

townspeople—and curiously that includes Sonja. After she uses him to testify against her professor, the old man—who remains nameless—simply fades from the picture, along with his heart medication and his struggle for reparations from the government. The reason for his imprisonment, moreover, was not that he was a Jew but that he was a Communist. While this does nothing to alleviate his suffering or change his status as a victim, it does enable the film's plot to have the American authorities in Germany imprison him for his Communist affiliation only one year after his release from a German concentration camp, thus of course implying that the blame for his suffering is by no means exclusively German but rather to be shared by others. It even suggests a reason why the German government should not be solely responsible for his reparations.

If the case of the former camp inmate suggests a sharing of guilt, the attitude of the grandmother, the person with whom Sonja most closely identifies, and who can do no wrong in the film, suggests a sharing of victimhood. Describing to Sonja how she threw food scraps to the inmates at the Hackeldorf concentration camp, she attributes her behavior to concern for her three men at the front and her hope that someone might show them the same kindness. With this explanation, the grandmother creates an analogy between the members of the *Wehrmacht* and the victims at Hackeldorf (intended by the powers of which the *Wehrmacht* is an extension), thus rendering herself and "her" three soldiers equally victims. Her innocence is further underscored by the fact that she is willing to risk punishment by the guards at Hackeldorf to help other victims.

Such an identification with the victim as a means of avoiding feelings of guilt is described thus by the *Mitscherlich*s: "The replacement of mourning with identification with the innocent victim occurs frequently; it is above all a decisive rejection of guilt, which is strengthened by an appeal to one's schooling in obedience. . . . The past is then consciously represented thus: one made many sacrifices, suffered through the war, was discriminated against for a long time afterward, even though one was innocent because one had only been following orders in doing everything for which one is now being reproached."⁵⁰ With its mentfolk in the *Wehrmacht*, it's likely that the family did not actively resist the Nazis. It is also imaginable that this very same grandmother sent her sons to the Hitler Youth before they joined the army and her daughters to the *Bund deutscher Mädel* (the counterpart for girls). But all of this must remain speculative because Sonja does not show the slightest interest in the *Alltagsgeschichte* of her family during the war beyond the facts relating specifically to the acts of criminality she seeks to uncover. The possibility of complicity with the regime on the part of her grandmother, and for that matter her parents, is never brought up.

There is also no sense that any generational tensions have ever troubled Pflüzing, or, more importantly, the milieu of Sonja's immediate family. To our knowledge, her development has not included a revolt against parental authority, as described by authors of *Väterliteratur*, nor does Sonja's mother ever appear to have experienced any similar tension with her own mother. The absence of such a generational confrontation is all the more surprising, since Sonja's parents seem in many ways to adhere rigidly to the social rules and norms their daughter attempts to undermine in her re-writing of Pflüzing's history. The film's blindness to the history of Sonja's family undermines the integrity and credibility of Sonja. Her character, especially toward the end, becomes a bit one-dimensional. Such a flattening of character is not unusual in a narrative in which the protagonist is treated as more heroic than human. It is somewhat unexpected, though, that her character is as "forgetful" about her own family's history as Pflüzing is about the true history of its town during the Third Reich.

"Stumbling Blocks": The Bayerisches Viertel and the Neue Wache

On June 4, 1993, police in the Schöneberg district of Berlin received a number of telephone calls from irate individuals reporting that signs bearing such anti-Semitic inscriptions as "Ban on Jewish musicians, 13.3.1935" and "Jews may no longer keep pets, 15.2.1942" were being hauled to lamp posts around the Bayerischer Platz. The police rushed to investigate; what they found, however, was not a group of neo-Nazis, but the artist Renata Stih and the art historian Frieder Schnock in the process of mounting eighty plaques that together were to form a memorial network to the deported Jews of Berlin. "Art or no art," State Secretary Armin Jäger decided, "the limits of good taste have been overstepped"; over the artists' protests, the police dismantled and confiscated the seven-hundred signs already in place.⁵¹

According to the press, the misunderstanding occurred because the signs appeared suddenly and with no advance notification that they were to form part of a larger memorial ensemble to be presented to the public a week later in an official ceremony at the Schöneberg town hall.⁵² The outrage on the part of many inhabitants and passers-by was in fact so keen that a smaller sign noting the content of the decree had subsequently to be attached to the bottom of each plaque once they had finally been mounted. Kararina Kaiser, head of the Schöneberg public art office, remarked drily in a newspaper interview the next day, "If people had reacted as sensitively during the Nazi era as they are reacting now, we wouldn't need such a memorial."⁵³

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First published 1999 by Cornell University Press

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication

Wiedner, Caroline Alice. h. 1990

The claims of memory: representations of the Holocaust in contemporary Germany and France / Caroline Wiedner.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8014-3464-5 (cloth : alk. paper).

1. Holocaust memorials—Germany. 2. Holocaust memorials—France. 3. Holocaust, Jewish (1939-1945)—Influence. 4. Holocaust, Jewish (1939-1945)—Germany—Public Opinion. 5. Holocaust, Jewish (1939-1945)—France—Public Opinion. 6. Public Opinion—Germany. 7. Public Opinion—France. I. Title.

D8c4.l7.W54 1999

940.5378—dc13

99-11391

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Cloth printing 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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The consciousness that such a memorial was in fact needed had grown by degrees over a period of approximately ten years. The first spark came in 1983 when, in a new and more hands-on version of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, with the motto "*Grabe vor du stobst!*" (excavate where you stand), a neighborhood group began to research the history of Schöneberg and the neighboring district of Friedenau before and during the Holocaust. Today's rather charmless and placid middle-class neighborhood around the Bayerischer Platz, or Bavarian Square, located some five subway stops away from the bustle and commerce of the Zoo train station and the Kurfürstendamm (largely rebuilt after the war), shows few physical traces of the rich Jewish life once in existence. A lone memorial stone marking the spot where a synagogue was torn down in 1956 and a plaque commemorating Einstein's twelve-year sojourn in the area hardly prepared the researchers for the mass of documents they would eventually find. Kangaroo from real estate deeds to personal letters and diaries, from photographs to Gestapo orders and deportation records, these documents attested to both the former vibrancy of the area and to the scale of its subsequent destruction.

