abstract memorial is too open to interpretation, meaning it cannot stand alone as a representation of an atrocity.

For this reason, what I wish to focus on is what I believe to be a sub-genre within the genre of the memorial museum, whereby a museum of whatever designation, performs a role that counterbalances an accompanying abstract memorial or abstract elements of the museum itself. This is the memorial museum arrangement where the museum constituent acts as a guarantor against the possibility that a site's abstract memorial will not be the only representation of a horrific subject, that abstraction, due to the possibility that it will be misunderstood, will be balanced with clear information concerning the history of the events being commemorated.¹⁶ It is, as Peter Carrier argues with regard to the Berlin memorial, a model with an Information Centre that has the advantage of 'compensating an abstract indeterminate medium of history with didactic information *about* history.'¹⁷ The increasing number of memorial museums that correspond to these configurations raise questions concerning the motivations for building these dual commemorative places. What are the benefits and outcomes? When

¹⁶ The abstract memorial can also guard against what Jeshajahu Weinberg describes as the 'authoritative voice of a federal museum' that might illuminate one aspect of history whilst suggesting other viewpoints are secondary or without merit. Jeshajahu Weinberg. *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (Washington D.C.: Rizzoli, 1995) p. 26. This looks set to become evident at *The Vietnam Veteran's Memorial*, Washington D.C., where the forthcoming *Education Centre at the Wall* could focus on one generalized message rather than a more complex record of events that would challenge that same central focus. Exhibition script advisor, Meredith Lair posits that proponents of *The Education Centre* seek to advance a 'sanitized narrative of the conflict, an idealized militarized version of citizenship due to the *Education Centre's* concentration on the heroism of veterans by way of displaying numerous artefacts that were never intended for permanent display, whilst dissenting views about the war will be marginalized, and artefacts supporting the anti-war stance will not feature.' Meredith H. Lair, 'Memorialisation: The Education Centre at The Wall and the re-Writing of History', in *The Public Historian*. Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 2012) University of California Press, pp. 34-60 (p. 46). This raises the issue of authority, as by being selected for placement in a museum an object is deemed 'worthy of gravitas, meaning the museum's authority can be enough to re-direct the narrative without too many objections.' Daniel Buren, 'Function of the Museum' in *Theories of Contemporary Art*, ed. by Richard Hetz (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1993), pp. 8-21 (p. 17).

¹⁷ Peter Carrier. *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*. p. 145.

it comes to sites that commemorate horrific events, can one form no longer function without the other, and if so, why?¹⁸ With regard to Carrier's suggestion that there is a productive way to approach history (through the facts and objects of a museum), and an ineffective way to understand history (via abstract designs), I will examine this rather binary way of considering *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, looking at what can be understood about the Holocaust through Eisenman's design and the limitations of the conventional historical approach.

The question of whether an abstract design is in need of contextualisation is not exclusive to Eisenman's proposal. During the final stages of the Berlin competition in 1998, historians Jürgen Kocka and Gustav Seibt publicly criticized some of the abstract finalists for their lack of references to the Holocaust: Kocka criticised the finalists for 'not containing sufficient references to the specific historical situation.'¹⁹ The following month, Seibt declared, upon viewing the models by Eisenman, Gesine Weinmiller, and Daniel Libeskind, that the task of representing the Holocaust could only be solved 'with greater clarity and unambiguity'²⁰ going on to assert that 'the confession must be simple and clear, not its form; its content must be in the foreground.'²¹

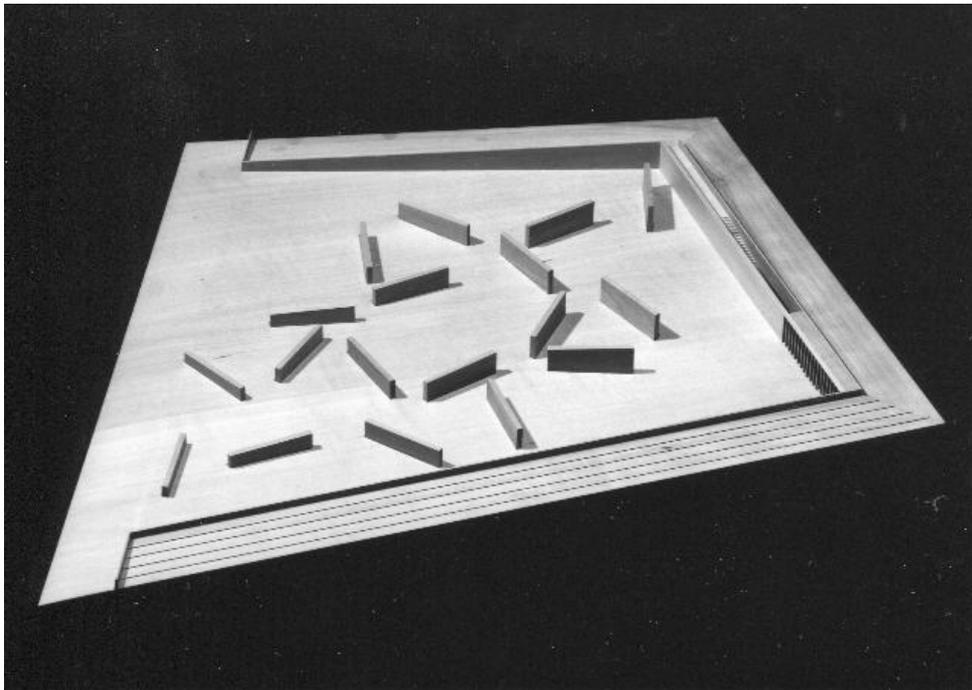
¹⁸ This position can also be applied to some of the trauma sites, including the former concentration camp of Treblinka where, despite the viable poignancy of its abstract memorial of 17,000 granite stones represent the Jewish communities who were murdered there. As Weinberg writes: 'for those who never heard that hundreds of thousands of victims were killed in this death camp, the memorial, with all its aesthetic strength and emotional impact, has no meaning'. Jeshajahu Weinberg, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (Washington D.C.: Rizzoli, 1995), p. 26. Historical knowledge might be widespread, but added context at Treblinka, such as the fact that the site was the worst of the extermination camps in terms of one's chances of survival, is one example of what an accompanying museum would provide. Jen-Christian Wagner, 'Work and extermination in the Concentration Camps', in *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New Histories*. ed. by Jane Caplan, and Nikolaus Wachsmann (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 124-153 (p. 138).

¹⁹ Jürgen Kocka, The shortlisted designs do not meet their challenges (*Die vier jetzt in die engste Wahl gezogenen Entwürfe lösen ihre Aufgabe nicht*) (*Berliner Morgenpost*. 4.1.1998).

²⁰ Gustav Seibt, 'Clear fault unclear memorial' (Klare Schuld unklarer Gedenkstätte). (*Berliner Zeitung*. 9.2.1998).

²¹ *Ibid.*

With these unbuilt abstract designs, it is quite plausible that an information centre would also have been proffered as a way of balancing the problem of abstraction had one of these other finalists been selected. Weinmiller's submission (Figure 14) is devoid of any mimetic representation due to its eighteen disconnected concrete blocks, spread across the memorial site. The memorial's intended symbolism of a fractured, dispersed Star of David would have been very difficult to observe from being within the memorial or from seeing the design from distance, or even from an elevated position. Equally, whilst visitors might have observed, experientially, the symbolism of its inclined plane, meaning people descend into the memorial, that they 'sink' lower into the difficult history – the design does not make direct reference to the Holocaust.²²



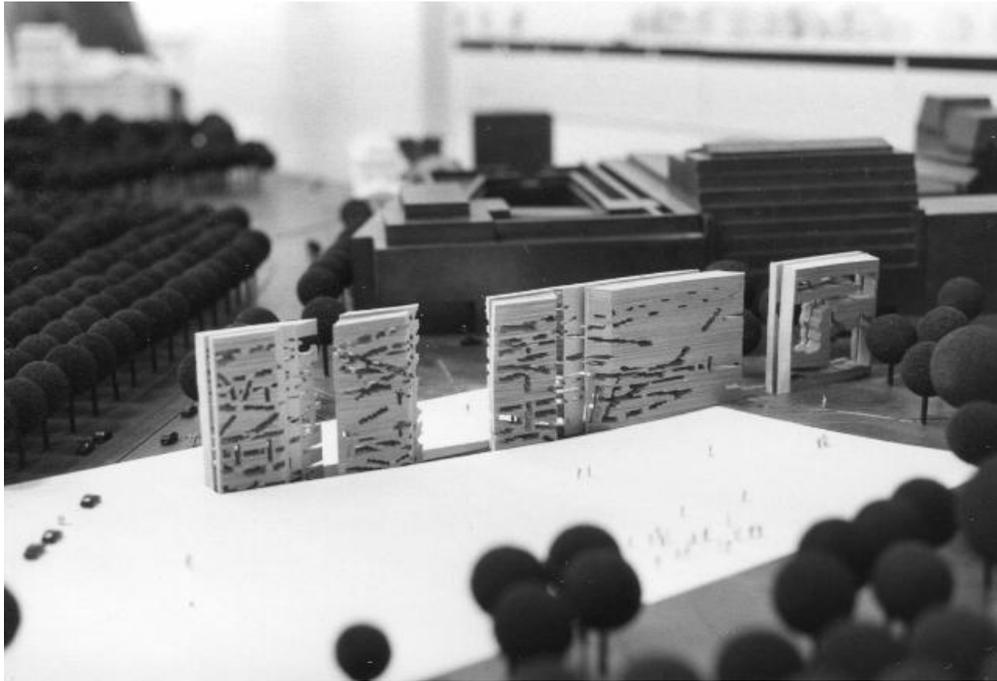
(Figure 14) The 1997 submission by Gesine Weinmiller.
Image courtesy if Stefanie Endlich.

²² 'The visitor of the monument enters an inclined plane on which the stone blocks act an image of the scattered and murdered people, which are scattered randomly. The visitor moves down through the blocks discovering spaces and relations between them. The stones provide visitors of the monument with even more protection from noise and bustle of the city, the more the visitor "sinks" in the monument. This immersion into the monument is also to be understood figuratively.' From the submission by Gesine Weinmiller, 1997. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' – a documentation)*, p. 641.

Stone-Breath (Figure 15), the design by Libeskind, would have been a fifty-metre high broken wall, with scars across its surface and areas of apparent deterioration, which can be read as being symbolic of a scarred nation.²³ The memorial's height would have caused it to be on the same level, if not higher, than buildings that one immediately associates with Berlin, making it symbolic from the perspective of the Holocaust's importance to German history – emphasized by its pre-determined proximity to the Reichstag and how it would have dwarfed the Brandenburg Gate. An accompanying information centre would have provided an interpretation of the design but also reminded or educated visitors of the reasons for the creation of the memorial and the history of the event. An information centre would also have played a role in alleviating potential confusion about the design itself. The *Findungskommission* was concerned, for instance, that it could be mistaken for being a remnant of the Berlin Wall.²⁴

²³ The scarring was a key reason for the eventual rejection of Libeskind's design, as the *Findungskommission* were concerned that it was aesthetically too similar to the exterior of Libeskind's Jewish Museum, also in Berlin. Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10.11.2012.

²⁴ Interview with James Young. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.12.2011.



(Figure 15) The 1997 submission, *Stone-Breath*, by Daniel Libeskind.
Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

With regard to these abstract designs, including Eisenman's, they are fundamentally sites of remembrance but ones that encourage personal examination of what is being remembered and what the forms could relate to, be they symbolic, as with Libeskind's, or without intended symbolism, as with Eisenman's. By commissioning an abstract work, the *Bundestag* and the *Findungskommission* selected a design that, over time, allows for redefinition; it has no fixed meaning so new circumstances and following generations can invest different meanings in the memorial. But the implementation of an Information Centre has the capacity to change the meaning, purpose and understanding of the memorial site in Berlin, taking it from being a field of concrete pillars with viewer interpretative autonomy, to a memorial site where specific historical references are evident and museological remembrance strategies experienced, which will be analysed in this chapter.²⁵

²⁵ Only 15% of visitors who entered the site included the Information Centre as part of their visit and during the memorial site's first year of operation in 2005 – based on an estimated 500,000 visitors to the underground exhibition compared to 3.5 million visitors who visited Eisenman's memorial. Heidemarie Uhl, *Going underground: The "Information" of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial*, p. 19.

Eisenman's design and the Information Centre complement and also contrast each other. In terms of 'complement', how do they work together, enhancing their respective designs and meanings. For 'contrast', what are the different functions of the respective commemorative parts of the site? How do the two different places of remembrance convey the Holocaust that signals to their profound differences and their unity? Furthermore, within the Information Centre's *Rooms*, what connections can be observed with some of the unbuilt proposals, why are these correlations important and their differences too?

3.01 How the memorial and Information Centre complement each other

Though the Berlin site might appear to be a separate arrangement of memorial and museum, the two entities also complement one another, both aesthetically and also in terms of how they give additional meaning to some of the exhibits. The foyer begins to signal a relationship between the stelae on the site's surface and the exhibition spaces below, as the shape of the blocks above ground is echoed in the ceilings by a configuration of recesses that correspond to the dimensions of the stelae. The dimensions of the stelae are visible in all four *Rooms*, not only by the depression of the shapes in the ceiling, but also by the outline of many exhibits. According to Dagmar Von Wilcken, 'the field of stelae and the exhibition should fuse into a meaningful unity.'²⁶ The relationship between the memorial's design and the Information Centre's series of imprinted stelae shapes will be assessed here, as I consider the spatial and visual correspondence between what is situated on the site's surface and what is exhibited beneath, exploring what this 'visual unity' signals.

²⁶ Quentin Stevens, and Karen A. Franck, ed. by, *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design, Use, and Meaning* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 48.

To enter *The Room of Dimensions* (Figure 16) the visitor must walk through an entrance that is of the same shape as the stelae. This is true of all the Information Centre *Rooms*' entrances and exits. So now, instead of walking around and between solid masses, as one does on the site's surface, the viewer experiences these shapes as portals to information concerning victims. Like the entrances and exits to each *Room*, the repeated stelae-shape is now the bearer of history, drawn from the archive, often framing the exhibits, meaning the Information Centre and the memorial work in conjunction, as, for instance, the light from the back-lit letters illuminate the stelae recesses directly above them.

By the time the visitor enters this first *Room*, they might also observe how the Information Centre uses the shape of the stelae pragmatically, as the benches at the centre of each *Room* are of the same proportions as the stelae. A repeated pattern on the surface is therefore duplicated beneath the memorial, which includes stelae-width, lighter-coloured sections of flooring that lead from entrance to exit, crossing each *Room*. The ceiling's recesses attempt to remind the visitor of the memorial situated above by a ceiling that undulates in line with the memorial's ground and its pathways that cover the Information Centre. Sombre lighting is an attempt to not only make the copied letters more prominent but to also create a mournful, contemplative atmosphere, which runs throughout all four *Rooms*, where natural light is excluded.

(Figure 16) *The Room of Dimensions*. Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation.

The concentration on individual fates comes by way of fifteen illuminated floor panels that quote from victims' letters and postcards. The letters provide a stronger sense of

victims' feelings, as the victims knew their deaths were imminent, and knew they would not see the recipient of the letter again. As this example illustrates:

Dear father, I am saying goodbye to you before I die. We would so love to live but they won't let us and we will die. I am so scared of this death, because the small children are thrown alive into the pit. Goodbye forever. I kiss you tenderly.

In keeping with the principle of referencing Eisenman's design, the back-lit floor panels are of the same dimensions as the stelae, and each enlarged letter is placed directly beneath a stela recess. On the surface, walking around the perimeter or through Eisenman's design, the visitor spends considerable time looking up toward the rising, tilting blocks, whilst in the exhibition spaces below one is directed to look down to read the letters and notes but also encouraged to look upwards, into the stela-shaped depressions, as one attempts to ascertain meaning from what is, in effect, a void – a void that begins with the recess and continues into the empty space leading directly from the emotionally charged words on the *Room's* floor. The voids' very presence points to an absence that can never be overcome; it comes to represent the loss of the letter's writer, or in some cases, the unknown fate of the author or intended recipient of the note. Moreover, voids that are, in effect, inverted stelae, create a relationship of opposites between the emotional content of the letters and the nothingness signified by the recess – that the incomprehensibility of the Holocaust is always present, that no matter how affecting and detailed the exhibit, aspects of the Holocaust are always inaccessible, beyond our understanding. This also corresponds to Eisenman's memorial on the surface. In Eisenman's words: 'The experience of being present in presence, of being without the conventional markers of experience, of being potentially

lost in space, of un-material materiality: this is the memorial's uncertainty.²⁷ It is difficult to establish the physical and representational limits of the memorial on the site's surface. Like the event it commemorates, the memorial conveys a sense of the limitlessness through its appearance. From street level it is difficult to establish its boundaries, which can also be experienced by walking through its channels. The memorial on the surface confuses our attempts to comprehend. Now, beneath the field of pillars, situated directly above the letters, inverted and performing as voids, the stelae become symbolic through their contextualisation. In this arrangement, the previous non-representational stelae become representational, conveying the void above the expressions of despair, that which cannot be expressed and understood.²⁸

A further outcome of the Information Centre's design is the connection between Eisenman's stelae, which can be read as tombstones, and *The Room of Dimensions*, which is akin to a necropolis. Whilst Eisenman's blocks are left blank and the field is not designed to represent a cemetery, it does take on the appearance of one. *The Room of Dimensions* operates in a way that is much closer to a burial ground. This impression develops as visitors look down toward the floor displays in order to read victims' words and the brief information about their fate as provided by the Information Centre. This is similar to the necessary conduct seen in cemeteries, where visitors are obliged to

²⁷ Peter Eisenman, 'The Silence of Excess', in *Holocaust Memorial Berlin: Eisenman Architects*, ed. by Hanno Rauterberg, and Lukas Wassmann (Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller, 2005), unpaginated.

²⁸ Berlin is a city that can be defined by its voids, created since the Second World War, including the absence of a Jewish community; erasure brought by aerial bombings, and then the erection of the Wall, which left empty spaces full of meaning, including the site now covered by Eisenman's stelae. Maria Turmakin writes of Berlin's voids as being places created by 'deliberate and dramatic acts of erasure', physical and psychological voids that cannot be filled, voids that are 'full of meaning and resonance'. Maria Tumarkin, *Traumascapes: The Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2005). pp. 225-226. Daniel Libeskind, who incorporated voids into his *Jewish Museum*, Berlin, argues that voids represent ruptures that cannot be healed and that 'cannot be filled by museal stuff'. Daniel Libeskind, *Jewish Museum Berlin* (London, New York: G+B Arts International 1999), p.12. Andreas Huyssen writes of Berlin's voids, 'made more prominent since the fall of the Wall, emphasizing the notion of the city as a cultural sign'. Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*, p. 26.

lower their heads in order to read details of the deceased on headstones. Equally, though there is nothing to prevent visitors from walking across the displayed, back-lit letters, they rarely do, meaning the letters and notes take on the role and appearance of gravesites and thus afforded a corresponding level of respect. The viewer does not need the letters to be interpreted for them, they are clear, ample evidence of the historic event, giving insights into victim's circumstances and what they endured. The letters and notes are also pertinent examples of how the testimonial process contributes to aspects of historical work. For example, no record exists of the revolt at Auschwitz on 7 October, 1944, so the event was created by testimonies of survivors who formed this event, or the memory of the event.²⁹ Though there is a record of the deportations, in terms of the number of people deported, from where they were taken and to what concentration camp, the letters, notes and diary extracts authenticate the history of these events. The described arrangement emphasizes the letters' status, and also their sense of finality.

The archive is also activated by what is not being shown, by what is not being exhibited. This is conveyed by the much smaller floor panels, which run along the side of the *Room* that contain no information and are not large enough to display further copies of letters and notes. These vacant mini-blocks, that appear to overlap into the adjacent *Rooms*, extending infinitely beyond the walls, not only create a sense of aesthetic unity with the equally small recesses directly above them, but also suggest that innumerable letters, notes and postcards were written that will never be read or are too plentiful to be exhibited here. This is a further illustration of how the archive has been used innovatively, with a design that signals toward that which is not being exhibited but is nonetheless exemplified by what the visitor can see by the selected fifteen letters that

²⁹ Dori Laub, and Shoshana Felman, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 53.

testify to some of the final, desperate thoughts of victims. The empty spaces therefore come to represent the absence of further letters and knowledge and whether their intended recipients received such letters.

The memorial and Information Centre, do, then, have a relationship, whereby, through the utilisation of stela shapes, exhibits are given additional meaning, which includes, for those who observe the recess above the letters and notes, the limitations of understanding the Holocaust through encountering these documents. The Information Centre was planned with Eisenman's design in mind, drawing from its stela motif to enhance its displays and to make reference to what is unknown and what is absent.

This *Room* also displays, like a frieze, the death-toll per European country. This acts as a further reminder that each letter represents only a small fraction of the loss, and that, like the empty vacant mini-blocks, there are many thousands of letters that victims did not have the opportunity to write, or that letters were written but never recovered. This shows that the Information Centre is not detached from the ways in which some artists sought to represent or signal to the Holocaust. Simon Ungers' abstract proposal sought to project the names of concentration camps – covering several European countries – in a frieze-like display across the memorial site. There are, however, significant differences between Ungers' abstract approach that includes contextualization concerning the event being commemorated and what the Information Centre seeks to impart. By naming and displaying the names of the camps as Ungers proposed, he points to the infamy of the names in question – Auschwitz, Sobibor, Treblinka, for example – suggesting that the names alone will have impact, that most visitors will understand the significance of these places and their accompanying death-toll and the process by which people were murdered, or at least that these names

represent mass killings and genocide. *The Room of Dimensions*, however, seeks to elaborate on who was murdered and in what number. Moreover, by displaying the statistics per nation rather than against the death-toll per concentration camp, *The Room of Dimensions* uses statistics in a way that gives victims some sense of identity, pointing to their nationality rather than the pure anonymity of a person, amongst many thousands, who died at a concentration camp. The next sub-section of this chapter looks at such contrasts between Eisenman's design and the Information Centre beneath it.

3.02 The contrast between the memorial and the Information Centre

The contrast between the Information Centre and the memorial is immediately apparent upon entering the Information Centre. The first images and texts comprise a chronology of the Holocaust, a twenty-metre timeline, illuminated from behind, that presents a condensed historical overview of the events from 1933 to 1945 (Figure 17). This includes information concerning the escalation of the persecutions in 1933, where the legal equality of Jews gradually diminished, and was then abolished; to the adoption of the Nuremberg laws in 1935, which made marriages between Jews and non-Jews illegal. Back-lit blown-up photographs show a political opponent of the new regime, the son of a Jewish department store owner, being publically humiliated, forced to wash socialist symbols off walls and door jambs. Other images include Jews being made to wear humiliating signs as they are marched through the streets. As the visitor follows the chronology of the Holocaust they come to 1938 and the events of *Kristallnacht* in November of that year. This 1938 panel includes photographs of Jews being forced to scrub streets, watched by scores of onlookers, some of them smiling; along with photographs of synagogues ablaze and broken shop front windows. As the visitor moves to the 1939 panel, and then into the 1940s, the photographs become more distressing as images of shooting pits, the struggle for life in the ghettos, the mass

deportations, and then the arrival of Jews at Auschwitz, are displayed. The European dimension of the Holocaust is argued for here, as examples include events that occurred in Poland, the Netherlands, Ukraine, and Romania. The textual information in this chronology is brief but leaves the viewer with a clear understanding of the geographical reach, timeline of events, and examples of the appalling treatment of Jews. The language is concise and factual, explaining the historic event without hyperbole or emotional verbiage. The 1938 panel reads:

The terror against the Jewish population marked a new stage of the national socialist policy of persecution. Austria and the Czech Sudetenland now belonged to the German empire. On the 9th and 10th of November synagogues were destroyed and Jewish shops were looted. Nazis and their sympathizers attacked Jewish families and devastated their homes. 25,000 to 30,000 Jews were kept for several weeks, fixed in concentration camps. Their emigration was enforced. Tens of thousands of German and Austrian Jews decided to flee.³⁰

The foyer's abridged history of the Holocaust prepares visitors for the exhibition rooms that are largely focused on individual fates, meaning what follows from the chronology is an attempt to personalise the story of the Holocaust, taking it from the wider perspective of unidentified suffering into more private insights now made public. Amongst the many ways of considering the aesthetics of Eisenman's design, its grey, silent blocks appear solemn and mournful, indicating its role as a place of commemoration and contemplation. Though I have argued that the memorial does not encourage other-orientated empathy – when one is able to imagine what a horrific

³⁰ This is the English translation as displayed in the Information Centre.

situation was like for someone else – one should not discount the possibility that it can be experienced as a place of sorrow and lugubriousness. Eisenman’s memorial could not, however, claim to be a place of education, even if its original concept of being a disorienting, uncomfortable space had not been somewhat compromised by the aforementioned design changes that cause the site to be less intimidating than planned. Those initial ideas were, though, related to a strong sensory experience where the viewer would be immersed in a space much more intimidating than Eisenman’s modified version. Without an actual reference to the historic event, the finally built memorial, despite its potential to still be a place that causes unease, does not signal to what such discomfort might refer to. This, then, is an immediate contrast between the Information Centre and the abstract memorial that stands above it.

(Figure 16) The foyer of the Information Centre. Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation.

By reading the chronology of the Holocaust visitors are encouraged to move in the direction of the exhibition’s *Rooms*. Before entering this first *Room*, the *Room of Dimensions*, visitors are confronted by six large portraits of victims. These portraits represent the six million murdered men, women and children, and seek to imbue the victims with an identity. Each portrait is large and cropped to resemble the shape of the stelae. Each portrait is representative of a group of victims, differentiated according to gender and age, so the visitor sees large, back-lit copied photographs of a boy, a girl, a young man, a young woman, an older man and an older woman. One portrait shows Simon Mendel, in 1944, then aged 57. The Information Centre states that Mendel was from Northern Transylvania, which belonged to Hungary at the time, and that he was deported to Auschwitz and murdered there. One of the other portraits is of Zdenek Konas, a boy from Prague who was deported to the nearby concentration camp of

Theresienstadt when he was 11 and sent to Auschwitz thereafter. Beneath his picture is the word: 'Missing.' A further example of the six portraits is that of Malka Malach, who, the Information Centre states, was a mother of seven, who came from Dabrowa Gornicza, Poland, where she witnessed the German invasion in 1939, and was murdered in Auschwitz in 1943. The six portraits also prompt questions that are left unanswered by the Information Centre. What happened to Zdenek Konas? What happened to Malka Malach's children? Did she die knowing of their whereabouts and whether they were safe? The six portraits set the tone for much of the exhibition, where the *Rooms* concentrate on individual stories but where the information is never complete and is usually fragmented. Incomplete information, prompting such questions, educates the visitor concerning a central realisation of Holocaust studies: that considerable knowledge of the victims is unknown, in part, because their possessions were often destroyed, leaving museum visitors to often speculate on the details that are not available. This includes a lack of knowledge regarding the names of some 1.8 million Jewish victims. Though these victims are lifted from anonymity, our sense of them is limited, their identity is reduced to basic details, leaving visitors with no insight into their personalities or their feelings during the persecutions – a factor that changes in the *Room* which follows, *The Room of Dimensions*, where the aforementioned victims' letters and notes are displayed. Nonetheless, the six large portraits are effective in pointing to the Information Centre's focus on individuals.

Leading from *The Room of Dimensions*, is *The Room of Families* (Figure 18). The design is consistent with the previous *Room* in terms of its back-lit displays, and the stelae-shaped recesses in the ceiling, only in this *Room* the focus changes to the tragic fate of families, meaning the history of the Holocaust is narrated from a different perspective, one concerning entire families rather than unanswered communication

between individuals. In this *Room* personal photographs, rather than documents, reflect the lives of the European Jews before the Holocaust and provide information on the expulsion and murder of the families. I will concentrate on one of those families, the Berkowitz family from Romania.

(Figure 18) *The Room of Families*. Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation.

Photographs of the Berkowitz's pre-Holocaust life are exhibited. This comprises postcards of the places in which they lived, including the Romanian town they came from; photographs of them together, usually dressed for special occasions; individual family portraits, and in one example, an image of family members as prisoners at Auschwitz. The visitor is invited to learn about the family by gaining insights into their lives by way of seeing these photographs and by reading the brief commentary provided by the Information Centre. This visual narrative means that in the space of a few inches the Berkowitz family go from being everyday citizens to victims of the Holocaust.

The first image (Figure 19) shows the Berkowitz family together in 1930, with a brief explanatory text provided by the Information Centre beneath. The visitor is informed of each family member's name, how they relate to each other and the year in which they were born.



(Figure 19) The Berkowitz Family. *The Room of Families*.
Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation.

The visitor is immediately told of what happened to each victim, though this is sparse of detail and only confirms the date and location of their deaths, and if they were in the company of another family member at the time. This information also confirms their identity in the family portrait. For example: ‘Irina Rachel Berkowitz, *1906 in Marghita. Murdered with her son in June 1944 in Auschwitz-Birkenau’.

By looking at these photographs the visitor becomes more acquainted with the family’s pre-Holocaust life whilst knowing that they became victims who suffered greatly. As Susan Sontag writes of such photographs, ‘when we look into their eyes we know how soon these people are going to die.’³¹ This is exemplified by the family portraits of Irina and Eugen Berkowitz, their daughter Elly and son Adalbert (Figure 20). As Marianne

³¹ Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York: Penguin, 2009), p. 70.

Hirsch writes of such photographs: ‘The people pictured do not know that soon their houses will be deserted, and that all that will remain of them could be put in a drawer.’³² By displaying such pictures the Information Centre attempts to educate visitors, informing or reminding them that victims were part of everyday families who were leading normal lives, unaware of how their lives would be transformed. The loss is made more palpable if one considers what photographs the Berkowitz family would have taken. This is also expressed by the Information Centre’s inclusion of a white space, which indicates that a family photograph does not exist, or works as a reference to the many photographs that were not taken because the family was destroyed.



³² Hirsch, *Postmemory's Archival Turn*, p. 235.



(Figure 20) The Berkowitz Family. *The Room of Families*.
Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation.

The photographs were produced for largely private reasons, commemorating family occasions, or capturing the Berkowitz children whilst young. This specific type of picture, the familial or vernacular photograph, is one of the most ubiquitous and recognizable kinds of visual image. The familial or vernacular photograph provides a sense of familiarity that encourages visitors to identify with and make connections to those being pictured, humanizing the Holocaust for those without a direct connection to the event.³³ As part of this, visitors might experience what Hirsch calls the ‘familial gaze’ – this being a term that describes the ‘conventions and ideologies of family through which they see themselves (...) A photograph comprises numerous looks and gazes; that between the photographer/camera and the subject; that of the viewer, and that of the institution that defines the act of taking pictures.’³⁴ The viewer must

³³ Gillian Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and the Politics of Sentiment* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), p. 48.

³⁴ Marianne Hirsch, *The Familial Gaze* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), p. xi.

therefore be aware that, with regard to the familial gaze, to look is also, always, to be seen.³⁵ The display of family portraits is an attempt to affect the viewer by inducing a different kind of knowledge that is more personal. As Hirsch notes: ‘the conventionality of the family photograph provides a space for identification for *any* viewer participating in the connections of familial representations; thus the photograph can bridge the gap between viewers who are personally connected to the event and those who are not.’³⁶

When encountering *The Room of Families* the photographs prompt visitors to memorialize the victims of the Holocaust as secondary witnesses. This is aided by Hirsch’s concept of familial and affiliative ‘postmemory’, which consists of the retrospective witnessing of events through representations that include, amongst many sources, diaries and photographs.³⁷ Hirsch explains that familial postmemory ‘is the direct transmission of memory from parent to child, while affiliative postmemory is the horizontal transmission of memory from the literal second and third generations to others of their generation who seek a connection.’³⁸ According to Hirsch, the process of affiliative familial looking fosters and shapes the individual viewer’s relationship to this collective memory: ‘they can adopt these memories as their own postmemories’ – which is how ‘generations following the Holocaust-era remember the event through shared memories of those who actually experienced the atrocities.’³⁹

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

³⁷ Postmemory characterises the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can neither be understood nor recreated. Hirsch develops this notion in relation to children of Holocaust survivors, but believes it may usefully describe other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 22.

³⁸ Marianne Hirsch, ‘The Generation of Postmemory’ in *Poetics Today*, v. 29 #1, Spring 2008. pp. 103-128 (p. 103).

³⁹ Marianne Hirsch, ‘Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory’ in *The Yale Journal of Criticism*. Vol. 14, No. 1. Spring 2001, (pp. 5-37) p. 25.

Hirsch asserts postmemory to be a ‘powerful form of memory precisely because the connection to its object of source is mediated not through recollection but through representation, projection and creation.’⁴⁰ As postmemory consists not of the direct recollection of events, but of the retrospective witnessing of events through representations like personal narratives, historical chronologies, and photographs, the family portraits that the visitor sees would have been part of the Berkowitz’s memories. So when visitors encounter *The Room of Families*, the photographs can prompt memorialisation of the victims as the visitor is cast in the role of the secondary witness, and experiences the emotional devastation through seeing the photographs. *The Room of Families*, then, is historical in terms of educating visitors on what happened to families – in this example, the Berkowitz family – by seeing their life before the genocide, whilst also being a place of memory because the exhibits have the capacity to cause viewers to feel more connected to the events they see, sharing the memory of the people in the pictures, as these experiences are ‘transmitted to the secondary witness so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right.’⁴¹ If visitors are affected in this way, the following information exhibited in *The Room of Families*, can enhance affiliation with the victims being photographed. As the following text states:

Forced Labour and Deportation to Auschwitz.

