Walter Benjamin, Siegfried Kracauer, T.W. Adorno and Companions Writing the City

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*Abstract*

*The Frankfurt School of thinkers and their associates are embedded in city life. They rely on the institutions of the city to communicate their ideas. Furthermore, they absorb the rhythms and constructions that seem apparent to them in urban life into the structure and formats of their writing and thinking. This claim is explored in the thought of a number of critics associated with the Frankfurt School in relation to ideas of montage, constellation and porosity, stimulated through the locations of Paris, Berlin and Naples.*

*Flaneuring on the Asphalt*

The writers associated more or less closely with the Frankfurt School of thought – including Walter Benjamin, T.W. Adorno, Siegfried Kracauer, Ernst Bloch, Alfred Sohn-Rethel – reflected in their work on and through the city environments in which they existed, where they were born, went to school and university, found work and networks and also readers. The city, or various cities, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris, Moscow, Naples, for example, appear in their writings of the 1920s and 1930s, not as locations, but as something like an actor or agent that changes the way in which its inhabitants think and communicate. These figures of self-reflexive urban inhabitation were metropolitans, at home or, at least, domicile in cities, and they plunged fully into an urbanity that was also taking shape in the New Objectivist photographic work of August Sander, Alfred Renger-Patzsch, Germaine Krull and others and in the literary work of Klaus Mann (*Der fromme Tanz*, 1926), Alfred Doeblin (*Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 1929), Erich Kästner (*Emil und die Detektive*, 1929 or *Fabian. Die Geschichte eines Moralisten*, 1932) and many others. For a generation born around the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, Weimar-era city life, cabarets, cafés, the institutions of modern city dwelling, radio and media, were encountered – and written about - with gusto, and a conscious of the development of networks of thinkers, though sometimes the environment of the city more generally, its twenty-four hour business, its large impersonality and sensual onslaught was evoked to note how alienating the modern city could be.

Excitement with the vitality of city life is, for example, evident in Walter Benjamin’s writings. His large unfinished work, a broken magnus opus, *The Arcades Project* (1927-1940), is a directory of Paris and all that has been contained within that city, in its streets it, underneath it, above its ground, across a period of extensive change in the nineteenth century and culminating in its existence as a beacon of “high capitalism”. It sets out to understand how the city of Capitalism came into being and what it set in train. In *The Arcades Project*, the city of Paris is approached and traversed as if via multiple roads and routes which bear the names, or the headings, The Streets of Paris, Mirrors, Fashion, Social Movements, Modes of Lighting, Panoramas, Arcades, Iron Construction, The Collector, Dream Houses, Photography and more. Each of these labels names a collation of quotations or short entries, on sheaves of paper, which, bundled together thematically, becomes a file or *Konvolut*. The words inside *The Arcades Project* derive from quotations drawn from the many books that have been written on Paris, from histories to sociological studies to poetry. Benjamin observes that there cannot be another spot on earth that has generated so many words:

Few things in the history of humanity are as well known to us as the history of Paris. Tens of thousands of volumes are dedicated solely to the investigation of this tiny spot on the earth’s surface. For many streets, we know about the fate of every single house over a period of centuries.[[1]](#footnote-1)

The largest *Konvolut* in the book is devoted to Charles Baudelaire. Baudelaire appears to Benjamin as a city lyricist who makes poetry of the destructive processes of industrialisation and technologisation, the forces that overtax and shock city dwellers’ bodies and psyches as they go about their everyday lives. Included here are excerpts from Baudelaire’s poetry, much of which is written in response to the stimulations of Parisian street life, and there are Benjamin’s comments and others’ comments on that poetry, exploring how it might be said that the poems encapsulate the city, how they capture the dynamism of Capitalism through its dramatic periods of expansion, its expunging of traditional and seemingly outmoded ways of life, new habits in the urban landscape, invention and the production of certain kinds of redundancy – in modes of employment and modes of life.