In the 1920s, the Bayerisches Viertel or Bavarian Quarter, so called for its many streets named after Bavarian towns, was known colloquially as "Jewish Switzerland" because of the many well-to-do Jews who had been settling there since the turn of the century. The residents of the epoch, for the most part physicians, lawyers, businessmen, and architects, had done well in Germany and were thoroughly integrated into its social network; they felt themselves to be Jewish Germans and not German Jews. A census carried out in May 1933 revealed that 16,261 "Germans of the Jewish faith" (*Deutsche jüdischen Glaubens*) lived in Schöneberg at the time, predominantly in the Bayerisches Viertel. However, with Hitler's rise to power on January 30, 1933, had come the first anti-Semitic laws. Many of the first laws were *Berufserbote*, or professional proscriptions of one form or another, and as such they quickly undermined the very foundation of bourgeois integration. In March and April of 1933, Jewish shops and businesses were boycotted, Jewish judges, teachers, and lawyers were, with few exceptions, removed from public office, the services of Jewish physicians ceased to be reimbursed by the national health plan, and Jewish access to German education was restricted. In contrast to these stringent laws, the further marginalization and isolation of the Jews in the first years of Hitler's reign were assured by ordinances that were, relatively speaking, only a passing source of humiliation. Described by Goebbels as a "politics of organized chaos," ordinances forbidding Jews to swim in the Wannsee, for instance, or excluding them from the national chess association, distracted attention from the severity of other, less trivial harassments, and indeed were perceived by many as harbingers of possible

political improvement.⁵⁴ Much more damaging and far-reaching than the actual inconvenience the ordinances caused Jewish inhabitants, however, was the political message to their non-Jewish co-citizens which was inherent in the establishment of governmental rules sanctioning the isolation of an entire "race."

After the *Reichskristallnacht* on November 9, 1938, these laws became more menacing in tone, as Jews were deprived of their most basic social rights. In 1939 the superintendents of apartment buildings were required to distribute new census questionnaires on which the inhabitants had to enter proof that they were Aryan. Jewish home owners lost their property (in the Bayerisches Viertel 24 houses were taken by force and 22 other home owners were urged to sell theirs), and so-called "Jew houses" (*Judenhäuser*) were designated in the district, houses into which families from all over Berlin were crammed together in single rooms to await deportation.⁵⁵

Deportation itself had assumed the face of normalcy. The Jewish *Kulturvereinigung*, or religious union, in charge of notifying its members of the particulars of their deportation, typically passed on the following instructions:

A list of all pertinent orders is enclosed with the notice. We ask you kindly to follow these orders precisely and to plan for the transport carefully and calmly. Those of our members affected by emigration should realize that their personal behavior and the orderly fulfillment of all instructions will contribute decisively to the trouble-free execution of the transport. It goes without saying that, insofar as we are allowed to do so, we will assist our community members as much as possible and that we will do anything in our power to help them.⁵⁶

Even when the first rumors of mass destruction and gasings began to spread, the mandatory participation and forced repression on the part of the Jewish organizations evident in this notice had become so common, and the danger associated with resistance of any kind so great, that there seemed to be no other choice for those who received these instructions than to go along with their matter-of-fact instructions and prepare for departure. Many of their non-Jewish neighbors, in the meantime, are reported to have looked on with indifference at the plight of the deportees. Inge Deutschkron, author of the survivor's memoir *Ich trug den gelben Stern* (*I Wore the Yellow Star*), describes the attitude of the non-Jewish inhabitants of the district in an interview with Claude Lanzmann for his film *Shoah*: "They say they didn't see. 'Yes, there were Jews living in our house, and one day they were no longer there. We didn't know what happened.' They couldn't help seeing it. It wasn't a matter of one

action. These were actions that were taking place over almost two years. Every fortnight people were thrown out of the houses. How could they escape it? How could they not see it?"⁵⁷ While the present memorial installation at the Bayerischer Platz is dedicated to the victims of the area, it also asks precisely this question: how could thousands of people ignore the politics of marginalization and destruction? How could they look away while people were gradually dehumanized, so that finally they appeared simply as objects to be destroyed?

The materials unearthed in 1983, meanwhile, enabled the members of the Schöneberg group to reconstruct the forgotten histories of almost every house in the area: here Jews were hidden during the war; there a family house in the area; here Jews were hidden during the war; there a family house was denounced by an apartment building superintendent; in the same building a family committed suicide to avoid deportation; in a church, German Christians were piously attending Sunday services, while in a neighboring "Jew house" 72 people awaited their deportation the following day. Strung together in vexing narratives, this material testimony to suffering was brought together at the Schöneberg public art office in an exhibit entitled "Life in Schöneberg/Friedenau 1933–1945."

Five years later, in 1988, Andreas Wilke, an inhabitant of the Bayerisches Viertel, decided to find out just how many Jews had fallen prey to the gradual "Aryanization" of the area and began the painstaking research to determine the names of all of the deportees. Ironically, one of his most dependable sources of information turned out to be the property files diligently maintained by the Nazis to keep track of their growing wealth as more and more Jewish families were deported. After twelve months of work, Wilke had recorded more than 6,000 names. In response to this overwhelming number, the Schöneberg district council voted to erect a memorial to the murdered Jews of the district. With this goal in mind, the same group that previously had been responsible for the exhibit continued their research of the neighborhood's past under the new, official name *Arbeitsgruppe Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Bayerischer Platz*, or "Working Group for a Memorial at the Bayerischer Platz."

As a way to prepare the neighborhood for the planned memorial and especially to encourage older inhabitants' participation in oral history projects, public discussions were organized around pertinent historical dates. On the fiftieth anniversary of the *Reichskristallnacht*, for instance, the group arranged an open-air exhibit on the Bayerischer Platz to document local involvement in the pogrom. The exhibit in turn gave rise to public debate over the character of the future memorial, which then led to the decision that it should consist not of a central, unified monument but rather of many small "stumbling blocks" (*Stoßsteine*), or "obstructions provoking thought" (*Steine des Denk-Ausstosses*).⁵⁸ Acting on ideas that tended toward preference for a decentralized memorial, the working

group even erected a temporary memorial of their own, which they termed a *Pappstapelaktion* or cardboard sign campaign. It consisted of the posting of cardboard signs inscribed with the names, ages, and deportation dates of Jewish citizens on all houses in the Bayerisches Viertel from which more than ten people had been deported. The signs remained in place for over twelve weeks, when they began to disintegrate, but in that relatively brief time they had produced the desired result: the houses had been reinvested with the fates of their former residents, current inhabitants had begun discussing the past with their neighbors, and several of the area's older denizens had come forth to talk to members of the working group about their wartime experiences.

Three years later, in July of 1993, the first phase of a Berlin-wide design competition for the memorial at the Bayerischer Platz was announced, stipulating that the memorial must serve not only as a place where people could remember and mourn the murdered Jews of their district, but that it should also reflect the day-to-day events of a neighborhood from which 6,000 people had vanished with virtually no trace. "Concrete lives and individual events such as denunciations, emigration, suicide, and deportation are to be reflected artistically in the streets and in front of the houses, and should be brought into relation with the square itself like a set of memories knotted together both spatially and thematically. The 'markers' to be developed along these lines should have the character of 'stumbling blocks.'"⁵⁹ Ninety-six designs were submitted, from which the jury selected eight finalists; from these, after a second round of consideration, the proposal of Renata Süh and Frieder Schnock was unanimously chosen on April 1, 1992. Their concept, an installation consisting of eighty signs bearing stylized images on one side and inscriptions of Nazi laws and decrees on the other, incorporates these basic ideas into a memorial that re-creates on a linguistic and pictorial level the political violence that had characterized everyday life.