In 1940 Şimleu Silvaniei became part of Hungary. In 1942 the Hungarian government introduced forced labour for Jewish men. Among those affected was Eugen Berkowitz. In March 1943 he was the victim of an attack. He was burned when Hungarian soldiers set

⁴⁰ Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Marianne Hirsch, ‘The Generation of Postmemory’, p. 106.

fire to the lodgings where he and the other labourers of his unit were kept. In 1944 German troops occupied Hungary. In collaboration with the Hungarian bureaucracy, the Reich Security Main Office in Berlin organized systematic deportations to Auschwitz. Among those deported were Irina Berkowitz and the children. Irina and her son Adalbert were murdered immediately upon their arrival. Her daughter Elly survived as a forced labourer.

The Information Centre, then, provides the visitor with more details about the Berkowitz family and their history. This includes a photograph of deportees, shortly after their arrival at Auschwitz (Figure 21). This picture includes, at its centre, Irina holding her son Adalbert who is wearing a dark cap and is looking toward the camera. The inclusion of this photograph is a strategy that encourages the viewer to become more emotionally involved, as it charts the way that this family was separated and shows two members of the Berkowitz family shortly before their deaths.

Irina and Adalbert are captured, by chance, upon arrival at the camp, a photograph almost certainly taken by one of the guards or officials at Auschwitz. The photograph represents a different strategy by the Information Centre, as now the viewer is asked to take on the perspective of the perpetrators. Should the viewer realise they are being asked to take this perspective they would surely find this to be repellent, as they are being encouraged to look upon Jews as being sub-humans awaiting death rather than family members living normal lives. The photograph is a contrast to the other pictures of the Berkowitz family in this respect but also in terms of how the viewer might collude with the perpetrators. This involves, as LaCapra argues, that any 'perception of victimhood should first recognise oneself in Himmler', that before one should rush

to see oneself in the victims, one has to consider one's own potential to collude and be complicit in racist ideology: 'Affect becomes the transmission of feeling and the feeling of the process of its transmission. In seeing destruction at the same moment that I reconstruct it, the loss that I perceive is short-circuited by how I perceive my co-creation of it. My position as a mourner of loss is punctured by my immediate complicity in crafting it.'⁴² The picture also concerns what Hirsch calls the 'Nazi gaze', the gaze that 'turns the subject into a spectacle.'⁴¹⁹ This is where the subject who looks at the camera is also the victim looking at the executioner, meaning the look discussed in the 'familial gaze' can no longer be returned because all is 'touched by the death that is the precondition of the image.'⁴³ The subjects of photographs taken by perpetrators are unable to return the Nazi gaze that relieves them of agency and turns them into objects. They are unable to look back as subjects.⁴⁴

The contrast between this photograph and the others depicting the Berkowitz family is one that will encourage some viewers to be drawn into what LaCapra argues for whilst, as a consequence, recognizing the profound difference between the way in which Nazis viewed Irina and Adalbert – 'a murderous gaze that condemned them without even looking at them'⁴⁵ – and how viewers might consider them: victims, who within moments of the photograph being taken were murdered. For viewers who contemplate the inclusion of this photograph and this meaning and distinction between it and the family photographs, there is the realization or reminder of the way that one looks at victims – as humans – and the National Socialist gaze that did not look at Irina and Adalbert in a way that one could comprehend, or if one can, one should be disturbed

⁴² Byroni Trezise, *Performing Feeling in Cultures of Memory* (New York, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 56.

⁴¹⁹ Marianne Hirsch. 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory', p. 22.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Richard Crownshaw, *The Afterlife of Holocaust Memory in Contemporary Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 118.

by. The inclusion of this photograph means that many visitors will not be free of what they know will be the final gaze that these victims give.



(Figure 21) Auschwitz-Birkenau, June 1944: Deportees arrive after a journey of several days (Transcribed by Mark Callaghan 3.9.2015). *The Room of Families*. Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation.

Like the six portraits in the foyer, and the letters in *The Room of Dimensions*, this historic information raises more questions than it attempts to answer, or is perhaps able to, thus leaving the visitor to consider when the Berkowitz family first became fearful, whether they felt relatively safe while they were under Hungarian authority, and how they were traumatised by the changes that led to and included the attack on Eugen Berkowitz. At what point did they no longer feel safe? Given that Hungary was an ally of Nazi Germany, did they believe they would survive the war despite the persecution of Jewish people? What happened to Elly? Did she survive her period of forced labour?

If so, what became of her after the Holocaust?⁴⁶ *The Room of Families* therefore testifies that historians and curators might not even know the answers to such questions. This is educational as the visitor is prompted to think of such questions as the answers are not provided here. This is a further way of understanding the Holocaust, of encouraging people to want more information concerning the fate of the victims they see, of making the point that an incalculable number of questions can be raised concerning the fate of victims but only so much information is available to provide answers. In this section of the exhibition an important aspect of the Holocaust is conveyed, that the nature of genocide means that testimony is often erased and that unlike the victims featured in *The Room of Dimensions* the Berkowitz family were probably not afforded the opportunity to communicate with one another or that evidence was also destroyed.

That such questions concerning the fate of the Berkowitz family are left open could be a deliberate strategy by the Information Centre, when, in fact, it is known what happened to all of them, including Elly, who did indeed survive her period of forced labour. This information is available to scholars upon request via the Information Centre's exhaustive book that compiles much of what is seen in the Information Centre whilst providing additional details. This means that one can learn of what is not being presented in the Information Centre, which includes a photograph of Elly Berkowitz, taken in 1998, holding the photograph of Adalbert as seen in Figure 20. From this one can immediately understand that Elly survived the Holocaust, lived a long life, and one can also find details and photographs of her husband and her children who were born

⁴⁶ German forces did not occupy Hungary until 1944, after Hitler discovered that Hungary had been negotiating with the United Kingdom and the United States. Deborah. S. Comelius, *Hungary in World War II: Caught in the Cauldron* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), p. 147.

thereafter.⁴⁷ That Elly's photograph from 1998 is not included in the Information Centre is a double strategy of prompting the aforementioned questions due to this lack of disclosure on the part of the curators, and also one that resists a redemptive narrative; that this museum focuses exclusively on loss rather than survival.⁴⁸ This lack of a redemptive narrative is in keeping with the memorial's title, which is dedicated to the murdered rather than including those who survived.

Like *The Room of Families*, the design by Jochen Heufelder was based on the use of portraits of victims, taken before the Holocaust. Heufelder proposed to project individual photographic portraits of victims onto a large screen that would have been situated at the centre of the pre-designated site. Unlike *The Room of Families*, Heufelder did not plan to include any details of the people being projected, not even their names.

Were viewers to have looked at Heufelder's projections of pre-Holocaust photographs they would have been encouraged to identify with those being pictured, causing the memorial to be intimate. Like the photographs of the living exhibited in *The Room of Families*, Heufelder's photographs would have provided an important alternative to pictures of anonymous corpses because such photographs are an 'essential corrective to the impression created by pictures of emaciated, typhus-ridden survivors and piles of the deceased.'⁴⁹ Photographs of the living therefore show that those victimised by Nazis were not some barely recognisable form of human species devoid of life and consciousness.

⁴⁷ Norbert Lammert, *Holocaust, Der Ort Der Information* (Berlin: Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, Berlin, 2015), p. 164.

⁴⁸ The Information Centre's book does not include additional details regarding the fate of Eugen Berkowitz. One can therefore conclude that he died during in the Holocaust.

⁴⁹ Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p.19.

Both Heufelder's proposal and *The Room of Families* also share an interest in encouraging speculation on the part of the viewer, only in different ways. *The Room of Families* does not provide information concerning the survival of some of the Berkowitz family, whilst Heufelder's design, by not providing any information about the victims, also promotes consideration of what happened to the people whose photographs would have been projected across the memorial site. Both strategies present an assumption of death. This similar interest in conveying the Holocaust by way of pre-Holocaust photographs points to a blurring of memorial and museum exhibit.

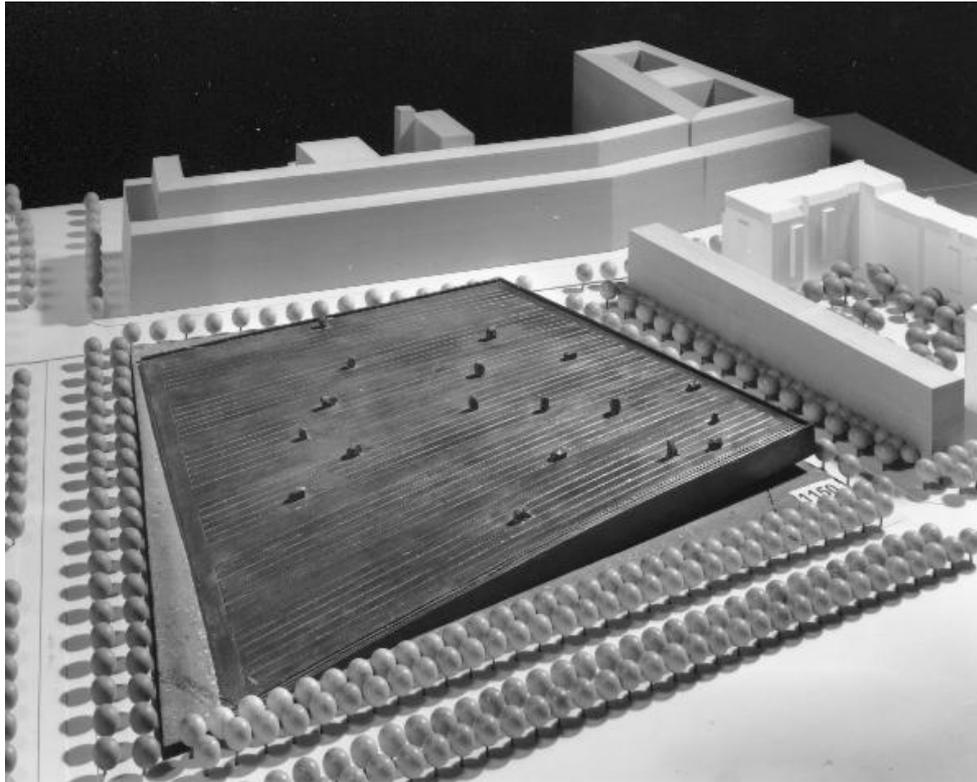
There is, however, a distinction between Heufelder's design and the photographs displayed in *The Room of Families*, in that affiliative postmemory would not be possible with Heufelder's projections as the viewer would be presented with no information regarding the people and would therefore not know anything about them, except that they were victims. This facilitates viewers' imagination of what happened to each person during the Holocaust, an imaginative investment driven by cultural memory of the genocide. This causes a different way of experiencing photographs of victims, where the lack of information concerning the victim prompts recalls of the circumstances that victims endured, speculating on how they died. There are further differences between Heufelder's proposed use of pre-Holocaust portraits and what can be seen in *The Room of Families*. Heufelder's decision to omit all details of who the victims were, including their names, suggests that photographs are authoritative and compelling enough to elicit close connections with viewers and a sense of who each victim was. A sense of someone's character can be imagined by seeing a photograph of them, an observed likeness between themselves and a victim could also increase an understanding, however inaccurate, of who that victim might have been, what their

personality was like. Equally, a photograph of a victim could remind viewers of people they know. Either way, the photograph offers many opportunities for imagining the victim they see. With this in mind it is important to consider how the Information Centre's *Rooms* and unbuilt proposals that share some of the features found in the *Rooms*, evoke the identities of victims and a sense of their individuality. As Andrea Liss writes of Holocaust victims:

The etching of photographic identities is all the more pronounced in Holocaust representation. The importance of giving names and identities to those who were so horribly defaced in the Holocaust cannot be over-estimated.⁵⁰

The unbuilt proposal by Jakob-Marks is especially notable for its use of names, its lack of imagery, and how this is adopted by way of a commemorative approach often found in memorialisation. Jakob-Marks' rising slab, proposed to be inscribed with the names of 4.2 million Jewish Holocaust victims (Figure 22) was de-selected for its unintended Christian iconography that caused objections from the Jewish community.

⁵⁰ Andrea Liss, *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography and the Holocaust*, p. 29.



(Figure 22) The submission by Christine Jakob-Marks, Hella Rolfes, Hans Scheib, and Reinhard Stangl for the 1994 competition. Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

As Marita Sturken writes: ‘the listing of names emphasises individual deaths rather than the singular death of a body of men and women.’⁵¹ Of particular note is the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, Washington D.C., which represents every American soldier who died, not through some generalized image of a veteran holding a gun or a flag, but specifically, by name – a black ‘Wall’, which lists the 58,000 U.S soldiers killed in the war. Maya Lin, the architect of this memorial argues that: ‘The use of names is a way to bring back everything someone could remember about a person. The ability of a name to bring back every single memory you have of that person is far more realistic and specific than a still photograph.’⁵² Lin speaks in regard to the experience of the visiting family member rather than the memorial visitor who would not have

⁵¹ Marita Sturken, ‘The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial’, in *Representations*. No. 35, Special Issue: Monumental Histories (Summer, 1991), pp. 118-142 (p. 5).

⁵² James Reston Jr., *A Rift in the Earth: Art, Memory, and the Fight for a Vietnam War Memorial* (Chicago: Arcane Publishing, 2017), p. 168.

such direct connections to victims. Lin's point is, however, contested by the response of families and the regularity of portraits of soldiers that have been placed at the foot of the Wall since its unveiling in 1982.⁵³

Though there are clear differences between Lin's and Jakob-Marks' designs – primarily, that Lin's memorial is accessible and tactile, whereas Jakob-Marks' would have been too elevated for visitors to reach – both memorials lack specifics in terms of who the individual was. There is no provision for even the most fundamental details, including the victim's age and, in Jakob-Mark's proposal, their nationality too. Whilst the focus on the victim's name arguably highlights the individual, the giant slab of names risks the reduction of that same individuality by homogenizing all inscriptions as each name is part of a visual mass, a single entity. Though Jakob-Marks' design is problematic in this regard, it does attempt to give the names back to those who were stripped of all identity before their lives were taken. The extent to which the display of victim names achieves this is debatable though. As Judith Butler asks:

Do names really 'open' us to an intersubjective ground, or are they simply so many ruins which designate a history irrevocably lost? Do names really signify for us the fullness of the lives that were lost, or are they so many tokens of what we cannot know, enigmas, inscrutable and silent?⁵⁴

⁵³ Here we might see that the proclivity for bringing photographs to the Wall relates to the respective person's mourning process. In his groundbreaking study of grieving, Erich Lindemann claims preoccupation with the image of the deceased is characteristic of the grieving process. Erich Lindemann, 'Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief', in *Crisis Intervention: Selected Readings* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1965), pp. 8-19 (p.10-11). Whether one interprets this as an impulse to complete the representation of a veteran, or whether the names and design have inspired such offerings, is open to conjecture, but there is certainly a heightened expectation that this national memorial should demonstrate a desire for more imagery, that relatives of the deceased need more than the sight of their loved one's name to enact a process of remembrance. Mark Callaghan, 'Reflections on the Wall: Unexpected Responses to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial', in *How Trauma Resonates: Art, Literature, and Theoretical Practice*, ed. by Mark Callaghan (Oxford: Interdisciplinary Press), p. 8.

⁵⁴ Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Power of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2006), p. 63.

In regard to Jakob-Marks' proposal, there would be no sense of who these victims were, except for their gender. Children's names would be adjacent to adults, and victims from different countries and from different concentration camps and ghettos would be inscribed at a proximity unrelated to the geographic and historic circumstances of their lives and deaths. The fullness of their lives, in Jakob-Marks' proposal, cannot be understood through an inscribed name without further details or an image. The design would have brought victim names out of obscurity whilst not actually restoring their identities. Whilst Jakob-Marks' model would convey the scale of loss, far exceeding any other Holocaust memorial that lists the deceased; a sense of who each victim was could not be gained from this design. Victims would be named but, in effect, would remain anonymous. Jakob-Marks does, however, signal to the loss of information regarding numerous victims along with the loss of their lives. This is represented not just by the large empty space on the memorial slab, made ready for the as yet unknown names, but also by the omission of further details for those whose names are inscribed. By paying no attention to victim histories, the memorial challenges one's assumptions that further details are available and acts as a reminder that names might be the only fact that is known of some victims.

Elements of Jakob-Marks' unbuilt proposal also resonate in the Information Centre, specifically in *The Room of Names*. In *The Room of Names* the names of individual victims are projected onto the walls while their biographical details are read through speakers (Figure 23) and visitors gain an insight into the plight of victims, not by their words or by seeing a photograph of them, but by hearing their abbreviated story through an anonymous, contemporary voice.

(Figure 23) *The Room of Names*. Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation.

Prior to this, written onto the wall leading to this *Room*, the visitor is informed that:

Millions of Jewish children, women and men from all over Europe were robbed by the Nazis and their helpers of their homeland, culture and life. They killed up to six million. Their remains mostly found no burial ground, but were buried or burned unidentified.

This *Room* is devoid of copied artefacts that help to evidence a person's existence. Without letters, photographs, or any material signs of the victims, the *Room* reflects its opening statement that in most cases the murdered were afforded no graves, no markers, and no posthumous sign that they ever lived. Extended to this, *The Room of Names* takes on the role of an audio gravesite where one listens to rather than reads the truncated details of a victim's life and death. Information is not too overwhelming and is designed to leave the visitor sufficient time for reflection. In this sense, the arrangement is one that causes the *Room* to be an audio memorial to each individual victim whose name is displayed. It is this section of the Information Centre, more than any other, that corresponds to Lea Rosh's claim that the underground place of information 'gives victims back their identities, as a substitute for graves.'⁵⁵ Each victim is afforded one to two minutes for their name to be displayed (Figure 24) and their abridged story to be heard.

(Figure 24) The name of Berl Fiegelman. *Room of Names*.
Image courtesy of the Memorial Foundation)

⁵⁵ Irit Dekel, *Mediation at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin* (New York, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 170.

Visitors sit on the stela-shaped benches, or stand, as they listen to the calm, unemotional recorded voice that brings together the bookends of each victim's life. They provide brief details concerning their life and eventual death:

Berl Feigelman was born in 1888 in the eastern Polish city of Pinsk, in present-day Belarus. With his wife Henia he lived in the northwest village of Bereza Kartuska, where he was a teacher. After the invasion of the German Wehrmacht on 23 June 1941, the Feigelms had to move into a ghetto and endured forced labour. In July 1942, the occupying power began with the liquidation of the ghetto in Bereza Kartuska. In mid October 1942, SS men and members of Police Battalion shot dead 320 people, the last 2,000 Jewish residents of the city. Of Berl Feigelman there is no trace.

Eisenman's memorial and Information Centre both attempt to convey the scale of the genocide, though this is carried out in very different ways. In *The Room of Names* the visitor hears that Berl Feigelman's body was never found, but here he is given an ephemeral commemoration and it is this fleeting nature that emphasises the scale of the Holocaust, as victim audio-biographies are each afforded between one and two minutes, suggesting the innumerable accounts to follow. This is further stressed by the seemingly unending roll-call of murders, affirmed by the reading of the next victim account, which visitors will begin to hear as they leave the *Room*. In fact, the reading of the names and life stories of all six million victims in this form would take approximately six years, seven months and 27 days – more than a year longer than the duration of the Second World War.⁵⁶ This is a significant contrast to the way in which

⁵⁶ Norbert Lammert, *Holocaust Der Ort Information* (Berlin: Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, Berlin, 2015), p. 288.

the memorial conveys the scale of the genocide. Whilst Eisenman's field of stelae can appear, particularly from within its channels, as if it has no clear boundaries, indicating the enormity of the crime, *The Room of Names* conveys the scale of the Holocaust through its transitory dedications.⁵⁷ The brief accounts have the capacity to be moving, they are an attempt to convey individuals without showing an image of the victim (either dead or alive), inviting visitors to consider the different ways these events are represented. This is particularly significant in the example which follows the airing of Berl Feigelman's life and death, that of the next projected name: Ernst Elias Lebermann:

Ernst Elias Lebermann was born on May 15, 1875 in Würzburg. There, too, came the Kristallnacht of 9 to 10 November 1938, serious riots took place. Ernst Lebermann was severely abused by Nazis. He died the next day due to the injuries sustained. Ernst Elias Lebermann was 63 years old.

Ernst Elias Lebermann's account is one of many that is made more notable by its brevity. There are no family details and no sense of the man, as the visitor is not even informed of his occupation. Whilst some accounts are impactful by the brief, though compelling details they provide, others, such as Lebermann's are arguably disturbing through the way in which a 63-year-old person's existence has been so reduced to that of a victim, summed up in less than fifty words. Listening to these accounts rather than seeing mimetic representations is a different way for the secondary witness to be interpellated. Unlike *The Room of Families*, the viewer cannot gain a sense of the victim, and is left to imagine what the victim looked like, as there is no visual

⁵⁷ Nearly half of all victims names are unknown. Among the rest there are details of the offender and sometimes the relatives. Norbert Lammert, *Holocaust Der Ort Information* (Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas, Berlin, 2015), p. 288.

accompaniment. However, though these *Rooms* use different media for conveying the life and death of victims, they both promote, like the letters in *The Room of Dimensions*, a way of getting closer to the victims' suffering without showing images, primarily because such footage is unlikely to be available but also because many visitors will be aware of what Ernst Elias Lebermann's experience of 'Kristallnacht' would have entailed due to the notoriety of this event.

Certain features of Heufelder's design can be also be found in *The Room of Names*. The brevity they afford each victim connects the two approaches and the time the beholder has to consider each person. With *The Room of Names*, the name of each victim is projected onto the walls for as long as it takes for the mini-biography to be read. A further commonality between these two strategies of remembrance is the withholding of information, with Heufelder projecting photographs without any accompanying detail concerning who the person was, and *The Room of Names* never showing a photograph of any victim, even when such images would be available. Yet Heufelder seems to question whether biographical details are needed, with a memorial ethos that encourages the viewer to imagine who the victims were and what happened to them, whilst *The Room of Names* takes the opposing view, with a determination to confirm the historic circumstances for each victim, leaving only their appearance to the imagination of the beholder.

With this decision, *The Room of Names* addresses the question of what names can signify by providing more details about each victim, making each victim more familiar, more imaginable, whilst still causing the visitor to imagine what is not being shown – the victim's image – and the circumstances of their life and death that are briefly described. *The Room of Names* also attempts to convey the fullness of the victim's life, at least in terms of detailing whether the victim was married, had children, and what

their occupation was. Though not exclusive to either Heufelder's concept or *The Room of Names*, both ways of understanding the Holocaust not only concern what is lost – the photograph or the knowledge of who the photographed person is – but also a testament to what survived. Each photograph, whether used by Heufelder or the Information Centre, is something that should not continue to exist, according to Nazi ideology.⁵⁸ Given the Nazi determination to destroy all traces of Jews, including their cemeteries and therefore remembrance of those who died before the Holocaust, the photograph of each victim – and the information regarding victims, as read in *The Room of Names*, which acts as a memorial gravesite – stand for what the Nazis opposed: evidence of Jewish life and death, an enduring remembrance that should not continue, but does.

In the final *Room*, *The Room of Sites*, the thematic focus concerns the places of persecution. The narrow sides of the stelae provide images and texts about the largest of the organized extermination camps. Some of the photographs are disturbing and feature the gas chambers at Majdanek, the fire at Treblinka, and secret footage, taken by a *Sonderkommando*, of corpses being burned. The *Room* also features a large map of Europe, charting all the countries and locations from which victims came and from where they were deported. The visitor is invited to learn – or be reminded of – the geographical scale and reach of the Nazi extermination program in a different way to previous *Rooms*, as now it is conveyed by maps. *The Room of Sites* is the only *Room* that directly conveys the scale of the genocide, causing it to be a part of the Information Centre that is more about mass death rather than focusing on individual suffering as conveyed in all other *Rooms*. However, as by this point the visitor will have spent time reading, looking, and listening to the tragic fate of individuals – through the writings

⁵⁸ Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and The Jews: The Years of Extermination: 1939-1945* (New York: W&N, 2008), p. 277.

of victims, through seeing photographs of victims before and during the Holocaust, and through hearing their truncated biographies – what has been experienced can now be seen in the wider context of information provided in *The Room of Sites*. In this respect the exhibition returns to a way of understanding the Holocaust that began with the wider perspective of events, as displayed in the foyer, so that between this point and *The Room of Sites*, the Information Centre is dedicated to the memorialisation of individual victims.

Like the memorial on the site's surface, the Information Centre offers a multi-sensory experience. In *The Room of Dimensions* one senses the anguish of victims through reading; in *The Room of Families* one sees the victims without hearing them; and in *The Room of Names* one listens without seeing the victims. These different exhibition strategies acknowledge that no single media form can convey the magnitude of the loss. The Information Centre and Eisenman's design contrast with each other in terms of providing the seemingly alternative ways of considering the genocide. The different ways in which the memorial and Information Centre represent and attempt to aid an understanding of the Holocaust are reflected in the ways in which secondary witnesses are interpellated. These two very different means of representing difficult histories are important for demonstrating what can and cannot be known and understood about atrocities and genocide. This memorial museum offers two kinds of personal experience – the individual experience for the visitor amongst the stelae; and the story of the individual in the Information Centre. In this sense, it is a partnership that encourages visitors to absorb the copied artefacts and data exhibited in the *Rooms*, following which, visitors return to a memorial landscape that provides no didactic narrative and instead represents something outside the realm of representation, the non-representable side of the genocide.

As Mark Godfrey points out, ‘in front of abstract designs, the lack of a depicted image tends to heighten our awareness of materials, of compositional (or anti-compositional) structures, of the process of looking itself.’⁵⁹ Abstraction can therefore help to evolve the way in which one considers a design, not just by moving away from centuries of work largely based on figuration, but also because in order to understand the memorial the viewer has to consider the artwork through different noetic and emotional processes. Without an image corresponding to empirical reality (even if that representation is surreal), the viewer has to read an abstract work with questions that are more founded on the conveyance of a mood, state or atmosphere relating to an event, without recourse to recognizable forms, whilst also presenting the concept that the subject in question can never be fully grasped. One level of the memorial site is therefore about incomprehension and the impossibility of representation; the other is about the continued attempts to learn and somehow make sense of what happened – the conundrum of needing to know and being unable to know.

This chapter has revealed that Eisenmann’s memorial is one example of a global paradigm and one way of responding to the representation of trauma, by way of a memorial combined with an informative approach. As part of this, I have also argued that the Information Centre is a place offering multiple strategies of remembrance and education.

⁵⁹ Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (London, New York: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 4.

The Berlin memorial site is not a dual arrangement of memorial and museum. The Information Centre and Eisenman's design are, indeed, separate, contrasting entities in many respects, most conspicuous in their differing approaches to commemorating the Holocaust, with the Information Centre offering a clear contextual attempt to understand the genocide, and Eisenman's memorial presenting an experience that is devoid of such pointers. Division, though, is not the sole consequence of the configuration of memorial and museum, as instigated by Federal Cultural Representative Michael Naumann. Instead, throughout the Information Centre, Eisenman's stelae become indentations and frames for exhibits, providing a sense of aesthetic unity, encouraging visitors to reconsider the memorial that is no longer visible. Crucially, this element of the design causes the now unseen memorial to be more representational, more associated with the Holocaust. The aesthetic unity is re-worked to still comply with the design's emphasis on resisting interpretation, or, as this chapter has argued, the memorial's encouragement of autonomy, demonstrated by my reading of the vacant mini-stelae in *The Room of Dimensions*, which suggest the inestimable letters and notes that can never be seen due to spatial constraints or because they were never recovered. This is just one way of reading these abstract elements of the Information Centre that, in turn, refer to the repeated shape of the memorial. The way in which the Information Centre and memorial complement each other is also seen in the reciprocal use of the stelae shapes. On the surface the stelae are a series of blocks with no direct meaning, whereas beneath the surface, the stelae are referenced through their shape, framing the exhibits, thus making the stelae pervade with historical details as a result of this spatial proximity.

By paying close attention to similarities between the Information Centre and some of the unbuilt proposals, I have identified comparable strategies between some memorial

designers and what is found in the Information Centre's *Rooms*. The unbuilt proposals did not directly shape the approaches to conveying the genocide as found in the Information Centre, though like-minded methods are observable. There is a combining of elements from different disciplines, with some artists including factual details as part of their designs – Ungers' names of concentration camps, and Jakob-Marks' list of the murdered – whilst the Information Centre incorporates forms of memorialization within its arrangement, such as the eulogies in *The Room of Names*. The similarities exemplify the Information Centre's artistic, creative ways of presenting the Holocaust, such as seeking to educate and remember in ways that are not disconnected from the ideas of memorial designers. Further, with regard to comparisons between some unbuilt proposals and the Information Centre's *Rooms*, an important distinction has been identified, demonstrating that, unlike *The Room of Families*, Heufelder's design would not encourage affiliative postmemory due to the photographs being presented without any detail concerning the victims. Whilst affiliative postmemory prompts memorialization of the victims, as the viewer, cast in the role of the secondary witness, shares the memory of those pictured, transmitted to become memories in their own right, Heufelder's projections foster a different memory and connection with victims. Without the provision of any information concerning the victim, Heufelder's design promotes the secondary witness into imaginative investment driven by cultural memory, and recalls of, amongst many possibilities, how the victim died and the circumstances they endured. Crucially, Heufelder's design, in comparison to the Information Centre, which is dedicated to identifying victims and individual fates, emerges as a memorial that would have left victim identities open to the imagination of the viewer, not just by way of association through cultural memory, but also through personal connections and how portraits remind one of people they know, with

characteristics thus applied, and, as a corollary of this, a closer connection to the victim that is otherwise unknown.

Like *The Room of Dimensions*, *The Room of Families* gestures toward the many families who are not being represented, in some cases because their photographs or letters were not recovered. Both *Rooms* also pose the question of how one can understand the individuals without encountering personal artefacts. How could the Berkowitz family be understood without photographs? In *The Room of Dimensions*, how can the parents be understood without their words? *What* can be understood? *What* can be learned? The memorial does not even attempt to aid our understanding of the Holocaust and seems to ask the question how the Holocaust can be understood via ‘conventional’ means – and whether understanding the Holocaust is even possible. Conversely, the Information Centre poses the question of how the Holocaust can be understood *without* gaining insights into individual suffering, acting as a counterpoint to abstraction that does not include contextualization regarding the event being commemorated. These are two very different ways of considering the Holocaust. They are, however, both working together to pose these questions. Without the contrast between the way in which the two mnemonic places operate, these questions would not be forthcoming.

Eisenman’s design needs to be contextualized in order to reduce the likelihood of misunderstandings. It could, for instance, risk being a memorial to other events – the global financial crash, or 9/11, for example – or not even a memorial at all. And whilst I have argued that a lack of contextualisation could have resulted in the Holocaust not being commemorated, the fact that the memorial is left open to interpretation is

intrinsic to the relationship between the two entities. The Information Centre plays an important role in counterbalancing what the memorial cannot provide. Eisenman's *Stelenfeld*, devoid of references to the historical event, can take visitors outside of any time-frame, away from all conventions of teaching, leaving only one form of understanding: that there are aspects of the Holocaust that cannot be taught and known, that much of the history is unreachable.

In the final chapter of this thesis, *Counter-monuments and Mnemonics*, I analyse the submissions from counter-monument artists whose proposals demonstrate their concern that the chosen memorial could lack specificity, just as Eisenman's does. I examine the differences and similarities between their proposals and Eisenman's, which has also been cited by some scholars as a counter-monument. Developing further from the aforementioned insights concerning the complementary and contrasting ways of understanding the Holocaust, the next chapter of the thesis analyses designs that rely upon the historical understanding of visitors to create the memorial, and a proposal that tested the limits of Germany's commitment to commemorate the Holocaust. The forthcoming designs in the final chapter, despite being aesthetically at variance, share the anxiety that memorialisation is often fleeting, that memorials cannot be 'seen', that they are ignored, and that commemoration is seen to be completed.

Counter-monument designs will be discussed in order to show different responses to the problems of representation and memorialisation, examining, amongst other things, a similar interest of the *Nachgeborenen* jury and the counter-monument artists of the same generation, thus the possible aesthetic and historic concerns of the same demographic as some contemporary German designers and the two juries.

4. Counter-monuments and mnemonics

An array of designs representing the breadth of taste and aesthetic sensibilities were submitted for the competition, from the abstract to the kitsch, from the innovative to the clichéd. Developed in the late 1980s and overlapping into the nascent years of reunification, the counter-monument arguably represents a further category of submissions for the Berlin competition. Though not exclusive to German creators, counter-monument artists are linked by being the *Nachgeborenen* (the later born), a generation born too late to experience Nazi Germany. They are also connected by their determination to involve the viewer directly in their work, and also their shared misgivings concerning the values of state-sponsored monuments. They are, as Sergiusz Michalski writes, ‘aiming to register protest or disagreement with an untenable object and to set a process of reflection in motion’.¹ With this in mind, one might expect such artists to ignore the call for submissions, yet counter-monument designs were received for both competitions and may come to represent a particular response to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. This is in terms of generational differences and how their work references the Third Reich aesthetic by resisting the very tendencies found in fascist monuments: that they are demagogic, that they tell people what to think, that the viewer is a beholder rather than a participant.² Counter-monument artists are, as *Findungskommission* chairperson James Young states, ‘heirs to a double-edged post-war legacy: a deep distrust of monumental forms in light of their systematic exploitation by the Nazis and a profound desire to distinguish their generation from that of the killers through memory.’³

¹ Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), p. 207.