*The Arcades Project* supplements its samplings from the literature of the nineteenth century on Paris with Benjamin’s own analysis, commentary and critique of the implications of city developments, new social relations, technological inventions in the context of imperialist rivalries and war and a burgeoning consumer culture, for his own 1930s’ European present. Nineteenth-century Paris is a place of rapid change, but also one of certain amount of improvisation. The state, bureaucracy, legal frameworks are consolidating to further the rule of Capital, and introduce elements such as standardized house numbering and well-monitorable, broad boulevards to overlay the tangle of mediaeval streets. This might be the eventual fate of modern European city development, but Benjamin spends much time considering the transitional period, when there are still pockets of weeds and tucked away corners. Despite the growth of urban regulation and order, modern city development maintains an element of chaos and the ruling powers are unable to prevent contingent use of the city arrangements. On this matter, Benjamin quotes Adolf Stahr whose 1857 survey of the Second Empire France, *Nach Fünf Jahren*,provided a vignette of a city chaos that Benjamin appears to delight in. Workmen are in the process of repairing a broken pavement, while laying a pipeline. The street has been partly cordoned off.

On the spot street vendors had immediately installed themselves, and five or six were selling writing implements and notebooks, cutlery, lampshades, garters, embroidered collars, and all sorts of trinkets. Even a dealer in second-hand goods had opened a branch office here and was displaying on the stones his bric-a-brac of old cups, plates, glasses, and so forth, so that business was profiting, instead of suffering, from the brief disturbance.[[2]](#footnote-2)

City-dwellers make their arrangements where they can. Even in the shadow of the rows of shops with plate glass windows, mirrors and artificial lighting, spaces can be adapted for all manner of purposes. Business is inventive. Business will spring up where it can and continues to thrive, like weeds push up through the cracks of the pavement. Life happens in corners. Protest against the new modes of life does too. One example of a lack of control within city life is clear in March 1871, when the Paris Communards, fighting for a new political order in the city, manage to install barricades across some of the wide boulevards, which had been, in their turn, erected in pursuit of city ordering. The Communards are able thus to retreat into protected areas of their city, which they fortify against invasion by an alliance of German and French generals.

Busy-ness, the impossibility of rationalizing all this activity, is what makes the streets of the city the perfect “hunting ground” for the flaneur. To the flaneur, the street is a prairie, a home for the homeless or those that desire to – or are compelled to - live and move in public. In the books through which he trawls to discover the meanings of Paris, Benjamin finds references to the nineteenth-century Parisian street as interior, where enamelled shop signs function as wall decorations, newspaper stands as personal libraries, postboxes as bronze busts, café terraces as balconies and the sections long the railway tracks where rail workers hang up their jackets as vestibules.[[3]](#footnote-3) Benjamin labelled the spatial sensation “now landscape, now a room”.[[4]](#footnote-4) The flâneur is the tenant most at home in this world turned inside-out, with city as house, and where life occurs in the mêlée. Benjamin enfolds these insights into his writings on Baudelaire:

The street becomes a dwelling for the flâneur; he is as much at home among the façades of houses as a citizen is in his four walls. To him the shiny, enamelled signs of businesses are at least as good a wall ornament as an oil painting is to the bourgeois in his salon. The walls are the desk against which he presses his notebooks; news-stands are his libraries and the terraces of cafés are the balconies from which he looks down on his household after his work is done.[[5]](#footnote-5)

For the flâneur, the city, its arcades and streets, its café terraces and squares, formed a vast world in miniature, through which the flâneur passes, observing, perhaps collecting the booty that will become journalistic work – a diverting observational column in the evening edition - or some poetry for the cultural pages. Benjamin had already, when still lodged in his Berlin home, argued that the city itself could be material for writing, and for structuring writing. His *Einbahnstrasse* (1926) inaugurated a mode of writing about city experience in a fragmented, modern style. *One Way Street* with its vignettes of city life and urban philosophy was composed seemingly directly out of the turmoil of the hectic modernity of mid-1920s Germany. Its title signals its origin among the lives and signs of city streets, urban furniture and signage. The opening vignette draws readers’ attention, through its heading, ‘Filling Station’, towards a modern structure made necessary by the burgeoning new world of cars and motorbikes. The gas station dispenses the means for energy to power vehicles. As a structure, it is used analogically by Benjamin to demand that writers abandon book writing in favour of a writing that relates directly to action, to the streets and to the public realm: something like the writing in the rapid response mechanisms of leaflets, placards, articles and brochures. If they were to act on this advice, writers might acquire renewed energies, becoming more like mechanics, introducing a bit of opinionated oil in to this or that part of the enormous apparatus governing social existence.[[6]](#footnote-6)