The governing principle of the memorial, in Süh's words, was to "make visible the conditions that led in an insidiously logical way to the destruction of the Jewish inhabitants."⁶⁰ In other words, the memorial was meant to show that the destruction of the German Jews had not been a sudden, irreversible occurrence, but rather a slow process consisting of dozens of rules and laws—some quite petty—that after a number of years culminated in the deportation and murder of thousands of people. Deeming it "problematic to affix names to the *Judenhäuser*" where the Nazis had assembled the Jews for easier deportation, Süh and Schnock declined to use Wilke's roster of the names of the deported as had the creators of the *Pappstapelaktion*; instead, their memorial installation features the social and political milieu that had made the deportations possible in the first place.⁶¹ The web of signs, moreover, does more than reinscribe the neigh-



Juden werden aus dem großdeutschen Schachbund ausgeschlossen.

9.7.1935



Juden dürfen öffentliche Verkehrsmittel nur noch auf dem Weg zur Arbeit benutzen.

13.9.1941

Vollständiges Benutzungsverbot.

24.4.1941

Die Benutzung von Fahrkartenautomaten ist für Juden verboten.

26.6.41



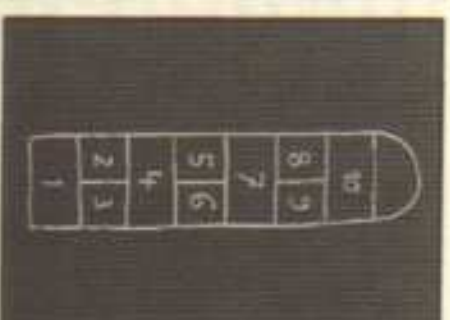
„Um bei den Besuchern aus dem Ausland einen schlechten Eindruck zu verhindern, sollen Schilder mit extremem Inhalt abgenommen werden; es genügen Schilder wie *Juden sind hier unerwünscht.*“

29.1.1936



Juden erhalten keine Zigaretten oder Zigarren mehr.

11.6.1941



Arischen und nichtarischen Kindern wird das Spielen miteinander untersagt.



Auswanderungsverbot für Juden.

23.10.1941



Erste Massendeportationen Berliner Juden.

18.10.1941

Erste Direktdeportation ins Vernichtungslager Auschwitz.

11.7.1941

Memora Sühn and Frieder Schnock. Sign memorial for the Buserisches Viertel (1993). Details, front and back. © Renata Sühn and Frieder Schnock, Berlin.

hoorhood with its past history. Consisting of simple items and pictograms that mimic the informational aesthetics of today's advertisements and public announcements, the sign's neutral images obey, as Stih puts it, an "aesthetics of normality," an aesthetics that allows them to blend into the iconography of today's urban text in the same way in which anti-Semitic sentiments and decrees had been absorbed into public consciousness fifty years earlier.²² The information that accompanies the unremarkable imagery, however, is anything but innocuous. Acting as an agent of disintegration within an otherwise integrated landscape, the semantic re-creation of the socio-political circumstances leading up to the deportation of the quarter's Jews unmarks the guilt of its past even while suggesting that today's society is capable of similar affronts.

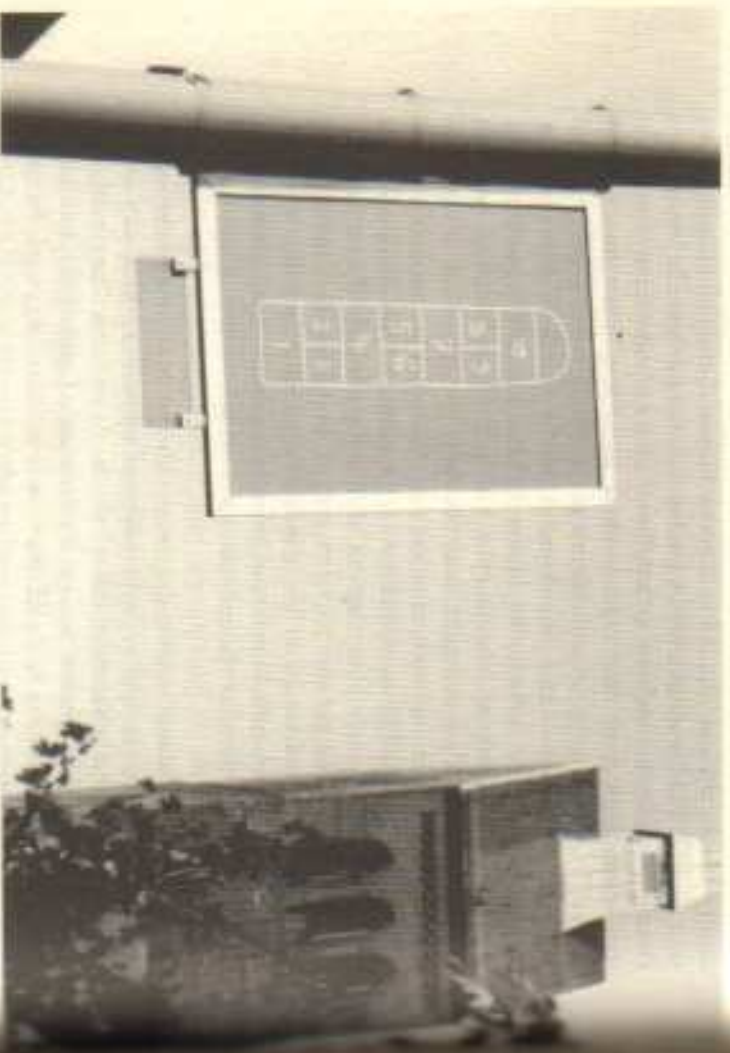
The memorial speaks a complex sort of "sign language" in which the relationship between the information given and the image presented varies from point to point. One group of signs shows a one-to-one concordance between picture and information. An empty ashtray, for example, is coupled with the inscription "Jews are allowed no more cigarettes or cigars 11.6.1942;" a pair of swimming trunks adorns the decree "Berlin public pools may no longer be entered by Jews, 3.12.1938." Other signs consciously and ironically make clear the discordance between image and inscription. The most poignant of this group is the picture of a door with a sign, hung slightly askew, that reads *Herzlich willkommen* (welcome). The back of this sign reads, "In order to avoid making a bad impression on foreign visitors, signs with extreme content are to be removed; signs such as 'Jews are not wanted here' are sufficient, 29.1.1936."²³ Another group of signs consists of symbols for public services that have remained the same or similar to ones of the present day, included in this group is the Berlin subway's white "U" on a blue ground, the "H" bus stop symbol, and the letters "DR." for *Deutsche Reichsbahn* (German National Railway). These signs are especially impressive, since the proscriptions printed on their reverse sides reflect the gradual disappearance of Jews from all public and social life. And, since some of the symbols are still in use today, their status as quotation remains open-ended, suggesting a possible resurgence of xenophobia.