² There are non-German counter-monument artists too, including United States architect, Maya Lin, the designer of *The Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (1982), Washington D.C., and British artists, Rachel Whiteread, the designer of the *Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial* (2000), Vienna.

³ James E. Young, ‘The Countermonument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today’, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Winter, 1992), pp. 267-296, (p. 271). University of Chicago Press.

Three primary case studies will be examined here: Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock's *Bus Stop!*, an audacious counter-monument where red buses would leave the memorial site at regular intervals, taking visitors to the former concentration camps of Germany and Poland; followed by an analysis of Horst Hoheisel's *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate*, which would use the rubble of a detonated national icon to represent a destroyed people; and finally, Jochen Gerz's *Warum*, a proposal submitted for the 1997 competition that would ask visitors why the Holocaust occurred, with the subsequent answers engraved onto the base of the five-acre site. All of these artists were born during or shortly after the war years (Gerz 1940, Hoheisel 1944, Stih and Schnock the 1950s), and all, with the exception of Stih, who is a Berliner born in Zagreb, are German. This chapter will also pay attention to a further example, *Autobahn Kilometre*, proposed by German designers Reinhard Matz and Rudolph Herz, a memorial that would dedicate a section of the German motorway network to the murder of European Jews.

Before analysing these case studies, it is important to define what is meant by the term 'counter-monument'. Young, who coined the term, defines the counter-monument as something that flouts any number of cherished memorial conventions:

Its aim is 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 its passers-by but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation and desecration; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town's feet. By defining itself in opposition to the traditional memorial's task, the counter-monument illustrates concisely the possibilities and limitations of all

memorials everywhere. In this way, it functions as a valuable “counter-index” to the ways time, memory, and current history intersect at any memorial site.⁴

It is also important to consider the traditional function of the memorial, whilst also taking into account the historical background from which these German artists entered the competition.⁵ It is imperative to be mindful of a post-war German aesthetic position and why the self-abnegating monument is arguably the product of a legacy of Germany’s Nazi history; of the circumstances that stigmatized the *Nachgeborenen*⁶ and created the issues of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in association with Germany’s Nazi history. As Benjamin Buchloh asks: ‘How could the condition of an almost complete repression of memory of having inflicted the Holocaust *not* affect the definition and practices of cultural production in that country?’⁶ Having been born during or soon after the Second World War, German artists such as Jochen Gerz, Renata Stih, Frieder Schnock, Horst Hoheisel, Reinhard Matz and Rudolph Herz, emerged from a climate where, according to Andreas Huyssen, the majority of artists dealt with the problem of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* by apparently forgetting the issue existed,⁷ though one

⁴ James. E. Young, ‘The Countermonument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today’, p. 277.

⁵ Bill Niven expands upon the opposition between traditional monuments and counter-monuments. He points to Alfred Hrdlicka’s Gegendenkmal, near Hamburg-Dammtor, as being the proto-typical counter-monument. Though this was designed to counteract the nearby National Socialist monument to the soldiers of the 76th Hamburg Infantry Regiment, counter-monuments do not normally stand in such contrastive relation to specific pre-1945 monuments. Niven also stresses that pre-1945 monuments still surviving in Germany had, by the 1980s, long become cobwebbed, graffiti-defaced relics with little communicative force. Nor had West Germany shown any real proclivity for building new imposing monuments. So, according to Niven, given this lack of any post-war indulgence in monumentalism, the term counter-monument is something of a straw man. Bill Niven, ‘From Counter-monument to Combi-memorial: Developments in German Memorialisation’ in *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1. February 2013, pp. 75-91 (p.78).

⁶ R.M. Douglas, *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 41.

⁶ Benjamin Buchloh, *Neo-Avant-Garde and the Culture Industry. Essays On European & American from 1955-1975* (London: MIT Press, 2001), p. 87.

⁷ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism (Theories of Representation and Difference)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 98.

could argue that artists followed and reflected society's response at the time. Artists and writers who did convey the issue were, as Huyssen also argues, creating a 'spectacle coming dangerously close to functioning as a substitute or pacifier'.⁸ By analysing the work of the aforementioned German artists I shall argue that counter-monuments refer to the wider context of the state-sponsored monument and the issue of representing the Holocaust by raising critical questions and engendering controversy rather than evoking a unified harmony. The counter-monument can also be seen as a genre that transgresses the boundaries of official commemoration. Of further consideration is the way in which this genre might relate to the aspirations of the project instigators and politicians. By way of recalling Eberhard Jäckel's declaration that the memorial should 'show the world that we have accepted the burden of our history',⁹ and Wolfgang Nagel's view that the memorial would represent a 'new, self-effacing nation',¹⁰ this chapter will also examine how such ideas concerning self-image and introspection might be the outcome of the counter-monument designs, even though they were never built.

Though counter-monuments are associated with developments in the 1980s, with Gerz considered a pioneer of the genre, there is a notable history of artists reacting to the heritage of the traditional artwork or monument, particularly when the artwork commemorates the loss of life through conflict. Following the First World War, cubists and expressionists rejected the mimetic depiction of atrocities, fearing that such portrayals only served to elevate them to a mythical status. As Shelly Hornstein points

⁸ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism (Theories of Representation and Difference)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 98.

⁹ Eberhard Jäckel, *Now is the Moment. A Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe (Jetzt ist der Moment. Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europa)* (*Der Tagesspiegel*. 30.4.1990).

¹⁰ Senator Wolfgang Nagel, *The National Holocaust Memorial is long overdue (Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst überfällig)* (*Frankfurter Rundschau*. 5.5.1994).

out, at this time, the traditional aim of the war monument had been to ‘valorise the suffering in such a way as to justify, even redeem, it historically.’¹¹ But for these artists, such monuments would have been ‘tantamount to betraying not only their experience of the War, but also their new reasons for art’s existence after the war: to challenge the world’s realities, not affirm them.’¹² As I shall argue via the aforementioned designs submitted for the Berlin competition, similar concerns are evident with the counter-monument artists, only in their case their creations were not simply a reaction to post-conflict propaganda but rather that the understanding of history should remain potent, accessible, and undirected by a particular viewpoint. They appeared to consider the traditional monument as being staid and easily ignored rather than being representations of events that maintain history’s relevance. Their proposals for the Berlin competition were critical responses to traditional monuments’ certainty of history, suggesting that single, constant images are insufficient representations and cannot be read as the final word on a respective period. They resisted the idea of the memorial as drawing a line under the past, the *Schlusstrich* the jury and Senator Wolfgang Nagel were concerned the finally selected memorial could represent.¹³ Resistance to *Schlusstrich* therefore forms part of the background to counter-monuments.

Significant differences between the counter-monument designs and traditional monuments will be explored. This includes fundamental differences such as the counter-monument’s opposition to the traditional monument’s stasis. *Bus Stop!*, for instance, would have been a transient memorial taking people to the former

¹¹ Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobwitz, *Image & Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 61.

¹² Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobwitz, *Image & Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 61.

¹³ In connection to this, *Schlusstrich* implies, according to Christine Richert-Nugent, the attempt to move toward being a ‘normal’ nation. Christine Richert-Nugent, *German Vergangenheitsbewältigung, 1961-1999: Selected Historiographic Controversies and their Impact on National Identity*, p. 15.

concentration camps; *Warum* would have been a memorial that slowly engraves peoples' responses onto its base, and *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate* would have seen the creation of two memorials by way of forming two related empty spaces in central Berlin: one space being the empty place where the detonated Brandenburg Gate once stood, whilst the other space would be the designated memorial site where the ashes of the Brandenburg Gate would have been scattered, then covered, leaving no trace. So unlike the winner of the Berlin competition – Eisenman's 2,700 concrete blocks – the counter-monument proposals would not have remained fixed to the designated site.¹⁴

Though sharing some of abstract art's concerns regarding the conscience-soothing or dogmatic effects of figurative works, counter-monument artists do not consider abstract depictions of genocide to be appropriate alternatives. Renata Stih, for instance, condemns Eisenman's design in relation to its subject: 'It could be a memorial to the victims of road accidents. Or not even a memorial to victims of any kind. The Holocaust isn't an abstract thing, it's a real thing.'¹⁵ To Gerz, Eisenman's design causes the 'lowest level of debate because abstract designs, by their nature, lack specificity.'¹⁶ Gerz also expresses a role for his generation of German artists – the *Nachgeborenen* – who, according to Gerz, are responsible for post-war memory.¹⁷

¹⁴ Uri Jacob Matatyaou, and Peter Carrier classify Eisenman's design as a counter-monument, and though it bears connections to the genre, primarily due to its encouragement of interaction and its capacity to provoke rather than console, it does not include the aforementioned element that I argue for. Matatyaou categorizes the memorial as a counter-monument because of its non-redeeming narrative and for its rejection of the 'overladen symbolism' and predilection for 'nostalgia that defines tradition'. Matatyaou, Uri Jacob. *Memory Space Politics: Public Memorial and the Problem of Political Judgment*, p. 136. This, however, would mean that many abstract memorials are also counter-monuments, as the argument could be applied to a range of memorials. Carrier's classification is based on Eisenman's ironic employment of elemental monolithic forms that often form the basis of traditional sculptural monuments. Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*, p. 136.

¹⁵ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 21.6.2012.

¹⁶ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Though this situation applies to all post-war artists, those producing counter-monuments appeared to view themselves as taking a more direct approach by creating designs that are left open to interpretation on the one hand, whilst also being specifically about the Holocaust on the other. As I shall posit whilst scrutinising *Bus Stop!*, *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate*, and *Warum*, some, if not all of these tenets, can be observed in the designs, therefore justifying an umbrella term for concepts that might be considered, at least on first appearance, to be disparate, with each model belonging to different, unspecified genres. Young goes on to elucidate that the counter-monument artists are concerned that we usually expect monuments to do our memory-work for us and in doing so become forgetful: ‘Counter-monument artists believe, in effect, that the initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them.’¹⁸ More specifically to the Berlin competition, Brian Ladd points out that counter-monument artists and their advocates feared that the effect, or even the purpose, of Lea Rosh’s central memorial was to separate events of the Third Reich from the collective memory of the city, meaning history would be partitioned from the new and thriving Germany.¹⁹ In the following case studies, then, I explore the ways that some artists renegotiate the process by which memory can be maintained with designs that consciously work against other interpretations and even the competition itself.

¹⁸ Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobwitz, *Image & Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, p. 64.

¹⁹ Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 171.

4.01 Bus Stop! – The Non Monument

The proposal submitted by Stih and Schnock, *Bus Stop! – the non monument* (Figure 25), went so far as to question the premise of the competition, namely, that a centrally located memorial could represent understandings of the past and national belonging in the present and future.²⁰ Stih and Schnock submitted an ‘anti-proposal’²¹ where twenty-eight red buses would leave the memorial site at regular intervals, taking visitors to the former concentration camps of Germany and Poland, meaning buses would be illuminated with the destination signs of Dachau, Ravensbruck, Buchenwald, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Auschwitz. This would not only have created an itinerant memorial referencing the transportation of Jews, but also a reminder, to some extent, of the geographical reach of the Nazi extermination programme.

²⁰ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*. p. 180.

²¹ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 21.6. 2012.



(Figure 25) *Bus Stop!* (1994) Image courtesy of Stih and Schnock

Stih and Schnock officially submitted their concept as follows:

Bus Stop! is a transitory monument whose primary function is based on the dissolution of the traditional monument. This is not the creation of another place for ritualized remembrance. Rather, the basic idea is the offer to proceed to the actual places of remembrance. Whoever wants to mourn the victims must make the journey to the sites of destruction because when remembering we are inclined to be more interested in the offenders than the victims. The bus terminal is designed as a starting point for tours to authentic Berlin memorials and to the more distant memorials and death camps in Poland.²²

²² Document outlining the artists' concept, 1994.

This written accompaniment to Stih and Schnock's model explains that *Bus Stop!* does not adhere to convention by its suggestion of movement, its transportation of visitors to the former death camps, which prioritizes the authentic sites over 'sites of memory'²³ by seeking out the actual remnants of Nazi Germany, which they hope will evoke empathy in visitors.²⁴ An interest in encouraging empathy can be traced to the dilemma their generation – the *Nachgeborenen* – find themselves in when reflecting on their Nazi heritage. As Bill Niven explains: the *Nachgeborenen* are faced with complex issues concerning generational distance to and potential (mis)appropriation of the past and constantly question what their role as artists should be in regard to the legacy of the Second World War:

Moral self-condemnation, especially in a generation, which bears no guilt for the Holocaust, would be an inappropriate way of reacting to it. It would block true empathy and reflection. By contrast, over-identification with the victims is inappropriate because it would lead to a loss of any sense that the Germans had been perpetrators.²⁵

With regard to the counter-monuments featured in this chapter, only *Bus Stop!* would have encouraged visitors to engage empathetically with Holocaust victims by confronting them with the actual sites of former death camps. Gerz's *Warum*, Hoheisel's *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate*, and Matz and Herz's *Autobahn Kilometre*, would not have included any images or even references to the genocide. In their refusal of monumental memorialisation, they do, however, reference (even if in the negative) a fascist aesthetic which supported the ideology that had facilitated Nazi crimes.

²³ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de memoire*', p. 9.

²⁴ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7. 2012.

²⁵ Bill Niven, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*, p. 19.

One should be mindful of assuming that the *Nachgeborenen* all reflect on the Holocaust in similar ways, and also one should not assume, as Niven does, that they do not bear any guilt for the past despite their lack of involvement. One should also be careful not to think of *Nachgeborenen* artists as all being dedicated to evoking empathy for victims in their designs. The other counter-monument artists featured in this chapter do not make any reference to the victims in their submissions. The design by Stih and Schnock does, however, make the encouragement of empathetic responses part of their concept for Berlin.

At memorial sites such as Sachsenhausen, the ruins of gas chambers, crematoria, and the heaps of personal effects displayed in the museum spaces, can cause empathetic identification with the victims of the Holocaust. Such artefacts (here one might think of the displayed artefacts in the Information Centre, and also, more famously at Auschwitz, the piles of hair, suitcases, reading glasses), seem to ask for a response that is not ‘an emotional self-pitying identification with victims, but a way of both feeling for, while different from, the subject of enquiry’,²⁶ an intellectual coming to terms with another person’s circumstances; seeing personal belongings that are relatable yet not one’s own – personal artefacts, which convey the resonating affects of the loss. This is extended by the concept of empathetic identification, which according to David Bathrick is seen as indispensable in Holocaust education because it can have a transformational impact on visitors, causing the beholder to feel closer to victims, as they see the tangible ‘reality’ of artefacts that belonged to people who were murdered.²⁷ For instance, in the example of Claude Lanzmann’s documentary, *Shoah*, Dominick

²⁶ Alison Landsberg, ‘America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy’, p. 82.

²⁷ David Bathrick, ‘Visualizing the Holocaust: Documents, Aesthetics, Memory’ in ed. Marc Silberman, *Memory and Postwar Memorials: Confronting the Violence of the Past* (Rochester, New York; London: Camden House, 2012), pp. 73-86 (p. 76).

LaCapra believes that empathetic identification with people and places enabled Lanzmann to feel that he was reliving – indeed suffering through – the past.²⁸ With the aforementioned artefacts, ruins of crematoria, gas chambers, and the still standing guard towers, Holocaust memorial sites continue to provide a representation of reality thus allowing visitors to suffer through, as Lanzmann does, a past that was not ours. This applies to the former barracks of Auschwitz-Birkenau – one of *Bus Stop!*'s destinations – which famously displays piles of personal belongings confiscated at the camps that have become part of Holocaust iconography and semiotics.

Alison Landsberg conceives of Holocaust museums (and by extension concentration camp memorial sites) as 'transferential spaces' where people enter into experiential relationships with events they did not experience, thereby gaining access to 'sensually immersed knowledges, knowledges which would be difficult to acquire by purely cognitive means.'²⁹ This is supported by Harold Marcuse who writes that:

The use of the memorial site exclusively for cognitive learning, without attention to emotional aspects of a visit, is not apt to promote the kind of learning that teachers want to take place at a memorial site (...) memorial sites should draw on their unique strength, namely the emotional appeal of a genuine historical site.³⁰

²⁸ Dominick LaCapra. *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, p. 5.

²⁹ Alison Landsberg, 'America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy', p. 67.

³⁰ Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp 1933-2001* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 391.

Like Marcuse, Stih and Schnock were interested in the ‘authentic sites of destruction’ and felt the pre-designated site in Berlin to be ‘artificial’ because the killings did not happen there.³¹ Stih and Schnock proposed to transport visitors to sites where empathetic identification and emotional connections with victims were more likely to occur than at a memorial site where the murders did not take place.³² *Bus Stop!* would also have included its own information centre on the pre-designated Berlin site, along with a *Fahrplan* (bus timetable) that would have been issued to each passenger, providing information on the importance of some eighty-eight Holocaust-related sites across Europe.

A further aspect of *Bus Stop!* is that Stih and Schnock go against any form of ‘ritualised remembrance’ (though it could be argued that they are creating new rituals by transporting visitors to the camps), and also that they consider the designated site as being invalid, as it was never a location for the murder of Jews, though one should counter this point by noting that the former Ministerial Gardens was the administrative centre for the Nazi pogroms and has a disturbing history of its own.³³

³¹ The site does have a disconcerting history though, as it was the administrative headquarters of the Nazi regime. Starting at the northern end of the site, number 72 Wilhelmstrasse was the Reich’s Ministry for Nutrition and Agriculture, number 73 the House of the Reichpresident, and numbers 74, 75 and 76 the Foreign Office. In 1939, 73 Wilhelmstrasse, which overlooks today’s memorial, became the official residence of Nazi Minister of Foreign Affairs, SS Obergruppenführer Joachim von Ribbentrop. A large swimming pool, situated almost at the centre of today’s Holocaust memorial site, was part of Ribbentrop’s palatial gardens. Simone Mangos, *A Monumental Mockery: The Construction of the National Holocaust Memorial*, p. 52. Ribbentrop, an ardent anti-Semite, was involved in the deportation of the European Jews to concentration camps. On 24 September 1942 he ordered that the deportation of Jews from all over Europe proceed as quickly as possible. Jane Caplan, *Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 143. On the opposite side of the memorial runs the Ebertstrasse, which was once the Hermann Göring Straße, the founder of the Gestapo.

³² Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7. 2012.

³³ The memorial site is just one block from the site of the *Führer Bunker*, and occupies an area of Berlin that was once the gardens between Hitler’s office and that of his architect Albert Speer. More sinisterly, one corner of the memorial site was formerly the location of Goebbels’ bunker, where, on 1 May 1945, in order to avoid capture by the on-coming Red Army, he and his wife Magda committed suicide shortly after she poisoned their six children with cyanide capsules as they slept. Anthony Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin 1945*, (London: Penguin Books. 2003), p. 380. The bodies of Hitler and Eva Braun, who both committed suicide the day before the Goebbels, were cremated in a location less than 200-metres from the memorial to the murdered Jews. The last days of the Second World War were fought on this very terrain.

We wanted to take the Holocaust memorial out of its designated place to make it unavoidable. We try to make things space-specific and for us this subject was all about the concentration camps, whereas the chosen Berlin site is artificial. Prior to designing *Bus Stop!* we visited Buchenwald and realised the same thing: *This* is the memorial – the site. Everything else is kitsch where this is a monument in itself. We also say there is no possibility of representing the Holocaust through pictures only, that even a giant monument has little effect and soon becomes invisible.³⁴

This approach can also be seen in Stih and Schnock's previous work in Berlin's *Bayerischer Viertel (Bavarian Quarter)* which comprises of eighty silk-screened aluminium signs hung in this former Jewish area of the city, with the signs illustrating the laws and rules against Jews that were visible in public places after the Nuremberg Racial Laws went into effect in 1935.³⁵ As Brian Ladd writes: 'Counter-monument artists use the power of place to make the past vivid, comprehensible, and inextricable from the lives of today's Germans. In showing how thoroughly the Third Reich permeated the daily life of the city, they imply that the era is far more than mere history.'³⁶ Stih and Schnock's *Bayerischer Viertel* work is as intimate as it is powerful, reminding both residents and passersby of what life was like for Jews in Berlin, replicating the prescriptions that slowly and insidiously pushed thousands of Jews out of the city and Germany too.³⁷ Arriving at a sign reading *Lebensmittel dürfen Juden in*

³⁴ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

³⁵ Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (West Port, CN; London: Praeger, 2001), p. 145.

³⁶ Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, p. 172.

³⁷ www.stih-schnock.de/remembrance.html *Places of Remembrance - Memorial in the Bavarian Quarter*. Accessed 7.7.2013.

Berlin nur nachmittags von 4-5 Uhr einkaufen ('Jews in Berlin are only allowed to buy food between four and five o'clock in the afternoon') would help to make the past feel relevant today, as though the rules still exist.³⁸ Like the transportation of visitors to the concentration camps, there should be no tangible threat to the visitor, but it is a stark reminder of the enforced movement of people and the restrictions that accumulated until all freedom was eroded to nothing. This prelude to *Bus Stop!* emphasises a further aspect of Stih and Schnock's principles concerning Holocaust memorials: that the memorial should invite discussion or interaction rather than be a permanent, final statement, which was likely (in their opinion) to be erected in central Berlin as the result of the competition. As Stih stated: 'Building a memorial would be unfair to all the scholars, as though this could somehow be the answer to the huge consciousness of German guilt and the issue of remembering the Holocaust. Instead, history should be left open, as though still occurring in some way.'³⁹ Recalling Jäckel's view that the memorial should 'show the world we have accepted our burden of history', Stih and Schnock show an interest in the memorial's relationship to this but also an anxiety that this determination to present Germany's difficult history could result in the 'burden' being assuaged, as though the commitment to build a national memorial negates further discussion and even absolves Germans from feeling any continued sense of guilt.

At night the rows of parked and waiting buses, with their destinations still illuminated, would have taken on the appearance of a light sculpture, and during the day the bus terminal's education centre would have provided a place of information relating to those who were forcibly transferred to the industrial sites of killing in question.⁴⁰

Computer-generated histories and literature on the Holocaust would have been

³⁸ It is worth noting that, soon after the memorial was unveiled, some people called the police because they read the present tense of the laws as current instructions.

³⁹ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

available at the terminal, providing the site with something analogous to a memorial travel centre where visitors could obtain information prior to departure. *Bus Stop!* would have encouraged visitors to take an active role, then – boarding a mobile memorial that would have evoked the deportations, providing visitors with the conditions to reflect upon the past and the experience of others.

To some extent *Bus Stop!* has connections to historical re-enactments that have become increasingly popular during the last two decades. As Sven Lutticken defines them:

Re-enactments try to create an experience of the past as present, or as much present as possible (...) The battle re-enactment places viewers and performers in the same landscape, even if in the case of “public” events the audience is at a safe distance. For hardcore re-enactors an authentic war re-enactment must be as close to an authentic act as can be managed without real bullets and real dead. In some battle re-enactments at least the experience of the performer becomes more important than the desire to have a certain effect on an audience.⁴¹

Here one can see similarities and differences to *Bus Stop!*, as Stih and Schnock’s concept places the visitor on a journey to a death camp, and though visitors always know that they will be safe, the journey is intended, in part, to remind visitors of the transportation of Jews to their deaths. This suggests a ‘reliving’ of the act of deportation, which could be problematic on grounds of poor taste and the implication that one could capture some sense of what the experience was like for victims. There

⁴¹ Sven Lutticken, *Life, Once More: Forms of Re-enactment in Contemporary Art* (New York: Witte de With, 2005), p 27, 39.

are, however, considerable differences. As the transportation is secure and comfortable, *Bus Stop!* would have lacked the authenticity that re-enactors strive for, to mirror what would happen in a re-enactment. Visitors would not be dressed in clothing to reflect the times, they would not be asked to wear Star of David patches, and they would not be asked to carry their belongings in suitcases, or endure cramped and unhygienic spaces. However, when it comes to the experience of the performer, or in this case the visitor, there is a situation that might cause *Bus Stop!* to be unique for the Berlin competition – one where, like the re-enactor, the audience *is* the ‘performer’. Whilst the citizens of Berlin and towns leading to the concentration camps are also part of the performance, the primary performers are those sitting aboard the buses. As Della Pollock has argued, ‘the historicist performer is both subject and object, and the audience’s reflection on this fact can open the way for an as yet unseen history: history less in thrall to the visible facts than to embodied, performing subjects. Re-enactors recognise that they are both actors and audience.’⁴²

According to Luticken, the dynamic of re-enactments is between ‘authenticity’ of representation and the factuality of the history being represented. ‘There is a drive toward the ‘importance of performance and education, and the two being combined’.⁴³ *Bus Stop!*, then, would have converged authenticity (by incorporating the concentration camp memorial sites) with embodied performance by way of something that would have evoked the deportations.

⁴² Jerome De Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 106.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Bus Stop!'s journeys would have maintained a clear distinction between the experience of victims and that of those travelling on *Bus Stop!*. Empathic unsettlement would have been encouraged by way of *Bus Stop!* being a process of tourism rather than something that re-created circumstances that were nearer to those experienced by victims. Had the design been the kind of re-enactment where visitors experienced some of the harsh conditions that victims did, it would have been an explicit attempt to over-empathise with victims. Empathic over-arousal risks that some visitors would have been so consumed by their own emotions, even if they never lost sight of the fact that this was an re-enactment, that they do not contemplate the victims' experience. *Bus Stop!*, however, provokes remembrance and an insight into this aspect of the victim's experience – the deportations – that does not endeavour to produce feelings of torment that victims would have gone through. This means that LaCapra's concept of empathic unsettlement – a 'kind of virtual experience through which one puts oneself in the other's position while recognising the difference of that position and hence not taking the other's place'⁴⁴ – is a form of reaction that *Bus Stop!* could have provoked.

As Karen Till elucidates, *Bus Stop!* encourages personal memory work through bodies moving through multiple space-times: 'The everyday spaces of the city, the moving buses, and the people moving through those spaces in the buses, the conversations in the buses – these movements, these becomings, *are* the memorial.'⁴⁵ As Stih explains: 'Details, nuances, unexpected images and encounters turn the approach to memory sites into a formative experience. You take your time and you give it to the dead. For going to a former concentration camp is no simple day trip: it requires preparation in order to be able to stand the shock of comprehension.'⁴⁶ In this sense, *Bus Stop!* is a

⁴⁴ Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, p. 183.

⁴⁵ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 182.

⁴⁶ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

process not an answer, reflecting the counter-monument tenet of creating mnemonic concepts that are a more memorable way of remembering, due, in this example, to the participation required on the part of the viewer and the time the viewer must dedicate in order to complete the process of remembrance.

Organizers at the time, were as Shelly Horstein states, ‘intent on concentrating memory of Europe’s murdered Jews into a single site in Berlin, and felt that *Bus Stop!* dispersed memory too far and wide, implicitly spreading the blame for the murder onto the regimes of conquered nations during the war.’⁴⁷ In connection to this, it is worth recalling that Peter Contradi and Jochen Schulze-Rohr overlooked the breadth of European involvement in the orchestration and implementation of the Nazi pogroms and sought to perpetuate what I have argued is a ‘Germanisation’ of the Holocaust where there seemed to be a determination to take full and sole liability for the past. Being mindful of their influence, *Bus Stop!*’s movement beyond Germany’s borders is likely to have been objected to by Contradi and Co-Chair of The Memorial Association, Schulze-Rohr.

In response, Stih and Schnock self-published a document showing public transport departure times to the former concentration camp sites, including details concerning the deportation of Jews and the murders that followed: alarming statistics that would make the timetable specific to the victims and the perpetrators rather than the nations where the murders occurred.⁴⁸ This supplement to the original concept also re-emphasises Stih and Schnock’s primary response to the call for submissions, accentuating their belief that *Bus Stop!* is a concept unreliant on the designated site in

⁴⁷ Shelley Hornstein, and Florence Jacobwitz, *Image & Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, p. 75-76.

⁴⁸ Interview with Frieder Schnock. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

Berlin, that this process of remembrance could happen from any starting point and can be conducted autonomously; that the Berlin site itself is not even required. This can also be seen in the design submitted by Reinhard Matz and Rudolph Herz, *Autobahn Kilometer* (Figure 26).



(Figure 26) Reinhard Matz and Rudolph Herz, *Autobahn Kilometer*.
Image courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

This half-mile stretch of Autobahn, proposed to be just south of Kassel, rather than Berlin, would have been paved with cobblestones, forcing motorists to decelerate to thirty kilometres-per-hour.⁴⁹ This memorial attests to the counter-monument tenets in distinctive ways, confronting the issues that counter-monument artists have with traditional monuments, as it challenges the idea of having a traditional centrally located

⁴⁹ Günter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' – a documentation)*, p. 841.

site, and that the memorial cannot be ignored by passers-by. Journeys would also be delayed by this enforced encounter. Yet the cause of potential lateness and the inconvenience caused by *Autobahn Kilometre* would also provide an immediate perspective between this annoyance and the event being commemorated. Taking time out of one's day to think of events where mass suffering occurred makes this design akin to a minute's silence for those who were murdered.⁵⁰

Though there are commonalities between *Autobahn Kilometre* and *Bus Stop!*, the differences are worth paying attention to. *Bus Stop!* does not impose itself on Germans and citizens from other nations in the same way, it is more voluntary, more surprising. *Bus Stop!* is also more directly about the Holocaust, taking visitors to the concentration camps, whereas *Autobahn Kilometer's* meaning is only signalled by the motorway signage that confirms the title of the memorial. In this respect, *Autobahn Kilometer* shows how counter-monument designs can also be abstract, leaving visitors to contemplate the memorial with minimal visual direction. Remembrance is, however, much shorter than *Bus Stop!'s* journeys, which would take several hours or even days.

Rather than create a memorial detached from daily life, Stih and Schnock's concept would have still impinged on the life of Berliners, visiting Germans, foreign tourists, and even those who did not plan to visit the bus terminal-cum-memorial site, or were perhaps unaware of its existence. Buses passing through the city, then onto the respective concentration camps, would have been unforeseen, unexpected reminders of history that would inevitably cause reflection and break the normality of a person's day, making *Bus Stop!* a memorial that would also visit people rather than the

⁵⁰ The proposal was only rejected by the *Findungskommission* because it was not situated in Berlin and would take the memorial away from the pre-set location, otherwise it was idea that would have progressed to the final stage of the second competition. James E. Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, p. 201.

traditional process of the memorial being visited. The paradigm of having a self-contained site is broken in favour of a process that forces visitors, and to some extent spontaneous observers too, to search themselves for memory and meaning rather than being directed by a conventionally static, visual entity that might become the object to be remembered itself and therefore the single memory of the Holocaust, be it a sculpture, an icon, or an abstract field of rising and tilting blocks. However, as *Bus Stop!* is also a visual entity, one should not overlook the possibility that it too might become the sole object to be remembered of the Holocaust for some people. Its novelty and daring alone might be instrumental in this.

The official submission by Stih and Schnock includes a prosaic factor that warrants explication: the site would have been divided by a road for the arrival and departure of buses.⁵¹ Stih and Schnock believed they had no choice but to incorporate the designated site into their proposal or they would risk immediate exclusion from the competition, so their inclusion of the information centre was accompanied by a road that splits the site in two and only permits buses to travel in one direction.⁵² Schnock states that this was an allusion to Walter Benjamin's *Einbahnstraße (One Way Street)*, with the rest of the site left barren to highlight its artificiality.⁵³ By relating Benjamin's dream-like, aphoristic observations of urban life in Weimar Germany to *Bus Stop!*, one can appreciate why Stih and Schnock felt compelled to allude to *Einbahnstraße* in their design. Benjamin's literary work is also referenced at the *Jewish Museum* where architect Daniel Libeskind took inspiration from Benjamin's writing by making the building respond to the apocalyptic tour of Berlin given by Benjamin's 1928 book, positioning sixty stations of the Star of David as a guidebook for new citizens of Berlin.

⁵¹ Document outlining the artists' concept. 1994.

⁵² Interview with Frieder Schnock. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

This does, like *Bus Stop!*, encourage visitors to use the site as a way to discover the past, present, and future of the city.⁵⁴ *Bus Stop!* would operate via a parallel sphere with its destination signs, travel office, and *Fahrplan* leading to a new experience of the city, its surroundings, its history, and finally the places where mass murder was orchestrated.

Despite its unconventional, arguably non-conformist approach, *Bus Stop!* was apparently the most popular design with the German public,⁵⁵ and was also ranked eleventh out of the 528 proposals by the first jury,⁵⁶ which suggests its critique of the competition's precepts and its opposition to the traditional monument was not only understood by the wider community and the 1995 jury, but also something that many Germans could identify with: that a national memorial to the near-annihilation of Jews could not only be iconoclastic but also a mobile memory work that changes the notion of what a memorial can and possibly should be; that 'materiality and durable forms are secondary to thought processes.'⁵⁷ In line with Nagel's view that the chosen memorial should not in any way be cathartic, *Bus Stop!*'s transportations to the former concentration camps would also have been a fervent reminder of the geographical scope of the deportations, the organisational and logistical determination of the Nazis to commit genocide, and physical evidence of the camps themselves, how they operated, and remnants of the murdered.