In Berlin or in Paris, it is as if the city itself - its flows and rhythms, its juxtapositions, its recalibrations of public and private, intimacy and distance, its making palp[able of the market and of competition - becomes a prompt for literary writing. The city generates stories. The writer harvests them from the streets, like a farmer in a field. That gleaner has then to sell his or her goods. The writer may be a hack, taking stories straight from the tussles on the street and into the press. Or perhaps is an angel, a once divinely inspired creator, now abandoned on the mucky earth, its halo knocked off by the fast carriage that clipped it, as it attempted a perilous road crossing on streets with rapidly moving traffic competing with bodies not yet used to its mechanical movements. That event – imagined yet indicative of the perceived fall of the artist, once divinely inspired and revered by patrons, into the muck of the city and the graft of commercial writing – becomes a prose poem by Baudelaire: ‘Perte d’auréole’.[[7]](#footnote-7)

Paris provided for Benjamin an exemplary image of a city that contained the energies and turbulence of capitalist modernity. If this was the ground that Baudelaire crossed as he sought materials for his poetry and journalism, it was also the ground that a more impoverished, more desperate Benjamin crossed in search of odd bits of *Brotarbeit*, hack work, to feed and clothe him in the years of precarious employment and exile. He more happily took refuge in the library, where he could examine the heaped up scraps of a past city experience and copy them out for his thematic files. Having left or lost his home, country, city for political reasons, Benjamin made a virtue of dwelling amongst the rubbish of commerce, the waste of lives lived amidst capital’s expanding constriction. He also made a virtue of the fact that he was seeking cheap places to exist, at a time when his money was in short supply and the spaces of safety were shrinking. Travel writing becomes one means of receiving a minimal amount of money, while moving about and, as Brecht hinted at in his *Lesebuch für Städtebewohner*, or ‘Reader for those who live in Cities’, in the 1926-27, a guidebook for survival in the frosty, alienating cities, it allows the leaving of fewer traces. “Verwische die Spuren!”, “Erase the traces!”, counsels Brecht in the first poem, or else you will suffer erasure, for traceless lives will soon enough become essential for those caught up in purges and abrupt departures in the dead of night fleeing the Secret Police arrive or dodging the bombs, the last train out or any other manner of contemporary catastrophe. Benjamin begins his city portraits around the same time as he unfastens himself from his German home in Berlin, in the late 1920s. Berlin was becoming unliveable. Certainly by November 1932, Benjamin could reveal in a letter that he was afraid to walk the streets.[[8]](#footnote-8)

Benjamin’s contemporary and acquaintance, Siegfried Kracauer, monitored the social and political changes of the city in a series of columns for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* from the mid-1920s onwards. Through detailed anecdotal observation of buildings, street intersections, the movements of crowds, the crackle in a city atmosphere, the response to a scream on the street, the behavior of audiences at light and firework shows or at the Lunapark, the loss of a café, the opening of another, Kracauer read the city as a political entity, its contingent forms and rhythms legible and what they articulated was frightening. Day after day he dispatched from the city uneasy scenes which reported on a civil war as it happened. His essay ‘On Labour Exchanges: Construction of a Space’, from 17 June 1930, aimed to disclose through a spatial analysis – rather than statistics or government reports - what status the unemployed possessed. He explains his method:

Every typical space is brought into being by typical social relations which express themselves in it without the interfering intervention of consciousness. Everything denied by consciousness, everything that is otherwise intentionally overlooked, participates in its construction. Spatial images are the dreams of society. Wherever the hieroglyphs of a spatial image are deciphered, there the foundations of social reality may be identified.[[9]](#footnote-9)