Not all of the signs relate to the present. The historical specificity of the information each imparts varies. While some of the edicts take the form of a simple statement without quotation marks or a date to situate them within a historical context, others are clearly tied to a specific historical time, safely insulated from the present by quotation marks. The strategic placement of the signs in relation to contemporary social structures further underscores the memorial's significance for the present. The lamp post in front of the post office, for instance, bears the stylized picture of a letter, inscribed thus: "The time has come, tomorrow I must leave and that of

course is very difficult. (. . .) I will write to you' Before the deportation, 16.1.1942." The image of a bench posted near the green at the Bayerischer Platz announces the ordinance that "Jews may only use those benches at the Bayerischer Platz that are marked in yellow. Eyewitness report 1939."²⁴ A sign in front of a children's playground further down the road decrees that "Aryan and non-Aryan children are forbidden to play together, 1938;" its reverse displays a stylized hopscotch game. In this direct association of anti-Semitic rules with today's world, the conditions of fifty years ago are restaged, and the beholder is forced to come to terms with her or his own reaction to violence presented in such a matter-of-fact way. The signs in front of the park and the children's playground originally carried no dates at all, thereby not only contextualizing the past within the present social structure, but actually recreating the social conditions of the past. The dates were omitted in order to determine what Schnoek calls "the actual borders of this project," an endeavor that ended abruptly after the spontaneous and vehement reactions of the public.

The memorial is not entirely decentralized. The locations of the eighty scattered signs are marked on large billboards posted at three sites in the memorial area, the Schöneberg town hall, the Bayerischer Platz itself, and in front of the Münchener Strasse Gymnasium. Each of the billboards shows pre- and postwar maps of the area, one from 1933 and the other from 1993, superimposed upon one another. Together they produce a topographical palimpsest of the past and present contours of the area, from which one may conclude that sixty percent of the neighborhood was totally destroyed as a result of the war, partly by the Nazis themselves during the *Reichskristallnacht*, partly in the Allied bombing of Berlin toward the end of the war, and partly in the process of clearing away the rubble after the war.²⁵ Small green dots on the map mark the locations where the signs have been placed, inviting an exploration of the Bayerisches Viertel in both its past and present forms. Like a frame narrative, the eighty images serve as a border around the jumbled lines of the two maps as if to form a link between the Nazi violence committed against the Jews and the physical destruction of the Bayerisches Viertel by the Allies.

Beating all of the pertinent material—the signs' images and their messages, their locations, and the historical information about the area—each poster may be seen as a sort of mini-memorial. There's an instructive difference, however, between reading the poster and actively seeking out the signs amid the quotidian sights and sounds of the neighborhood. Unlike the billboard, the memorial installed throughout the area does not provide an even text to be read and understood immediately, as every sign creates its own fields of tension between image and script, between script and



Renata Süh and Frieder Schnock. Sign memorial for the Bayerisches Viertel (1991). A sign in situ. © Renata Süh and Frieder Schnock, Berlin, Photograph by Kaiel Newman.

content, and between sign and site, to be interpreted anew at each viewing. Moreover, the memorial “works” and literally requires work from its observer through a clever mechanical circumstance: To emphasize the signs’ double-sidedness, the artists attached them to the lamp posts facing in alternating directions, so that passing along the same street, one is confronted first with the script side and then with the image side. The passer-by chooses between a double vision and a collection of half-truths, depending on the manner in which he or she handles the proffered information; for, in order to get “the full picture,” one must pause and turn around to find either the written complement to the image or the illustration of the script. The effort to see both sides of any given sign represents the overcoming of a one-sided perception of the area’s history, and as such assists in the demystification of both past and present. Experienced together, the three aspects of image, writing, and location, powerfully re-stage the persecution of a people within the space of the neighborhood,

and conversely, any of the three maps on the large billboards turn the neighborhood into a peerless mnemonic landscape.

Along with the re-staging of past events in the present goes the assignment of a role to the passerby, and it is not an easy one to play. In contrast to more traditional memorials, such as the plaque at the Velodrome d’Hiver in Paris, which ask simply that one be a “rememberer,” a mourner, or even a survivor, this memorial, by matter-of-factly presenting the anti-Semitic decrees and laws from the vantage point and within the context of an orderly and safe modern environment, asks its beholder to assume the role of a potential perpetrator, a passive collaborator, a fellow traveler or *Mitläufer*. Wandering along the streets “collecting” one sign after another, one also comes to know the intertext of the memorial narrative, that is, the sights, sounds, and social structures of today’s neighborhood. And it is in this intertext of normalcy and security that the insertion of the laws and decrees takes on its most monstrous shape, because after the first shock of the laws’ inhumanity, even the most sensitive *flâneur* begins to assimilate each successive law more easily. The memorial manages in this way to transform a temporal experience into a spatial one, as it reviews synchronically what happened in the Bayerisches Viertel over several years during the Nazi rule. The role of *Mitläufer* then literally unfolds as one walks along the memory lines created by the memorial. Realization of the extent of *Mitläuferium* among the former inhabitants of the quarter leads naturally to the question of what one’s own reaction might have been had one lived during that time, and finally of what one’s reaction might be to the xenophobia potential in Germany today.

Those questions are the very *Stolpersteine*, “stumbling blocks,” that the work group had hoped to set up. But the memory-landscape created by Süh and Schnock is even more complex, because it shapes a cultural memory of the past even as it borrows a system of references tying it to the present. The memorial rewards its consenting participants with a new knowledge of the area and its involvement in the years of persecution, as well as with the memotechnical means to store that new knowledge. For the memorial signs in the Bayerisches Viertel, of course, exploit the same relationships among images, word, and location as are attributed to the ancient Greek lyric poet Simonides and his “art of memory.”¹⁶ In this case, however, the image does not stand for the word, but the two elements rather coexist like the two sides of a coin, shaping memory through a recoding of past events into a visual and narrative form tied to the present. From the memorial perspective, the tale of Simonides’ discovery of memotechnics might profitably be considered in light of the legend itself rather than through its history of reception as a rhetorical device. If one accepts Stefan Goldmann’s assertion that the legend of Simonides’ discovery of the art of memory is in truth a palimpsest of stories covering up

the more primordial description of mourning rituals and ancestor worship, then a reiteration of the acts of persecution are a crucial part of the process of remembering and mourning the murdered Jews.⁵⁷ In this context, the technique by which Simonides remembered the dead is less pertinent than the fact that the dead could not have been buried and mourned properly had he not been able to identify them. Death and memory are closely related in this economy, and a strange cycle emerges as a result of their association. The memory system could not have been invented without the central experience of death, and the dead could not have been remembered without the mechanisms of the memory system.