⁵⁴ Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobwitz, *Image & Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, p. 54.

⁵⁵ National newspaper, *Die Welt*, declared that *Bus Stop!* was the popular favourite, after the model for the design, which was exhibited at Berlin's *Stadtratshaus* in 1995 and 1996, along with all other entries for the first competition, received a number of positive comments. Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 180.

⁵⁶ Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' - a documentation)*, p. 286.

⁵⁷ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 180.

Though not present on the 1995 jury, *Findungskommission* member Young writes positively of *Bus Stop!*, stating that the idea would, in keeping with counter-monument ideas, ‘return the burden of memory to visitors’,⁵⁸ and the concept was also supported by Amnon Barzel, former chair of the Council of Jews in Germany, who said that regardless of the memorial competition’s outcome, *Bus Stop!* should be built in Berlin.⁵⁹ Yet, despite the evidence of popular support, *Bus Stop!* was never brought to fruition. Its reception by the 1995 jury is partly explained by jury member Stephanie Endlich who did not believe the majority of jury members understood Stih and Schnock’s proposal, that they were on a different wavelength when it came to assessing the work of counter-monument artists. This resulted in *Bus Stop!*’s exclusion from the 1995 short-listed designs of which ten were selected.⁶⁰ The 1995 competition documents, evidencing the jury’s assessment, suggest the idea was, in fact, understood, at least to the extent that the jury acknowledged *Bus Stop!*’s determination to highlight the ‘difficulties of remembrance.’⁶¹ And further examination of the competition’s principles reveals a notable similarity between the interests of the *Nachgeborenen* jury and what the counter-monument designers were offering. It is worth recalling, for instance, that Wolfgang Nagel’s 5 May 1994 press release, issued on behalf of the project instigators and the jury, concluded by stating that: ‘The object of this competition is of course difficult because it is not about getting rid of duty and we are not trying to draw a line under the past.’⁶² This is a reminder that the selectors and influencers, all of the same post-war generation, sought, in part, a memorial that

⁵⁸ James E. Young, ‘The Countermonument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today’ James E. Young, ‘The Countermonument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today’, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Winter, 1992), pp. 267-296 (p. 271). University of Chicago Press.

⁵⁹ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 180.

⁶⁰ Interview with Stefanie Endlich. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.8.2014.

⁶¹ Document outlining the jury’s assessment of *Bus Stop!*, 11.1994. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das ‘Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas’ Eine Dokumentation (The monument’s disputes: The Debate around ‘The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe’ – a documentation)*, p. 546.

⁶² As evidenced in the chapter *Who is the the memorial for?*

reflected the memory of the Holocaust as an on-going process. Such concerns are also at the forefront of Federal Cultural Representative (*Bundeskulturbeauftragter*), Michael Naumann's view that the creation of a national Holocaust memorial could result in 'an unintended message that the past had been negotiated.'⁶³ Ultimately, the documents show that *Bus Stop!* was measured against the competition's guidelines with no suggestion of flexibility and that a memorial that would leave the designated site would not be commissioned by the panel:

The memorial does not correspond to the competition's requirements but is valued as an important impulse to fundamentally think about the problems involved in commemoration. The conception of the non-monuments provided here is evaluated as an important contribution to the current monument discussion. Several members of the jury felt there was a lack of consideration towards the parameters of the competition's advertisement and, also, the feasibility of the concept in principle has been questioned. Similarly, the view was expressed that the proposed solution did not constitute an adequate response to the task.⁶⁴

Reflecting on the memorial competition, Stih and Schnock believe the jurors and members of the *Findungskommission* wished for a specific kind of memorial, one that strives to reconcile the enormous regret about the past with the greatness of a reunited nation.⁶⁵ They are also critical of the competition's outcome, of Eisenman's field of

⁶³ Interview with Michael Naumann. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.2.2014.

⁶⁴ Document outlining the jury's assessment of *Bus Stop!*. 11.1994. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' - a documentation)*, p. 546.

⁶⁵ www.stih-schnock.de/bus-stop Accessed 4.10.2012.

undulating blocks and what they represent: ‘The lack of humility has cast itself there in concrete. The labyrinth of cement blocks can only obstruct the difficult process of remembrance and reflection.’⁶⁶ Here one might observe the counter-monument artists’ primary concerns regarding closure caused by the erection of monuments and their criticism of monumentality, not just by way of the traditional monument, but also by the ‘obstruction’ caused by abstraction too, as this style does not prompt the kind of interaction and thought processes championed by counter-monument creators. The principal extends to political examples too, such as the symbolism of political acts, exemplified by Gerhard Schröder’s visit to the D-Day Beaches where he, according to Stih, announced that World War Two is now part of history.⁶⁷ To Stih and Schnock, the past is over when ‘the victims and the witnesses decide it is over.’⁶⁸ With the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition that concern is reflected in the proposal of *Bus Stop!* and other counter-monument submissions, where German artists responded to the prospect of creating a central, national memorial to the murdered Jews, with proposals that would resist any attempt, be it consciously or not, to close the subject and the memory with it. Furthermore, regardless of what category one allocates to such designs, they represent the possibility of a memorial: something designed to involve the visitor and result in a new way of thinking about a familiar subject. In this sense *Bus Stop!* is not an ‘anti-memorial’, or whatever prefix one might assign it, but rather a mnemonic mobile installation that recalls the process of the crime and places the visitor in line with the victims’ experience. Its insistence on taking a substantial amount of the viewer/participant’s time, on causing one to reflect on and be part of a process of remembrance, is designed to create a heightened awareness of the past but without the illusion that one is able to master it.

⁶⁶ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

⁶⁷ Interview with Renata Stih. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.7.2012.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

4.02 Blow up the Brandenburg Gate

Despite its unambiguous title, Horst Hoheisel's *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate* is more complex than sometimes credited. By creating a new space of absence in central Berlin and by asserting that a pending space should be left devoid of a new memorial, Hoheisel appears to proffer the values of invisibility, which immediately connects to the counter-monument artists' disdain for the traditional monument and how its effects soon become negligible. In his 1927 essay, *Monuments*, Robert Musil writes:

There is nothing in the world as invisible as a monument. They are surely erected to be seen, indeed, to attract attention; but at the same time they are impregnated with something that repels attention (...)
One cannot say we do not notice them; one would instead say that they elude our senses.⁶⁹

Here one might consider the problem of familiarity, how the traditional monument's lack of change and similarity with other statues, busts, and even abstract forms, causes it to become arguably unnoticed and perhaps anachronistic in postmodern cities such as Berlin. As a counterpoint, however, Eisenman's vast field of concrete blocks is difficult to ignore, though this is arguably a result of its scale rather than its forms. Musil's scepticism towards the visibility of public monuments is partly grounded on his claim that 'anything that endures loses its power to influence the senses of the observer', that 'the statue quickly becomes banal.'⁷⁰ Hoheisel, however, extends this critique of the traditional monument by questioning what Germany's most famous

⁶⁹ Robert Musil, *Monuments: Imposthumous Papers of a Living Author* (New York: Archipelago Books, 2009), p. 64.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

architectural feature has come to represent, and that a new representation of its meaning might be obtained with its destruction and resultant absence.

Hoheisel's proposal is not so much about creating a new national memorial as it is about destroying an existing one. Had Hoheisel been successful, the Brandenburg Gate would have been detonated, with the rubble ground to dust and scattered like ashes onto the designated memorial space of the former Ministerial Gardens. The remains of the Brandenburg Gate would have then been covered by large slabs, thus creating two conspicuous, symbolic spaces of absence in central Berlin rather than the creation of a new visual entity within sight of the Unter der Linden and the Pariser Platz, just a block away.⁷¹ So rather than filling the void left by a murdered people with a new form, Hoheisel would have carved out an empty space in Berlin by which to recall a now absent people. Rather than concretizing and thereby displacing the memory of Europe's murdered Jews, he would have opened a place in the landscape to be filled with the memory of those who come to remember Europe's murdered Jews. The Brandenburg Gate, a landmark originally conceived to celebrate Prussian might, crowned by a chariot Quadriga, carrying the Roman goddess of peace, would have been demolished to make room for the memory of Jewish victims of German might. A symbol of power, then, but also division and unity between East and West, including the celebrations that followed the collapse of the Wall in 1989 – the Brandenburg Gate – would have been erased to make way for the commemoration of a crime committed by a previously united country.

⁷¹ Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

The monument not as the construction of a new one but as the deconstruction of an old building. The Brandenburg Gate, after reunification, is increasingly used as the symbol of unbroken German identity and continuity. However, in the wake of its opening through unification also came new xenophobia, exclusion, arson attacks and murders. The national identity and historical continuity is beyond repair after the genocide of European Jews and the Roma and Sinti. They (i.e. the identity and continuity) cannot be restored.⁷²

Hoheisel's call to demolish a symbol of national unity demonstrates his contempt toward the notion of a monument that can serve as a representation of a positive national identity, particularly in light of the mass crimes committed by the reunified country's forebears, along with what he now considers signs of neo-fascist activity in the new Germany. Hoheisel's accompanying description for his design seems to declare the Brandenburg Gate a fraudulent self-image, a mere illusion of unity and peace that cannot be repaired. In many respects this corresponds to a further counter-monument precept concerning reparation of the past, something identified by Hoheisel as the nation's need to repair and close the past, which is something he wishes to resist because, to him, 'every public work of art is an act of closure, not remembrance.'⁷³ The void of the Brandenburg Gate would have therefore shown the broken identity of the nation caused by the perpetrators of the Holocaust, meaning for Hoheisel, it should not be used as a symbol of unanimity for a glorious history and a positive future. Hoheisel is remarkably selective in what he associates with this icon though. Whilst the structure was used by the Nazis for parades, Hoheisel chooses to ignore the Brandenburg Gate

⁷² Extract from the document outlining Horst Hoheisel's official submission. 1994.

⁷³ Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

as the symbol of unity and its more constructive history of freedom for East Germans and the celebrations that followed the breaching of the Wall in 1989, of which the Brandenburg Gate was pivotal.

Recalling the debates centred on the memorial's connections to German self-image, Hoheisel's proposal bears relation to the views of prominent political and cultural figures. This includes Martin Walser who alluded to the problem of focusing German self-image on the Nazi past rather than more positive aspects of the country's history.⁷⁴ With Hoheisel's interpretation, his idea would not conform to Walser's hopes, as it would have made reference to both the Nazi past and the fascist present. To Hoheisel, it would have been a memorial relating to an enduring national identity of fascism, evidenced by new racism as a consequence of reunification. Had the idea been commissioned, Hoheisel's construal of his design would compete with different interpretations, which might see the detonation of the Brandenburg Gate in alternative ways. It would, more than most submissions, be a commitment to the 'self-effacing' nation, a country so determined to present itself to the world as being penitent that it demolished its national icon. This ardour could in itself be viewed as a positive self-image. Yet, the void designed to represent the 'broken identity of the nation', would have also been one that narrows the meaning of the Brandenburg Gate and its historical complexity. So for Germans, such as Walser, who sought a more positive self-image, Hohseisel's plan would have seen the destruction of a symbol associated with the

⁷⁴ As evidenced and discussed in the chapter *Who is the memorial for?* Walser berated a focus on the Nazi past that crowds out other aspects of the country's history and inhibits any sense of national belonging or notion of an organic community. Kathrin Schödel, 'Normalising Cultural Memory? The 'Walser-Bubis Debatte' and Martin Walser's Novel *Ein springender Brunnen*' in ed. by Stuart Taberner, and Frank Finlay, *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics and Literature in the Berlin Republic* (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2002), pp. 69-83 (p. 72).

country's chequered history, including a peaceful revolution. The issue of what one visual entity can come to represent, appears to be sidelined in pursuit of one aim.

Blow up the Brandenburg Gate also comes to represent the issue of expressing German guilt and the question of whether such apparently overt demonstrations of regret should be restrained. When Hoheisel formally submitted his idea in 1994, it included the following questions to explain his thinking behind the concept:

The question of this design is: are the people willing to sacrifice their national symbol as a monument in the face of the genocide of European Jews? Can the Germans suffer a double void? Both the emptiness of the Pariser Platz without the Brandenburg Gate and the empty place/space of the Ministerial Gardens with a monument of stone, steel or bronze that would provide some relief?⁷⁵

There is a contradiction here, in that detonating the Brandenburg Gate could, in Hoheisel's view, be an act of catharsis, eliminating a structure associated with fascism. This would go against Wolfgang Nagel's view that the memorial should *not* be cathartic, as this action would demonstrate just how far Germany was prepared to go to expunge signs of its Nazi heritage and the possibility of a continued influence.⁷⁶ Yet, such an action could ironically contradict the counter-monument view that a monument cannot be redemptive. It would, of course, for many Germans be anything but cathartic, but it does include this element, this idea that such an operation would show an unrivalled commitment corresponding to Germany's guilt concerning the Nazi era.

⁷⁵ From Horst Hoheisel's official submission documents. 6. 1994.

⁷⁶ As evidenced and discussed in the chapter, *Who is the memorial for?*

Hoheisel's submission is certainly a forthright challenge to the jurors, the media, and the wider German public, testing the German nation, seeing how far it would go in order to demonstrate its remorse, whether the nation would be prepared to destroy its national icon as a metaphor of atonement for crimes. By submitting this idea, Hoheisel placed the 1995 jury in a position where they either trusted in the values of such a metaphor or where they believed his design reached the limits of representation; that there is a line to be drawn in memorializing the deaths of six million people and this proposal crosses it. Even if the jury selected Hoheisel's idea they would have selected a concept that even the artist considers an additional failure in Holocaust-related representation, as Hoheisel asserts that Holocaust metaphors are a contradiction in terms. As he stated:

There are no metaphors or narratives about the Holocaust. All memorials demonstrate that there is only failure; it's just a question of whether you fail more or less. But you will fail! I, with the idea of shredding the Brandenburg Gate, would have failed too.⁷⁷

Whilst the scale of the memorial site can be read as a measure of continuing guilt and determination to express sorrow to the rest of the world, the counter-monument proposals would not have created what might be interpreted as an achievement for *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.⁷⁸ Instead, their creators' chief concern was to illustrate the impossibility of the task at hand, either by designing incomplete, transient forms (Stih and Schnock) or by destroying a symbol of national unity in order to highlight

⁷⁷ Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

⁷⁸ Bill Niven argues that some Germans may proudly interpret a gargantuan memorial as a great accomplishment and an issue finally dealt with. Bill Niven, 'From Counter-monument to Combimemorial: Developments in German Memorialisation', in *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1. February 2013, pp. 75-91 (p. 80).

continued fascism and the structure's association with Nazism, as expressed by Hoheisel's concept. Nevertheless, Hoheisel believes, his design was only received as a provocation. It was certainly dismissed during the competition's first round of deliberations, and like the vast majority of rejected designs, no official statement or commentary was ever provided to Hoheisel by the jury.⁷⁹

Though Hoheisel did not expect his proposal to be accepted, he was serious about his design and, like Stih and Schnock, believes that images alone cannot represent the Holocaust: 'All Holocaust monuments taken together show the impossibility for this loss by way of a picture.'⁸⁰ Despite Hoheisel's idea being rejected during the first round of talks in 1995, his 'negative form' monuments have been commissioned elsewhere in Germany, such as the 1985 *Aschrott Monument* in Kassel's City Hall Square, where a new fountain was sunk like an inverted replica right beneath the exact place where the original fountain stood, with the purpose of rescuing the history of the place by creating a wound and an open question to penetrate the consciousness of Kassel's citizens.⁸¹ The creation of absence to form a negative space can also be experienced in Saarbrücken, where Gerz produced *2146 Stones: Monument Against Racism*, a three-year intervention in the city's Schlossplatz where Gerz and his students clandestinely removed 2,146 cobblestones,⁸² engraved the names of desecrated Jewish cemeteries onto them – one per cobblestone – and then returned them to the square, face down, creating an invisible monument.⁸³ In both examples one can appreciate what *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate* would have brought to Berlin: that as visitors with no visual entity to observe, we, the visitor, would become the memorial itself. We would, in

⁷⁹ Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials & Meaning*, p. 288.

⁸² *2146 Stones: Monument Against Racism* was retrospectively commissioned in 1993 after Gerz informed Saarbrücken Parliament of the monument's secret construction.

⁸³ Jochen Gerz, *2146 Steine: Mahmal gegen Rassismus* (Saarbrücken: Stadtverband, 1993), p. 4.

effect, be left to search ourselves for memory, meaning the memorial would exist not in bronze or in stone but in the beholding of the people who come to see it. Individual memories are, after all, just like the places of absence, invisible.

Though I would argue that monumental art presents images to viewers rather than ‘projects’ them into their minds, the invisible outcome of Hoheisel and Gerz’s work could not be more of a contrast to this paradigm. Yet one should be mindful that even the counter-monument productions do not solve the problem (as Hoheisel and Gerz would see it) of the beholder seeing a monumental form and having that image serve as a statement, perhaps even a final comment, on the Holocaust. In fact, Hoheisel’s proposal to detonate the Brandenburg Gate would have been a monumental gesture. As jury member Stephanie Endlich declares:

Artists have tried to react with artistic means to the phenomenon of a crime which has surpassed all limits of rational understanding and which cannot be put into words. Monuments cannot tell the whole story of an event or a place. They can only generate a picture that remains in the mind of the viewer and starts working there.⁸⁴

Yet, as I have argued with regard to cultural memory, creating the conditions for a viewer’s recall of the Holocaust, (which unless you were present is a vicarious memory of events experienced through the canon of Holocaust representations), is likely to lead to the impenetrable visions that have become indelible in some minds through association. Therefore, Hoheisel and Gerz progress the debate, but suitably for its subject, do not resolve it. Invisibility might promote autonomy but ultimately, as

⁸⁴ William J.V. Neill, *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity*, 24.

discussed in the earlier chapter, *Issues of Representation*, what choice do visitors have but to draw upon knowledge of the Holocaust by way of the stockpile of artworks, artefacts, and literature? Whilst Gerz's invisible Saarbrücken project encourages thoughts on the Holocaust without an image to consider, Hoheisel's proposal for Berlin includes the contradiction of removing a traditional monument only to make it more 'visible' by way of it no longer being present.

Hoheisel's polemic can be seen as a further example of the counter-monument artist's determination to keep memory open, to resist the possibility of closure and completion of memory that a finished monument might cause, only in this example it also involves the destruction of an existing monument and its associated closure and alleged misrepresentation of the past and present. In this sense, Hoheisel's proposal is not merely iconoclastic or symbolic but rather a reaction to the notion of constructing and therefore completing a memorial to the murdered Jews. Just as Stih and Schnock interpreted Schroder's visit to the Normandy beaches as drawing a line beneath the memory of World War Two, Hoheisel's proposal of not creating a memorial but instead of destroying one echoes the counter-monument tenet that Holocaust memory can only exist through its irresolution, that even the lauding of existing monuments and acts of remembrance can, perhaps unconsciously, be attempts to draw the line. Just as *Bus Stop!* recalls the deportations, Hoheisel's concept acts as a perpetual reminder that:

The Germans should learn to live without a national symbol. At the place of the national symbol there should be only an empty place, a void that endures.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

The void itself would be the most visible of entities, something that could not be ignored. Here, by returning to Musil's essay, *Monuments*, one can appreciate how unknowingly prophetic his commentary was in relation to Hoheisel and Gerz's work. Hoheisel and Gerz recognize the value of creating invisibility, as unlike the traditional monument that is no longer noticed, either because it is anachronistic, static, or in an unforeseen competition with advertisements (a further claim of Musil's), the counter-monuments of Hoheisel and Gerz are ironically more visible through their invisibility; a provocation that is hard to ignore. Nevertheless, though Adrian Forty argues that the destruction of buildings and monuments – iconoclasm – is the most conventional way of hoping to achieve forgetting, the results can vary and not always be as intended.⁸⁶ The destruction of monuments in the Soviet Union after 1989 showed so vividly the effect of leaving empty plinths above which voids were even more noticeable as the sculptures that stood on them previously.⁸⁷ Hoheisel's proposed empty space for the Pariser Platz, like the empty pedestals that did not erase the memory of the communist regime, would also cause the Brandenburg Gate to still be present by way of its invisibility. As Forty goes on to argue, 'the lessons of iconoclasm are largely negative – rather than shortening memory, it is just as likely, whether intentionally or not, to prolong it.'⁸⁸ If one takes this into account, Hoheisel's destruction of the Brandenburg Gate might have succeeded only in making the national icon more memorable, not necessarily for the reason he wished to address, i.e. the preposterous idea that the Brandenburg Gate could represent an unbroken historical continuity (though this in itself could be contested, as some Germans may see the icon as a symbol of the country's ruptures) but rather as something to be imagined in its original state primarily because a controversial idea was remarkably commissioned. It is therefore easy to

⁸⁶ Adrian Forty, and Susanne Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting* (London: Berg Publishing, 2001), p. 10.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁸⁸ Adrian Forty, and Susanne Küchler, *The Art of Forgetting*, p. 12.

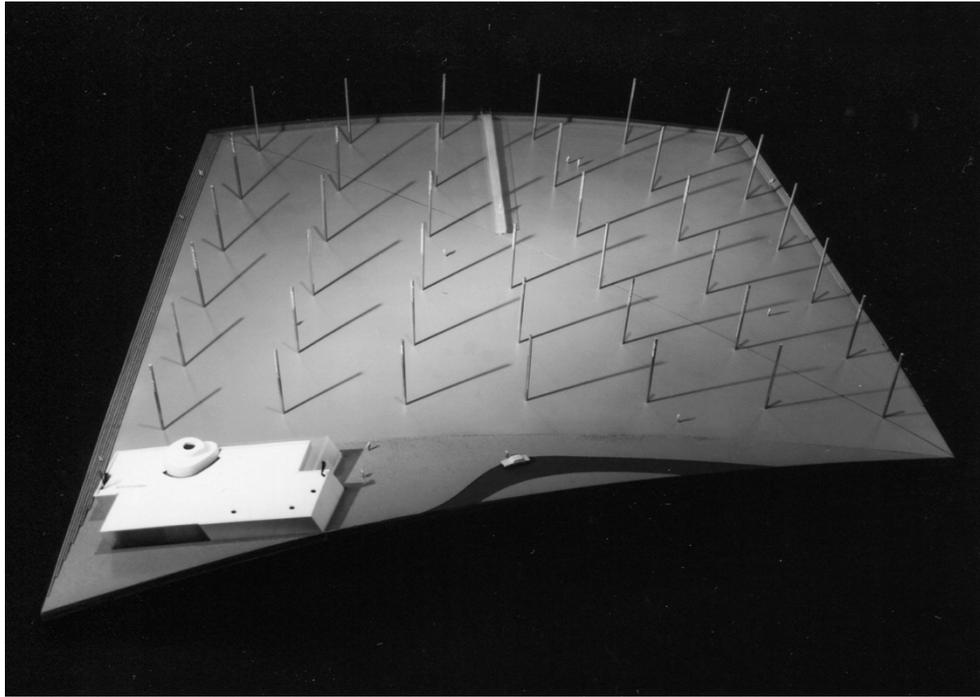
imagine Hoheisel's memorial being lost in an enduring controversy with the focus being exclusive to the sensation of pulverising the Brandenburg Gate rather than what the destruction itself might represent. Hoheisel, however, defends this approach, arguing that peoples' outrage would cause them to remember the history much better, 'deeper and for longer than standing before a beautiful monument, which they immediately accept.'⁸⁹

4.03 Warum

Jochen Gerz's proposal for the Berlin competition looks, at least on the face of it, rather uninspiring with its thirty-nine lampposts bearing the word 'Warum' ('Why') in the corresponding number of languages spoken by the persecuted Jews of Europe, a detail which cannot be appreciated by examining images of the model (Figure 27). Had this memorial been constructed, visitors would have been invited to answer the question of "Why" the Holocaust occurred, with the responses forming a collective text inscribed onto the site's five-acre concrete base.⁹⁰ Gerz proposed to displace responsibility for the creation of the memorial from the artist and the state to the public, with Gerz designing the means by which the visitor would contribute, whilst the state's role would be to provide the space and funds by which these contributions could be collected and expressed. This represents a design that set out to be more democratic in terms of public involvement, not in the selection of the chosen model, but at least in terms of co-authorship.

⁸⁹ Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

⁹⁰ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.



(Figure 27) Jochen Gerz's model *Warum*. Courtesy of Stefanie Endlich.

Gerz submitted a proposal after being invited to participate in the 1997 competition.

Part of his official submission includes:

The site is meant as an opportunity because it reverses the naïve equation of genocide, silence, discretion and dignity. It is the great achievement of this proposal that it makes a secular, even disturbing environment a precondition for artistic debate. Also, the enormous dimensions of the square – a metaphor for injuring the world, for the Shoah – is another “appropriate” parameter of the task because it makes excess/ exorbitance/ enormity a benchmark of the task. The realization?: The question “Why did it happen?” is the focus of the memorial because it embodies the approach of thinking and living after the Shoah. Every visitor to the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe is invited to respond to this question. The joint work of the

answers will become a permanent part of this site for contemplation and remembrance as this initially vast, empty space will eventually be engraved with the thoughts and reactions of visitors.⁹²

Gerz elaborates on *Warum* by stating that a 1.2 metre high robot, designed in Bremen, would have continually engraved answers onto the vast memorial ground for eighty years, therefore making the memorial an eight-decade work in progress.⁹³ Here one can observe the counter-monument precept to resist the completion of memory, as Gerz's robot would have disclosed an on-going expression of thoughts concerning the Holocaust, slowly revealing answers from a collection of responses accrued during the early years of the memorial's operation, meaning only future generations could read the collection in its entirety, presumably around the year 2080, by which time the robot's work would finally cease. The engraved answers would have also become part of one's own memory; comments that might resonate for years, thus illustrating the longevity of words in contrast to statues and other more traditional aesthetic forms that counter-monuments work against.

It was calculated that each letter should be 8cm long, thus allowing us visitors to read the engravings whilst standing upright as they explore the space whilst digesting the array of responses.⁹⁴ Reading the statements would have been more challenging than first expected though, primarily because the site would include the thirty-nine languages spoken by the Jewish communities of Europe, meaning French visitors would refer to the site as *Pourquoi*, Poles as *Dlaczego*, and Hungarians as *Miért*. Be it *Warum*, *Pourquoi*, or any European word for *Why*, the multi-lingual memorial reflects

⁹² From the document outlining Jochen Gerz's proposal. 4.1997.

⁹³ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

⁹⁴ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

the presence of Jewish communities in Europe and would have made the site essentially European in its focus and arguably closer to its pre-set title – *The Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe* – than most entries submitted for the competition. Additionally, as many of these languages are spoken in other parts of the world, *Warum* is deeply linked to cosmopolitanism, a place for everyone, an open and communicative society and a design that could be read as a reflection of a new Germany. Either way, it is the protracted nature of the memorial that represents one of Gerz’s dual principles, with the other being his belief in a co-authorship with the public, particularly when it comes to examinations of Germany’s history. As Gerz states:

We need authors, not viewers. We need people who say it’s my voice, it’s my view. People forget that the other nadir was the disappearance of German society, the disappearance of voices before the Jews disappeared. The whole country disappeared, in a different sense, first.⁹⁵

Now by way of *Warum*, Germans would not only be given a voice but also an opportunity to play a role in the formation of a national memorial, therefore reversing the silence of German society that coincided with the persecution of Jews. Like Gerz’s 1986 *Memorial Against Fascism* in Hamburg (notably referenced by Gerz in his supporting document for Berlin), all public responses would have been included and would remain uncensored, meaning the site would have, to some extent, document the social temperament of the 1990s. As Gerz said of his Hamburg work, ‘The filth brings us closer to the truth than any list of well-meaning signatures.’⁹⁶ Additionally, as public contributions are intrinsic to Gerz’s concept for Berlin, his penchant for co-authorship

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

between artist and society is further evidenced here, as eleven years earlier in Hamburg it was the citizens of the Harburg district who caused Gerz's steel obelisk to be gradually submerged into the ground by every signature and declaration against fascism they inscribed, thus allowing the next available space to be made accessible for further avowal until the whole obelisk was hidden from view.⁹⁷ Writing of this, Gerz's first counter-monument, Young states:

It remains the obligation of passers by to enter into the art: it makes artist-rememberers and self-memorializers out of every signatory. By inviting viewers to commemorate themselves, the counter-monument reminds them that to some extent all any monument can do is provide a trace of its makers, not of the memory itself (...). In effect, the vanishing monument will have returned the burden of memory to visitors: one day, the only thing left standing here will be the memory-tourists, forced to rise and to remember for themselves.⁹⁸

For Gerz, the memorial is not about the victims, it is too late for them. Instead, a Holocaust memorial, particularly one with national pretensions, should be about German responsibility and a demonstration of democracy as a bottom up process.⁹⁹ Here Gerz highlights an intrinsic factor of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial Competition – the expression of responsibility, something that appears to be inescapable for all Germans.

⁹⁷ James. E. Young, 'The Counter-monument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today', p. 278.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁹⁹ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

Such divisions continued on political lines through the reunification period and also became a factor when discussing the purpose of a national memorial to the murder of six million Jews in Berlin. Supporters of the memorial such as Jürgen Habermas argued that a central memorial implies the need for an axial role for the Holocaust in modern German consciousness, whereas conservative opponents argued that such a role is inappropriate and that the focus on the Holocaust is a strategy by the Left to avoid confronting the crimes of socialism.¹⁰⁰ The issue is updated by Roger Woods who writes of Germany's 'New Right' and how it is caught in an apparently irresolvable situation when it comes to its country's Nazi legacy. As he explains: 'A New Right strategy for dealing with the Nazi past is to argue for it to be forgotten for the sake of the present.'¹⁰¹ Whilst this might be considered a positive approach that helps reunified Germany to emerge from an identity founded on the utterly negative, Woods reminds us of the complexities:

The New Right' is not just engaged with an external memory contest with the Left and liberalism; it is also caught in an internal contest between its cultural and political voices. It is caught between remembering in the sense of reviving a culture or a nation, and remembering in the sense of acknowledging loss – a lost culture and a lost national identity. In the case of National Socialism it is caught between the wish to forget the past for the sake of the present and the impossibility of forgetting.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Bill Niven, 'From Counter-monument to Combi-memorial: Developments in German Memorialisation' in *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, February 2013, pp. 75-91 (p. 89).

¹⁰¹ Roger Woods, 'Affirmative Past Versus Cultural Pessimism: The New Right in Germany', in *German Culture, Politics, and Literature Into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalisation*, ed. by Paul Cooke, and Stuart Taberner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 280-292 (p. 280).

¹⁰² Roger Woods, 'Affirmative Past Versus Cultural Pessimism: The New Right in Germany', p. 283.

More specifically to Gerz's *Warum*, it is also, as one can understand from the intended result in Hamburg, not something that is reliant on its visual outcome but rather something that challenges the viewer even when there is nothing left to see. As Gerz accepts, the completed work would represent the largest text document on Earth, making it visually impressive and therefore, in some respects, traditional due to its monumental state.¹⁰³

Warum should not be thought of as a question though. Gerz's memorial title is notably absent of a question mark. Therefore, *Warum* does not have the status of a question but instead introduces the question of questioning everything – a permanent, eternal question – so an answer as such would not have been expected despite the likelihood that visitors would have felt compelled to produce one. As Gerz comments: 'In a way the answers are all pointless. *Warum* reflects the futility of this desire to speak and not to remain silent on the subject.'¹⁰⁴ *Warum* is also a reference to Susan Sontag's essay, 'Why did it happen?', as Gerz explores the fundamental question of *Why* because, 'ultimately you cannot do anything more but to ask yourself that.'¹⁰⁵ This is not to suggest that *Warum* would be devoid of debate. On the contrary, the perusal of public answers to the question of why the Holocaust happened would not only reflect the impossibility of summarising a seemingly ungraspable event but would also create a visible discourse slowly revealed over eight decades, from the profound to the mundane, from the offensive to the conciliatory. Gerz insists that all responses would have been selected, meaning *Warum* would not be an 'Olympics of who thinks of the best answers' but rather something that would have recorded a range of feelings and reactions.¹⁰⁶ Despite the good intentions of many visitors, the futility of discovering an

¹⁰³ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

answer would become part of the debate itself, along with an additional conversation concerning representation of the Holocaust via words rather than the more familiar discourse relating to representation by aesthetic means, such as abstract versus figurative. As Michalski summarises: ‘Gerz on the whole prefers immaterial messages to material ones. Traditional political monuments, but also the public sculpture of the 1970s and 1980s, failed, as far as he was concerned, to elicit a larger communal debate’.¹⁰⁷ Certainly *Warum* would have been a memorable memorial, not necessarily because of its startling or innovative visible outcome (though it would have been unique), but because of *how* it was created by way of public contributions.

When it comes to routine practices of memory, Kirsten Harjes points out that experience-based forms of commemoration, and here we might include *Bus Stop!* and *Warum*, seek to ‘circumvent what is seen as routinized or false practices of memory’ because they present ‘a form of memory that is more tangible, tactile, and authentic in the sense that the visitor emotionally and physically participates in the memory.’¹⁰⁸ It is not surprising to discover that the protracted debate concerning aesthetics focused on the end-product rather than how that ‘product’ was created, as this was the standard approach for the pre-1990s memorial-related discourses. The records of the *Findungskommission* do not evidence any discussions concerning mnemonics. Instead, it would seem that Rosh and Lothar C. Poll supported *Warum*, primarily because it was a ‘teaching monument’, whilst Young and Bubis opposed the concept, as they were concerned that the question of “Why” was ultimately misleading, as they did not agree with Gerz’s preference for imperfect and even ignorant answers to be included, as this

¹⁰⁷ Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage*, p. 214.