The position of the unemployed was lowly, as evidenced not least by the unsightly beige colour of the labour exchange’s corridors. What is happening behind the scenes, behind closed doors, can be legible, or made legible, on the structures of the door, by its size, shape, colour or something that exudes from it and can be written up for the daily press in an evocative and sensitive column of text. On the streets, the breaking down and crises points of everyday life are evident to someone who has a radar attuned to these matters. Kracauer records crises in regular contributions to newspaper *Feuilleton*. This has become an art in itself – a production of daily, throaway text monitoring the whiffs and ephemera of transient city lives in artful prose, quickly observed like a sketch, ready to be replaced by another striking insight, another penetrating experience, another thought the next day. One day, Kracauer hears screams behind locked doors, on another wails from drunks deep in the darkness of alleyways, or ambiguous moans from lovers, or, as the decade of the 1920s rolls on, traumatized responses to Nazi thuggery. The advertising hoardings, in neon lights, the illuminated edges of cinema architecture, the traffic lights and shop windows, all shriek too, and the trams screech and blare. The senses are on high alert in these German cities, Berlin, Frankfurt, for the most part. The senses are under assault. These were not cities to hang around in, to overstay in. Or, more benignly, these were turning into cities to escape from, at least temporarily. Here the Italian city of Naples played a role in the period immediately following the hyperinflation, when urban life seemed precarious and unpredictable and some sort of refuge was sought by those who still had the means. That Naples was an attracting point continued Northern intellectuals’ enduring fascination with the South of Italy. The South and its sunlight has exerted certain types of power from the Romantic period onwards, for those who wish to warm up into life or to spread out in some way, relax and perceive differently.

*A Neapolitan Light*

Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, T.W. Adorno and Alfred Sohn-Rethel were just a few of the Weimar intellectuals who made the trip to Naples and Pompeii and surroundings on the Amalfi coast in the late mid to late-1920s. According to Roland Barthes, in a magazine article ‘The Writer on Holiday’, itself some Feuilleton published in France-Observateur magazine on 9 September 1954 and included in *Mythologies* (1957), the intellectual is unable to stop producing, even when on vacation, for he or she writes as an “involuntary secretion”.[[10]](#footnote-10) And so it might be said that the Weimar intellectuals let the landscape, and what they saw in that city nestled in the landscape, penetrate their writing, indeed their very mode of thinking. Naples generates thought. The claim has been made that all of Adorno’s work is generated by Naples in some way or another.[[11]](#footnote-11) The view from Naples leads to the centre of Adorno’s philosophy, notes Martin Mittelmeier.[[12]](#footnote-12) Constellation is the key term for entering into the entirety of Adorno’s philosophical thinking – and constellation emerges as an idea in the materiality of the landscape and the mode of existence enjoyed in the region.

Adorno visited Naples three times, the final time being in 1966. He first visited the city, Vesuvius, Capri, the Amalfi coast and Positano, in the late summer of 1925 when he was 22 years old and still intended to be a composer. In Naples, Adorno enjoyed a series of intellectual encounters that opened up other paths for him, away from composition. In Naples, in the Summer of 1925, he meets up with his friend and mentor Kracauer, and with Walter Benjamin and Marxist economist Alfred Sohn-Rethel. Benjamin had recently published an essay on Naples, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, co-authored with Bolshevik Latvian and dramaturg Asja Lacis. Porosity was one of its central terms: “Building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades, and stairways. In everything, they preserve the scope to become a theater of new, unforeseen constellations”.[[13]](#footnote-13) The two authors, Benjamin and Lacis, wrote also of what they perceived – and venerated - as the disorganised life of the Neapolitan and the spirited thiking that appeared to the two Northern Europeans to exist there.

Just as the living room reappears on the street, with chairs, hearth, and altar, so-only much more loudly-the street migrates into the living room. Even the poorest one is as full of wax candles, biscuit saints, sheaves of photos on the wall, and iron bedsteads as the street is of carts, people, and lights. Poverty has brought about a stretching of frontiers that mirrors the most radiant freedom of thought.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Porosity is an image of absorption, of mutual influence, of exchange of properties. The yellow tuff stone, on which Naples sits and of which its buildings are formed, is porous, as is, so the writers claim, the cultural and social life of the Neapolitans. Nothing is fixed, they argue. Everything is improvised and takes on strange turns. Life in this city – or this city itself - is seen as theatrical and dramatic – abrupt unpredictable moves, unforeseen angles, hidden locations that suddenly reveal themselves, fluid circulation through streets, with rapid shifts of direction, gestures so multiple that the body – eyes, ears, nose, breast shoulders - becomes a signaling station activated by the fingers:

Buildings are used as a popular stage. They are all divided into innumerable, simultaneously animated theaters. Balcony, courtyard, window, gateway, staircase, roof are at the same time stage and boxes. Even the most wretched pauper is sovereign in the dim, dual awareness of participating, in all his destitution, in one of the pictures of Neapolitan street life that will never return, and of enjoying in all his poverty the leisure to follow the great panorama.[[15]](#footnote-15)

Constellation is a name for unexpected affinities. Such a principle seeps into the writing mode of Benjamin in particular: montage, the constellating of decontextualised – or recontextualised – materials in his *One Way Street* and *Arcades Project*. It is also the key image of constellation, derived from the multitude of experiences in Naples, that becomes a kind of master image through Adorno’s entire philosophy. Constellation is a setting of things in proximity. Constellation is a moment in time when things happen to be juxtaposed. Constellation is the tracing of near invisible connections. Constellation becomes for Adorno a theme and a principle of composition. For example, in his late work, *Negative Dialectics*, Adorno proceeds, according to his own explanation, by culling concepts from their usual connections and patterns and rearranging them in “constellations”, so as to release historical dynamics obscured within objects whose character exceeds the classifications that have been imposed upon them by convention.[[16]](#footnote-16)

Further influence of Naples on the thinking and writing of Weimar intellectuals can be found in the work of Alfred Sohn-Rethel – who writes about Naples in his *Das Ideal des Kaputten*.[[17]](#footnote-17) Sohn-Rethel explores how everything in Naples is broken, recycled and repurposed. Doors are never closed, their handles purely symbolic. This is a place in which public and private intermingle – but what interests Sohn-Rethel more is the ways in which technical devices are really only put to use here when they have been broken and remade, diverted from their intended uses. To be truly technical, he learns, is to cut against the closed-off functioning of the automaton. In doing this, a user enters into the machine, to meddle and merge with it and thereby to gain in power or in capacity. Being ingeniously deployed, the motorbike wheel funds extended potency once removed from the cycle and harnessed to a creamer in a latteria. The realm of the technical extends in being diverted. Here too the technical merges with the spiritual and the Osram bulb overlaps with the Madonna’s aureole – electricity is a strange force that every two days will cause the tram network to stop, as if by divine intervention. The technical, perhaps something associated with the urban, the rationalizing, becomes associated with the demiurge. This particular city has something mythic and uncontrolled about it. Everything can slide into everything else here. The city encourages connections to be made in thought and to think against the grain of convention and with a hopeful eye to human resourcefulness.

Kracauer too writes up his experiences of the area around Naples in relation to Positano (‘Cliff Folly in Positano’) – which explores the work of Gilbert Clavel, who built a chaotic network of passages and rooms in the cliff’ interior, making an “amorphous interlacing”, created out of explosions.[[18]](#footnote-18) Mittlemeier argues that the explosive mode finds its way into Adorno’s image store too and becomes a resource for his mode of re-constellating disparate elements. Clavel becomes for Adorno, notes Mittlemeier, an ideal composer – but he is not an ideal enlightener. Rather Positano, all its represents and Clavel’s existence there, is mythic, demonic, uncanny – and as such comes to figure as a representative of the possessed space of modernity that is so crucial to Adorno’s vision of a dialectic of enlightenment, in which the banishment of the mythic from modern life is a failed quest – modernity is dogged by its dark side, to the extent that rationality itself appears a form of crazed possession.[[19]](#footnote-19)

This region around Naples stimulates thinking, a thinking freed from what are perceived to be the categories of rationalizing Northern Germany. The intellectuals seem to be put in touch with something other than what they think they know. Yet it also invokes something that lingers in German literary philosophy, in Romanticism, with its interest in a contradictory version of the South, which is perceived as both sunny and chaotic and free and a crucible for the irrational, the dark side of nature. In Positano, Pompeii, Herculaneum, there are many skeletons and ghosts and there is the crater of Vesuvius, which can only be circled, stared into and not threatens constantly. It is like a wound on the landscape – an unhealed one that speaks of the devastating power of nature that remains in potential and can come to be seen as vengeful, nature’s evocation of a mythic world of fate, dialectical – and not disappearing - counterpart of enlightenment. Porosity, the intricacy of marquetry, the watery monsters of the aquarium, the crater hole: all generates a storehouse of images, which recur in Adorno’s philosophy, as demons, as a fascination in the boundary line between life and death.