Let us assume, however, that one of the elements is not given: that there was no witness to reconstruct the order of the dead because that order no longer existed, and that the dead were buried and their ashes strewn by the wind, and that because they could not be remembered, they could also not be buried and mourned and their memory could not become part of a social collective, because the memory system did not even exist. This schematic model of assumptions elucidates the intuitive need behind the *Pappafaktikon* to put up names and dates on the houses of deported persons as a way of "ordering" their death, as a means of identifying their corpses in the last place where that was still possible before their traces were lost forever. For only in that way could the Jews of the Bayerisches Viertel finally be mourned and become part of the collective social memory of the neighborhood. In this same vein, the re-creation of the pre-war environment with the help of the sign memorial provides a space in which the crimes against the Jewish population can be named and through which their suffering can be mourned retroactively. In this re-creation of the past, the active participant in the memory system is given the chance to switch from the historically imposed role of perpetrator to that of witness and mourner. The memorial thus offers all of the area's inhabitants, regardless of age or generation, a chance to re-write their own history. The angry, self-righteous reactions to the first signs, those installed a week before the memorial was to be unveiled, might then simply have been the relieved protestations of people who had finally found a way to cast off their *Mitläufertum* and join the ranks of those who are vigilant lest history repeat itself.

It was expected, of course, that public reaction to the memorial would be strong, and the memorial's reception was accordingly prepared for with great care, especially by the members of the Schönberg work group. This same caution, which Schnock terms *voraussetzender Gehorsam*, or "anticipatory obedience," and which was considered by him to be a form of censorship, led the work group to criticize some of the signs' implications, thereby revealing the underlying memorial intent of the group and creating not a little friction between the artists and the group members. Par-

ticularly troublesome to the group was the inclusion of signs that did not, according to Schnock's mordant formulation, "fit the victim-perspective," the notion that all Jews had been necessarily and essentially passive, resourceless victims. This included the sign with the law prohibiting the use of cigars or cigarettes by Jews, since these commodities indicate prosperity; the sign bearing the decree that Jews could own no weapons, which raises the possibility of their having defended themselves; and the sign with the proscription against the Jews' wearing of uniforms, an indication of their having fought patriotically in World War I and thus having shared the bittersweet heroic idealization that was their due as veterans.⁵⁸

The urgent need to keep the image of the victimized Jew as pure and innocent as possible reveals that the privilege of "ideal mourners" depends directly upon the idealized victims they propose to mourn. Memorialization in this same conception is furthermore a means of assuming a more comfortable subject-position with regard to the history of the Third Reich, as long as the victim is well-defined, and worthy of being mourned—that is, "innocent," wretched, and defenseless. That the outrageous details of the Holocaust alone should be proof enough that people had been basely targeted regardless of their situation before the war, or that Sth and Schnock's memorial is important because it shows the process of making vulnerable a people who had thought themselves secure, seemed less important in the public mind than the preservation of a pristine, if misleading, image.

In the end, however, the artists prevailed in their desire to present the anti-Semitic legislation in its full diabolical complexity. They were thus able to represent the period leading up to and enabling the "final solution" in such a way as to destabilize the easy distance and moral certainty of their memorial's viewers, and in so doing to highlight the crucial place of subject position in the reception and interpretation of the Holocaust. Their bold conception has been much praised and discussed since its dedication. However, its international success as a local Berlin site of memorialization has not helped its creators in their bid to design the national Holocaust memorial, in which context they have come up against stronger currents of resistance than those to be encountered in Schönberg.

Some five months after the installation of the Bayerisches Viertel Memorial, on November 14, 1993, a very different type of memorial was inaugurated by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the temple-like building known as the Neue Wache on Unter den Linden, a centralized, national monument intended to honor "the victims of war and tyranny."⁵⁹ Built by Karl Friedrich Schinkel in 1817–18, the neo-classical building was first used by the Prussian monarchy as housing for the king's guards. At the end of the monarchy in 1918 it was gutted and its interior was re-designed by



The Neue Wache today. Photograph by Rafael Newman.

Heinrich Tessenow to serve as a memorial to the victims of World War I during the Weimar Republic. After World War II, the East German government, into whose territory the Neue Wache had fallen, pressed it into service to honor the victims of "fascism and militarism" in 1960. The Nazis, who had used the building between the tenancies of the Weimar Republic and the GDR, had left it virtually unchanged. This particular site for such a memorial, chosen by Kohl himself, was therefore to some extent pre-determined by modern German history. It had already served three different German governments and their leaders to chart the course of their respective memorial politics; it only seemed reasonable that Kohl, rather than preserving it as a GDR monument, would use it to articulate his own vision of history.

Kohl chose not only the site, but also the statue which was to figure as its central feature, an enlargement of a sculptural group by the German artist Käthe Kollwitz depicting a grieving mother holding the body of her son.⁷⁰ "This monument," the Chancellor announced to the assembled journalists on the occasion of its dedication, "is an important symbol of



Käthe Kollwitz, Statue in the Neue Wache (1993). Photograph by Rafael Newman.

reunited Germany and the free democratic system of our constitution which affirms the dignity, value and rights of each citizen."⁷¹ Not everyone, however, felt that the Kollwitz sculpture was an appropriate symbol, and protests against the monument were loud and clear in the weeks pre-

ceding its dedication. During the ceremony itself, hundreds of protesters gathered in front of the Neue Wache to shout slogans such as "German murderers are not victims!" Protesters were directed above all against the inscription on the floor in front of the sculpture. As Jerzy Kanak, chairman of Berlin's principal Jewish organization pointed out, "For the Victims of War and Rule by Violence" commemorates victims and perpetrators of the Holocaust alike. He, along with many other high-ranking officials, including Berlin's Minister for Cultural Affairs, Ulrich Roloff-Momun, declined to attend the ceremony and joined more than fifty writers and other public figures in signing a petition asking, "Should it now be considered in Germany that those who voluntarily wore the swastika were equal to those who were forced to wear yellow stars inscribed with the word 'Jew'?"⁷²

The choice of the statue itself, depicting a mother holding her dead son in what resembles a modern version of the Pietà, was also sharply criticized. "The image of the Mother of God is here misused to suggest the inescapable necessity of suffering and sacrifice," one critic observed, and continued, "The purpose in choosing this statue is to use the image of a suffering mother to promote national unity."⁷³ Furthermore, were women meant to be never the killed (or the killer?) but only the mourner? Was this to disregard the many Holocaust victims who had had no chance to mourn their children, because they themselves had been murdered along with them?⁷⁴ The choice of an artifact making implicit reference to Christian iconography is also clearly problematic, and even offensive in the context of a memorial to the millions of non-Christian victims of Nazi genocide. At best, the Kohlwitz reproduction in the Neue Wache makes strained historical equivalencies in the interest of national unity. At worst, it is a perpetuation of the very cultural-hegemonic strategies at work in Germany's racist past.