¹⁰⁸ Kirsten Harjes, ‘Stumbling Stones: Holocaust Memorials, National Identity, and Democratic Inclusion in Berlin’, in *German Politics and Society*, Spring 2005, Vol. 23, Issue 1. pp. 3-15 (p. 5).

could misinform the visitor who reads them.¹⁰⁹ In Gerz's view *Warum* would not have been chosen because the German government, including the Chancellor, were against the never-ending activity and incompleteness of the memorial.¹¹⁰

The building of Gerz's memorial would be an attempt to create a more memorable way of remembering; a more active rather than passive role. An effect of *Warum* is that those who submit answers as to why the Holocaust happened would feel involved, not only in a connection with the past, but also by creating a memory of it in tangible form, even if the visual entity is not considered an aesthetic accomplishment. A counterpoint to this is that the passive role of looking at a memorial is not necessarily an act of amnesia (or eventual amnesia) or something that will not be moving and therefore memorable too. However, counter-monument artists are more polemical concerning this and assert that the interactive, subjective qualities of their creations help to sustain the memory of an event whereas traditional monuments cause a rapid distancing of an event leading to irrelevance.

One of the further effects of Gerz's *Warum* is that the visitor who contributes answers that are later inscribed by the robot would have been asked what they think rather than being told what to think by way of any visual or verbal direction of the kind that Gerz believes to be prominent in traditional monuments.¹¹¹ *Warum*, would have relied upon the input of visitors to create the memorial and those same co-authors are left with no uncertainty as to what historic event their answers relate to.

¹⁰⁹ 'The question 'Why did it happen?' and the temporal dimension of the work of remembrance are essential elements of the concept whereby design and architecture can allow people to become a "monument". The proposed method is used to generate answers to the "why" that Gerz as "training" against racism. The reduction to the "Why" is by Ignatz Bubis and Prof. Dr. James Young regarded as misleading.' *Minutes of the Assessment Panel*. 14 and 15 November, 1997.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

¹¹¹ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

Though ultimately rejected in favour of Eisenman's design, *Warum* exemplifies the counter-monument resistance to *Schlusstrich*, in this case by creating the most protracted of memorials. Though the counter-monument submissions were rejected for different reasons, the proposals did connect to a mutual interest with the German selectors of the same generation. This shows that designs were not necessarily rejected because they failed to connect with the jury. A trace of a mutual interest that the memorial should not draw a line under the past has certainly been established between the *Nachgeborenen* jury and the project's influencers and the *Nachgeborenen* counter-monument artists.

The counter-monument artists featured in this chapter argue that instead of embodying memory the traditional monument displaces it altogether, replacing visitors' memory work with its own material form, meaning memory exists only through exterior, outward signs. As Young argues:

If the obverse of this is true as well, then perhaps the more memory comes to rest in its exteriorized forms, the less it is experienced internally, in this age of mass memory production and consumption, in fact, there seems to be an inverse proportion between the memorialisation of the past and its contemplation and study. For once we assign monumental form to memory, we have to some degree divested ourselves of the obligation to remember. In shouldering the memory-work, monuments may relieve viewers of their memory-burden.¹¹²

¹¹² James. E. Young, *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials & Meaning*, p. 10.

Yet, despite this determination to resist the apparent immovability of traditional monuments, Gerz's creation would also be an act of permanence that would eventually remain fixed, bringing at least the possibility that it, too, could become invisible or conversely be seen as a final statement. More positively, Germany's new identity can be seen in *Warum*, a memorial where all visitors, not just Germans, would have been encouraged to participate in a communal recording of opinion; a public space like an Agora, open to discourse and dialogue; one of production not consumption; a memorial space with overt references to Germany's ties to Europe but with no suggestion of hegemony concerning the past or the future. *Warum* would not have been an internal monologue for Germans but rather a transcultural dialogue.

As this chapter has shown, the counter-monument artists are not only concerned with the traditional monument for the aforementioned reasons. As Gerz explains: 'What we don't want is a monument that tells you what to think, that appears to summarise history into a neat package without dispute (...) this reduces the viewer into nothing but a passive spectator.'¹¹³ Though artists like Gerz are concerned by the traditionally didactic function of monuments, it is worth noting that *Warum*, and particularly *Bus Stop!*, do contain didactic elements. *Warum* testifies to the futility of an answer, trying to teach a lesson to those who think there is one to be discovered; whilst *Bus Stop!*'s database of information concerning the concentration camps brings an undoubted educational aspect to Stih and Schnock's work. The difference, however, is that information would have been made available to visitors and that, in the cases of *Bus Stop!* and *Warum* the opportunity to explore and express meaning is afforded, so at no point is the viewer being instructed on what to think concerning the past, but rather that they *should* think.

¹¹³ Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

With further regard to what the counter-monument artists see as the fascist proclivities found in all monuments, Young asks: ‘How else would totalitarian regimes commemorate themselves except through totalitarian art like the monument?’¹¹⁴ Here one can pose the same question but with respect to the newly reunified Germany. How would the country represent its past in relation to what it stands for as a result of reunification? Gerz’s concept, particularly with the suggestion that German national identity is now more open, more European, more multi-lingual and multi-cultural, is a possibility for this, and like *Bus Stop!* and *Blow up the Brandenburg Gate*, it points to a need for German history to be examined through innovative methods, devoid of dogma and prescription and therefore the antithesis of what Germans and occupied European countries experienced during the Nazi era.

Despite the apparent qualities of counter-monuments (not to forget the undoubted popularity of *Bus Stop!* with the German public, media, and Jewish community), a more traditional design, at least in terms of materiality and fixed position, was chosen in 1995 by way of Jakob-Marks’ giant funereal slab. With regard to the selection of national memorials, Peter Carrier points out that they often ‘appeal to mass support while at the same time preventing genuinely plural participation, due to their inherently centralizing symbolic function’.

‘Political and symbolic structures are thus concomitant, in so far as they are both guided by the antagonistic principles of centricity and eccentricity. While artists and political representatives alike recognise eccentricity, they systematically return to centricity as if guided by a natural law’,¹¹⁵ which is further evidenced by the requested modifications to Eisenman’s design. Exceptions can be cited, such as the seemingly radical addition

¹¹⁴ Shelley Hornstein, and Florence Jacobwitz, *Image & Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust*, p. 63.

¹¹⁵ Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989*, p. 16.

of Maya Lin's design to Washington D.C.'s matrix of white neo-classical monuments. Reunified Germany did, however, decline – in 1995 – the opportunity to commission a memorial that could have been understood to represent a self-effacing nation unwilling to seal the memory of the Holocaust, a memorial that could have expressed *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* as an on-going, indefinite process.

As I have argued via the jury's comments concerning the counter-monument designs, the concepts were appreciated but were ultimately rejected. In some respects this corresponds to co-project instigator Eberhard Jäckel's belief that the memorial should 'show the world that we have accepted the burden of our history',¹¹⁶ which is suggestive of a memorial being a culmination of this rather than an on-going process encouraged by the memorial. It is this very finale that counter-monument artists resist.

Furthermore, though Lin and Jakob-Mark's designs both include the inscribed names of victims (58,000 veterans in Washington D.C., and the 4.2 million known names of Jewish victims in Berlin) this would not satisfy those who wish for more overt references to events, not necessarily by way of figurative renderings, but rather by incorporating reminders of how and why the deaths came about. With regard to the minimalist *9/11 Memorial* in New York City, Erika Doss argues that the absence of historical referents to the perpetrators helps to ignore the wider context of how the commemorated event came about: 'By effacing the agents of terror', Doss states, 'such memorials efface their intentions and encourage a blurring or evasion of causality.'¹¹⁷ Doss's suggestion that the hijacker's names be incorporated into the *9/11 Memorial* design would, she admits, be met with outrage were it to be done.¹¹⁸ But without such

¹¹⁶ Karen Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, p. 162.

¹¹⁷ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 141.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

a provocation, reference to the historic circumstances – in this case a representation of loss without indication of the causes – the minimalist or abstract memorial can create a healing narrative that rarely acknowledges the specifics of the trauma itself. As Doss continues: ‘By silencing the agents of terror, such memorials substantiate notions of American innocence, absolving the nation from admissions of responsibility.’¹¹⁹ Here one might see how the counter-monument falls between two memorialisation approaches of referencing causality as part of a design and dedications that focus exclusively on the victims. Counter-monuments can address public art’s civic and social responsibilities whilst not depicting the causes, as exemplified in Gerz’s work, which would have asked visitors to answer and read responses to the question of why the Holocaust happened. In Stih and Schnock’s *Bus Stop!* transportations from what they see as an inauthentic memorial space to the actual sites of extermination, would have left no one in any doubt as to the causes and organising principles that led to genocide.

By favouring Jakob-Marks’ design, post-unified Germany (such that it was being represented by the twelve-member jury in 1995), preferred a more conservative, sombre, memorial aesthetic, that can be read as a sealing of memory as it would cover the entire site with a great capstone that can be interpreted as a corollary of an unconscious need to close an uncomfortable subject from contemporary life and Germany’s future. It would have represented another memorial that does our memory work for us, thus allowing society to become more forgetful, which suggests, as Young writes, that the ‘initial impulse to memorialize events like the Holocaust may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them.’¹²⁰ Given the arguments presented by the counter-monument artists, along with *Findungskommission* Chair,

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹²⁰ James. E. Young, *At Memory’s Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, p. 96.

Young, one has to wonder how long it would take before Jakob-Marks' design became unseen, overlooked, and therefore, as they see it, a traditional memorial. Would Jakob-Marks' design not become, as Musil writes, paradoxically unnoticed, another monument that does not hold our attention or even gain it?

As memorials and monuments reflect both their socio-historical and their aesthetic context, Eisenman's winning design of 1997 can also be viewed as a gesture toward *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in the sense that it represents a decision for Germany to create a memorial that begins to close the memory of the Holocaust. Though Eisenman's memorial is distinctly more open to interpretation than Jakob-Marks', it does not encourage the kind of on-going debate, mnemonic effects, and memory work that counter-monuments strive to produce and their designers believe to be essential. Despite the discernible differences in their concepts, the counter-monument submissions for the Berlin competition express a resistance to bring a finale to memory with a confrontation that attempts to break the paradigm of remembrance leading to amnesia and instead creating a nexus between seeing and thinking. Counter-monument artists who have creatively engaged with German history (Stih and Schnock in Berlin's Bavarian Quarter, Gerz in Hamburg and Saarbrücken, Hoheisel in Kassel) generally see their work as contributing to a confrontation with the Nazi past that is far from complete. Their Berlin proposals continue in this vein. They were designed to prevent complacency, to invite the viewer to critically reflect on historical events. They reflect the impossibility of permanence and amount to an artistic enthymeme to which the viewer is thus invited to supply their own conclusion, including the realisation that there is no conclusion.

Conclusion

The main focus of the thesis is on the unbuilt proposals for *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, submissions that sought to commemorate Germany's most difficult history. My research contributes to the discussion of Holocaust commemoration in Germany – specifically the competition's period of the 1990s – by engaging with issues of empathy, secondary witnessing, viewer interpellation and cultural memory in relation to a selection from the unbuilt designs. None of these designs have previously been discussed from this perspective and several of the unbuilt proposals have not received scholarly attention. As a result, the thesis provides new, discerning ways of understanding not only the unbuilt designs, but also the possibilities for Holocaust commemoration and the transgressing multiplicity of approaches to cultural memory and memorialization.

By examining selected unbuilt proposals, the thesis contributes to the discussion concerning 1990s Holocaust commemoration in Germany by realizing that there would have been significantly different forms of viewer interpellation between what was finally constructed by way of Eisenman's *Stelenfeld* and the alternative designs, which would have either been more conducive to empathy than the chosen memorial, or more reliant on visitors' memory of canonized representations and knowledge of the Holocaust in order for the memorial to have a direct meaning with the historical event being commemorated. Some of the unbuilt proposals I discussed were arguably contentious due to a seemingly impudent resolution to abandon the pre-designated site and, in one such example, move visitors, quite literally, to where victims were murdered; or were audacious in their determination to create a memorial outside of all convention in a different sense – this being the destruction of the Brandenburg Gate,

or a Ferris wheel with cattle-truck gondolas; a robot inscribing visitor answers to the question of why the Holocaust happened, and the projection of pre-Holocaust photographs, which would, like all the designs examined in this research, have been the first memorial of its kind.

It was during the official unveiling of Peter Eisenman's design on 10 May, 2005, that Wolfgang Thierse, Speaker for Parliament, made it clear that the memorial was expected to stimulate a sense of apprehension and fear alluding to the experience of victims. 'This memorial allows the sensory-emotional imagination of loneliness, harassment, threat'.¹

The emotions that Eisenman, and in this example, Thierse, believed the memorial would provoke, can only be an allusion to the suffering of victims. Should visitors experience the sensations being described by Thierse, they would correspond to personal fear rather than empathy for the victims. Equally, should visitors experience what Eisenman intended his *Stelenfeld* to provoke, then it could only be a reference to suffering, a self-orientated perspective-taking rather than empathy for victims where one can put oneself into the position of the other. Eisenman's design does, however, show a remaining determination that the memorial be a place that engenders the 'sensory-emotional imagination', an experience that takes one closer to the experience of the victims.

Since its unveiling, *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* has been variously received as a place of silent, personal commemoration, a memorial that succeeds in advancing multiple readings of its aesthetic and interactive possibilities and a place that

¹ *Dieses Denkmal ermöglicht eine sinnlich-emotionale Vorstellung von Vereinsamung, Bedrängnis, Bedrohung.* Lea Rosh, *Die Juden, das sind doch die anderen. Der Streit um ein deutsches Denkmal (The Jews, these are the others. The dispute over a German monument)*, (Berlin, Vienna: Philo, 2006), p. 7.

provokes playful responses too. Much of this diverse reception correlates to its abstraction, the memorial standing as an exemplar of both the non-representational side of difficult histories and the experiential, interactive form of commemoration where the beholders are left with no direction from which to commence their thoughts. Its contribution to the Berlin landscape is unmistakable in adding a monumental structure to the cityscape, one that seems to complete an axis of icons representing Germany's Prussian dynastic history (the Brandenburg Gate, the Reichstag), its postmodernist regeneration programme (the nearby revamped Potsdamer Platz and Norman Foster's Reichstag cupola), and now, by way of the Holocaust memorial, the country's self-reflexive present.

Though Eisenman's design will continue to receive further readings that add to its store of perspectives, it commemorates without pointers, and is a field of stelae that does not contain reference to the genocide in its design. Examining a selection of the unbuilt proposals was of particular importance in this regard, as the alternative designs proposed to memorialize the Holocaust by employing a variety of recognizable objects associated with the genocide; alternative designs that suggested very different forms of interaction, and, in some cases, solutions that were seen as divisive. Many of these designs would also have been memorials that engender the sensory-emotional imagination by way of encouraging empathy for the victims, or by way of a direct involvement in the respective memorial's creative or working processes.

I took into account concepts such as post-memory, secondary witnessing and empathy, and explored the potential emotional effects on visitors. Through a focus on memorial designs featuring concentration camp icons, my argument moves beyond the debate concerning the ethical problems of portraying the Holocaust by concentrating on how such designs are not mere provocations but can be understood as stimulating viewers

associative recall. By encouraging visitors to draw on a canon of functional Holocaust memory (Aleida Assmann), they can affirm the Holocaust icon as an object of voyeuristic fascination, but also potentially trigger empathy. What my research shows, adding to Ann Coplan's work, is the role of cultural memory in other-oriented perspective-taking, as the viewer imagines the disturbing circumstances that victims endured. This is also informed by Dominick LaCapra's understanding of 'empathic unsettlement', as other-oriented perspective-taking, aided by recalls from canonized representations and popular culture, that can act as a barrier to empathic over-arousal or misappropriation in which visitors might mistake the victim's situation as their own perceived victimhood. The long-standing issue of post-Holocaust representation is one that now includes the question as to what extent the image or memorial is 'completed' by viewers' memory of other Holocaust representations and how this could affect their capacity to relate to the victims' experiences.

I illustrated this with a selection from the unbuilt designs. *Ferris Wheel* was shown to be a memorial that would have confounded expectations: presented in an uncanny way, this memorial would have created a different sense of foreboding to other unbuilt proposals. As with *Crematoria Tower*, *Ferris Wheel* would have depended on the viewer's experience of other representations of these icons (in this case, cattle trucks) only with *Ferris Wheel*, this dependency would, by way of the uncanny, be an experience that is shaken by the use of the ferris wheel. The combination of familiarity and that which is unspeakable is a fundamental effect of the uncanny.² By analyzing this design through Sigmund Freud's concept, the thesis revealed how aspects of history can be presented in unique and unexpected ways, and how the viewer's

² Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2003), p. 124.

awareness of Holocaust icons and the cultural memory of the Holocaust is central to these effects.

In contrast to *Crematoria Tower* and *Ferris Wheel*, the unbuilt proposal of *Bus Stop!* does not offer replica of Holocaust icons but would have connected visitors to the authentic sites of former concentration camps that would have become directly linked to *The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, Berlin. During the 1990s, artists were attempting to employ Holocaust icons, using them innovatively as known reference points to provoke engagement, inviting visitors to consider Holocaust icons and history from new perspectives and without direction, thus allowing viewer autonomy. These counter-monument designs were determined to include the secondary witness as part of their creative or working processes. The counter-monuments of *Warum* and *Autobahn-Kilometer* were particularly concerned with visitors' pre-existing knowledge of the Holocaust, with Jochen Gerz's design asking the visitor a question that would need an awareness of the genocide, and the section of German motorway that would have been reliant on an understanding of what the murder of European Jews was, given that the title sign would be the only indicator to the historical event. Interpellation of the secondary witness, by varying forms of participation, means that counter-monuments of this period sought to transgress the boundaries of official commemoration by affording a more democratic form of mnemonics, creating memorials that would encourage the literal completion of the design, or where, as would have been made possible through *Bus Stop!*, the visitors' thoughts, dialogues and journeys would be as important as the form of transport itself.

Amongst the memorial's wide-ranging patrons, the principal patron was the German nation, more specifically the *Nachgeborenen*, who not only comprised the majority of the jury, but also made repeated reference to how the would-be memorial would bear

some relation to their self-understanding, their self-image, and the ‘duty’ and ‘burden’ of commemoration. The memorial was chiefly for Germans, driven by their stated need for introspection. The memorial’s selectors and influencers aspired to commission a memorial that, at least in part, would represent memory of the Holocaust as a continuing process.³ This pointed to a connected interest between this generation of jurors and politicians and the counter-monument designers whose proposals, despite being aesthetically disparate to each other, come to represent a German response to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, with a unified determination to defy the fascist aesthetic seen in some traditional memorials and monuments.

I have added further interpretation of Eisenman’s design, in my analysis of how the memorial and Information Centre work separately but also complement each other. By approaching a study of the memorial site in terms of examining the relationship between the two mnemonic forms, a new way of understanding each component of the site has been established. My research has shown how the chosen design interacts with and also opposes the Information Centre, which was a section of the memorial site that became an addendum to the project due to Federal Cultural Representative Michael Naumann’s intervention. My approach focused on the memorial’s stelae imprints, their repeated shapes inside the Information Centre and how they affect the exhibits. Eisenman’s *Stelenfeld*, by the nature of its pure abstraction, triggered a diversification of the site in terms of the interpretations of the design, in terms of the need for an Information Centre, and in terms of visitor interaction through the idea of having an experiential place as a national memorial. Most crucially, as a result of my analysis, the memorial has been given a new, more representational meaning for those who visit the Information Centre: when inverted and positioned above the victims’ final letters,

³ This view was reaffirmed by Michael Naumann during my interview with him 24.2.2014.

the stelae become voids, creating a metaphor of absence. Whilst this causes the stelae to become representational, conveying what cannot be expressed and understood, this effect is only possible from beneath Eisenman's design when it interacts with the Information Centre's exhibits. This aspect of the memorial site points to the need to bring not only context to the memorial site, by way of an Information Centre, but also nuances the ethos of the abstract memorial, which means that these subtleties only emerge through closer engagement with the site.

By studying the competition through sources that included archival material, my discussions with jurors, several competing artists, the Federal Cultural Representative Michael Naumann, and jury members James Young and Stefanie Endlich, it was established that the building of a national Holocaust memorial portrays Germany as a self-effacing nation willing to commemorate its most infamous period of history. Whether the memorial is, as Jürgen Habermas hoped, a sign that memory of the Holocaust is a fundamental element of the ethical-political self-understanding of Germany, would involve an extensive survey of visitors, scholars, and commentators. Evidence of the purpose to fulfill this objective, at least in terms of dedicating time, location and expenditure, has, though, been delineated. By presenting and connecting the arguments of a variety of participants, the thesis adds much scope to the pre-history of the built memorial and creates dialogues between positions that were not necessarily connected during the years in focus. Bringing together these views to formulate a discourse was important for drawing together a range of opinions and official decrees that included the belief that the memorial should convey a message of 'never again', or be seen as a metaphorical wound of the nation, or as Young hoped, a memorial that would express the complexities of what is an ineffaceable history for Germans. In fact, it is significant that nearly all such views on the memorial's purpose and who it was

for were stated outside of any specific memorial design, that deliberations were independent of the commissioning of an actual submission. In some respects, the discussions represent a memorial in their own right, a period of intense German introspection on how – and if – the country’s identity is shaped by its difficult history.

In Germany, throughout the 1990s, the as yet selected Holocaust memorial was charged with a quixotic responsibility of representing the country’s historical burden, whilst signaling to a new era of human cohabitation. This made way for a second competition that was less instructive and asked artists and architects to consider questions concerning what they thought the memorial’s function should be. Whether the competition reconciled itself to being as open to deliberation as the theory behind the winning design, was contested. This included the alterations to Eisenman’s initial model, when he was obliged to modify the extent to which visitors would experience a sense of foreboding by reducing the height and number of stelae and creating more space between them. Further to this was the building of the Information Centre, which contextualized a site of pure abstraction. The rejection of challenging designs, in some cases during the first round of deliberations, also signals to a competition that was ambitious in its aims, courageous in its willingness to pursue the building of a memorial knowing how fraught an enterprise it would be, whilst also being necessarily circumspect. The unbuilt proposals would to many, be seen as merely outlandish rather than stimulating innovations, and the extent to which viewers would consider and identify with the insights proffered throughout this study cannot be stated with certainty. The unbuilt proposals would, though, have brought complex forms of memorialisation to central Berlin that, as a result, would be as much about the murdered Jews as about the nation that was both responsible for the Holocaust and now its representation of that same difficult history. Through this study, such memorials and the issues they raise can still exist.

Bibliography

Primary sources:

‘Art Competition: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Invitation to Compete’. 4.1994.

Bernau, Nikolaus. ‘Competition of Martyrdom’. *Der Tagesspiegel*. 12.10.1994.

Broder, Henryk. ‘The Holocaust memorial issue: The comfortable feeling to do something good’. *Der Tagesspiegel*. 17.1.1995.

Bubis, Ignatz. ‘Millions of names are not enough’. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. 29.06.1995.

Contradi, Peter, speaking at the *Bundestag* All Party Debates. *Frankfurter Rundschau*. 9.5.1996.

Frings, Ute. ‘National Holocaust Monument for whom?’. *Frankfurter Rundschau*. 10.7.1992.

Habermas, Jürgen. ‘The index finger: The Germans and their monument’. *Die Zeit*. 31.3.1999.

Herzog, Roman. ‘Cowardice is the last thing I want my people to see Walser, Bubis and the memory / The Speech by Federal President Roman Herzog on the occasion of Holocaust Memorial Day’. *Frankfurter Rundschau*. 28.1.1999.

Jäckel, Eberhard. ‘Now is the Moment. A Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe. The Forderkreis campaign to erect a monument’. *Der Tagesspiegel*. 30.4.1990.

Jäckel, Eberhard. ‘The Principal Item’. *Der Tagesspiegel*. 8.3.1991.

Kocka, Jürgen. ‘How can a monument express shame? The four now drawn the shortlist designs do not meet their challenges’. *Berliner Morgenpost*. 4.1.1998.

Kohl, Helmut. ‘The place of public remembrance of the murdered Jews of Europe’. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. 17.9.1998.

Moses-Krause, Peter. ‘The chosen monument will only be a cheap demonstration of historical consciousness on defenceless objects’. *Berliner Zeitung*. 20.1.1995.

Nagel, Senator Wolfgang. Press release. ‘The National Holocaust Monument is a long time overdue’. *Frankfurter Rundschau*. 5.5.1994.

Naumann, Michael. ‘Berlin needs the Stadtschloss’. *Der Tagesspiegel*. 21.7.1998.

Plewnia, Ulrike. ‘Too much of a good thing? In Berlin, critical voices against the tide report new memorial’. *Focus*. 15.8.1994.

Radunski, Peter. ‘Logs, Texts and Materials’. *Die Tageszeitung* 11.4.1997.

Reinecke, Stefan. 'The Holocaust Memorial, there will be only with a museum. One idea that has gained after the Bubis/Walser debate'. *Die Tageszeitung*. 28.1.1999.

Rosh, Lea. 'War monuments yes, Holocaust monument - no?'. *Vowärts* Nr. 45. 5.1.1989.

Schluze-Rohr, Jakob. 'Memorials insignificant at the same time coming out?'. Interview in *Tageszeitung*. 13.4.1989.

Schulz, Berhard. 'The Holocaust Memorial – In Retrospect'. *Der Tagesspiegel*. 8.5.1994.

Seibt, Gustav. 'Clear fault unclear memorial'. *Berliner Zeitung*. 9.2.1998.

Thierse, Wolfgang. Quoted from Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. *Opening of The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. *Tageszeitung*. 10.5.2005.

Voss-Gieger, Gisela. 'Art Competition: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Invitation to Compete. The Department of Building and Housing'. Published by the Senatsverwaltung für Bau-und Wohnungswesen Abteilung Städtebau und Architektur. Berlin. 4. 1994.

Walser, Martin. 'The banality of good: Experiences when writing a speech Sunday on the occasion of the awarding of the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade.' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. 12.10.1998.

Young, James. 'He who wants to remind one of the annihilation, must form the void: Berlin's problem with the Holocaust monument - and mine'. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. 22.1.1998.

Document outlining Karol Broniatowski's and Patrick Glaster's *Crematoria Tower*. 4. 1994. Document provided by Karol Broniatowski. 14.1.2015.

Document outlining Horst Hoheisel's proposal. 4.1994. Document provided by Horst Hoheisel. 26.6.2012.

Document outlining Jochen Gerz's proposal, 4.1997. Document provided by Jochen Gerz. 25.6.2012.

Simon Ungers' submission – provided in English by Sophia Ungers. 8.12.2012.

Interview with Peter Eisenman, Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 17.11.2011.

Interview with James Young. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.12.2011.

Interview with Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 21.6. 2012.

Interview with Jochen Gerz. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 25.6.2012.

Interview with Horst Hoheisel. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 26.6.2012.

Interview with Sophia Ungers. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 8.12. 2012.

Interview with Dani Karavan. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 4.11.2012.

Interview with Günter Schlusche. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 10. 11. 2012.

Interview with Jochen Heufelder. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 7.12.2013

Interview with Michael Naumann. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.2.2014

Interview with Stefanie Endlich. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 24.8.2014.

Interview with Richard Gruber. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 9.12.2014.

Interview with Karol Broniatowski. Conducted by Mark Callaghan. 14.1. 2015.

Secondary sources:

Adorno, Theodor, *Commitment*, in 'Aesthetics and Politics' (London: Verso, 2007), pp. 112-123.

Agamben, Giorgio, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive* (Boston: Zone Books, 2002).

Ahr, Johan, 'Memory and Mourning in Berlin: On Peter Eisenman's Holocaust-Mahnmal', in *Modern Judaism*, 2008, 28, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 283-305.

Amishai-Maisels, Ziva, 'Art Confronts the Holocaust', in *After Auschwitz: Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art*, ed. by Monica Bohm-Duchen, (Northern Centre for Contemporary Art, London: Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, 1995), pp. 48-62.

Apel, Dora, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

Arens, Moshe, *Flags over the Warsaw Ghetto: The Untold Story of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing, 2011).

Arnold-de Simine, Silke, *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German Identity*. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005).

Arnold-de Simine, Silke, *Mediating Memory in the Museum: Trauma, Empathy, Nostalgia* (London, New York: Palgrave MacMillan Memory Studies, 2013).

Assmann, Aleida, 'Four Formats of Memory: From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past', in *Cultural Memory and Historical Consciousness in the German Speaking World since 1500*, ed. by Christian Emden and David Midgley, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 18-39.

Assmann, Aleida, *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*. (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan Memory Studies, 2010).

Assmann, Aleida, and Shortt, Linda (eds), *Memory and Political Change* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, 2012).

Aleida, Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Function, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Assmann, Jan, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', in *New German Critique*. Trans. John Czaplicka, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 125-133.

Ball-Teshuva, Jakob, *Christo: The Reichstag and Urban Projects* (Berlin. London: Prestel, 1993).

Barthes, Roland, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (London: Vintage, 1993).

Bathrick, David, 'Visualizing the Holocaust: Documents, Aesthetics, Memory', in *Memory and Postwar Memorials: Confronting the Violence of the Past*, ed. by Marc Silberman, (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2012), pp. 73-86.

Baumann, Ulrich, 'Sinn aus der Tiefe. Der Ort der Information am Holocaustdenkmal in Berlin – Konzepte und Kontroversen' ('Sense out of the depths. 'The Place of Information' at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin - Concepts and Controversies'), in *Die Verfolgung der Juden während der NS-Zeit Stand und Perspektiven der Dokumentation, der Vermittlung und der Erinnerung (The persecution of the Jews during the Nazi era Status and prospects of documentation, brokering and memory)*, Hessian State Archive Marburg in conjunction with the Commission for the History of Jews in Hesse. Writings of the Hessian State Archive Marburg, Vol. 24. 2008. Frankfurt, pp. 19-32.

Bennett, Jill, 'The Limits of Empathy and the Global Politics of Belonging', in *Trauma at Home: After 9/11*, ed. by Judith Greenberg, The Jewish Publication Society (Bison, Nebraska: Potomac Books, 2003), pp. 95-134.

Bernard-Donals, Michael, *Figures of Memory: The Rhetoric of Displacement at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2017).

Berger, Stefan, *Germany: Inventing the Nation* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004).

Bevan, Robert, *The Destruction of Memory* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007).

Bever, Anthony, *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

Bird, Jon, 'Dolce Domum: House', in *Rachel Whiteread: House* (London: Phaidon, 1995), pp. 112-119.

Breyer, Thimo, and Gutland, Christopher, *Phenomenology of Thinking: Philosophical Investigations into Character of Thinking* (London: Routledge, 2015).

Buchloh, Benjamin, *Neo-Avant-Garde and the Culture Industry. Essays on European & American from 1955-1975* (London: MIT Press, 2001).

Buren, Daniel, 'Function of the Museum', in *Theories of Contemporary Art*, ed. by Richard Hetz (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1993), pp. 8-21.

Butler, Judith, *Prekarious Life: The Power of Mourning and Violence* (London and New York: Verso. 2006).

Callaghan, Mark, 'Reflections on the Wall: Unexpected Responses to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial' in *At The Interface: Trauma Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Interdisciplinary Press, 2014), pp. 6-16.

Caplan, Jane, *Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Carrier, Peter, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory in France and Germany since 1989* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2005).

Cartwright, Lisa, *Moral Spectatorship: Technologies of Voice and Affect in Post-war Representation of the Child* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

Chametzky, Peter, 'Not what we expected: the Jewish Museum Berlin in practice' in *Museum and Society*, Nov. 2008. 6 (3), (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), pp. 229-241.

Cole, Tim, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler; How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

Comelius, Deborah. S., *Hungary in World War II: Caught in the Cauldron* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011).

Coplan, Amy, 'Understanding Empathy: Its Features and Effects', in *Empathy: Philosophical and Psychological Perspectives*, in ed. by Amy Coplan and Peter Goldie, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3-18.

Crownshaw, Richard, *The Afterlife of Holocaust Memory in Contemporary Literature and Culture* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

Cryslar, Greig, 'Violence and Empathy: National Museums and the Spectacle of Society', in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring 2006), (Berkley: University of California, 2006), pp. 19-38.

Darwall, Stephen, *Welfare and Rational Care* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Dean, Carolyn. J., *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004).

Dekel, Irit, *Mediation at the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

De Groot, Jerome, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Donnath, Matthias, *Architecture in Berlin 1933-1945: A Guide Through Nazi Berlin*. Lukas Vlg Fuer Kunst Und (Berlin: Willmuth Arenhövel, 2003).

Doss, Erika, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

Douglas, R.M., *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War* (New Haven, Connecticut, and London: Yale University Press, 2012).

Echternkamp, Jorg, *Germany and the Second World War Volume 9/1, German Wartime Society 1939-1945: Politicisation, Disintegration, and the Struggle for Survival* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008).

Eigler, Friederike, 'Memory, Moralism, and Coming to terms with the Present', in *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German National Identity*, ed. by Silke Arnold de-Simine, 2005, pp. 66-80.