Another site in Naples which generates striking thoughts in the work of the Frankfurt theorists is the aquarium. Its guest book was signed by them all. They left their mark and it left its mark on them. The aquarium is a type of venue that would come to play such a role in Benjamin’s surrealist-inspired picture of the Parisian nineteenth century arcades as subterranean flooded passage of a dream-time and dream-space.[[20]](#footnote-20) The Naples aquarium practiced a particular mode of preparing specimens – such as jellyfish - for display. There, in the display cabinets, hardened nature becomes an exhibition object, a second order nature. It is such forms – odd, translucent and ghostly - that seem, in addition, to have wheedled their ways into philosophical ideas of spectral second nature and the mysterious form of the commodity as fetish. Mittelmeier writes some remarkable words on how the observation there of jellyfish would have segued with Marx’s ideas of abstract jellied (*gallerte*) labour – and considers what sorts of discussion Sohn-Rethel and Adorno would have been prompted to hold in relation to it.[[21]](#footnote-21)

*Books and Cities*

The Weimar intellectuals drew energies from the various city environments they lived and grew up in, passed through, or fled to. An essay written by Benjamin in 1931, ‘Unpacking My Library’, outlines his joy on releasing his huge collection of books from two years of darkness in storage.[[22]](#footnote-22)There is a moment of settling down, allbeit briefly, amidst the frequent moves from city to city or town to town, in search of somewhere cheap to exist and write. Benjamin has just found an apartment that he will stay in for a brief while. Before putting the books onto his shelves, he recalls the cities in which he found and bought or acquired them: Riga, Naples, Munich, Danzig, Moscow, Florence, Basel, Paris. They carry fragments of each city’s experiences with them. He thinks also of the places where these books have been housed: his student digs in Munich, a room in Bern, the seclusion of Iseltwald on Lake Brienz, in book cellars, with musty smells, and in his boyhood rooms in Berlin. Books are entangled in life and memory. And the book is a building, is a structure, into which, at the close of the essay, he disappears. The books together are a city. Cities are books – are legible, are full of stories. This circle of thinkers were embedded in their cities – it appears in the collective name of key members of the group, the Frankfurt School, or in their books and essays, ‘Naples’ (1925), *Moscow Diary* (1926-7), *Berlin Childhood around 1900* and *Berlin Chronicle* (Benjamin: 1932), or the outlets in which they published, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, or the regional radio stations they broadcast on: Berliner Funkstunde, Sudwest-deutscher Rundfunk. It appears as something indelible as a theme and as a structuring force in their writings: *Traces* (Bloch: 1930); *One-Way Street* (Benjamin: 1928). They understood other artistic producers to be suffused in their cities: ‘The Ideal of the Broken-Down: On Neapolitan Technology’ (Kracauer, 1926), *Jacques Offenbach and the Paris of his Time* (Kracauer: 1937), ‘Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire’ (Benjamin: 1938). The city is a form of writing and writing drawn from the cities will take on its dimensions, its energies, its compositions and foundations and more.

1. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*: p. 882 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* p421 [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p423. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p170. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p37. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, 1, p. 454. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Charles Baudelaire, ‘Perte d’auréole’,*Petits Poèmes en* *prose*, Michel Lévy frères., 1869, IV. *Petits Poèmes en prose, Les Paradis artificiels* (p. 133-134). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. See *Briefe* <2> p562. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Kracauer, ‘Uber Arbeitsnachweise: Konstruktion eines Raums’ in *Straßen in Berlin und Anderswo*, Das Arsenal, Berlin 1987 p52. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Barthes, Roland, *Mythologies*. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. See Martin Mittelmeier, *Adorno in Neapel*, Siedler Verlag, 2013 [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. P. 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings, 1, p.416. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings, 1, p.420. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings, 1, p.417. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. T.W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics* (1966), trans. E. B. Ashton, New York: Seabury Press, 1973. (GS 6): pp.52–53, pp.162–66 [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Ca Ira Verlag, 2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Kracauer, Siegfried, ‘Felsenwahn in Positano’, in: *Werke*, Vol. 5.2, pp. 296–303. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. T. W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer. [1947] *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, translated by E. Jephcott. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. *The Arcades Project*, p. 533; p. 861. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Mittelmeier, p. 142. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Selected Writings, 2:2, 2004, pp. 486-493. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)