Despite the avid protests, however, Kohl refused to alter his plans until threatened by the possibility that Ignatz Bubis, president of the Jewish community of Germany, would also boycott the inauguration ceremony. The uneasy truce in the politics of German memorial-making that followed when Kohl had conceded to Bubis' demands for independent recognition of the Jewish victims demonstrates that the shaping of a national memory continues on several counts to be in fact a tug-of-war between forgetting and remembering. Kohl made two concessions to Bubis. He agreed to affix a brass tablet outside the main entrance to the memorial room listing the names of the various groups that had fallen victim to the Nazi terror, and he promised to support Bubis' request for a separate Jewish memorial in Berlin, a proposition already under discussion since 1988. Kohl's initial decision, meanwhile, to dedicate the memorial to all "victims of war and tyranny," reflected simply a continuation of his

memorial politics of the 1980s, which in 1985 stirred considerable and still unresolved controversy with a comparable lumping together of victims and perpetrators on the occasion of his visit with then-President Ronald Reagan to the military cemetery at Bitburg. This gesture of fitting the Third Reich into a long string of other German disasters recalls too some of the strategies at work in the Historians' debate, which sought to normalize the Holocaust by comparing it to other, allegedly similar genocides. Furthermore, the suggestion inherent in the compromise agreed upon by Kohl and Bubis that a proposal for a separate Jewish monument would be supported by Kohl only as a practical concession implies that the representation of Germany's past is more a matter of barrier and political expediency than of historical accuracy. Finally, it is unsettling that Kohl regards a monument which in many ways obscures and sentimentalizes the past an appropriate symbol to help "affirm the dignity, value and rights of each citizen," a symbol, in other words, which he enlists to negotiate a German identity commensurate with his vision of the new Germany. By blurring the distinctions between the two World Wars and between victims and perpetrators he proposes that a new identity be formed in an atmosphere of general forgiveness—and forgetfulness.

But Kohl's initial intransigence, his insistence on this particularly freighted site, and his astonishing will to ignore the very differences upon which the Federal Republic was founded, all suggest that there is a more complex narrative to be discerned here than simply that of a political miscalculation. Eric Santner has spoken of German postwar history, and about the vicissitudes of official recognition of past crimes, in just such narrative terms; indeed, his expression for the blocked process of mourning readable in the Neue Wache controversy is "narrative fetishism."⁷⁵ Kohl's Neue Wache is clearly such an evasive employment, a tactic of avoidance of mourning for the very victims it purports to commemorate. Schinkel's building provides a perfect spot, then, to mourn not only the passing of that nineteenth-century Germany's romantic-aesthetic grandeur but also the variously successful regimes (Kingdom, empire, and parliamentary republic) that had previously made use of it. The lumping together of widely disparate sorts of "victims" within this new Neue Wache enables a fantasy reconstruction of German wholeness under the sign of melancholy passivity, and the presence at center stage of mother and son sets up Germany's twentieth century as a (nuclear) family drama, in which what is mourned is not only the fallen son, but the absent father. And how did that son fall? At the hands of his brother, presumably, as in one of the earliest of Western family narratives, or struck down by that same absent father in a piece of Christian one-upmanship over the Jewish narrative in which a man is able to avoid sacrificing his son at the last minute, aided by the provident intervention of the transcendental Father.

The Old Testament allusions render this echo of the crucifixion almost irrelevant, the crucifixion being the clearest and most problematic of the statue group's references. And yet it is obviously there—the legend of a son sacrificed by his father for the good of a folk. One notes finally the opening in the roof over the heads of the statue group through which rain can fall freely, and one recalls the commonness of this feature in memorials of Hitler's own making, as for instance at the Ehrentempel in Munich.⁷⁶

Is the Neue Wache to be read, then, as a disguised memorial to Hitler? This may not be as grotesque as it would sound to the memorial's sponsors, for just such a mourning had been called for, after all, by no lesser authorities than the Mitscherlichs, in order to remove the barrier to a full accounting by the German people of the damage done by that same absent father. Clear is that with his grandiose but nebulous commemorative gesture Chancellor Kohl has moved specifically against the strategies of the Bayerisches Viertel memorial which aims to recall aspects of the past as accurately as possible, and to demonstrate the effects of this administration by re-staging the gradual segregation of Berlin's Jews from the city's "Aryan" population, a separation that led inexorably to the Holocaust. Unlike the reproduction in the new national memorial of the Kollwitz statue, which is provocative and imperiously commands a passive and worshipful response, the Bayerisches Viertel memorial requires an active "readership" by observers willing to confront Germany's history head-on.

A Jewish Museum in Berlin

Daniel Libeskind's extension of the Berlin Museum for City History extends alongside its companion's demure baroque elevation like a sapphire bolt of lightning. As one approaches it from the north on Lindenstrasse, the building appears modest, even self-effacing: only gradually, as one walks past the two buildings, does the monstrously jagged form unfold, its interior accessible only through windows that criss-crossing the matte sheen of zinc that covers its outside walls. Although along some stretches the old museum and its extension lie parallel, the two structures never actually touch; they are only connected by an underground passageway. A bird's-eye view reveals a straight incision, divided into sections, running the length of the zig-zagging structure and bisecting the building's interior, creating empty spaces on the two top levels of the planned exhibit halls. Surrounding the immense metal structure, which measures some 150 by 18 meters, are various gardens. The Paul Celan Court, a paved design of stones created by the celebrated poet's wife, Gisèle Lestrange Celan, con-



Daniel Libeskind, Berlin Museum Extension (1997). Aerial view. Photograph by Renner Wolf.

nects the old museum gardens with the new grounds in a mosaic that seems to float unevenly beneath the new structure on one side, only to re-emerge on the other in front of a towering monument to the Holocaust. A paulownia, Celan's favorite tree, is planted in the transitional area between the Celan Court and the E. T. A. Hoffmann Garden, the latter a typically inclined concrete square composed of 44 thick cement steles.⁷⁷ Like everything else in Berlin that was engendered in the explosive

during the Third Reich—even Hitler—doubt its efficacy as national epos. In his speech, Göring overcame the unfortunate fact of the saga's gory ending through a slight re-interpretation. In his comparison, he concentrated on the heroism of the Sixth Army, which was in the midst of sacrificing itself so that Germany as a whole could win the war. Thus, in contrast to the demise of the Nibelungen, which is final, he positioned the German defeat at Stalingrad merely as a means to an end.