Eley, Geoff, *The Goldhagen Effect. History, Memory, Nazism-Facing the German Past* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2000).

Emden, Christian, and Midgley, David, *Cultural Memory and Historical Consciousness in the German-Speaking World since 1500* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

Erll, Astrid, 'Literature, Film, and the Mediality of Cultural Memory', in *Cultural Memory Studies an International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. by Astrid Erll, and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 384-398.

Eshel, Amir, *Jewish Memories, German Futures: Recent Debates in Germany about the Past* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2000).

Farnen, Russell F., *Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity: Cross National and Comparative Perspectives* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2004).

Forner, Sean A., 'War Commemoration and the Republic in Crisis: Weimar Germany and the Neue Wache', in *Central European History*, Vol. 35, No. 4, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 513-549.

Forty, Adrian, Küchler, Susanne. *The Art of Forgetting* (New York: Berg Publishing, 2001).

Frank, Sybille, *War Memorials and Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2016).

Freed, James Inigo, *The US Holocaust Memorial Museum* (New York: Phaidon, 1995).

Freud, Sigmund, *The Uncanny* (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2003).

Friedlander, Saul, *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the Final Solution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Friedlander, Saul, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Extermination: 1939-1945* (New York: W & N, 2008).

Fullbrook, Mary, *German National Identity after The Holocaust* (London: Polity Press, 1999).

Gerz, Jochen, *2146 Steine: Mahnmal gegen Rassismus* (Saarbrücken: Stadtverband. 1993).

Grenzer, Elke, 'The Topographies of Memory in Berlin: The Neue Wache and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe', in *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (Published by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg. 2002), pp. 22-31.

- Gilman, Sander, *Jews in Today's German Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).
- Godfrey, Mark, *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Grunenbourg, Antonia, *The Pleasure of Guilt: The Power of the Past over the Present*. (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2001).
- Gutman, Israel, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: MacMillan, 1990).
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historian's Debate* (London: Polity Press, 1994).
- Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Harjes, Kirsten, 'Stumbling Stones: Holocaust Memorials, National Identity, and Democratic Inclusion in Berlin', in *German Politics and Society*, Spring 2005, Vol. 23, Issue 1 (New York, Oxford: Bergahn Journals), pp. 3-19.
- Hass, Kirstin Ann, *Carried To The Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- Hein, Hilde, *Public Art: Thinking Museums Differently* (London, and New York: Rowman, 2006).
- Hirsch, Marianne, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).
- Hirsch, Marianne, 'The Generation of Postmemory,' in *Poetics Today*, v. 29.1, Spring 2008, (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 103-128.
- Hirsch, Marianne, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2012).
- Hirsch, Marianne, 'Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory', in *The Yale Journal of Criticism*. Vol. 14, No. 1. Spring 2001 (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 5-37.
- Hirsch, Marianne, 'Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. by Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, (Hanover, New Haven: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. 43-54.
- Hirsch, Marianne, *The Familial Gaze* (Hanover, New Haven: University Press of New England, 1999).
- Hoffman, Martin, *Empathy and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

- Hornstein, Shelley and Jacobwitz, Florence, *Image & Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).
- Hughes, Alex. *Encyclopaedia of French Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 2001).
- Huysen, Andreas, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism (Theories of Representation and Difference)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
- Jarvis, Simon, *Adorno: A Critical Introduction* (London, New York: Routledge, 1998).
- Jervis, John, and Collins, Jo, *Uncanny Modernity: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan School, 1998).
- Jenkins, Tiffany, 'Victims Remembered' in *Museums Journal*. ed. by S. Watson. (London: Routledge, 2007).
- Kattago, Siobhan, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (London, and Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2001).
- Kansteiner, Wulf, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', in *History and Theory*, Vol. 41, No. 2. May 2002, (New Jersey: Wiley), pp. 179-197.
- Kaplan, E. Ann., *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Culture* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005).
- Kraft, Helga, 'Post-Shoah Jewish Culture in Germany and Austria: An Introduction' in *The German Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No.2, Spring 2000, (New Jersey: Wiley), pp. 145-150.
- LaCapra, Dominick, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore, and London: JHU Press, 2001).
- LaCapra, Dominick, 'Trauma, Absence, Loss' in *Critical Inquiry*. Vo. 25. No.4. Summer 1999, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999), pp. 696-727.
- LaCapra, Dominick, *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998).
- Ladd, Brian, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- Lair, Meredith. H., 'Memorialisation: The Education Centre at The Wall and the re-Writing of History', in *The Public Historian*. Vol. 34, No. 1, Winter 2012, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2012), pp. 34-60.
- Lammert, Norbert, *Holocaust Der Ort Der Information*. Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas (Berlin: Published by The Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, 2015).

Landsberg, Alison, 'America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy', in *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York and Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 63-86.

Laub, Dori and Felman, Shoshana, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

Leggewie, Claus, 'Seven Circles of European Memory', in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, ed. by Peter Meusbürger, Michael Heffernan, and Edgar Wunder, (Heidelberg, London, New York: Springer, 2011), pp. 12-30.

Lemmons, Russell, 'Imprisoned, Murdered, Besmirched: 'The Controversy Concerning Berlin's Ernst Thälmann Monument and German National Identity, 1990-1995'', in *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German Cultural Identity*, ed. by Silke Arnold de-Simine (Berlin, and London: Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 51-63.

Libeskind, Daniel, *Jewish Museum Berlin: Architect Daniel Libeskind with a photo essay by Helene Binet* (Berlin: G+B Arts International, 1999).

Lindemann, Erich, 'Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief', in *Crisis Intervention: Selected Readings* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1965), pp. 8-19.

Linenthal, Edward. T., *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

Liss, Andrea, *Trespassing Through Shadows: Memory, Photography and the Holocaust* (University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

Loshitzky, Yosefa, *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

Lüdtke, Alf, 'Coming to Terms with the Past': Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany', in *The Journal of Modern History*, 65 (3) September 1993, pp. 542-572.

Lutticken, Sven, *Life, Once More: Forms of Re-enactment in Contemporary Art* (New York: Witte de With Centre for Contemporary Art, 2005).

Mangos, Simone, *A Monumental Mockery: The Construction of the National Holocaust Memorial* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007).

Marcuse, Harold, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Martin, Elaine, *Re-Reading Adorno: The After-Auschwitz Aporia* (Galway: National University of Ireland, 2006).

Massey, Doreen, 'Space-Time and the Politics of Location' in *Rachel Whiteread: House*, ed. by James Lingwood (London: Phaidon, 1995), pp. 38-46.

- Matatyaou, Uri Jacob, *Memory Space Politics: Public Memorial and the Problem of Political Judgment* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008).
- Michalski, Sergiusz, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998).
- Miles, William. F., *Imperial Burdens: Counter-colonialism in Former French India* (Boulder, and London: Lynne Rienner, 1995).
- Mounck, Yasha, *A Stranger In My Own Country: A Jewish Family in Modern Germany* (New York: Farar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014).
- Müller, Filip, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (Chicago: Ivan. R. Dee, 1999).
- Muller, Melissa, *Anne Frank: The Biography* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).
- Musil, Robert, 'Denkmale' in *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author* (Brooklyn, New York: Archipelago Books, 2009).
- Neill, William J.V., *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- Niven, Bill, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (Routledge. London, 2002).
- Niven, Bill, *Germans as Victims: Remembering the Past in Contemporary Germany*. (Palgrave MacMillan. London, 2010).
- Niven, Bill, 'Multi-directional or Multi-dimensional? The Future of German Memory', in *Jahrbuch für Politik und Geschichte 4*, 2013, pp. 4-17.
- Niven, Bill, 'From Counter-monument to Combi-memorial: Developments in German Memorialisation', in *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1. February 2013, Taylor and Francis Online, pp. 75-91.
- Nora, Pierre, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de memoire,' trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations*, no. 26, Spring 1989, (Berkely: University of California Press), pp. 7-21.
- Olick, Jeffrey, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York, and London: Routledge, 2007).
- Olick, Jeffrey, and Levy, Daniel, 'Remembering Different Histories: Monument to Homosexual Victims Opens in Berlin', in *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 46-60.
- Parr, Rolf, 'National Symbols and the German Reunification', in *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German Cultural Identity*, ed. by Silke Arnold de-Simine, (Berlin, and London: Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 51-65.

Pasternak, Gil, 'Posthumous Interruptions: The Political Life of Family Photographs in Israeli Military Cemeteries', in *Photography and Culture* 3 (Oxford: Berg, 2010), pp. 41-66.

Radstone, Susannah, 'What Place is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies', in *Transcultural Memory*. ed. by Richard Crownshaw (London, and New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 119-131.

Rauterberg, Hanno, *Holocaust Memorial Berlin: Eisenman Architects* (Baden, and Zurich: Lars Mills Publishers, 2005).

Reichel, Peter, '*Politik mit der Erinnerung: Gedächtnisorte im Streit um die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit*' (Politics of memory: Places of remembrance in the discussion on National Socialist history) (Munich: Hauser, 1996).

Reuber, Alexandra Maria, *Haunted by the Uncanny: Development of a Genre* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

Reynaud, Michel, *The Jehovah's Witnesses and the Nazis: Persecution, Deportation and Murder, 1933-1945* (New York City: Cooper Square Publishers, 2001).

Richard, Hans-Gunter, *Dachau: A Guide to its Contemporary History* (Oglethorpe University Museum of Art, Atlanta: Published by the City of Dachau, Office of Cultural Affairs, Tourism and Contemporary History, 2001).

Richert-Nugent, Christine, *German Vergangenheitsbewältigung, 1961-1999: Selected Historiographic Controversies and their Impact on National Identity* (Culhewee: Western Carolina University, 2010).

Rigney, Ann, 'Culture Memory Studies: Mediation, Narrative, Aesthetic', in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. by Ana Lisa Tota and Trevor Hagen (Oxfordshire, and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 59-69.

Rose, Gillian, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and the Politics of Sentiment* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2010).

Rosenfeld, Gavriel, D., 'Deconstructivism and the Holocaust: On the Origins and Legacy of Peter Eisenman's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,' in *History Unlimited: Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture*, ed. by Wulf Kansteiner, Todd Presner, and Claudio Fogu, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 283-303.

Rosh, Lea and Goldschmidt, Dietrich, *Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas. Dokumentation 1988-1995* (Berlin: Bürgerinitiative Perspektive Berlin, 1995).

Ross, Marc Howard, 'Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis', in *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, ed. by Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 42-80.

Rothberg, Michael, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009).

Rothberg, Michael, and Yildiz, Yasemin, 'Memory Citizenship: Migrant Archives of Holocaust Remembrance in Contemporary Germany', in *Parallax*. vol. 17, no. 4. 2011, pp. 32-48.

Royale, Nicholas, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

Saunders, Anna, 'The Politics of Memory in Berlin's Freiheits- und Einheitsdenkmal', in *Remembering and Rethinking the GDR: Multiple Perspectives and Plural Authenticities*, ed. by Anna Saunders, Debbie Pinfold (Basingstoke, U.K., and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 164-178.

Schlusche, Gunter, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' – a documentation)* (Berlin: Philo, 1999).

Schödel, Kathrin, 'Normalising Cultural Memory? The Walser-Bubis Debate and Martin Walker's Novel Ein springender Brunne', in *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics and Literature in the Berlin Republic*, ed. by Stuart Taberner, and Frank Finlay (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), pp. 69-83.

Silverman, Kaja, *The Threshold of the Visible World* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Sion, Brigitte, 'Affective Memory, Ineffective Functionality: Experiencing Berlins Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe' in *Memorialisation in Germany since 1945*. Niven, Bill and Paver, Chloe (ed.s) (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

Sodaro, Amy, *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2017).

Sontag, Susan, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

Sontag, Susan, *On Photography* (New York: Penguin, 2008).

Starkman, Ruth. A., *Transformations of the New Germany: Studies in European History* (London, New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2006).

Stavginski, Hans-Georg, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal: der Streit um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' in Berlin (1988-1999)* (Paderborn: Schöningh Verlag, 2002).

Stier, Oren Baruch, *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009).

Stephens, Suzanne, 'Peter Eisenman's Vision for Berlin Memorial to the Murdered of Europe', in *Architectural Record*. 193. 7. 2005. pp. 118-136.

Stevens, Quentin and Frank, Karen Ann (ed.s), *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design Use and Meaning* (London: Routledge, 2015).

Sturken, Marita, 'The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Representations', in *No. 35, Special Issue: Monumental Histories*, Summer, 1991 (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 118-142.

Swales, Valerie, *Encyclopedia of French Culture* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1998).

Taberner, Stuart, 'Testing the new "Normality"', in *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics and Literature in the Berlin Republic*, ed. by Stuart Taberner Frank Finlay (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), pp. 278-290.

Taussig, Michael, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses: A Particular Study of the Senses* (Oxford: Routledge, 1993).

Till, Karen, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

Treize, Byroni, *Performing Feeling in Cultures of Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Tumarkin, Maria, *Traumascapes: The Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2005).

Tych, Feliks, *Jewish Presence in Absence: The Aftermath of the Holocaust in Poland, 1944-2010* (Jerusalem: Published by The International Institute for Holocaust Research, Diana Zborowski Center for the Study of the Aftermath of the Shoah, 2014).

Urban, Suzanne, *Jews in Germany After 1945* (Frankfurt: Tribune, 2005).

Wachsmann, Nikolaus, *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015).

Wagner, Jens-Christian, 'Work and extermination in the Concentration Camps', in *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New Histories*, ed. by Jane Caplan and Nikolaus Wachsmann (Routledge: New York, 2010), pp. 124-153.

Weinberg, Jeshajahu and Elieli, Rina, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (Washington D.C.: Rizzoli, 1995).

Welzer, Harald, 'Grandpa Wasn't A Nazi: The Holocaust in German Family Remembrance', in *International perspectives*. Vol. 54. Berlin, 2005, pp. 3-18.

Williams, Paul, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities*. (London: Bloomsbury 3PL, 2007).

Wispé, Lauren, *The Psychology of Sympathy* (New York: Plenum Press, 1991).

Woods, Roger, 'Affirmative Past Versus Cultural Pessimism: The New Right in Germany', in *German Culture, Politics, and Literature into the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalisation*, ed. by Paul Cooke and Stuart Taberner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 280-292.

Young, James. E., *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials & Meaning*. (Newhaven, London: Yale University Press, 1993).

Young, James. E., *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (Newhaven, London: Yale University Press, 2000).

Young, James. E., 'The Countermonument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today' in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Winter, 1992 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 267-296.

Young, James. E., 'Germany's Holocaust Problem and Mine', in *The Public Historian*. Vol. 24. No. 4, Autumn, 2002 (Berkely: University of California Press), pp. 65-80.

Zelize, Barbie, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory Through The Camera's Eye* (Berkley: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Websites:

www.stiftung-denkmal.de. Accessed 1.11.2011.

www.yadvashem.org. Accessed 17.2.2016.

www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/225-a-self-serving-admission-of-guilt-an-examination-of-the-intentions-and-effects-of-germany-s-memorial-to-the-murdered-jews-of-europe. Chin, Sharon. *A Self-Serving Admission of Guilt: An Examination of the Intentions and Effects of Germany's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. Accessed 27.11.2012.

www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/germans/memorial/bodemann.html (Michal Bodemann interviewed in *Die Tageszeitung*. 8.5.2005). Accessed 13.12.2013.

www.stih-schnock.de/bus-stop. Accessed 4.10.2012.

www.stih-schnock.de/remembrance. Accessed 4.10.2012.

www.danikaravan.com/portfolio/item/germany/the/sinti/roma/memorial. *Sinti and Roma Memorial* Accessed 9.2.2013.

www.newstatesman.com/staggers/2014/07/football-patriotism-has-saved-modern-germany-its-worries-about-national-identity. Sunder Katwala, *Football Patriotism Has Saved Modern Germany From Its Worries About National Identity*. 14.7.2014. Accessed. 29.8.2014.

www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-35002733. *Syrian Conflict: German MPs vote for anti-IS military mission*. 4 December 2015. Accessed 20.1.2016

www.annefrank.org/en/museum/from-hiding-place-to-museum/visitors/over/the/years. 9.9.2014.

www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de. Uhl, Heidemarie. *Going underground: The 'Information' of the Berlin Holocaust Memorial*. *Studies in Contemporary History*, Online-Ausgabe, 5 (2008) H. 3. 29.5.2013.

www.iwm.org.uk/history/lee-millers-second-world-war *Exhibition of Lee Millers Photography, Imperial War Museum London*. Accessed 4.11.2015.

www.stiftung-denkmal.de/denkmal-fuer-die-ermordeten-judan-europas/stelenfeld *Stelenfeld*. 27.10.2011.

www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/memorials/memorial-and-information-point-for-the-victims-of-national-socialist-euthanasia-killings. Accessed 15.5.2018.

Appendices

Appendix A.

Original German for all translated primary sources.

Introduction

Footnote 28: *Deutschland, das Land der Täter, das Land der Erfinder dieses einzigartigen Völkermordes, dem Mord an den Juden, hat kein einziges Monument, um der über fünf Millionen Toten, der durch die Deutschen Ermordeten, zu gedenken. Frankreich hat ein solches Denkmal. Italien hat es, Belgien hat es auch. Die Norweger gedenken ihrer Toten, die Ungarn auch. Nur wir nicht. Und es ist längst überfällig, diesen Skandal zu beenden. Kriegsdenkmäler-ja, Holocaust-Denkmal - Nein? Vowärts Nr. 45. Lea Rosh. 5.1.1989.*

Footnote 30: *Dieses Verbrechen ist die schwerste Last Deutschlands, auch heute, ein halbes Jahrhundert später. Künstlerisches Wettbewerb Denkmal für die emordeten Juden Europas. Ausschreibung. April 1994.*

1. Who is the the memorial for?

Footnote 10: *In diesem Terror wurde die jüdische Gesamtbevölkerung der Welt um ein Drittel dezimiert. Worte wie Mitleid, Anteilnahme, Mitgefühl versagen angesichts der Beispiellosigkeit des Leids; die Dimension sprachlicher Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten ist gesprengt. Dieses Verbrechen ist die schwerste Last Deutschlands, auch heute, ein halbes Jahrhundert später (...) Nur wenige Meter von Hitlers Amtssitz entfernt, wo die Worte formuliert wurden, die zu den Taten führten, die das Schicksal aller jüdischen Bürger Europas durch Leid, Exil und Tod unumkehrbar veränderten, wird das zentrale deutsche Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas in den ehemaligen 'Ministergärten' errichtet werden. Dieser Standort symbolisiert deshalb in besonderer Weise das Gedenken der Millionen ermordeten Juden als Verpflichtung aller Deutschen. Künstlerisches Wettbewerb Denkmal für die emordeten Juden Europas. Ausschreibung. April 1994.*

Footnote 13: *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, vertreten durch das Bundesministerium des Inneren, das Land Berlin, vertreten durch die Senatsverwaltung für Bau- und Wohnungswesen und der "Förderkreis zur Errichtung eines Denkmals für die emordeten Juden Europas e.V." sind gemeinsam Auslober dieses künstlerischen Wettbewerbs; damit wird deutlich: es ist das Deutschland von heute, das sich in Gänze der Verpflichtung stellt,*

der Wahrheit nicht auszuweichen, sie nicht dem Vergessen preiszugeben,

die jüdischen Ermordeten Europas zu ehren,

ihrer in Trauer und Scham zu gedenken,

die Last deutscher Geschichte anzunehmen,

ein Zeichen zu setzen für ein neues Kapitel menschlichen Zusammenlebens, in dem kein Unrecht an Minderheiten möglich sein darf.

Künstlerisches Wettbewerb Denkmal für die emordeten Juden Europas. Ausschreibung. April 1994.

Footnote 20: *Statt formale Vorgaben zu machen entwickelten wir ein Konzept der Erinnerungs- oder Gedenkarbeit, das folgende Punkte berücksichtigte: eine klar umrissene Bestimmung des Holocaust und seiner Bedeutung; die Rolle von Nazi-Deutschland als Täter; die Rolle des heutigen wiedervereinigten Deutschland als Subjekt des Erinnerns; das Verhältnis der heutigen Generation zur Erinnerung an den Holocaust. Statt Antworten zu liefern, stellten wir Fragen: Welches sind die nationalen Gründe für das Gedenken? Zielt dieses Gedenken auf Erlösung oder Versöhnung? Ist es Teil eines Trauerprozesses? Spielen pädagogische Motive eine Rolle? Welche nationalen und gesellschaftlichen Zwecke soll das Denkmal erfüllen? Wird es ein Ort sein, an dem Juden über verschwundene Juden trauern? Ein Ort, an dem Deutsche über verschwundene Juden trauern? Ein Ort, an dem sich Juden daran erinnern, was ihnen Deutsche einmal angetan haben? Diese Fragen waren meiner Ansicht nach selbst ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des Gedenk- und Denkmalprozesses, deshalb schlug ich vor, die Künstler sollten sie sich stellen, selbst wenn keine abschließenden Antworten zu finden sein würden. Wer an die Vernichtung erinnern will, muß die Leere gestalten: Berlin's Problem mit dem Holocaust-Denkmal - und meines. James Young. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. 22.1.1998.*

Footnote 24: *Das wichtigste Kulturunternehmen in Deutschland seit 1945 aufgrund der neuen rassistischen Gewalt. Senator Wolfgang Nagel. Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst Überfällig. Frankfurter Rundschau, 6.5.1994.*

Footnote 27: *Denkmäler spiegeln die geistige, die kulturelle und politische Zeit ihres Entstehens. Das Holocaust-Denkmal könnte eine innere Wandlung unseres Volkes zeigen, auch im Umgang mit unserer Geschichte. Es soll unsere Nachkommen verpflichten, wenn bei uns oder anderenorts Völkermord geschieht, nicht wieder wegzuschauen, sondern sich einzumischen. Frankfurter Rundschau. 9.5.1996. Peter Contradi.*

Footnote 43: *Indem die beiden deutschen Staaten sich vereinigen, übernehmen sie auch die Verantwortung für ihre gemeinsame Geschichte. Die erste frei gewählte DDR-Volkskammer hat in ihrer ersten Sitzung am 12. April 1990 in einer bemerkenswerten gemeinsamen Erklärung aller sieben Fraktionen daran erinnert und sich dabei an erster Stelle zur Mitverantwortung für Demütigung, Vertreibung und Ermordung jüdischer Frauen, Männer und Kinder bekannt. Eberhard Jäckel. Jetzt ist der Moment. Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas. 30.4.1990.*

Footnote 49: *Hier geht es um den Kern unseres Selbstverständnisses als Nation. Es besteht in Parlament, Regierung und Öffentlichkeit ein hohes Maß an Übereinstimmung darüber, daß Deutschland in besonderer Weise Verantwortung dafür trägt, die Erinnerung an den Holocaust wachzuhalten. Deshalb ist es notwendig, daß neben den Orten der Naziverbrechen selbst und ihren Dokumentationsstätten ein zentraler Ort öffentlichen Gedenkens an die ermordeten Juden Europas geschaffen wird. Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 17.9.1998.*

Footnote 50: *Zu spät kommt das Denkmal nicht, denn die Verpflichtung zur bewußten Auseinandersetzung mit der historischen Verantwortung für die Verbrechen des nationalsozialistischen Deutschland ist uns Deutschen auferlegt und vergeht nicht. So ist es unabdingbar für uns, die Bürde der Erkenntnis zu tragen, Reue und Trauer zu bekunden sowie aus der Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangenheit Lehren für Gegenwart und Zukunft zu ziehen. Selbstverständlich ist die Aufgabe dieses Wettbewerbs schwierig, [...] denn es geht nicht darum, sich einer Pflicht zu entledigen und auch nicht darum, mit einem imposanten Zeichen ein für alle Mal einen Schlußstrich unter die Vergangenheit zu setzen. Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst überfällig. Senator Wolfgang Nagel. 5.5.1994.*

Footnote 66: *Aber in einem subtileren, zurückhaltenderen, prägnanteren Entwurf könnte vielleicht etwas wie ein Gleichgewicht zwischen der Belastung durch die Erinnerung und der Inspiration, die von ihr ausgeht, zum Ausdruck kommen, ein Spannungsverhältnis zwischen einem immerwährenden Gezeichnetsein durch die Erinnerung und einem immerwährenden Behindertsein durch sie. So wie andere Nationen vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Gründungsmythen und ihrer Ideale, ihrer Erfahrungen als Befreier, Opfer oder Kämpfer an den Holocaust erinnert haben, wird sich auch Deutschland vor dem Hintergrund seiner eigenen komplexen, zur Selbstverleugnung neigenden Motive an den Holocaust erinnern, ob uns diese Motive gefallen oder nicht. Wer an die Vernichtung erinnern will, muß die Leere gestalten: James Young. Berlin's Problem mit dem Holocaust-Denkmal - und meines. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. 22.1.1998.*

Footnote 67: *Hier hingegen wollen wir ein Denkmal errichten, das an ein Verbrechen und die Opfer dieses Verbrechens erinnert, welches nicht von Fremden, sondern von Deutschen begangen wurde: die planmäßige, grausame Ermordung der Juden Europas. Das war keine fremde Macht; das waren unsere Landsleute, unsere Nachbarn, unsere Väter und Großväter. Peter Contradi. Frankfurter Rundschau. 9.5.1996.*

Footnote 85: *Es gibt viele Bürger in diesem Land, die das unterstützen werden, das weiß ich, alle die mit Phantasie und Erbarmen und Anstand. Kriegerdenkmäler haben wir in Hülle und Fülle. Vom Ersten und vom Zweiten Weltkrieg. Ein Holocaust-Denkmal haben wir immer noch nicht. Mal sehen, wie viele Gedenktage, Sonntagsreden und Beteuerungen von "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" wir noch über uns ergehen lassen müssen, bis wir endlich auch ein solches Lea Rosh. Denkmal haben. Kriegsdenkmäler - ja, Holocaust-Denkmal - nein? Vorwärts Nr. 45. 05.11.1988.*

Footnote 86: *Deswegen ist die Zeit reif für ein Holocaust-Denkmal, das niemand weh tut und allen das wohlige Gefühl vermittelt, etwas Gutes getan zu haben: Es kommt dem Bedürfnis entgegen, den Opfern eine letzte Ehre zu erweisen, ohne sich mit den Tätern im eigenen Haus anzulegen. (Streitpunkt Holocaust-Mahnmal: Das wohlige Gefühl, etwas Gutes zu tun). Der Tagesspiegel, 17 January 1995. Henryk Broder. Der Tagesspiegel.*

Heute ist so ein Denkmal wohl in der Tat nur noch eine wohlfeile Demonstration historischen Bewußtseins am wehrlosen Objekt: Peter Moses-Krause. Berliner Zeitung 20.1. 1995.

Footnote 91: *Wir leben ja in der Bundesrepublik gewissermaßen in einer kulturpolitischen Sahelzone. Jahrelang ist hier fantasiefeindliche, innovationsfeindliche Politik gemacht worden - denken Sie nur an den Widerstand der Regierung Kohl gegen die Verhüllung des Reichstages, die dann das größte Kunstereignis des Jahrzehnts war. (...) Ich möchte, daß auch für das Ausland deutlich wird, daß hier nicht nur eine neue Regierung, sondern mit dem Umzug nach Berlin auch ein neues Selbstverständnis, und zwar ein spielerisches, ein phantasievolles, ein künstlerisches Selbstverständnis der Bundesrepublik in Berlin ein Podium findet. Michael Naumann. Berlin braucht das Stadtschloß. Der Tagesspiegel. 21.7.1998.*

Footnote 101: *Mit einem Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden versuchen wir, mit uns selbst ins reine zu kommen. Wir erfüllen damit nicht die Erwartung von anderen, sei es innerhalb oder außerhalb Deutschlands. Die Vergangenheit trennt die Nachkommen der Täter von denen der Opfer. Diese gespaltene Vergangenheit wird das gemeinsame Handeln der Bürger in der Gegenwart nur dann nicht blockieren, wenn die eine Seite glaubwürdig für Verhältnisse einsteht, die für die andere Seite ein Zusammenleben erst möglich und vielleicht erträglich machen. Ein Holocaust-Denkmal ist auch Ausdruck dieser zivilen Rücksichtnahme auf die Nachkommen der Opfer. Der Zeigefinger Die Deutschen und ihr Denkmal. Jürgen Habermas. Die Zeit. 31. 3. 1999.*

Footnote 103: *Das geplante Mahnmal wird das erste Nationaldenkmal für etwas rein Negatives sein, nicht für Heroismus, Opfermut und Leiden, sondern für nicht zu sühnende Schuld. Denkmäler haben in der Regel versucht, den Leiden Sinn zugeben und Schuld abzubüßen; sie hatten etwas Versöhnliches. Nur hier muß es anders sein. 'Klare Schuld unklarer Gedenkstätte'. Gustav Seibt. Berliner Zeitung. 09.02.1998.*

Footnote 115: *Martin Walser. Jeder kennt unsere geschichtliche Last, die unvergängliche Schande, kein Tag, an dem sie uns nicht vorgehalten wird (...) Der Historiker Heinrich August Winkler nennt das "negativen Nationalismus". Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. 12.10.1998.*

Footnote 150: *Minutes of the jury's first meeting. 15.3.1995. 2. Der Verwendung von Symbolen jüdischen Glaubens ist mit Zurückhaltung zu begegnen, ebenso wird die Verbindung von 'Täterinstrumenten' mit 'Opfersymbolen' bzw. die Vermischung von Begriffen der Opfer und der Täter als höchst bedenklich angesehen.*

Footnote 155: *Ignatz Bubis. 'Geschmackloser geht es nicht,' said Bubis. 'Ihm gefalle das Modell nicht, weil seine Finanzierung über den Kauf von Namen der Ermordeten erfolgen soll. Jeder, der ein schlechtes Gewissen hat, und einige, die ein gutes Gewissen haben, würden dadurch die Möglichkeit bekommen, einfach zwischen einem und hundert Namen auszuwählen'. quoted in Der Tagesspiegel. 08.06.1995.*

Footnote 163: *'Der Holocaust heißt auch die Vernichtung von 500.000 Sinti und Roma. Über drei Jahrzehnte war es in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland möglich, die Verbrechen dieses Völkermordes aus rassistischen Gründen an den Sinti und Roma totzuschweigen. Das darf in Berlin keine Fortsetzung finden (...) Sinti und Roma waren Ziel des rassistischen Vernichtungsprogramms des Nationalsozialismus. Dieses himmelschreiende Unrecht ist immer noch nicht allen bewußt, nicht überall bekannt.' Aufruf an den Bundeskanzler, den Regierenden Bürgermeister von Berlin und die Ministerpräsidenten für die zentrale Gedenkstätte des Völkermords. Romani Rose (Heidelberg), Otto Rosenberg (Berlin) für den Zentralrat Deutscher Sinti und Roma. Der Tagesspiegel. 11.04.1989.*

Footnote 164: *'Es ist ein verspäteter Triumph der Nazis, dass jetzt die Opfergruppen gegeneinander aufgeteilt sind.' Jacob Schluze-Rohr. Der Tageszeitung. 13.04.1989*

Footnote 167: *Die Vernichtung des europäischen Judentums war eine erklärte Absicht Hitlers, das kann man in 'Mein Kampf' nachlesen - das war also schon zu Beginn der zwanziger Jahre erklärtes Hauptziel der Nazis. Alle anderen Gruppen, die später in den KZs umgekommen sind, waren ursprünglich nicht als Opfer vorgesehen. Um dieses Problem von vornherein auszuschalten und die Sache sauber zu halten - wenn ich mal so sagen darf -, haben wir das Holocaust-Mahnmal für die Juden konzipiert. Dabei Kommen belanglose Gedenkstätten raus? Jacob Schluze-Rohr. Tageszeitung. 13.04.1989.*

Footnote 168: *Eberhard Jäckel. Ein Grund ist, daß die Verfolgung und Ermordung der Juden für die Nationalsozialisten ganz zentral war. Es war das Kernstück des Nationalsozialismus. Der zweite Grund ist, daß mit der Ermordung der Juden der Höhepunkt eines jahrhundertelangen Antisemitismus erreicht war. Beides trifft für die Zigeuner nicht zu. Wir sind oft getadelt worden, wir hierarchisierten die Opfer. Das ist nicht richtig. Was wir hierarchisieren, ist der Vorgang. Hitler hat von 1919 bis 1945 immer gesagt: 'Wir vernichten die Juden.' Er hat es am Anfang gesagt und auch noch einmal am Ende: Man werde dem Nationalsozialismus ewig dafür dankbar sein, daß er die Juden aus Deutschland und Mitteleuropa ausgerottet habe. Das Kernstück. Der Tagesspiegel. 8.3.1991.*

Footnote 169: Ute Frings. *Der Streit zwischen Vertretern beider Opfergruppen hält an. Der Vorsitzende des Zentralrats der Sinti und Roma, Romani Rose, hat in einem offenen Brief an den Vorsitzenden des Zentralrats der Juden, Heinz Galinski, erneut ein gemeinsames Mahnmal gefordert das der Opfer beider Gruppen gleichermaßen gedenkt. Es seien "zwei Völker, die allein auf der Grundlage ihrer biologischen Existenz systematisch, fabrikmäßig vernichtet wurden", betont Romani Rose die tragische Gemeinsamkeit. Nationales Holocaust-Denkmal für wen?. Frankfurter Rundschau. 10.7.1992.*

Footnote 193: *Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst überfällig. Er Zweck des Denkmals ist für die deutsche zurückhaltende Prüfung und für uns, eine "neue, selbstmütige Nation zu sein. Senator Wolfgang Nagel. Frankfurter Rundschau. 5.5.1994.*

2. Issues of Representation

Footnote 5: *Der Ofen ist aus Stahl, matt schwarz gestrichen und wird Tag und Nacht gefeuert. Die Flammenwand ist durch eine Öffnung zu sehen. Es gibt keinen Rauch. Die um 1,10m erhobene, quadratische Bodenfläche markiert den un-betretbaren Raum um den Ofen. Die gesamte Grundstücksfläche ist mit grauem Granitmosaik gepflastert. Weißer Beton bildet die Kanten des Quadrats. Document outlining Broniatowski's and Glaster's concept. April. 1994.*

Footnote 10: *Wesentliches Element eines Entwurfes ist die Wahl der Mittel zur emotionalen Erfassung der Menschen, zur Heranführung der Besucher an das Thema. Es ist zu beachten, ob mit 'realitätsbezogenen' oder 'Holocaust Symbole' ein vermeintliches 'Nachempfinden' aktiviert werden soll oder ob Information und Kontemplation in ein ausbalanciertes Verhältnis gesetzt werden. Minutes of the jury's first meeting. 15.3.1995.*

Footnote 38: Hamid Ghandehary, Waltraud Brodersen, Ali Ghandehary, Sabine Lorenz, Ingrid Buhr, Schrab. Submission for the 1994 competition.

Brachland - Figur - Feuer: "Die ankommenden Menschen sollen Trauer und starke Betroffenheit empfinden können."

"Der gesamte Platz wird zum Denkmal, nicht nur die Figur allein. Wer den Platz betritt, dringt in die Geschichte ein und wird ein Teil davon."

Der Platz soll "die Wirkung eines Kreigsschauplatzes mit Trümmern, Schotter und Vertiefungen" haben - "im Kontrast zur repräsentativen Umgebung" und als "Dorn im Auge des Staates". In der Mitte "liegt eine zwölfmetergroße menschliche Skulptur aus Moniereisen, die gitterförmig verschweißt ist" und an "einen verbrannten ausgehöhlten Menschen" erinnert. An der Stelle des Herzens wächst ein Rosenstock mit roten Blüten "als Symbol für Blut und Schmerzen der Opfer". (Die Figur wurde in zweijähriger Arbeit bereits geschaffen.) Tag und Nacht steigt von sechs Feuerstellen, die die Spitzen eines "Judensterns" bilden, Rauch auf - "das Feuer steht für die verbrannten Juden und ist gleichzeitig Lebenslicht der Überlebenden". Das Gelände kann von allen Seiten betreten werden und "Besucherströme oder Staatsempfänge sollen ungeordnet stattfinden". Doch es gibt keine weiteren Bauten, die "all-zu-leicht eine Jahrmarktatmosphäre entstehen lassen" können. April. 1994.

Footnote 120: *Die Schrecken des Holocaust sind unmöglich in einem Denkmal darzustellen. Es geht vielmehr darum, einen Raum der Stille zu schaffen, in dem jeder Besucher, ob Täter oder Verfolgter zu seiner Trauer Assoziationen und Bilder erzeugen kann und somit zu seinem eigenen Gedenken findet. Gesine Weinmiller. Submission for the 1997 Competition. 4. 1997. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' – a documentation), p. 641.**

3. The Memorial Museum Paradigm

Footnote 8: Nikolaus Bernau. *‘Ein meditatives Gedenkmonument erfüllt vielleicht emotionale Bedürfnisse der Überlebenden, bestimmt repräsentative der Politiker - doch für die notwendige Bildungsarbeit bedarf es mehr, bedarf es aktiver Museen wie der Wannsee-Villa oder der ‘Topographie des Terrors’, bedarf es dynamischerer Orte. Wettbewerb des Martyriums. Der Tagesspiegel. 12.10. 1994.*

Footnote 19: *‘Enthalten keinen hinreichenden Bezug zur spezifischen historischen Situation.’ Die Shortlist-Designs erfüllen ihre Herausforderungen nicht. Jürgen Kocka. Berliner Morgenpost. 4.1.1998.*

Footnote 20: *‘Der Holocaust kann nur mit größerer Klarheit und Eindeutigkeit gelöst werden.’ Gustav Seibt. Berliner Zeitung. 9.2.1998*

Footnote 22: *Der Besucher des Denkmals betritt eine schiefe Ebene auf der Steinblöcke als Bild für das versprengte und ermordete Volk wie zufällig verstreut liegen. Er bewegt sich nach unten durch die Kubenwelt, entdeckt Räume und Beziehungen zwischen den Körpern. Die Steine bieten den Besuchern des Denkmals umso mehr Schutz vor Lärm und Hektik der Stadt, je mehr er in dem Denkmal "versinkt". Dieses Eintauchen in den Raum ist auch im übertragenen Sinne zu verstehen. From the submission by Gesine Weinmiller, 1997. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das ‘Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas’ Eine Dokumentation (The monument’s disputes: The Debate around ‘The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe’ – a documentation)*, p. 641.*

4. Counter-monuments and Mnemonics

Footnote 10: *Das Nationale Holocaust-Denkmal ist längst überfällig Er Zweck des Denkmals ist Für die deutsche zurückhaltende Prüfung und für uns, eine neue, selbstmütige Nation zu sein. Senator Wolfgang Nagel. Frankfurter Rundschau. 5.5.1994.*

Footnote 22: *Bus Stop! ist ein transitorisches Denkmal, dessen primäre Funktion auf der Auflösung des Überkommenen Monumentgedankens beruht. Hier wird kein Ort ritualisierten Gedenkens geschaffen. Vielmehr besteht die Grundidee in dem Angebot, sich an die eigentlichen Orte des Gedenkens zu begeben. Wer um die Opfer trauern will, muß sich aufmachen zu den Orten der Vernichtung, denn unsere Art des Gedenkens basiert auf dem Interesse an den Tätern, weniger an den Opfern. Das Busterminal ist als Ausgangspunkt für Rundfahrten zu authentischen Berliner Gedenkstätten wie zu entfernteren Gedenkstätten und den Vernichtungslagern in Polen konzipiert. Document outlining the artists’ concept, 1994. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das ‘Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas’ Eine Dokumentation (The monument’s disputes: The Debate around ‘The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe’ – a documentation)*, p. 546.*

Footnote 51: *Die Stelle wird von einer Straße für die Ankunft und die Abfahrt von Bussen geteilt. Document outlining the artists’ concept, 1994. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das ‘Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas’ Eine Dokumentation (The monument’s disputes: The Debate around ‘The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe’ – a documentation)*, p. 546.*

Footnote 64: *Die Absicht, den Akt des Gedenkens nicht am vorgesehenen Ort, sondern an den authentischen Stätten der Vernichtung zu begehen, entspricht zwar nicht den Intentionen der Auslober, wird aber als wichtiger Anstoß, über die Schwierigkeiten des Gedenkens grundsätzlich nachzudenken, gewürdigt. Die Konzeption des hier vorgesehenen Nicht-Monuments wird als wichtiger Beitrag zur gegenwärtigen Denkmal-Diskussion bewertet. Von mehreren Mitgliedern des Preisgerichts wurde die mangelnde Berücksichtigung der Vorgaben der Ausschreibung kritisiert und die Realisierbarkeit des Konzepts grundsätzlich*

in Frage gestellt. Ebenso wurde die Auffassung geäußert, daß die vorgeschlagene Lösung keine angemessene Antwort auf die Aufgabenstellung darstelle. Document outlining the jury's assessment of *Bus Stop!*. 11. 1994. Gunter Schlusche, *Der Denkmalstreit - das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das 'Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas' Eine Dokumentation (The monument's disputes: The Debate around 'The monument for the murdered Jews of Europe' – a documentation)*, p. 547.

Footnote 72: *Das Denkmal nicht als Neubau, sondern als Abriß eines Altbaus.' Das Brandenburger Tor 'wird nach der Wiedervereinigung ... immer häufiger als das Symbol ungebrochener deutscher Identität und Kontinuität benutzt. Mit seiner Öffnung begannen aber auch neue Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Ausgrenzung, Brandanschläge und Morde. Die nationale Identität und historische sind nach dem Völkermord an den europäischen Juden und den Roma und Sinti zerbrochen. Sie lassen sich nicht mehr herstellen.* Extract from the document outlining Horst Hoheisel's official submission. 1994.

Footnote 75: *Die Frage dieses Entwurfes lautet: Würde das Volk der Täter angesichts des Völkermordes an den Europäischen Juden und Roma und Sinti bereit sein, sein nationales Symbol als Denkmal zu opfern? Können die Deutschen eine doppelte Leere ertragen? Den leeren Ort des Pariser Platzes ohne das Brandenburger Tor und den leeren Ort der Ministergärten ohne entlastendes Denkmal aus Steine, Stahl oder Bronze?* From Horst Hoheisel's official submission documents. 6. 1994.

Footnote 92: *Der Standort ist als Chance zu verstehen, da er die naïve Gleichung 'Genozid, Stille, Diskretion und Würde' umkehrt. Es ist eine Leistung des Auftrags, daß er ein säkulares, ja 'störendes' Umfeld zur Bedingung der künstlerischen Auseinandersetzung macht [...]. Außerdem ist die Größe des Platzes – als Metapher für eine Weltverletzung, die Shoah – eine weitere 'richtige' Vorgabe des Auftrags, weil sie die Maßlosigkeit zum Maßstab des Auftrags macht. Die Verwirklichung?: Die Frage 'Warum ist es geschehen – Why did it happen?' steht im Mittelpunkt des Denk- und Mahnmals, weil sie den Ansatz zum Denken und Leben nach der Shoah verkörpert. Jeder Besucher des Denkmals für die ermordeten Juden Europas ist eingeladen, auf diese Frage zu antworten. Das Gemeinschaftswerk der Antworten – die in den Belag des immensen, anfangs leeren Platzes im Laufe der Zeit eingemeißelten Gedanken und Reaktionen jedes Besuchers – wird ein permanenter Teil des Denk- und Mahnmals.* From the document outlining Jochen Gerz's proposal, 4. 1997.

Footnote 109: *Die Frage "Warum ist es geschehen?" und die zeitliche Dimension der Erinnerungsarbeit sind wesentliche Elemente des Konzepts, dessenn gestalterische und architektonische Umsetzung es dem Menschen erlauben sol, selbst zum "Denkmal zu werden" In der Diskussion wird die vorgeschlagene Methode zur Erzeugung von Antworten auf das "Warum" angesprochen, die Gerz als "Training" auch gegen Rassismus bezeichnet. Die Reduzierung auf das "Warum" wird von Ignatz Bubis und Prof. Dr. James Young als irreführend angesehen. Protokoll der Sitzung des Beurteilungsgremiums. 14 and 15 November, 1997.*

Appendix B.

All interviews presented here were conducted by Ph.D Candidate, Mark Callaghan. They comprise interviews with selected artists, jury members James Young and Stefanie Endlich; Günter Schlusche who was responsible for engineering and planning aspects of the memorial, and Minister for Culture during the competition period, Michael Naumann. All interviews were conducted in English.

Interview with the Memorial's architect, Peter Eisenman. Conducted by telephone on 17.11. 2011

Ph.D Candidate: I have now visited the Memorial four times, the most recent being this Tuesday. On each occasion I have observed the same responses.... Instead of sombre, reflective remembrance, with body language to match, I see teenagers playing hide n' seek, using the Monument like a playground; people standing atop the stelae, smiling and having their photos taken; and people sitting on the stelae having a drink as though the blocks were park benches.

Do you object to any of this behaviour? Were you looking to reverse the idea of public behaviour at such a site of remembrance?

Peter Eisenman: We didn't want the design to be religious. We wanted to create an out of body experience, rather than say the experience you would have at Auschwitz because after going to a site like that you can place it in a separate part of your mind – it's outside of normality. So I wanted a physical experience in the present tense because it would be so different to what one would have elsewhere. I wanted them to experience 'the moment' of being absorbed by these surroundings whilst thinking of the past.

We wanted the Germans to see the Holocaust as part of everyday life. So when we saw people sun-bathing on the stelae, it was great. When we heard that people were having sex there, that was also great, as we wanted it to be a place of extraordinary being. We wanted a German kid to return home to his parents whose fathers had probably been Nazis during the War and hear that kid say, 'I went to the Holocaust Memorial today and I had a great time!'

Ph.D Candidate: So you anticipated this kind of response and welcomed it?

Peter Eisenman: We didn't predict what the reactions would be, but it has been more than we imagined. But what we ultimately wanted was for the Memorial to be a background for expression, regardless of what that may be. So when you tell me kids play tag in there or that people have lunch on it or take photos of each other smiling, I'm ok with that; it's what I hoped would happen.

Ph.D Candidate: I understand via the Deputy Director of the Memorial site that a fashion shoot once took place at the Memorial and the pictures published, though eventually removed by the Foundation's lawyers. Was using the Memorial as a backdrop to fashion a line too far, despite your liberal attitude to behaviour on the site?

Peter Eisenman: I wanted performances during the World Cup! I wanted the monument to be part of everyday German life. So if photo-shoots are part of German life, then so be it. I wasn't part of the decision to remove the pictures. I was in disagreement with the Foundation on that one. I'm not interested in prohibiting anything at all.

Ph.D Candidate: But this is a Holocaust Memorial. Shouldn't it be respected in a more conventional sense?

Peter Eisenman: But what makes it a Holocaust memorial? Ask yourself that. I don't know. That's for you to think about. I didn't want there to be any signs at all – nothing – not even the one near the Information Centre. We wanted people to respond to the Monument individually.

I even wanted graffiti on there too, but that idea was squashed quite quickly and the anti-graffiti solution was applied instead. There are some restrictions that I endorse though. Rallies by the Far Right aren't allowed within 500 metres of the site. There's one example.

It's a strange place and it doesn't become familiar. I was actually surprised by the power of the space when I first experienced it. Prior to that it we could only imagine it through models but when I walked through it I was overwhelmed. I also have my favourite places within the Monument but as there are no markings, I can't remember where they are.

Ph.D Candidate: How do you think abstract forms provide new ways of provoking responses from visitors and transmitting meanings? In other words, what is it about abstract forms that provoke the responses we're talking about?

Peter Eisenman: Why do abstract forms make people behave this way? I don't know. That's for you to figure out. What I can tell you is that the design had several calculations to create certain effects. For instance, the sound effects were essential to me. When you went to the Monument you would have heard the traffic noises differently, and at night, you would have heard the silence in a different way too, I'm sure. During the day, we also wanted to create that Jack-Boot sense of danger, so this is why you can hear the echo of footsteps that's achieved by the type of stone we used on the ground and the way in which the ground undulates too. Had the ground been flat that sound would have been lost. I wanted to introduce a sense of fear to the site. So the design has several calculations to create certain effects, all to create the feeling of an unnatural and tight space. We calculated the channels and the spaces between the blocks to be less than a small kitchen where you turn around and are immediately confronted by the stove or the refrigerator.

Ph.D Candidate: Isn't this contrary to what happens at the site now, with the leisurely behaviour? And your idea of being absorbed by the site and thinking of the past?

Peter Eisenman: It's all part of the viewer's experiences whilst there. I know that people are affected by the calculations I built into the design. People have ran from inside the site, back into the open. There's been reports of panic attacks too.

Ph.D Candidate: How do you feel about those responses?

Peter Eisenman: I didn't intend for people to react like that. It was about introducing a *sense* of fear, that's all. You can never be sure how people will respond, be it playfully or otherwise.

Ph.D Candidate: Which, presumably changed when you and Richard Serra were asked to modify the design? I understand Chancellor Kohl was part of this.

Peter Eisenman: Yes, Helmut Kohl and others. They wanted a less intimidating site. Richard withdrew at this point, not wishing to change what we set out to do. I continued. I saw how the proposed Information Centre could work and that reducing the size of the stelae and their number wouldn't lose the intended effects.

Ph.D Candidate: And, returning to the visitor's behaviour, the Information Centre below ground seems to be the ideal balance between conventional forms of remembrance and the more challenging ones that occur above the ground.

Peter Eisenman: The Information Centre works well because there are two separate experiences now. At first I was against the idea but now I see that it combines the archival memory experience, by way of the Information Centre, and the impossibility of remembering the Holocaust by way of the Monument above ground.

Ph.D Candidate: How about the location? It strikes me as being highly pertinent and symbolic. It took 153 of my paces to reach Hitler's Bunker, and I know that Goebbels' Bunker would have been under the South West corner of where the Monument is now. Then we have Albert Speer's former office overlooking the site....

Peter Eisenman: Ok, well bear in mind that some people wanted a Burghers of Calais-type monument, probably in a park somewhere. Others wanted the memorial, even this Memorial, to be in an out of downtown location, such as the Alexanderplatz, but there's no way it would have worked out there. For me the Memorial is in the ideal location due to it being part of Berlin's daily life, the German government, which is close by, plus the US Embassy, which also overlooks the Monument, and all the historical references that you mention. In fact, I wanted Goebbels' bunker to be opened up and used as the Information Centre but this was over-ruled because it was feared it would be visited by neo-Nazis and used as a shrine. So for me, it had to be on this large scale and it had to be in this position, right at the heart of Berlin's past and present.

Ph.D Candidate: What about complaints from people concerning the behaviour of people? Have there been complaints from the Jewish Community, for instance?

Peter Eisenman: A survivor once came to the site and toured it with me. She had been one of Joseph Mengele's patients at Auschwitz so imagine her memories for a second. She was incredibly moved by the Memorial and was open to the idea of people responding in the ways we've discussed. That's one response. But there have been complaints from the Jewish Community mainly because they feel the Monument has a lack of symbolism.

Ph.D Candidate: But they don't complain about some of the unconventional visitor behaviour?

Peter Eisenman: No they don't do that. They don't complain about the behaviour but they do complain about my condoning it and that's a different matter.

Interview with James Young Conducted by Telephone on 7.1. 2012

Ph.D Candidate: As you know, I'm interested in the rejected proposals and also how democratic the competition actually was. Though there seems to have been a democratic element to the competition by way of Lea Rosh's *Fordekreis*, I'm not convinced the competition was strictly democratic. What are your thoughts on this?

James Young: Well, you must remember that I wasn't involved in the first competition. I'm not sure how influential *Fordekreis* was in terms of what you're referring to, though it's unusual for the public to be represented by a group. Most art competitions have a degree of transparency where the decision is explained and where the results are published. This happened in Berlin with the first competition. Have you seen the list of where each designed came overall? It shows who was first, second and so on. What I can tell you though is that Lea Rosh insisted on adding Jochen Gerz and Daniel Libeskind to the final list in 1997. For reasons never made clear to me, Gerz's design was added.

Ph.D Candidate: So even you, in your position, were being overruled?

James Young: I was interested in their designs and might have recommended them anyway. I'm just citing an example of where external influences were happening. Rosh was central to the project though so I guess she was entitled to assert some influence. And ultimately the final decision was still ours, the *Findungskommission*.

Ph.D Candidate: You mention Libeskind's proposal, which is intriguing to me. Were these artists put forward by Lea Rosh because they are well-known? And what happened with Libeskind's design? Can you recall why it was passed over and Eisenman's selected?

James Young: Lea Rosh never specified. You might be right in what you're suggesting but I really don't know. Libeskind's design made it to the final four and from what I remember there were close calls between the final designs and what was selected. There was a concern that Libeskind's model could be mistaken for being a remnant of the Berlin Wall. I didn't agree with that but it was a panel of five and we had to find a consensus. I would say that Eisenman's supporting theory was another factor here. It was persuasive and this is where more of a consensus could be found. The experiential, abstract memorial.... A way of being absorbed in the site, connected to the past and present, and very open to all manner of responses.

Ph.D Candidate: But the design then changed and the theory with it?

James Young: The Bundestag were largely motivated to make some modifications. I wasn't sure where this could be headed, but what emerged was a memorial that blended with the surrounding streets, which was an interesting and welcome development I think this added to the concept and the theory remained intact. It's still a place invites what Eisenman wrote of.

Ph.D Candidate: And also one that invites playful responses too? I have visited the Berlin memorial on four separate occasions and each time I have observed patterns of behaviour such as teenagers playing hide n' seek, people climbing on top of the stelae, then leaping from one to another, and other people having their photographs taken, often whilst smiling in front of the memorial or within it....

.... I wonder how you feel about this response to a Holocaust memorial and whether, in your role as the speaker for the *Findungskommission*, you anticipated such a reception by the public?

James Young: We did and this was a reason for creating further tilts and leans when positioning the blocks. Peter Eisenman already had this as part of his design but it was argued that to increase this would reduce the temptation for climbing onto them. I think Peter also anticipated the site would attract those interested in dangerous sports.

In terms of the behavior you describe, the alternative would be to have controls and restrictions and we really didn't want that. Someone even suggested that guards patrol the site with dogs and blow whistles when someone does something objectionable.

Ph.D Candidate: That has disturbing connotations!

James Young: Which is why the idea was politely declined!

Ph. D Candidate: I feel there is a notable gap between what was commissioned and what was actually received in terms of viewer reception; perhaps a miscalculation. Peter Eisenman told me that he had no issue with how people behaved at the memorial, be it sunbathing or even sex. So I wonder to what extent viewer behaviour was discussed during the selection process and whether you discussed and debated these issues with Peter Eisenman?

I ask these opening questions because almost all of the literature and reviews on this subject were written either before the Memorial was completed or immediately after it, and it's interesting that the subject of viewer behaviour is rarely mentioned. For me, however, it is the subject of most interest where this memorial is concerned due to its challenge to conventional modes of behaviour, particularly at a Holocaust memorial.

James Young: Thinking back to the competition, at least the 1997 one, we sought a memorial that would be something more than conventional contemplation, something more radical. At risk, if that's how we think about it, is that some people might respond in unexpected or questionable ways, but I'd prefer the site to be one of freedom of expression, if that's the outcome of the modifications and the interactive, experiential qualities that Eisenman spoke to us about and we were compelled by.

Interview with Renata Stih and Frieda Schnock Conducted via Skype on 7.7. 2012.

P.h D Candidate: There are several questions. Some relate to the concept behind *Bus Stop!*, whilst others relate to the Berlin competition itself...

My understanding of *Bus Stop!* is that it would be an anti-memorial where red buses would leave the memorial site at regular intervals, taking visitors to some of the former concentration camps of Germany and Poland. So it would be a mobile memorial where thought processes are more important than the materiality, the actual forms. Would you agree with this assessment of your work and could you expand upon it?

Renata Stih: Our idea was an anti-proposal, based on our first memorial in the Bavarian Quarter in Berlin, a de-centralised memorial. It's well documented on our web-site. They wanted something on the main square in Berlin but we wanted to take the Berlin memorial out of the designated place to make it unavoidable. We try to do things in a psychological way. We try to make things space specific. It's also a situation where building a memorial would be unjust to all the scholars and research centres we have, as though this could somehow be the answer to the huge consciousness of German guilt and the issue of remembering the Holocaust. When I teach my students they are very much aware of issues concerning German guilt. Other Europeans don't quite understand the German preoccupation with the Holocaust.

We had so many problems with the Bavarian Quarter memorial where we documented the disappearance of Jews in a public space, we weren't sure if we wanted to do this anymore. But when the Senate of Berlin said they would create a public memorial, we were encouraged to participate.

We felt it was about the concentration camps. There were parallel developments in ex-Yugoslavia where the Serbs created these camps, then of course Srebrenica – it was still happening! Also, we visited Buchenwald and saw the Goethe connection where he used to sit at the oak tree thinking, that became the centre of a concentration camp. We had the same thought: "*This* is the memorial – the site. There is no other memorial. This is evidence. You cannot move it. Everything else is a substitute. Everything else is kitsch whereas this is a monument in itself". Then we came back and started with the research. You must have respect for the victims. In Jewish belief they say 'To forget people is like a second death', therefore a memorial is not enough. When you stand at these sites, it's like the earth would tremble. And you have all the pictures of the camps through the media and so you project this onto the ground. You think 'this was here!' And you think, 'what can you add to this', and the answer is nothing.

So we began to think of connecting a bus line to the camps around Berlin.

I see a total disconnection between the memorialisation and the artwork. I find this to be terrible. You memorialise the victims not yourself but some artists do this; it's all about them. The art world is totally disconnected from memorialisation. Some people do this total Holocaust kitsch, like the woman who takes the source of an apple tree and thinks this is a memorial. And someone else who takes plants from Birkenau and brings them into an exhibition so people take them home with them. As if this has anything to do with the victims. You don't memorialise yourself, you memorise the victims.

Ph.D Candidate: The Holocaust is only about the victims and the perpetrators?

Renata Stih: Yes. With *Bus Stop!* it was about the sites where the murders happened, that's where empathy can be evoked, not in Berlin where there's no remnants and no killings happened. With *Bus Stop!* we stirred up a lot of dust. Nearly everyone wanted to do something on the spot, on the designated site. Dani wanted to do a field of Yellow flowers. And Richard Serra, who should know better, started doing his idea with Eisenman. It will be interesting to know why Richard Serra left the project?

Ph.D Candidate: You say where empathy can be evoked and that the memorial is about victims and perpetrators....

Frieder Schnock: We proposed to take visitor to the sites. This is where empathetic identification and emotional connections can happen. How could this happen in Berlin, we asked? We didn't see how a memorial of whatever kind – abstract, or any design that we saw – could really do this. And yes it's about the victims – all of them, not just Jews, but prisoners of war, resistance fighters, homosexuals, prisoners of war, and more, I'm sure.

Ph.D Candidate: Did your proposal question the premises of the competition itself? So were you questioning whether a centrally located memorial could ever represent understandings of the past and national belonging in the present and future?

Frieder Schnock: We would have been kicked out of the competition without including the site in some way. This is why we included an info centre with the databases and the "One Way Road" (Benjamin). So we used the site in this way, as an addition to the original *Bus Stop!* idea. This is why we left the rest of the site barren. To show this is an artificial site.

We didn't intend the barren site to symbolise the missing Jews, so it's not like Hoheisel.

Renata Stih: The memorial was a long procedure of discussions; the press was very important. There were daily statements by people in the German press – "Tagesspiegel" being a good example. Lachman would invite people to write these statements about the Holocaust memorial.

It's an artist's arrogance to add to this with an abstract square that looks like a coffin, as Eisenman's does. So we go completely against this. We should always ask 'what are we memorising here'?

Why can't people take the Holocaust for what it is? Probably because it's this huge crime that they need schmalzing and explaining to get to it. I demand dignity for the victims. This is the least we can do.

It's important that your research is done now, as people are dying away.

Ph.D Candidate: *Bus Stop!* seems to be a reaction to the site itself – the former ministerial gardens. Were you questioning whether a memorial could be spatially and temporally located, and if so, why? Were you also saying that the more important sites are the concentration camps?

Frieder Schnock: We thought memorial should be bigger, all over Europe. The FDR/Kohl chose the site because he wanted US to see 'we did our duty'. *Bus Stop!* could have happened anywhere. We pointed out that you didn't even need the site! This is why we produced a document showing public transport departure times to the former concentration camp sites, including details concerning the deportation of Jews and the murders that followed.

Ph.D Candidate: Does your work attempt to confront the past and work through it as opposed to overcoming the past and trying to master it?

Frieder Schnock: It creates a heightened awareness. How can you master the past? You can confront yourself with things that happened?

I'm not angry toward traditional monuments. They are signs of their time and people who created it. Two arms stretched in the air – by Magdelene someone! The very easy ideas were completely mad!

Cliche.

Ph.D Candidate: As *Bus Stop!* can also be described as an experience-based concept, a mnemonic art form where the viewer becomes a participant in the creation of the memory work, do you feel that this creates a more memorable form of memorial, at least for the participants? A more active rather than passive role.

Frieder Schnock: Re: Mnemonic..... Absolutely. You give your time to those who suffered and died. You take your time too. Going to places takes some time.

Renata Stih: Details, nuances, unexpected images and encounters turn the approach to memory sites into a formative experience. You take your time and you give it to the dead. Going to a former concentration camp is no simple day trip: it requires preparation in order to be able to stand the shock of comprehension.

There might be a need to talk to someone about your experience. We added a train schedule so people could do it themselves. They didn't need to use *Bus Stop!*

Ph.D Candidate: What feedback did you receive from the 1995 jury?

Renata Stih: Christina De Foi fought for the memorial. She might not want to talk to you, as she is a public figure. I will tell her that you are researching this and see if she would be willing to speak to you. I would also recommend speaking to the head of the Topography of Terror. The head said the memorial 'asked how can they do an abstract memorial? The shape of the memorial doesn't say what it's about'. And he's right, I think I agree with him: this could also be read as a memorial for the dead of car crashes or anything, rather than the Holocaust. The Holocaust is a real thing, not an abstract thing. I love abstract art but this is a whole different thing and does not suit the Holocaust. The younger generation of artists don't reference the past; it's in danger of fading. They just say, I am today, I am new. But then they come about the same problems that we did. If you held the competition today you would still get the same funny results.

Libeskind transforms feelings into abstraction, when you look at the voids of the Jewish Museum, for instance. But he uses the same language for the Manchester Imperial War Museum of the North. Libeskind was unhappy with Eisenman. Eisenman's design is remarkably similar to the Garden of Exile at the Jewish Museum. It's also something that seems to lack humility, cast there in concrete. For me, the labyrinth of cement blocks can only obstruct the difficult process of remembrance and reflection.

Ph.D Candidate: I understand *Bus Stop!* was very popular with the German public but did not make the shortlist of finalists in 1995. Why do you think this was? Do you think public opinion was overlooked? Do you think the jury were more concerned with how memorials would look rather than how memory would be stimulated? (Stephanie Endlich, who sat on the Jury, doesn't believe conceptual artists were really understood).

Renata Stih: Lea Rosh opposed it; she threatened the Jury that it shouldn't make the shortlist; German TV and Israel TV interviewed us, interviewing Rosh too; they even got red buses and re-enacted how it would work, driving through the Brandenburg Gate; Zeda F TV; De Spiegel was an important ally for us. I will ask Frieder what has been digitalised.

The art of disagreement is how our partnership works. 'Dialogue art' is another term for it.

Ph.D Candidate: As you were born in Germany during, or shortly after the war years, and are therefore, like all Counter-monument artists, part of the *Nachgeborenen* (the later born), do you believe your generation has rejected the traditional monument, and if so, why? Do you accept the term 'counter-monument' artist?

Frieder Schnock: People are looking for labels. *Bus Stop!* was about getting people to think, about other possibilities for memorialisation. For this process it was important to push for *Bus Stop!* CD rep thought it should be a railway carriage. They had to explain it's a concept.

Renata Stih: I would say this is a monument. People say it's a counter-monument because it's not a man in a horse, made of stone. A memorial to me always comes to me as a stone and then a pigeon defecating on it. This is how I saw things as a child. Mostly men on horses.

Public memorials are often cheerful places, just as Eisenman's has become. I love this, I love these places. They are places of collective memory, this is how we classify museums. Memorialising is what makes our European cultures so special. It's more a possibility of a memorial, something that involves you. At times of democracy you need new ways of memorialising and thinking. I'm a very conservative person. Memorials are part of our cities. I would it is a possibility of a memorial, that a memorial can involve you. At times of democracy we need new forms and we try to give people this. We still say there is no possibility to do something (re: holocaust) through pictures only.

This is what we expressed in the Bavarian Quarter. When walking, this really involves you. To look and learn from it, and to pass it on to the next generation. It's anti-dictatorship.

How can art be absolutistic if we live in a democracy, especially in terms of a memorial that reflects such a crime. I don't say I have an answer, I just say it's a possibility. But the answer should fulfill all these needs.

Ph.D Candidate: I tend to see many of the Berlin Competition's proposals as representing a need to remember the Holocaust whilst also beginning a process of forgetting it. Do you see *Bus Stop!* as being part of this? Or did you wish to resist this idea?

Renata Stih: This was our fear! It was increased by Schroder going to the D-Day Beaches where he, in effect, announced that World War two is over. We thought, no, the past is over when the victims and witnesses decide it's over. How the Social Democrat/Green pact acted in all this. The discourse about the memorial had both sides, pro- and contra memorial. There was an official willing to end WWII with this memorial and this was our fear. It has happened with Eisenman's memorial but the discussion is coming back probably because of the memorial at Ground Zero. The topic comes in waves; memory does this; your personal memory and public.

Ph.D Candidate: How did you see this project relating to Reunification and the issue of coming to terms with the past? The Brandenburg Gate is, after all, the quintessential sign of the Reunification, yet you planned to destroy it?

Renata Stih: We didn't think of representing unification; it wasn't about memorialising the unification. It was about setting it up in the middle of Berlin; how the two Germanies have done so far about their past. It's great that Europe has been opened to us. We didn't think about unification in terms of *Bus Stop!* How it could reflect what the two Germany's have done so far about their past. We were more affected by the war in former Yugoslavia at the time. That seemed more relevant to the locations of death. Street names in the East were changed in 1945 but in the West much later.

Interview with Jochen Gerz **Conducted by Skype on 25.6.2012**

Ph.D Candidate: My understanding of Warum, is that visitors would be asked to answer the question of “Why?” the Holocaust happened. The answers would then form a collective text inscribed on the base of the memorial, so the words would, in effect, become the memorial itself.