⁴¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, trans. and ed. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 62–63.

⁴² Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, p. 71.

⁴³ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, p. 71.

⁴⁴ S. Weigel, "Shylock's Wiederkehr: Die Verwandlung von Schuld in Schulden oder: Zum symbolischen Tausch der Wiedergutmachung," in Weigel and Erdle, eds., *Fünfzig Jahre danach* (Zürich: Hochschulverlag AG, 1996), pp. 165–192, citation p. 172.

⁴⁵ Nietzsche makes the connection between suffering and *Schulden*: "To ask it again: to what extent can suffering balance debts or guilt? To the extent that to *make* suffer was in the highest degree pleasurable, to the extent that the injured party exchanged for the loss he had sustained, including the displeasure caused by the loss, an extraordinary counterbalancing pleasure: that of making suffer—a genuine festival, something which, as aforesaid, was prized the more highly the more violently it contrasted with the rank and social standing of the creditor." *On the Genealogy of Morals*, p. 65.

⁴⁶ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Adorno, "What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" trans. Timothy Bahni and Geoffrey H. Hartman, in Hartman, ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, p. 115.

⁴⁸ A. and M. Mischertich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*, p. 27.

⁴⁹ Adorno, "What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" pp. 117–118.

⁵⁰ A. and M. Mischertich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*, pp. 66–67.

⁵¹ Die Kieln, "Vorbildlich: Schöneberger verhindern Neo-Faschismus," *Berliner Zeitung*, 5 June 1993, p. 14.

⁵² Several newspapers followed the development of this case: see in particular the *Berliner Morgenpost*, June 6, 8, and 9, 1993; the *Berliner Zeitung*, June 5, 8, and 9, 1993; and *die taz*, June 8 and 9, 1993.

⁵³ Gabi Bethke, "Mahmal wird am Freitag enthüllt," in *Berliner Morgenpost*, 9 June 1993, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Martin Koehler, "Wieviel Leben braucht der Deutsche—Über Zwang und Unmöglichkeit Jude zu sein," in Renata Sth and Frieder Schnock, *Arbeitsbuch für ein Denkmal in Berlin* (Berlin: Vogt, 1993), pp. 18–23.

⁵⁵ Much of the information about the history of the Bayerisches Viertel and that of the memorial installation given here has been culled from a personal interview with three members of the *Arbeitsgruppe Schöneberg* conducted in July of 1993.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Barbara Straka, "Normalität des Schreckens. Eine Denk-Installation für das Bayerische Viertel in Berlin," in Sth and Schnock, *Arbeitsbuch für ein Denkmal in Berlin*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Lanzmann, *Shoah*, p. 50.

⁵⁸ Straka, "Normalität des Schreckens," in Sth and Schnock, *Arbeitsbuch für ein Denkmal in Berlin*, p. 6.

⁵⁹ Katharina Kaiser, ed., *Broschüre zum offenen Kunstwettbewerb "Mahmal und Gedenksäule Bayerischer Platz"* (Berlin: Kunstamt Schöneberg, 1991), p. 23.

⁶⁰ Cited in Straka, "Normalität des Schreckens," in Sth and Schnock, *Arbeitsbuch für ein Denkmal in Berlin*, p. 5.

⁶¹ Frieder Schnock, personal communication, February 1994. Schnock is further troubled that only those houses received attention from which ten or more Jews had been deported. "What about nine Jews," he asks, "and what about those who committed suicide? Less important?"

⁶² Renata Sth, interview, August 1994.

⁶³ This notice, which appeared before the 1936 Olympics, was to be considered, according to Schnock (personal communication), together with Berlin's application for the Olympics in the year 2000.

⁶⁴ This sign was created in response to the following remark made by an inhabitant of the quarter during one of several public discussions: "We'd like to have the green on the square free of signs because we always go there to sit." Schnock, personal correspondence, February 1994.

⁶⁵ See Kaiser, *Broschüre*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ Both Cicero and Quintilian recount this legendary aetiology. Cicero's version of the tale is as follows: At a banquet given by a nobleman of Thessaly, the poet Simonides sang a lyric poem in honor of his host but included, as was the custom among poets, a passage in praise of the gods Castor and Pollux. The nobleman accordingly told Simonides that he would pay him only half the sum agreed upon for his ode; he should see to it that he get the other half from the gods whose praise he had just sung. Shortly thereafter, Simonides was told that two young men were outside, urgently requesting to see him. He rose from the table, went outside, but found no one. In the meantime, the room where the banquet was being held collapsed, crushing the nobleman and all his guests. The corpses were so mangled that the relatives who came to take them away for burial were unable to identify them. But Simonides remembered the places at which they had been reclining and was therefore able to assist the relatives in the burial of the dead by identifying each member. Noting that it was through his memory of the places where the guests had been reclining that he was able to identify the corpses, he realized that spatial arrangement was the crucial aspect in illuminating memory. He inferred that persons desiring to train their memory faculty must select places, form mental images of the things they wished to remember, and "store" those images in those places, so that the order of the places preserve the order of the things, and the image of the things denote the things to be remembered. See a brilliant and seminal discussion of the history of this technique in Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 23–57.

⁶⁷ As Stefan Goldman relates, "The myth of the invention of the mnemotechnic disciplines and condensations, therefore, known elements from the biography of Simonides, like hunger for money, funeral song, and people who have made themselves noteworthy in victory, into one single new story. There it is possible to read not only biographical details of a notable figure (Simonides), but also . . . an altered consciousness via-a-via a traditional pantheon. . . . Thus it becomes clear that the invention of the mnemotechnic is not to be connected to one single person alone, nor to one unique event. . . ." In "Statt Totenklage Gedächtnis: Zur Erfindung der Mnemotechnik durch Simonides von Keos," *Poetica* 21 (1989), p. 51.

⁶⁸ Schnock, personal correspondence, February 1994.

⁶⁹ See also Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, pp. 217–224.

⁷⁰ The original sculpture was made to commemorate the artist's son who had fallen in World War I.

⁷¹ Stephen Kinzer, "The War Memorial: To Embrace the Gully, Too?" *New York Times*, 15 November 1993. See also Jürgen Hohmeyer, "Mutter im Regen," *Der Spiegel*, 46 (1993), pp. 268–270; Benedikte Krenz, "In Betrieb," *Die Zeit*, 26 November 1993; and Wolf Jobst Siedler, "Wo Preussen am preussischsten war," *Die Zeit*, 3 December 1993.