Jochen Gerz: Warum is without a question mark. It introduces a not question, a questioning of the process of everything. It doesn't have the status of a question where an answer can follow. This comes from Susan Sontag's essay about why did it happen, that fundamental question – you cannot say anything else but to ask yourself.

It would have included 39 languages of Jewish communities in Europe (French, English, Greek, etc). It would therefore be ‘Why’, ‘Pourquoi’, and so on. It was about the presence of Jewish Communities in Europe.

In Bremen a robot was developed that would engrave the answers into the ground constantly. This would take 80 years, so an eight-decade construction site. It would be like a tiny hopeless enterprise that seems like it will never end, like a rowing boat in an ocean. It was a process though, not an object. The robot was 1.2m, so a heavy but moveable robot that would write in the 39 languages across the whole site in letters 8cm high so they could be read when you stand above them. People could explore the space, perhaps looking for their contribution or observing those of others.

The 39 stations would be lit at night creating a subdued atmosphere and also lighting the words across the site's ground. The debate would be a creative chaos!

Ph.D Candidate: tell me more about the reason for the robot taking 80 years to complete the work. Presumably it could be programmed to inscribe the answers faster than this?

Peter Eisenman: We said, we have to keep the coffin open; we have to keep the process open. This is reflected in the 80 years to complete the Warum robot's engraving works.

I didn't want to make it an Olympics of who makes the best answers. Every answer would be included. We calculated 5,000 per day. Random selection. Eisenman's doesn't create discourse. People come with their food, their cameras; sometimes they are afraid of the blocks but it's the lowest level of discussion to me. I cannot imagine contemporary art without debate, yet this seems to have happened with Eisenman's memorial.

Ph.D Candidate: so you wouldn't select what answers were included?

Offensive comments would be included. Absolutely no censorship! If you give young people the respect that they can be seen and heard you take out 50% of their potential to be a neo-Nazi. (similar to Hamburg and Coventry where swastikas were used).

P.h D Candidate: Remembering/Forgetting? Is this the further purpose of the 80-year work?

Jochen Gerz: There is a big drive to remember and commenorate the Holocaust. But to repair and to close. Every public art is an act of closure. It's easier to come to terms with a so-called victory. But the victory has lost so much of its glamour. What we say today is that there is no victory; it's just repair. The future is very much in the hands of our memory. Germans are conditioned by their memory.

The completed work would represent the largest text document on Earth and its time is to resist the repair and close wish that many have.

P.h D Candidate: As you were born in Berlin in 1940 and are therefore, like all counter-monument artists, part of the Nachgeborenen (the later born), do you believe your generation has rejected the traditional monument, and if so, why?

Jochen Gerz: We are the Nachgeborenen of Fascism and we are responsible for the after-war. Germany is an extremely fragile construction.

P.h D Candidate: German National Identity?

Jochen Gerz: I didn't think of it as representing German national identity, more Berlin's changes and new identity. People are craving for history and for drama. I thought it was a good public space, like the Greek (Agora), open to discourse and dialogue. A place of production not consumption. It's deeply linked to internationalism; my place would have been open to everyone, represented by the 39 languages, an international, open and communicative society. If this represents the new German identity, without any dream of hegemony, then good.

An identity with the state is always part of the discourse for Germans. It's nothing to do with Krauss, East Coast Americans, or Spielberg; it's about an internal dialogue for Germans.

German identity cannot be compared to France, England, America, or anywhere. It belongs to the German society like a Mercedes.

Ph.D Candidate: your proposal seems to have been supported by Lea Rosh but ultimately not selected. What feedback did you receive from the jury?

Jochen Gerz: I received positive feedback; they liked it. It would have been a great occasion to do something amazing. My proposal might not have been amazing but it was at least an opening into something else. There is an enormous desire for normality. People would love to go back to a time when we did not have these problems. It's very human to want to go back to a time when Auschwitz didn't happen and some people want this in representing the past, for it not to be there. Art works with problems.

Helmut Kohl decided that the winner should not be a German because they were afraid the discussions would go on forever, but instead that it should be a Jew, but not necessarily from Israel.

P.h D Candidate: Who did you consider the patron for this work to be? The Jewish community? The German public? The international community?

Jochen Gerz: The German State. Not the victims, it is too late for them. Instead it is about the German responsibility – this is why I am interested in shared authorship, as democracy should not be thought of as a top to bottom process.

P.h D Candidate: How did you see this project relating to Reunification and the issue of coming to terms with the past?

Jochen Gerz: There is a strong impetus of repair, repairing the past. We have been drinking the negative milk for a long time and now we need comfort. There is a desire to be normal. It was still early with unification. It was a strong impetus of repair and closing, which means once and for all, we have done our bit. And this is of course ridiculous. I went against this, as I believe the debate should continue. A counter-monument cannot be a national monument. It would be too nice. We should have a permanent stamp of doubt. To bring things onto the table was a new state of mind, something very specific to Germany at the time.

The Shoah as an international topos. It is not a German topos nor East Coast American topos either. It's a key to the European identity. Accepting of the Shoah opens the key to European identity. It is trying to define what is a civilised environment. The Shoah is the mother of our consciousness. It's not the private property of the Germans, the Jews, or anyone.

P.h D Candidate: As Warum can also be described as an experience-based concept, a mnemonic art form where the viewer becomes a participant in the creation of the memory work, do you feel that this creates a more memorable form of memorial, at least for the participants?

Jochen Gerz: We need authors, we don't need viewers. We need people who say it's my voice, it's my view. The other nadir was the disappearance of the German society, the disappearance of voices before the Jews disappeared. The whole country disappeared, in a different sense, first.

What we don't want is a monument that tells you what to think, that appears to summarise history into a neat package without dispute (...) this reduces the viewer into nothing but a passive spectator

Interview with Horst Hoheisel **Conducted by email on 26.6. 2012**

Ph.D Candidate: My understanding of Blow up the Brandenburg Gate is that it would be an anti-memorial that would represent a destroyed community by way of a destroyed monument. Would you agree with this assessment of your work and could you expand upon your thinking behind it?

Horst Hoheisel: In the country of the culprits, a monument must reflect the deed and not only the remembering of the victims. The Brandenburg Gate is used since the reunification as a symbol for the Germans identity and historic continuity. Both are broken however through the Holocaust. The Germans should learn to live without a national symbol. At the place of the national symbol, only an empty place, a Void that to endure counts it would be. I wanted the remainders of the pulverized Brandenburg Gate on the monument terrain where now the Stelenfeld of Eisenman is. There would have been two empty places: That of the national symbol: Brandenburg Gate and that of the monument for the victims of the Holocaust. To endure this, the sense of my suggestion is. Do not cover loss through monuments, create empty places for that to create about destruction and loss. For the monument does not happen in bronze and marble of the monument, but rather only in the beholding of the people.

Ph.D Candidate: Was your proposal serious? Did you believe it would be taken seriously by the jury?

Horst Hoheisel: It was serious! For what is the shredding of the Brandenburg Gate, and its side houses, as I would have, against the murder of 6 million people? There is no metaphor for this deed. There are no metaphors or narratives about the Holocaust. All memorials demonstrate that there is only failure; it's just a question of whether you fail more or less. But you will fail! I, with the idea of shredding the Brandenburg Gate, would have failed too

All Holocaust monuments together taken show to create only the impossibility for this loss by way of a picture. My question was: Would the Germans endure that, this empty place in Berlin?

Ph.D Candidate: What feedback did you receive from the 1995 jury? Was it rejected because it was seen as going too far, that the jury believed there is a line to be drawn with regard to expressions of Vergangenheitsbewältigung?

Horst Hoheisel: The jury threw me out immediately in the first round because it perceived my suggestion only as a provocation. Yet then they seriously discussed a returned request in the third round and my design.

Ph.D Candidate: What was the public reaction to your idea?

Horst Hoheisel: In the public, my suggestion became to erect violently discussed a Holocaust memorial in Berlin as an example of the impossibility. There were suggestions not to destroy the entire Brandenburg Gate however but instead to take away a column.

Ph.D Candidate: Did your proposal question the premises of the competition itself, the idea of even having a memorial?

Horst Hoheisel: My suggestion was not to make something. I wanted to take the remains, make them into dust, of the Brandenburg Gate, cover them with large slabs, and have two places of nothing. The Germans should learn to live without a national symbol. At the place of the national symbol there should have been only an empty place, a void that endures.

Ph.D Candidate: I understand you are against metaphors, at least where Holocaust memorialisation is concerned, but I see your proposal as being a symbol of either wanting to erase the past or make it more visible through invisibility. In other words, the Brandenburg Gate would be more noticeable because it's no longer there.

Horst Hoheisel: I wanted to show that every public work of art, every memorial, or nearly all, are acts of closure, not remembrance. It would be more visible but for me not as a metaphor in this way. If all monuments are acts of closure this would be against this, showing what is not closed and should not be.

Ph.D Candidate: As you were born in Germany during, or shortly after the war years, and are therefore, like all Counter-monument artists, part of the Nachgeborenen (the later born), do you believe your generation has rejected the traditional monument, and if so, why?

Horst Hoheisel: I was born December 1944. Did we question in 1968 what our fathers did in the Nazi empire? We fought and were Contra! Perhaps the counter monument is born from that also. It was the time of the drafts and minimal art. That fits into the time.

Ph.D Candidate: How did you see this project relating to Reunification and the issue of coming to terms with the past? The Brandenburg Gate is, after all, the quintessential sign of the Reunification, yet you planned to destroy it. So wasn't there a danger that the proposal could be read as destroying the new unity between East and West?

Horst Hoheisel: I did not want to destroy also the Germans with the Brandenburg Gate unit that stirred me personally to tears. We got the unity. For this very reason one would have to "sacrifice" the Brandenburg Gate, the national symbol as a memory of the German war crimes and the Holocaust. At that time director of the German of historic museum said me: If the Russians had demanded for the reunification, to dismantle the Brandenburg Gate, we would have made that immediately! – And it later again constructed it.

Ph.D Candidate: So who do you see the memorial as being for – Germans?

Horst Hoheisel: It is for Germans and about Germans.

Ph.D Candidate: Had your idea been commissioned, wouldn't the inevitable controversy overshadow the meaning behind the work, as it would be considered outrageous by many and, in some ways, no longer about the Holocaust at all?

Horst Hoheisel: If people take something outrageous then they remember the history much better, deeper and longer, than standing in front of a beautiful monument, which they accept. Nietzsche told us: we remember only what hurt us!

**Interview with Günter Schlusche.
Conducted by telephone on 10.11. 2012**

Ph.D Candidate: As someone who was involved, or at least aware of the competition's problems, why would you say the first competition, in effect, failed?

Günter Schlusche: Mistakes were made during the first competition that were not related to the creativity of the designer. Mistakes were made in the description of the task, because before one asks architects to develop ideas, one should describe the problem.

Ph.D Candidate: And the new guidelines, issued by James Young, seemed to clarify things and make for a more open competition, at least in terms of allowing for artists to think more freely.

Günter Schlusche: The *Findungskommission* took a different approach. They also had a smaller competition and invited architects instead of the large competition of before. I think this helped.

Ph.D Candidate: I'm dedicating a sub-section of my research to democracy, as I don't believe the competition was democratic, or at least not enough. How would you consider this issue, based on your experiences and observations at the time?

Günter Schlusche: The second competition had lectures where anyone could attend. I think this was when they reached the final four contenders, like a semi-final. The first competition held a large exhibition. Again, anyone could go. All the models were there to see, they were on display at an exhibition at the Stadtratshaus, in Berlin. This would have been in April and May, a year after the competition started in 1994. People were asked to comment in guest books.

Ph.D Candidate: Do you know what happened to those books and whether those comments were taken into account?

Günter Schlusche: I don't remember anything about that. I'm not sure what process happened, if any.

Ph.D Candidate: Lea Rosh is the person to discuss such matters with, though she's proving difficult to contact! It seems she was in some way representing the German people?

Günter Schlusche: She was chairperson for Perspective Berlin, also known as the 'Citizen's Initiative' who campaigned for a Holocaust memorial and later in 1989 she became an executive member of Förderkreis - an organisation campaigning to build a Holocaust memorial in Berlin.

Ph.D Candidate: And the 'Citizen's Initiative' represented the German people?

Günter Schlusche: In some ways, though I don't believe it was responsible for reporting back or directly answerable. Rosh was a very effective campaigner and she had much public support.

Ph.D Candidate: support for the idea of a memorial rather than specific designs though?

Günter Schlusche: Well, I'm sure that the 'Citizen's Initiative' did not promote a favourite design or anything like that. I don't think they saw it as their purpose. And, for it being a national project, you should know that fundraising and awareness campaigns, which began in the previous year, included donations from prominent figures such as Willy Brandt, Christa Wolf, and Walter Jens, but also contributions from school councils, council parties, local unions, and also 'The covenant of forced sterilisation and euthanasia victims', amongst others. Petitions containing thousands of signatures in support of a memorial were also collected. Whether this is democratic, I'm not sure. But it reached all over the country and was often discussed during the competition phases.

Ph.D Candidate: Thanks again for pointing me in the right direction for primary sources. I'm finding lots of very useful articles. There does seem to be a notable lack of jury feedback though. Did the jury not discuss designs, saying why they didn't like them, and why others should be forward for possible selection?

Günter Schlusche: The first jury were faced with so many proposals. More than five hundred. They only had something like four minutes to consider each idea, then spend more time for those that went to the next round. Only those that made it to the end, or near the end, received reports, which were based on the jury's discussions, so similar to their meeting notes, only for the architects. You won't find jury feedback on most of the models.

Ph.D Candidate: I can't find any for Libeskind's design either! This made it to the semi-final in 1997 and strikes me as being a very intriguing model, very symbolic for many reasons.

Günter Schlusche: That was criticized – the big wall design? – for looking similar to the Jewish Museum, with that scaring effect being the connection. It was just too similar.

Ph.D Candidate: And because it might be mistaken for a part of the Berlin Wall. I've read that somewhere.

Günter Schlusche: I haven't seen or heard of that criticism.

Ph.D Candidate: I'm also wondering about acceptance of the Information Centre. I have Eisenman's take on this, via interview. But I wonder what objections there were, as it just seems to have been accepted?

Günter Schlusche: No, there were complaints too. Stefan Reinecke called it 'Naumann's memory with instructions', which was often quoted. Lea Rosh and Bubis did accept it though.

Interview with Sophia Ungers, on behalf of Simon Ungers*
Conducted by email on 8.12. 2012

*Simon Ungers passed away in 2006.

Ph.D Candidate: Who did Simon believe the memorial was being created for?

Sophia Ungers: Simon was very aware that the memorial was for the victims of the holocaust in Europe. He concerned himself intently with the time, reading literature. The process of choosing the names of the concentration camps was very intense, he had scholars and the Jewish Community in Germany help him decide which names he would integrate in the design.

Ph.D Candidate: Simon's design appears to support the idea that abstraction is the best way to represent the Holocaust. Would he agree with this?

Sophia Ungers: Yes he would. He believed the engraved names should be a big enough reminder and let every person feel the own personal emotions connected to these.

Ph.D Candidate: His proposal does not seem to be interested in offering explanations and guidance to visitors. How important was this to him? Did he want individual interpretation rather than instructions?

Sophia Ungers: I think Simon felt that his memorial should open private reflection and not be pedantic. I am not sure, if the competition parameters asked for an information center - I believe not, otherwise he would surely have complied. I think he answered the requisites with his interpretation.

Ph.D Candidate: Why was Simon's idea selected as the joint winner with Christine Jakob-Mark's idea, then de-selected?

Sophia Ungers: I know he was asked to revise his proposal and recalculate the costs, because they were too high. His design was also criticized for being too large, horizontally. He actually managed to reduce the costs, as far as I remember, but that did not help. He didn't understand the other criticism. The site is so large so why should the memorial also not be? The second competition was staged anyway. The whole thing quickly became political and Simon was pulled into this. He was indeed terribly upset by the situation and suffered greatly! I think the lobby for Jakob-Mark, living in Berlin, was very strong, especially Lea Rosh was a big supporter of their design, if I remember correctly. Simon was treated quite badly at several meetings, especially by Lea Rosh, which upset him too. Then, the redesign and loosing was terrible for him.

I do not know how much time you have to keep researching, but I will try to find more information and let you know. I have scanned an article I to send you and I have a map of the concentration camps which I found in his files, as well as a description of the project. Simon had meetings with the Jewish community to discuss, which concentration camp names to use. If you need photo material, I can send that too, as well as the revised design if you have not seen it.

Sophia Ungers also provided this, an explanation of the design, in English, by Simon Ungers.

DENKMAL FUER DIE ERMORDETEN JUDEN EUROPAS

After three years of listening to the recommendations, alternatives and ultimately condemnations regarding the results of this competition, I am submitting a developed and intensified project of my first competition entry. Although it is a modified project, the initial thought and gesture remain intact and unwavering: to create a space – a void – defined by steel I-beams with the names of the concentration and extermination camps cut out of their web.

As before, the Memorial retains its geometric plan configuration of a square situated in the middle of the site oriented north-south. In response to the criticism concerning the size, the horizontal dimensions have been reduced from 100 x 100 meters to 50 x 50 meters. Through the addition of a roof the vertical dimension, however, has increased by 10 meters from 9,50 to 19,50 meters – the approximate height of the surrounding context – to maintain a high degree of visibility and, in my view, essential presence on the site.

Materials and construction also remain as before. Poured concrete is proposed for the ground surrounding the Memorial and compacted gravel for the interior. The I-beams and roof are constructed of cor-ten steel to be fabricated in sections and assembled on site. All joints, including field joints, are seam welded and ground, creating a monolithic, homogeneous structure.

To intensify the special experience of the memorial, the interior has been covered. To maintain the critical eye level relationship with the names, entry stairs, at all four corners, lead down into the Memorial. The four I-beams now form a vase and support for the roof, creating a space devoid of light except for the entries and the names of the concentration and extermination camps which burn into the darkness of the space as they should burn in our conscience. This, the darkest space for the darkest period in German, History is conceived as a black void in between the “glossy” new centers of government and commerce.

Finally, I continue to believe that the integration of the names of the camps is indispensable. Contrary to the instability of purely metaphorical signs, the names of the camps are immutable; they are an uncompromising reminder of an incomprehensible horror that defies representation. Of course the decision as to which names are to part of the Memorial must be made in consultation with the Jewish Community.

Simon Ungers

Interview with Dani Karavan Conducted by Skype on 4.11. 2012

Ph.D Candidate: Thank you for sparing me this time....

Just to reiterate, my Ph.D thesis is about the Berlin Holocaust Memorial competition, looking at the rejected proposals as well as Peter Eisenman's winning design. My thesis looks at several things, including *German National Identity*, *Issues of Representation*, *Jewish Sensibilities*, and *Patronage*. It is the last three subject areas that seem to relate most closely to your proposal for the competition.

So, to my first question....

Ph.D Candidate: Who did you believe the patron was for the Berlin memorial? Was it the Jewish community? Was it for Germans? Was it for a European and international audience? Opinion is divided on this, so I wonder what you think.... Your design suggests it was, in your mind, specifically for the Jewish community....

Dani Karavan: It's for German at first so they can recognise their crimes, asking for an excuse to put this scale in Berlin: then I thought, this is to show the world they are looking for consolation. But I included the names of each European country involved, engraved, to show who was affected and that this was mostly a European memorial and history.

Ph.D Candidate: The 1995 proposal is the planting of yellow bulbs that when they grow will form a Star of David. The concept is that even if we wish to forget the Holocaust the flowers will continue to grow and blossom. I like this idea. Would you agree that your idea is as much about a living, changing memorial, i.e. the growing flowers, than it is about a having a Star of David?

How was your proposal received by the jury in 1995? What feedback did you receive?

Dani Karavan: Couldn't make Yellow flowers without Yellow Star; they are equally important, the growth of the star. They didn't want to have any symbolic form but I didn't care. I thought the size of the star would mean a lot for me and for the people of Germany. You can only see the star from high up, so it was not done to see the Yellow Star but more the Yellow flowers. Very important to have flowers that grow by bulbs, also important not to use traditional materials of memorials and monuments. One photo from the Holocaust is much stronger than any artistic intellectual thing you do.

So this was my escape. In the 60's I started to work from nature, from trees and vegetation. In this case the effect of the flowers, disappearing, then growing again, cycle of life, would be ideal for this. The nature is remembering. The flowers go on and on forever.

I thought the memorial should be for everybody, not just Jews. The Roma and Sinti issue. They were killed together with Jews so it should not be just for Jews.

It should also be at a site of contemplation, not surrounded by Embassies. The trees protect the flowers from these surroundings. At least with Eisenman's you are submerged and hidden from the surroundings.

Ph.D Candidate: You were invited to participate in the 1997 competition but your design – *Yellow Flowers* – looks very similar to the one you submitted in 1995. What are the differences between them?

Dani Karavan: Same design but without proposal of underground exhibition space but with same form of missing Yellow Star below ground.

Ph. D Candidate: What was the response?

Dani Karavan: I received many a strong impact, some wanted to fight for it. I didn't want to fight. It was a memorial, not a fight. I told the jury this is not the place for a memorial and the patronage is wrong: it should be for everyone. Even if I won I would still resign! Goethe statue turns away from this place – he doesn't want to see this creation in this place and what it means – statue in the Teirgarten

Ph.D Candidate: How did the 1997 jury feel about this new proposal?

Dani Karavan: They asked me to repeat it so they must have liked it. They knew I would repeat it so they must have found it interesting. They wanted to have it but didn't really want to choose it.

For me as a study, this is important. I didn't start with this. I began with ideas about burning and thought "this is fake", so then I turned to nature and study about flowers and what they represent, the growth, the cycle of life and how this relates to remembrance. They are by seeds, not roots.

Ph.D Candidate: Your 1995 proposal includes the phrase: "Not a monument. For this monstrosity, it is impossible to create a monument". Does this mean you were against the idea of even having a memorial? Or does it mean that you were against the idea of having a traditional, figurative memorial? Or does it mean something else?

Dani Karavan: It wasn't the idea of having a memorial, I don't like "Denkmal" as a title. Benjamin couldn't have a monument, only a homage. I did a homage to the victims of Lodz. There is power in the word "Monument", only a "Monument", like it's a general, not the Holocaust.

I was once asked to make a memorial statue near Vienna at Mauschaussen. With sculpture everyone wants to be more expressive to show the horror of the Holocaust, so I withdrew from this commission. I had the idea of having a big block showing shoes of a killed child. This is not typical for my work but its purity and simplicity would not work there in amongst the sculptures. I am not against figurative sculptures, its possible though that I have not been touched by one.

Ph.D Candidate: As your work is often site-specific, how did you consider the designated site in Berlin, particularly its Nazi history?

Dani Karavan: Against the traffic. I am not sure about the Nazi history, I was more concerned with the lack of contemplation than the bunkers. There was a danger that those who believe in the ideology may come here as a memorial for them, to mix the two things is dangerous.

Interview with Jochen Heufelder Conducted via Skype on 7.12. 2013

Ph.D Candidate: What was the premise for your memorial design? What was your plan for the site?

Jochen Heufelder: I planned to show pictures of victims on a large screen, though not people in death. Each photograph would be displayed for forty seconds. This means that several people would be seen in a typical thirty-minute visit. By seeing so many faces during a visit people would realise the dimension of the crime. But the number of photographs they would see is small compared to the loss.

Ph.D Candidate: So you would convey the scale of the crime by doing this?

Jochen Heufelder: People would be left with that impression. They have seen several faces whilst they stand over the site, watching one face replaced by the next one. They would know this is a small selection of the six million and they would see the next face appear on screen, perhaps as they leave. It would be clear that I was not using a small number of photos that repeat.

Ph.D Candidate: It strikes me as being the first memorial of its kind, taking a museum medium and taking it outside of this environment for a memorial.

Jochen Heufelder: There are many Holocaust museums that use photos like this.

Ph.D Candidate: Only they provide details of who each person was and you wouldn't do this. What was your thinking on this?

Jochen Heufelder: I would not have known the names or details of many people. To include those known would be inconsistent. At first I thought of having text on the screen but decided to show what was lost in other ways.

Ph.D Candidate: Their identity?

Jochen Heufelder: Everything about them. People would look at the faces and ask 'who were these people' because I would not know or say. It would give an impression of loss, a death of knowledge in this sense. Nazis wanted to take all trace of Jews. This is another thing to say. The typical war memorial seemed out of date to me. I thought we should use the language of the twentieth century. So I thought that using photographs would be more suitable. The photos exist forever; they are a permanent reminder of the loss.

Ph.D Candidate: And why the decision to use photos of the living rather than deceased, the actual murdered?

Jochen Heufelder: When you think of them as being alive you think of what is lost and that they were murdered. This, for me, leaves a greater impression. Memorials normally consist of names but this, for me, this is not individual enough. Some of the surnames are the same. As we live in a world of pictures it is more important to show photographs of people. It makes the memorial more individual to the victims.

Interview with Michael Naumann Conducted by telephone on 24.2. 2014

Ph.D Candidate: I understand that you were the key figure in persuading Peter Eisenman that an Information Centre should be built. What was your argument for having an Information Centre?

Michael Naumann: Artworks like this need interpretation. This is a problem with modern art. Eisenman's look almost like Land Art to me, it is beautiful, but I was concerned that tourists would be confused, particularly non-German tourists who might not know that it is a Holocaust memorial. Some people saw my views as being anti-modern art, but that isn't true.

Nearly all Holocaust monuments are unable to explain what they are about, they fail to instil knowledge, though they often succeed in conveying emotions. I agree with James Young on this. There is also the problem of creating something that is aesthetically pleasing when the events it commemorates were horrific. This is an aesthetic contradiction and a continuing problem. This was the main reason for me being against the memorial to begin with. I thought the money should be spent on the memorial camps instead.

Monuments are usually heroic, commemorating great people and great deeds. They are not normally created to remind people of horrible things. I would rather have information where people who visit memorials learn what the memorial stands for, what history it commemorates.

Originally, I wanted to reduce the number of stelae by half and have a huge library next to it with documents relating to the Holocaust. This would allow for research to be conducted on the site, research on the spot, if you like. Parliament objected to this, but a compromise was agreed, which led to the Information Centre.

P.h D Candidate: Who else believed that an Information Centre was needed? Was it just government representatives, or were other people who were connected with the project also asking for an Information Centre?

Michael Naumann: The cabinet stood behind me, and Gerhard Schroder agreed with my arguments, so too did Blumenthal, the head of the Jewish museum. Lea Rosh was also involved but only wanted a kiosk handing out papers to explain the memorial to visitors. She was overruled.

P.hD Candidate: Had the chosen memorial been figurative would you have still asked for an Information Centre?

Michael Naumann: I don't know. All I know is that memorial sites are filled with classical monuments, which reminds me of Musil's comments regarding the invisibility of traditional monuments.

P.hD Candidate: In Karen Till's book *The New Berlin* (and also *Der Tagesspiegel*, 21.7. 1998) you are quoted as saying that Peter Eisenman's memorial is "too Speerish". Could you expand on what you mean by this?

Michael Naumann: I said the monumentality of the site is Speerish, not the design. Size, the scale was the issue. A segment of my family is Jewish, I was being ironic. I don't think it had to be so big. This memorial will never be invisible!

But for 2 years my office was above it, so I saw it every day. The arrangement causes people to be lost, isolated, so in some way could re-imagine the experience of the shoah – this is ridiculous!! How can you even get close!

I saw people walk in, then come back quickly; very few people would explore the whole site. Its become a curious site. The purpose was not the leisure site.

Ph.D Candidate: It has been suggested that the memorial site is too large and too monumental. Some people were concerned that the size of the site drew uncomfortable associations with the Nazi obsession with building large and imposing structures. How do you feel about this?

Who did you consider the patron to be for the memorial? Who is it primarily for?

Michael Naumann: Bubis thought it should be built, but he also said it was for the Germans to remind what happened. Rosh says this and I agree with her on this.

Ph. D Candidate: What is the memorial's purpose? Is it to demonstrate how self-effacing Germany is, that the country is open about its difficult history? Or do you think it serves another purpose?

Michael Naumann: To remind the Germans what happened, by the Germans for the Germans. But remember that Jews are Germans too!

It's also for the rest of the world to remember the genocide convention. So it's political. This was not signed by the US till 20 years ago.

Ph. D Candidate: What do you think of the playful behaviour that often happens at the site?

Michael Naumann: It's inappropriate, the info centre sobers people up.

The project ultimately succeeded; it's become part of the urban landscape; I can't imagine that space without it. People still debate society identity, so if purpose was to make this part of GNI, this is only one segment of a complicated process.

Interview with Richard Gruber Conducted by email on 9.12. 2014

Ph. D Candidate: As you might know, your Ferris Wheel proposal has been referenced by James Young and Peter Carrier who both write about Eisenman's memorial and the Berlin competition as a whole. What I intend to do, however, is to analyse your design, as previous scholars have not actually done this.

Your submission will play a key role in one of my chapters, so I am very grateful for your willingness to answer the following questions. I am drawn to your submission, as it is a provocation, but in an unusual way. It employs a Holocaust icon but instead of presenting the cattle-truck/box-car on its own, or in a sombre setting, you planned to relate it to an amusement attraction, the Ferris Wheel. This is very compelling. This leads to my first question....

Why the Ferris Wheel? I understand that you wanted to make a comment about the abuse of transport in the killing of people, but why design the cattle-trucks on a symbol of leisure and amusement?

Richard Gruber: It means that what happens to one person, to one place, has causal connections to others. So it is with wars, injustice, old debts, megalomania, import/export of goods, religion etc. that lead to violence and destruction. This happened nearly perfectly in the Nazi system – for that stands my Ferris wheel.

The movement of the big wheel is transmitted via intermediary smaller wheels on both sides connected waves running over the whole surface. Have you seen the picture? This arrangement is intended to refer to a possible continuation and thus a connection to a larger context.

There is the German expression, 'The Wheelwork of the World'. It comes from that.

Ph. D Candidate: People would ride this ferris wheel just like any other?

Richard Gruber: The gondolas would have been accessed via a darkly lit underground space. Once inside the cattle-truck, visitors would sit and look onto the city below and the skyline ahead, just as you would in a normal Ferris wheel.

Ph. D Candidate: What kind of experience were you trying to provoke in the viewer?

Richard Gruber: to be confused, to be curious, to think of the wheelwork of the world, to have their own interpretation, to wonder why I had designed this.

The Ferris Wheel represents the tension between hope and hopelessness, between folk festival and folk destruction. I said this in my proposal. I hope people would think of this too.

Ph. D Candidate: To use a cattle-truck in this way is highly provocative.

Richard Gruber: This is a clear reference to the Holocaust, to the historic situation, but the memorial was intended to symbolise the abuse of transport/technology for violence against people. It continues today, in other countries.

Ph. D Candidate: I imagine you are aware of The Memorial to the Deportees at Yad Vashem where a real artefact cattle-truck is used. Did you also consider using cattle-trucks that were used during the Holocaust, i.e. artefacts? If so, would this have changed the meaning of your design? Were you trying to challenge expectations regarding the use of such Holocaust icons and artefacts? Were you saying that icons such as the cattle-truck should not be treated as being sacred?

Richard Gruber: This was difficult. I did not see how I could buy or be given enough cattle-trucks. Replica models was better and easier. I also told the jury in my statement that these replicas should reduce offense. No one died or travelled to the deaths in them. They would have looked the same though. Perhaps there would be complaints if I used real ones. I was probably thinking this, so maybe they are sacred for some people.

Ph. D Candidate: Did you receive any feedback from the jury?

Richard Gruber: The idea was dismissed early in the procedure, I was told this. I was never told why. My statement was clear about the reasons and that I was not trying to cause problems and offense.

Interview with Karol Broniatowski **Conducted by email on 14.1. 2015**

Ph.D Candidate: What were you attempting to convey with your design?

Karol Broniatowski: My composition has two functions, firstly:
You can communicate with the murdered through the fire. The fire also has a tradition of remembering the dead. And secondly: This fireplace is a symbol of the perfection of the murder trial, with its tortures and the destruction of the murdered.

Ph.D Candidate: So it's primarily about symbolism?

Karol Broniatowski: My design is like shadow of a tower of Auschwitz.
My tower is much taller in size than the ovens of Auschwitz and it is made of black metal, not brick. The black metal makes it almost two-dimensional, just like a shadow.
Its height should be able to assert itself in this environment, where high buildings stand around it.

My tower design has not only a task, it was not only a memorial and a reminder of the fire in Auschwitz, but he should also make the conversation with the murdered possible. He should be a container for the eternal fire.

My intention was to arouse emotions in two directions with this monument in the perception of the people: a reminder of Auschwitz and a memorial to the murdered.

Ph.D Candidate: It's not a replica as such. Why did you decide against this? Were you conscious of the taboo of representing the gas chambers?

Karol Broniatowski: For me, the silhouette and fire was enough, enough. The tower should remember, but not represent or reproduce. The tower is more of an "image in the dream" than real, more of a shadow.

I think I did not break the taboo. I just wanted the shadows of Auschwitz to fall to Berlin.

Ph.D Candidate: Did the jury decline the design because it is so provocative, at least visually?

I have received no feedback, neither from the jury nor from the press or other media.

For me, the form of the contest was actually a provocation and I think that this monument in Berlin wanted to get rid of the guilt, the weight of guilt, for the murder of 6 million people. I think the organizers wanted to get rid of the problem.

I wanted to show that the shadow of Auschwitz is always there and the fire is burning.