⁷² Kinzer, "The War Memorial."

⁷³ Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, cited in Kinzer, "The War Memorial."

⁷⁴ For a discussion of the gendered implications of this monument, see Sigrid Weigel, "Der Ort der Frauen im Gedächtnis des Holocaust: Symbolisierung, Zeugenschaft, und kollektive Identität," *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter* 135 (1995), pp. 260–268.

⁷⁵ Samner, "History beyond the Pleasure Principle: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Trauma," p. 144.

⁷⁶ See the extended discussion of this architectural trope, signifying hardness and endurance but also prefiguring elegantly melancholy ruins, in Comay, "Facing History/Memories of Resistance," pp. 38–42.

⁷⁷ For more details on the garden design, see Cornelia Müller et al., "Erläuterung zur Gartenplanung," in Kristin Feireiss, ed., *Erweiterung des Berlin Museums mit Abteilung Jüdisches Museum* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn Verlag, 1992), pp. 53–55. This catalogue appeared in conjunction with the first exhibit of Libeskind's design of the Jewish museum, which opened in September 1992 in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. The catalogue takes the form of a collection of essays in both English and German versions. When using this source in the following, I shall quote from the author's original text.

⁷⁸ Cited in Robin Ostrow, "(Is It) A Jewish Museum? Six Models of Jewish Cultural Integration in Germany" (German Studies Association, Seattle, Washington, 1996), p. 2, and more recently in Reiner Günzler, "Das Integrationsmodell muss bleiben," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 4 July 1997, p. 23.

⁷⁹ Diner, *Kristallnacht*, p. 26.

⁸⁰ It was surely significant that Berlin, in becoming once more the functioning capital of Germany, was to undo Hitler's cynical plan to build a museum of the "Jewish Race" in which the history of an eradicated people was to be told from a National Socialist perspective. Such a museum would indeed have meant not the preservation of memory, but its annihilation. In fact, some of the objects the new extension was meant to house had been stored away by the Nazis for their planned museum after they had demolished the original Jewish museum of Berlin during the *Reichskristallnacht*.

⁸¹ Diner, *Kristallnacht*, p. 24.

⁸² Quoted in "Jüdisches Museum: Barzel gekündigt," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 27 June 1997, p. 21. An interview with Nachama published in the same newspaper a few weeks later shows evidence of this inflammation. The interviewers, normally sympathetic to Barzel and the Jewish Community, pose a series of remarkably hostile questions, although they do give Nachama the opportunity to expand on and strengthen his controversial analogy with Germany of the 1930s. See Peter von Becker and Thomas Lackmann, "Sind Sie stolz, deutscher Jude zu sein, Herr Nachama?" *Der Tagesspiegel*, 6 August 1997, p. 20.

⁸³ The difficulty in conceiving of the museum's function is apparent from its ever-changing name. Already at the Aspen conference the name was officially changed from Jewish "department" (*Abteilung*) to "Berlin Museum/Jewish Museum," or "Jewish Museum in the Berlin Museum," though the written records of the conference thereafter almost all refer to the project as "Extension (*Erweiterungsbau*) to the Berlin Museum." The Berlin law gazette calls it simply "Berlin Museum (Libeskind Extension)," and since 1995 it has become "Principal Department (*Hauptabteilung*) V," one of sixteen museum departments under the main administration of the city museum's foundation. I will refer to it henceforth as the extension.

⁸⁴ Robin Ostrow, "(Is It) A Jewish Museum?" p. 2. As Reinhard Rürup points out (personal interview, August 1997), the exhibit came at a time when paradigms of history were shifting. Rather than studying broad structural connections of past events, people were becoming more and more interested in *Alltagsgeschichte*. This sort of approach was no longer only reserved for academics, but could be pursued by laypeople as well, who began to form civil initiatives (*Bürgerinitiativen*) to perform the work of remembering and mourning known as *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*. This is the type of shift that presaged the activities of Anja Rossmus, for instance.

⁸⁵ Cited in Martina Weinland and Kurt Winkler, *Das Jüdische Museum im Stadtmuseum Berlin: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1997), p. 28.

⁸⁶ Despite the seeming willingness of all sides to collaborate, however, plans proceeded at a snail's pace partly because it had proved to be difficult to find a suitable location for a new building.

⁸⁷ Cited in Weinland and Winkler, *Das Jüdische Museum im Stadtmuseum Berlin*, pp. 33–34.

⁸⁸ Rolf Bothe, "Das Berlin Museum und sein Erweiterungsbau," in Feireiss, ed., *Erweiterung des Berlin Museums mit Abteilung Jüdisches Museum*, p. 34.

⁸⁹ Bothe, "Das Berlin Museum und sein Erweiterungsbau," p. 34. The collection of the Jewish department, according to Bothe and Bendt, should be divided into three sections: its Judaica, enlarged considerably during Bendt's curatorship; its documentation of the Jewish community in Berlin until National Socialism; and the representation of the life and work of Jewish citizens who had determined the face and the history of the city decisively.

⁹⁰ Weinland and Winkler, *Das Jüdische Museum im Stadtmuseum Berlin*, p. 36.

⁹¹ "Playing the Jewish card" is my translation of the German expression *das jüdische Ticket nutzen*, or "using the Jewish ticket," as it has been employed in reference to the extension controversy (see for example its use in von Becker and Lackmann, "Sind Sie stolz, deutscher Jude zu sein, Herr Nachama?"). I am not deaf to the echo of the notion of "playing the race card," made notorious in the United States during the O. J. Simpson trial, but also recognize the vast differences between the conditions of African Americans and German Jews.

⁹² The numbers in the building as realized have been scaled back very slightly. "Jews in Society" was replaced altogether by Libeskind's voids. See Weinland and Winkler, *Das Jüdische Museum im Stadtmuseum Berlin*, p. 443.

⁹³ Weinland and Winkler, *Das Jüdische Museum im Stadtmuseum Berlin*, pp. 35–36.

⁹⁴ Daniel Libeskind, "Between the Lines," in Feireiss, ed., *Erweiterung des Berlin Museums mit Abteilung Jüdisches Museum*, p. 65.

⁹⁵ Libeskind, "Between the Lines," p. 65.

⁹⁶ Vera Bendt, "Das Integrationsmodell," in Feireiss, ed., *Erweiterung des Berlin Museums mit Abteilung Jüdisches Museum*, p. 29.

⁹⁷ Cited in Libeskind, "Between the Lines," p. 65.

⁹⁸ Libeskind, "Between the Lines," p. 67.

⁹⁹ Samner, *Stranded Objects*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁰ Winkler, "Die 'Leere' ausstellen? Daniel Libeskind's Museumsbau als muscologische Herausforderung," in Renate Altner et al., *Ein Museum für Berlin: Positionen*